

**DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND  
POLITICAL REFORMS IN MONGOLIA,  
1991-2012**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University in the partial fulfillment of  
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**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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**DECLARATION**

I declare that the thesis entitled “**DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND POLITICAL REFORMS IN MONGOLIA, 1991-2012**” submitted by me for the award of the degree of **DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this or any other University.


  
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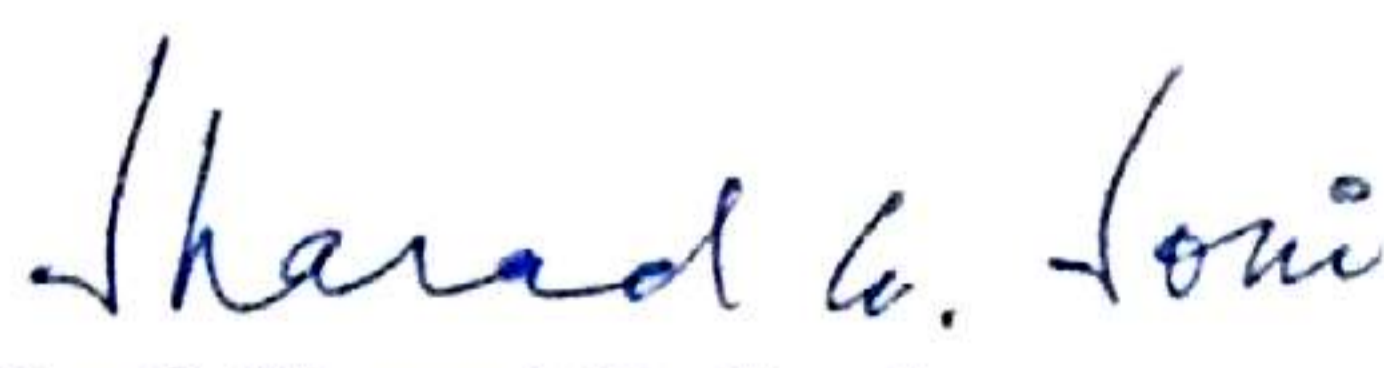
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*To*

*My Late Mother*

*Smt. Shyama Devi Bajpai*

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Amba Shanker Bajpai

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## Preface

With the collapse of the former Communist and authoritarian regimes in Eastern and Central Europe as well as Latin America the triumph of liberal democracy was heralded by several quarters. More than ever democracy has now become the ideology of the age which is evident from the fact that few countries disavow democracy in principle and fewer countries than in the past have betrayed it in practice. In Mongolia, democratic transition began rather unexpectedly. It was initially triggered by changes in the external environment, rather than by domestic demand, which, however, emerged once liberalisation began. In contrast to other communist countries, Mongolia had no established dissidents, or otherwise organized opposition to the incumbent regime. The Mongolian communist regime was closely aligned to the Soviet government and despite being formally independent. Mongolia remained a 'satellite' of the former Soviet Union. One aspect of this was the existence of a strong Russian military and civilian presence in Mongolia as well as a Mongolian political leadership dependent on Moscow. However, with Gorbachev taking over power in the Soviet Union in March 1985 and the domestic and foreign policy reforms he advocated became crucial for triggering liberalisation in Mongolia.

In 1986, Mongolia began experimenting with Soviet reforms and developed its own model of *perestroika and glasnost* which came to be known as *Orchilan Baigalalt and Iltod* respectively. But, the real opening towards Political liberalisation came in December 1989 when Mongolian President Batmunkh's speech encouraged the formation of a pro-democratic opposition. In early 1989, some oppositional debating clubs emerged, including a group called 'New Generation' led by S Zoring and E Bat-Uul, and a 'Club of Young Economists'. The struggle for political liberalisation began taking place between December 1989 and March 1990. Under the impression of events unfolded in Eastern Europe, more outright political opposition, the Mongolian Democratic Union (MDU) was formed on 10<sup>th</sup> December 1989. Soon after the MDU started organizing demonstrations amid a session of Mongolian Parliament (Great *Khural*) on 11-14 December 1989 and submitted its demands to the MPRP (Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party) government.

They demanded constitutional amendment of the Mongolian People's Republic to end one party rule of the State, respect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, renew the electoral system and hold elections in June 1990, and reorganize the Great *Khural* into a permanently functioning Parliament.

Responding to demands of a growing opposition movement, Mongolia under the MPRP government made critical reappraisal of its own policy and began changing many of its existing policies which were believed to have prevented country's progress at the domestic level. In May 1990, the Constitution was amended by deleting reference to the MPRP's role as the "guiding force" in the country, legalizing the new "informal" parties through official registration, creating a standing legislative body called the State Little *Khural*, elected by proportional representation of parties, and establishing the office of the President. Besides, a new electoral law legalizing the registration of new political parties was approved and the date of next general election for a two-chamber Parliament to be held in July 1990 was announced. This was the first free elections in Mongolia's seventy years of modern history which finally showed the way for taking important steps towards establishment of a multiparty, pluralistic and democratic society. Overall, the liberalisation period went surprisingly smooth, with a fortuitous coincidence of external and internal factors. The initial triggers for liberalisation were external, i.e., the demise of former Soviet Union and the reduction of Soviet aid as well as military and technical assistance. But at the same time, ties with the United States and further improvements in its relations with China provided Mongolia fair opportunities for new options and greater chances to stand on its own.

The first multiparty elections for a people's Great *Khural* were held on July 29<sup>th</sup>, 1990 in which the MPRP won 85 percent of the seats. The people's Great *Khural* first met on September 3<sup>rd</sup>, 1990 and elected a President from the MPRP, vice President from the SDC (Social Democrats), Prime Minister from the MPRP, and 50 members to the Little *Khural*. The vice president was also the Chairman of the Little *Khural*. In November 1991, the people's Great *Khural* began discussion on a new Constitution. The new Constitution, the fourth one since 1921, was finally adopted on January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1992 replacing the 1960 Constitution, which brought considerable changes in Mongolia's political system. Key elements in the new Constitution emphasised the



“establishment of democracy” contrary to the previous Constitutions, which had stressed “building the State through socialism.” The most notable change made in this Constitution was the replacement of the two-chamber Parliament (bicameral) known as the Great and Little *Khurals* with that of a single chamber (unicameral), which came to be known as the State Great *Khural* comprising 76 Deputies. It was for the first time that a multi-ownership economy was introduced by this Constitution, which aimed at going with the mainstream of the world economy and conforming to the special conditions of the country. In order to distance itself from its communist past, the country’s name was also changed from “Mongolian People’s Republic” to simply “Mongolia” and the communist gold star was removed from the national flag under the new Constitution which entered into force on February 12<sup>th</sup>, 1992.

Political liberalisation in Mongolia brought forth unprecedented freedom of speech, and freedom of assembly and association. From 1990 onwards, Mongolia has been experiencing a lively debate covering a broad range of political, economic, and social issues. Many newspapers, including those run by political parties and individuals, are freely published and being circulated in Mongolia. A great number of non-governmental organisations (NGOs) have been formed since 1990. Among them one can find associations of teachers, lawyers, handicapped people, and even some monitory groups, including Muslims and Buryats. A rapid revival of traditional culture accompanied Mongolia’s political liberalisation process to reduce the influence of Marxist-Leninist ideology and to foster the idea of national resurgence. Chinggis Khagan was reassessed as historical figure, and his portrait began to be widely seen in the country. The parliament decided that the traditional script abolished in the 1940s would eventually be restored which began to be taught in the schools, and widely used along with the Cyrillic script. Freedom of religion was proclaimed and Lamaist monasteries were reopened.

It is interesting to juxtapose Mongolia’s position in relation to its external environment in the 1990s with that which existed early in this century. In 1911, the Manchu dynasty disintegrated giving Mongolia the opportunity to revive its statehood, which had been under alien influence for many centuries. In the beginning of 1990s Mongolia’s powerful northern neighbour, the former USSR, disintegrated giving Mongolia the opportunity to regain its de-facto independence. Since then

Mongolia has been availing this rare historical opportunity with a firm commitment to democracy and market economy. After the new Constitution became effective, a second multiparty election was held in June 1992, the third in June 1996 and the fourth in July 2000. The June 1996 election was a turning point in Mongolia's contemporary history as for the first time the Democrats won a landslide victory by defeating the MPRP. However, due to inexperience in running the government the Democratic Alliance lost in July 2000 elections in favour of MPRP, which came out victorious by making commitments to continue with democratic reforms in Mongolia's domestic and foreign policies as well liberalisation of the economy for the welfare of the country.

Since the overall domestic and external scenario underwent a drastic change during the democratic transition, Mongolia made radical changes in its national security and foreign policies in June 1994 by adopting three basic documents-National Security and Foreign Policy Concepts as well as the Military Doctrine, which were finally endorsed by the Mongolian Parliament. What is significant to note here is that national interest remained the key issue in the formulation of all three documents. As stipulated in the Foreign Policy Concept, Mongolia's foreign policy priority focuses on "safeguarding its security and vital national interests by political and domestic means, and creating a favourable external environment for its economic, scientific and technological development." By adopting what is termed as a "multi-pillar" foreign policy Mongolia broadened its diplomatic outlook and the scope of international activities.

Significant democratic changes in Mongolia's domestic and foreign policy further gave boost to radical transformation of Mongolia's economy. To begin with, initiatives towards liberalisation of Mongolian economy with establishment of a new banking and financial system as well as privatisation laid the foundation for the development of a market economy. In fact, a rapid transition in Mongolia's economy was achieved by "shock therapy" mainly through adoption of three key mechanisms, i.e., privatisation, currency reform, and price and wage liberalisation. Not only the livestock sector, the backbone of Mongolia's economy witnessed privatisation but also a number of private companies were allowed to operate in key sectors. The main focus of economic growth was given on the utilisation of natural resources including

agriculture, mineral, oil and water. As a result there had been surge in industrial sector, which led the growth of manufacturing units as well. With changes in Export-Import policy since 1996, Mongolia tried to attract overseas investments as well as joint ventures with foreign companies. On the trade front, although Mongolia's trade relations with the outside world expanded during the democratic transition period, there is still a need of consistent trading partners who could help achieve Mongolia's economic security.

It is against this background that this study seeks to analyze how Mongolia has been able to implement the democratic reforms in its polity and economy during the period of this study, which is the transitional phase from Soviet-style polity and economy to democratic one. The dynamics of democratic transition will be examined in the context of external and internal factors, apart from studying various elements in Mongolian foreign policy making. The roles played by the elites, media, NGOs, religious groups and masses to political reforms will also be looked into, in addition to observing various stages of economic restructuring in Mongolia.

The scope of this study is limited to the period between 1991 and 2012 when the democratic transition in Mongolia was most visible. The year 1991 has been taken as the beginning period as it was in this year that the collapse of the former Soviet Union created a vacuum in not only Mongolia's politics and economy but also in its foreign affairs. It was also in 1991 that the debate began on the adoption of a new Mongolian constitution. The year 2012 has been taken as the cut off year as the Democratic government lost 2012 elections in favour of the MPRP, the erstwhile communist party which came out victorious by making commitments to continue with democratic reforms.

## LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

|         |  |
|---------|--|
| PRSP    | Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper                                   |
| SOE     | State Owned Enterprises  |
| ACD     | Asian Cooperation Dialogue   |
| ACE     | Electoral Knowledge Network  |
| ADB     | Asians Development Bank  |
| APEC    | The Asia, Pacific Economic Cooperation forum                       |
| ARF     | ASEAN Regional Forum   |
| ASEAN   | Association of South East Asian nations                            |
| ASEM    | Asia-Europe Meeting  |
| AU      | African Union  |
| BDF     | Bali Democracy Forum   |
| CCP     | Chinese Communist Party's  |
| CICA    | Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia |
| CMEA    | The Council for Mutual Economic Assistance                         |
| COMECON | Council for Mutual Economic Assistance                             |
| CSCE    | Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe                   |
| CSO     | Civil Society Organizations  |
| CWGP    | Parliamentary Civil Party  |
| CWP     | Civil Will Party   |
| DD      | Department of Defence  |
| DP      | Democratic Party   |
| DPP     | Democratic Progressive Party                                       |
| DPRK    | Democratic People's Republic of Korea                              |

|        |  |
|--------|--|
| DUC    | Democratic Union Coalition                           |
| EC     | European Community                                   |
| EPA    | Economic Partnership Agreement                       |
| EU     | European Union                                       |
| FDI    | Foreign Direct Investment                            |
| FEALAC | the Forum for East Asia-Latin America Cooperation    |
| FOI    | Freedom of Information                               |
| FPTP   | First Past the Post                                  |
| GDP    | Gross Domestic Product                               |
| GEC    | General Election Commission                          |
| GNP    | Gross National Product                               |
| GP     | Green Party  |
| GPH    | Great People's Hural                                 |
| IDA    | International Development Association                |
| IDEA   | The Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance |
| ILO    | International Labour Organization                    |
| IMF    | International Monetary Fund                          |
| IT     | Information Technology                               |
| LWBP   | Liberal Women's Brain Pool                           |
| MDC    | Motherland Democratic Coalition                      |
| MDP    | Mongolian Democratic Party                           |
| MDU    | Mongolian Democratic Union                           |
| MFN    | Most-Favored-Nation                                  |
| MGP    | Mongolian Green Party                                |



|       |   |
|-------|---|
| MJIA  | Ministry of Justice and International Affairs   |
| MLP   | Mongolian Liberal Party                         |
| MMFA  | The Mongolian Ministry of Foreign Affairs       |
| MNDP  | Mongolian National Democratic Party             |
| MNSDP | Mongolian New Social Democratic Party           |
| MPNU  | Mongolian Party of National Unity               |
| MPP   | Mongolian People's Party                        |
| MPR   | Mongolian People's Republican                   |
| MPRP  | Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party          |
| MRDP  | Mongolian Democratic Renewal Party              |
| MSDP  | Mongolian Social Democratic Party               |
| MTUP  | Mongolian Traditional United Party              |
| MUCP  | Mongolian United Conservative Party             |
| MUHP  | Mongolian United Heritage Party                 |
| NAM   | The Non-Aligned Movement                        |
| NAPCI | Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative |
| NATO  | North Atlantic Treaty Organisation              |
| NED   | National Endowment for Democracy                |
| NEPAD | The New Partnership for Africa's Development    |
| NGO   | Non-Governmental Organizations                  |
| NPAP  | National Poverty Action Programme               |
| NPM   | New Zealand type model of new public management |
| NTP   | Non-Proliferation Treaty                        |
| NTR   | Normal Trade Relation                           |

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| NWFZ   | Nuclear-Weapons-Free-Zone   |
| OSCE   | Organisation for Security and Co-operation in Europe  |
| P5     | The United Nations of the five nuclear weapon states (the United States, China, France, Russian Federation, and United Kingdom, known as the P5). |
| PAP    | People's Action Party   |
| PECC   | Pacific Economic Cooperation Council  |
| PGK    | the People of Great Khural  |
| PNTR   | Permanent Normal Trade Relation   |
| PPA    | Poverty Partnership Agreement   |
| PR     | Proportional Representation   |
| PRC    | People's Republic of China  |
| ROC    | Republic of China   |
| ROK    | Republic of Korea   |
| RP     | Republican Party  |
| SAARC  | South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation  |
| SCO    | Shanghai Cooperation Organisation   |
| SDC    | Social Democrats  |
| SDP    | Social Democrat Party   |
| SGH    | State Great Hural   |
| TACIS  | Technical Assistance to the confederation of Independent states   |
| UK     | United Kingdom  |
| UN     | United Nations  |
| UNDP   | United Nations Development Programme  |
| UNESCO | United Nations Education, Social and Cultural Organisation  |
| UNHCR  | United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees   |

|        |   |
|--------|---|
| UNISCI | The Research Unit on International Security and Cooperation |
| US     | United States   |
| USAID  | The U.S. Agency for International Development               |
| USSR   | Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (Former)                |
| WTO    | World Trade Organisation                                    |

# **CHAPTER-I**

---

## **Introduction**

## **1.1. Introduction**

Mongolia is located in the plains of grassland between Russia on the northern side, China on the South and the West (Mongolia Legal Needs Assessment Report 2000: 9). Central Asia consists of hundreds of millions of humans, of which about 2.8 million are semi-nomadic shepherds and have lived a traditional way of life; though modern Mongolia is best understood in connection with its complicated relationship with China. Manchu conquerors of China ruled Mongolia from 1691 to 1911, but nomadic Mongol tribes kept their identity through declaration of an independent State of Mongolia by its nobility in 1911, following the Chinese revolution. The Bogdo Gegen headed the country, recognised as a reincarnated Buddhist Lama, who was both the secular and religious leader. But his regime was marked by a period of turmoil, where domestic discord between two new Republics, China and the Tsarist Russia was at its peak (Ginsburg 1995: 460). What actually came into force was Soviet support to Mongolian revolutionaries, which helped the latter to gain “real” independence in 1921 (Soni 2006). Consequently, a Communist government was established in Mongolia in 1924 and the country’s first constitution was adopted.

Mongolia’s topography renders it a Eurasian nation that is strategically situated in the middle of two huge giants, viz., Russia and China in the north and south. The country is situated at the intersection of Central Asia, Northeast China and Russia, which indicates the geographic importance of Mongolia. 2.9 million People inhabit Mongolia currently and approximately 893,400 people reside in the capital city of Mongolia. Although, demographically Mongolia is one of the smallest countries in Asia, it stands seventh with respect to area (Soni 2002: 1). Ulaanbaatar, the capital of Mongolia is the most populated city with a total population estimated at 1.31 million people in 2013, representing approximately 46 percent of Mongolia’s total population (<http://ubstat.mn/StatTable=11> in <http://www.themongolist.com>, 2014).

Mongolia is divided into twenty-one provinces. It has three major cities, of which Ulaanbaatar, the Capital, is situated to the north-central part. Darkhan is the second largest city, which was established in the 1960s by the Russians near the former



Soviet border. Erdenet, the third largest city, is basically a mining city which caters to the copper and molybdenum enterprise (Padco 2005). Ethnic Mongols, consisting of Khalkha and other groups are primarily distinguished by dialects of the Mongol language. They constitute ninety percent of the entire population. Turkic people constitute 7 percent, whereas all others are Russians and Chinese. Most of the people left the country post the decline of the USSR in 1991.

Farming forms the major chunk of Mongolia's economic sector apart from the manufacturing industry. By the information provided by Food and Agriculture Organisation, the total land area which suits agriculture is 80 percent, but ironically only 1.5 percent of this suitable area is used for producing crops. On the other hand, 1 percent is employed for producing hay, while ninety-seven percent is reserved for pasture. Animal husbandry is considered the primary economic activity of Mongolia, making the country a large pastoral society. Though agriculture has remained one of the essential sectors, the industrial sector was developed following the period of central planning that happened before 1990. According to UN Statistical Yearbook (2010), industries like cashmere wool milk, shoes, leather and bread are dependent on the farming sector, which concurrently gives the crude material for production. Therefore, agriculture and manufacturing industry completely linked with each other in Mongolia. Commodities associated with farming, especially the skins of sheep and goats, form the principal exporting material of the country.

As for UNDP report (1996), "Mongolia is prosperous in natural resources such as gold, copper, iron ore, coal, phosphate, molybdenum, fluorspar, lead, tin, oil and oil shale and uranium. It comprises a great amount of graphite, and the stuff for construction and industry like limestone, marble, gypsum, quartz and granite sands" as per Annual report of World Bank Mongolia "A joint venture of Mongolian-Russian copper company, Erdenet, manufactures the copper concentrate for the purpose of exporting. Gold exports have risen substantially, and foreign mining companies have also enlarged their investments in the last decades (Annual Report, Bank of Mongolia 1997)."

Khalkha Mongolian is the official language of Mongolian territory, which is

comprised of the Cyrillic Alphabets and is spoken by 90 percent of the Mongolian inhabitants, while the rest of the people use different dialect. The Tuvan and Kazakh languages are also spoken in the western part of the country. The Russian and English languages are the most frequently spoken foreign languages though English is gradually becoming more popular among the people (Niitlelchcom Mongolia 2012).

The U.S. Department of State (CIA World Fact Book, Mongolia 2010) states that 53 percent of Mongolia's people are Tibetan Buddhists, 41.8 percent are atheists, 2.2 percents are Christians and Shamanists and the remaining 3 percent are Muslims. Historically, the foundation of Mongol Empire dates back from 7<sup>th</sup> to 13<sup>th</sup> century. 1203 A.D. saw the unification of all Mongolian nomadic tribes were united by Chingis Khan. He conquered the regions of Southeast Asia and Central Europe relying on his tactics of fast-moving cavalry and his unique military leadership. Post-Unification, Kublai Khan, grandson of Chingis Khan, won its neighbouring country, China and founded Yang Dynasty (1271-1368 A.D.).

## **1.2. Democratisation in Mongolia**

Mongolia lost its political independence at the end of the 17<sup>th</sup> century to the Manchu Empire (1644-1911). Subsequently Mongolia suffered under the rule of the Manchu feudal State for more than two centuries. Additionally, as per Robert Rupen (1964: 140) "Manchus bifurcated Mongolia into Outer and Inner region divided by the Gobi Desert". In 1911, Mongolia got its independence and the establishment of monarchy Bogd Khan was a religious leader. Following the rise on an anti-Manchu liberal movement, the Manchu dynasty fell. However the new-found independence the country was threatened by both Soviet Union and the Republic of China. The American scholar lake tells us that "Mongolia was not only the first country in the Asian Continent to have adopted a Soviet Communism, but also the first to turn down communism as well as Soviet hegemony in the later years (Lake 2000: 220)." According to Batbayar (1996: 140), the freedom of Mongolia established in 1911, was not meant to last forever. In 1921, Chinese troops that were sent in 1919 were defeated by Mongolian nationalists in Ulaanbaatar with the support of Bolshevik Soviet troops.

G. Bayantur (2008: 4) describes, that “On 26<sup>th</sup> November 1924 (Independence Day) world’s second communist regime was established by the Mongolians which popularly came to be known as the Mongolian People’s Republic”. This regime enjoyed a reasonably high degree of autonomy and remained almost Stalin consolidated his position and Moscow in politics. Communist regime stayed sovereign from Moscow, till the late 1920s when the entire power was consolidated by Stalin. Soviet Union always supported Mongolia and maintained strong political and economic ties with it. The ties were too strong to consider Mongolia as an independent nation. Since the 16<sup>th</sup> Republic of the former USSR had a strong influence over, the country adopted Soviet-style economic model, as well as political structure permeating its social, political and economic spheres. Later despite in 1989, long term relations with the Soviet Union, Mongolia threw away communism and Soviet hegemony through a democratic movement. The transition from communism to liberal democracy in the late 1980s and continued till the fourth Constitution came into existence in 1992. The launching of glasnost and perestroika in Soviet Union had led to the downfall of the Soviet Union and eventually marked the beginning of reforms in Mongolia. Moreover, it inspired a lot of educated leaders of Mongolia and helped in formation of a general liberalising atmosphere. In 1986, initial reforms were carried out at the State level with reformulation of economic policies as well as the State bureaucracy. Franquelli (2013:11) mentioned in his dissertation submitted to Birkbeck College, University of London the frequent initiatives to change Mongolian society through socialism between 1924 and 1989 led to the confrontation of a trench between peculiar pastoral society’s traditional dynamics and the highly centralised urban community’s idea.

### **1.3. Gorbachev’s Reform Policy**

Several historical and other significant changes took place in Mongolia in 1986. The most significant change was the initiative undertaken to build bridges with China and United States. Mongolian leadership, under the influence of Gorbachev’s reform policy also launched a five-year developmental plan (Heaton 1987: 75). Gorbachev’s new approach to Soviet foreign policy was aimed at ending its nuclear rivalry with the United State. Gorbachev started negotiation with his counterpart Ronald Regan,

which led to five summits between the years 1985 to 1988. It resulted in the signing of Intermediate-Range Nuclear Treaty in 1987 and major reductions of nuclear weapons. The productive initiative and talks between USSR and US developed dialogue and fresh thinking on both sides. Gorbachev decided to abandon Soviet control of the Communist nations of Eastern Europe which were there since Second World War. Almost one year later, the landmark speech at the UN by Gorbachev emphasised that all the nations should be free to choose their course without any outside interference (*Perestroika and Glasnost*, 2010), Mongolia has had relations with China, and Gorbachev's reform policy had boosted up the relationship. Mikhail Gorbachev entered into the office of the USSR's president in January 1986 and at the same time USSR's Foreign Minister visited Ulaanbaatar. After becoming President, he introduced his well - known programmes based on five - year scheme i.e. *Perestroika* and *Glasnost* inviting serious changes in economic as well as political life of the country. During the period, Mongolia also strived in developing relations with Eastern Europe and Asian region.

After seven decades of Communist rule, general elections were held in July 1990. The major social and economic changes were introduced in the final days of the Soviet rule that deprived the Mongolian leadership of any tangible ideological support. The MPRP took initiated a series of domestic changes, which led to the denunciation of the oppressions by the Khorloogiin Choibalsan, the 'Stalinist' leader who had been in power for the twenty-two years commencing in 1930. A commission appointed by the then Politburo established in 1989, analysed scrutinised and eventually cleared "at least 20,000 names" (Rossabi 2005). This prompted a national debate during which critics vehemently denounced the work of the commission. The need for a systemic change was felt long before the demise of the Soviet Union. To Mongolia, this became evident with the withdrawal of Soviet troops from its soil indicating that an era was coming to a closure and political and economic overhaul was the need of the hour in order to prepare Mongolia for the road ahead.

There were huge demonstrations and hunger strikes among young debating groups, mostly educated in Europe. By December 1989, it was indicated that Mongolia needs a novel political strategy. The act of restructuring from within had commenced in

1986 itself, and Mongolian perestroika came out in the open to ask for greater amendments within the current situations by rallying in 1989 and 1990. However, it is noteworthy that a total overhaul of the current regime was not demanded by even the more radical elements of the party. Actually, as was observed by Kaplonski, all the transformations were to occur within the framework of socialism and by the traditional policies. Along with the transition from communism, the democratic movement was also going on in Eastern Europe, viz. non-violent demonstrations in Mongolia. Catholic Churches played a positive role and worked as the connecting link between Civil Society and the Communist Party leading to a transformation to democratic rule rather peacefully (Huntington 1993). There were many interest groups or social forces such as the bourgeois people, as well as clerics and professionals who played a positive role in promoting democratic ethos and non-violence. This was from 1924, that the Mongolian government started taking decisions in the larger interest of the nation without consulting the USSR influence and had enough room for all peace-loving parties to contested elections to freely express their views to the people (Tray Mc Grath 1997: 47 cited in Basu 2011: 6).

Fritz (2008: 770) states that Mongolia's "the communist state was in a close alliance to the State of USSR and though it was an independent country, Mongolia was a 'satellite' of the ex - USSR". This was indicated by the strong presence of the Soviet military and civilians in Mongolia and also by its dependence on the then Superpower. It was well observed when the head of the State was changed from Tsedenbal to Batmunkh in the post-Brezhnev period. In March 1985, Gorbachev ascended to power in USSR, and he supported a program of the reformation of internal and external policy that proved to be essential for triggering liberalisation in Mongolia.

Mongolia was the pioneer in the Asian continent in adopting communism and the first country to do away with it. Mongolia's shift to democratic system and adoption of a liberal economy is considered to be rather successful if seen in the contrast of the former communist nations and those who were born of the disintegration of the Soviet Union. It has also established novel allies including "third neighbours". Nonetheless, prevalence of corruption, infrastructure deficit and the issues caused by the

transformation to liberal economy continued to hamper the process of development. The rise in social differences, fast urbanising process, lacking funds for educational sector are responsible for causing erosion to the social development done through the socialism. The thesis studies the transformation of Mongolia from a dictatorial single-party system to a liberal democracy. It relies on the history of Mongolia and political realities to analyse the transition of Mongolia from one political system to another. In the course of our research, we shall look at this transition in politics, economics, commerce, education, health, religion among others. Democratic transition in Mongolia was triggered by changes, both external and internal. Domestic clamour started after the commencement of liberalisation. Mongolia didn't have any permanent opponents or opposing voices against communist rule. It was noted by Worden, a noted scholar on Mongolia, in the middle of 1989 that "while there were some calls for more democracy among young intellectuals, it was difficult to assess how deep these feelings were, but observers doubted that they represented any immediate threat to the stability of the regime".

### **1.3.1. Impact of Soviet Reforms on Mongolia**

Mongolia became a democratic country and adopted the first democratic constitution in 1992 (Dictionary of world history: 443). The state provided voting rights to everyone above 18, regardless of race, religion or sex. However, traders, moneylenders, monks and former nobles were excluded from the right to vote. The first communist party which was called the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) was allowed to take part in the election. Moreover, the government simply held new elections if it disliked the result and also the election system was very indirect in nature.

Secretary General, Yamjaagiyn Tsedenbal ruled Mongolia for 32 years, and his rule ended on August 23, 1984, when he was in Moscow. The Mongolian Politburo removed him on the grounds of health. Seven months later, Mikhail Gorbachev took power in 1985 and started institutional changes suddenly. Some changes were internal. Gorbachev promoted *Glasnost* (openness) and *Perestroika* (restructuring) within his country and the next year Gorbachev deliver a talk in 1986 at Vladivostok,

indicating closeness to China, involving a warming of relations with United State, Europe and the nations in Asia. Now Mongolia had lesser importance as a buffer against Chinese attack the Soviet deployment in Mongolia was to decreased, and a total recall of troops was finalised in the March of 1989. Mongolia was not any longer geo-strategically important for the USSR, and it was also deprived of the foreign though given mostly in the form of credits.

Then Secretary General, Batmonh supported such developments and started a parallel regime of shinechel (renewal) in Mongolia. Believing that capitalism and modified form of socialism could coexist, and government engaged instituting economic and political changes. Soviet economy considered necessary reformation because of stagnation. Therefore, a “vague programme of reform” proposed by Gorbachev called for rapid technological modernisation, resulted in the rapid industrial development and increased the agricultural production as well, same time this act advocated internal and external policy reforms. The miracle for Mongolia started after liberalisation, Mongolia, kept itself apace with Gorbachev’s reform process, all the while pursuing its version of glasnost and perestroika (Gorbachev 1996; Europa yearbook 2008: 3116).

Simultaneously, Gorbachev stood strongly against the violent crackdown on anti-communist demonstrations in satellite nations. After 1986, Mongolia started to embrace reforms imitating the policies of the USSR. However, Batmunkh open criticism of the period of Tsedenbal and condemnation of Choibalsm at a program of the MPRP Central Committee was the true commencing act of political liberalisation. These statements provoked discussions and debates concerning history and cultural elements of the nation; and the killings by Stalin in 1930, which took the lives of over five percent of the country’s population during Mongolia’s transformation to a communist country, were also debated and discussed. These discussions resulted in the delegitimisation of the current regime. This constitutes one aspect of the reform policy which took place in Mongolia.

The second aspect of reform policy that was pronounced in the speech by Batmunkh resulted in the constitution of an opposition which was pro-democratic. Some

dissenting clubs of debates saw the light in 1989, which included a group named 'New Generation' with E. Bat-Uul and S Zorig as the chiefs and a 'Club of Young Economists,' with D Ganbold and M Enkhsaikhan as the leaders. These clubs had young members and leaders. Most of them had got education from foreign countries like Germany, USSR, etc. After their return to Mongolia, they had mostly worked at ministries or the National University. Importantly, the main fight for the political liberalisation happened from the December of 1989 to the March of 1990 (Fritz 2008: 771).

These all began when students started rallying for the independence of the Media from the clutches of the party and involved themselves in a large amount of discussions with regard to human rights and multi-party elections. Clandestine meetings were held by them to facilitate discussions on social and political transformations. In addition, a plethora of propagandas opposing the government were put in the lanes of Ulaanbaatar which encouraged people to come in the support of transformation in the political system and urged them to demand liberty and human-rights. Slogans like "Mongols mount up!" were raised, urging for change, symbolising the horse which depicts an armed Mongol. Moreover, many political organisations, unions and clubs were established by the youngsters and students, for example, the Orchlon Club, the Shine Ue Group, and the Zалуу Ediin Zasagchdin etc. These organisations were the precursors to the later political parties.

A convention was held by the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth Union for holding consultations regarding the politics and the societal challenges in February 1989. It led to the formation of a novel Youth Union for accelerating the process of reformation. On February 18, 1989 after the aforementioned convention, a group of ten intellectuals founded the Mongolian Democratic Union (MDU). It was an unregistered union since the government refused to register it and consisted of nine members and did not have any leader. S. Zoring, Da. Ganbold, Ts. Elbegdorj, B. Bat-Uul, D. Ninj, Nyamsuren, Ts. Enkhtuvshin and Tsogtsaikhan were mentioned as the founder members in a brochure published by the Union. These people led the movement for democracy. The foundation of MDU was the first main important milestone to the foundation in the evolution of Mongolia to a democratic country. After



the February of 1989, this Union organised a number of meetings and programs in the town of Ulaanbaatar attended by over 250 to 1000 people according to estimates.

The MDU began to hold demonstrations in front of MRPP's party congress and the Mongolian parliament's sessions from 11<sup>th</sup> of December to 14<sup>th</sup> of December, 1989. These demonstrations were comparatively small in the beginning, but reached up to several thousand in numbers by January 1990. In fact, the new civil society in Mongolia was in part a result of the demonstrations held on International Human Rights Day on the December 10, 1989.

Rossabi (2005: 2) said that he was shocked and surprised by the scenes that he had observed in Government House on the 10<sup>th</sup> of December, 1989. He recounted that "hundreds of people marched around with banners and signs calling for the elimination of bureaucratic oppression".

Public awareness was enhanced by the rallies, slogans and banners and a hunger for profound transformations overcame the people. Slogans like "Democracy is our goal", "Democracy in your hands" and "Solidarity for human right" were put on the placards (Bayantur 2008: 30). Nonetheless, these protests advocating democracy were held in a careful manner on International Human Rights Day so as to avoid probable act of retribution on the part of the government like what had taken place in Tiananmen Square massacre in China (Sodnomdarjaa 2003: 30). A plethora of demonstrators held placards with "End of Communist Experiment" scribed on them, denouncing the leaders of the communist party and regime (Sikes 1990: 34).

Approximately two thousand protesters took part in the demonstrations. They asked for free elections, multiparty system, religious freedom, freedom of the media, liberal economy among others. Going by the materials of the Democratic Party Archive, the slogans comprises the following demands:

- Freedom of the media
- A multi-party system
- Human-rights for the citizens

- A state based on the principles of laws

Heaton (1991) says that the government promised to bring about reforms in the beginning and the General Secretary of the MPRP, Jambyn Batmukh promised the holding of a dialogue with the Mongolian Democratic Union. Other leaders also held discussions on the need for developing a multi-party system and free elections to the Great People's Hural (GPH) which was the principal legislative body of Mongolia. It is to be noted here that in the last several decades of Mongolian history the rally of December 1989 was the most courageous development. According to Sikes (1990: 28), "the long repressed Mongolians hoped for a leader with vision and independence, someone who would represent their pride rather than their domination". The kind of leadership quality, people of Mongolia want found in Sanjaasurengin Zorig. Sikes (1990: 35) quotes a young lecturer working at National University of Mongolia regarding the general impression of the masses in these terms: "we have opened people's eyes for the first time in decades. The people do not react to our movement because they are forced to. They react because they feel compelled to".

Bayantur (2005: 20) explains that the "outcome of the demonstration empowered the MDU to submit a first citizens' petition of political demands to the communist leadership." Bayantur (2008 in Fritz 2008: 771) mentioned political demands put forth by MDU in his thesis which was the following:

A. Those amendments are made to the Constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic to:

- Stop one-party rule of the state
- Respect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
- Reorganise the great People's Hural into a permanent functioning parliament

B. That restructuring and reforms be implemented to renew the electoral system and hold elections in the half of 1990:

C. That the Socialist development of the Mongolian People's Republic is evaluated to:

- Set up a public commission to hold the trials of the people who wilfully obeyed the dictates of Kh. Choibalsan and Yu. Tsedenbal
- Rehabilitate hundreds of patriots, laymen and clergymen who had been repressed and provide compensation to their families. (Fritz 2008)

The MPRP undertook to carry out reforms to put on hold an impending domestic upheaval, and that is why they responded in a positive manner to the idea of the multiparty system and decided to implement them within five years. Nonetheless, the youth with democratic aspirations were reluctant to wait any longer, and they wanted to bring about an overhaul as soon as possible. The Democratic Socialist Movement and the New Progressive Movement, which were civil societies, founded the MDU. They batted for democracy and an independent media and fought to eradicate the Soviet influence. Sodnomdarjaa (2003: 211) observes, "All the activities of the MDU and other democratic forces increased the political awareness of Mongolians as never before". People openly discussed and gave their opinions on issues such as throwing away the Soviet influence and becoming self-dependent as this period was the propitious moment for the same. Sikes (1990: 35) asserted, "having dutifully followed every twist in the Soviet party line for decades; Mongolian were now ready to negotiate perhaps the most difficult turns so far: glasnost and perestroika".

Political parties, particularly the MDU started to solicit political support out of the capital city beginning with the biggest centre out of the Ulaanbaatar. This became the tour of Erdenet which was the home to the copper mine of Eredenet considered to be the country's only economic asset (Rossabi 2005). Moreover, this time-period was witness to the foundation of many proto-parties which included Movement for National Progress and Social Democratic Movement which heralded an early breakup in the ranks of the opposition. On the other hand, comparatively, very less could be known about the debates that took place in the MPRP and the processes it underwent. Obviously, it had two groups: 1. The hard-liners, the ones who were in favour of

using force and 2. Moderates, the ones who were willing to compromise with the opposition going by the claims of some observers, the chief members of the party had recognised the potential economic advantages of the shift to a liberal market economy and this, in turn, strengthened the moderate's voices. (Fritz 2008: 772).

The MDU made clear its willingness of transforming itself into a political party, and it started to ask the Council of Ministers and the MPRP Central Committee to tender their resignations and also demanded that the Great Khural be dissolved and elections to a new parliament be held. Concurrently, foreign journalists were allowed to come to the country which signalled that a pro-democracy effort is being supported by the current regime. At the beginning of March 1990, when the Politburo met, it witnessed an increasingly large demonstration. There were up to 20,000 demonstrators in Ulaanbaatar and even protesters from the MDU/MDP (Mongolian Democratic Party) held a hunger strike (Soni 2011: 263).

The General Secretary of the MRPP, Batmunkh made an announcement that the whole Politburo was resigning. Fritz (2008) explains that Batmunkh resigned from the post of General Secretary and also resigned from the post of the Chairman of the Parliament (the Great Khural). G. Orchibat replaced on the post of General Secretary and the unconnected P. Ochirbat became the Chairman of the Parliament. Moreover, the monopoly of MPRP was ended by bringing about a change in the Constitution which put a stop to the monopoly of the MRPP. Sanders (2011:11) argued that "the party will achieve a leading role through its work rather than through a constitutional position." The taking up of a new law related to Foreign Direct Investment took place, which aimed to get funds from non-COMECON.

A new turf war between the opposition and the interim government began to happen in the period from March 1990 to May 1990 (Rossabi 2008). At the beginning of the May of 1990, MPRP completely gave in and gave its agreement to the legalisation of the new parties and elections to parliament were decided to be held in July end. This provided over two and half months to the new parties to prepare themselves. The Parliament was to be elected first, and the head of the state was to be elected by the parliament. During this period, Gombosuren, the Foreign Minister, paid a visit to

Europe, eyeing more aid. (Sanders 1990: 242)

The reforms took place in quite a smooth way aided by several factors both external and internal. In the beginning, the reforms were triggered by external factors which included the downfall of the USSR and the consequent decrease of Soviet aid and its military assistance. Domestically, the opposition that it faced was a moderate and youthful one. External constraints helped to reinforce this moderate stand which included the Soviet Union signalling against any violent crackdown. At last, MPRP decided to fight against the democratic parties in free elections.

### **1.3.1.1. Gorbachev's Reform Policy Lunching Perestroika and Glasnost in Mongolian forms orchilian buigalal and Iltod**

Mongolia followed the former USSR Communism model of development, transforming Socialist regimes, which can broadly be characterised into two different models. Ginsburg (1995) quoted in one of his work following:

- I. The Chinese Model: The Chinese model is an example of the adoption of economic liberalisation sans political competition. Many other socialist countries of Asia have imitated and adopted this model that includes the Socialist Republic of Vietnam and Laos People's Democratic Republic.
- II. The Eastern European Model: This model is quite a political transformation that proceeds apace with economic reforms. (Ginsburg 1995:1)

The case of Mongolia is an interesting one since it combines various elements of both the models of socialist transformation. It had remained a Client State of the USSR for a period of 70 years and was even called the "sixteenth republic" of the USSR. Later than the radical alteration that had taken place in Eastern Europe, Mongolian regime started to introduce political pluralism, but it had controlled power since 1990 in spite of allowing political freedom and electoral competition. Some important economic reforms were introduced aimed at producing positive growth.

If we measure the dependence on external assistance as a percentage of the Gross Domestic Product (GDP), the economy of Mongolia was the most dependent one

among former countries of the Soviet bloc. When the disintegration of the Soviet bloc took place, and it cut off its aid to poorer socialist countries, Mongolia experienced the most serious peacetime economic collapse any nation faced during the 20<sup>th</sup> century. Yet, Mongolia's political reforms proved remarkably smooth compared to most of the former Soviet republics. There have been no violent attempts to overthrow the government, and although the opposition has been active and vocal, political conflict has by and large been resolved through negotiation and compromise. Political reforms in Mongolia since the establishment of multiparty democracy in 1990 brought an understanding as to how the MPRP was able to maintain its dominant position in a multiparty era. The MPRP's short-term resilience was based on a combination of tactical savvy and residual public support cultivated in the one-party era. Although in the mid-1990s this support was diminishing as economic problems deepened, the MPRP showed an ability to adapt to changing conditions.

#### **1.3.1.2. The One-Party Period**

Political developments that took place in Mongolia were on a parallel to those that took place in the USSR. A lot of purges and collectivisation took place in Mongolia from 1920 to 1930 which was responsible for breaking the power of the Buddhist lamaseries that had remained and the nobility that had existed from ancient times. According to the Dashpurev and Soni (1992: 44-45) by some estimates that are available, around 100,000 people, that means over 15 percent of the Mongolian population were killed during that time when the bet was introduced. Mongolia's dictators were begun to be known the junior counterparts of the Soviet rulers: the cruel Horolyn Choibalsan (1928-52) who eliminated his rivals to power and became "Mongolia's Stalin," and his successor, Yumjaagiin Tsedenbal (1952: 84) who became "Mongolia's Brezhnev" for his stultifying effect on the country.

Denizer and Gelb (1994: 68) describes that after the breakup between China and USSR, the Soviet Union got involved more actively to strengthen Mongolia as a "buffer state" and deployed its troops all over the territory of Mongolia. The enmity with China that had continued since ancient times was aggravated and the country decided to expel the Chinese residents in 1980. The Mongolian economy's integration

into that of the Soviet Union increased and over ninety - five percent of the trade of Mongolia happened with the USSR by 1980s, and the remaining trade took place with its allied partners of the Council on Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA). MPRP replaced Tsendenbal with Jambyn Batmonh, who was a young leader with Moscow's approval. Behind the scenes, however, two groups struggled for power within the party (Dashpurev and Soni 1992: 79). The deterioration of economy led to calls for reforms and it initiated a "renewal" program which paralleled the policies of Gorbachev of glasnost and perestroika. The objective of Mongolia initially was the revitalisation of the socialist economy without replacing it. Governmental authority throughout the communist period resided theoretically in the Great People's Hural which was headed by the Presidium that included seven members and in the Council of Ministers.

In fact, the monopolisation of power was undertaken by MPRP to an extreme level, to such an extent that there was no tolerance for those who dissented. "MPRP established a system of control over the media, the economy and all aspects of public life" (Batbayar 2003:1). The country which was divided into 18 provinces reflecting traditional administrative divisions and was later subdivided into counties, each with its own communist party cell. Hyer (1987: 750) further describes the political system of the MPRP at the time is often named as "totalitarian in intent, but less so in fact and effectiveness". Dashpurev and Soni (1992) explain that the comparatively loose system of control was obvious from the lifestyles of the scattered nomadic people. The collectivisation of herding had taken place in the decade of 1950, but the nomadic way of living of the herdsman continued, and each family was an individual unit that resided in its traditional pasture. In fact, there was no threat of any uprising or any organisation against the communist regime, and this was the reason why the regime had little need for repression in this areas. The same was not true for the urban regions.

Basu (2013) illustrates that one of the poorest nations in the Communist bloc, Mongolia received significant external assistance. The economy was heavily subsidised by the Soviet Union and its trading regime, the CMEA. Subsidies included blanket grants to cover the chronic budget deficit and were applied to trade

arrangements and infrastructure construction projects. Ginsburg (1995:462) describes that massive inflows of aid and goods meant that the average herdsman enjoyed a far better standard of living than he would have had without them. Public health programmes and education were extended even to remote herding families, and luxury items from Eastern Europe were available at low prices. Improved living standards contributed to the legitimacy of the MPRP, which became a relatively modern communist party, especially in the countryside. Batbayar (2003: 45) tells that the party claimed relationship with the country's national hero, Sukhbaatar, who led the revolution of 1921 and is universally regarded as a liberator of them free from Chinese rule. These claims were strengthened through the state-controlled media and the educational system, which suppressed alternative views. All of the above factors were crucial in endowing the party with legitimacy and underpinned the MPRP's survival into a democratic era (Ginsburg 1995:462).

### **1.3.2. The Transition Period**

As mentioned previously following “the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, a reformist group called the Mongolian Democratic Union was formed in Ulaanbaatar in December 1989.” Soon after, it began to call for the regime to stand down and launched demonstrations on the main square of Ulaanbaatar as well as resorted to hunger strikes. The MPRP, on its part, was divided over how to respond. At the 19<sup>th</sup> Party Congress in March 1990, it debated whether to respond with force, as its Chinese counterpart had done in Tiananmen Square in June 1989 or to launch reforms as in the Eastern European countries. Ginsburg (1995:463) explains that the reform group within the party won the debate and Batmonh resigned along with the entire MPRP Central Committee members. Batmonh was replaced as Chairman of the Great Hural and Head-of-State by the 48-year-old minister of foreign economic relations and supply, Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat. A new, younger Central Committee was appointed and a new Secretary-General of the MPRP was named. Two months later, the Parliament announced that it would amend the Constitution to delete the reference to the MPRP's “leading role” in society and to legalise opposition parties. It would also create new political institutions viz. a bicameral legislature and the new posts of president and vice-president. The first multiparty parliamentary elections in



Mongolia's history were announced to take place in July 1990.

Thus, the spring of 1990 marked a turning point for the MPRP. Unlike its counterparts in Eastern Europe, further Ginsburg describes (1995) the “party did not dissolve or hand over power to the protestors; rather, it made a generational change in its leadership and seeking to maintain power, it called snap elections to give the opposition minimal time to organise” (The opposition’s demonstrations were catalytic but the reforms that followed also stemmed from the calls for greater openness within the party that had been building since 1988). Despite the magnitude of the political change, it remained unclear just how widespread were the domestic pressures for reform. The first opposition parties were marginally composed by the urban intelligentsia, who had been educated in Eastern Europe and had followed closely the dramatic events there in the fall of 1989. Much of the leadership of the Social Democratic Party, for example, was composed of members of the University’s Physics and Mathematics departments that included Batbayar, Gonchigdorj, Lamjav and Ulaankhuu. The National Progress Party leadership, on the other hand, was made up of young economists (Ginsburg 1995: 463). Only the Democratic Party, the largest of the opposition groups, could boast broader membership but that support was still heavily concentrated in Ulaanbaatar. In fact, the opposition parties lacked a significant base among the herds of people in the countryside (Ginsburg 1995:463 in for more study on how herdsmen were affected by the political changes, see Goldstein and Beale 1994).

In 1990, a new bicameral legislature was elected comprising the Great Hural and the Small Hural. Ginsburg (1995) describes that the Great Hural was a national assembly elected by districts, as in the nominal elections of the communist period. It was responsible for deciding major affairs of State, appointing the Prime Minister and the Cabinet and amending the Constitution. The Small Hural was a standing parliament, elected by proportional representation and was responsible for passing ordinary legislation in between the Great Hural sessions. Over 95 percent of the eligible voters turned out, and opposition parties won 40 percent of the seats in the Small Hural. But the Great Hural, the body with the formal power to constitute the government, was more conservative with an overwhelmingly rural MPRP membership. This reflected

the party's established network in the countryside and its significant financial and organisational advantages over the opposition parties that had been legalised only a few months ago. Local communist leaders in the countryside had much more recognition than opposition figures who were themselves divided into several parties. The MPRP's tactic of calling snap elections to defuse the pressure for reform appeared to have been successful (Ginsburg 1995: 464).

Heaton (1991) explains although the Great Hural was dominated by the MPRP, the party agreed to form a coalition government with the opposition parties, and four cabinet posts were assigned to them. Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat, the leader who had presided over the election, was named President and Head-of-State. D. Byambasuren was elected Prime Minister, with National Progress Party leader D. Ganbold as first Deputy Prime Minister in charge of economic affairs. Vice-President (ex officio) and chairman of the Small Hural was R. Gonchigdorj, leader of the Social Democratic Party. K. Zardykhan, a Kazakh who had led calls for reform from within the MPRP, was named Deputy Chairman of the Small Hural. The parliament also appointed a 20-member multiparty constitutional drafting commission, chaired by President Ochirbat with former Minister of Justice-Biryaagiyn Chimid serving as Secretary (Heaton 1991; Sanders 1992: 511).

At this juncture the possible explanations for the Party's move to bring in the opposition need to be highlighted; one is that the younger intellectuals within the party, who had risen to positions of leadership following the resignation of the Central Committee and the generational change in the MPRP, had more in common with the intelligentsia of the opposition than with the conservatives of the rural leadership. Another is that most of the country's economic expertise was concentrated in the ranks of the opposition. Few MPRP leaders knew about market economics, so the pragmatists within the Party may have invited the opposition into government out of genuine concern for the economic reform process. A third possible explanation, preferred by many opposition leaders is that the MPRP sought to neutralise and even discredit the opposition by forming a coalition government with these parties. By giving key economic posts to opposition MPs, the MPRP thought to blame them in the event of economic collapse. The economy was clearly due for a major shock with

the inevitable end of Soviet support, so this explanation of MPRP tactics is a plausible one. At the very least, the coalition strategy was effective at diffusing opposition to the MPRP.

The Small Hural and the new coalition government immediately plunged into the task of reforming the economic and political structures of the country. The number of ministries was reduced and the government administration reorganised. Prices were doubled, subsidies eliminated and private ownership of herds legalised. An extensive and radical privatisation programme was formulated and legislation to establish a market economy was passed. Political reforms were broad-ranging. A commission was set up to examine the purges of the 1930s and to rehabilitate victims of political trials during that period. The secret police were disbanded and controls over media removed. There was a renaissance of interest in traditional Mongolian culture, repressed under the Soviet influence during the one-party period. Chingis Khan, criticised by the Soviets as feudal, was reinstated as a national hero and the government revived the Mongolian script. The MPRP distanced itself from the events of the past, blaming the personal excesses of Choibalsan and Tsedenbal, rather than the party itself for the past events. (Ginsburg 1995:465)

Meanwhile, the economy came under severe pressure when the CMEA trade regime collapsed on January 1<sup>st</sup>, 1991. There were fuel shortages and despite the fact that livestock outnumbered the population by more than twelve to one, meat was unavailable in the cities. Within the Small Hural, there was a good deal of cooperation across party lines during this period. Young reform-minded MPRP members often found themselves in agreement with their opposition party colleagues on substantive issues. The primary cleavage was over the pace of reforms, with the opposition demanding rapid liberalisation and the MPRP advocating a slower pace (Ginsburg 1995:465). Most of the MPRP leaders in the government, however, were in regular contact with international donor agencies and financial institutions and understood the severity of the economic crisis. In policy terms, there was little disagreement between the government and the opposition over what steps to take.

### **1.3.3. Domestic Situation in the Post-1990 Election**

The first coalition government initiated its full-fledged programme of economic and political transformation guided by its reform strategy. Privatisation was one of the core reforms which facilitated the speedy economic transition. The Privatisation Law (May 1991) allowed people to participate in the process of privatisation through a voucher system. (Heaton 1992: 50)

It is worthwhile to mention that the privatisation programme has played a pivotal role in Mongolia's reform agenda and the transition to a market economy. In October 1991 the privatisation programme was started, and it adopted voucher system similar to that used in some of other transitional economies (Czechoslovakia, Poland and Romania). The low level of domestic financial savings, the lack of a well-developed capital market and the absence of adequate means of valuing state enterprises' assets were main driving forces to take the decision to use the voucher system (Khongorzul 2011).

The prices under control were reformed twice: first, in September 1991 and for the second time in March 1992. Many sectors like public utilities, transportation, housing rents, selected medicines, flour, bread and rationed vodka remained to be subject to price control mechanism. Livestock business also witnessed speedy privatisation 80 percent of the entire business was privatised between 1991 and 1993. After privatisation, the livestock sector saw a boom and a total number of herds increased from 26 million in 1990 to 33 million in 1997 (Yaskina 2002:42-61).

During these years the government approved a new law on State and Local Property and established State Property Committee which helped to achieve privatisation in the housing sector. Residential units and apartments were privatised, and power of attorney was transferred to current residents free of charge. Consequently, ninety percent of residential units were privatised by 2001 (Hasegawa, Kawagishi, Gonchigbat and Nakanishi 2004: 134).

The MPRP and new parties were on the edge of splintering and reorganising, by the summer of 1991. Many economists acknowledged the unprecedented economic crisis. Following which many other states of the former Soviet Union also witnessed

political-economic crisis. Lake (2000: 15),<sup>1</sup> says in a conference “Until January 1, 1991, Mongolia had been a part of the Soviet Union like its other constituent republics. Ninety percent of Mongolian trade was with the Soviet Union, and 25 percent of its GNP was dependent on Soviet aid. With the end of its relationship with Russia, Mongolia became an economic orphan.” In the 1990s, the period of transition, severing of economic ties played a significant role. Mongolia imported approximately US \$250 million worth of goods in the first ten months of 1990 witnessing 65 percent drop and imports from the Soviet Union declined by 73 percent.

Soviet Union imports were not sufficient for Mongolia because it was unable to bear the cost of that import and this was the biggest hurdle and challenge for Mongolian economy. Virtually, in every case, there was no Mongolian production because of most of the industry were more or less totally based on USSR technical and financial assistance. Furthermore Lake (2000:15) describes in his speech, there was no market hence the imports is no longer available. Imports from the Soviet Union included the whole things, required to sustain everyday life. From toothbrushes and window glass to gasoline and computers every item was imported. The Mongolian economy and to a rising extent, Mongolian society was not able to cope with the changed scenario. The indefatigable optimism of the Mongolian national character was vital to survival. But the optimism, which was essential to survival also made Mongolia turn a blind eye to the many rapid deteriorations in the Soviet economy and their bilateral socio-economic relation with Moscow. They failed to understand the fundamental nature of the economic problems which Mongolia was facing (Lake, First Resident U.S. Ambassador to Mongolia 2000:15).

There to restore the past, was a resurgent endeavour to reserve some economic changes. The new challenge of socio-economic transition “brought the opposition parties together to agree on the direction of economic reform, and they emphasised the importance of privatisation”. However, there were difference and disagreement in opinion about the process of transition. It was the firm determination of the

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<sup>1</sup> Hon. Joseph E. Lake (First Resident U.S. Ambassador to Mongolia), speaks on “Perspectives on Early Political Change” at The Asia Foundation Conference on Mongolia’s Political and Economic Transition: Challenges and Opportunities, Dynamics of Political and Legal Reform in the 1990s, part I on September 11 - 13, 2000, Government House.

Mongolian people and Government to continue with reforms that allowed the process of transition and economy did not collapse in the summer of 1991.

Lake (2000) added, however, the fragility of the political party building process and the democratic process became palpable as the fall began. Several factions appeared within the MPRP and opposition parties also witnessed splits. New parties came into the picture during the autumn and winter of 1991. Some were a result of behaviour splits; others focused on frustrations and ideological differences with the economic crisis. There appeared to be little association between the political parties and the issues involved in drafting a new constitution. In fact, it seemed there was a significant community of agreement among the parties on the way in which they wanted to move. Though, the important struggle was a psychological one, accepting that Mongolia had to leave its past behind if it wanted to modify. Interestingly, the desire to change the country's name from the Mongolian People's Republic to the Republic of Mongolia and its approval by constitutional debate seemed to be the psychological focus of the struggle.

With that Lake (2000) a behind them, "the major legal battle was focused on the question of a parliamentary versus a presidential system, rather than on the nature of the reform process. By the time of the election in 1992, there were at least thirteen parties in the battle, rather than the six, which had contested in the 1990 election." Meanwhile, foreign donors also became frustrated with the Mongolian Government. There was a strong feeling in the people that the government to replace the massive Soviet assistance programme of the past decades rather than to efficiently handling its difficulties and overcoming the deadlock was dependent on the West.

The State Great Hural elections of June 28, 1992, reflected an incredibly diverse mood from that of 1990. Increasingly, the nation began to understand a differentiation between the objectives of reform and the government's reform policies. As Lake (2000) quoted in his speech, "275 candidates from 13 parties, running as 10 coalitions and parties and 18 independent candidates competed for 76 seats in the State of Great Hural. A large number of parties were a testimony to the struggle to establish the democratic framework for the political process in Mongolia. The results were a boon

to the MPRP and a shock to the opposition. The MPRP received only 57 percent (56.9) of the votes, down from 62 percent (61.74) of the votes cast in 1990. However, the three major opposition parties which had won 35 percent (35.8) of the votes in 1990 won only 27 percent (27.6) of the votes in 1992. The remaining votes (3 percent) were split among the independents and the numerous opposition parties. As a result, the MPRP won 70 out of the 76 seats.” Observers found that the main opposition parties had failed to organise themselves as parties and had paid the price. One of the positive ramifications was the opposition’s loss was an effort to unify the parties. Finally, in 1994 a coalition which won the 1996 election emerged.

Lake (2000) concluded his speech with saying “Meanwhile, a political battle took place inside the MPRP as the victor struggled to control its direction and select its candidate for the new Prime Minister. A struggle eventually led to the nomination of Tudev as the MPRP candidate in the 1993 presidential election. The backdrop of these changes was the continuing downward spiral in the Mongolian economy. As reforms continued, life got worse for the average Mongolian. Some leaders moved to mobilise popular discontent outside the political party structure in the winter of 1992-1993. Mongolia’s efforts to build a political party structure and civil society with a firm foundation built on democratic principles had not yet succeeded.” The presidential election held on June 6<sup>th</sup>, 1993 was a key milestone in reforms in Mongolia. First, President Ochirbat was not nominated by the MPRP, but the major opposition parties came together and nominated him as their candidate. President Ochirbat became a symbol for reform both inside and outside the MPRP, while Tudev was identified as the standard barrier for the conservative anti-reformers. In the end, Ochirbat won 58 percent (57.8) of the popular vote and Tudev only 38.7 percent. The pressures that helped bring about the opposition unity and ultimately the victory for President Ochirbat in 1993, also helped lay the foundation for their victory in the June 30, 1996, parliamentary elections (Ginsburg 1995:467).

However, to understand this period of transition, it is useful to recall the fundamental principle of the victorious 1992 Bill Clinton campaign in the United States: “it’s the economy, stupid”. The economic challenges faced by Mongolia were the main hurdle for the efforts to develop a democratic set-up in Mongolia in the 1990s. During the

nineties, neither the MPRP nor the opposition parties were mature enough to understand the socio-political changes that Mongolia was witnessing. The democratic ethos and ideas which are fashionable in the Western world had no precursors in Mongolia. Decades of education in Marxist ideology did not prepare new leaders who could facilitate the smooth economic transition.

#### **1.3.4. Constitutional Reform**

Mongolia was fully controlled by the Soviet Union from 1924 to 1989, hence Mongolian socio-political structure fully endured of Soviet Union. During that period, “Mongolia followed the Soviet model of politics and economics and closely conformed to Moscow’s foreign policy. Once the Soviet monolith began cracking and collapsing, the MPRP could no longer maintain its hegemony.”

Mongolia had no written Constitution before 1924. During the period of autonomy after the December 1<sup>st</sup>, 1911, proclamation of independence from Manchu rule, “Qing law remained the guide for administration. A professional bureaucracy and various ministries were established”. The post of Prime Minister was not created until October 1912. Two houses of a parliamentary type were formed in 1914, although their role was deliberative and they were convened and dissolved by the Bogd Khaan (Sanders 1992 in Odonkhuu 2014:21). The upper house, including high-ranking secular and ecclesiastical lords and departmental ministers, was chaired by the prime minister, while the lower house consisted of less important nobles, lower-ranking officials and army officers (Sanders 1992: 507).<sup>2</sup>

Mongolian revolutionaries in March 1921 held the first Congress of the Mongolian People’s Party (MPP) in Kyakhta on Soviet territory and adopted a party programme defining ‘anti-feudal goals’. After the victory of the revolution and the installation of the people’s government with Soviet Russian assistance in July 1921, a provisional Hural (people’s assembly) was set up as an advisory body (Butler 1982:174). The Bogd Khaan remained head of State, although his powers were limited by the Oath-

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<sup>2</sup> B. Shirendev, ed., *History of the Mongolian People's Republic* (Moscow: Nauka, 1973). The two houses were the Ulsyn Hurlyn deed dood tanhim (upper and lower houses) or Olnoogiyn ulsyn deed dood hoyor hural (upper and lower hurals) quoted in Sanders 1992: 507.



Taking Treaty or Solemn Compact of 1921, which might be regarded as confirming a constitutional division of power. Following Bogd Khaan's death in May 1924, it was decided to establish a republican regime without a President (Sanders 1987).

Three months later, the first Great Hural met to proclaim the first constitution, an independent People's Republic in which all power belongs to the people and whose main task was to strengthen the new Republican order. The first constitution comprised six chapters, opening with the Declaration of Rights of the People of Mongolia. Chapter 2 outlined the functions of the Great Hural, the Little Hural elected by the former, the Presidium and the government. Local self-government in Chapter 3 provided for rural Hurals, modelled on the peasant Soviets set up in Soviet Central Asia. The right to vote and be elected was accorded by Chapter 4 to citizens over 18 years of age living by their labour, but it disenfranchised secular and ecclesiastical feudalists and lamas permanently resident in monasteries. Chapter 5 explained the national budget; while Chapter 6 described the State seal, arms and flag. This constitution represented a commitment to social transformation in the direction of socialism while bypassing capitalism (Sanders 1992).

In 1940, the Eighth Great Hural was convened to adopt Mongolia's second constitution, which was modelled on the Soviet Constitution of 1936. The second constitution distinct the MPR as a sovereign state of working people, workers, intelligentsia and herdsmen, which guarantees the country's non-capitalist road of development for the future transition to socialism (Brown and Onon 1976:367 in Sanders 1998:138). Article 95, highlighting the monolithic nature of the one-party State, described the MPRP as the vanguard of the working people and the core of all their organisations (Friters 1949). Amendments to the 1940 constitution introduced by the Ninth Great Hural in 1949 included direct elections, a secret ballot and universal suffrage following the restoration of political rights. These changes came into force for the 1951 elections, after which the meetings of the Great Hural were refigured. The Little Hural was abolished (Zlatkin 1952 in Sanders 1998:139).

Mongolia's third constitution was adopted in July 1960 by the first session of the Great Hural (fourth convocation). In 1940, Mongolia had been predominantly a

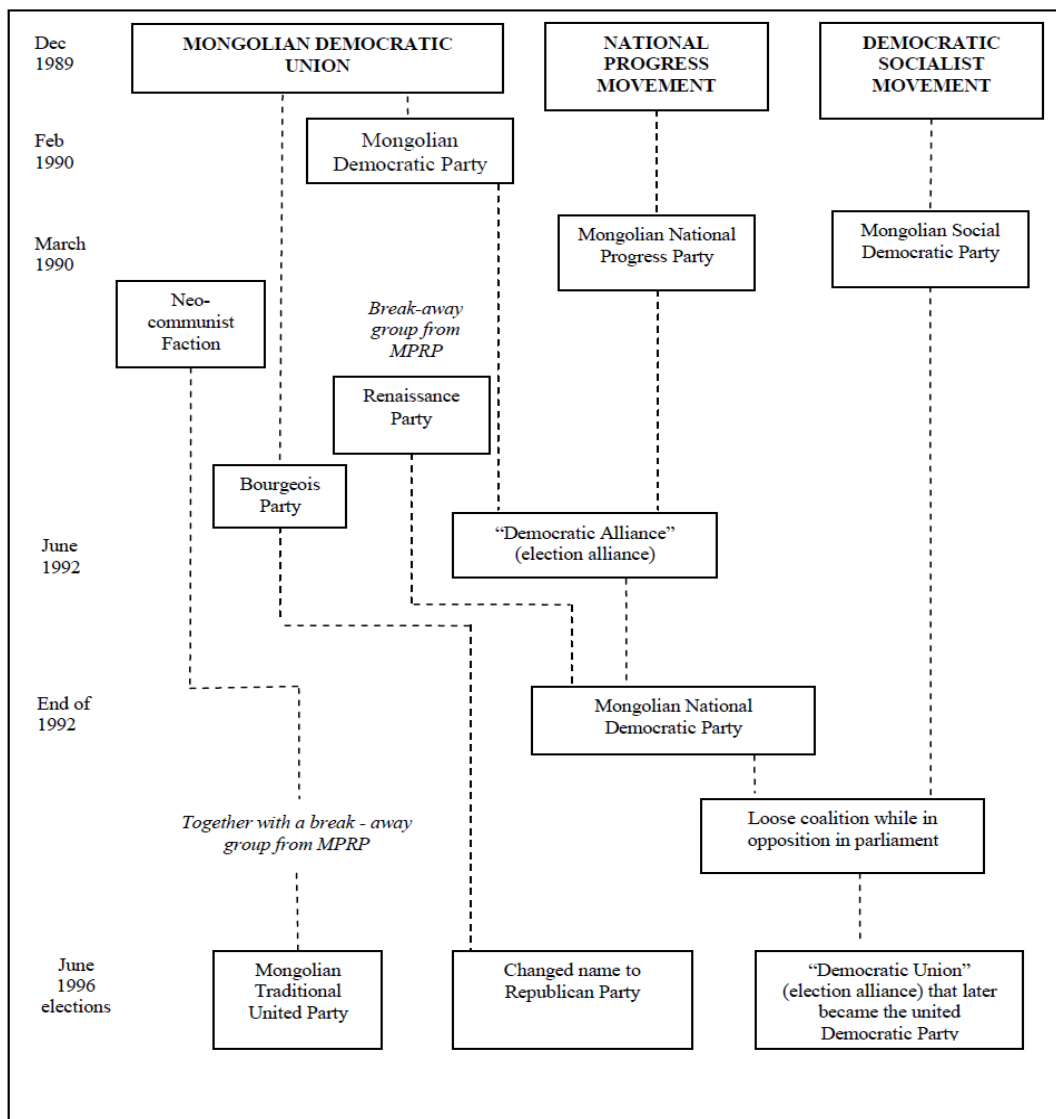
livestock-raising country, but by 1960 it had developed a mixed agrarian-industrial economy and acquired a working class. It had collectivised herding and developed mining and light industry (Sanders 1998:139). According to the preamble of the third constitution, Mongolia embarked on the path of building a communist society. The directing force of society and guiding and of the state was the MPRP, which was guided in its activities by the all-conquering theory of Marxism-Leninism. The Great Hural was renamed the People's Great Hural in the third constitution (Sanders 1998: 139).

Amendments to the 1960 constitution subsequently extended the term of the People's Great Hural from three to four and then five years and eventually fixed the number of deputies at 370. The important amendments of March 1990, introduced under pressure for democratic reforms, abolished the reference to the MPRP as the "guiding and directing force of society and of the State". Further amendments in May 1990 created the posts of President and Vice-President and restored the Little Hural, or standing legislature, with 50 members after the July 1990 elections. The Law on political parties legalised membership in any political party and formalised registration procedures (Sanders 1998: 143). In May 1990 the People of Great Khural (PGK) started series of constitutional amendments. Sanders (1998: 143) explains that major change was omitting of the "guiding role" of MPRP from Mongolia and the amendment taken to legalise new emerging political parties, thereby providing multiparty elections and also setting up a second legislative body (a 50 member State Little Khural) and establishing a presidency with the president being elected by the PGK. Within two months, several new political parties such as Mongolian Democratic Party (MDP), Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP) and Mongolian Green Party had registered for the election to a new 430 seat PGK (Hanson 2004:42; Sanders 1998: 144). Meanwhile, the Communist Party, now known as the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), recognised the need for reform of the political structure, foreign policy and economy (Hanson 2004:42). The initial changes were debated by a committee of the Government and other experts to formulate a new constitution. This was necessary because Mongolia had switched from communism to the capitalist mode of the political system. Hence a debate started

in State Great Hural, which began drafting a new constitution. Finally the committee on January 13, 1992, signed a new Constitution.

In this way, Mongolia has emerged as an independent democratic country through a number of waves that have transformed its very existence and nature. It has evolved from a Communist State to a democratic one to play a crucial role in domestic and regional affairs.

**Figure: 1 Evolution of democratic political parties and movements (1990-1996)**



Source: Sumati and Prohl (2007), in Chuluunbat, Narantuya (2013), *Why was Mongolia Successful? Political and Economic Transition in 1990-1996*, PhD submitted to University of Maryland, p. 218.

#### **1.4. Review of Literature**

Mongolia is one of the most interesting countries. During 1990s Mongolia, underwent democratic reforms as well as saw transition in its economy to a market economy from central planning. The massive external shocks in 1989 and 1990 led to the sudden and largest ever peacetime decline in the country's gross national expenditure (Pomfret 2000: 149). Mongolia embraced democracy and underwent rapid economic reforms after adopting new constitution in 1992. By late 2012, it started practising an absolute free trade policy and became one of the most flourished democracies of Asia.

##### ***Democracy in Mongolia: A Theoretical Perspective***

Democratisation process and its impact have been debated for a long time in the academic world. Huntington (1991), Christian Welzel (2005), Fish (2001), Fritz (2002), Finch (2002) and Shin (2008) deliberated on the democratisation process in Eastern and Central Europe and the Countries of East Asia.

The process of democratisation took place in three stages in Eastern and Central Europe (Huntington 1991). The first phase of democratisation was characterised by economic development, urbanisation, industrialisation, a rise of the middle class and the success of Western allies in World War I (example USA and Western Europe) and dismasting of the empire. The second phase of democratisation was mainly caused by World War II, democracy was enforced by the Western allies and the result was the formation of United Nations resolution on decolonisation process both political and military factors (example Africa and Asia). The third phase of democratisation was characterised by the regime change in some parts of Asia mainly Central and Eastern Europe and Latin America, the transition of a political system from being nondemocratic to democratic by the late 1980s, transferring of power and influence to Vatican, the Soviet Union and U.S., European Community, and promoting liberalisation. Democratisation in Mongolia happened actually due to regime change in USSR in 1985 and with the withdrawal of economic assistance.

Huntington focuses on the third wave of democratisation. The fall of Soviet Union which resulted in the dramatic shift in policy, was more when compared to the shift in

the policy in the case of U.S. “Gorbachev revoked the Brezhnev doctrine and conveyed to the Eastern European governments that Soviet government would not maintain their existing communist dictatorship, thereby, opening the way for ouster of Communist leaders, holding elections, opening the frontiers of Western Europe and market-oriented reforms” (Huntington), encouraging the democratisation process in Mongolia, and the emergence of economic, social and external conditions favourable for democracy. Huntington gives a solid theoretical framework for understanding this democratic transition.

The concept of democratisation in the case of Mongolia is based on the fact that democracy in Mongolia resulted primarily from the regime change and the demise of USSR, and the shift in policy towards democratisation mainly in Central and Eastern Europe. According to Huntington (1991) democratic transition in the region is its contours modes and sources from a comparative viewpoint. According to Shin (2008), “Third wave democracies have been consolidated by appraising the quality of their performances. Mongolia became a third-wave democracy in the third wave of democratisation in East Asia in 1990 by abandoning its sixty-year old communist one-party system and holding competitive multiparty elections. Democratisation in East Asia had been gradually resulting in regime change. Democratic transition by exchanging the authoritarian regime for a democratic one is the first step in transforming the authoritarian government into full democracies. In East Asian countries, the third wave democracies with their modes of transition and their combined freedom house ratings of political and civil rights are at the cusp of transition. In the case of Mongolia, the democratic transition began as the Soviet Union started to fragment. In early 1989, civic groups mostly led by members of the middle class began to demand democratic reforms and formed opposition parties such as the Mongolian Democratic Union. In response, soft liners of the MPRP, the former communist party, entered into protracted negotiations with the opposition forces to pass democratic reforms and to draft a new democratic constitution. East Asian democratisation has an economic basis. Economically, East Asia is vastly different from the rest of the democratised world. Mongolia and Philippines experienced rapid and sustained economic growth for decades and freed millions of people from poverty

and illiteracy. This pattern shows the rise of economic prosperity and expansion of social modernisation giving momentum to the process of democratisation.”

The fall of Soviet kind regimes in most of the countries of post-communist Inner Asia was the cause of democratisation in Central and Eastern Europe (Fish 2001). Post-communist Mongolia’s natural resources and the presence of powerful external factors also affected the democratisation of Mongolian polity. Further Fish (2001) explains that the democratisation has been stronger in countries with constitutions that scatter central power. Semi-presidential and moderate presidential regimes both provide for a genuine division of authority between the president and the legislature providing reasonably sturdy foundations for democratisation (Fish 2001: 331). Moderate and Semi-presidential regimes offer both a real division of power between the president and the legislature provide the reasonably robust foundation for democratisation. Regional power pretensions and concentration of central power in the region was the cause of democratic reform in Mongolia. Interestingly, the experience of Mongolia challenges the widespread notion that executive-heavy systems and highly concentrated state power result of the weakness of the state at the time of regime change (Fish 2001: 334).

With the collapse of communist regime in Mongolia in 1990, the western way of democratisation of Mongolian polity caused their aid and their push for the rapid development of a market economy (Rossabi 2005). Shock therapy, in which government subsidies and market control were withdrawn in favour of immediate privatisation of assets, was seen as the best method of reform (Han 2006). The third wave democratisation in East Asian countries was characterised by the actual expansion of globalisation in border; significant progress towards democracy by holding free and competitive election; expansion of political freedom and the regime changes in East Asian Countries-especially Mongolia where it led to the end of authoritarian MPRP in 1992; opening constitutional reforms, political rights and civil liberty developed by the Freedom House; and the start of rapid economic reforms.

History of democratic transition in the region contours, forms and sources should be seen from a comparative perspective (Shin 2008). A Distinctive characteristic of the

party systems in the third wave democracies are compared by Scott Mainwaring (1998) on the basis of conventional criteria of the party system, number of parties and the degree of ideological polarisation. He compares the dimension of party system of the third-wave democracies often with those of the Western Europe and the dimension of institutionalisation that is a contrast between West European system and those in most long-established democracies. Scott (1998) discusses the role of the institution in democratic transition and holds that not all third-wave democracies have weakly institutionalised party system. He also discusses the ensemble of procedures and organisations, expectations, attitudes, value and behaviour of political elite and masses. According to him, party-system institutionalisation means that actors entertain clarity and stability, i.e., institutionalisation of democracies enjoys considerable stability and that parties have strong roots in society.

Democratisation of post-communist countries mainly in Eastern and Central Europe has been a part of the third wave of democracy (Janar 2012). After years of totalitarian political regime with one party rule, at last, Mongolia was not left behind in the third wave of democratisation. Mongolia's position to support democracy is still not being lost either at the level of politics or at the level of citizen and community. In 1991, Mongolia started to form new structure and institution, likewise, establishing new constitution. Mongolian people played a significant role in the formation of the structure of government and institution and the public pattern of public confidence with State, non-State and other public institutions the peculiarities as seen through the lens of separation of power.

Market Oriented Reform (Huntington 1991) like liberalisation and industrialisation took place in the West and East Asian region mainly Eastern Europe as the other major cause of democratisation process in Mongolia, the Soviet Government did not keep their existing communist. The market - oriented economic reform in Western Europe and US resulted in the emergence of economic, social and external conditions favourable to democracy that gave a solid theoretical framework for understanding this democratic transition in Mongolia (Huntington 1991). Industrialisation promotes democracy like America and the introduction of democracy in the non-democratic regime. Democratisation is viable to the extent it advances in response to pressure

from within a society. Wezel (2001) explains that some approaches to understanding democratisation focuses on societal condition; democratisation is not a condition that guides itself without an agent. Instead, it is the result of collectively planned actions involving strategies of power elites, activist's campaigns of social movements and mass participation.

The significance of elections and political development (Finch 2002) in Mongolian democratisation cannot be denied, and parliamentary election played a significant role in it. Mongolia 2001 parliamentary elections consolidated his political power and showed its determination to maintain market economic reforms on track. Fritz (2008) opines "Democratisation in Mongolia was due to the combination of three key factors. First of all, Mongolia's dependency on aid and external support had a broad range of consequences; Mongolian political elites sought a new external power to ensure continued statehood vis-à-vis two powerful neighbours (3<sup>rd</sup> neighbour policy). Diplomatic relations with the US, which had been negotiated for some time, was established in early 1987. The second key factor was the constellation of Mongolia's political elites and politically aggressive circles. In a wider sense, this called for liberalisation and democratisation from these emerging opposition groups which were moderate and there was comparatively little to fear for communist elites. The third factor was that Mongolia was an established state and its national symbol- the great Mongolian empire and Chinggis Khan-were readily available once Soviet pressure against 'Mongolian nationalism' eased notably. In 1986, Mongolia began to experiment with imitations of soviet reforms." It formed new groups of pro-democratic opposition called 'New generation' group, demanded political liberalisation and started their struggle with huge demonstration in the capital of Mongolia in 1989, raising the demand of opposition group (Mongolian Democratic Union-MDU), starting discussion for political reforms in Mongolia and the end of one-party rule and restructuring of the Mongolian polity.

Christian Welzel (2008) opines that democracy can be introduced and promoted in non-democratic regime by two forces, viz., resources and industrialisation

### ***Democratic Development***



Democratic development in Mongolia started in 1990 when it held its first free election in which MPRP's leading role deleted and a presidential system and additional and more representative legislative house was created. Mongolian government set to begin drafting a new national constitution (Heaton 1992). In 1991, the debate started for making a new constitution to replace the 1960's constitution. After one and a half-year of debate, the new constitution came out (1992) with strong presidential and single parliament (unicameral-Great Khural) elected by direct popular vote. Ginsburg (1998) and Batbayar and Soni (2007) give three opinions. The First opinion is that the Soviet Union and changes in Eastern Europe helped create a favourable condition by the late 1980s. The Second opinion is that from 1985 to 1989, the regime change in USSR and MPRP in Mongolia tried to implement the policy of economic restructuring as well as political openness revealing the need for decisive radical changes in Mongolia. The Third opinion is that the political change in Mongolia was demanded by the new generation trained in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe and influenced by the latest developments in these countries. Mass demonstration in the democratic revolution that took place during the first general election in 1989 and early 1990 demanded an end to one-party rule and the establishment of the multiparty system and holding a free election with universal suffrage. Sharma, Warikoo, Haider and Bira (1992) include relevant articles on various issues confronting Mongolia in the domestic and foreign affairs following the breakup of the former Soviet Union and beginning of the democratic reforms period. Dashpurev (1992) describes various trends leading towards a political transformation of Mongolia into a democracy. Chuhuundorj (1992) observes the adverse effect of the Soviet control of the Mongolian economy leading to "open door economic policy" as an external economic relationship strategy. He reassesses Mongolia's foreign policy in the light of its joining NAM and the security environment with the coming up of CIS. Sharma (1997) talks of Mongolia's post-Cold War society, politics, economy and trade, as well as its international relations, as a result of Mongolia polity reform and its enlarged foreign relation outside of the world undergoing a transformation.

The impact of Gorbachev's reforms policy of perestroika and glasnost on Mongolia and the ensuing process of democratisation of Mongolian polity and society is

discussed in Soni (2002), investigating not only the former Soviet Union's paramount role in Mongolia right from 1921 onwards, which affected the Sino-Mongolian relations, but also analyzing the impact of Soviet reforms initiatives on Mongolia in late 1980s and early 1990s highlighting the post-cold war situation of democratic transition. A study conducted by Japan International Cooperation Agency (1997), entitled Country Study for Japan's Official Development Assistance to Mongolia in its findings says that from the beginning of the 1990s to date, Mongolia seems to have overcome the initial difficulties and disorder of transition, aided by strong stabilisation policies and infusions of sizable international economic assistance. William and Heaton (1992) examines not only the problems Mongolia encountered by opting for reforms but also deals with Mongolia's relationship with the Soviet Union and constituent republics which were troubled due to the sharp reduction in Soviet aid and the difficulties in securing supplies. Sanders (1992) describes the transition phase in Mongolia including the first and second parliamentary elections in 1990 setting up a three-member drafting commission for the making of the new constitution of Mongolia. The three member commission in favour of social democracy divided it into four groups in the main draft: 1) Human Rights, 2) State Affairs, 3) Economic, Social and Political Matters and 4) Legal and Constitutional Issues.

These are the main pillars of the new Constitution of Mongolia. The commission had submitted three drafts, and in 1991, a debate started in Mongolia for the new constitution. After the huge discussion in Great and Little Khurals, finally, in 1992, the 4th constitution came out and was implemented. The Constitution gave freedom by introducing human rights, free and fair election, and freedom to open NGO, free media, free judiciary and all possible freedom to the peoples of Mongolia. In 1992, the first free multiparty election started on the adoption of new and 4th Constitution of Mongolia.

Kotkin and Elleman (1999) elaborate on the economic and cultural change to nationalism and emergent elites, apart from dealing with the post-Cold War Mongolian foreign policy and its implications for Mongolia's relations with the outside world. Although Batbayar and Soni (2007) trace the history of the twentieth century Mongolia, they also unfold various events at the closing decade of that

century leading to the 1990 pro-democracy and national movement which resulted in multi-party elections beginning from 1990 to 2004. Details of Mongolia's new foreign policy, as well as a revival of history, culture and religion which experienced a setback during the Soviet days are dealt with in great detail.

Rossabi (2000) discusses the democratic development in Mongolia since the collapse of communism. With the end of crucial economic support from Russia, the free-market ideology proposed by the IMF, the Asian Development Bank and the World Bank brought the new concept of central planning by replacing the old commitment. Mongolia had to go through the "shock therapy" route as the inflation was much higher than expected, making the resulting transition very tough. However, he argues that the Mongolian reformers through their skilful efforts for democratisation brought their country into the international system.

Han (2008) basically reports the results of a large-scale survey research project which also covers Mongolian democracy in historical context. It estimates the level of support that the Mongolians had for democracy in actions and principles. The questions regarding the suitability and desirability of democracy are addressed in the light of various factors such as political freedom, an independent judiciary, the role of media, civil society and NGOs, law and order, highlighting the process of democratisation of Mongolian polity and society during 1990-2000.

### ***Political Reforms in Mongolia***

In 1992, with the approval of new constitution Mongolia, MPRP ended as a guiding force of Mongolian political system. The election and electoral system are essential elements of democracy; electoral reform, multiparty elections and judiciary reform have been taking place. While previously the MPRP passed a law that banned political parties from operating in government organs and required all government offices, including the president and vice-president, semi-presidential system and parliamentary republic to drop their party affiliation (Heaton 1992). Batbayar (1993) discusses the fact that by the unicameral legislature the State Great Khural passed a law for holding free election through election commission, asking the political parties

to get registered. There were three agreements between government and the opposition parties as political reforms in Mongolian polity: 1) election law was revised, 2) the new law was created for media free from government control and 3) measures were taken to look into the emergence of corruption.

“New constitution of Mongolia gave the veto power to President, and his role as ombudsman was checked. Constitution guaranteed its citizens the universal right to vote if they were 18 and over. The first parliamentary election law was adopted in 1992” (Severinghaus 1995). In 1993, the State Great Khural approved the presidential election and the Provincial government election law. According to parliamentary election law, 76 members shall be elected to the State Great Khural of Mongolia by using a multi-member district majoritarian system. Mongolia adopted First Past the Post (FPTP) system for the election because of the most developing countries choosing FPTP for the formation of a stable government. As G. Bayantur (2008) said “FPTP provided different political parties and their candidates with a suitable system for the newly democratic countries without a strong political institution that have two political parties. Mongolia chose semi-presidential and parliamentary governance. Mongolia now has a modified version of FPTP system of the parliamentary election in 1992-the Prime Minister is the head of Government and Prime Minister appoints his cabinet subject to the approval of the State Great Khural. The Presidential election in Mongolia use Two-Round System. The President is the symbolic executive of the State elected for a four-year term.” The New electoral law was established to regulate democratic election.

By mid-1990 political parties were legalised and an electoral law was passed, leading to elections in July of that year (Soni and Batbayar 1997). Under the new electoral law, the MPRP was registered and other opposition parties, including Party of National Progress, Mongolian, Mongolian Democratic Party (MDP) and Social Democratic Party followed suit. Under this new law, the People Great Khural was directly elected in the single-member district while the Small Khural was selected on the basis of the party to general preference lists. New constitution was constituted in 1992; President had limited power. The new constitution proclaimed the Sovereignty of Mongolia and protection of the individual rights of its citizens and a landmark

reform in adopting the separation of powers was affirmed, with the familiar three branches of government. Soni (2011) describes “how democratic reform in Mongolia distanced itself from ‘Mongolian People’s Republic’ to ‘Mongolia’ and a communist gold star was removed from the national flag under the new constitution which entered into force in 1992. President became more powerful, being elected by popular vote rather than the legislature as was done before. President became the Head of State, Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces and head of the National Security Council.”

Multiparty election started in 1992, leading to that of 1996. Next elections for the parliamentary seats (2000-2004, 2008 and 2012) were carried out as per this amended electoral law. Burmaa (2003 in Bayantur 2008) states that “the monitoring parties finance and determine whether parties are corrupt or not, the General Election Committee audit parties, coalition and independent candidates campaign accounts during and after elections and makes sure this information is available in public. If any violation has taken place before the General Election Commission, the Supreme Court is asked to deal with these more complex election complaints”.

A new law was passed by the parliament for the NGO, and another law was introduced for religion. One important implication of a number of NGOs fledging, truly independent of government control through these reforms, was that the government was bound for educating Mongolia’s electorate to make informed choices in the 1996 parliamentary elections. Several important laws were passed in 1995 to strengthen the legal framework for Mongolia’s democracy, such as a new Civil Service Act and the law on Control and Auditing of State Management. Ginsburg (1995) states “The final constitution of Mongolia provides for the earlier bicameral parliament to be now consolidated with the unicameral body, the State Great Khural. The latter, in turn, forming new political institutions including a National Security Council, a Constitutional Tribunal a new body named the General Council of the Courts to supervise judicial administration.” According to Donnell (1996), ‘countries moving towards democracy in the third wave of democratisation contributed to the development of transparent and fair electoral system in Mongolia.’

Mongolia admires the universal human rights adopted by the multiparty system, honouring human rights, above all, and the freedom of the press. Rossabi (2005 in Soni 2004) talks of political reform in Mongolia and the process of Soviet style reforms and restructuring through *II tod* and *orchilian baigalalt* and the democracy movement in Eastern Europe as mirrored in Mongolia are dealt with (Soni 2013:32). According to Soni (2004), “In 1990, the Constitution was amended by deleting reference to the MPRP’s role as the guiding force in the country, legalizing the new informal parties through official registration, creating a standing legislative body called State Little Khural and establishing the office of the president. Besides, a new electoral law was approved with the first multiparty election held in 1990. People’s Great Khural’s discussion on new constitution that began in 1991 was finally adopted in 1992 replacing the 1960s constitution, which brought considerable changes in Mongolia’s political system and building state through socialism. The most notable changes made in this constitution were the replacement of the two-chamber parliament (bicameral) known as Great and Little Khurals with that of a single chamber (unicameral) known as State Great Khural comprising 76 deputies.”

### ***Impact of Reforms on Mongolian Foreign Policy***

Foreign policy of Mongolia options in the face of internal and external security environment during the democratic transition have been assessed in various works. Mongolian foreign policy is reviewed by Sanders and Sharma (1988) Mongolian foreign policy along with a number of changes in the major documents and events of the late Communist and early post-Communist periods and importance of foreign trade and foreign aid as two important features of the ongoing foreign policy. Sanders (1989) is of the opinion that Mongolian leadership were very much keen to develop relations with the outside world making diplomatic relations with US and Britain in 1987, and the same year intergovernmental agreement on science and technical cooperation was signed with India. Mongolia’s foreign policy propaganda focused on the theme of peace and security in the Asia-Pacific region. Mongolia achieved diplomatic relations in East Asian countries such as South Korea and others countries in the region (Heaton 1991).

But the significant event was the adoption of the new constitution in 1992. Mongolian government released important document regarding foreign policy shaping in 1994. Mongolian White Paper (1998) came out presenting the Mongolian National Security's diplomatic and bilateral relations with the rest of the world. Another landmark publication were issued by the Mongolian Government, Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book (2000) ensuring the Concept of National Security and the Concept of Foreign Policy adopted by the Great Khural of Mongolia in 1994. The priorities of foreign policy are to ensure the prosperity and security of Mongolia, starting bilateral relations between China and Russia and rest of the world, and active participation of Mongolia with international economic organisations such as United Nations, WTO and ASEAN.

According to A. Ganbaatar (2001), the main cause of the withdrawal of Soviet troops from its territory due to Gorbachev policy to withdraw economic and military aid from Mongolia and some educated elite from Europe and America played a crucial role to make new foreign policy during the transition period started in 1989. Huge street protest in Ullan-Bator pushed the political reforms, and the new constitution came out in 1992 with the adoption of a new foreign policy that existed during the communist regime (Khaliun 2003). Soni (2006) discusses the newly adopted foreign policy during the democratic transition and Mongolia's search for security which was influenced by national security concerns aimed at achieving not only its border security but also the economic security through cooperation with the international community and active participation in regional and international arrangements. In another work talk about State interest that "implies independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity has always been one of the major security concerns for a small state like Mongolia" (Soni 2000:27). And the broad feature of Mongolia's foreign policy, i.e., to strike a balance between nations having economic interests in Mongolia and those which are of strategic importance for Mongolia has been comprehensively dealt with in Nyamdavaa (2003). While Tumurchuluun (2004) foresees regional multilateralism and domestic development as a way out for Mongolia from its geographical constraints, the impact of democratisation process on Mongolian politics has been delineated in Batbayar (2006) and Soni (2010). The impact of

democratisation process also on the economy, foreign policy and social psychology provides a favourable situation of Mongolia leading to the adoption of a new foreign policy on democratic lines.

The evolution of new democratic civilian society in Mongolia, changes in the power structure have been described following the initiation of *Il tod* and Orchilan Baigalalt, in political and economic spheres. Besides, it also analyses the parliamentary elections held during the democratic transition period until 2004 elections. The author (Soni 2008) concludes that the country's democratic transition gave positive results as Mongolia has made its foreign and domestic policy implementation successfully since the beginning of the transition from a Soviet style communism to a free-market economy and democratic political system.

Democratic changes in security and foreign policies were influenced by international guarantees which were realised by combining the unilateral, bilateral and multilateral measures. Soni (2011) opines "In 1994, Mongolia made radical changes in its national security and foreign policies by adopting three basic documents-National Security and Foreign Policy Concepts as well as the Military Doctrine, finally endorsed by the Mongolian parliament." Soni (2013: 38) further explains that "National Security Concept does not allow the use of the country's territory against other states; ensuring its Nuclear-Weapons-Free-Zone (NWFZ) status at the international level and making it an important element of strengthening the country's national security." The objectives of Mongolia's Foreign Policy Concept are to prioritise its focus on National Security and vital national interest and forward its diplomatic relations with the rest of the world especially Russian and China. Mongolia adopted new terms of its foreign policy concept that is "multipillar" foreign policy. Mongolia has created a new relationship with regional as well as global powers by extending its diplomatic perspectives and its scope for international activities. Through this relationship, Mongolia is trying to get their support, especially in the economic building by developing bilateral relations and cooperation in different areas with the Australia, EU, Germany, Britain, France, US, Japan, Canada and other western countries. At the same period, Mongolia gave great importance to the expansion of its relationship with Turkey, India, Singapore, Thailand, the Republic of Korea and other ASEAN member



countries (Soni 2013:39). In foreign multiplier policy, Mongolia balanced its relationship with immediate neighbours (Russia and China). Warikoo and Soni (2010) delve into the vulnerability of the economic security of Mongolia in an early 21<sup>st</sup> century in terms of the impact of the democratic transition on domestic and foreign affairs.

### **1.5. Thesis Statement**

According to Fish (2001: 323) “Drastic changes in Eastern Europe and the collapse of Soviet-type regimes influenced most countries of post-communist Inner Asia as they either experienced initial political openings followed by reversion to authoritarianism or moved directly from one type of harsh authoritarianism to another. Mongolia remains an exceptional case as the extent of political opportunity there during the 1990s far exceeded anything seen in any neighbouring country and the gains of the early post-Soviet period were maintained instead of reversed.”

It was in beginning of the 1990s that democratic reforms began to accelerate in Mongolian polity as a number of changes occurred ranging from electoral reforms to the adoption of a new constitution to implementation of foreign and security policies on quite a new basis. The formation of pro-reform government in 1996 elections gave way to rapid economic liberalisation. Pomfret (1999) explains that by the late 1990s, Mongolia had a policy of approximately complete free trade and had one of the most flourishing democracies in Asia. The key feature of Mongolia has been the peaceful way of transition from a centrally controlled political system to a democracy with different political parties and an electorate which showed its full participation and interest for the change (UNDP, 1997:29 in Pomfret 2000:149).

It is against this background that this study seeks to analyse how Mongolia has been able to implement the democratic reforms in its polity and economy during the period of this study, which is the transitional phase from Soviet-style polity and economy to a democratic one. The dynamics of a democratic building are examined in the context of external and internal factors, apart from studying various elements in Mongolian foreign policy making. The roles played by the elites, media, NGOs, religious groups

and masses to political reforms are to be examined, in addition to observing various stages of economic liberalisation in Mongolia.

The scope of this study is limited to the period from 1991 to 2012 when most of the political changes in Mongolia were visible. The year 1991 has been taken as the beginning period of political reforms that started after the first democratic election was held in Mongolia. This gave way to the new constitution adoption in 1992 that replaced 1960's Constitution of Mongolia. The year 2012 has been taken as cut-off year because it was in this year that the sixth parliamentary elections were held and the coalition government has been continuing with the political reforms in Mongolia's domestic and foreign affairs.

### **1.6. Research Questions of the Study**

The present study examines the following questions:

- What were the external and internal factors responsible for the democratisation of Mongolian political system?
- What were the challenges involved in Mongolian foreign policy making during political reforms?
- What were the key reasons for Mongolia's relative success in political reforms?
- What roles did the elite, institutions and media, NGOs, religious groups and masses play for the success of democratic reforms in Mongolian polity?

### **1.7. Hypotheses of the Study**

- The success of democratic reforms is attributed to both the willingness of leadership and the masses in Mongolia.
- Since political reforms, Foreign Policy of Mongolia is focusing more on forging relations with "third neighbours."

## **1.8. Methodology and Sources**

This study employs the conceptual paradigm to study the political processes, namely, “Transitory nature of Political and Democratic Processes in nascent Democracies” by factoring in the analytical review of existing literature, both primary and secondary. The study analyses various secondary sources such as government publications, memoirs, journals, yearbooks, newspapers web folios and reviews. The primary data included governmental reports and documents relevant to this study as well as other reports and documents particularly on economic aspects released by various authentic organisations, such as ADB, IMF, UNDP, World Bank, CIA etc. The secondary sources included books, articles published in various journals, newspaper clippings and reports from different NGOs on the subject of democratic reforms in Mongolia. The study proceeded with historical, comparative and analytical approach, with special emphasis on the factors like political and economic in dealing with the different issues concerning democratic transition in Mongolia. The descriptive, exploratory and explanatory methods are proposed to be followed in this study, which have been analysed in different chapters under different headings. Both the primary as well as secondary sources have been consulted to fulfil the aims and objectives of this study.

This research is empirical and reflective in nature and done through a combination of desk study. The desk study covered government reports, international and documents and national publications, non-governmental organisations reports, business papers and reports and studies by academicians, researcher and international organisations publications. The statistics have been sourced from the Government of Mongolia, selected other relevant organisations. Some documents and studies access through different internet portals.

## **1.9. Thesis Structure**

Thesis structure is delineated into four parts in which the first and last part is *Introduction* and *Conclusion*. The first chapter introduces the significance, objectives and scope of the study. It also gives an overview of the beginning of democratisation in Mongolia. This chapter highlights the impact of Gorbachev’s reforms policy of

*perestroika* and *glasnost* on Mongolian domestic policy and the ensuing reform process in Mongolia through *Orchilan baigalalt* and *Iltod*. Besides, it also discusses the worsening situation in Mongolia due to the absence of Soviet aid as well as on the eve of Soviet collapse. It also focuses on the democratic movement in Mongolia in the late 1980s, and the resultant reforms in the Mongolian polity.

Second chapter *Democratic Transition: a Conceptual Framework* briefly discusses the conceptual framework of democratisation of post-communist countries, mainly Central and Eastern Europe which have been part of the third wave of democracy after years of totalitarian political regime with one-party rule. It also discusses Mongolian position to support democracy either on the level of politics or on the level of citizens and community and the structure of Mongolian government and public institutions. It also deals with how Mongolia embarked on democratisation in Mongolia and the constitutional development which ultimately led to the approval of a new constitution.

Chapter third *Democratic Transition in Mongolia* focuses on the democratic reforms in Mongolian polity with a focus on the adoption of various legal instruments and the development of Mongolian polity and society. It also deals with the discussion on constitutional development that started in 1991 which in 1992 ultimately led to the acceptance of the new democratic constitution. Besides, it also discusses the changes made in the power structure of Mongolian polity over the years.

The fourth chapter *Democratic Reforms and Multi-Party Elections* aims at discussing various stages of political developments including the electoral reforms and emergence of a multiparty system in Mongolia. While discussing various stages of political reforms in the electoral system, this chapter also deals with the multi-party elections held in 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012. The roles played by various political parties, civil society, media and NGOs in institutionalizing the political system, are discussed in great detail.

The fifth chapter *Impact of Political Reforms on Mongolian Foreign Policy* chalk out the existing circumstances and challenges involved in the evolution of new

Mongolian foreign policy and its adoption (1994). In the light of domestic and external factors it deals with the determinants of foreign policy of Mongolia and its implementation. The impact of political reforms on Mongolia's foreign policy analysed in terms of balancing relations with two giant neighbours, China and Russia, with simultaneous development of multi-pillar diplomatic strategy with powerful western countries such as US, Japan and the Pacific countries. It also discusses Mongolia's third neighbour foreign policy which is quite different from the Soviet times.

Lastly, the concluding chapter provides a broad conclusion of democratic transition and political reforms during the period 1991-2012, and explores the prospects for democratic consolidation, particularly in Mongolian polity.

## **CHAPTER II**

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### **Democratic Transition: A Conceptual Framework**

Plato in his scheme of government and politics in ancient Greece (explained in his book, *Laws*) lists five kinds of governmental arrangements that formed the basis of Aristotelian analysis on the subject of politics in the book that goes with the same title, *Politics*. Aristotle begins his work by attempting to figure out the role and end of the state. In his characteristic style of constructing argument through syllogisms, he builds the following syllogism:

“Every community aims at some good:  
Every city is a community; and therefore  
Every city aims at some good.” (As quoted in *The Politics of Aristotle*, translated by B. Jowett published in 1885: 1)

Dealing with the idea of a good society has perhaps been one of the major concerns from thinkers such as Plato to Marx and modern-day critical theorists such as Marcuse and Habermas. Aristotle sought to capture the idea through another syllogism:

“Whereas all communities aim at some good,  
the highest aim at the highest good:  
The city is the highest community; and therefore  
The city aims at the highest good.” (As quoted in *The Politics of Aristotle*, translated by B. Jowett published in 1885: 1)

Clearly the idea of the city-state comes to the fore with Aristotelian syllogism in the above two cases. His idea of drawing a parallel between ‘city’ and ‘community’ looks to forge a synthesis between the otherwise dichotomous terms, ‘community’ and ‘society’. Ferdinand Tonnies (1855-1936)<sup>1</sup> brings out the difference between society and community through his terminology of *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft* with the community being closer to the individual. The norms and sanctions being more obligatory while, the society limits those obligations and is somewhat associational in nature. The idea could be equated with the Durkheimian idea of social solidarity who argued that mechanical solidarity is based on ‘likeness’ while organic solidarity

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<sup>1</sup>Tonnies made the fundamental division between ‘Community’ and ‘Society’ through his scheme of differentiation between *Gemeinschaft* and *Gesellschaft*.

replaces it as more and more division of labour takes place, a process termed 'social differentiation' or 'structural differentiation', to use Talcott Parsons's (1951) terminology. The Aristotelian bias towards the superiority of city life seems quite apparent in his proposition that says: "The city is the highest community". It's owing to this that he could not neglect the property of complexity from the idea of community. He asserted: "But a community is a complex organisation". The complexity of a city rendered it impossible to manage the affairs of the city in a simple manner. There needs to be elaborate arrangement called government that could be of any kind whatsoever. Aristotle was mostly concerned with oligarchy, aristocracy and democracy. He based his observations on Sparta, Carthage and Athens. An analogy could be drawn between the works of Plato and Aristotle - "Royalty, aristocracy, oligarchy, tyranny, democracy-the order of succession may be compared with that of Plato (*Republic*, Book VIII and Book IX)-the perfect state, timocracy, oligarchy, democracy, tyranny" (As quoted in *The Politics of Aristotle*, translated by B. Jowett published in 1885).

The Anglo-Saxon belief in the concept of government by many and theoretically by everyone led to the formation of the institution of Parliament through the famous Magna Carta in 1215 AD. King John I had to give a portion of his kingly prerogatives to a group of affluent merchants who formed a miniature democracy. The institution became the hallmark of British political life for the next couple of centuries until the introduction of the Henry VIII clause to the British statutory laws. The provision excluded certain areas of legislation from the ambit of the Parliament and sought to make the King most powerful individual on earth and the institution of monarchy looked to eclipse the very spirit of democracy in the land where it took birth. Things took a murkier turn when the British Parliament became a place of manipulative and selfish politics to which a strong reaction came from one of the most revered people's icons in British history. Oliver Cromwell was the man who was a staunch supporter of the institution of parliament and government by democracy. He was called the 'Lord Protector' of England owing to his role in protecting the people of England from the tyranny of the monarchs, especially during the reign of King Charles I. Charles I was beheaded in 1649, an incident that shook the British monarchy to its core. Nobody would have believed that less than half a century later after the reign of the Virgin



Queen, England's most popular monarch to this day, Elizabeth I, the sitting monarch would be butchered like an ordinary criminal. But that was the kind of upheaval the kingdom saw in the wake of the events that unfolded under the leadership of the Lord Protector in the mid-seventeenth century. Once the monarch was slain, Cromwell became the de facto ruler of England. Such was his firm devotion to the institution of parliamentary democracy that he channelised all his energy towards revitalising and reinstating the institution of parliament instead of trying to usurp the throne for himself and his progeny in the time to come. Till his death in 1658, the throne remained empty and he never occupied the Buckingham Palace but took up a mansion in Westminster as his residence. All his good work could be seen to culminate the famous Petition of Rights in 1688 that became the model for all further movements in various countries across the globe by people demanding increased rights and freedoms. Both French Revolution and the American War of Independence were influenced by this concept of fundamental rights of man.

Kant (2002) declared that "Enlightenment is the process through which man frees himself from the state of his self-imposed tutelage" (As quoted in Popper, Karl, 1963). The term 'self-imposed' points towards Rousseau (1762: 2) understanding of the world who remarked: "Man is born free, but everywhere he is in chains". Thus among the enlightenment intellectuals there was an agreement upon the fact that the world has somehow restricted the free will of man to a level that makes it difficult for him to express his opinion on topics that decide the conditions of his life. Rousseau advocated savagery to the modern ways of life that saw every human action as well as emotion under fetters. Thus it was the General Will of the people that was indestructible and was represented in the terms of the social contract. A revised concept of the contractualist approach of Hobbes, Locke and Rousseau could be found in the contemporary concept of political contract developed by Hyman Hye.

A link needs to be established between the economic history of the world and the development of the institution of democracy. Niall Ferguson (2008) traces the modern-day institution of banking and finance in the ventures of the mercantilists in the sixteenth and seventeenth century Europe. Although it began in Italy owing to the enterprise of the Medicis, it became the most prominent tool of shifting the axes of

power from the monarchs into the hands of the merchants who represented the people, thus giving way to democracy. The spirit of the pursuit that would be called instrumental reason in today's scholarly circles could be said to be inspired by the philosophy of the American War of Independence, spearheaded by none other than Benjamin Franklin who gave us a piece of advice in the following words: "Remember Time is Money". He compounded it with another statement: "Remember Credit is Money". The very emphasis on the term 'credit' brings to the fore the dynamics of interpersonal relationships that Max Weber considered the foundation of human society. There is credit only if people interact with each other in a patterned manner winning each other's trust and respect. Such arena of interaction is what Habermas calls 'public sphere'. He argues that in the seventeenth and eighteenth century Europe new public spaces were carved out which gave people an opportunity to discuss the affairs of their lives and the prevalent conditions of the government and other organs that controlled their lives. Public forums such as clubs, cafes, journals and newspapers proved instrumental in eroding the feudal structure and installing democracy in Europe. Feudalism sustained itself owing to the sanctions it received from religion that settled issues based on doctrinaire dogmas instead of the use of modes such as discussion and debate.

The debates encircling the growth of democracy in the realm of political philosophy point towards a rather less discussed aspect. A closer analysis goes on to suggest democracy that claims to count every individual as equally capable emanated from the acceptance of science as a replacement of religion, especially in the Enlightenment era. Religion that had hitherto been the basis of life for the common folk soon began to lose its sheen. Nietzsche in one of his last notable writings takes up the issue in his characteristic style. In *Twilight of the Idols*, in the context of Renan, Nietzsche wrote: "He wants, for example, to weld together la science and la noblesse: but la science belongs with democracy; what could be plainer?" (Nietzsche 1888, as quoted in Kaufmann 1954: 513). He further continues with the same subject of analysis and tries to bring out the incompatibility between democracy and religion. He writes in the chapter entitled 'Skirmishes of an Untimely Man' in the same book: "To what avail is all free-spiritedness, modernity, mockery, and wry-neck suppleness, if in one's guts one is still a Christian, a Catholic-in fact, a priest!" (Nietzsche 1888, as quoted in

Kaufmann 1954). Traces of the Nietzschean concern with the conflict between democracy and religion could be discerned in the writings of Karl Marx on Religion who preceded Nietzsche by a couple or so decades. Marxian critique of the role of religion in upholding and justifying the dominance of the exploiting classes came out in the famous phrase, “Religion is the opium of the people” (Marx 1844).<sup>2</sup> It was not a novel idea that occurred to Marx alone. In fact Marx was writing on the lead provided by thinkers who came before him, especially in the works of Rousseau and Voltaire. Rousseau in the opening words of the first chapter of his book, *Social Contract* lamented at the condition of humankind in his famous utterance that goes thus: “Man is born free, and everywhere he is in chains” (Rousseau 1762). The chains must be dismantled in order to emancipate the human condition. A similar line of argument seems to be operation in Marx’s concern with emancipation of the masses that provides us with a hint of democratic ideas going against the traditional foundation of the society that sought its explanation in theology.

The tussle between the two could be somewhat equated with the antagonistic relation between ‘individual freedom’ and ‘socialism’. It’s interesting to note that the great wars were also fought in the name of protecting democracy and the mandate in the post-War era was in fact an outcome of the strain between the two ideological domains. Who better than Alexis de Tocqueville could be consulted when it comes to deliberating upon the issue? A short paragraph from Friedrich A. Hayek sums it up quite lucidly:

“Nobody saw more clearly than the great political thinker de Tocqueville that democracy stands in an irreconcilable conflict with socialism: ‘Democracy extends the sphere of individual freedom,’ he said. ‘Democracy attaches all possible value to each man,’ he said in 1848, ‘while socialism makes each man a mere agent, a mere number. Democracy and socialism have nothing in common but one word: equality. But notice the difference: while democracy

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<sup>2</sup> Marx wrote this part between December 1843 and January 1844 as *A Contribution to the Critique of Hegel’s Philosophy of Right*.

seeks equality in liberty, socialism seeks equality in restraint and servitude.”  
(Hayek 1944: 47).<sup>3</sup>

The statement clearly suggests the schism that was brewing between what was to crystallize into the two poles of Cold War. Having been written in 1945, the text throws light upon what was to unfold in the coming era. A proper understanding of what the situation was just at the eve of the Cold War with regard to the theory of democracy could be developed through an analysis of the Democratic Peace Theory. The theory is based on the basic assumption that it is the political system of a state that decides its propensity to go to war. It could be monadic wherein countries with democratic politics are less likely to go to war. It could also be dyadic when democratic are at friendly terms with one another but exhibit belligerence against non-democracies. Finally, it could also be systemic that is based on an increase in the number of democracies that results in the world order being more peaceful. The theory has its own drawbacks because with the rise in the number of democracies in the pre-Cold War period actually saw a rise in the number of wars, though one could easily observe that it is more dyadic in nature with an automatic alliance of democratic countries against other non-democracies when it comes to matters of war and peace.

## **2.1. The Meaning of Democracy**

Paying attention to the need for developing an understanding of the meaning of democracy takes rewinds one’s imagination almost three centuries back when the political turmoil in Europe, especially the French revolution of 1789 asked for an intellectual churning on the meaning of the term. According to Huntington (1991), movement that began under those conditions has shaped three general meanings of democracy, which are following:

- Democracy as a source of governmental authority
- Democracy as the purpose of government

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<sup>3</sup> The condensed version of the book, *Road to Serfdom* first appeared in the April 1945 edition of *Reader’s Digest*. The passage quoted is from the condensed version.

- Democracy as the modalities of government formation. (Huntington, 1991)

Huntington describes grave concerns of ambiguity crop up “*when democracy is defined as the source of authority or as the purpose of government*”. The process of democracy is of more significance than its purpose or ‘telos’. In fact the ‘how’ of democracy is more important than its ‘why’.

This departure from the traditional approaches of finding idealistic definitions of democracy towards empirical institutional, descriptive and procedural definitions came in vogue about three decades ago. Under this approach, one can define a 20<sup>th</sup> century political system as democratic “to the extent that its most powerful collective decision makers are selected through fair, honest and periodic elections in which candidates freely compete for votes and in which virtually all the adult population is eligible to vote” (Huntington 1991). The definition points towards civil liberties in the form of freedom of speech and free and fair elections. This notion provides the benchmark by which we can trace the “trajectory of a democracy and evolution of one democracy against other democracies or itself over time i.e.” (Huntington 1991), the number of people who vote, the number of political parties in the power struggle, a focus on groups deemed to be politically excluded from power.

Key points on defining democracy could be summed up as follows:

1. Democracy defined in terms of electoral arrangement is an outcome of minimalism. Rather, a broader definition of democracy should look to focus upon the following points, namely a responsible government, informed and rational deliberation in political matters, an effective say of the citizens in policy and last but not the least, equal participation and power of every section of the society.
2. The definition so devised aims to ascertain an important aspect of democracy wherein the people elect the *de facto* decision makers in a society with no external influence from other agencies such as the military or any other governmental body.
3. Stability factor varies in various democratic polity systems, the nature of the

system is primarily responsible for the stability of a system.

4. It is an issue of debate whether democracy is a binary or a continuous variable. In the absence of clear cut format, a “binary variable treated as a continuous variable, democracy can avoid the problems associated with the characteristics of the load”.
5. Undemocratic regimes lack of popular elections and massive voting.

## **2.2. The Waves of Democratisation**

As stated by Huntington (1991), there democratisation has gone through three phases wherein “the first two followed by limited reversals of that progress”.

*First Wave (1828-1926)* - The cause of first wave lies in French and the American Revolution. There are two benchmarks, the first development: the eligible male and responsible executive voters were 50 percent and they uphold the majority support of of eligible voters or “of an elected parliament”.

*First Reverse Wave (1922-42)* - In this phase, traditional authoritarian regimes based on big mass and ideological support came. The fascist regimes of Italy and Germany could be cited as bright examples of this reversal.

*Second Wave (1943-62)* - After the Second World War and the formation of UN encouraged the democratisation among allies with an exception of Soviet control particularly Eastern Europe (Czechoslovakia and Hungary). And, the processes of decolonisation lead the emergence of many new democratic states.

*Second Reverse Wave (1958-75)* - United Nations practical approach lead to the decolonised world system, ignited democratisation process started in the early 1960s in Latin America, and Africa where there were the largest authoritarian regime, “political development in the early 1960s took on an authoritarian case”. Also, in 1958 “one-third of working democracies from the 1970s was strict”.

*Third wave (since 1974)* - Democratic regimes had greater impact to promote the liberal political system, started replacing authoritarian regimes wherein considerable

liberalisation occurred in such regimes. This happened in almost all the regions of the world and the process got an impetus by the collapse of Communist blocs..

When it comes to analysing the modern phenomenon of democratisation of the human civilisation, one can take a leaf out of Huntington (1991) who traces the origin of the wave in the process of democratisation that began in Iberian Peninsula, especially in Portugal and Spain. The wave travelled across the globe to far-off areas such as Latin America Asia, Africa, Latin America and Eastern Europe. While there were just 41 democracies out of a total 150 states in 1974, thus suggesting that less than a third of the world was democratic in nature in 1974. It dramatically rose to nearly three-fifths of the world by 2003 (Diamond and Plattner 2006).

This process of democratisation may be sub-divided into three stages:

1. The liberalisation phase, which results in the previous regime opening up or vanishing altogether;
2. A transition phase, when the mode of forming a government shifts from arbitrary processes to more rational processes such as elections;
3. The consolidation phase, when the democratic processes take firm roots and receive wide acceptance across the board by relevant actors. (Linz and Stepan 1996; O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986).

According to the thesis, it's the final phase that becomes the most important in the entire process of democratisation. Ever since Francis Bacon declared that the function of science is to multiply the happiness quotient of the people (Bury 1920), the entire emphasis on happiness acquired a different flavour. The choices people themselves made actually mattered more than an external institution deciding on matters related to their happiness. The seeds of what began to germinate in Bacon's works bore fruit in the form of Enlightenment in the eighteenth century Europe. It was the notion of enlightenment that inspired 20<sup>th</sup> century structural-functional sociologists such as Talcott Parsons to talk about 'evolutionary universals' of which democratisation is one out of the six pillars. Parsons (1951) traces the origin of the concept of modernity in three major revolutions that shook Europe by its foundation in the 17<sup>th</sup> and 18<sup>th</sup>

centuries. He calls them industrial revolution, democratic revolution and educational revolution.

Talking in the same vein, modern social scientists such as Almond and Verba (1963); Lipset (1959) and Moore (1966) link democratisation to modernisation. The modernisation process is seen as a real process that results in increased levels of civil liberties which, in turn, is a consequence of higher level of socio-economic development. There are others who take a structuralist approach emphasizing the salience of cultural, religious and historical factors on the process of democratisation. The Third Wave of democratisation seeks to challenge these theories that talk about 'prerequisites of democracy. While countries such as South Korea, Taiwan, Thailand and Chile saw democratic processes emanating from a parallel process of modernisation, many other countries form a group of exception to this thesis. These countries formed the bottom third of the Human development Indexes as sign of refutation of the modernisation thesis. On the other hand, even structuralist theories lost ground in the 1980s and an agency or process-oriented approach took roots in the realm of social science literature. It relies on an inter-actionist approach that focuses on the processes of interaction and the exchange of ideas among strategic political actors that result in introducing democracy in 'unlikely places'. Hence, it was consensually adopted that "economic development was neither a necessary nor a sufficient condition for democratic transition" (Przeworski and Limongi 1997; O'Donnell and Schmitter 1986).

While much of the analysis of the processes of democratisation across the globe tends to focus on internal dynamics of the countries, it was Samuel Huntington (1991) who expounded the relevance of external factors in building an atmosphere that is conducive to democracy in countries which would otherwise find least of the problems with repressive regimes such as monarchies and dictatorships, especially if one talks about the African countries. Gaining a membership in the European Union (EU) was one of the prime factors responsible for initiating the process of democratisation in the Portugal, Spain and Greece. Similarly, the end of Cold War and Gorbachev's reformist agenda in the form of *Perestroika* and *Glasnost* resulted in democratisation of Eastern Europe and the then USSR. The case of Mongolia could



be said to bear a close link with this factor of democratisation that witnessed the biggest revolution in this part of the world after the *Bolshevik* revolution in 1917 (Khongorzul 2009:117).

Huntington (1991) considers the role of ‘snowballing’ as an important factor in promoting the idea of democracy in regions where a part of it gets democratised. The effect of political induction leads to the spread of the idea to other countries. In the context of the African continent, formation of organisations such as the African Union (AU) and NEPAD catalyse the process of democratisation in the whole of the continent. The very requirements of rapid economic development and attract foreign aid and investment inspires regimes to liberalise themselves, hence embarking upon the path of democratisation.

The democratic assistance is another major factor contributing to the process of democratisation. In the late 1980s and 1990s, US diplomacy and the economic pressure it exerted resulted in the transition in a number of countries such as Korea, Philippines, Bolivia, Kenya and Nigeria. However, it’s interesting to note that US intervention on the domestic politics of Latin American countries has not always been to promote democracy. In the case of Chile and Nicaragua, US has overtly or covertly looked to boost military regimes in order to get them to support its own interests. It is because in these cases, fighting against communism took a higher priority than promoting the process of democratisation in these countries. The 9/11 incident has compelled the USA to formulate its foreign policy that looks at undemocratic and poorly governed countries as a threat to it and thus the effort to promote democracy as a politico-administrative doctrine seems to be imperative under the current conditions.

This analysis suggests a record of success for democratisation that represents a model that takes two steps forward and one step backwards. The problem with consolidation of democracy in the newly-born democracies and the cropping up of ‘hybrid regimes’ in these countries brings to focus a number of issues with the much-heralded Third Wave.

### 2.3. The Issues of Democracy

Social scientists have endeavoured to analyse the vitality of democratisation. The major issues are the range and stability of democratic structure in states and around the globe. “Its form of government is not the only important thing about a country, nor probably even the most important thing.” However, democracy matters nevertheless, as:

- The bond “between democracy and the existence of individual liberty is extremely strong”.
- Democracies, albeit, sometimes messy and unstable, are unlikely to be violent.
- Democracies, more often than not, do not go for battles/wars against other democracies. There is a comparatively tranquil atmosphere in a region with most of the countries following democracy.
- As the flag bearer of democratic order, it serves the interest of “United States for the rest of the world to be democratic”.

Huntington (1991), explain about the idea of ‘snowballing’ represents “a phenomenon of politics that similar events often happen simultaneously in different countries”. The phenomenon needs an elaboration that seeks to explain the parallel development, singular cause, “snowballing,” prevailing nostrum (i.e. on same solutions addressed by different problems).

The third democratisation wave, when analysed properly, shows that there is no single factor responsible for giving rise to and sustaining the third wave. The causes of democratisation could be varied with both endogenous as well as exogenous factors responsible for affecting such a change.

**2.3.1. Causal Factors:** As Huntington (1991) explains in his book “*The Third Wave: Democratisation in the Late Twentieth Century*” -

**First Wave:** It comprises of factors like, Industrialisation, urbanisation, “growth of middle class”, Economic development, victory of Western Allies group in the Second

World War, dismantling of empires, i.e., social and economic and factors.

*Second Wave:* Democracy forced by Allies after Second World War, impacts of Allied victory, decolonialisation, i.e., “political and military factors”.

*Third Wave:* Five patterns of “Regime change” (as quoted in Princeton university academic review paper Huntington Chapter 2):

- Sequential-alternation between “democracy and authoritarianism”, where alternation actually begins to ‘function as country’s political system”.
- Second-Try Pattern - Weak democracy gives way to phenomenon of “authoritarianism, then replaced by a strong democracy”.
- Interrupted Democracy - temporary suspension of democratic system followed by its resumption.
- Direct Transition - characterised the first wave of democratisation.
- Decolonialisation Pattern - characterised the second wave of democratisation.

Huntington tries to address the following question:

*“What changes in independent variables in the 1960s and 1970s produced the dependent variable of a democratising regime change in the 1970s and 1980s?”*

Huntington concentrated on five changes that occurred:

- a. “Deepening legitimacy problems of authoritarian systems”
- b. “Global economic growth of the 1960s”
- b. “Changing doctrine of the Catholic Church”
- c. “Changes in the policies of external actors”
- d. “Snowballing effects”

### **2.3.1.1. Legitimacy Problems**

Post-second World War, the then prevalent democratic “ethos” pervaded “throughout the world. Even totalitarian regimes made use of democratic rhetoric to claim their legitimacy.” They resorted to such techniques probably owing to the following reasons (as quoted in Princeton university academic review paper Huntington Chapter 2):

- “Political legitimacy” unavoidably undergoes a process of decline, “and authoritarian regimes, unlike democracies, have no structures for self-renewal”.
- “Depressing economic performance and military disasters undermined legitimacy of authoritarian regimes because they had no “procedural legitimacy” to change policies, as in democracies”.

#### **2.3.1.2. Economic Development and Economic Crises**

Relationship between democracy and wealth reveals that “democratic transitions should occur in developing countries at middle level of growth”.

Further, “increased economic well-being shapes societal values, the level of education increases, facilitates compromises (as there are more resources to deliver), promotes trade opening, and the middle class expands”. Also, the third wave of democratisation most vocal protagonists came from the urban middle class.

#### **2.3.1.3. Religious Changes**

A correlation could be said to exist between Western Christianity, especially Protestantism and democracy. Parallels could be drawn between Weber’s thesis that established causal relation between Protestant Ethic and Capitalism.

- The third wave democracies, the “most prominent case of expansion of Christianity in South Korea”, where 1 percent of the population was Christian after the Second World War that increased more than 25 percent in the mid-1980s. Churches have become the leading platform “for opposition to military rule and to help achieve the transition to democracy in 1988. National churches brought many resources, especially national network of members to

war against authoritarianism in countries like Korea, Brazil, Philippines, Poland, Chile, DR of Congo, Panama, Nicaragua and etc”.

- Also, Catholicism is considered “second only to economic development as a force promoting democratisation in 1970s and 1980s”.

#### **2.3.1.4. New Policies of External Actors**

By the “late 1980s, major sources of influence and power were - Vatican, U.S., Soviet Union and European Community (EC),” - were promoting democratisation and liberalisation.

##### ***The European Community***

- EC saw its first expansion in 1973, which was formed in 1969, In 1969, Countries should be democratic being a member. The criteria encouraged the member countries to move towards democracy. Preventing from “regression to authoritarianism membership helped. (Greece joined in 1981, Spain and Portugal in 1986)”.
- A Conference held in Europe (CSCE) on Security and Cooperation, the development of democracy and human rights influenced by Helsinki Final Act in Europe, mainly by “helping to foster openings in Eastern Europe”.

##### ***The United States***

- Foreign policy of the USA shifted to promoting human rights by 1974. In post 1977 Carter administration strengthened this commitment
- Promotion of democratic change introduced by Reagan administration as a major goal of “foreign policy and created the National Endowment for Democracy”.
- Such as “diplomatic action, economic pressure and the democratic opposition forces, military and material support to multilateral diplomacy as the US efforts to promote democracy around the world has played a significant role in

promoting democracy”.

### ***The Soviet Union***

- In fact, a “more dramatic policy shift than in the case of the US took place in the Soviet Union”.
- Huntington (1991:99) quoted “Mikhail Gorbachev revoked the Brezhnev doctrine and conveyed to Eastern European governments that Soviet government as well as opposition groups the clear message that the Soviet government would not act to maintain their existing communist dictatorships and instead favour economic liberalisation and political reform.” Opened the way for the exit of the communist regimes that paved the path for “elections, opening of frontiers with Western Europe and market-oriented reforms”.

#### **2.3.1.5. Demonstration Effects or Snowballing**

*Definition:* Democratisation Success “occurs in one country and this promotes democratisation in the other countries. The reasons why the phenomenon was realised could be understood from the countries starting to believe that it was possible to bring down authoritarian systems”. They went out to find answer to the questions: “How to do it? What dangers to avoid or what difficulties to overcome”?

General role of “demonstration effects” in the third wave:

- In spite of two waves third wave is more important because of improved system of communications. The improved technological situation of the entire human civilisation by the 1970s could be considered to be responsible for the rise of the phenomenon.
- In spite of this the countries being “geographically close and culturally similar” have strongest effect of demonstration. (In fact, “all Latin American countries are influenced by the Spanish democratisation). Also, “most dramatic snowballing could be seen in Eastern Europe in 1989”.
- At the end of the wave effects of demonstration were more influential than the

beginning. Countries influenced by the demonstration where “other conditions for democracy were weak or absent in 1980s ending”.

Thus, it could be concluded that above are the “general causes of the third wave of democratisation, relatively different from causes of the first two waves”. As Huntington (1991), explains that “relative significance of these causes varied by region and evolved as the third wave progressed. Emergence of social, economic and external conditions favourable to democracy is *necessary*, but not *sufficient*, to produce democracy. Political leaders must have the will-power to take the risk of democracy in order to make it happen” ([http://www.princeton.edu/wwac/academic-review/files/561/9.1b\\_HuntingtonCh2.doc](http://www.princeton.edu/wwac/academic-review/files/561/9.1b_HuntingtonCh2.doc))

#### **2.4. Democratisation in East Asia**

Geopolitically speaking, a political change such as transition from totalitarian regimes to democracy is never an isolated phenomenon restricted to just one state. It must be analysed from a regional perspective considering the overall impact of the change that engulfs an entire portion of land on the globe. Thus, the transition of polities in East Asia must be studied in order to provide us a vantage point in trying to understand the Mongolian case. In the surveys conducted by Freedom House and World Bank and other Barometer surveys, it is clearly apparent that the process of democratisation in this part of the world has been rather slow and tardy in comparison to similar processes in other parts of the world. Also on the front of consolidation of democracy in newly democratic countries, the regimes in East Asia haven't performed too well. Countries such as Singapore and china consider their present regime satisfactory and do not tilt in favour of democratisation. “The third wave of democratisation” in East Asia can't just be conceptualised; it is not just the establishment of a democratic constitution and the installation of representative institutions. It is a multifaceted phenomenon with a complete revolution in the fields of politics, society and culture.

Shin in his seminal work “*The Third Wave in East Asia: Comparative and Dynamic Perspectives*” (2008) explains that, at the institutional level, the process of democratisation could be seen as a transformation of a political structure from totalitarian regime to that allows common citizens participation on a frequent basis

and contest the election. The crux of such processes is the 'responsiveness'. Only a popularly elected government could be expected to the needs and priorities of the citizenry. Thus, culturally, it sets on roll a kind of mental revolution in which common citizens shun the norms and practices related to "authoritarian politics and embrace democracy" as "the only game in town." Theoretically speaking, "democratisation is a dynamic phenomenon, constantly shaped by the extent to which the mass citizenry demands democracy and ruling elites are willing to supply it". (Rose, Mishler and Haerpfer 1998; Inglehart and Welzel 2005; Shin 2007 in Shin 2008: 2)

#### **2.4.1. East Asia as a Region in Democratisation**

According to Diamond (2008) and Barbara (2007) Myriad forces, "domestic as well as international contextual factors, shape democratisation, and the political leaders and ordinary people participate in its process. Huntington (1991) terms the former "causes" and the latter "causers" of democratisation. Of the various causes reported to have shaped the process of democratisation in East Asia over the past two decades (Croissant 2004; Chu 2006; Shelly 2005 in Shin 2008). Economic development and Confucianism constitute the two most unique contextual forces that have fuelled the process of democratisation in East Asia. Among those involved in the democratisation process, political elites could be said to be the most powerful causal agents (Compton 2000; Curtis 1997; Friedman 1995)".

Shin (2008) illustrates in one of his papers that "economically, East Asia is quite different from the rest of the democratising world. In contrast to the countries in other regions, a number of countries in this region achieved unprecedented economic growth and social modernisation under authoritarian rule. Before they adopted democracy, East Asian countries, with a few exceptions such as Mongolia and the Philippines, saw rapid and sustained economic growth for decades and mitigated the plight of millions of people from poverty and illiteracy. The pattern could be seen as an anomaly wherein economic prosperity social modernisation takes place under authoritarian rule while one can easily contrast it with incessant economic stagnation and social decay experienced by the countries of East and Central Europe under communist rule and those of Latin America under military rule" (Linz 1996; Haggard



and Kaufman 1995 in Shin 2008: 3). Thus, it could be inferred that the people in these East Asian countries had less longing for democracy as a replacement for authoritarian regimes than their counterpart in other parts of the world.

Culturally, in the region called East Asia, Confucianism forms the core of cultural values; Inoguchi and Newman (1997) explains that even in Malaysia and other countries in non-Confucian Southeast Asia (in Shin 2008). “These Confucian values, once promoted as ‘Asian values’, have played a historical role in prioritizing and justifying the rights and duties of individual citizens and the power and authority of their political leaders” (Bell 2006; Bell, Brown, Jayasuriya, and Jones 1995; Pye 1997; and Tu 1996 in Shin 2008: 3). These values have also influenced political institutions and governmental policies. They have promoted national security as a national development goal. It is because of Confucianism that the concentration of powers in the hands of the executive has been adopted as the prevalent way of governance (Hyug Im 2004; Ling and Shih 1998; and O’Dwyer 2003).

Shin (2008) describes in one of his paper *Third Wave in East Asia* that as Huntington (1991) and many others point out; these values “emphasise family and community over individuals, discipline and hierarchy over freedom and equality, and consensus and harmony over diversity and conflict.” A number of scholars have argued that these “cultural values of collectivism, hierarchism, and conformism are likely to detract from the process of cultural democratisation by discouraging East Asians from rejecting the norms of authoritarian rule and accepting those of democracy.” (Chang, Chu, and Tsai 2005; Linder and Bachtiger 2005; Park and Shin 2006 in Shin 2008:3)

The impact of Confucian thought on Asia could be discerned in the cultural sanction that goes behind authoritarian rule and undemocratic principles in politics in this part of the world. Many scholars believe that it is the most vital point of difference that separates Asia from the West. According to Hood (1998); Neher (1994) and Zakaria (1994) while democracy forms an inalienable part of the very political fabric of the western world, some East Asian political leaders, such as “former Prime Ministers Lee Kuan Yew of Singapore and Mahathir Mohammad of Malaysia”, developed a model of authoritarian governance under the name of “Asian democracy”. The overall welfare of the community seems to outweigh the notion of individual rights and

liberty, thus justifying a benevolent authoritarian rule that these leaders practised and advocated. Also, “by invoking East Asia’s cultural differences from the West, these leaders sought to fend off pressure for the democratisation of their authoritarian political systems”. (Emerson 1996; Foot 1997; Koh, 1993; Thompson 2000 and Thompson 2001)

Not only have the values located in Confucian paradigm have affected the “leaders of East Asia’s authoritarian regimes but also the first-generation leaders of third-wave democracies in the region (Kihl 2004 and Shin 1999). As democratically elected presidents, as an example, Kim Young Sam and Kim Dae Jung of South Korea considered free, fair, and competitive elections as an essential component of democratic politics. Interestingly, Kim Dae Jung secretly transferred \$500 million to North Korea for the first summit meeting between the two Koreas that earned him a Nobel Peace Prize”. The incident goes on to show that democracy in East Asia is viewed as something “limited to free and competitive elections only (Kurlantzick 2007 in Shin 2008:4)”. Thus, one can say that it was the Confucian notion of collective good and benevolent authoritarianism that motivated the leaders of the older generation to run such regimes. It was thought that democracy brings chaos (Friedman 2003) and hence, proved to be a hindrance in the path of East Asian leaders embracing democracy as a better form of government.

#### **2.4.2. The Diffusion of the Third Wave of Democratisation**

What began in the Iberian Peninsula in Southern Europe as the third wave of democratisation in 1974, reached the shores of East Asia more than a decade later. The region could be said to have begun to participate in this wave with full swing in 1986, when the dictator, Ferdinand Marcos of the Philippines was removed through the bloodless people’s power movement. Shin (2008) further elaborates in his work that a year later, South Korea bade adieu to “military rule and elected a new president in a free and competitive election for the first time in almost three decades. In the same year, after ending more than three decades of the Kuomintang’s one-party rule, Taiwan abolished martial law and ushered in an era of highly competitive multi-party democracy.” In 1990, Mongolia became a third-wave democracy by abandoning its 65 year old communist one-party system that stood witness to complete sway by

MPRP, and holding competitive multi-party elections. Cambodia began its transition to democracy as a consequence of the October 1991 Paris Accord (Ear 1997 in Shin 2008:4). In 1992, Thailand witnessed a return of democratic regime in post-peoples' protest, leading to the ouster of the military-backed government. The year, 1999 brought a long-term promising change in Indonesia that witnessed the end of three decades of Suharto's personal dictatorship, subsequently followed by "democratic elections to become the largest third-wave democracy in the region. By the end of the last decade, the third wave had led to the rise of about seven new democracies in East Asia" (Shin 2008:4).

From the above history, it could be said that the third wave of democratisation in East Asia represents a slow process. Today, "more than three decades after democratisation began to spread from Southern Europe, nearly half the countries in East Asia have yet to undergo democratic regime change" (for detail see table no. 1 in Shin 2008). Shin (2008) describes that besides, two of these "third-wave democracies" (Cambodia and Thailand) have relapsed to authoritarian rule. Also, the Philippines, is no longer rated an "electoral democracy due to political killings targeting left-wing political activists". Consequently, the 2008 report by Freedom House (2008) assigns the status of liberal democracy to just "five countries (36%) in the region - Japan, South Korea, Mongolia, Indonesia, and Taiwan". Thus it could be concluded that the democratic transition in East Asia has been a topsy-turvy affair for more than a decade.

The vital question to be asked is: "Why has East Asia been slower than other regions in responding to the surging wave of global democratisation"? One reason could be sought in the historicity of things in this part of the world. There is no precedence in favour of democracy in a large portion of land in this region. Shin (2008) added explains that in "Singapore, for example, the People's Action Party has ruled since 1959. In Japan, except for a brief span of eleven months in the early 1990s, the Liberal Democratic Party has ruled since the end of World War II. In Malaysia, the United Malays National Organisation of former Prime Minister Mahathir Mohammed is still in power after more than fifty years. Indonesia's Golkar party ruled from 1967-2001, and Taiwan's Kuomintang governed for more than forty years". Scholarly

analysis leads one to put the blame on Confucian values that hold a large sway upon the very psyche of the people in East Asia. The idea of transforming an authoritarian regime into a democracy does not appeal much under such a mindset that demotivates political leaders.

**Table 1: Changing Characters of Political Systems in East Asia**

| <b>2000</b>              | <b>1995</b>              | <b>1990</b>              | <b>1985</b>              | <b>Year</b>        |
|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------------|--------------------|
| 6 (6/6)<br>Not free      | 6 (6/6)<br>Not free      | 7 (7/7)<br>Not free      | 7 (7/7)<br>Not free      | <b>Cambodia</b>    |
| 6.5 (7/6)<br>Not free    | 7 (7/7)<br>Not free      | 7 (7/7)<br>Not free      | 6 (6/6)<br>Not free      | <b>China</b>       |
| 3.5 (3/4)<br>Partly free | 6.5 (7/6)<br>Not free    | 5.5 (6/5)<br>Partly free | 5.5 (5/6)<br>Partly free | <b>Indonesia</b>   |
| 7(7/7)<br>Not free       | 7(7/7)<br>Not free       | 7(7/7)<br>Not free       | 7(7/7)<br>Not free       | <b>North Korea</b> |
| 2 (2/2)<br>Free          | 2 (2/2)<br>Free          | 2.5 (2/3)<br>Free        | 4.4 (4/5)<br>Partly free | <b>South Korea</b> |
| 1.5 (1/2)<br>Free        | 1.5 (1/2)<br>Free        | 1 (1/1)<br>Free          | 1 (1/1)<br>Free          | <b>Japan</b>       |
| 5 (5/5)<br>Partly free   | 4.5 (4/5)<br>Partly free | 4.5 (5/4)<br>Partly free | 4 (3/5)<br>Partly free   | <b>Malaysia</b>    |
| 2.5 (2, 3)<br>Free       | 2.5 (2, 3)<br>Free       | 4 (4, 4)<br>Partly free  | 7 (7, 7)<br>Not free     | <b>Mongolia</b>    |
| 7 (7/7)<br>Not free      | 7 (7/7)<br>Not free      | 7 (7/7)<br>Not free      | 7 (7/7)<br>Not free      | <b>Myanmar</b>     |
| 2.5 (2/3)<br>Free        | 3 (2/4)<br>Partly free   | 3 (3/3)<br>Partly free   | 3.5 (4/3)<br>Partly free | <b>Philippines</b> |
| 5 (5/5)<br>Partly free   | 5 (5/5)<br>Partly free   | 4 (4/4)<br>Partly free   | 4.5 (4/5)<br>Partly free | <b>Singapore</b>   |
| 1.5 (1/2)<br>Free        | 3 (3/3)<br>Partly free   | 3 (3/3)<br>Partly free   | 5 (5/5)<br>Partly free   | <b>Taiwan</b>      |
| 2.5 (2/3)<br>Free        | 3.5 (3/4)<br>Partly free | 2.5 (2/3)<br>Free        | 3.5 (3/4)<br>Partly free | <b>Thailand</b>    |
| 6.5 (7/6)<br>Not free    | 7 (7/7)<br>Not free      | 7 (7/7)<br>Not free      | 7 (7/7)<br>Not free      | <b>Vietnam</b>     |
| 42.90%                   | 21.40%                   | 21.40%                   | 7.10%                    | Free (%)           |
| 21.40%                   | 35.70%                   | 42.90%                   | 50.00%                   | Partly Free (%)    |
| 35.70%                   | 42.90%                   | 35.70%                   | 42.90%                   | Not Free (%)       |

Notes: Values of political rights and civil liberties are in parentheses; Free: 1-2.5; Partly Free: 3-5; Not Free: 5.5-7. (Source: Shin 2008: 32)

### **2.4.3. Modes of Democratic Regime Change**

As per Huntington, there could be multiple modes in which democratic transition from an authoritarian regime could take place. In trying to explain the modes of democratic transition, Huntington (1991: 114) classifies “transition processes into three broad types based upon the factor of those who play the leading role in those processes. When opposition groups play such a role, replacement occurs. When ruling elites play the role, transformation occurs. When ruling elites and opposition groups together play equally important roles, trans-placement occurs”. “Replacement and transformation represent, respectively, the most and least radical modes of democratic transition. Table 2 lists all of the East Asian third-wave democracies, with their modes of transition and their combined Freedom House ratings of political and civil rights at the cusp of transition and their most recent score in 2008. Also included in this table is an indication of what forces drove each Asian country’s transition, and whether the transition involved significant violence between the state and opposition forces. In East Asia, the Philippines was the only replacement case of installing democracy by this violent mode of popular uprising, while Taiwan was the only transformation case of gradual democratic regime change in which the ruling elite played the initial and leading role” (Shin 2008).

#### **The Philippines**

The Philippines beginning with democracy came “with the presidency of Ferdinand Marcos, who ruled for more than two decades from 1965 to 1986. During this period, he suspended and replaced the 1935 democratic constitution so that he could be elected for a term of six years with no term limits”. He appointed his wife, children, and relatives or close friends at key positions in the government. Also, he imposed “martial law to solidify his power and allowed state security agencies to torture and kills more than thirty thousand people”. The killing of Senator Benigno Aquino, Jr., the main opposition figure in 1983 sent shock waves across the country as well across the globe. During his period of rule, Marcos and his family amassed huge amount of

wealth through open and widespread corruption. While he legally earned no more than an annual salary of \$5,700, when he escaped from the country in 1986, his “personal fortune was estimated to be in excess of \$5 billion”. That speaks volume of the corruption that Marcos promoted and indulged in.

Such blatant corruption and apathy from the government alienated the people at large and voices began to speak up against the dictatorship of Marcos. Even his supporters went against him openly. Shin (2008: 6) describe that in “February 1986, he ran against Corazon Aquino for his fourth term. Though declared the winner of the highly fraudulent presidential election, Marcos was forced to leave the country for Hawaii on the day of his swearing in by a people’s uprising, known as the ‘People Power Revolution’,” which involved as many as 500,000 ordinary Filipinos as well as a number of religious, political, and military leaders. With Marcos’s departure, Corazon Aquino, the leader of the opposition movement, became the president of the first third-wave democracy in East Asia.

**Table 2: Modes of Transition and Democracy Ratings in East Asia**

| <b>Thailand</b>      | <b>Taiwan</b>  | <b>South Korea</b>   | <b>Philippines</b>   | <b>Mongolia</b> | <b>Indonesia</b>     | <b>Cambodia</b>               |   |
|----------------------|----------------|----------------------|----------------------|-----------------|----------------------|-------------------------------|---|
| Transplacement       | Transformation | Transplacement       | Replacement          | Transplacement  | Transplacement       | Intervention / Transplacement | Method of transition                      |
| 1992                 | 1992           | 1987                 | 1986                 | 1990            | 1998                 | 1991                          | Year of transition                        |
| Moderate             | Moderate       | Strong               | Strong               | Strong          | Strong               | Weak                          | Strength of nonviolent civic associations |
| Significant violence | Nonviolent     | Significant violence | Significant violence | Nonviolent      | High violence        | Significant violence          | Level of violence                         |
| State                | None           | State and opposition | State                | None            | State and opposition | State and opposition          | Source of violence                        |

| Civil society and political elites | Civil society and political elites | Civil society and political elites | Civil society      | Civil society and political elites | Civil society and political elites | External inter-vention | Force driving the transition |
|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|--------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------------------|------------------------|------------------------------|
| 2.5                                | 5                                  | 4.5                                | 3.5                | 7                                  | 6                                  | 7                      | Pretransitional rating       |
| 5.5                                | 1.5                                | 1.5                                | 3                  | 2                                  | 2.5                                | 5.5                    | 2007 rating                  |
| -3.0<br>(decrease)                 | +3.5<br>(increase)                 | +3.0<br>(increase)                 | +0.5<br>(increase) | +5.0<br>(increase)                 | +3.5<br>(increase)                 | +1.5<br>(increase)     | Change in composite rating   |

\*\* Transition data obtained from Karatnycky and Ackerman (2005); Freedom House data obtained from [www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org). Mode of transition is classified according to Huntington's (1993) classification scheme. (Source: Shin 2008: 33)

### **South Korea**

If the Philippines could be said to be the pioneering agent of the third wave of democratisation, South Korea could be called its close successor. For almost two decades since 1961, "General Park Chung Hee ruled the country with an iron fist, simultaneously developing its economy rapidly by promoting export industries. Less than two months after Park was assassinated on October 26, 1979, General Chun Doo Hwan came to power through another coup d'état with a design to suppress the awakening of the democracy movement following Park's death. Chun extended martial law over the entire country and disbanded the National Assembly on 17<sup>th</sup> May, 1980". Thereafter, the very next day, he dispatched troops to suppress the rising protests against martial law in Kwangju. His troops killed 207 people and injured 987. The event is remembered as the infamous Kwangju massacre even to this day as a symbol of tyranny and despotism.

From June 10 to June 29, 1987, street demonstrations often referred to as the "June Popular Uprising," saw an enhanced participation from the masses that overwhelmed the police forces. The Chun government found itself under a state of dilemma just a few days before the Summer Olympics to be held in Seoul. It could both deploy the

Army to suppress the demonstrations demanding democracy or accept their demands and prepare for a direct election of the President. Seventeen days passed by before the government gave in to the demand for democratic reforms under pressure from the “United States and the International Olympic Committee”. The agreement, popularly known as the “June 29 Declaration of Democratic Reform,” is still seen as an epitome of ‘transplacement’ (Huntington 1991) from despotic rule to democratic reforms in East Asia.

## **Taiwan**

Taiwan transformed itself into “a third-wave democracy after five years of gradual liberalisation initiated by Chiang Ching-Kuo, the leader of the ruling Kuomintang Party. Since Taiwan’s break from China in 1949, the Kuomintang Party had ruled the island as a one-party state under martial law”. Opposition of all kinds, at the collective level in the form of political parties as well as at the level of individual dissidents, were banned and restricted from contesting elections at the national level. In the early part of 1980, influenced by the events that took place in the neighbouring countries such as the Philippines and South Korea, voices began to rise against the martial law in Taiwan. In fact, in “September 1986, the movement illegally formed the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) as the first opposition party in Taiwan to counter the Kuomintang Party. On June 12, 1987, the DPP sponsored a rally to protest the National Security Law in front of the Legislative Yuan. The protests led to the successful end of the martial law, lifted on July 14, 1987 from Taiwan, although the President lifted it under pressure from the USA”.

The lifting of martial law opened up the path for the Taiwanese people to legally engage in protests and demonstrations against the Kuomintang Party government. Besides, “more new political parties, including the Taiwanese Independence Party, were formed, which also demanded the end of one-party rule. These parties called for more political liberalisation and challenged the Kuomintang Party in most of the important policy matters, as well as about its close relationship with mainland China. Finally, the Kuomintang Party and opposition forces agreed to a series of constitutional amendments and paved the way for holding free, fair and competitive national assembly elections in 1992 which was subsequently followed by election of a



president and vice president by direct popular vote in 1996". To sum up, the democratic regime change in Taiwan could be seen as 'transformation' in Huntington's scheme of classification with the ruling party leadership playing a major role in the shifting process.

### **Thailand**

Thailand is another case of a country that was under decades of military rule before seeing the light of democratisation. Parallels could be drawn from the South Korean example that followed a similar path to democratisation. What began in 1932 as a jump from monarchy to constitutional monarchy acquired a new flavour under the regime of General Prem who allowed civil society and opposition groups to form. The year 1988 saw the country welcome democracy in its complete form with the conduct of cent percent democratic parliamentary elections which resulted in the formation of "a coalition government under General Chatichai Choonhaven. Although the economy was booming under his government, Prime Minister Choonhaven was arrested in a military coup on February 23, 1991, on charges of corruption and incompetence".

Most importantly, "the new military junta, led by Generals Sunthorn and Suchinda, initiated draconian measures aimed at undoing the political liberalisation reforms of Generals Prem and Choonhaven". People were out on the streets against the military junta. Open police firing was resorted to by the government in the capital city of Bangkok. Not ready to give in, the "Thai people continued with the protests and after three weeks of significant violence in May 1992, the military junta and opposition forces entered into a binding agreement that the constitution would be amended to minimize the role of the military in politics". It also gave Thailand an elected Prime Minister in place of one selected by the military establishment. Thus, "the "People's Constitution" of 1997, the region's most democratic constitution, created three new democratic institutions and mandated the direct election of the Senate." Consequently, Thailand moulded itself into a democracy swept along by the third wave of democratisation.

### **Cambodia**

Cambodia began to democratise itself after it decided to give up its one-party communist rule. But the influence of the ongoing conflict in Vietnam called for international intervention in order to assist Cambodia in the process. “In October 1991, four rival groups (the Khmer Rouge, the royalist Funcinpec, the pro-Vietnamese CCP of Hun Sen, and a very small republican-bourgeois faction), together with eighteen countries, signed the Treaty of Paris, which began the transition process. The treaty sought to make Cambodia a truly sovereign state, with limited Vietnamese influence in its domestic politics”. Hence, it was neither the peasant society nor the middle class movement that could be held responsible for democratising Cambodia. Although unique owing to the fact that democracy entered Cambodia due to the efforts of the United Nations, the consociation agreements between the pro-monarchy groups and the Hun-Sen supporters led to democratic elections and formation of a government in 1993. However, it proved to be highly unstable and a coup took place in 1997 that installed Hun-Sen, a former Khmer Rouge soldier as the military ruler of Cambodia.

## **Indonesia**

General Suharto’s rule spanning more than three decades from 1967 to 1998, faced tough opposition by university students and other from the ranks of the masses owing to the economic trouble that engulfed Indonesia as an aftermath of the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997. The country was reeling under shortages of food and medicine that led ordinary citizens to go all out against the government. “The results showed up on 21<sup>st</sup> May, 1998, when facing growing mass mobilisations against his regime, Suharto handed his power over to Vice President Habibie, a loyalist who also belonged to the Golkar party”. The Golkar Party held negotiations with the opposition forces and the military regarding the issue of holding a free and fair election in the country. The negotiations finally bore fruit and made Indonesia the largest Muslim democracy in the world with the first democratic parliamentary elections taking place in 1999 and the first presidential elections being held in 2004. Truly, with the transition of Indonesia, one can say that the third wave has achieved wonders when it comes to democratising some of the worst authoritarian regimes embedded in cultures that acted as sure impediments in realizing the process.

## **2.5. Causes of Democratic Transitions**

What caused the seven East Asian countries to mount the “third wave of democratisation? The existing literature has identified two sets of facilitating factors as the most probable causes of the current wave worldwide.” There are a set of exogenous as well as a set of endogenous factors that facilitated the process of democratisation. In fact, the “first set concerns political and other changes that had occurred within each country, whereas the second set deals with developments in neighbouring or other foreign countries” (Huntington 1991; Diamond 2008 in Shin 2008: 10). However, the processes have regional as well as national variations (Shin 1994). Of the two, the endogenous or domestic factors played a major role in democratisation when it comes to the countries of Latin America while it’s the external or exogenous factors that caused it in Europe. In the East Asian case, domestic factors could be said to be responsible for the transition except the case of Cambodia which ushered in an era of democracy that took birth in the Treaty of Paris concluded in 1991.

The influence of the international organisations led to the process of democratisation in Latin America and Europe. However, there was no such external influence in East Asia. Furthermore, the East Asian countries adhered to the Confucian values even more strongly under the geopolitical atmosphere marked by the Cold War. The authoritarian regimes self legitimised their rule in the name of fighting in the cold war. The United States support to those “repressive regimes to stop the spread of communism”, “created an unfavourable balance of power between the state and civil society for democratisation” (Shelly 2004; Shi in Chu, Diamond, Nathan, and Shin 2008). It was only as a result of rapid economic development that civil society rose to strength in these countries and finally even the United States took a pro-democracy stand and intervened in these countries to exert pressure upon the authoritarian regimes to let the process of democratisation bloom in its full flow. At least in the case of the Philippines, South Korea and Taiwan, the role of United States can hardly be discounted. Diamond (2008) and others consider issues such as the urge of these countries to be rated as developed and advanced countries and being able to successfully host Summer Olympics, as was the case with Seoul Olympics of 1988,

led these countries to take the process of democratisation more seriously than ever before. As per Diamond and Ginsburg, “the transition in the Philippines by means of the ‘People Power Revolution’ also affected subsequent transitions in other East Asian countries by spreading methods and techniques of democratic change across borders.” (Diamond 2008; Ginsburg 2008)

The two major causes that took East Asia towards democracy were: (i) “the rise of the middle class and shifts in cultural values in favour of democratic rule; and (ii) the expansion of civil society (Alagappa 2001; Quadir and Lele 2005)”. The growth of civil society actually opened up the doors for negotiation between authoritarian regimes and the representatives of the ordinary citizens which is the first step towards democratic transition. Shin (2008: 11) further give details in a segment *Causes of Democratic Transitions* in his work *The Third Wave in East Asia* that “in six of the seven third-wave democracies in East Asia, such a power balance led to successful negotiations between the two rival forces and produced democratic transition by the mode of trans-placement or transformation. In South Korea, for example, religious institutions played a prominent role by promoting human rights and civil liberties. In Taiwan and Thailand, a number of social movements organised by civil rights and environmental groups, mostly from the urban middle class, challenged repressive regimes and demanded democratic reforms. According to Junhan Lee” (2002), external factors such as colonial legacies and international organisations promoting democracy were not the major causes of the third wave democratisation in East Asia. It is the movements mobilised by civil society groups that fuelled these changes. Protests, demonstrations, strikes and boycotts were the tools that they wielded to good effect.

Thus, it can be concluded that in East Asia, it’s not about strong civil society movements that install and consolidate democracy. It’s more about the process that causes the transition. However, one can clearly see an improvement in Freedom House ratings for all these third wave democracies of East Asia except the Philippines. What is unique about the Philippines is the fact that it never completely broke off from its authoritarian past, hence, failed to consolidate upon the democracy it could somehow install after years of despotic rule. Thus, ‘*transplacement*’ worked

better than '*replacement*' in East Asia.

## **2.6. Institutional Structure and Reform**

The basic structure of “democratic institutions are widely known to affect governmental performance and stability” (Fukuyama, Dressel, and Chang 2005 and Lijphart 1999). While the debate over forms of government gives a clear advantage to the Presidential form when it comes to executive stability, it favours the parliamentary form on issues of flexibility and developing the capacity to adjust to contingent situations that may surface any time in a democracy. In the “East Asian democracies, the presidential form has been able to slightly edge out the parliamentary form. There are four presidential democracies - Indonesia, the Philippines, South Korea, and Taiwan and three parliamentary democracies - Cambodia, Mongolia, and Thailand” (see table 3). A simple analysis of the political situation in these countries leads one to conclude that “executive stability is slightly higher among the former countries than among the latter (Croissant 2002). According to Benjamin Reilly (2006), the average duration of a cabinet for parliamentary democracies varies from ten months in Thailand to forty-one months in Cambodia. The corresponding figures for presidential democracies range from a minimum of twenty-six months in Indonesia to a maximum of fifty-one months in the Philippines”. Thus, in East Asia, a parliamentary democracy seems to fare worse than a presidential form when it comes to executive stability measured through the average duration of the cabinet.

While there are variations in the forms of government, the electoral system in almost all East Asian democracies has been uniform in nature. The popular vote is converted into parliamentary seats through which the population is deemed to be represented. According to Reilly (2007), these reforms forged a uniquely “Asian model of electoral system in order to engineer political stability through the design of democratic institutions.” As it favours of a majority of the electorate, this system is also called the “mixed-member majoritarian system”. Reilly (2007) found that the adoption of majority-favouring mixed-member majoritarian electoral system has “resulted in significant increases in the extent to which popular votes are disproportionately converted into legislative seats in all East Asian countries”. Reilly suggests that the East Asian democracies are 50 percent more majoritarian than the

countries of Latin America and Europe. Thus it could be said that the East Asian democracies are more like Latin America with their majoritarian character in contrast to Europe based on consensus democracy.

## **2.7. Third Wave and its impact on China and Singapore**

Among the fast developing economies in the world, China and Singapore represent two of the most notable nondemocratic regimes. The question to be asked is: despite witnessing rapid socioeconomic development why have these countries failed to democratise? Are there chances of democratisation in these countries in the near future?

### **2.7.1. China: The Central Figure State of Confucian Civilisation**

China is the core state of Confucian thought. It could be counted as an anomaly with its one-party Communist rule coupled with rapid socioeconomic development with China being second to none but USA in terms of gross GDP. The theory that links modernisation and democratisation seems to fail in case of China (Rowen 2007). The Chinese model of capitalism without democracy is a unique feature that inspires many other nondemocratic, authoritarian regimes in the region such as North Korea. In an atmosphere that philosophically propagates the ideas of Mao, capitalists have well found their space, patronised and co-opted by the Chinese state. These capitalists are termed 'red capitalists' owing to their existence in a 'red' state. The capitalist class that forms the bulk of the rising middle class was expected to drive the process of democratisation in China, but contrary to such expectations it has not shown any signs of doing so (Solinger in Gilley and Diamond 2008).

*“Are other members of the Chinese mass public more interested in democratizing their authoritarian regime than are their conservative wealthier counterparts?”* The answer to this question was sought through an analysis of the first round of the EAB survey conducted in China in 2003. The survey asked Chinese respondents to “rate their current regime on a 10-point scale, where a score of 1 indicates complete dictatorship and a score of 10 indicates complete democracy. It also asked them to rate on a 4-point scale the extent to which they were satisfied or dissatisfied with the

way the regime was performing. The positive responses to the questions were considered to determine whether China is seen as a well-functioning democratic regime. We compared this proportion across five levels of socioeconomic resources, composed of the respondent’s own education and family income. The table below shows the results” (Shin 2008).

**Table 3: How the Chinese Assess the Current Regime and Its Performance**

| Socioeconomic Resources Levels |       |        |       |        | Entire sample | Assessments of the current regime |
|--------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|--------|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| Highest                        | High  | Middle | Low   | Lowest |               |                                   |
| 82%                            | 80%   | 82%    | 85%   | 86%    | 82%           | <b>as a democracy</b>             |
| 73                             | 77    | 81     | 84    | 90     | 79            | <b>as satisfying</b>              |
| 67                             | 68    | 70     | 76    | 81     | 70            | <b>Both (WFD)</b>                 |
| 12                             | 1     | 9      | 7     | 6      | 10            | <b>None (MFA)</b>                 |
| (690)                          | (778) | (829)  | (592) | (291)  | (3180)        | <b>(N)</b>                        |

Source: The East Asia Barometer Surveys (I).

Key: WFD = Well-functioning democracy, MFA = Malfunctioning autocracy

On the expected lines and given a lack of experience with democratic politics and limited exposure to a college education, “a relatively high proportion (25%) of the Chinese respondents failed to answer one or both questions evaluating their country’s democratisation”. Among those who responded, more than four-fifths (82%) considered the current regime to be a democracy. An almost equal proportion (79%) also expressed satisfaction with its performance as a democracy. Considering positive responses to both questions together, it could be said that a fat “majority of seven-tenths (70%) thought that the current regime is a well-functioning democracy. A small minority of just one in ten (10%) Chinese fully rejects the current regime as an ill-functioning dictatorship”.

It was also found that the perception regarding the degree of democracy in China varies very little across various segments of the Chinese society. “In each of the five segments, defined by respondents’ levels of formal education and family income, more than 80 percent respondents recognise the current regime as a democracy. Similar to the case in other countries, the level of satisfaction with the regime’s performance is significantly lower among those better-off than those who are worse-

off. However, in recognising the regime as a democracy rather than as a dictatorship, the former are not much different from the latter.” Overall results show that the Chinese people show little concern towards aiming at the transition of China from one-party dictatorship to democracy (Shi in Chu, Diamond, Nathan, and Shin 2008).

### **2.7.2. Singapore: The unique case of Political Deviance**

It can be said that “another notable democratic holdout in the East Asian region is Singapore”. Ever since it was granted “independence by the British in 1951, it has been ruled by the People’s Action Party (PAP hereafter), and it remains a de facto one-party dictatorship”. It is a case similar to that of China wherein despite rapid socioeconomic development; there has been no movement for democracy. As a result, in 2006, “the Economist Intelligence Unit typified Singapore as a hybrid democracy, while the Freedom House organisation has continuously classified Singapore as a ‘partly free’ country”. The lack of enthusiasm in favour of democracy in Singapore could be attributing to its tilt towards Confucian ideas that supports collectivism as a virtue in politics and society. The western values of liberalism and individualism have given way to the idea of communal good under the influence of Confucianism.

To determine the extent to which Singaporeans support the current illiberal regime, the second round of the EAB survey was analysed that captured “the democratic perception of the current regime and satisfaction with it. Nearly three-quarters (73%) perceived the current regime as a democracy, and a larger majority of 85 percent expressed satisfaction with it (see table below in Shin 2008). When these two ratings of the current regime are considered together, two-thirds (67%) considered the current regime as a well-functioning democracy, while just 8 percent rejected it as a malfunctioning democracy. Supporters of the existing authoritarian regime outnumber its opponents by a large margin of more than 8 to 1. As in China, there is little variance in the percentages of such regime supporters and opponents across the five segments defined by the respondents’ levels of education and income. Regardless of their exposure to social modernisation, Singaporeans are alike in failing to recognize a need to transform their authoritarian regime into a democracy”.



**Table 4: How Singaporeans Assess the Current Regime and Its Performance**

| Socioeconomic Resources Levels |       |        |       |        | Entire sample | Assessments of the current regime |
|--------------------------------|-------|--------|-------|--------|---------------|-----------------------------------|
| Highest                        | High  | Middle | Low   | Lowest |               |                                   |
| 69%                            | 76%   | 77%    | 74%   | 70%    | 73%           | <b>as a democracy</b>             |
| 89                             | 85    | 84     | 87    | 85     | 85            | <b>as satisfying</b>              |
| 69                             | 65    | 67     | 65    | 63     | 67            | <b>Both (WFD)</b>                 |
| 0                              | 8     | 9      | 7     | 6      | 8             | <b>None (MFA)</b>                 |
| (87)                           | (278) | (249)  | (205) | (114)  | (933)         | (N)                               |

Source: The East Asia Barometer Surveys (II) in (Shin, 2008: 91-131)

Key: WFD = Well-functioning democracy, MFA = Malfunctioning autocracy

## **2.8. The Mongolian Process of Democratisation**

If historians and political scientists have been trying to explain linkages between economy and democracy, Mongolia seems one of the better examples in recent times. The bourgeoisie revolution in the eighteenth-century Europe with houses such as the Rothschilds forming the backbone of a revolution that set on roll the wheel of mercantile capitalism coupled with its inevitable consequence in the form of imperialism across the globe bore the seeds of what was to become the most popular political doctrine in the time to come. Economic development and democracy seemed to hold a positive correlation in almost every part of the world, with the communist regimes under USSR and Maoist China being major exceptions. However, Mongolia broke off from its centuries of Chinese influence and embarked upon a path of rapid economic reform in the 1990s. Despite adverse conditions and external turbulence in 1989 and 1990, Mongolia voted to power a pro-economic reform government in the 1996 elections. The government chose to promote a policy of free trade and liberalised the Mongolian economy to a level that on a comparative scale saw it performing better than other economies of Asia. In the backdrop of the Asian Financial Crisis of 1997, one can say that Mongolia did not face the negative consequences of the crisis as much as other economies did. Since 1994 it always had a positive economic growth and the inflation rate fell below 10 percent by the middle of 1998 which is a sort of achievement when taken from the perspective of Mongolia being a transition economy. While in most of the other transition economies poverty levels have constantly raised, Mongolia sought to arrest the phenomenon to a satisfactory level. The UNDP report published in 1997 had positive remarks about

Mongolia. It read as under: “The most remarkable feature of Mongolia is the peaceful manner in which it achieved a transition from centrally-sponsored political system to a democracy with flourishing political parties and a participating electorate. The advent of unprecedented political freedom and a stable, open political system augurs well for future economic growth and improved quality of life”<sup>4</sup>. Kubicek (1998:31) argues in the context of the Asian economies that rapid economic development and democracy are incompatible. A parallel could be drawn from the thesis developed by Dwight Waldo (1948) in his book, *The Administrative State* who was of the opinion that the very concepts, *democracy* and *efficiency* are incompatible. Here efficiency could be considered equivalent to rapid economic development. Kubicek carries his argument a bit too far to justify autocratic rule in the transition economies of Central Asia. He argues that it difficult for a democracy to implement long-term plans with short-term costs. It is possible only under totalitarian regimes such as the USSR and China. Surprisingly, Mongolia stands out as a counter-example.

The year, 1996 could be seen as a watershed year in the history of Mongolian politics. It dislodged the traditionally powerful Communist Party (it went out of power for the first time since 1924) from power and brought the Democratic Coalition to power. The change was welcomed as the dawn of a new era but unfortunately for the democrats, three of their members were sentenced to prison owing to their involvement in the casino bribery scandal on 20<sup>th</sup> October, 1999. Hence, what came as a long-term promise ended in a short-lived nightmare? A clear example of the change in public opinion could be gagged from the fact that the 360<sup>th</sup> year celebration of the founding of the city of Ulaanbataar saw the inauguration of the statue of Marshal Choibalsan, a former leader of the Communist Party. His rule from 1936 to 1952 earned him the name of ‘Mongolia’s Stalin’ for his authoritarian style. Still there was widespread support in favour of the refurbishment of his statue which shows an inclination on the part of Mongolian people to celebrate him as a nationalist hero, immaterial of the fact that his rule was anti-democratic and despotic in nature. All this could be attributed to the non-performance and corruption-ridden rule of the Democratic Coalition. As a consequence, the reconstituted Mongolian People’s

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<sup>4</sup>As quoted in the UNDP Report published in 1997.

Revolutionary Party (MPRP) captured 72 out of 76 seats in the parliamentary elections held in 2000.

It must be seen in the backdrop of the fact that Mongolia slipped into the hands of the MPRP that replaced monarchy with a one-party rule more centralised and autocratic in nature in 1924. Clearly the impact of the Bolshevik Revolution in Soviet Russia in 1917 could be seen as the reason behind Mongolia's transition from monarchical rule to the communist party regime. As a result, Mongolia became a client state of Soviet Russia for the next 65 years with sixty-five thousand Russian troops stationed in Mongolia (Batbayar 2003). The manner in which it installed a communist regime in Mongolia, it showed a similar reaction to the upheavals in the Soviet world in the late 1980s. As soon as the Marxist-Leninist regime in Soviet Russia saw its demise, there was similar change in Mongolia called 'transplacement' by Samuel Huntington (1991). The process of transplacement involves a joint action by groups both within and outside power.

The process began in the early part of 1990 when Mongolian Democratic Union (MDU) launched protests against the communist regime demanding political freedom and human rights. An early mode of self-denial by the MPRP finally gave way to the demands of MDU through a Round Table Conference in 1990 that paved the path for Mongolia's first-ever democratic elections held in the summer of 1990. Thus, Mongolia became a parliamentary democracy with a directly elected president under the newly adopted 1992 constitution. The sentence against three members of the ruling coalition in 1999 and the return of the MPRP in 2000 kept the issues of corruption and governance burning. In the 2004 elections, these formed the major part of the election issues. No party could muster a clear mandate in the 2004 elections with again a coalition coming to power. However, the covert moves by MPRP led to the fall of the coalition government in 2006 that led some to doubt upon the legitimacy of the political institutions in the newly formed democracy of Mongolia. Nevertheless, political analysts and scholars have rated the democratic transition in Mongolia as a successful one (Batbayar 2003; Finch 2002; Ginsburg 1998; Fish 1998). The democratisation was different from the manner in which it took place in other places such as Eastern Europe in the sense that it was bloodless and the older

regime went out of power without any violence. Interestingly, the communist regime that was ousted from power managed to swing back to power and since 2000, MPRP has held power for most of the time, still it has been bound by democratic principles with its commitment towards the cause of the people being quite apparent. Batbayar (2003) argues that much of the commitment of the MPRP to democratic ethos is on account of the foreign aid that Mongolia seeks which would only be available in case there is democracy in Mongolia. The Freedom House (2004) rating for Mongolia has termed it 'politically free' when most of the third wave democracies in Eastern Europe and Central Asia has been rated party-free or un-free by Freedom House.

## **CHAPTER-III**

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# **Democratic Transition in Mongolia**

Mongolia's traditional and pastoral society started fast transformation through socialism in the years going from 1924 to 1986. There was a clear division between traditional pastoral society and the idea of a highly centralised urban society. Due to pastoral nomadic society, socialism mode of political system existed, resulting lack of commitment and self-reliance and the population was sparse (Ginsburg 1995: 425). Nearly 15 percent of the population had died in the protest of all kinds (Dashpurev and Soni 1992:72). This period there was a clear division between pastoral independent majority societies and repressed certified minority society which controlled the intellectual capital city of Mongolia extremely effectively.

By, 1990 the first and free election in Mongolian political system was the first step of political reforms by the MPRP. The 16 republic of USSR, frequently attempted transformation from socialism to capitalism in the year of 1996 started in Mongolia with the uprising in 1989. The economic changes had already been done by Mongolia, started bilateral relation between China and former USSR and diplomatic relation with the US. Mongolian leadership left the ideological guidance by the former Soviet Union, as MPRP promised to take political reforms whereby the whole internal structure and ideology was revisited, and this eventually led to criticism of purges by Khorloogiin Choibalsan who led the party for 22 years since 1930 and was a staunch Stalinist (Franquelli 2013:11). The politburo appointed a commission in 1989 which promised a national debate; now it was apparent that the systemic mutation is certain. Signs of fracture of USSR further emboldened this process. There was clear evidence visible in Mongolian internal politics that MPRP was ready to play a major role in handling to the situation caused by USSR decline was going on Eastern Europe and other parties of USSR.

There was strong anti-USSR feeling in Eastern Europe and Anti-Ceausescu in Romania boost up Mongolian political elite stirred protest at Sukhbataar Square. This translated into a genuine democratising force in Mongolia. The MPRP also was not opposed at and actually created a pacifist movement at Sukhbataar. Coupled with this was that as the debate on reform began, the usual monolith of MPRP was abandoned and it created rifts within. It was a key reason for weak political organisation (Rossabi 2005: 10). This time the major improvement was that the freedom of press and less

priority Marxist-Leninism ideology, the demand express on a number of article and publication by the debate club/group and also Party publication - Namyn Am'dral etc. (Sanders 1996; Kapalonki 2004). Another side the democratic protest in Eastern Germany and Poland, now intellectuals were aware of the possible impact of their goals.

The major event in 1989 in Mongolian the debating club and intellectuals form a new political party named Mongolian Democratic Union (MDU) demanded the political reforms “changes to the constitution”. Sudden the MPRP created these: permanent Parliament and an elected council to take care of human rights issues; economic reform; change the electoral system, freedom of press as well as the demand of direct election for identification of deputies of People of Great Hural by 1990; “addressing the issues of political repression and the large-scale of destruction of monasteries and repression of the Lamas in 1930s; and the recognition of MDU as legitimate political organisation” (Dashzeveg 1998).

With the collapse of USSR in 1991, Mongolia underwent holistic change as it had strong ideological and one party rule which lasted for seven decades. Mongolia attracted the Western Power as well western NGOs whose provide Mongolian system to shape the transition to democracy. These were the milestone reforms in Mongolian system. The monopoly of one party rule became the thing of the past once democratisation process in Mongolian polity began to take place. “Thus from 1991 to 2012, Mongolia experienced tumultuous political and economic changes. This “transition period, however, was severe. Mongolian people had gone through many hardships and challenges, making progress step by step. Events in December 1989 and early 1990 marked a crucial moment in Mongolian political history when the country could have either moved towards democracy or remained communist one.” Bayantur (2008: 27)

### **3.1. Democratic Movement in Mongolia**

The first free election took place in 1990. It was a path-breaking move towards democracy and market economy. Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) responded to demand of Constitutional amendment and took a lead in the creation of Presidential system coupled with the representative legislative house. By the end of

1990, Mongolia had a law which allowed political parties to exist. This revealed the potential towards democratic transition and acceptance of universal human values. Fall of the Soviet Union and the ending of cold war gave a filling to this process.

According to Soni (2008: 34), “Mongolia made a critical reappraisal of its policy and began changing many of its policies which were believed to have prevented country’s progress at the domestic level.” The decision for amendment of 1960 Constitution was taken in May 1990 at an extraordinary session of MPRP; it decided that MPRP no more remains a “guiding force” and created State Little Hural which was to served as legislative assembly elected through democratic purpose. The Little Hural enacted a new electoral law. The first multi-party election took place on July 29<sup>th</sup>, 1990 where MPRP performed exceptionally well with securing 85 percent seats. In its first meeting in September 1990, Great Hural elected a MPRP candidate as President. Vice-President belonged to SDC (Social Democrats) and PM from MPRP. It also elected 50 members for Little Hural. Vice-President served as the Chairperson of Little Hural. Discussion on new Constitution began in November 1991. It was adopted on January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1992. This led to the metamorphosis of the Mongolia’s political system (*The Constitution of Mongolia* 1992:1-31).

State Great Hural (SGH) was formed by combining the bicameral halls and it comprised of 76 deputies. It further paved the way for multi-ownership market economy which was in consonance with the market economy of the rest of World (Soni 2008). A significant change was renaming of Mongolia from Mongolia People’s Republic to Mongolia. Further gold star of communist was removed from the flag (Summary of World Broadcasts, 1992 Cited in Soni, 2008: 35). During the democratisation process, significant changes took place from politics to the economy to social fields. The new banking system, financial systems were adopted. Mongolia witnessed development through the shock therapy by adopting-privatisation, currency reform and price and wage liberalisation (Country Profile 2004: 11). Nyamdavaa (2003) quoted in one of his work that “Not only the livestock sector, the backbone of Mongolia’s economy witnessed privatisation but also a number of private companies were allowed to operate in major sectors. The main focus of economic growth was given on the utilisation of natural resources including agricultural, mineral, oil and water. As a result, there has been a surge in the industrial sector, which led the growth



of manufacturing units as well. With changes in Export-Import policy, Mongolia tried to attract as many overseas partners as it can. However, difficulties in trade partnership had also been realised due to high prices of domestic and foreign goods and service as well as the weak financial capability of business entities involved in international trade.” In fact, Mongolia witnessed sectoral growths because of joint ventures with foreign companies.

On the political front, the multi-party system came through democratisation process. During the period of this study, there were a very small bunch of parties with good membership and stable structure (Soni 2007:109).

### **3.1.1. Constitutional Development**

Post-1990, the single-party system ended. After a series of street protest in freezing conditions, the politburo of MPRP resigned in 1990. This was followed by the adoption of liberal democracy.

Mongolia enacted its first constitution in 1924 after independence. This was revised in 1940 and 1960. They were modelled on Soviet Constitution of 1939. In this period Mongolia claimed autonomy from Manchu rule and governed through selected bureaucracy and had a bicameral parliamentary system since 1914 with the upper house including high-ranking secular and ecclesiastical lords and departmental ministers was chaired by the prime minister, while lower house consisted of less important nobles, lower-ranking officials, and army officers. March 1921, the first Congress of the Mongolian People’s Party (MPP) in Kyakhtaand adapted a party program defining. “Anti-feudal goals” and a provisional hurl (People’s Assembly) was set up as an advisory body. The Bogd Khaan remained head of state, although his powers were limited by the Oath Taking Treaty or solemn compact of 1921 which might be regarded as confirming a constitutional division of power. The third MPP Congress in 1924 adopted Lenin’s formula for bypassing capitalism and renamed itself the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (from now on referred as MPRP). Three months later, the first Great Hural met to proclaim in the first constitution “an independent People’s Republic which all power belongs to the people” and whose main task was to “strengthen the new Republican order.” The first constitution comprises six chapters, opening with the Declaration of Rights of the People of

Mongolia by passing the capitalism and commitment to social transformation. In 1940, the English Great Hural was convened to adopt Mongolia's second constitution that was modelled on the Soviet Constitution of 1936. Introducing the draft, Mongolian dictator Marshal Choybalsan declared:

“In our activities we are guided by the experience of the great country of socialism, the experience of the Soviet Union. Consequently, in drafting our Constitution only the Soviet Constitution can serve as our model.”

The second constitution guarantees the country's non-capital road of development for the future transition to socialism and MPRP Amendment to the 1960 constitution subsequently extended the term of the People's great Hural from three and then five years and eventually fixed the numbers of deputies at 370. The important amendments of March 1990, introduced under the pressure for democratic reform, abolished the compulsory reference needed to MPRP for guidelines. A further amendment in May post of President and Vice-President was created and restored the Little Hural, or standing legislature with 50 members directly elected after July 1990 elections. The Law on Political Parties legalised membership in any political party and formalised registration procedure.

Post-election in July-September 1990, the process of formation of the fourth constitution began with a Drafting Commission under the chairmanship of President Orchirbat. Dzardyan, deputy chairman of the Little Hural, a Kazakh, and former deputy premier, was appointed as vice-chairman of the commission and Chimid, secretary the Little Hural with long experience in the Judiciary and government, became its secretary. All three were members of the majority MPRP, which at the time was in the process of abandoning its Marxist-Leninist platform in favour of social democracy (Erh 1990: 20<sup>th</sup> October, 60<sup>th</sup> Chapter, 70<sup>th</sup> Article). Sanders (1992: 511) describes further It was decided that the members of the commission would divide into four groups to work on the draft's main themes (as Sanders 1992 described in one of his work):

- **Human Rights** was supervised by Tsog, Chairman of the Law Standing Committee, an MPRP member who had previously been an official in the State Procurator's office;

- **State Affairs** was put under the guidance of Bayar, chairman of the State Organisation Standing Committee and MPRP member who had been a deputy chairman of the State Committee for Information, Radio and Television under the previous government;
- **Economic, Social and Political Matters** were headed by Enhsayhan, chairman of the Economic Standing Committee, an independent member and former director of the Institute of Market Studies;
- **Legal and Constitutional Issues** were directed by Amarsanna, the just- appointed minister of law.

An engaging public debate took place in Mongolia post-draft release in June 1991. Vice-President Gonchigdorj, chairman of the Little Hural, decreed on May 25th that all proposed amendments to this draft were to be submitted through local or national government channels to the Constitution Drafting Commission by September 1st, 1991. The revised draft would then be examined by the Little Hural in October and subsequently by the People's Great Hural (MPR Constitution Drafting Commission 1991). Meanwhile, the commission had decided to take the assistance of the International Commission of Jurists (Mongolia State 'constitution', English Translation 1991). To satiate the strong nationalist sentiment, the Constitution was titled as Yassa (Ih Tsaadz). This was to evoke the title of the code of laws of Genghis Khan (Morgan 1986:96-99).

### **3.2. Collapse of USSR and its Impact on Mongolia**

As per Ginsberg, the transformation of socialist regime took place through two ways: (a) Chinese Model of liberalisation was the one without any political association; (b) East European model where political change apace with economic reform. Mongolia combined both of these. Mongolia which was at times referred as the sixteenth republic of USSR underwent a transformation. Being a client state of USSR for 70 years, this was a significant change. MPRP took the lead towards political pluralism. However, a key difference was that MPRP kept power after the electoral competition. In a certain way, it was leading change towards positive economic growth and political change (Basu 2011:48).

Mongolia underwent a transformation in all its dimensions. There was a rapid shift in its priorities, and it gave political freedom, human rights and equality to all its citizens (The Constitution of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar 1992).

**Table 5: Transition Policy**

| <b>Year</b> | <b>Milestones</b>   |
|-------------|---|
| <b>1991</b> | Near complete and overnight price liberalisation Privatisation by assignment (voucher based) of most medium sized State Owned Enterprises (SOEs)  |
| <b>1992</b> | Transfer of herds and privatisation of agricultural cooperatives “Negdels”, Banking re-structuring, including Privatisation of major Banks  |
| <b>1993</b> | Togrog floated and becomes fully convertible; Some capital account deregulation takes place. Some capital account deregulation takes place External tariff reductions made (to an average of 10%) |
| <b>1994</b> | National Poverty Action Programme (NPAP) launched comprising targeted poverty alleviation projects.   |
| <b>1996</b> | Abolition of all tariffs  |
| <b>1997</b> | Mongolia’s accession to the World Trade Organisation (WTO) Further deregulation of capital transactions and “tax holidays” offered to foreign investors   |
| <b>2000</b> | Tariffs re-imposed at 5 percent. Strategic SOE privatisation announced  |
| <b>2001</b> | Interim Poverty Reduction Strategy Paper (PRSP) adopted, stronger commitment to poverty relief articulated  |
| <b>2002</b> | Land privatisation plans announced  |
| <b>2003</b> | Final PRSP adopted, signalling more interventionist (but still limited) policy stance Privatisation of the Economic and Social sectors trailed (the so-called New Zealand Model)                  |
| <b>2004</b> | Land privatisation initiated  |
| <b>2005</b> | Social sector privatisation initiated, Child Support Scheme for poorest families launched   |
| <b>2006</b> | Windfall tax imposed on mineral companies to support a National Development Fund Reductions in income and value-added taxes, child support scheme universalised                                   |
| <b>2007</b> | National Development Strategy launched  |

Source: Richard Marshall, Frederick Nixon and Bernard Walters “Economic policy and poverty outcomes,” University of Manchester, UK, Paper submitted to the Brooks World Poverty Institute Singapore Conference, August 2007.

It was the first country to introduce multi-party democracy as a former socialist state in Asia (Severinghaus 2000: 138). Batbayar explains (2000: 22) that the new leadership was committed to democracy and aiming at national economy deflection

towards a market economy. He asserts that a set of laws on foreign investment, economic units, banking were adopted and privatised. It adopted an 'open door policy' as a tool of external economic relationship. The new leadership took cognizance of the international development and managed its national security as well as foreign policy accordingly. Mongolia, an earlier buffer between Russia and China, tried to balance relationship with both in view of the desire to maintain the balance of force (Sanders 1991: 120).

Even before the disintegration of USSR, the process of adjustment and transformation had begun in late 1980's. With the USSR's decision leading to lesser financial assistance, Mongolia accelerated this change. There was marked austerity in government subsidies. Mongolia started searching for "new options and greater chances to stand on its own" (Soni 2013:32). Political openness was adopted as a policy tool. With more moderates in power in MPRP, it became easier. Mongolia made diplomatic ties with more than 100 countries. With the growing opposition, MPRP faced a crisis of confidence (Sanders 1998: 692). A renewal program began which was similar to USSR. It followed glasnost and perestroika of Mikhail Gorbachev (Ginsburg 1995). With USSR backtracking and restricting them to a larger policy decision, the MPRP had the comfort to start this process. The Mongolian Democratic Union formed in 1989 started a broad democratic movement. This focussed on the democratic restructuring of the polity and economic system. The mistakes of earlier communist leaders could be checked only via radical changes (Ginsburg 1995:480).

MDU as a first opposition relied on the urban intelligentsia educated in Eastern Europe. Its leadership emerged from the Mongolian State University like S Batbayar, 1994; R Genchigdorj, B Lamjav, and P Ulaankhuu, while the National Progress Party leadership was made up of young economists. Democratic Party was an only plausible opponent but was restricted to Ulaanbataar. All of them lacked the support of herd's people in the countryside (Goldstein 1994: 75). The struggle was united around "a nationalistic motivation rather than a democratic one" (Batbayar 2001: 53). However, soon it became a struggle against communism as the main culprit. Batmonh's defeat was a major victory for reformers. He was replaced by Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat, Minister of Economic Relations. A new central committee and secretary general of

MPRP were formed. With the end of single party rule, from 1990 to 1992, the prized leading role for MPRP was over. It also faced a demand for faster reform and failed to aptly respond to it. With the deletion of compulsory reference clause in Constitution, the MPRP was on weaker footing. Opposition parties were legalised (The Constitution of Mongolia 1992: 1-31).

With the establishment of People's Great Hural, House and election through district-based population ensured democracy stands firm. The PM, cabinet and power of amendment shall be done through Great Hural. The proportional representation system was adopted to elect a member of the Small Hural in the bicameral legislature system. This shall serve as the body for the law-making. With nearly 95 percent vote, Opposition Parties acquired around 40 percent seats in Small Hural. Great Hural remained under the control of MPRP. MPRP formed the coalition government with other political parties and involved them in the process of transition (U.S. Department of State Dispatch 1993). With coalition government, MPRP allowed four cabinet posts to the opposition parties. Great Hural met on September 3, 1990, and had allowed Vice-President from the Social Democratic Party (SDP), Prime Minister from MPRP. A 20-member multi-party committee was formed for Constitution drafting and was chaired by Ochirbat and Justice Justice Biryagiyn Chimid as secretary (Heaton 1991; Sanders 1992: 511). Mongolians embraced west and opened its backwards region for them. The Mongols were warm and receptive to these liberal ideas. Observes Ganbold, quotes "After 70 years of communism, we became more Western-minded than any other Asian country" (Tomlinson 1998).

### **3.2.1. New Constitution**

The new Constitution ensured that its people shall have political freedom, respect for human rights, and equality of all forms of property ownership (The Constitution of Mongolia 1992).<sup>1</sup> The drafting committee was divided into 4 groups reflecting the themes of Constitution- human rights, state affairs, economic, social and political

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<sup>1</sup> "In January 1992, Mongolia adopted the new constitution and declared itself a parliamentary Republic. A one house Parliament which consists of 76 members appoints the cabinet. Chapter one of the constitutions declares that the stationing of foreign military forces on Mongolian territory is prohibited unless otherwise provided for by law". As per Article 1v (1) of the constitution national security features very prominently in foreign framework, adopted by Mongolia in the twentieth century. While building the state through socialism was key feature of previous constitution the new constitution focuses on establishment of democracy, The Constitution of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, 1992.

matters; and legal and constitutional issues. According to H. Hulan, who worked with the Baga Hural, the transitional parliament, during 1991-1992, the original draft constitution aimed at consolidating the parliamentary system with its indirect election of the president. With, the possible fear of a President turning dictatorial, the constitutional makers stressed on the need for a parliamentary regime. This was done to further ensure independence of two other organs. MPRP, however, insisted on Presidential system: (a) it shall eliminate social anarchy which is possible in democratic system; and (b) it matched the history of authoritarian rule since Chinggis Khan. The present system is actually a compromise between both through elected legislature and elected president at the same time (Hulan 1996: 47). The constitution assures to its people political freedom and respect to human rights.<sup>2</sup>

Ginsburg and Ganzorig (1996: 446) describes that the chapter of Constitution deal with the matters of independence and territorial integrity, human rights and freedom, the state structure, local administration functions, the Constitutional Court and amendment of the Constitution. It also established a free market system and change in structure of State Institutions in the final version which was based on France's Fifth Republic. The third chapter deals with the state structure and provides that supreme legislative power vests with Great Hural and its 76 members. This enacts laws for matters from domestic to financial to monetary to foreign policy. It also supervised the implementation of the governmental schemes and budget; initiating the process of presidential election; removal of president and determining the organisation and role of National Security Council. It holds national referenda, ratifies and vetoes international agreements, declares war or emergency. However, President upon consulting the PM could propose dissolution of Great Hural with the conditional support of 2/3rd members (Batbayar 2003). As per this chapter, President shall be elected by Universal suffrage and shall be Head of the State. He shall be representative of people's unity. He cannot hold position of member of cabinet or Great Hural. A candidate receiving majority votes is declared President elect. Great Hural then passes a law to declare his mandate as official mandate (Batbayar 2003: 60).

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<sup>2</sup> The 13<sup>th</sup> of January is now celebrated as the Constitutional Day holiday in Mongolia.

He had the power to veto parliamentary legislations. It could be overruled through two-third majority (The Constitution of Mongolia, 1992 Art 33-1). The President was to serve as the head of the National Security Council and commander of armed forces. He could propose name of PM, call for government's dissolution, initiation of legislation which becomes operative with signature of PM (US Department of State on Mongolia 1993). The President was country-representative in international relations and had power to enter into treaties. He could declare state of emergency or war with approval from Great Hural in seven days (The Constitution of Mongolia 1992, Chapter III Art 25-1).

The PM serves as Head of government and draws his cabinet from Great Hural. It has to provide day to day administration and take care of local administration too. He is responsible to ensure the country's defence capability and national security. It was to frame foreign policy, negotiate treaties and get it ratified with Great Hural (The Constitution of Mongolia 1992 Chapter III, Art 25 -1).

Preamble declares that Mongolia respects human rights and freedoms and that their supreme objective is building a humane and democratic civil society. It empowers Chief Justice as head of judiciary. Appointment of judges is confirmed by Great Hural and President. Courts are authorised for interpretation of laws other than Constitution, ruling upon the order of lower courts etc. The judicial system is well bifurcated and exists at all levels. These courts derive their authority from Presidential decree and Great Hural. General council of Courts was formed to oversee judicial administration. Constitution aimed to ensure judicial independence (Ginsburg and Ganzorig 2000). However, strangely the concept of judicial review is absent (Tomlinson 1998).

The constitution was the first one to allow multi-ownership and allowed mainstreaming of Mongolia in consonance with its specific conditions (Summary of World Broadcasts 17 January 1992). The ideological vacuum with the disintegration of USSR ensured this. This ideological vacuum helped Mongolia achieve following desired results:

1. Market economy remains focus of economic transition.
2. Evolution of democracy and a



3. Generation revolution aimed at a new third generation of younger people leading the destiny of the country.

As far as foreign policy was concerned, it stipulated that Mongolia will accept principles and norms of international law and adopt a peaceful foreign policy. Practically, this meant that it shall have open foreign policy without baggage of history (Stobdan 1992: 225).

On the issue of security, foreign policy and defence policy assist us (Soni 2002). It views national security through the paradigm of vital national interests of Mongolia. The vital national interests are:

- I. the existence of the Mongolian people and their civilisation
- II. the country's independence sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of state frontiers, relative economic independence, sustainable ecological development and national unity. (Soni 2002: 229)

Mongolia aimed at establishing a power equation which is attuned to its national interest and thereby its relation with Russia and China plays a cornerstone in Mongolia's security policy (Stobdan 1997: 179). Soni (1996:120) quoted in his book that the foreign policy for Mongolia meant thus, "the priority of Mongolia's foreign policy shall be safeguarding of its security and vital national interests by political and diplomatic means and creating a favourable external environment for its economic, scientific and technological development." The first priority is to have all round good neighbourly cooperation with Russia and China, without adopting the line of either country. It developed friendly relations with EU countries, US, Japan, ASEAN and SAARC. Geopolitical realities and not mere democratic transition decided the direction of foreign policy and national security. It has strengthened and made vibrant relationship with diverse interests, blocks and geographies. It is reinventing itself.

Mongolia understood that a vertical relation with China and Russia won't help and that it needs to widen its relations with world. Mongolia is a key player in stability of Asia and Pacific region. They remain vital for Mongolia's development. It also understands international cooperation in commerce and cooperation.

Post-1990 leadership in Mongolia is committed to democratisation of social life and swift movement towards market economy. A number of laws were passed to ease doing of business (Batbayar 2000: 78). With intention towards liberalisation, it established new banking and financial system. A rapid transition of Mongolia's economy was accelerated through shock therapy i.e., privatisation, currency reform and price and wage liberalisation (Mongolia Country Profile 2004: 11). Key sectors of economy were opened to private companies (Nyamdavaa 2003: 80). Economic growth was facilitated through utilisation of natural resources like minerals, oil and water, and agriculture. This led to acceleration in industrial sector and ultimately manufacturing units. There was a vast enhance in Mongolia's trade relations. It, however, needs to be highlighted that it is still unsecured and needs consistency. With evolution of Exim policy, it attracted several partners. However, the negative impact of trade was inflation of domestic prices and foreign goods and service. The financial market was still unstable in arenas of foreign trade (Nyamdavaa 2003: 80). Through joint ventures with foreign companies, Mongolia witnessed growth in several sectors of economy. By July, 2003, through cancellation of 98 percent of Ulaanbaatar Rb 11.4 Billion which it owed to USSR, Mongolia removed a large share of financial burden. This provided a big boost to build confidence of foreign companies as they considered deficit as a major barrier while investing in Mongolia (Country Report Mongolia 2004:27).

The process of refinement of constitution is still ongoing. A major debate since 1996 was regarding concurrent holding of membership of parliament and ministerial post. Initially, this was decided in negative. It actually led to fall of democratic coalition government. Another key question was about the President's power to veto or approve PM candidates. It became a question of intense debate when President Bagabandi vetoed seven times the candidates nominated by Democratic Coalition. This led to a period of mal-governance and government (Sheldon 2000). First Amendment was enacted in December despite 2000, in spite of opposition from Constitutional Court. As per the new Constitution, many laws were passed as revision, amendment and mutation of electoral laws related to President, Parliament and a specific law for local elections (Sheldon 2000). These laws mark a stage of strengthening of democratic culture and democratic institutions. This phase also

marks emergence of civil society in the form of NGOs which numbered more than 1800 in 2000 according to Ministry of Justice registry data. Hereby, it was possible to have multiple channels for masses to express their views and affect decision-making process.

### **3.2.2. Emergence of Political Parties**

Party formation was stimulated by the choice of rules governing elections, but only rules cannot be responsible for the uniquely strong and representative political parties that emerged in Mongolia in the mid-1990s. The role of resourceful leadership and dogged dedication to party-building by political entrepreneurs was also very important. Therefore, multi party democracy is still at its embryonic stage in Mongolia. However, there has been strong enthusiasm in forming political parties. Consequently, since the end of single party rule, uncountable parties and groups have emerged and reorganised or renamed themselves. However, a few political parties still wield major influence and have stable membership (Sanders 1998: 692). That is how, Mongolia did not begin its political transition with alternative political parties like Hungary and several other post communist countries that started reasonably stable and well- formed party systems in the 1990s. Like their counterparts in the USSR, Mongolia's rulers under the old regime did not countenance even token opposition system (Jarett 1998: 85). Neither did the emergence of strong political parties occur soon after the beginning of transition. Until 1993, opposition parties were diminutive and the MPRP was the country's sole dominant political force.

However, from 1993 to 1996 opposition leaders put forward a vigorous effort to enhance their parties, particularly in the towns and rural areas outside the capital where over two-thirds of the population inhabited (Batbayar 2001: 46). While they were successful in establishing a presence in each of the country's 21 *aymags* (provinces), they also amalgamated their organisations in a way that cut down the number of parties and smoothened coordination during election campaigns. During 1996 parliamentary elections, the oppositional portion of the political sphere was controlled by two major parties, the Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP) and the Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP). During campaign, the two political parties cooperated closely. They divided up electoral districts, endorsed each

another's candidates and worked together to found the Democratic Coalition. The victory of the Democratic Coalition, whose candidates won 50 of 76 seats, represented the fruition of nearly four years of rigorous organisational efforts. In contrast with most of Russia's liberal politicians, Mongolia's leading liberals, such as the MSDP's Gonchigdorj and the MNDP's Bat-Üül, regarded cultivating constituencies and building parties as beneath their dignity. The reverence in which Mongolian liberals occupied organisational prowess was seen in their subsequent appointment of the Democratic Coalition's campaign manager, Mendsaykhany Enkhsaykhan, as prime minister. One of the most mature political party systems was produced by the combination of institutional stimulus and capable leadership in one of the post communist region's (Batbayar 2001:47).

The system is remarkable for its degree and quality of differentiation. The MNDP stands for liberal stream. Along with its support for rigorous measures to control crime and eschew pure libertarianism, MNDP also favours deregulation in economic and social policy. The MSDP is almost as liberal as its coalition partner but shows a somewhat stronger interest in social and environmental protection issues. The Mongolian People's Republican Party (MPRP) adopted social democracy but it still claims to be the "most left", as per the ideology, of Mongolian parties and accentuates its own commitment to eradication of poverty. Thus, it is neither as nostalgic nor unreconstructed as the Communist Party of the Russian Federation nor as unabashedly liberal as the main communist-successor parties in Hungary and Poland (Fish 1978: 9). The parties are not only clearly differentiated in programmatic terms; they also recognise one another as legitimate representatives of opposing positions, thus opposition is respected in this system. In Russia this system is different, viz. communists and nationalists call liberals "Bolsheviks"; liberals call communists "fascists"; and every party calls itself "centrist". Such self-inflicted confusion and mutual non recognition is detrimental for the party identities. Moreover, political discourse and competition is also affected negatively.

In Mongolia, unlike Russia, the Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP's) leaders call themselves liberals and the MPRP socialists; the MPRP's leaders call themselves leftists and the MNDP rightists. In addition to being well differentiated and established in their political identities, Mongolia's parties are broadly inclusive

and deeply rooted in society. The MPRP claims that it has 86,000 card-carrying members; the MSDP, 50,000; the MNDP, 72,000; and the MTUP, 15,000. Independent experts in Ulaanbaatar argue that the actual figures are 5 to 10 percent less than those claimed by the parties themselves. If one assumes that the figures claimed by the parties are deflated by 10 percent, the numbers still illustrate that nearly one-fifth of Mongolia's adult citizens come from one of the four major parties (Fish 1978:10). This proportion seems similar to that found in West European democracies with strong, mature party systems.<sup>3</sup>

Though many scholars argued that Mongolia should have a parliamentary system, the first draft supported and mentioned a strong presidential system and a single chamber parliament. Finally, the new Mongolian Constitution (Constitution, 4<sup>th</sup>) with foreign advice was adopted on January 13<sup>th</sup>, 1992 within one year of its introduction.<sup>4</sup> The six chapters of the Constitution discuss independence and territorial integrity, human rights and freedom, the state structure, local administration functions, the Constitutional Court and amendment of the Constitution. The new Constitution envisaged a democratic political system along with a free market and also changed the structure of the state apparatus. In the final version it called for a mixed political system loosely based on France's Fifth Republic (Ginsburg 1995: 466). Chapter Third of the Constitution, dealing with the state structures, states that the supreme legislative power is the State Great Hural. As per this chapter, the President is Head of State, symbolizes the people's unity and has the power to veto parliamentary legislation. Yet, the veto can be overturned by a two-thirds majority of the State legislature i.e. Great Hural (Constitution of Mongolia 1992: 16). The President is also the head of the National Security Council and the commander of the armed forces in the constitution. The prime minister, on the other hand, has been made the head of the government and directs a cabinet drawn from the State Great Hural.

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<sup>3</sup> It easily represents the highest figure in the post communist world. As in other polities, strong, inclusive, well-differentiated parties bolster democracy. They offer voters clear choices, and they lend structure, discipline, and some degree of predictability to competition in organs of government. They bind political elites to constituencies and narrow the gap between rulers and the ruled. The absence of strong parties is to blame for the failure of many other post communist polities to create representative democracy. Strong parties in Mongolia help account for that country's relative success.

<sup>4</sup> The 13<sup>th</sup> of January is now celebrated as the Constitutional Day in Mongolia.

The new Constitution makes provision for the Constitutional Court (Constitutional Tribunal) as a high court that deals primarily with constitutional law. The Constitutional Court consists of nine members, including a chairman, appointed for a six-year term. Its main jurisdiction is to rule on whether or not challenged laws are in fact beyond the constitution and therefore in conflict with constitutionally provided rights and freedoms. The President became more powerful as he would be elected by popular vote rather than by the legislature as before. A national majority popularly elects him for a four-year term, which is, however, limited to two terms. The Constitution empowers the President to propose a Prime Minister, call for the government's dissolution, initiate legislature and veto all or parts of legislation and issue decrees, which become effective with the Prime Ministers signature (For more details see USDS). In the absence, incapacity, or resignation of the President, the SGH Chairman exercises presidential power until a newly elected President takes over his office. In June 1993, while running as the candidate of the democratic opposition, incumbent Punsalmaagiyn Ochirat came out victorious in the first popular Presidential election. The Prime Minister works as head of the government and has four-year tenure. He is nominated by the president and nomination is confirmed by the SGH. The Prime Minister constitutes a cabinet, subject to the approval by the SGH. The Constitution also makes provision that dissolution of the government occurs upon the Prime Minister's resignation, simultaneous resignation of half the cabinet, or after an SGH vote for dissolution. However, as the supreme government organ, the SGH is empowered to enact and amend laws, determine domestic and foreign policy ratify international agreement and declare a state of emergency. Besides, the SGH meets bi-annually and its members elect a chairman and vice Chairman both of them serving four-year terms. The Members of Parliament (SGH) are popularly elected by district constituencies for a four terms. ([http://www.shsu.edu/~his\\_ncp/ChEABN.html](http://www.shsu.edu/~his_ncp/ChEABN.html))

However, the Supplementary Law on Implementation of the Constitution during the democratic transition period dealt with a number of issues, such as the State Great Hural general elections scheduled in June 1992 and the presidential election to follow in June 1993, in October 1992, the Mongolian Democratic Union became a political party along with a number of new parties that banded together to endorse P. Orchirbat

for the President. He emerged victorious in the presidential election with an overwhelming victory (Batbayar 1993:41-41). The 1996 election illustrated an important change in Mongolia, as democratic forces came to power for the first time (Ginsburg 1997:61-62). In 1997, the presidential election took place making MPRP member Natsagiin Bagabandi the president. Thus, the balance was established by nominating the President from the minority party (Ginsburg 1998:64-65). In July 2000, MPRP came back into power in a national election when it gained 72 seats in Parliament and formed the Government (Prime Minister and Cabinet) without any opposition. After the election, they began to reunite into one large opposition party once again. In May 2001, affirming a government and presidency of the MPRP members, President Bagabandi was re-elected (Soni 2004:109-110).

Democracy survives on strong institutions such as political parties and interest groups. In accordance with the new Constitution, other laws were enacted as revisions, amendments and changes in existing law on political parties, a law on parliamentary and presidential elections and a law on local elections. These newly passed laws ensured far more democratic practices and establishment of democratised institutions in the country. For example, the political parties' law allowed the establishment of parties who could contest elections. Interest groups also flourished alongside. For example, the NGO community has emerged dramatically with more than 1,800 registered by the Ministry of Justice in 2000 (Ministry of Justice and Internal Affairs of Mongolia 2004). Thus Mongolian citizens have outlets to articulate their interests, including national NGOs. This illustrates the strong emergence of civil society in Mongolia to support the democratisation process.

The first presidential election was held in June 1993, as per the new constitution; in which Pulsalma Ochirbat became winner to serve as President for another four years term (Batbayar 1994:41-42). His government depended on an ambitious but short term painful program of transition from central planning to a market economy by 1994. With economic liberalisation, the currency was devalued, a new banking system and stock exchange were established and privatisation began to move towards the market economy. Mongolia also joined the International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development Bank to achieve its anticipated goal (Severinghaus 1995: 95-97).

Mongolia's inflation was greatly reduced and privatisation moved apace by 1996. There was an opposition led hunger strike in the main square to protest, in early April 1994 against the government of Prime Minister P Jasrai. The allegations of bribery and corruption were made and the strike demanded freeing the media. Hunger strikers with their crowd of supporters demanded the resignation of the P Jasrai government and the dissolution of the Parliament. The strike lasted for twelve days. One of the strikers' demanded to free national radio and television as the rural population in Mongolia had access to only government controlled; radio and television. The government's continued control over television and radio was of vital importance in a country where most of the rural population did not receive newspapers. During the strike, President P Ochirbat played the role of an ombudsman mediator. He made efforts to bring democracy into practice by protecting both public and government interests at large. Under his pressure, the government agreed to free media law, revise the election law and allow public demonstrations and the. Meanwhile, the crisis was resolved by April 25th 1994 without the government having to resign (Europa Year Book 2004: 2875-2877).

### **3.2.3. Electoral Reforms**

Democracy depends on election and electoral systems, the two strong pillars. O'Donnell (1996) describes therefore, it seems as a major challenge by the countries moving towards democracy in choosing the right electoral system to fit their country in historical and social set up and to ensure fair, free and competitive elections. O'Donnell (1996) states "that fair elections are the main criterion that certifies countries as democratic before other governments and international opinion". The electoral laws cannot be undermined because they are instrumental in ensuring that the electoral system is free from corrupt practices. Hence, an examination of electoral system and electoral law is necessary to find out whether a country is a democracy. In the case of Mongolia, democracy was launched successfully resulting into parliamentary governance which has helped to the development of a fair and transparent electoral system. However, an evaluation of the quality of Mongolian democracy-building and the electoral system is required to answer to two cardinal questions (1) Were there loopholes during Mongolia's election process? and; (2). Did Mongolia's supporters of democracy effectively promoted state-building concerns



while building a democratic system? These questions can be answered by reviewing and interpreting the essential elements and procedures of the election process and the outcomes of each democratic election held in Mongolia since it began to transit to democracy in 1990 (O'Donnell 1996:44).

As new country, adopting parliamentary mode of democracy, Mongolia developed a fair and transparent electoral system. Elections are important for transitioning countries which face state-building problems. Election process provided Mongolia to promote democratic system and pay attention to state building after the adaptation of new constitution in 1992. Parliamentary government introduced new rules and regulation for fair election dealing with the electoral system, electoral laws, and other issues in Mongolia.

#### **3.2.4. Election Law**

Election law are essential elements to establish regular and democratic election. Mongolia's new constitution provide universal right to vote on the age are 18 or above. After the establishment of the new constitution, the first Parliamentary Election Law tested in 1992, while the Mongolian government approved Provincial government election law and presidential law was also approved by the State of Great Hural in 1993. New constitution provided greater opportunity to Mongolia to take political reforms. First time through Mongolian parliamentary used "the parliament election law", to elect 76 candidates to the State of Great Hural of Mongolia by applying multi-member district majoritarian system. This transition period again Mongolia realise there need to reform in Election Law was reformed in 1996 and began a single member district system. This was second parliamentary election help in Mongolia. Next two elections 2000 and 2004 both were held under 1996 electoral law amendment. Transition period is going on and some election irregularities and fraud emerged, resulted two major parties of Mongolia came together and form a coalition government in 2004, wrote for electoral reforms. A new and mixed majority and proportional representation was introduced by the Commission in which 76 members are elected from multi-member districts (Bayantur 2008:56). This election law permitted a multi-member district system ranging from nineteen electoral districts with four mandate each, to thirty-eight districts with two members.

Election commission monitor and audits parties, coalitions and independent candidate finance and whether parties are corrupt or not. During election period and after that election commission make sure information available to the public. Campaign finance is under surveillance, donation, income and party property and candidates' activities deeply monitored by the commission. But the 2004 parliamentary election there was emergence of coalition government, the MPRP and the Democrats both are having power sharing position and equal representation in parliament. The democratic path followed by Political Parties and Parliament may guarantee the reduction of corruption. According to "Samuel Huntington, democratisation has occurred when there have been two clear regime changes through an open competitive and fair electoral process." Mongolia saw five regime changes; first regime changes in 1996 when first time in Mongolian history MDU regime came into the power and in 2000 again MPRP came into the power finally in 2004 cite here how regime change is possible state building, and role of electoral law.

During transition period many political reforms have been taken place which clearly showed the democratic path which Carothers Stated three stage of democratisation and Mongolia is a classic example that did. Free and fair elections are necessary to call a country democratic one. The civil society is highly active. Main source of funding for political parties are donation to political parties from the individuals and business.

Election commission constitute by the Mongolian parliament, highly independent institute like India. The commission controlled to held the election and monitor all the elections and referendums in Mongolia, till date Mongolian election commission conducted 7 parliamentary elections and six president elections. Regional commissions as well as their respective branches are established during election time, to monitor the election.

### **3.2.5. The Electoral System**

There is a wide variety of election systems used around the world and a given election system will not operate in the same way in all countries. It is expected that democratic elections should translate votes into authority fairly. The Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) argues that electoral systems are mechanisms to translate

votes into party representation and allocate seats in the parliament or the legislature (IDEA 1997:7). According to the IDEA, for electoral system design “the key variables are the electoral formula used, whether the system is majoritarian or proportional and what mathematical formula is used to calculate the seat allocation and the size of constituencies, as well as the number of parliamentarians a district elects” (IDEA 1997: 53). The IDEA outlines three broad families of electoral systems. Among these systems, First Past the Post (FPTP)<sup>5</sup> and Proportional Representation (PR) systems are the most popular.

According to the IDEA (1997) analysis, one third of the world’s countries use the Proportional Representation system. It is important to analyse the FPTP and the PR systems in order to understand the efficiency of an electoral system. It also explains how to design the best system that works for the country’s specific socio-political context. The PR system promotes multi-party participation in elections and gives opportunities for minority party representation as well. The purpose of the PR systems is “to consciously translate a party’s share of the national votes into a corresponding proportion of parliamentary seats. “While seats are often allocated within regionally-based multi-member districts, the parliamentary seat distribution is effectively determined by the overall national vote.” (IDEA 1997:60) In the FPTP the winner is the candidate with the most votes, but not necessarily an absolute majority of the votes. Sixty-eight countries, just under one third of the world’s countries that hold elections, use the FPTP systems. It is thought that the FPTP system promotes a party system with relatively few parties (sometimes only two) (IDEA, 1997: 18-28).

The FPTP system is also very clear and simple to use. Basically it provides a choice between different political parties and their candidates. It is an appropriate system for newly emerged democratic country which does not have a strong political institution that has two political parties, because it produces a majority government.<sup>6</sup> IDEA, (1997: 1) document explains however, it should be noted that this is not always the case in multi-party systems. Elections and democracy are two sides of the same coin:

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<sup>5</sup> The FPTP system is also known as single-member plurality system.

<sup>6</sup> The IDEA explains that when the FPTP system is used in multi-member districts, it is referred to as ‘the Block Vote’ in which voters have as many votes as there are seats to be filled. The highest-polling candidates fill the positions, regardless of the percentage of the vote they actually achieve. See IDEA, 18.

“The choice of electoral system is one of the most important institutional decisions for any democracy.” Thus the analysis of the electoral system in terms of electoral constituencies is also necessary. The number of seats and the method of election should also be comprehended and we also need to delve into the actual electoral campaigns by analyzing party platforms and campaign results.

Mongolia has very consciously designed its own election system to cater the needs of its unique historical and socio-political conditions. In fact, a country moving towards democracy chooses a semi presidential institutional design in which there is sharing of power between presidential and Parliamentary governance. Mongolia now has a modified version of the FPTP system for the parliamentary elections. The Prime Minister is head of the government. Who appoints his cabinet subject to the approval of the State Great Hural. For the presidential elections, Mongolia has used the “Two-Round System.” The President is the de-jure executive of the state, elected for a four-year term. However, under different electoral rules including “a block vote system (1992), a party list and candidate list system (1996) and a first-past-the-post system, various parliamentary elections have been contested (2000)” (Landman, Larizza, McEvoy 2005:42).

Two-Round Systems are most prevailing method for electing Presidents. The “French Two-Round” System tries to ensure that the winning candidate receives an absolute majority of the vote cast, that is, over 50 percent.<sup>7</sup> In a simple term, it is called the two round system because, if no candidate receives a majority in the first round, a second round vote is held in which the two top candidates compete with one candidate finally declared the winner. Elections laws help establish such electoral systems which establish regular and democratic elections. The new Constitution of Mongolia guarantees citizens the universal right to vote if they are of age 18 and over. Mongolian elections are currently governed by three separate laws. There is a substantial amount of repetition and overlap of articles and provisions. The election laws are very ambiguous to some extent as the terms used in the election laws need clear definition and interpretation. Following the establishment of the Constitution,

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<sup>7</sup> The first round is conducted in the same way as a FPTP election. If a candidate receives an absolute majority of the vote, then they are elected right away, with no need for a second ballot. If, no candidate receives an absolute majority, then a second round of voting is conducted and the winner of this round, if s/he receives a majority, is declared elected? Year 18-43.

the first Parliamentary Election Law was adopted in 1992. In 1993, Provincial government election law and the presidential election law were approved by the State Great Hural. The Parliamentary Election Law specifies that 76 members shall be elected to the State Great Hural of Mongolia through the use of a multi-member district majoritarian system. This multi-member district system ranges from nineteen electoral districts with four mandates each, to thirty-eight districts with two mandates.<sup>8</sup> But in 1996 the electoral law was amended and a single-member district system was initiated (Sanders 1992: 12). According to this amended electoral law, the last two elections for parliament (2000 and 2004) were held and in subsequent years, other election reforms had been introduced in Mongolia. Prior to the election the General Election Commission was authorised to determine which system should be used for a particular election (Soni 2004:109-110).

### **3.2.6. Election Commission**

In order to monitor elections as well as parties' the General Election Commission was authorised to audits parties' finances and determine whether parties are corrupt or not. Thus coalition' and independent candidates' campaign accounts during and after an elections were made available to the public. Campaign finances had been monitored to deter political parties from passing legislations that will benefit or reward party donors (Burmaa 2003:1). The Law on Political Parties orders that political parties' property and income should come from membership fees, donations and entrepreneurial activities by the party and party fund-raising activities. Recently, it has become customary for politicians to receive donations from the business sector. For example, some political parties such as the Mongolian Republican Party and the Motherland New Democratic Socialist Party of Mongolia are each entirely funded by a single business. This may give way to corruption as an USAID report suggests in following words:

“...usage of state resources for political campaigns constitutes a misuse of public authority for the benefit of individual or group interests (corruption)

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<sup>8</sup> The parliamentary election law stipulates that candidates should be at least 25 years old to be elected member of the State Great Hural and independent candidates should receive the support from a minimum of 801 eligible voters to be nominated. Many reforms have been made to election laws that include regulating campaign expenses. See The State Great Hural Election Law, Article 7.2, December 2005, General Election Commission (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia), 2.

that has the added negative impact of consolidating single-party domination. The domination of a single party (and its counterpart, the weakness of opposition parties) in Mongolia, along with a Parliamentary political structure that gives significant executive power to the dominant party in the legislature, constitutes a major roadblock to reform of the conditions that foster corruption”. (USAID 2005: 16)

General Election Commission is provisioned to be constituted under Mongolia’s constitution. It is appointed by the parliament with a highly independent status. The Election Commission is expected to organise and monitor all elections and referendums in Mongolia. Since its establishment it has organised and conducted five parliamentary elections and four presidential elections. Although the Parliament and President appoint Commission members there have been instances when more than 70 percent of the Commission members have belonged to a single political party (The Chairman and all seven Secretaries have been members of the MPRP since the establishment of the Commission). Ten out of fifteen MPRP members were appointed in the commission since 1992 and five were non-partisans. For example, during the 1996 elections, eight members of the Election Commission were MPRP members. This occurs because the party that dominates the incumbent parliament Election Commission appoints the members and supporters of it. However, opposition complaints were raised in many places about the inclusion of MPRP members on electoral sub-district as non-partisans ([www.gec.gov.mn](http://www.gec.gov.mn)). As discussed earlier the Commission has the right to inspect finances, monitor the financial flows of campaign funds and audit if necessary.

District and regional commissions as well as their branches and sub-commissions are established during the period of the elections. The Parliamentary Election Laws viz. Anti-Corruption Laws and the Laws on Public Services and Political Parties monitor the elections. All these overlapping laws prohibit the misuse and abuse of state resources and media resources during election campaigns, particularly the use of human and material assets, including property, equipment and funds that belong to government institutions. For instance, as per Article 41 of the Parliamentary Election Law, candidates are prohibited from receiving, during the election campaigns, donations from governmental organisations or private enterprises that own state

properties in general (General Election Commission Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 2005: 23). However, these provisions are frequently not enforced. But USAID report reveals the following:

“Personnel are often blatantly fired without consideration for civil service hiring and removal practices. They are then replaced by staff chosen on the basis of political patronage, including those who worked or contributed to the campaigns, regardless of whether or not they possess the capabilities or skills required by the jobs to which they are assigned” (USAID 2005: 12).

The Supreme Court is asked to deal with the election complaints, if any violation has taken place, before the General Election Commission. Despite minor infractions, we find that Mongolia moved smoothly towards the path to becoming a successful democracy during the period of this study. Main pillars of democracy and its sub-categories can be understood through Table 1, which is as follows:

**Table 6: Main Pillars of Democracy and its Sub-Categories**

| Main Pillars                              | Sub-Categories   |
|---|--|
| Citizenship, Law and Rights               | Nationhood and citizenship<br>The rule of law and access to justice<br>Civil and political rights<br>Economic and social rights  |
| Representative and Accountable Government | Free and fair elections<br>Democratic role of political parties<br>Government effectiveness and accountability<br>Civilian control of the military and police<br>Minimizing corruption |
| Civil Society and Popular Participation   | Media in a democratic society<br>Political participation<br>Government responsiveness<br>Decentralisation  |
| Democracy Beyond the State                | International dimensions of democracy  |

Source: - Beetham, Bracking, Kearton and Weir, 2002: 16; 64-66; [www.idea.int](http://www.idea.int).

### 3.2.7. Administrative Problems and Reform

Transition constitutes a complex working of old socio, economic and political system distinct to one of the boldest projects in contemporary history, i.e. the attempt to 87 construct a form of capitalism on and with the ruins of the communist system. Thus it is not a process of change from one homogeneous system to another. It has its own

success as well as failures (Pickler and Smith 1998: 322). Democracy is not a very old phenomenon when it is compared with the history of human kind; however, it has shown differing results in different countries. Many countries and nations have made a transition to this system in the past 10-20 years. These, first of all, include the underdeveloped countries of Africa, Latin American countries under the control of the military, Asian countries that suffered under strict dictatorships for many years and post-communist Asian European countries. The collapse of the Soviet Union in the 1990s worked as a catalyst in making democracy a global phenomenon (Grabler and Stark 1997:221). In the current world, there are over 100 countries worldwide which are trying to emerge as a democratic state system. The transition toward social reforms that these countries are making has been rather stable and continuous, especially for the past seventeen years. Adoption of peaceful means is one of the common features of societies' currently in transition toward democracy. Having experienced the Cromwell War, the French Revolution and the American Civil War, to name a few, humankind is now renouncing bloody revolutions, thus learning from the history. For instance, each technique of transformation has its own specific instruments: for example, the creation of markets and price reform for marketisation: selling off the state property for privatisation; multiparty system. A fundamental reorientation in the position of Post Communist Countries in the global economy can also be seen.

Several waves of public sector reforms have been initiated in Mongolia since the collapse of its communist regime in 1990 like other post-Soviet area transitional systems, some external in origin and others indigenous. The continued decentralisation of administrative responsibility has been the most important and far-reaching administrative reform in Mongolia. Privatisation, land use administration, infrastructure, health, education and development planning have been delegated to local authorities (Enkhbat and Odgaard 1996:167). While these resultantly have gained huge power in political and administrative affairs the local parliaments and assemblies have gained much of this power (Enkhbat and Odgaard 1996: 169). Therefore due to lack of coordination, the rapid implementation of legal, administrative and democratic reforms has so far circumvented popular participation.



Unless supplementary reforms are initiated, the already implemented comprehensive reform programme may prove counterproductive.

Resolution 293 adopted by government in October 1991 was the first attempt to redefine the role and function of the civil service in the new framework of separation between legislative, executive and judiciary powers.<sup>9</sup> The role of the government in a multiparty democracy has been determined under the new constitution adopted in January 1992. From 1990 until about 1997, the government attempted to develop a traditional system of public administration, drawing inspiration primarily from countries like Japan, Korea and Germany. In this period, Mongolia made progress in establishing a career-based civil service system, a Weberian type of bureaucracy with central control over the classification of positions, remuneration and other personnel decisions and relatively permanent positions. Like many other post-communist states, the adoption of civil service laws and related regulations did not resolve the problems of instability, predictability and politicisation. Beginning in 1997, with the help of international institutions efforts were made to develop a system of administration were overlay with successive reform initiatives sponsored by the Asian Development Bank and others that sought to adopt practices more compatible with a market society. A participatory approach in 2000, was initiated by the government to governance though the UNDP Good Governance Project. The underlying idea was to involve in policy-making processes with all relevant stakeholders, including civil society groups and citizens. In addition, from 1992-2002, the government initiated three legal reforms to introduce more democratic processes into society. To combine traditional and NPM approaches, Mongolia now is pursuing a path of achieving decentralisation through highly centralised mechanisms, deregulation through strongly regulatory mechanisms, flexibility through permanency and participation within hierarchy. From 2002, Mongolia adopted a New Zealand type model of new public management (NPM). Officials interpreted NPM reforms as a performance and output-oriented improvement of the traditional system of public service, but not a replacement of it. The Mongolian transition has led to a mixed model of reform. Specifying the balance of elements from the different models is the biggest challenge in the on-going

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<sup>9</sup> The law of Mongolia on government civil service was under discussion in the autumn 1994 session of parliament and was subsequently approved. However; the effect on local public administration is unclear at this time.

evolution of Mongolia's public institutions. The new system created generally accepted political institutions and new administrative structures and provided ways to eradicate former communist practices while implementing a historically tested version of democratic administration. Efforts were also made to restore legitimacy to administration and raised expectations that government would perform better. Apart from all of this effort, for a number of reasons the structure did not bear as much fruit as in developed countries for simple reason that in Mongolia, democratic process is a recent development.

### **3.3. Government Accountability**

The information held by public bodies must be made accessible to the public in order to bring transparency. Freedom of Information (FOI) laws alone is not sufficient: such laws must meet an appropriate standard and must be enforced sincerely. The allocation and expenditure of public funds are among the chief functions of government. In the absence of oversight and strict controls, the public interest can become subordinated to private interests. Accountable decision-making requires a transparent and predictable process, which allows for public intervention and debate. Also an independent judiciary is needed to ensure accountable governance in the country. The 1992 Constitution laid out formal separation of powers, however, a dispute over whether members of Parliament can simultaneously hold posts in the Cabinet, a measure which has been passed but overturned by the Constitutional Court and then overturned by the MPRP government can be seen glaringly. Thus a tussle for power is present in the country, compromising horizontal accountability of systems (The Management Development Programme, the Government of Mongolia 1994).

**Table: 7 Factors that Contributed to Democratic Political Transition in Mongolia**

| <b>Factors</b>  | <b>How important?</b>   |
|---|---|
| <b>1. External factors</b>  |   |
| Perestroika and glasnost in the Soviet Union (1985-1989) and popular mass demonstrations in Eastern Europe and some parts of the Soviet Union (1989-1990) | Extremely important, led to the shift in the fundamental structure of the communist regime and ultimately regime change. Necessary core condition, although does not guarantee success of democratic transformation |

|   |  |
|---|--|
| Donor aid and pro-democracy international players (after 1990)  | Important in dealing with economic crisis and legitimizing the new regime, indirect influence on democratic transition<br><u>Not sufficient condition</u>  |
| <b>2. Historical factors</b>  |  |
| Removal of long-term leader Tsedenbal (1984)  | Important in weakening (mildly) authoritarian leadership style and extreme pro-Soviet orientation <u>Not sufficient condition</u>  |
| ‘Mild’ leader Batmunkh who governed through perestroika and made a swift decision for the Politburo to resign | No strong leader to grab power Critical in speeding up the process and ensuring peaceful changes in the system, but probably less critical for the ultimate goal of democratic transition<br><u>Important but not sufficient condition</u>                                       |
| Weak military   | Helped the democratic opposition, important in the decision of the regime not to use force against the demonstrators, however not the most critical reason of peaceful changes<br><u>Important but not sufficient condition</u>  |
| Pre-existing sovereignty  | No need to build the nation-state from scratch, however not unique to Mongolia (e.g., the Baltic and other states successfully resolved the sovereignty issue) and does not mean that democratic changes will follow<br><u>Important but not sufficient condition</u>            |
| <b>3. Political factors</b>   |  |
| Emergence of a strong democratic opposition (initially few intellectuals, later popular support)              | Very important, not observed in Central Asia Conditioned partly by external factors<br><u>Necessary and sufficient condition</u>   |
| Divided leadership among the MPRP   | Very important for success of democratic opposition, but hardly unique to Mongolia, yet not present in some Central Asian countries<br><u>Important and sufficient condition</u>   |
| Dominance of radical elements within the MPRP during 1990-1992  | Extremely important for success of democratic opposition and democratization (collaboration of the radical elements within the MPRP with moderate elements within the democratic opposition, coalition government, radical reforms)<br><u>Important and sufficient condition</u> |
| <b>4. Institutional factors</b>   |  |
| Mixed electoral rule – majority for the People’s Great Khural and proportional                                | Important for strengthening new political parties and their influence in   |

|  |  |
|--|--|
| for the State Small Khural (full legislative powers)   | <p>policymaking Critically important after the democratic breakthrough</p> <p><u>Not sufficient condition, derived from political factors</u></p>  |
| Other electoral rules – early elections, party nominations   | <p>Important for strengthening new political parties</p> <p><u>Not sufficient condition</u></p>  |
| Regime type – parliamentary during 1990-1992 and semi-presidential with strong parliament since 1992   | <p>Favorable for the democratic opposition</p> <p><u>Not sufficient condition</u></p>  |
| <b>5. Cultural factors</b>   |  |
| Ethnic, religious, and social homogeneity  | <p>Important for narrowing down the agenda and therefore for successfully reaching a pact. Important for successful national level collective action and cooperation</p> <p><u>Sufficient condition</u></p>  |
| Strong national identity and pride   | <p>Very important in greater social cohesion and successful collaborative effort</p> <p><u>Sufficient condition</u></p>  |
| Small population and tight elite   | <p>Makes a pact easier to reach, also makes collective action less costly</p> <p><u>Not sufficient condition</u></p>   |
| Historical precedence of decentralized leadership (as opposed to historical dominance of strong centralized leadership in Russia and Central Asia) | <p>Played some role, especially in installing a parliamentary type of system (collegial decisionmaking)</p> <p><u>Not sufficient condition</u></p>   |
| Pastoral nomadism and dispersed rural population   | <p>Although there exists a dominant paradigm of nomadic free spirit, egalitarian clan-based horizontal structure, etc. historical evidence shows that the traditional society in Mongolia was very much hierarchical. However, the dispersed rural population made it prohibitively costly to organize on a mass basis, therefore, more conservative nomads were removed from active political engagement</p> <p><u>Not sufficient condition</u></p> |

Chuluunbat, Narantuya (2013), *Why was Mongolia Successful? Political and Economic Transition in 1990-1996*, PhD, School of Public Policy, University of Maryland, pp. 430-432.

## **CHAPTER-IV**

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# **Democratic Reforms and Multi-Party Elections**

MPRP's had conducted the indirect election in its First Congress in 1990. It was done via an amendment to the party's constitution of 1940 which had identified direct election as the appropriate method. In 1960, the Mongolians had renamed its upper house of Legislature as the People's Great Hural with the strength of 370 deputies. Mongolia had its first direct election with the multi-party system in July 1990. This was done through proportional representation system. The Same year, the Democratic Party succeeded in negotiating with MPRP to adopt the system of direct election and evolve a democratic state in Mongolia via new Constitution. Prior to this, the provision parliament used to have a two-chamber system. Under this system, there were 430 directly elected members to Lower House and 50 indirectly elected members to the Upper House. The Lower-House is called the People's Great Hural and Upper House as State Little Hural. The parties will have the seats in Upper house in ratio to their seats in the Lower House. (Schafferer 2004: 1).

MPRP succeeded in securing 31 seats in Upper House, and the Democratic Party was allotted 13 while the National Progress Party and Social Democrats got 3-3 seats only (Heaton 1991). A Constitution Drafting Commission was formed by the President through active support of State Little Hural. A new Constitution was adopted by January 1992. This ensured human rights, free and fair elections. The earlier system of the bicameral legislature was abolished. It was replaced with a unicameral system. It further reduced the membership to 76, and the term was fixed at four years. The method of election was through a system of plurality vote in multi-member electoral districts with two or four mandates (Batbayar 1993).

Democratic Coalition was seen as a visible tool to provide strong opposition to MPRP which was the oldest party with a good organisational structure. The contending parties being very young had the limitation to make the coalition. In 1992 and 2000 elections, in spite of their all efforts, they failed to secure more than 45 percent votes which translated into 5-6 seats per political party (Soni in Chatterjee and Sengupta 2011). Their alliance was an only alliance against former communists. Since political ideology was alien to their fight; they kept splitting elections after elections.

The post-1990 period had been an era of unprecedented economic growth, and it attracted the attention of the global capital. This change was driven by growth in the

mining sector, foreign investment by China and neighbours. It grew around 17.3 percent in 2011, 12.3 percent in 2013, and 18-20 percent in 2013 (World Bank Report 2013). This rapid economic growth also boosted to remove the poverty of the Mongolian people and lead to overall development. A phenomenal drop in the poverty rate from 39 percent in 2011 to 28 percent in 2012. However, a grim side is that socio-economic inequality witnessed a steep rise. MPRP changed its name to Mongolian People's Party (MRP). The party underwent a split whereby Enkhbayar Nambar, the former President, along with a group of MPs splinted and formed MPRP. He was jailed for corruption in Parliamentary election of 2012 and local elections.

#### **4.1. Multi-Party Elections**

The process of democratisation and in a representative democracy political party plays a vital role and also acts as a connection link between the society and the state. Political parties perform a number of major functions that are the most appropriate for the functioning of democracy in a modern state. They organise voters, aggregate and articulate interests, crafts policy substitutes and provide the basis for coordinated electoral and legislative activities. Thus political parties are a catalyst not only to the representative government but also to the function of democratic development in transitional democracies. Strategies to found and strengthened democracy that overlook the towering role of parties cannot hope to be successful, no issue how much importance they pay to other grave matters such as building the institutions of good governance and civil society. This chapter highlights how the space created by the transition in Mongolia was fulfilled by the political parties and what functions do they have in the evolution of procedural democracy in Mongolia.

Since 1992, Mongolia had Parliamentary election in 1992, 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2013. Similarly, Presidential election too took place in 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2000 and 2013. Other than the Presidential Election of 1993 where Democrats won the election, the elections had been won by MPRP thrice. In 1996 Parliamentary election, the Democrats astonished with a landslide victory by defeating MPRP. But due to their inexperience in running government, the Democratic Government alliance lost the 2000 election in favour of MPRP, which came out victorious by making commitments to continue with democratic reforms in Mongolia's domestic and foreign policies as well liberalisation of the economy for the welfare of the country.

MPRP appeared to be winning another term in 2004 parliamentary election because it continued the political and economic reforms. Another major development took place in 2008 parliamentary election held in 11 enlarge Electoral Constituencies, with multiple mandates. The 2008 elections were the first under the Electoral laws enacted in 2005.

This new system provided that based upon the population of the district, there can be 2-4 candidates from a singly electoral district. Mongolia's political development took place in May 2009, with fifth presidential election since the democratic revolution. Elbegdorj received 51.14 percent of national votes and was thus elected with required absolute majority. This was the first time that non-MPRP president got in power in almost 20 year of domestic reforms that had started in Mongolia.

The 2012 parliamentary election was a historic election in many terms. Democratic Party won the Parliament Election with full majority and also succeeded in securing a majority at local the level. This was because of the mixed proportional-majoritarian electoral system which had impacted the landscape of politics in Mongolia. DP also got the Presidency. This also provided traction to other parties. MRP led Justice Coalition stressing on the Resource Nationalism performed poorly with only 11 seats in Parliament. DP and Civil Will Green Party (CWGP) secured 25 percent of cabinet's seat. The election was also memorable for introducing 20 percent quota for women.

#### **4.1.1. The 1992 Parliamentary and 1993 Presidential Elections**

This was the first parliamentary election held on June 28, 1992, under New Election Law adopted in April 1992. In State of Great Hural, "76 members ran in twenty-six multi-member districts". Batbayar (1993) describes that there were three big cities Darkhan, Erdenet, that formed one constituency each and the capital Ulaanbaatar and for 18 provinces, which comprised of six electoral districts, and winner candidates were elected on the plurality basis.

New Electoral reforms made it mandatory for political parties to get registered. It led to registration by April 1992. Overall, eight parties and two coalitions stood for the multi-party election. Schafferer (2004: 2) quoted in one of his work Democratic Alliance consisted of Mongolian United Party, the Mongolian United Party and the

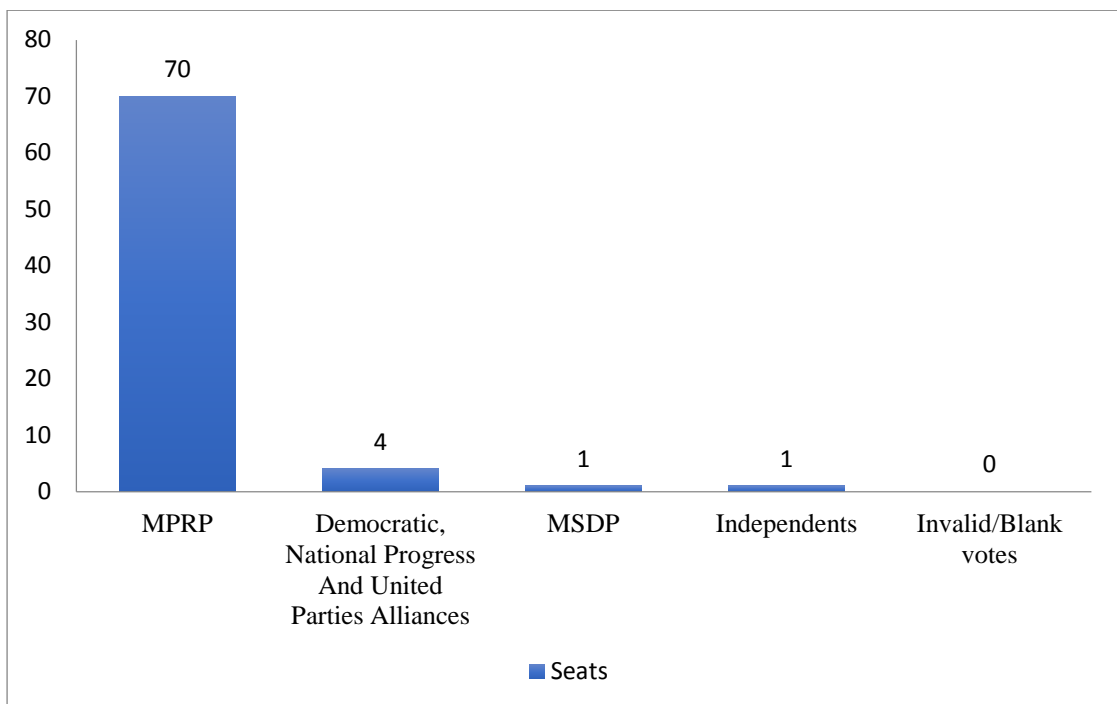


Mongolian Democratic National Progress Party. The other alliance was between the Mongolian People’s Party and Mongolian Democratic Believers Party. The rest eight political parties fought independently. “In the elections of 1992, 275 out of 293 candidates were formed ten parties/coalitions, and the other 18 were independent candidates” (Yadamsuren 2002: 104). The MPRP won 70 of the 76 seats in the State Great Hural, though it received only 56 percent of the popular vote (Bayantur 2008:62). The MSDC secured one seat while DA succeeded on four seats and there was an independent candidate. The independent candidate along with 4 MP’s of opposition party switched to Democrats who had started a democratic movement in Mongolia.

We find a fractured opposition. As per IDEA:

“...in Mongolia in 1992 the Block Vote system allowed the ruling Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party to win 92 percent of the seats with only 57 percent of the votes. This was considered by many to not merely unfair but dangerous to democracy, and the electoral system was consequently changed for the elections of 1996 (IDEA 1997).”

**Figure 2: Parliamentary Election, 28 June 1992**



The IDEA and Electoral Knowledge Network (ACE) coined the term “Block vote” which means “simply the use of plurality voting in multi-member districts. Voters have as many votes as there are seats to be filled in their district, and are usually free to vote for individual candidates regardless of party affiliation.” This system worsened the possibilities for the opposition. It was not used again. MPRP secured 60 percent vote in 20 country constituency. It made its presence felt in rural areas. This reflects in the vote percentage secured by leaders. P Jasrai formed the government and started economic reforms.

MPRP secured clear dominance in polity and society for 70 years. Democrats, on the other hand, were new and had failed to communicate with the dispersed rural population because of transportation infrastructure, lack of media and information asymmetry in rural Mongolia.

The first multi-party Presidential election took place on June 6, 1993. As per the electoral law, only the parties having a seat in State Great Hural could nominate candidates and participate in two round elections.

P Orchirbat joined Mongolian National Democratic Party when MPRP rejected his candidature. Democratic Alliance made him their candidate. He became President by securing 58 percent votes (Ginsburg 1995: 468). His charismatic personality provided him strength, and his stature grew during Presidency. The masses believed that rather than having a new President, it should be better to continue with the existing Prime Minister (Khayanhyarva 2002: 115).

The election also signalled that democracy in Mongolia is strengthening and that it is creating meaningful choices for the citizens. In the first Presidential Election, Orchirbat got support from the urban centres. He was ably supported by Democratic Party across the provinces in the Gobi, Central and Eastern Provinces. He won the election in 14 out of 18 provinces (Ginsburg 1995: 469).

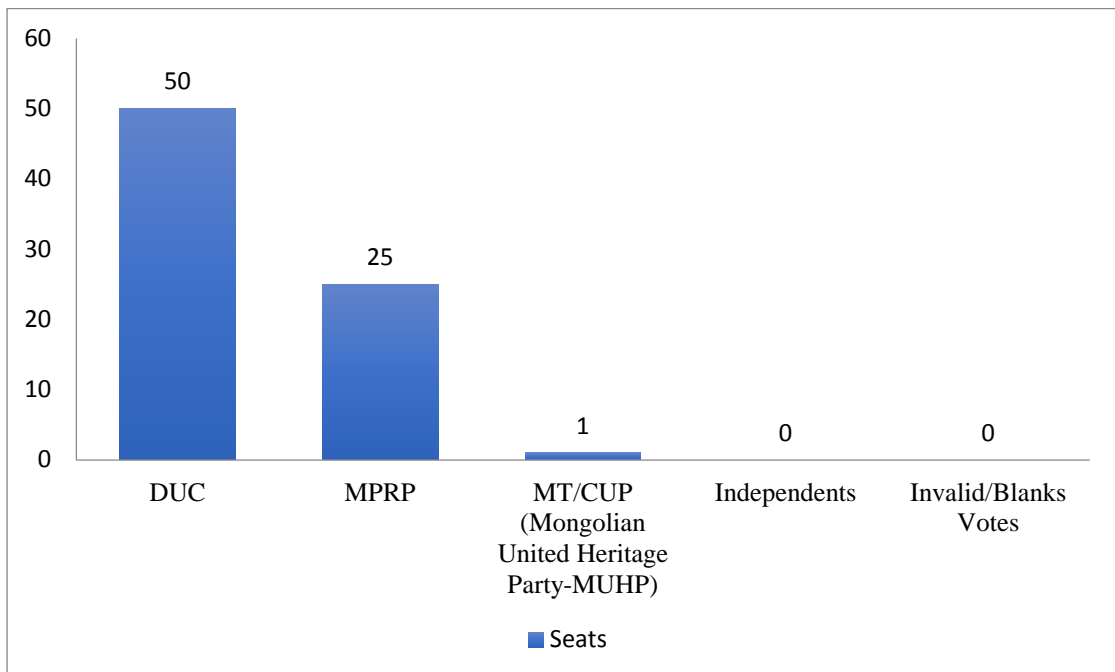
The first sets of elections were successful in establishing the equilibrium between the Parliament and Presidency. It resulted in the establishment of Communist Party in the

Executive and Democrats in the Parliament. This strengthened the democratic culture in Mongolia during the process of democratic transition (Batbayar 1994).

#### 4.1.2. The 1996 Parliamentary and 1997 Presidential Elections

This process of democratic transition further evolved in 1996 Parliamentary elections and the 1997 Presidential election. The parliamentary election was through FPTP through single-member districts. The Electoral Law revised in January 1996 through Article 26, divided Mongolia into single member district. 76 districts were marked out with one elected representative each. In the elections of 1996, 267 out of 302 candidates were from 7 parties/coalitions, and there were 35 independents (Yadamsuren 2002). MNDP and MSDP had formed a coalition called Democratic Union Coalition (DUC) (Bayantur 2008:64). It defeated MPRP through an overwhelming victory (Severinghaus 2000).

**Figure 3: Parliamentary Elections, 30 June 1996**



It used the “Contract with America” of 1994 as a model for “Contract with Mongolian voters”. It was one of the most widely disseminated documents of Mongolian history promising path-breaking social, political and economic reforms.

In spite of it being unrealistic, they succeeded in winning parliamentary election and the DUC gained 50 out of 76 seats in State Great Hural. The voting percentage was as high as 92 percent. As per Ginsburg, the Hural was exceptionally youth with average age of 38 years. It had 7 women MPs, though certainly below earlier 20 percent mandate. 70 of the first-time MPs were businessmen or leaders of NGOs. This reflects the growth of civil society as a force. Majority of elected parliamentarians were known face of DUCs and had played key role in pro-democracy movement. MPRP's MPs were the former MPs. However, the victory in this election raised serious challenges for governance to Democrats as the experienced MPRP bureaucrats and professionals workers were replaced by competent professionals of the Democrats. Mendsaikhan Enksaikhan, the experienced economist was elected as the new Prime Minister. Institutional and Sectoral reforms were accelerated. Judicial reforms to economic reform, freedom of media were key takeaways. It was very fortunate that the transition from MPRP to democrats was peaceful and smooth. This process consolidated the democratic transition of Mongolia. This consolidation process continues in Presidential Elections of 1997. N Bagabandi was the MPRP candidate whereas P Orchirbat was the DA candidate. Jambin Gombojav was the candidate of Mongolian United Conservative Party. N Bagabandi emerged as the successful candidate. He used his power to veto the name of several nominations for PM post by Democratic Coalition. He got support of 60.8 percent of electorate, aiming at slowdown of political and economic reform. The election was once again marked by a high turnout of 85 percent (Khayanhyara 2002)

The process of democratic transition was very dynamic and showed great resilience. The candidates of each party had strong nexus in various centres of power. The leaders had their charisma and skill to steer the economic reform (Soni 2008). With passage of time, N Bagabandi was not sure as to whether he would get enough support for Presidential Election in 1997. Democrats failed to find a candidate to match the worth of the MPRP with age requirement of 45 years under the presidential law. There was a heavy shift from one party to another party. Voters had a tendency to enquire about party affiliation and performance. This represents that Mongolian voters have matured enough, N Bagabandi the MPRP candidate won the second presidential election gained 60.8 percent vote on the platform that proposed to slow down the rapid political and economic reform under taken by the previous

government (Severinghus 2000). However incumbent president P Ochirbat of the 96 Democratic Union split the remaining per cent votes while Gombojav received 7.7 percent votes. This was a high turnout of 85 percent of the 1.1 million eligible voters. MPRP candidate N Bagabandi had a strong hold in media and financial sector as well while candidate Gombojav had wide working experience in the rural areas hence he received votes from herders. On the other hand, incumbent president P. Ochirbat was a charismatic leader focused on economic, and tax reform attracted more voter. The voter political behaviour enough shifts dramatically from one to another party. Voter relies and voted on the performance, position and party affiliation. Basu (2011) describes this is strong indication that Mongolian voters are prepared to see regime change and indicates that the ongoing new elections are genuinely democratic and that the transition to democracy continued successfully.

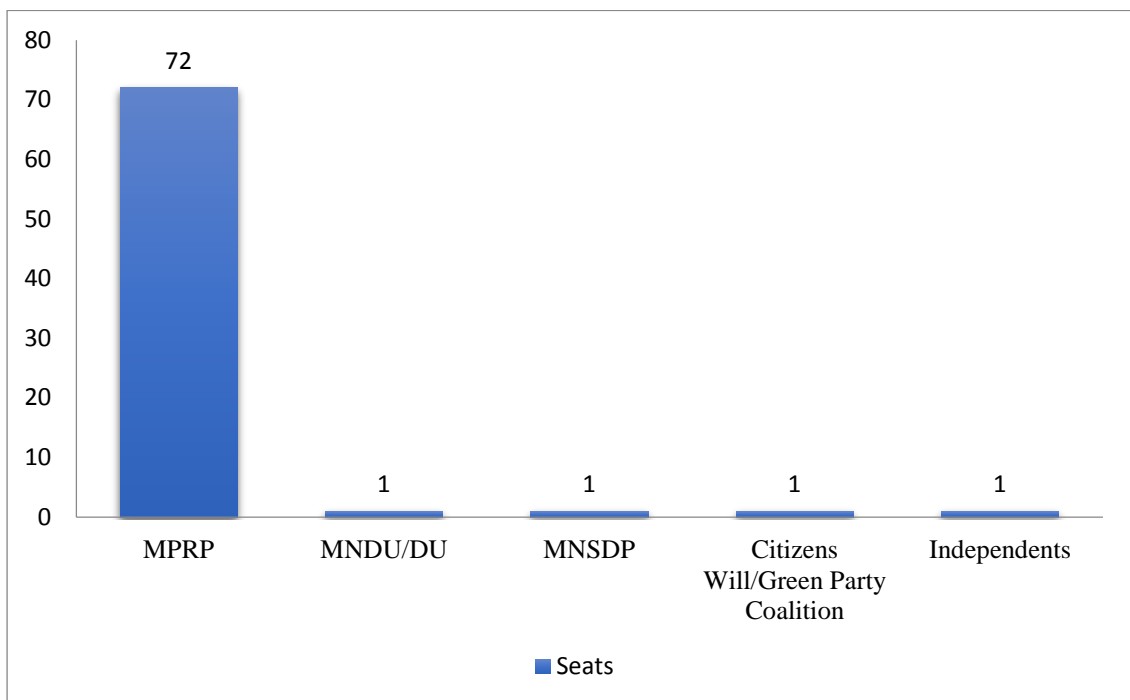
#### **4.1.3. The 2000 Parliamentary and 2001 Presidential Elections**

In the third elections, MPRP returned to the power (Soni 2004: 109). Out of 24 political parties, 20 parties participated either independently or in a coalition. Three main political parties - MPRP, MNDP and MSDP filed 76 candidates. Democratic Union Coalition splintered. MSDP went independently into the election. MPRP relied on party symbol more than individuals. MNDP fractioned and formed Mongolian Democratic Party. Soon after, the Democratic Union Coalition with the Citizens' Will Party was formed. "The election resulted in a massive victory for the MPRP, with 72 out of 76 seats, though it received only 50.3 percent of the vote, and despite the fact that the democratic force received 46 percent of the electorate" (Soni 2008: 40). All the women candidates of MPRP won the election. The non-MPRP members are thus- (a) former Prime Minister J Narantsaigal; (b) S Oyun; (c) B Erdenebat; (d) L Gundalai. Their profiles suggest that only candidates with worthwhile stature could stand out in the wave of MPRP (Yadamsuren 2002).

Democrats defeat had several causes. Firstly, there were four governments during their rule. Secondly, the governments committed mistakes on the economic reform. Thirdly, it split. Fourthly, they failed to match people's aspiration. In spite of hate towards the communist regime, people believed that MPRP rule was better.

In elections, Mongolian people were concerned about questions of unemployment and poverty. Moreover, through their control over media and bureaucracy, MPRP succeeded in creating the impression that it was beyond defeat. Even the profile of the elected house of Parliament reveals that people believed in the leadership of the MPRP as almost 50 percent were former MPs. The newer incumbents lacked skill and acumen to provide efficient governance. MPRP’s culture of support for well-educated experienced individuals during election proved to be a big boost.

**Figure 4: Parliamentary Elections, 2 July 2000**



We can get a good idea of the possible government policy through a study of party goals on the party platform. The slogans and platforms raised during the 2000 election inform us that they were used to aid people in making decisions. There was certainly a segment of voter who was cynical about the capability of political parties to achieve their goals. For example, the MPRP slogan was “Let’s recover the State from the crisis and rescue the people from poverty”. MPRP hit on the instability in the earlier regime and succeeded in making people believe in the Millennium Road Program by 2001. This connected Central and North-East Asia.

The Green Party Coalition's slogan was, "It will depend only on your civic courage". It focussed on the rule of law, transparency and accountability. The MNDP slogan was "Your choice is the Future of Mongolia". The slogans of the MNSDP was, "Believe in Yourself and Do It Yourselves," However, its reputation was centred on Chairman B Erdenebat who also owned the sole business that funded his party (Yadamsuren 2002: 21).

MPRP after winning election stated that it should not introduce any major change during transition. Its' general secretary became speaker. MPRP acquired control over Parliament and Presidency. This signifies the power transition process from the authoritative regime to democratic regime.

The International Republican Institute observers the entire process and claimed, "the ongoing support of international NGOs such as the International Republican Institute, Konard Adenauer Foundation, Open Society/Soros Foundation, USAID, the Asia Foundation and others has been critical in helping build the opposition's election strategy and efficiency, in teaching citizens how to hold fair elections, and in encouraging all political parties to publicize their platform". No systemic irregularity 98 was detected. There were minor errors related to the voting card, machines and use of mobile, etc.

In 2001 the Presidential election, R Gonchigdroj, former Social Democratic Party leader defeated former Prime Minister M Enksaikhan in DA party elections. There were some other coalitions too in the race. However, in the end, Democrats alliance failed to defeat N Bagabandi, who won handily with 58 percent of the vote (Finch 2002: 40). Both these wins enhanced MPRP influence. Finally, it decided to take unpopular decision to liberalise the economy (Finch 2002: 41).

The call for the balance of power failed to make a difference, and N Bagabandi won the election which was recognised as free and fair. Social Democratic doctrine of MPRP adopted in 1997 showed the world about its communist root. It deepened the process of democratisation, economic reform and political culture in Mongolia (Severinghaus 2000: 132).

The MPRP victory in presidential election proved the political dominance over Mongolia. Democrats failed to achieve the goals promised during the parliamentary

election. Their unpopular and painful decision like liberalising Mongolian economy during 1996 to 2000 rules failed to improve the living standard of Mongols. The Democratic Party's publicly appealed for the balance of power between presidency and parliament. But the MPRP left its communist roots, adopted a social democratic doctrine in 1997, had worked hard for public welfare and maintained political and economic reforms initiated by the Democrats that Mongolia had enjoyed for past decades. In 2000 parliamentary election and 2001 presidency election the MPRP secured power that was considered as a peaceful transition that occurred in Mongolia. The elections become an important part of consolidating Mongolian democracy. According to Carothers (2002:73)<sup>1</sup> transition paradigm "parliamentary elections resulted in political power changing hand from the MPRP to the Democrats in 1996 and then back to the MPRP in 2000".

#### **4.1.4. The 2004 Parliamentary and 2005 Presidential Elections**

In 2004, it appeared as if the MPRP was going to win again as there was no credible opposition in sight. The MPRP offered, "a guaranteed annual growth rate of at least 7 percent, and pledged to increase the productivity of the agricultural industry, to double the exports from the mining industry, and to create 145,000 new jobs with equal focus on poverty reduction" (Schafferer 2005:4). However, the Democratic coalition was decided by opposition. MNSDP and Citizens Will Party came together with Democratic Party as Motherland Democratic Coalition. MDC stood for 6-10 percent economic growth 15-year tax exemption for shepherds, radical reform of tax system and foreign investment in agriculture (Schafferer 2005). Fifteen independent candidates stood for election.<sup>2</sup> It astonished the observers as MDC and MPRP secured 36 seats each with Republican Party securing one and three independent candidates (Schafferer 2005).<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>1</sup> Thomas Carothers, a critic of that paradigm, he study democratic transition paradigm in Mongolia from its communist past to its present status as a democratic country.

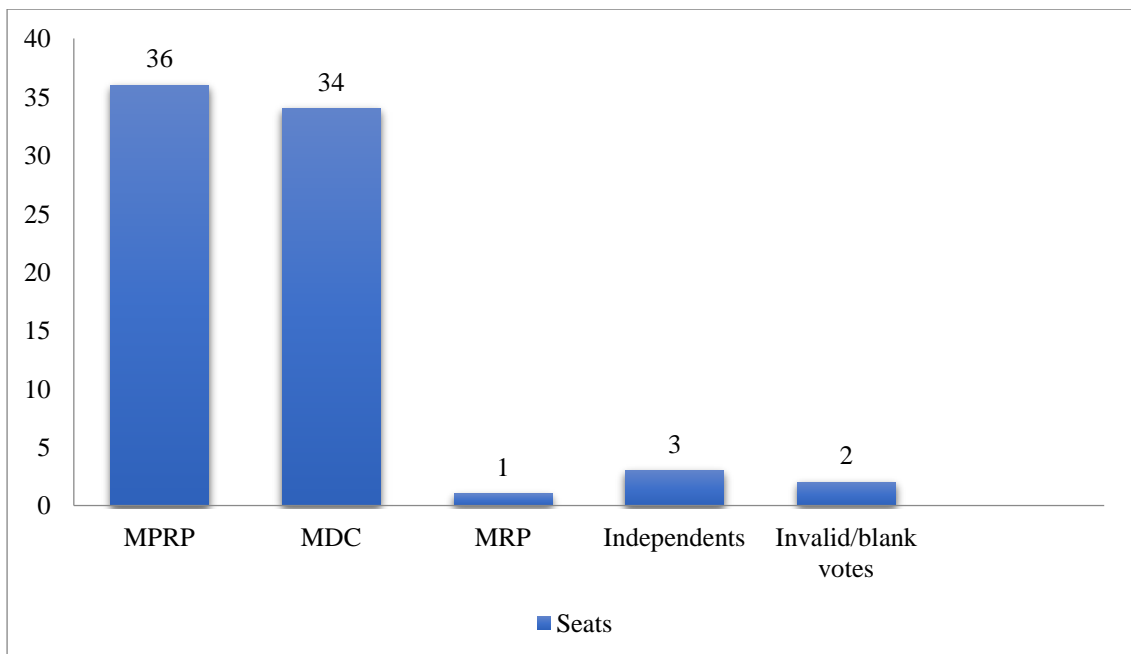
<sup>2</sup> These seven parties are MPRP - Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Democracy Coalition, RP - Republican Party, MPNU - Mongolian Party of National Unity, MUCP - Mongolian United Conservative Party, MLP - Mongolian Liberal Party, MGP - Mongolian Green Party.

<sup>3</sup> The ruling party, however, immediately filed a complaint to the election commission about voting irregularities at two polling stations in electoral district 59 (Ulan Bator) and at one polling station in electoral district 24 (Uvurkhangai). The administrative court ruled the election in both constituencies invalid, thus reducing MDC's seat tally to 34 (Schafferer 2005). Legal wrangling was still continuing in December 2004, with neither seat yet filled.



Voter turnout around 82.2 percent was witnessed. MPRP won 49 percent vote. MDC gained 7 percent vote winning 44 percent vote. Overall, MDC emerged the winner. It gained a lot from unity and matched the unity of MPRP. Welfare Plans for MDP provided them an edge. MPRP’s high-handedness to affect media back lashed (Globe International 2004 in Schafferer 2005: 745). It was observed that a government with the support of 3 independent candidates would be a failed government and therefore coalition government was preferred (Mongolia, Country Report August 2004: 30). Otherwise, there was no option but to hold another election, which was not conducive considering the economic health of the country. “This finally led to the formation of a grand coalition government of the MPRP and the MDC under Prime Minister Tsakhiagiyn Elbegdorj of the Democratic Party. With MPRP took over ten positions in Elbegdorj’s 18 member cabinet, it was decided that the next prime minister was to be nominated as the candidates of the MPRP in 2007.” (Mongolia, Country Report August 2004: 22)

**Figure 5: Parliamentary Election, 27 June 2004**



Party campaigns and party slogans once again serve as a good tool for understanding how voters were affected. MPRP’s slogan “for you and with you/your party and my party” proved fatal. It promised to pursue the same set of policies. Unemployment, poverty and health were major issues. MPRP also intended to enhance the efficiency

of State services and downsize the bureaucracy (Unenm May 17, MPRP Parliamentary Election 2004). Democratic Party led coalitions had 21 major aims focussed on well-being, the impetus to business and control the bureaucracy. Its slogan was “Let’s remove current pressures and support households” (Medee 2004). It also proposed Money of Trust policy allocating and paying 10,000 tugrus every month to children below (Medee 2004). It aimed at Mongolia’s one million children. It promised a bright future through schemes of social welfare, poverty reduction and peace. MRP focussed on reform of banking and financial institutions; supporting private housing; increasing salary; and sustainability and accountability of the government (Special Report 2004). Overall, there were diverse sorts of tendencies in parties.

The coalition government was a failed effort because, on January 11, 2006, MPRP led coalition broke with ten cabinet ministers resigning against “the coalition’s ineffective governance and loss of public support” (Dumbaugh and Morrison 2006). MPRP accused Democrats of rigging. It indicted them for the misuse of state-run media. MPRP got support from the State because of the Electoral Law requiring financially support to parties in proportion to their seats (Electoral Law, Mongolia).

Electoral Laws were modified in 2004 to check electoral fraud. It was because the credibility of government was affected because of growing unemployment, corruption and identity-based differences. The impact of 2004 election disenchanted masses on Presidential election in 2005 where Nammbaryn Enkhbayar won the election with the 53.4 percent votes (State Great Hural Election Law 2005: 4).

Because of the allegations of the economic fraud, mismanagement and efforts to coup the government, people were getting disenchanted. On January 25<sup>th</sup>, 2006, Miyeegombo Enkhbold, became the Prime Minister (Tamir 2004: 2). Democrats rejected the offer of MPRP for entering into an alliance for national unity and went ahead to form a shadow cabinet (The UB Post 2006). However, this failed to be of any positive effect.

#### **4.1.5. The 2008 Parliamentary and 2009 Presidential Elections**

Mongolia’s fifth parliamentary election and first coalition government election held on June 29, 2008, since the adoption of the new constitution in 1992, was the rare

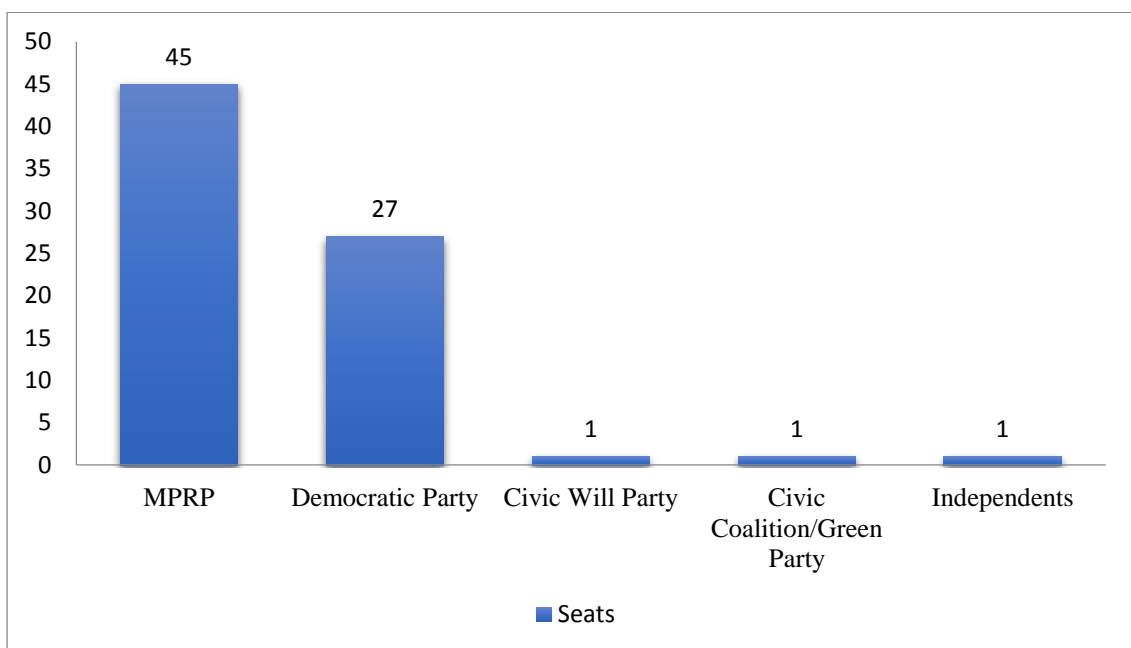
spectacle in Mongolia. Economic development was the top priority of both the MPRP and Democratic Party. But the major thing that happened was bloody riots in Ulaanbaatar streets for four days around five people were killed, and more than 300 hundred were injured. President N Enkhbayar imposed state emergency to maintain the law and order because the MPRP and DP faced the suspicious of election fraud. A total number of 356 candidates fought the election. The MPRP, the ruling party, secured 39 seats; and 25 seats went to Democratic Party out of 76 seats of Great Hural. Ten seats remained subject to possible recounts. The result showed a clear majority to MPRP to form the government, but DP chairman Elbedorj declared on July 1<sup>st</sup> that the election was rigged and his party would not accept these result.

*State Great Hural:* Any single political party that holds 39 or more seats in the parliament of Mongolia is in a position to claim a parliamentary majority. As such, the MPRP won the country's parliamentary majority after securing at least 44 seats in the 2008 parliamentary election (paragraph 1 of Article 33 of the Constitution of Mongolia). There was a marked dip in the percentage of the vote cast from 82 percent to 74.3 percent. With 311 candidates, 11 parties and one coalition along with 45 independent candidates, surprisingly only 28 incumbent MPs fought again. This election was again marked with monetary payments by candidates. At the press conference, DP leaders alleged irregularity in voter registration, counting process, and voter bribery. Its claims were even countered by the Central Registry Office.

The international observers unambiguously stated that elections were free and fair. On September 19, agreements between the MPRP and DP formed the government under the DP chairman S. Bayar leadership. It was Magnolia's first coalition government since the country made the transition to democracy. This election was unique as S. Bayar became PM through a coalition between MRP and DP. It was the first time in the Mongolian history that new law and new coalition government set up a new position of the first deputy premier in addition to the existing positions of the premier, and the chief of ministerial cabinet secretariat. New coalition government consisted of 11 ministers, namely the Ministry of External Relations, Ministry of Finance, Ministry of Justice and Internal Affairs, Ministry of Environmental and Tourism, Ministry of Defence, Ministry of Education Culture and Science, etc. Mongolia's wealth wise is very rich in natural and mineral resources, prominently copper. Natural

Resources were expected as a key tool for wealth generation. DP took the stand that this right of exploitation should be allotted to corporations; on the other hand, MPRP believed that this right must rest with the government. Post-election riots and the not-so-large gap in vote share between The MPRP and DP, coalition government seems to be negotiable/reasonable agreement toward economic development through political stability and social harmony and also two major political parties had a mutual understanding to cut down high inflation and protect the national economy against the repercussions of global financial crisis.

**Figure 6: Parliamentary Election, 29 June 2008**



*Presidential Election 2009:* Around the time the world was hit by a global financial crisis, Mongolia was on its way to democratisation, when the fifth presidential elections were held on May 24, 2009.

Country's laws decree that Mongolian citizens aged of 45 years or more and have lived in Mongolia for five years or more are eligible to fight the election for President. During the parliamentary election in June 2008, only four political parties participated in the election namely MPRP, DP Civil Will Party (CWP) and Green Party (GP). The MPRP unanimously declared incumbent president N Enkhbayar as party's presidential candidate. On the other side, DP's candidate Ts Elbehdorj secured 65.3

percent support within the party by proposing to make democracy in Mongolia in line with the universal standards (Chen 2009). The remaining political parties CWP and GP announced to support DP candidate Ts Elbegdorj for the post of President. So the essential competition was between N Enkhbayar of MPRP and former prime minister and DP member- Ts Elbegdorj. The incumbent Mongolian President Nambaryn Enkhbayar pledged to strengthen national solidarity and social order. He enjoyed substantial mass support in the rural areas. On the other hand, DP candidate and former premier Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj was trying to play the reform and anti-corruption cards and win support from urban areas especially in the capital city Ulaanbaatar. Ts Elbegdorj tried to please young voters by proposing to make Mongolia a country of “civil liberty and political openness, with friendly allies”. The overall popularity between them was almost negligible.

Tsakhia Elbegdorj became President with 51.21 percent vote. He had been a key leader of the peaceful movement which led to democratic transition and had been PM in 1998 and from 2006-08. Mendsaikhany Enkhbayar, on the other hand, tried to present himself as a capable candidate. His campaign though lacked the needed spirit. MPRP’s campaign machinery was a bleak and slow starter. He tried to blend statesmanship with his position as Chairman and PM. Though it completely failed to click, his efforts for reviving Buddhism was applauded. This, however, ran counter to the history of MPRP which was a key in the extermination of Buddhism on the orders of USSR. He further failed to understand the people’s desire for change. Widening social gap was a major concern for the community. The corruption associated with the old guard also compelled this change. Elbegdorj was successful because of his continued attack on the MPRP which downgraded their credibility. He criticised them as Party involved in electoral rigging. His image was further affected by his loss of position of head of the party and refusal in forming coalition in the formation of the government. His position improved with support from the minor political parties. Mrs Ouyn, leader of CWRP and former foreign minister; Mr Enkhbat, chairman of Greens were seen as strong supporters. The call for ‘change we can believe in’ by Mr Osama strengthened the position of Mr Elbegdorj, a gifted orator at a time when T.V. media was still growing. The election result of May 24<sup>th</sup> strengthened the DP. (www.mongolia-web.com)

The results could be viewed as a personal success of Mr Elbegdorj as someone who had diminished twice from his post before completing his term as PM. As President, he did not have enough opportunity to fulfil his promises. The electorate was becoming dissatisfied as both DC and MPRP were failing. A key reason was that citizens were anxious for a major share in the sale of primary goods. This period coincided with the expectation of heavy foreign investment in the mining sector. These opportunities converted into failure because of the passivity of Parliament. It failed to execute the necessary contracts. The president was restricted to the role of observer. He was restricted to provide DP recognition and space in foreign affairs, judicial matter and defence where the role of President had been carved out through Constitution. His position helped to bring Mongolia closer to China and third neighbours along with the Russia.

#### **4.1.6. The 2012 Parliamentary and 2013 Presidential Elections**

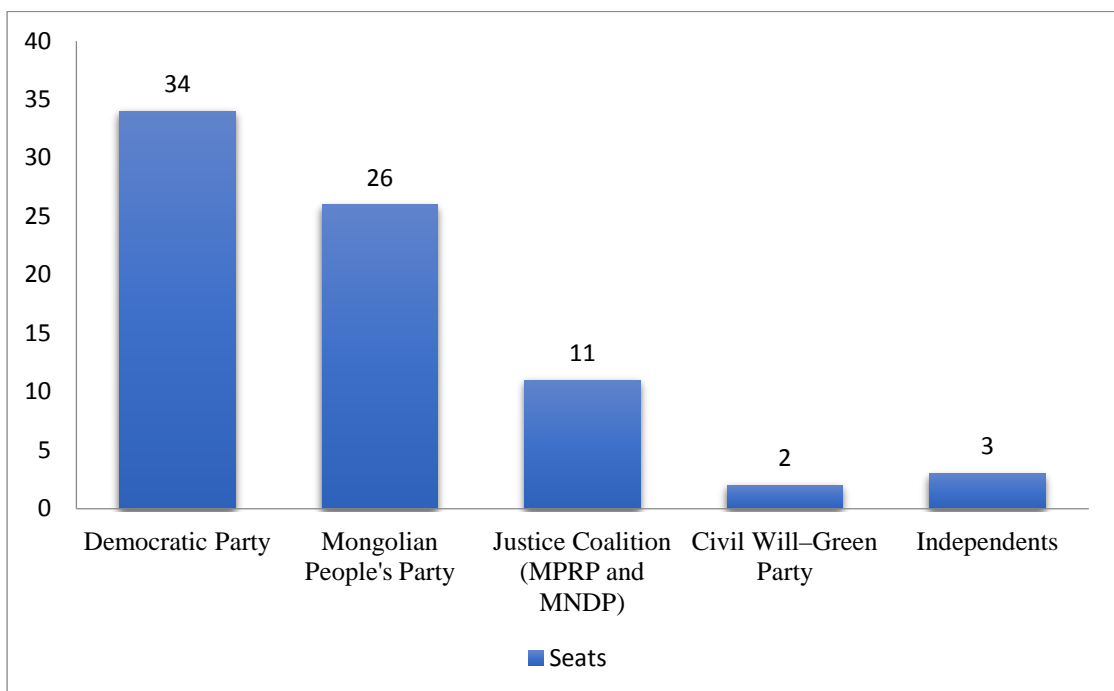
Although 2008 Parliament election was a setback for Mongolian democracy due to violence, but the June 2012 Parliamentary election became a historical move for Mongolian democratic elections were held under mixed electoral system for the first time since 1990 that Mongolian people did not choose their representative through plurality-majority or semi-proportional electoral system (Schafferer, 2005), introduced electronic voting system first time in Mongolia and also 20 percent quota for the women and Mongolian citizens were permitted to vote (Maškarinec 2014: 187). In 2009, the MPRP got the governing seat, 46 out of 76 seats in the Great Hural and the opposition Democratic Party leader Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj did not accept the defeat. Meanwhile, the opposition started to protest; more than 700 people were arrested, and while five people died during the protest, Mongolian President Nambaryn Enkhbayar imposed 4 days state emergency in Ulaanbaatar. The DP abandoned its boycott of Parliament. The Nearly two-month emergency was lifted with the result of the grand coalition between the MPRP and DP leader and formed a coalition government with the leadership of Sanjaagiin Bayar as new Prime Minister on 11 September. However May 24<sup>th</sup>, 2009 Elebegdorj made a great comeback in Presidential election by defeating Enkhayar.

For the rest of the session, it was marked by events like MPRP renaming itself as Mongolian People’s Party (MPP) in November 2010. There was though a division on this decision. Enkhayar came up with a new party with the original name of MPRP.

“The new Mongolian mixed-member majoritarian system distributed the 76 seats by two mechanisms: 48 seats by plurality vote in 26 electoral districts, with districts magnitudes ranging from one to three (nominal tier) and the remaining 28 seats via proportional representation (list tier)”.

The voter turnout for 28<sup>th</sup> June 2012 election was 67 percent which shows a continuous downward trend. 544 candidates participated with two coalitions, and 11 political parties participated. There were 26 independent candidates too. DP and MPRP did not come together. DP fought as an opposition force. Enkhayar fought as leader of Justice Coalition and was arrested on account of corruption. Election Commission rejected his candidature. The election was successful for DP as it got 31 seats, whereas MPP got 25 seats which were a clear downfall of 50 percent. Justice Coalition got only 11 seats with 15.28 percent vote. CWGP got two seats whereas three seats went to independent candidates. The element of proportion introduced in the electoral reforms of 2011 impacted the election outcome. It was effective and beneficial for smaller parties with 5 percent threshold.

**Figure7: Parliamentary Election, 28 June 2012**



After the split in Parliament, DP had to enter in agreement with Justice Party and CWGP. On 9<sup>th</sup> August 2012, Mr Latankhuyag became the Prime Minister with the support of 42 out of 58 MPs.

*Presidential Election 2013:* In the Presidential election of 2013, the incumbent President Elbegdorj secured support from four political parties - MNDP, CWGP and parliamentary parties; the Motherland Party and Republican Party. The DP also supported Elbegdorj candidacy. On the other side, Badmaanyambuugiin Bat-Erdene, former MP was the final choice from MPP for the Presidential candidate. Other parties like United Party of Patriots, Mongolian Green Party and Freedom implementing Party also went with MPP, and the last and third candidate and acting health minister Udval represented MPRP. Ms Udval was the first female presidential candidate in the Mongolian history (Maškarinec 2014). The presidential poll indicated a favourable clear environment for Elbegdorj, one of the most popular and strong candidates of Mongolian politics. The new laws on the election of the president restrained the candidates from distributing cash or making any pledges that do not fall under the executive powers of the President. The presidential campaign witnessed several issues like fighting corruption, reforming the judiciary, reducing partisan influence, improving government accountability, protecting the environment, using natural resources effectively, curbing the role of foreign investment in the economy, building good relations with Russia and China, and implementing the so-called “third neighbour” policy (Direkers 2013; OSCE 2013 in Maškarinec 2014). An Interesting feature in that election was the main competition between Elbegdorj and Bat-Erdene and was characterise by a polarised political environment with some instance of nationalistic rhetoric (OSCE 2013). The Democratic Party candidate Elbegdorj got an advantage because of incumbency and long term experiences in a top government position, of not making any visible mistakes during the election campaign. On the other side, the main opponent Presidential candidate had strong support, especially in rural areas, but most of his campaign centred on his sports celebrity status.

Mongolian fourth constitution adopted a semi-presidential system thus president had some prerogatives which may strengthen his position, but the political crisis started for power, gaining so-called cohabitation period of 1997 to 2000 that led to huge



debate about the political transformation. The parliamentary and presidential majority belong to rival political politics. Thus there was urgent need of permanent settle between the president and parliament over the selection of Prime Minister. Hence in 2000, a constitutional amendment curbed the president's power and then Mongolian into a parliamentary system, albeit with a popularly elected president (Munkh-Erdene 2010).

In 2009 the presidential election was contested between two candidates only while in the 2013 presidential election three political parties nominated their candidates. This was the 6th regular election that was held on June 26, 2013. The incumbent president Elbegdorj secured support from the main governing party, two junior coalition parties, the CWGP and the MNDP, and two non-parliamentary parties-the Motherland party and the Republican party (Maškarinec 2014). Democratic Party that registered a strong presence in Mongolian politics supported Elbegdorj's candidacy. This election was interesting on opposition side as they failed to produce a single popular candidate; the final choice became Badmaanyambuugiin Bat-Erdene, a well-known former wrestling champion. DP supportive candidate Elbegdorj won the election. This was fairly homogenous throughout the country, but the average turnout of 66.50 percent meant the lowest level in the history of Mongolian presidential election (compare with 73.59 percent in 2009). The Democratic Party candidate Elbegdorj's gained clear majority while the main opponent Bat-Erdene obtained 42 percent and third candidate Udval obtained merely 6.51 percent. This election showed the strong presence of DP in Ulaanbaatar, with an absolute majority, overall by the margin of 47.36 - 45.40 percent. The Democratic Party Elbegdorj re-election meant the clear-cut dominance over Mongolian politics at least until the parliamentary election in 2016 (Maškarinec 2014).

**Table 8: PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION RESULTS 1993- 2013**

| Presidential Election, 6 June 1993 |           |           | Presidential Election, 19 May 1997 |         |           | Presidential Elections, 20 May 2001 |         |                        | Presidential Elections, 20 May 2005 |         |           | Presidential Elections, 24 May 2009                  |           |           | Presidential Elections, 26 June 2013 |           |           |
|------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|------------------------------------|---------|-----------|-------------------------------------|---------|------------------------|-------------------------------------|---------|-----------|--|-----------|-----------|--------------------------------------|-----------|-----------|
| Candidate                          | Votes     | % of Vote | Candidate                          | Votes   | % of Vote | Candidate                           | Votes   | % of Vote              | Candidate                           | Votes   | % of Vote | Candidate  | Votes     | % of Vote | Candidate                            | Votes     | % of Vote |
| Punsalmaagin Ochirbat (MNDP–MSDP)  | 592,836   | 59.9      | Natsagin Bagabandi (MPRP)          | 597,573 | 62.5      | Natsagin Bagabandi (MPRP)           | 581,381 | 59.2                   | Nambariin Enkhbayar (MPRP)          | 495,730 | 53.4      | Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj – DP, Civic Will Party and MGP | 562,459   | 51.24     | Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj (DP)           | 622,794   | 50.89     |
| Lodongiyn Tudev (MPRP)             | 397,057   | 40.1      | Punsalmaagin Ochirbat (DU)         | 292,896 | 30.6      | Radnasumbrelin Gonchigdorj (DP)     | 365,363 | 37.2                   | Mendsaikhany Enkhsaikhan (DP)       | 184,743 | 19.7      | Nambaryn Enkhbayar – MPRP                            | 520,805   | 47.44     | Badmaanyambuug iin Bat-Erdene (MPP)  | 520,380   | 42.52     |
|                                    |           |           | Jambin Gombojav (MCUP)             | 65,201  | 6.8       | Luvsannyamin Dashnyam (PCC)         | 35,425  | 3.6                    | Bazarsadjargalsaikhan (RP)          | 129,147 | 13.9      |  |           |           | Natsagiin Udval (MPRP)               | 80,563    | 6.51      |
|                                    |           |           |                                    |         |           |                                     |         | Badaech Endenebat (MP) | 105,171                             | 11.4    |           |  |           |           |                                      |           |           |
| Invalid                            | 36,077    | 3.5       | Invalid                            | 26,970  | 2.7       | Invalid                             | 17,411  | 1.7                    | Invalid                             |         |           | Invalid  |           |           | Invalid                              | 16,047    | --        |
| Total valid                        | 1,025,970 | 96.5      | Total valid                        | 955,670 | 97.3      | Total valid                         | 982,714 | 98.3                   | Total                               | 914,791 | 100       | Total  | 1,083,264 | 98.68     | Total                                | 1,239,784 | 100       |

Source: Mongolian Electoral Commission; International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA), 1993-2013 (<http://www.idea.int/vt/countryview.cfm?CountryCode=MN>); General Election Commission of Mongolia, 1993-2013.

| <b>Table 9: Votes and Seats in the Parliamentary Elections 1992-2012</b> |       |                  |  |       |                 |  |       |                 |                                      |       |                 |  |       |                 |                                      |       |                 |
|--|-------|------------------|--|-------|-----------------|--|-------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|-------|-----------------|--|-------|-----------------|--------------------------------------|-------|-----------------|
| Parliamentary Election, 28 June 1992                                     |       |                  | Parliamentary Elections, 30 June 1996  |       |                 | Parliamentary Elections, 2 July 2000     |       |                 | Parliamentary Election, 27 June 2004 |       |                 | Parliamentary Election, 29 June 2008   |       |                 | Parliamentary Election, 28 June 2012 |       |                 |
| Party Coalition  | Seats | Vote (no& %)     | Party Coalition  | Seats | Vote (no& %)    | Party Coalition                          | Seats | Vote (no& %)    | Party Coalition                      | Seats | Vote (no& %)    | Party Coalition                        | Seats | Vote (no & %)   | Party Coalition                      | Seats | Vote (no& %)    |
| MPRP   | 70    | 1,719,257 (56.9) | DUC  | 50    | 475,267 (47.0)  | MPRP                                     | 72    | 517,746 (51.6)  | MPRP                                 | 36    | 517,443 (48.23) | Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party | 45    | 914,037 (52.67) | Democratic Party                     | 34    | 399,194 (35.32) |
|  |       |                  |  |       |                 | MNDU/DU                                  | 1     | 133,890 (13.4)  |                                      |       |                 |  |       |                 |                                      |       |                 |
| Democratic, National Progress And United Parties Alliances               | 4     | 528,393 (17.5)   | MPRP   | 25    | 408,977 (40.5)  | Mongolian New Socialist Democratic Party | 1     | 110,608 (11.0)  | Motherland Democratic Coalition      | 34    | 474,977 (44.27) | Democratic Party                       | 27    | 701,641 (40.43) | Mongolian People's Party             | 26    | 353,839 (31.31) |
|  |       |                  |  |       |                 |  |       |                 |                                      |       |                 |  |       |                 |                                      |       |                 |
| MSDP   | 1     | 304,648 (10.1)   | Mongolian Traditional/Conservative United Party (Mongolian United Heritage Party-MUHP) | 1     | 18,372 (1.8)    | Citizens Will/Green Party Coalition      | 1     | 36,196 (3.6)    | Mongolian Republican Party           | 1     | 14,819 (1.38)   | Civic Will Party                       | 1     | 34,319 (1.97)   | Justice Coalition (MPRP and MNDP)    | 11    | 252,077 (22.31) |
| Others   | --    | 378,739 (12.5)   | Others (DS, MNUP, MBP, MWP)  | --    | 72,559 (7.1)    | Others                                   | --    | 173,342 (17.2)  | Others                               | 0     | 28,814 (2.69)   | Civic Coalition/Green Party            | 1     | 24,806 (1.42)   | Civil Will-Green Party               | 2     | 62,310 (5.51)   |
| Independents   | 1     | 90,387 (3.0)     | Independents   | --    | 31,072 (3.1)    | Independents                             | 1     | 29,352 (2.9)    | Independents                         | 3     | 36,543 (3.41)   | Independents                           | 1     | 60,320 (3.47)   | Independents                         | 3     | --              |
| Invalid/blank votes  | --    | 63,198           | Invalid/blank votes  | --    | 47,025          | Invalid/blank votes                      | --    | 25,431          | Invalid/blank votes                  | 2     | 15,719          | --                                     | --    | --              | --                                   | --    | --              |
| Total  | 76    | 1,037,392 (100)  | Total  | 76    | 1,057,182 (100) | Total                                    | 76    | 1,027,985 (100) | Total                                | 76    | 1,088,683 (100) | Total                                  | 76    | 1,735,123 (100) | Totals                               | 76    | 1,198,086 (100) |

Source: General Election Commission of Mongolia website: <http://www.gec.gov.mn/> & <http://www.ipu.org/>

**Table 10: Parliamentary Elections**

| <b>Year</b> | <b>Voter Turn-out</b> | <b>Total vote</b> | <b>Registration</b> | <b>VAP Turnout</b> | <b>Voting age population</b> | <b>Population</b> | <b>Invalid votes</b> | <b>Compulsory voting</b> |
|-------------|-----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 2012        | 65.24%                | 1,198,086         | 1,836,435           | 56.24%             | 2,130,238                    | 3,179,997         |                      | No                       |
| 2008        | 74.31%                | 1,139,984         | 1,534,074           | 60.47%             | 1,885,077                    | 2,996,081         |                      | No                       |
| 2004        | 82.3%                 | 1,088,318         | 1,329,798           | 64.91%             | 1,676,599                    | 2,712,315         | 1.40%                | No                       |
| 2000        | 82.43%                | 1,027,859         | 1,247,033           | 70.96%             | 1,448,576                    | 2,501,041         |                      | No                       |
| 1996        | 92.15%                | 1,014,031         | 1,147,260           | 73.64%             | 1,377,040                    | 2,459,000         | 0.40%                | No                       |
| 1992        | 95.60%                | 1,037,392         | 1,085,120           | 86.11%             | 1,204,690                    | 2,273,000         |                      | No                       |
| 1990        | 98%                   | 1,006,460         | 1,027,000           | 87.23%             | 1,153,810                    | 2,177,000         |                      | No                       |

**Table11: Presidential Elections**

| <b>Year</b> | <b>Voter Turnout</b> | <b>Total vote</b> | <b>Registration</b> | <b>VAP Turnout</b> | <b>Voting age population</b> | <b>Population</b> | <b>Invalid votes</b> | <b>Compulsory voting</b> |
|-------------|----------------------|-------------------|---------------------|--------------------|------------------------------|-------------------|----------------------|--------------------------|
| 2013        | 66.79%               | 1,239,784         | 1,856,190           | 58.47%             | 2,120,407                    | 3,226,516         |                      | No                       |
| 2009        | 74.31%               | 1,098,875         | 1,493,217           | 54.98%             | 1,998,583                    | 3,041,142         |                      | No                       |
| 2005        | 74.98%               | 930,976           | 1,241,691           | 53.89%             | 1,727,644                    | 2,751,314         | 1.40%                | No                       |
| 2001        | 82.94%               | 1,000,110         | 1,205,885           | 67.92%             | 1,472,477                    | 2,542,308         |                      | No                       |
| 1997        | 85.06%               | 982,640           | 1,155,228           | 70.03%             | 1,403,204                    | 2,515,721         |                      | No                       |
| 1993        | 92.73%               | 1,025,970         | 1,106,403           | 79.04%             | 1,298,080                    | 2,318,000         |                      | No                       |

Source: International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (International IDEA) 2014, <http://www.idea.int/vt/countryview.cfm?CountryCode=MN>

## **4.2. The Role of Civil Society in Mongolia's Political System**

It is a historical fact that civil society plays a crucial role in a country's development. The democratisation process got momentum, with UN Resolution that called for decolonised. After the Second World War, the world was divided into two blocs - Socialism and Capitalism. In the 1980s, one-third country adopted the democratic political system, whereas in 1989, after the fall of Berlin Wall, East Germany came out of Soviet bloc and in 1990s with a great wave of change, countries themselves came out of ideological hurdle and became either democratic or went one step upward towards democracy. These developments took place because of the active role of civil society, media and NGOs. Civil Society includes the people's active groups or organisation in a society so long as they are to some degree outside the state, the family and the market. Hence, civil society included groups, associations and unions. These groups worked as pressure groups within existing political system.

NGOs have been playing a key role in the decision-making process across the globe. As they are inter-connected across states through trans-border advocacy groups, they affect how domestic government functions. With the Information Technology (IT) revolution, this has become more effective. It has boosted their relevance. With easier mediums to exchange ideas, views, news and finance, they are more active and had expanded beyond the governance structures of the States. At times, we find they have become major actors who are impacting how the regulatory and legal authority should act. Cumulatively, they are succeeding in establishing a global civil society. Mongolia has also been impacted by them irrespective of their relative isolation and class structure. They are playing a key role in the consolidation of democracy in Mongolia.

### **4.2.1. Freedom of Press**

It is essential for any democracy to survive. Mongolia does not have a law for this because of a communist legacy. As a communist country, it does not believe in the sharing of information. It has a State Secrets Law which restricts access to information, accountability and transparency of government. As a result, the actions 108 of the legislature and executive do not undergo rigorous scrutiny (Tuya 2005). Even after efforts towards the economic reforms, 4 out of 7 television channels are still government controlled ([www.freedomhouse.org](http://www.freedomhouse.org)). The media is only partially free

in Mongolia. Even during the process of democratic transition, the media was only partially free (Mongolian Law on Public Radio and Television was passed in January 2005). The journalists still live under the fear that critical writings on politicians could land them into deep troubles. Asian Legal Resource Centre, in a report to UNHCR observed that journalists “live in fear of criminal prosecution and imprisonment for writing about public officials”. On World Press Freedom Day, there was a protest over the libel law which inhibits the freedom. It was observed thus, “who have questioned journalists about information sources and conducted investigations about media ownership, broadcast reach and circulation figures, editorial perspectives, and sources of financing”. This sort of account has been corroborated by other International Media too. The present Coalition Government is trying to decentralise media.

In this struggle, Constitution has played a key role. Though it protects the rights of media men, it lacks effective enforcement (Hulan 1996: 47). Censorship laws jeopardised this freedom. It ranged from the threat of physical injury to tax audits and pernicious litigations (Linz and Stepan 1996: 134). In 2007, United Nations Education, Social and Cultural Organisation (UNESCO) analysed the position of media ethics. According to the report, “Fifteen years since Mongolia’s move to democracy, there is still little to no understanding of how to manage and grow an independent and balanced media outlet that exists for the sake of providing free and independent information or for the sake of being a business in itself, without having to depend on political and/or business support.”

It mentioned infractions against a journalist who were involved in investigative journalism on government and mining. When a woman journalist reported about the misdeeds and corruption in the activity of a company, she was intimidated and ultimately thrashed. The company chief called her and observed, “It is a very complicated issue, and you could be killed. In July 2006 she was beaten by unidentified perpetrators, and was hospitalised for treatment.” DC is split on this issue. Few leaders believe that as communist have indoctrinated the population; the government must make conscious effort to guide the masses towards democratic thinking (US Department of State Report on Human Rights 2001). However, such sort of paternalism is inappropriate in a democracy. The press faces a serious challenge

because of growth of litigation by thin-skinned public figures. Every exposure is attracting litigation. It has left press in a quandary. *Önөөдөр* (Today) has faced 15 litigations (The Mongolian Media Landscape Sector Analysis 2007). Its chief editor, remarked: “Given the chance, we can compete with the official papers, even if the ministers and parliamentarians often give their interviews and information to the official papers. In fact, our independence gives us credibility with the public. But these lawsuits put us in a bind.” (Shin and Wells 2006: 34)

On the World Bank Governance Indicators, Mongolia performed thus “Mongolia scored best on political stability, followed by voice and accountability, government effectiveness, regulatory quality and the rule of law” ([www.worldbank.org](http://www.worldbank.org)). When there was a relatively unstable period in government, it performed badly on political stability. In a survey by Maral Foundation in Mongolia, respondents were supportive of political stability but were not supportive of party system (Linz and Stepan 1996: 154). Another fact was that people preferred President over PM and Judiciary. An analysis by the East Asia Barometer Survey for 2002-2003, provided that democracy is maturing. However the democratic process is disliked by people. This proves that democracy is still not the most acceptable governance model.

#### **4.2.2. Role of Non-Governmental Organisation**

Mongolia has a well-evolved societal organisation in the form of Journalists’ Association.<sup>4</sup> Professional norms are yet to evolve and are still under the governmental control and pressure. The National Television is still under the clutches of Government. The Union of Mongolian Journalists who have succeeded in communist-sponsored Union had become autonomous. They constitute a well-organized lobby to extend press freedoms and safeguarding journalist’s right. Press Institute of Mongolia, formed in 1995 is another major organisation. It has grown into a powerful force. It has played a key role in the relative openness of society and government. ([www.pressinst.org.mn/english](http://www.pressinst.org.mn/english)).

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<sup>4</sup> One of the nongovernmental organisations is Konrad Adrenauer Stiftung, which initiated The Voter Education Project to promote efforts to come out of the respective places to vote. The International Republican Institute in Washington DC provided the assistance in campaign strategy to convince the opposition about the formation of the coalition government and how to approach the voters, Far Eastern Economic Review, March 1997, p. 19.

Women Organisation is the most formidable section of civil society. They are strong because of the fact that it is a matriarchal civil society. It has been observed that “The greater opening of the political space following the 2004 parliamentary elections also spurred numerous public protests and demonstrations organised by mass movements demanding government accountability and social equity. Most civil society activities, however, are concentrated in the capital city where most well established and professional CSOs, especially NGOs, are located. Rural civil society remains sorely underdeveloped, due to the lack of crucial resources, especially financial support, and information. Rural citizens, especially herders, poor people and ethnic and religious minorities are generally under - represented at CSO leadership levels while women are not only adequately represented in most types of CSOs but in fact dominate the leadership of issue- oriented, well-established NGOs. There are strong trends for increasing inter and intra-sectorial cooperation among CSOs, but the issue of the effectiveness and legitimacy of umbrella organisations remains contentious, due to the continued predominance of inherited hierarchical structures in this area. Moreover, while inherited mass organisations are largely financially sustainable as well as able to benefit significantly from state resources at national and local levels, the financial sustainability of independent human rights and pro-democracy NGOs, in both urban and rural areas, are still extremely fragile as they continue to be almost exclusively dependent on foreign funding” (State of Civil Society in Mongolia 2004-2005:3).

These organisations started their journey with the agenda of fighting for specific causes and later expanded their aims and objectives. Women for Social Progress, the Women Lawyers Association, and Liberal Women’s Brain Pool (LWBP) are leading groups which have grown beyond their initial understanding (Fish 1998). LWBP is a good illustration of how civil society prepares leaders for real politics. As per Oidovyn Enkhtuyaa, the founder of LWBP reveals that though they began with the intention to empower women politically, they had never thought to enter into politics. She secured a seat in Parliament in 1996 (Sabloff 2002). Rinchingiyn Narangerel founder of Centre for Citizenship Education came into parliament in 1996. She had no communist base, and her entry reflects post-communist NGOs. She took the lead in bringing reform to laws governing NGO. The provision of tax privilege was heavily opposed. However, she succeeded in getting it passed by January 1997. Some organisations received aid from foreign donors. Press Institute of Mongolia (PIM)



obtained the support of Danish Journalism School and the Soros Foundation ([www.eurasianet.org](http://www.eurasianet.org)).

LWBP received aid from NED and Asia Foundation. These were modest in nature. American Grant is more involved in understanding how the process of democratic transition, political system could be changed. Advocacy and survey are an important tool for this (State of Civil Society in Mongolia 2004-05). The Civil Society Organisation, NGOs and social movements, display a significant degree of commitment to promoting democracy, government accountability, non-violence, gender equality, poverty alleviation and environmental protection. “However, there is a general lack of consistent application of democratic and humanitarian values and principles in the internal practice of CSOs, especially regarding ensuring internal democracy, financial transparency, gender equitable hiring and promotion policies and non-violence. Political parties, apartment owners’ unions and inherited mass organisations, including trade unions, were regarded as less democratic and transparent and, in some cases, prone to corruption and intolerance based on political affiliations. Overall, despite clear and important examples of success in legislative advocacy, direct service, public education and empowerment of various social groups, especially women, the impact of civil society has remained as somewhat limited. CSOs are unable to convert effectively their efforts and values into direct impact, due to the unfavourable political and economic environment. The CSI demonstrated that CSOs were especially active and had an impact in areas of empowerment of various groups, through non-formal education, information dissemination, and awareness-raising activities, particularly concerning the promotion of women’s rights and gender equality. They are also more successful in policy advocacy on human rights and gender equality but have not been very effective in holding the state and corporations accountable. It is also clear that CSOs provide crucial services to underprivileged and marginalised citizens such as free legal aid, psychological counselling, services for battered women and children and non-formal education for poor children. However, most of these services are limited in scope and are often irregular” (State of Civil Society in Mongolia 2004-05: 4).

The ideal of democracy could be achieved in Mongolia only when there is active citizenry participating in democracy. Government Organisations must aim at

establishing these conditions. Openness, accountability of governmental institutions, consultations on government policies and responsiveness are an essential mechanism towards ensuring a robust civil society. Ultimately, there must be such reforms which bring governmental organisations are taking decisions as per citizens' demand. There must be check and balance in the system. Without any control, corruption shall increase in the State. These conditions are completely missing in Mongolia and government is dismissive of citizens. Citizens are fearful of the government. However, this is a reality for any state passing through democratic transition. There is a substantial improvement, but enough is left to be done.

NGOs have a critical role in civil society formation. Effective functioning of NGOs is must for robust development of civil society in Mongolia. NGO's are emerging as people's voice. NGOs need protection and cooperation of opposition. They must act as arbitrator between government and opposition. The relaxation for freedom of the press was the first initiative in the process of democratisation. By 2000, there were 1800 NGOs registered with Ministry of Justice. The NGO Law of 1997 made favourable conditions for growth of civil society. There are developing vigorously. Journalists are succeeding in ensuring relaxation for them. Foreign aid is an essential element in the evolution of civil society (Fish 1998).

Overall, there is growing vibrancy of civil society. However, the culture of engagement with civil society is still missing in Mongolia. There is a disconnection between demands and activity of citizen and government. Public Consultation is completely missing information of government policies. Enactment of information legislation is necessary pre-requisite which is still missing. Parliament and Political Parties are still less credible. There is a need for reflection about meeting the minds of party representatives, MPs, bureaucracy and citizen.

**Table12: A Chronology of Key Events**

|      |   |
|------|---|
| 1990 | <p>Democracy:</p> <p>Street demonstrations force the resignation of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. MPRP Politburo Political parties are legalised. Elections to the Great Hural (parliament) are won by the MPRP, but 19 of the 50 seats in a new standing legislature go to non-communists.</p> |
| 1992 | <p>Mongolia's new constitution gives first place to human rights and freedoms. In the first democratic elections, the MPRP wins 71 of the 76 seats in the new single-chamber Great Hural.</p>   |
| 1993 | <p>The first direct presidential elections are won by Ochirbat, nominated by the National and Social Democrats.</p>   |
| 1996 | <p>The National and Social Democrats win 50 seats in the Great Hural elections, but the MPRP can deny a quorum, hindering the passage of legislation.</p>   |
| 1997 | <p>MPRP candidate Bagabandi wins the presidential election.</p>   |
| 2000 | <p>After the Democrats form three new governments in two years the MPRP wins 72 seats in the Great Hural elections. The National and Social Democrats and three other parties form a new Democratic Party.</p>  |
| 2001 | <p>UN launches an appeal for \$8.7m (£6m) to support herders suffering in worst winter conditions in more than 50 years. President Bagabandi re-elected.</p> <p>IMF approves nearly \$40 million in low-interest loans over next three years to help tackle poverty and boost economic growth.</p>            |
| 2002 | <p>Dalai Lama visits Mongolia although China denounces trip and warns Mongolian leaders not to meet the Tibetan spiritual leader.</p>   |
| 2003 | <p>Mongolia sent 200 soldiers sent to Iraq to contribute to peacekeeping.</p>   |
| 2004 | <p>The fourth parliamentary elections, strong resistance by the opposition over the result. After all, Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj is eventually appointed as prime minister following power-sharing deal.</p>  |
| 2005 | <p>Huge protest in Ulaanbaatar on poverty and official corruption, demand the Govt resignation. MPRP candidate Nambaryn Enkhbayar wins the presidential election. And President George W. Bush becomes the first serving US leader to visit Mongolia.</p>   |

|      |  |
|------|--|
| 2006 | Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj coalition government falls after the MPRP withdraw its support, blaming the leadership for slow economic growth. Parliament chooses MPRP's Miyegombo Enkhbold as the new prime minister.   |
| 2007 | Prime Minister Miyegombo Enkhbold resigns. He is replaced by MPRP leader Sanjagiin Bayar.  |
| 2008 | President Enkhbayar declares a state of emergency to quell riots in the capital which left five dead and hundreds injured. Violence erupted after the opposition accused the governing party of rigging elections.   |
| 2009 | Democratic Party candidate, Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj, wins the presidential election, defeating incumbent Nambaryn Enkhbayar by a narrow margin. Prime Minister Sanjagiin Bayar of the MPRP resigns for health reasons. Foreign Minister Sukhbaataryn Batbold succeeds him.                           |
| 2010 | PM Sukhbaataryn Batbold takes over as head of governing MPRP from former PM Sanjagiin Bayar. And Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party reverts to Communist-era name of Mongolian People's Party. Ex-President Nambaryn Enkhbayar sets up small breakaway Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. |
| 2011 | Germany Chancellor Angela Merkel's visit to Mongolia.  |
| 2012 | Sixth Parliamentary elections held Democratic Party (DP) wins most seats and goes on to form a coalition with the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.<br><br>Former president Nambaryn Enkhbayar is sentenced to four years in jail for corruption   |
| 2013 | Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj, from the Democratic Party, wins a second term as president.   |

Sources: - Story from BBC News: <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-15466133>.

# **CHAPTER-V**

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## **Impact of Political Reforms on Mongolian Foreign Policy**

Communism ruled the roost in the Mongolian nation State which was the rationale behind all the systemic processes in the nation. A historical and factual analysis of the Mongolian foreign policy and the state of the nation is attempted here as part of this chapter's ensuing exercise. Mongolia had been under Soviet Union's rule from 1924 to 1989. Essentially, the country's entire politico-economic system was modelled on USSR's central theme of a blend of communism and socialism while its society had been closely associated with its former colonial masters. It was finally in 1985 with the advent of Mikhail Gorbachev coming to power and his famous speech in Vladivostok in 1986 when the former USSR's President had announced the withdrawal of Russian troops from Mongolia while launching the twin iconic policies of glasnost and perestroika (Jeffries 2007:6; Reuter 2013:132). With the initiation of Mongolian version of Glasnost and Perestroika through *Iltod* and *Orchilan Baigalalt* policy, the political imagination of the Mongolian people was ignited as a result of which they also began to demand for political and economic reforms. Evidently, the democratic movement on the ground began in December 1989, when, at the Ulaanbaatar Street, there was a huge public demonstration by a number of organisations comprising several sections of the political and economic elite, which forced the Russian-backed MPRP government to initiate reforms towards democracy. In 1989, the entire MPRP leadership resigned followed by an amendment to the constitution in July 1990. This constitutional amendment provided a clear path for multi-party election with the first multi-party election being held in 1990 (Khongorzul 2010). The same year, the MPRP's monopoly as a one - party rule and guiding force in the Mongolian political system was removed. Then, the Mongolian Parliament (State Great Khural) initiated a discussion on political reforms in order to frame a new constitution. Further political developments such as the disintegration of the USSR in 1991 and the end of Cold War precipitated a world-wide a change in the geopolitical environment including that of Mongolia, where MPRP, its oldest political party lost its hegemony.

Ever since, it is no longer a single party system in Mongolia. From 1990 to 1992, major political reforms have been taken place in the country. Soni (2013: 34) explains Mongolia adopted a new constitution to replace the 1960 constitution in 1992. The first multi-Party elections were held after the adoption of this new constitution.

Mongolia entered the 21<sup>st</sup> century with the aim to restore national pride and firmly position itself in world politics. Further, Soni (2006) has described that “reform process domestic and external scenario underwent a change during the democratic transition. Mongolia’s security and foreign policy objectives too figured prominently among the country’s think-tanks”. Hence, it was known that Mongolia’s national security concerns warranted a mix of the unilateral, bilateral and multilateral measures (Soni 2013). The country’s leadership outlined a multipolar approach to foreign policy - making a list of the countries from both East and West, which are their prominent partners. Besides the two big neighbours China and Russia respectively, Japan, Germany and the USA were the high priority countries (Batbayar 2003).

At the same time, Mongolia started developing friendly relations with India, Thailand, Republic of Korea, Singapore, Turkey, Denmark, Netherlands and other European countries (Batbayar 2003). These changes allowed Mongolia to embark upon fundamental changes in its foreign policy. In June 1994, leaders of Mongolia’s top four political parties shared their respective views with one another related to the direction of Mongolian foreign policy leading to a political consensus. This was followed by an introduction of major changes in the country’s national security policy, foreign policy and military doctrine all of which were eventually approved by the Mongolian Parliament (Concept of Security of Mongolia 1994). These policy changes had been long overdue as they pertained to the prime concerns vis-a-vis Mongolia’s security. Thus, the main purpose was to create a suitable framework to safeguard the national interests of the country, Soni (2013) explains that chiefly among which included the survival of Mongolia’s people and their civilisation, the sovereignty, the inviolability of frontiers and territorial integrity, national unity, relative economic autonomy, and sustainable ecological development (Concept Mongolia 1996:173). The national security concept was meant to ensure the security of Mongolia.

### **5.1. Mongolian Third Neighbour Foreign Policy**

A Third neighbour, a term coined by the US Secretary of State James Baker (1990) referring to the US as a third neighbour, means Mongolia diversifying its bilateral, multilateral and diplomatic landscape vis-a-vis its relations with the other countries

apart from China and Russia. Both China and Russia are politically, military and economically are very powerful nations. The concept of *Third Neighbour Policy* was employed by the Mongolian leadership/policymakers to promote a more pragmatic outlook towards policy - making so as to create a healthy all-round environment along with a “soft” approach to international relations with a view to foster greater development in sectors such as education, science and technology, infrastructure, mining and energy. The establishment of bilateral multilateral and diplomatic relations with Europe, East Asia, US and the Persian Gulf countries was a pronounced manifestation of this concept.

As stated before, Mongolia’s third neighbour policy approach had been to look beyond the two giant neighbours China and Russia. With the demise of USSR in 1991, as world politics became more US-centric, Mongolia in addition to most communist countries, especially of East Europe, embarked upon political reforms. In this venture, the support of the US, UN and other western countries was crucial to their transition to liberal democracy. Inspired by the new connections under the third neighbour policy, the drafting of legislations by policymakers with the aim of overhauling the electoral system had helped establish the foundations of a new Mongolian political system. The foundations of third neighbour policy were eventually also instrumental in shaping the economic success of the country in the course of time. As many countries provided help to Mongolia to overcome its hardships after former USSR withdrew economic assistance, the country was guided from a planned economy to one of the market economy. As foreign policy provided more scope for Mongolia to explore the international relations landscape, it began forging more multilateral political partnerships. Mongolia became a member of WTO in 1997; of ASEAN regional forum in 1998 and of the Organisation of Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 2012. Although the Mongolian army is small in numbers, it has transformed qualitatively with the support of the US and the UN institutions. Soon, Mongolia became an active member of UN peacekeeping campaigns. As a result, the country’s profile has increased manifold in the international arena.

The Third neighbour policy also implies that Mongolia enhanced its relations with India, South Korean and Turkey. South Korea became the biggest trading partner in terms of investments. Mongolia has also developed economic and commercial



relations with the US, Europe, Japan and Australia. These countries provide assistance in the field of Science and Technology, mining and energy. Mongolia seeks to revitalise its economy with the support of regional economies observer States ensuring economic integration while at the same time boosting national security. It also established economic partnership agreement (EPA) with Japan. China and Russia have anyways cast a long shadow on Mongolian economy and culture. Both China and Russia have invested a lot in the booming mining sector of the country also presenting a big opportunity for Mongolia to attract greater FDI (Foreign Direct Investment). Thus effectively, the third neighbour policy is bringing finance capital and technology from aboard, not to speak of the much-needed eco-friendly strategies and management experience to Mongolia it so badly needs.

### **5.1.1. Impact of Political Reforms on Mongolian Foreign Policy**

Each and every nation has its aims and objectives with the unique underlying capability to protect itself when it comes to national security and survival in a vastly competitive world. The basic needs of the state are to provide for the socio-economic needs, political aspirations and physical safety of the people. Hence many influence streams both domestic and external were exhorted to come clean on international diplomacy. National interest is the soul of a country which inspires seeking of benefits from the world vis-a-vis bilateral/diplomatic/cultural/educational/trade relations. In the case of Mongolia which adopted a new constitution in 1992, the external situation facing it too had been changed radically. It was essential for the country to be aligned with this newly changing regional and global geopolitics. After the demise of USSR, Mongolia began reshaping and reforming its socio-political systems providing itself with favourable conditions to effectively conduct its policies in a new world order. With a clear-cut focus on national interests, it released three basic foreign policy documents in 1994 as part of the new constitution. The nation's external and internal realities constituted the foundations of its foreign policy objectives, principles and priorities (Krishnan 2014). The goals that are to be reached were outlined as independence and sovereignty of the country while establishing cordial relations with rest of the world. In the new world order, Mongolia needed to build (Political Handbook of the World 1998) its position and develop strong relations with the influential nations in the world and the region to frame a network of alliance based on

interdependence of political, economic and other interests (Soni 2015). While keeping in focus on the need to maintain equidistance from Russia and China, in the overall sense, the country needed to adopt an open policy of non-alignment, which would be in sync with the concept of the equal status of third neighbour policy that would inherently prioritise the strategic interests of the developed countries. Such an approach would help Mongolia to helm its national priorities without overtly relying on any one country to achieve its strategic objectives. In formulating Mongolia's foreign policy and establishing its main objectives, a flexible approach must be applied by meticulously observing the evolving political scenario of the neighbouring region and the world ([www.mongolianembassy.us](http://www.mongolianembassy.us)). Therefore, the primary aim of Mongolia's foreign policy should be securing its national interests including providing a conducive external environment for its economic, scientific and technological growth (Basu 2013). Besides, cultural and humanitarian considerations should also inform Mongolia's foreign policy framework.

The adoption of Mongolian foreign policy impacted in various aspects on Mongolian Socio-Political and Economic field ([www.mongolianembassy.us](http://www.mongolianembassy.us)). In the national security point of view, Mongolia developed its special relations with China and Russia, and various Regional economic and security forum such as SCO, ASEAN, APEC and ARF, etc. and International agencies like United Nations and its associated agencies. Apart from that Mongolia's multiplier approached developed its bilateral relations with India, South Korea, Japan Central Asia Germany, USA and the European Union to secure its national security in terms of economic integration and political integration as well.

#### **5.1.1.1. Impact of Political Reforms on Regional Cooperation**

Mongolian Political leader and the policy makers took imitative to strengthen of economic development through the regional integration of political pluralism and transition to democracy and market. Keeping equal distance with two big giant neighbours Russia and China, Mongolian adopted an open, peaceful, independent and multifactor foreign policy. Basu (2013) explains that the prime objective of foreign policy to achieve the economic prosperity and Mongolian developed relations with the Regional and international forum. The fall of Communism in 1991, there were

fundamental changes in Asia and Asia-Pacific region and Mongolian itself. Soni (2001) stated “that vacuum “political, economic and ideological” enabled, Mongolia to achieve three major much desired results. Firstly, for the first time in nearly seven decades, it allowed Mongolia to open itself to outside world and pursue an independent multi-pillared foreign policy. Secondly, Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) admitted Mongolia as a full-fledged member, something that could not have been possible during the Soviet time as it would have eroded the solidarity of the Soviet bloc. And thirdly, Mongolia declared in its relations with Russia and China, rather than giving priority to only one of them.” The entire geopolitics of the region also changed due to the demise of USSR. These changes Mongolia’s geopolitical environment paved the way for Mongolia to enter world politics. To achieve the foreign policy goals, national security point of view finally Mongolian involved strengthening its position in Asia especially in Northeast and Central Asia by expanding it participating in the region’s political and economic integration. Since 1990, Mongolia has joined the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the Asia-Europe Meeting and other regional and inter-regional forums ASEAN (Association of Southeast Asian Nations), APEC (Asia Pacific Economic Forum), SCO (Shanghai Cooperation Organisation).

Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book (2000) cleared the foreign policy goals “foreign policy priorities of Mongolia, bilateral relationships with Russian Federation and People’s Republic of China has elevated to a new strategic partnership level while expanding close cooperation. At the same time, relations and cooperation with Third Neighbours has advanced. For instance, strategic partnership relations with Japan and comprehensive partnership commitment with United States, Germany, Republic of Korea, India and Turkey have been strengthened respectively. Meanwhile, more substantial progress has been achieved in relationships and cooperation with the European Union and its member countries which are considered as one of our foreign policy priorities.”

Mongolian actively started the process to improve its multilateral relations with the regional organisations to strengthen its position in the Asian region as mentioned in (mongolianembassy.sg), “to intensify bilateral relationships with other regional countries, to engage in a dialogue on political, security and economic cooperation in

the region and to participate in the regional integration processes.” Mongolia’s interest in the Asian region is geopolitical interest to fulfilment the goals of foreign policy priority “national interest” which is the part of Mongolian National Security and international security as well “through a combination of unilateral, bilateral and multilateral measures”. In the world scenario, for any country’s foreign policy and national security both are interlinked the same for Mongolian foreign policy, enhancing its old relations and cooperation in Asian region and Northeast region, goals achieved the national security.

#### **5.1.1.1.1. ASEAN and Mongolia**

ASEAN is the past regional economic organisation in the Asia-Pacific region and is playing a role as an essential actor Asian Countries “political and economic” integration in the region (Arase 2016). ASEAN State’s high economic development complete the economic liberalisation in the economic heart that is “Asia-Pacific region” appeals Mongolia get include to attain its foreign policy goals “national security.” The region develops as the most vigorously emerging centre in the global arena; it presented the socio-political reinforcement and self - social flexibility at the fundamental level and also improved joint interdependence amid the countries and thus causal in relation to the constancy of the region as a whole. While significant growth is marking its presence on the Korean Peninsula subject along with Cambodian tricky, a cluster of wanted changes are understood, like the fruitful “Nordpolitik” of the “Republic of Korea”, the standardisation of diplomatic and political interaction between China and Indonesia, the inception of the same between China and Singapore along with the measures like outlining the twin of democracy cum market economy in Mongolia, duly compounded by the endeavours in the direction of democratisation in Nepal and Bangladesh (Diplomatic Bluebook of Japan 1991, Chapter IV). Additionally, an internal condition in China is slowly soothing, and relations between China-Vietnam are ameliorating. Similarly, the ongoing relations between Japan and South-Korea, especially the normalisation of “diplomatic relations” since January 1991, wherein they have met four times by August 1991. Japan-Soviet relations witnessed a convinced degree of development achieved with the April 1991 visit of President Mikhail Gorbachev (Diplomatic Bluebook of Japan 1991, Chapter IV).

On the other hand, the majority of the countries in such league are still caught in the transition phase, more particularly, the Asian countries falling in the South Asian region that were economically constrained on account of the similar impact of economic crunch informing the Gulf/Middle Eastern countries. Additionally, the problems like the ethnic, religious, mediated through the historical sensibilities going beyond the simplistic East-West distinction, still continue. The post-Soviet thinking diplomacy has been conspicuously absent in these regions, unlike their European counterparts. However, on a positive note, it is expected that the political reforms undertaken in Russia will have a positive bearing upon these Asian countries as well.

Besides, the measures like economic development, mitigation of regional conflicts, the measures in the directions of complex interdependency factoring in the specific needs of regional diversities, are a must for the peace and stability of the region (Diplomatic Bluebook of Japan 1991, Chapter IV). Here, Japan has taken the lead by employing the principle that economic relation and development is the key and precondition for the regional stability. For instance, Japan Official Development Assistance Program assigns top most priority to the Asian region, which in turn, has contributed immensely to the prosperity and stability of the region. Moreover, the measures in the direction of political and diplomatic happenings must be assisted and supported intending to mitigate the regional hostilities like “Cambodian and Korean Peninsula” crises and entrench regional stabilities. Similarly, what is equally important is to play a multi-faceted role in ensuring the cooperation and interaction among the members of the region as represented in the “Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)” and to sustain the member country’s perseverance for democratic deepening and economic liberalisation (Diplomatic Bluebook of Japan 1991, Chapter IV). Here, the assistance of Japan signifies not only a positive economic contribution but also a politico-democratic contribution given its lessons learnt from history and the past. In this backdrop, Mongolia is aiming to be a member of “Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC)”, which endorses economic liberalisation and democratic political cooperation, leading to Mongolia’s politico-economic integration with other nations (Information Memorandum 2012:29).

#### **5.1.1.1.2. Cooperation in the Region**

There have been series of measures in the region to consolidate the economic interdependence that is followed by the complementary measures in the field of political, economic, social and culture that are getting firm with the passage of time.

ASEAN as a successful regional institution has been acting as the inspiration for the countries of “Asia-Pacific Region” both in realm of economic prosperity and political stability. Especially, the political contribution of ASEAN in ensuring the regional peace by making a concerted efforts to the problem areas like Cambodian problem have only entrenched the positive stabilizing impacts of economic measures taken both to ensure development as well as stability by employing the principles of regional cooperation by taking into account the contextual differences between nascent economies and better off ones. This contextual and cooperative approach will have a long lasting bearing on the regional stability of the member countries of the “Asia-Pacific Regions.”

The economic death blow that APEC witnessed in 1989 has been a matter of past and it has not only recovered from the paralyzing shock but has also catapulted to the path of economic cooperation that aim to contribute to the political stability of the region by extension. In the past years, a series of measures taken at the level of senior level officials and group meetings on the agenda of thickening the existing volume of mutual trade, measures in the direction of “marine recourse conservation”, “telecommunications”, human recourse and energy, have taken place (Diplomatic Bluebook of Japan 1991). Additionally, three new areas, namely, “transportation, tourism and fisheries” have been added to the cooperating list. Similarly, the effort has been compounded by agreeing to cooperation of China and Singapore of late. This philosophy of collaborative endeavours to the regional stability by employing the measures of political stability by economic liberalisation, which in turn, realise the democratic and economic potential of the region wherein Japan will have a significant role to play.

In this direction, the efforts of other significant players like the then Malaysean Prime Minister, Mahathir Mohamad in December 1990, placing ASEAN in the centre stage of the regional development has complimented the measures of Japan in creating an

“economic assistance group in East Asia Region”, especially the EAEG concept (Diplomatic Bluebook of Japan 1991).

Interestingly, with the advent of security and political problems still informing the Asia-Pacific region that are continuing side by side the developmental and economic changes are present a classical contrast when compared to their European counterparts. Taken this aspect into cognizance the members of Asia-Pacific region are documenting the measures and steps on the level of both the official and private players, which could ameliorate the gap and ensure a positive change in the region.

Notably, in September 1990, at the “Asia-Pacific Foreign Ministerial Meeting” in New York, projected by “Nakayama of Japan” and co-sponsored by “Ali Alatas of Indonesia” along with the same of other 15 countries, namely, Japan, Malaysia, Indonesia and others, who passionately interacted and deliberated upon the issues informing the world with a significant bearing upon their own prospects like “the Gulf Crisis, the Cambodian problem, the Korean Peninsula condition besides economic problems among other themes”. This meeting at the foreign ministerial level was both historical and extremely desirable (Diplomatic Bluebook of Japan 1991).

However, there is another tangential factor and concern here with regard to the desired and active intervention of Japan in the regional stability wherein it is feared that an proactive role of Japan in the region on a perpetual basis might trigger its militaristic ambition also and therefore it is advisable that the objectives of Japan’s intervention and economic cooperation along with diplomatic measures must be made transparent and clarified to the member countries so that there won’t be any room for such speculation and apprehensions. Taking such concerns into account the then foreign Minister of Japan “Nakayama” proposed “the initiation of political discourse augmenting the sense of assurance among the friendly countries, at the 1991 conference”. Significantly, the proposal was passed by the participating member countries and as of now a “modus-operadi” is being studied in the ASEAN in that regard (Diplomatic Bluebook of Japan 1991).

Mongolia, in post-cold war phase, followed its policy in congruity with its “National Security” wherein the regional organisations has come to undertake greater material, and regional multifaceted process that has been introduced. In Mongolian case, the

crucial role is being played by multilateral bodies especially in “Mongolia’s security and economic development goals”. Further, the country has restructured its work with ARF in “Asia- Pacific region” (Diplomatic Bluebook of Japan 1991). Employing the measures like “confidence-building actions that are through non-military procedures”, in course of its participation in ARF “multilateral” regional body has endowed Mongolia with an opportunity to be a part of regional struggles “to deal with the current and potential security worries through”. The ARF, whose goal is to “build obliging security in the region rather than serve as a setting for collective security”, comprises of major international and regional powers as well as smaller states (Tuya<sup>1</sup> 2000: 66). The members adopt the approach of acquire and pursue “peace and safety” through collaboration rather than the rivalry in the ARF. This approach of “confidence building measures” and “go forward preventative diplomacy” is followed by Mongolia in the capacity of being member of ARF.

In the South Asia Region, there are also significant developing marks that the South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation (SAARC) took birth in 1985, injected positive remark cooperative and supporting assistance based on the necessary changes taking place in the international order in recent years (Diplomatic Bluebook of Japan 1991). These positive developments provide favourable environment “for regional cooperation and dialogues are expected to contribute to the enhanced peace and prosperity of the Asia-Pacific region synergistically with bilateral efforts and dialogues that have been traditionally dominant in this region. Japan maintains the policy to continue its positive efforts as a member of the region”.

Mongolia-APEC, although Mongolian is not a member and nor a full dialogue partner of Asian Pacific Economic Forum (APEC) but be a part of the Asia Pacific, Mongolia achieve it economic expansion through the major forum APEC, promote it role on regional and international field and also setup strategy for international political and economic ties. Becoming a member of the forum will provide greater opportunities to Mongolia’s open economy in long term (Tuya 2000: 66). The Asia Pacific forum consistently working for regional economic integration and political stability, have approximately 80 percent international trade and investment accounted by the APEC members countries. The forum was established in 1989 by the 12 countries of Asia

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<sup>1</sup> Hon. N. Tuya was former Minister of External Relations of Mongolia.



Pacific region, emerged power economic block in the world politics. It contained around 57 percent of global GDP and 47 percent of global trade volume, became the most influential economic forum in the Pacific region. Mongolian president Ts. Elbegdorj during his Beijing visit in November 2014, attended the APEC Economic Leaders Week, first time addressed the strengthening connectivity partnership, “Mongolia supports APEC’s goals and principles”. There is a saying in the East “if you want to go fast, go alone and if you want to go far, go together”. Asian continent ethnicity is not created such environment as Europe created to form regional organisation like European Union (EU) but APEC became the torch bearer of regional organisation in the Pacific region that has been working together on various fields. Mongolia’s eager to join APEC forum is a part of economic diplomacy through regional integration expanded its economic ties fulfilment of long term economic prosperity in the region and through the economic activities, develop bilateral relations and need to keep its tradition and culture and heritage in the world politics.

Mongolian foreign policy’s main objective achieving “national security” to become a permanent member of APEC, a tool of regional interaction, while Mongolia has greater involvement of Asia-Pacific economic community and also has many alternative options to promote its presence in regional affairs.

#### **5.1.1.1.3. Mongolian and SCO**

Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) originated in 1996 known as Shanghai-5, later Uzbekistan became the full-fledged member. The recent development that the organisation governing body open its door for India, Pakistan but Mongolia remains a dialogue partner of the forum to become full-fledged member of SCO. The main aim builds confidence building measures among the Russia, China and the Central Asian states. China and Russia is the big player of the SCO from the beginning it focussed provide regional security in various terms but later on economic security became the pivotal role in the SCO. Mongolia’s third neighbour policy initiated bilateral relations other than the China and Russia, joining the SCO Mongolia strengthens economic cooperation with the Central Asia, Eurasia region and India as well. China and Russia keep away NATO presence in the Central Asian and Afghanistan, which is the main security threat to Asian Security. SCO members

involve regional integration processes in the region, the recent political development in the region SCO cannot be delinked from the ongoing rebalancing game. Bhadrakumar (2006:2) explains that by the virtue of SCO membership of the Mongolia can partake of the various SCO projects, which in turn means access to technology, increased investment and trade, infrastructure development such as banking communication etc. Small state always is benefited to joining any regional organisation or multilateral financial institution. In the case of Mongolia is main concern to gain maximum benefit from the SCO prosperity.

Further, it has deepened cordial relations and cooperation with “ASEAN member countries” wherein the frequency of high-level visits have significantly increased. Mongolia’s commitment to entrench its relationship with ASEAN is demonstrated in its “accession to the Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia in 2005”. Mongolia’s engagements with the regional integration forums like, “the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC), the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), the Asian Cooperation Dialogue (ACD), the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA) and the Forum for East Asia-Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC) and the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF)”, signifies its policy to work “within the regional cooperation frameworks”, wherein, “through its certain assigned status”, it plays its active and constructive role (Foreign Policy of Mongolia, [mongolianembassy.sg](http://mongolianembassy.sg)).

### **5.1.2. Impact on Multilateral Organisation**

The downfall of Soviet Union in 1991 was the main impediment of Mongolian society in a stretch of trade and microeconomics management. The Soviet Union removes its economic and military support in 1989 and lastly stops in 1991. Mongolian almost all finance reliant on upon the Soviet Union in the procedure of loans which were long term or short term asset (Batbayar 2003:45). The failure of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) provided a trade shock to the country (Dari 2010:118). Mongolia abruptly lost its market. These political changes wedged a lot Mongolian socio-political faced problems to achieve “management of State expenditure in investment and production suddenly become more involved

without experienced advisors in the new economic system” (Griffin 1995:14). These actions enhanced Mongolian leadership happening fast improvements programs under the guidance of the MPRP. Pomfret (2000) specified that “Mongolian Leadership accepted a big-bang policy of rapid transformation of property rights, attended by administrative controls and price liberalisation.” The significant impact was the breakdown of industry and institution poverty and employment amplified. There was the crucial need for economic help to Mongolia, lacking searching new donor which irresistible the Mongolian economy. Former USSR provided financial aid to Mongolia annually equal to about 30 percent of Mongolian GDP. This growth lack of finance-strapped Mongolia to find out financial institution like International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in Feb 1992 was significant step to promoting ties with the international community and the country’s additional integration with the word economy (Batbayar, 2003: 51).

The Bush senior administration was very much keen as long as the financial aid to Mongolia was facing economic hitches. Bush urged the Congress to deliver Mongolia most favoured nation status (Batbayar, 2003: 51). Two months later Congress approved the resolution for Mongolia, supported Mongolian democracy. The two visit in 1990 and 1991, and then American Secretary of State James Baker enhanced Mongolian leadership confidence and also urged the world community to provide economic support to Mongolia. This declaration was the paradigm of Mongolian foreign policy, the IMF, World Bank and ADB provided short term and long term loans to newly born democracy “Mongolia” for rapid economic development, Japan co-chaired with the financial organisation, World Bank and IMF and ADB in Sept 1991 at Tokyo along with 14 others countries delivered about US\$150 million loan for the numerous economic development of Mongolia. (CIA world book fact, Mongolia entry 2004)

#### **5.1.2.1. Mongolia and United Nations**

Mongolia that cooperated with the United Nations and its various agencies have benefitted in terms of finance, trade and general economic field as the same has acted as the engine of growth and stability as per its own requirements. Recently, it has celebrated its 55<sup>th</sup> Year of its association with the UN a period wherein it has been

incentivized to uphold the values of the world organisation by imbibing to its democratic principles, by financially contributing to the same and in return being beneficiary in terms of receiving the trade and economic assistance from the same. Of late, Mongolia's interaction with UN has further thickened and expanded wherein the former has contributed to latters' peacekeeping and other similar measures while the latter has provided the opportunities for the development of the landlocked countries that informs the feature of Mongolia. Hitherto, Mongolia has adopted more than 80 UN resolutions.

Further, in the series of its contribution to the peacekeeping operations of the United Nations, Mongolia has organized "near about 5,600 peacekeepers to the United Nations and peacekeeping in Iraq, Afghanistan, Chad, Sierra Leone, Kosovo, Sudan, West Sahara, Congo, West Sahara, and South Sudan besides the working of a military field hospital with about 70 Mongolian staffs within the joint United Nations-African Union peacekeeping mission in Sudan".

Further, Mongolia has also complied upon its promise of climate change aiming to save the earth from the climatic menaces accrued on account of human factor resulting in the global catastrophe like 'global warming and similar developments'. In this regard, the president of Mongolia joined "the UN Climate Change Conference (COP-15) in December 2009 and agreed to the Copenhagen Accord". Further, it became a member of "International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA)" in 2010 besides becoming the "participating state in the OSCE in 2012". (mongolianembassy.sg)

Similarly, Mongolia has taken lead in the direction of earmarking Free Trade Agreements with its "chief trading partners" thereby augmenting the existing regional trade agreements wherein it has significantly contributed in the field of multi-faceted trade negotiations "within the outline of WTO" and with the aim of "preserving its national interests" to ensure a conducive ambiance for endorsing foreign trade and to "increase the local products to the international markets". In fact, Mongolia's trade policy is driven by the aim of following the outline of WTO policy of integrating the local economy to the global one wherein it specifically aims to open up the market for its local crops to the world market (mongolianembassy.sg). It aims to invite FDI with

the aim of economic development as well as employment generation via transfers of technical know-hows and skills.

In the final analysis, Mongolia by being the member of international organisations like WTO, IMF, World Bank etc. is a part of the mosaic of the economic web of the world required for the national economic development.

#### **5.1.2.2. Mongolia and IMF**

Mongolia entered IMF as its 155<sup>th</sup> member and since beginning has been taking a series of reform measures to ensure its economic development as per its broader guidelines. More importantly, the sub-field of macro-economic fields and agendas therein like, “fiscal, budget and monetary policies” that have been assisted by financial assistance by IMF has allowed Mongolia its fiscal position by way of “reconstructing fiscal reserves, monetary structure and flow, payment for imports without having to impose restrictions or capital controls”. Thus, it adapted itself to the structural adjustment program that is required by IMF to get its assistance by the member countries. In this regard, IMF assisted Mongolia through a “stand-by credit in 1991-1992 and ESAF loans between 1993 and 1996, encompassing the liberalisation of most wages and prices, reduction in import limitations, the privatisation of some state enterprises, the establishment of a commercial banking system, easing of capital controls and the outline of a floating exchange rate system”, thereby putting Mongolia on a better economic footing. Consequently, the fiscal problems of Mongolia witnessed a positive change wherein the earlier 300 percent of inflation came down to 50 percent in 1995-1996. Further, IMF gave a loan to the tune of 45 billion US dollar under the ESAF for a period of three years (1997-2000). This assistance had the politico-democratic bearing upon Mongolia when in the first year of IMF program “accorded with the doings of the first government of the Democratic Coalition, voted to power in 1996, under Prime Minister M. Enkhosaikhan”. (Batbayar, 2003: 55)

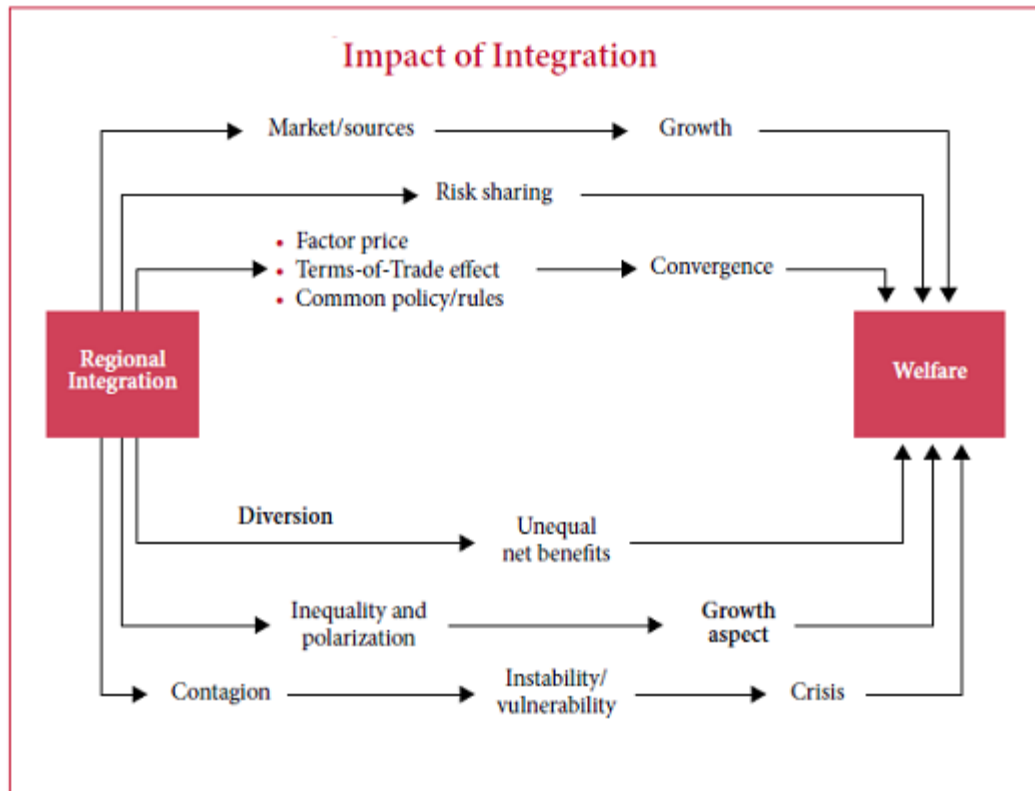
In fact, the Mongolian experience in this regard surpassed the expectations in the first years and consequently, the country witnessed a upsurge in its economy to the tune of 34 percent in 1997 and 67 percent in its global assets.

To entice foreign investor, Mongolian presented new laws and studied old market law open its market to the world community, US department of State report 2014 stated that “Mongolia’s main economic and political challenge are linked to ensuring steady growth the affluent and bust cycles likely to visit this resource-dependent economy.” Mongolian market entice world market guaranteeing depositors market security, more than 10 percent GDP economic growth inspire the foreign investor and World Bank if long term loan to economic development.

### **5.1.2.3. Mongolia and ADB**

Regional Integration is the integral part of Mongolian foreign policy initiative; Mongolia’s hunger for the rapid economic development pushed became the member of Asian Development Bank in February 1991. Under the framework ADB Mongolia entered into a Poverty Partnership Agreement (PPA) in 2002, carry forward economic ties with in the region, making institution from the period of 1994 to 1999. ADB provided long term loans for infrastructure development, was the major sector going down after withdrawal of economic assistance of former USSR. The ADB formulated in May 2000 its new Country Operational Strategy (COS) for 2000-2005 (Batbayar, 2003:53). The new COS “aimed at fostering economic growth and combat poverty by switching the main mechanism for growth generation from public sector investments in infrastructure to employment-generating investments aimed at engaging the private sector”. Batbayar (2003: 22) boldly describes the Mongolian interest in ADB, “currently focuses its operations on the five core sectors, namely, finance, public sector, social sector, agriculture, and urban development. Besides providing loans, the ADB is committed to being actively involved in policy dialogue with the government, particularly with regard to continuing of reforms in the promotion of good governance in formulating effective policies and establishing efficient institutions; public sector management and finance which will lay a foundation for effective macroeconomic management and financial sector, particularly the banking system to provide affordable financing services badly needed for increased private sector investment and production efficiency”.

**Figure 7: Impact of Integration**



**Regional integration appears to reduce income inequality between countries.**

Source: Office for Regional Economic Integration, ADB in Regional cooperation and integration in a changing world, Mandaluyong City, Philippines: Asian Development Bank, 2013.

In 1991, World Bank Group welcomed Mongolia as a new member. The removal of Soviet assistance and its Council for Mutual Economic Assistance created an apparent problem for the Magnolia. In this background, the Balance of Payment (BOP) crisis emerged as a serious threat to the Mongolian economy. In this regard, International Development Association (IDA) helped swiftly to overcome this problem and provide financial and technical assistance and expertise. With the support led by International Development Association (IDA), Magnoliaeconomy stabilized soon from the early transition. On the other hand, International Development Association (IDA) also developed its expertise to deal with the problem of Balance of Payment crisis. Before this incident, the IDA was only tackling the issues of the poverty alleviation, infrastructure, and structural reforms. In 2001, The IDA had financed more than US\$272 million in different projects and US\$150 million has also been disbursed for additional requirements of the projects. In 2001, The World Bank took seriously to

grappling Mongolian economy and sent Vice President for East Asia and the Pacific, Jemal-ud-din Kassum, to Mongolia (Batbayar, 2003:54). The expertise and visit of Vice President of World Bank helped Mongolia to overcome the problems of struggling market economy. In this regard, the poverty alleviation was the prime focus of the World Bank. By the policy of “The new Country Assistance Strategy for 2001-2004,” Mongolia was tremendously benefitted in poverty reduction. On the other hand, the role of civil society has always been a perennial question for the Mongolia particularly media and non-governmental organisations. The development of Mongolian civil society as a benevolent factor for the whole community encouraged by Mr Jemal-ud-din Kassum (Ibrahim 2015). “These objectives initiate to achieve a stable and constructive environment for the improvement of the transitional economy and providing a dialogue for the under development.” The private sector of the Mongolia needed a redemption with the help of government. So, the purpose of the World Bank was very fruitful in this regard, and the overall environment of the economy particular in the private sector has improved (Dari 2011:134). The banks of Mongolia was bridging the public-private sector and discussed the issues with government officials. With the help of working groups, i.e., “Standing Committee on Economic Policy” helps tremendously in the improvement of taxation. In the overall policies and efforts, the role of Mongolian parliament was very helpful in making consensus on the issues of national interest as well as the smoothness of process of legalisation.

#### **5.1.2.4. Mongolia and WTO**

Foreign policy priority of Mongolian “National Security” in multiple aimed securing “human security” through economic developments. But the demise of USSR, the military power leverage down and economic power leverage up in the world politics, the new world order the multi-polar world politics took place, the economic cooperation and foreign trade and investment are the factors which are contributing the achieving the foreign policy goals of Mongolia, creating national wealth and Jobs and also providing the favourable environment to the foreign inverters, producers and multilateral financial institutions involved in foreign trade. Mongolia adopted “multi-pillar” foreign policy approach, Mongolia joining WTO (World Trade Organisation) was factor of strengthen of multilateral cooperation within the member countries and



also regulate the foreign trade and economic developmental activities within the member countries. Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book described “custom tariffs, domestic taxes and fees will serve as a means of insuring an optimal interrelationship between foreign and domestic markets”.

Mongolia is small market player in the WTO ruling system; got supports for trade liberalisation which was the essential step to market economy “became a prevailing global tendency and policy”. The multilateral trade agreements policy initiated by the WTO, Mongolian market needs special treatment and protection to pursue the trade liberalisation of the economic development within the country.

Trade Policy under WTO is incorporating the Mongolian method of export and import policy, encouraging foreign investors, private players and producers introduced modern technology of manufacturing and services is the great significant for Mongolian economic growth ([www.qingis.com](http://www.qingis.com)). The economic growth is directly involved to education and also promotes diversify the services sectors such as banking, financing, insurance and tourism etc. The improving services sectors enhancing Mongolian GDP share to the world market which promote “education and culture” are the essential element pursuing soft power diplomacy in the world politics. Under the WTO rules and regulations Mongolian government is utilising the maximum export mechanism which are promoting both short term and long term loans, providing financial support such loans “guarantees, soft loans and tax holidays, and relieves”.

Mongolia is small power in new world order system, WTO safeguarded Mongolia’s trade in the world and regional market, Ulaanbaatar established free trade agreements with the world market, almost all negotiation have been conducted under the framework of WTO promoting its market to the world economy. Mongolia’s trade policy objectives are “aimed at developing an outward-oriented trade regime following the principles of the World Trade Organisation, with the goal of increasing overseas market access for Mongolia’s products through greater integration into the world economy. Mongolia continues to encourage foreign direct investment into the country to expand output and employment and encourage the transfer of skills and knowledge”.

## **5.2. Impact of Political Reforms on Bilateral Relations, vis-a-vis Several Countries**

The demise of USSR in 1991 and the major cut of financial assistance to Mongolia, leadership paid attention to the rest of world, explore the new partners of donors to replace of former patron. 1994's new foreign policy document, six direction outlined cleared mentioned, expanded it bilateral/trilateral foreign relations with countries of East and West, North East Asia. Apart from the two big giant neighbour Russia and China, Mongolian given top priority to USA, European Countries and the simultaneously developed its bilateral relations with India, Central Asia, Japan and with the Republic of Korea. Mongolian elected president in 1993, his active and pragmatic diplomacy travelling extensively in Asian region as well as Europe also along with New Zealand and Australia. Searching of new partner Mongolian president P Ochibrat made his Russia federation in 1993 after that visit Mongolian President visited France Germany and others European Union member countries, developed friendly relations and new bilateral cooperation in the world community. However scholar Campi (2004) stated that "Mongolia's geographical location between the nuclear power heavily influence its freedom of action and the scope of its relations with the other foreign state". Ulaanbaatar multilateral engagement and agreements with the international financial institutions increasing awareness of, and the economic ties with Mongolia, fully consistent with the principles outlined in the Concept of foreign policy (Telford 2004: 10).

### **5.2.1. Mongolia and Russia**

In May 1990, President Punsalmaagiyn Ochirbat, accompanied by MPRP General Secretary Gombojavyn Orchirbat, went to Moscow for a meeting with President Gorbachev. Mongolian and Soviet leaders agreed to review all treaties and contracts signed by the two sides since the Mongolian revolution of 1921, but Moscow could not be persuaded to reduce Mongolia's 9.5 billion rouble debts to the Soviet Union. Prime Minister Dashiyn Byambasuren said in September 1990 that Mongolia wanted more talks with a view to recalculating the debt. "Some of the Soviet projects in Mongolia cost too much and are very inefficient", he said after January 1991. The upkeep of Soviet technical advisers in Mongolia had fallen within two years by

almost 50 Percent to just over 18,500, plus some 6,300 dependents (Asia Yearbook, 1991).

In January 1991, President Orchirbat came back from Washington through Moscow, where he and President Gorbachev again met and agreed that their Prime Ministers would meet to stimulate action on trade, joint ventures, construction projects and geological prospecting. In a meeting with Soviet Premier Valentin Pavlov in February, Byambasuren called for greater efficiency and the 'balancing' of economic ties. Byambasuren also had talks with Russian Premier Ivan Silayev and signed Mongolia's first inter-governmental agreement with Russia on economic co-operation, trade and joint ventures (Heaton 1992:54).

The collapse of the USSR at the end of 1991 did not hinder the withdrawal of Russian troops from Mongolia. It was completed in 1992; the last train-load of equipment leaving in June and the last soldier in September (Banks and Muller 1998). Prime Minister Byambasuren said that the Treaty of Friendship, cooperation and Mutual Aid signed with the USSR in 1966 under whose terms the troops had been stationed in Mongolia, would be annulled. Cultural and economic relations were strengthened with the Tuva, Kalmyk and Buryat republics of the Russian Federation (Mongolia, 1993).

A Treaty of Friendly Relations and Co-operation was signed with Russia during President Orchirbat's visit to Moscow in January 1993 (Batbayar 2015:10). Replacing the 1966 Mongolian Soviet friendship treaty, it provided a new legal basis for the associated inter-governmental agreement on economic co-operation concluded during the visits. In a joint communiqué, Ochirbat and Russian President Boris Yeltsin expressed deep regret over Mongolian victims of Stalinist repression and the harm caused to the relations between the two countries. Mongolia and Russia also took steps to ease tensions on Mongolia's border with the Republic of Tuva, where large-scale smuggling and cattle-rustling had led to shooting incidents (Soni 2008:47-48).

### **5.2.2. Mongolia and China**

In May 1990, President Ochirbat paid a short official visit to Peking, the first by a Mongolian president. In November, he had what Chinese sources called a 'cordial'

meeting with President Yang Shangkun during another short visit following consultations in Tokyo with Prime Minister Toshiki Kaiju (Soni 2008: 50).

In February 1991, Gombojavyn Ochirbat (now MPRP Chairman) met Chinese Communist Party General-Secretary Jiang Zemin in Peking - the first meeting between leaders of the two parties in 30 years. In April, Mongolian Defence Minister Lieut-Gen. Shagalyn Jadambaa visited Peking, where he met Premier Li Peng. During Vice-President Radnaasumbereliyn Gonchigdorj's visit to Peking in June, Mongolian and Chinese officials signed agreement on the opening of eight new border crossing points. In August, President Yang Shangkun paid a state visit to Mongolia-first by a Chinese head of state. President Ochirbat said that they shared identical views on expanding cooperation between the two countries. He made special mention of new agreements signed on the transit of Mongolian goods through China via Tianjin, and on postponing Mongolia's debt repayment to China (Heaton 1992: 55).

In April 1994, Chinese Prime Minister Li Peng paid an official visit to Mongolia. 'We respect the Mongolian people's choice of their own development course', Li declared. Li Peng also enunciated China's five point policy towards Mongolia: adherence to the five principles of peaceful coexistence; respect for Mongolia's independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity; development of trade and economic cooperation on the basis of equality; support for Mongolia's policy of being free from nuclear weapons and foreign troops and a willingness to see Mongolia develop relations with other countries (Bruun and Odgaard 2006:223; Sanders 2003:61; Sanders 2010: 155). A new Mongolian Chinese Treaty of Friendly Relations and Co-operation signed by Li and Mongolian Prime Minister Jasray emphasized regular consultation and non-interference in each other's internal affairs. They also signed agreements on cooperation on border-water protection, animal quarantine, trade- goods standards and joint economic and technical projects (Soni 2008: 50).

As per Rossabi (2000), the most important dimension of Mongolia-Inner-Mongolia affair happen to be the "issues relating to Inner-Mongolia (the province in Northern China, bordering Mongolia) wherein China has long been accused of suppressing the population seeking independence from China". The shared language and cultural heritage of "Mongolia with the Inner Mongolians" puts Mongolian government in a

dock wherein it is expected to “change its official policy of non-interference in Chinese affairs”, on the one hand, while choosing to pragmatic policy of non-interference under the Chinese pressure ([www.mtac.gov.tw](http://www.mtac.gov.tw)).

The most significant national security issue relating to Chinese factor, from Mongolia’s vantage point happen to be “the fear of Chinese expansion as the ‘Concept of National Security’ and ‘Concept of Foreign Policy’ both identify ‘massive inflows of migrants from a neighbouring state’ as a real threat to national interests”. Further, the issues like, “maps originating in China and showing all or part of Mongolia integrated into China, as has been substantiated earlier”, “the Chinese plans for starting ‘large-scale animal husbandry operations’ in southern Mongolia (Kaplan, 2004)” are constituting the Mongolian fear that “increase in Chinese investments will lead to economic if not physical control over Mongolia (Bruun and Odgaard 1997:23-41)”. In this regard, it is expected of China to exercise care and sensitivity to Mongolian concerns as any incursions would not only witness an outcry from Mongolia but also “from the international community”.

Both countries have long-lasting historical relations but the country to country ties between Mongolia and China has taken a shape with the establishment of People’s Republic of China (PRC) in 1949. With that political development, three stages development took place

### **5.2.3. Mongolia and US Relations**

China and Russia two big giant neighbours are the top priority of Mongolian foreign policy initiative to securing its national security in larger perspective extended its bilateral relations with the highly developed countries in the Eastern and Western part of globe, this expansion is fully endorsed with the national interest of Mongolia.

Miliate (2011:22) describes that Mongolia established its first diplomatic with USA in January 27, 1987, with the opening its embassy in Washington D.C. in 1989 and US Embassy opening in Ulaanbaatar in 1988, since the diplomatic relations influenced liberal democracy came true in the demise of USSR in 1991, its relations was in slow motion but post communist era and demand of liberal democracy came true boosted bilateral relations, recognise and shared interest, divided bilateral relations into three

parts, first is military/defence ties, second is US foreign aid and third one is economic ties as a whole, continue for development. As global superpower US provided all kind of support to Mongolia's political and economic transition, USA help for the country has strengthened leading to expansion of bilateral relations and high level political dialogue. Newly democratic country Mongolia prime focused on obtaining foreign aid. Mongolian then president Ochirbat visited US in Jan-1991 and both the country signed agreements on trade, science and technology and others areas. These agreements given fresh oxygen to Mongolia breathe normally, hug fund cut by the former USSR.

The Foreign Policy Blue Book (2000:23) states that "the relationship with the two immediate neighbours remains a top priority in Mongolia's foreign policy. However, from the country's development and national security perspective, the expansion of the relations with highly developed countries is also a top priority agenda". So development of relations with the US is fully consistent with the national interests of Mongolia." Mongolia improving is diplomatic relation to bilateral relation with the US; it was notable movement that the US first lady Hilary Clinton joined at the Beijing Women's conference. During her visit, she announced economic assistance to Mongolia mainly health and energy sector (\$4.3 million). She praised Mongolian efforts to effect political and economic transition saying "I have come here to express in very strong terms America's support for Mongolian democracy, independence and prosperity." The Washington continues its political support to Mongolia "strengthen and deepen democratic reform and human rights in order to enhance representative and accountable government" and pledging continued support for democracy, human rights, and the development of an open market in Mongolia. US large aid program uplifted Mongolian people life standard also pushed country's institutional capacity. USA has been continually providing unconditional economic and political support for Mongolian political and economic reforms, both the bilateral and multilateral links. USA given Mongolian Most favoured Nation (MFN) status, expanding the trade relations between the two countries. The US congress document in 1999, mention that "make normal trade relations status permanent." after the resolution came out from the congress, US president finally took decision to include Mongolia in the Trade Preferential System. Thus MFN status provides Mongolia's favourable condition of exploring its economic relations with USA and there is no barrier of the Mongolian

products to export into the US market. Mongolia has been participated send 1000 security personnel in Iraq and Afghanistan also stationed as additional 1000 security personnel around the world as part of various UN missions, as reward US provided military assistance in training and technology other side Mongolia consistently improving its various state machinery institutions like military and do cooperate with US to effectively train a domestic military force capable of serving in peacekeeping mission (Miliate 2011:23). Both countries did many military exercises in Gobi desert.

The Concept of National Security reiterates (Mongolian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, 1994) that “Mongolia will not allow its territory to be used against other States. Such seemingly expansionist actions from the US seem to contravene this, indicating that Mongolia is apparently willingly allowing its stated foreign policy to be compromised by the US”. Apart from military assistance, US, also assist Mongolia in policy making wherein it has deployed “a full-time American policy adviser in the Prime Minister’s office”. As per the statement of US Department of State (2004), this advisor “has worked closely with the Government of Mongolia to set the policy agenda and provides policy advice and expert technical assistance for the government's major reform initiatives”.

#### **5.2.4. Mongolia and India**

Soni (2015: 44) have mentioned that Mongolia’s relation with India has not been new. Both countries have had civilisational contacts spanning over a period of 2700 years. These friendly relations have been intense and inseparable. There have been not only people to people contacts but from confluence has been in diverse areas like language, literature, religion, medicine, folklore, culture and traditions. Mongolia has had close relations with India; not only on account of Buddhism, but also on the basis of post-cold war strategy both countries have pursued over the years and also because of diverse areas where in both the countries have found a common ground to get connected.

Relations between Mongolia and India have entered a new stage since the beginning of the 1990s, when Mongolia embarked the uneasy road to multi-party democracy and a market oriented economy. India was the first country among the non-socialist world to establish diplomatic relations with Mongolia in 1995 (India-Mongolia Relations,

<http://www.mea.gov.in>). India had opened its Embassy in Ulaanbaatar in 1970. The 1992 visit of India's Vice-President Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma to Mongolia can be considered as an Indian support to Mongolia's firm commitment to choose a democracy and a market-oriented economy. The Vice-President of India pledged to increase technical assistance to Mongolia, i.e. training of Mongolia technicians through Indian programmes (Batbayar 2001:77).

On 21-24 February 1994, the then President of Mongolia, P. Ochirbat paid an official visit to India. The highlights of the visit were the signing of the Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation between Mongolia and India. Besides, a number of agreements, including an agreement on avoidance of double taxation and an inter-governmental agreement on the creation of bilateral committee on cooperation were also concluded. More recently, the President of Mongolia, N. Bagabandi, paid a State visit to India on 1-5 January 2001. During his visit both sides noted the relevance of the 1994 treaty of friendly relations and cooperation and also signed a number of agreements (Banks and Muller 1998). The new agreements paved the way for further development of bilateral relations between the two countries (Nyamdava 2003:66-71).

Mongolia attaches great importance to trade and economic relations with India. The government of India in 2001 decided to render Mongolia, for the first time a soft loan of 50 million Rupees (US\$1.7 million), to be used for financing the construction of a factory of vegetable oil with a capacity of 5 to 6 thousand tons per year (Soni, 2001: 4-5). Further, a new loan from India was to be used to finance small scale hydro energy projects in the western part of Mongolia. Earlier, Indian Commerce Minister visited Mongolia in September 1994 and signed a number of Protocols to create inter-governmental subcommittee on Commerce and to establish working relations between two state planning organisations. In June 1995, a more than 20 member delegation of Indo-Mongolian Chamber set up in Mumbai, visited Mongolia to meet Mongolian businessmen and to explore ways of developing trade and investment. Mongolian side expressed interest in import of Indian drugs, tea, coffee, and industrial equipments. The Indian side was interested in coking coal, fluorspar, copper, uranium, and other minerals. Transportation of goods becomes a major obstacle for trade promotion. One way to overcome this natural barrier is to establish regular flights between Mongolia and India. Third neighbour approach on Indian-Mongolia relations got an impetus



with the then Indian President, Pratibha Patil's visit to Mongolia in July 2011 (22 Soni 2015: 45). The relations extended politically and economic as well, culturally (Foreign Policy Blue Book, 2000: 31-32). In 2016, the Indian Prime Minister visited Mongolia and signed a MoU in various filed but also extended relations in the defence.

#### **5.2.5. Mongolia and Japan**

In the Asia-Pacific region, Japan with its highly developed economy and world-class assets (including military technology) has considerable influence in world politics making it imperative for Mongolia to accord due weightage and priority to the island country. Importantly, Mongolia had established diplomatic relations with Japan as far back as in 1972, more than a decade before the country had set out on its path to democratic transition and market economy as the Cold War was nearing its end. When Mongolia took to participative democracy and sought to introduce an open, competitive and a liberal economy, Japan had extended full support to this transformative effort. In fact, geographically-speaking, Japan happens to be the first "third neighbour" of Mongolia in the context of the land-locked country's much cherished third neighbour policy.

In terms of the clear bilateral trajectory of their relations, in 1996, the two countries had spelled out the goal of attainment of Comprehensive Partnership. In May 1998, a Joint Declaration of Friendly Relations and Cooperation between Mongolia and Japan was issued during the visit of Mr. Natsagyn Bagabandi, president of Mongolia, to Japan towards the attainment of this comprehensive partnership. The Declaration set forth principles of sustainable development between Mongolia and Japan in all fields and strengthened mutual understanding between two nations. By 2010, the relationship had matured to the extent that they identified the establishment of a 'Strategic Partnership' between each other. In 2012, the two countries celebrated their 40th anniversary of their diplomatic relations. In the same year, a joint statement was issued on starting negotiations on Japan-Mongolia Economic Partnership Agreement (EPA). In April 2012, Japan's Country Assistance Policy to Mongolia was devised aimed at poverty reduction through sustainable development measures. Earlier in 2008, the Japan Bank for International Cooperation had offered \$ 385 million for a

new international airport. Moreover, Japan has been the largest aid donor to Mongolia since 1990s. The relationship was once again given a more holistic dimension when during Prime Minister Abe's visit to Mongolia in March 2013, the two countries decided to upgrade their ties based on three pillars: Politics and security; Economy; and People-to-people exchanges. In recent years, the Japanese government has even engaged the Mongolian leadership under President Elbegdorj in the expectation of the latter's intercession with North Korea over the issue of abduction of Japanese nationals. In October 2015, the prime ministers of the two countries signed a MoU on mining and infrastructure projects. Culturally, the anointment of Buddhism as a state religion in Mongolia had further reinforced the bonding between the two countries.

Drawing on the growing ties between Japan and Mongolia, experts have even begun to contemplate a new trilateral involving the US, Japan and Mongolia as an extension of Ulaanbaatar's own independent relations with the US and Japan.

#### **5.2.6. Mongolia and Wider Central Asia**

The demise of former USSR, Central Asia emerged as a independent region, have been endeavouring to established direct diplomacy relations and economic linkages with the neighbouring State including Mongolia. Post cold war era, Mongolia's new political and economic structure setup new patterns established its relations with these neighbouring countries are influenced by domestic political reforms and economic factors (Soni 2015). Wider Central Asian States and Mongolia's domestic situation changed and it has now opened itself to the rest of the world. Mongolia has shifted from the centrally controlled economic structure to an open economy.

There were common experiences both the Central Asian State and Mongolia, economic difficulties more or less in the same manner. These crises occurred because industrial production market Russia and Ukraine refused to take raw material from these states.

Batbayar (2015:10) explains that Mongolian established its diplomatic relations with Kazakhstan on 22<sup>nd</sup> January 1992; with Uzbekistan on 25<sup>th</sup> January 1992 and with Kyrgyzstan on 22<sup>nd</sup> April 1992. Priority was attached to Kazakhstan, which is territorially the biggest country in Central Asia, and which became actually a third

neighbour for land-locked Mongolia, in spite of not having direct borders with Mongolia. A large Kazakh community living in north-western Mongolia (over 150 thousand or 7.5 Percent of overall population of Mongolia) who accepted very enthusiastically the emergence of sovereign Kazakhstan next to their door, further facilitated the relationship. Kazakhstan has also been important for Mongolia's economy. Crude copper ore, which is extracted in northern Mongolia by Mongol - Russian joint venture "Erdenet" and which is one of the most important export items bringing more than of Mongolia's hard currency earnings, continues to be shipped to Kazakhstan and processed in "Balkhashmed" refinery. For instance, in 1994 alone, about thousand ton copper ore was processed in Kazakhstan. (Batbayar 2015:10)

The treaty of Friendly Relations and Cooperation between Mongolia and Kazakhstan was signed in Ulaanbaatar in October 1993, when Kazakh President N Nazarbaev visited Mongolia (Baatar 2014:95). The same Treaty between Mongolia and Kyrgyzstan was concluded in July 1993, when President of Mongolia, Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat and that of Kyrgyzstan, Askar Akayevich Akayev, visited Ulaanbaatar. High level delegations of Mongolia reciprocated visits to central Asian capitals. In September 1993, N. Bagabandi, the then Chairman of Mongolian Parliament and now the President of Mongolia, paid visit to Kazakhstan and established relations between the two Parliaments. In late November and early December of 1994, the Prime Minister of Mongolia, P. Jasrai visited Kazakhstan. Baatar (2014: 94) illustrates during his visit, P. Jasrai was able to settle the issue of those citizens of Mongolia who voluntarily went to Kazakhstan. It is to be noted that the legal status of over 50 thousand Mongolian Kazakhs (12.3 thousand left in 1991, 26.9 thousand in 1992 and 14.7 thousand in 1993), who left Mongolia for Kazakhstan, had remained unsettled until the visit of P Jasrai. Both sides concluded the Agreement about the regulation of issues of voluntary immigration and job assignments by contracts (Soni, 1996: 173-179).

Trade volume between Mongolia and Central Asian States is much less than expected. Kazakhstan is the fourth major trade partner of Mongolia because Mongolia's main export item, crude copper is processed in Kazakhstan. Economic cooperation between Mongolia and Central Asia is still in its initial stage. A number of projects including the construction of a highway between Bayan Ulgii (the capital of Mongolia's

province populated by Kazakhas) and Almaty and the construction of a modern airport in Bayan-Ulgii, have been discussed between the Government of Mongolia and Kazakhstan. Mongolia has deep interest in buying oil and oil products from Kazakhstan in order to supply them to its western parts, which now consume very expensive oil transported all over Mongolia from the Russian Siberia. (Batbayar, 2015:11; Banks and Muller 1998, 1980)

### **5.2.7. Mongolia and Korea**

South Korea was another country which had been perceived and thereby engaged by Mongolia through the prism of Cold War calculus for several decades. However as the Cold War began to wind down with the country undertaking a structural overhaul of its domestic polity marked by a decisive shift towards representative democracy, a comprehensive re-evaluation of its foreign policy was also set of course. The result was that in 1990, South Korea was recognised by the newly-emerging market economy and democratic polity. For itself, South Korea too was testing new diplomatic waters in the newly developing post-Cold War world order given that the very existence of the country had been the direct fallout of the Cold War power play.

As Mongolia sought to break free from its geopolitical and diplomatic stranglehold of Russia/former USSR and China and launched the much-regarded third neighbour policy, South Korea seemed a naturally prospective partner. South Korea's long economic success as a regional as well as global manufacturing power was a perfect setting for Mongolia to seek closer relations with it. The complementarities between its resource-oriented economy and South Korea's resource-deficient and manufacturing economy were too attractive to be passed over. Mongolian economy could well benefit from South Korean investment in its resource sector while also serving as a reliable source of natural resources including agricultural land for the resource-poor South Korea. During President Lee Myung-bak's visit to Mongolia in August 2011, a series of agreements on cooperation in natural resource development, electricity, renewable energy, joint development of uranium ore and rare earth materials as well as health sector (Minton, 2015). South Korea was also to invest in Mongolia's infrastructure and construction sectors, expansion of air routes and simplification of travel processes and conditions between the two countries. In recent

years, South Korea has turned out to be third largest aid donor and fourth most important trade partner of Mongolia (Minton 2015).

As Mongolia seeks to play a more active role in Northeast Asia in a clear attempt at identifying and integrating with the region, South Korea can serve as an ideal and valuable partner. In April 2013 (Arase 2016), Mongolia launched the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security which seems effectively compatible with South Korea-driven Northeast Asia Peace and Cooperation Initiative (NAPCI) with experts even characterising Mongolia as a possible broker between the two Koreas. In fact, since the 2000s, Mongolia has also been further developing its relations with North Korea, a regional enfant terrible, in its bid to play the role of a mature and sober regional player. It is worthwhile mentioning that during the early years of Cold War, Mongolia had been the second country after the USSR to establish relations with North Korea. Being a non-nuclear erstwhile communist country which most unprecedentedly underwent a peaceful democratic transition, Mongolia has accumulated considerable goodwill and credibility, and its peacemaking role has been increasingly recognised by the region as well as the global community. In fact, the mediation efforts of the country vis-a-vis Japan and North Korea in 2007 were an ample illustration of this fact. Also notably, the Dialogue had been proposed as early as in the 1980s even before the complete recalibration of foreign policy in the early 1990s (Banks and Muller 1998, 1980).

In terms of security too, the two countries have made substantial progress. The Mongolian minister of foreign affairs Luvsanbandan Bold's visit to Seoul in February 2014 was the first official visit by a Mongolian foreign minister in ten years. During the visit, the two countries also signed a slew of defence agreements chiefly dealing with defence exchange and training for Mongolian soldiers, peacekeeping operations, sale and transfer of military equipment among others (Campi 2014).

At people to people level, the largest numbers of Mongolian guest workers reside in South Korea with several thousands of South Koreans also being long-term residents of Mongolia. South Korea has become a key gateway for Mongolians to access the Asia-Pacific region and North America. 65,000 Mongolians travel to and through

Seoul every year (Jargalsaikhany 2015). In terms of popular culture, South Korean cinematic and television offerings are very popular in Mongolia.

### **5.2.8. Mongolia and European Union**

The fall of the Berlin Wall had opened the gates of European Union for the countries in Eastern Europe and eastern Central Asia. The legacy of Mongolia's Politico-ideological kinship with the countries and systems in that part of Europe had been a natural starting point for Mongolia's cultivation of and strengthening of ties with the EU as a collective identity. It is in that framework that the third neighbour policy of Mongolia vis-a-vis the EU can be logically situated.

Given that Mongolia had already embarked upon an improved and active diplomatic relations with the US with the logical fallout being the former even turning out as an active participant in NATO's security plans and activities, the EU had inevitably emerged as the next diplomatic port of call. The EU's "Common Foreign Policy and Security Policy" had provided a convenient political setting for the relationship to grow. In fact in the backdrop of the sudden demise of communism in 1991 and the wave of democratisation in Eastern Europe, the processes of East European countries ideologically turning a new leaf and making overtures towards joining the EU had almost paralleled Mongolia's political-diplomatic journey further setting the stage for a close Mongolia-EU relations. The EU's own erstwhile experience with the former USSR would have also facilitated this burgeoning relationship.

Strictly in economic terms, since EU had been the standard bearer of economic development based on an integrated common market underpinned by the processes of globalisation and principles of openness, it had been a natural partner for Mongolia. Emerging from the era of communist-style economic model, the Mongolian economy had been in dire need for foreign direct investment as well as closer trading partners for preferential market access even aspiring to receive most-favoured nation treatment. In 1991, Mongolia signed investment promotion and protection agreements with Germany and France and an economic cooperation agreement with the United Kingdom (Mongolia Investment and Business Guide 2015: 35; US Department of State Dispatch

1993). Germany had even provided huge aid and loans to Mongolia particularly under the East German cooperative programs. With the aim of attracting investment, loans and aid as well as trading agreements on preferential terms, the Mongolian Prime Minister undertook a flurry of visits to individual EU countries including Germany, France and Belgium among others apart from the EU headquarters in Brussels. Therefore, the EU had been all motivated and enthused about providing economic assistance to the newly-democratic country. These set of economic agreements was to greatly assist in boosting mining and livestock sectors, the two prominent industries in Mongolia. Displaying commendable political consensus on the subject, the visit of the Prime Minister had been duly followed by the Mongolian president Bagabandi to many European countries during 1999-2000.

As the demand for liberal democracy gained ground in 1989 and as Mongolia set about recasting its political alignments in the immediate aftermath of the cessation of Cold War, the European Communities had been an intrinsic factor in Mongolia's overall diplomatic calculations. More specifically, the 1993 'Trade and Cooperation Agreement' had played the catalyst paving the ground for the signing of Partnership and Cooperation Agreement in 2010. Underlining the importance of this agreement, Miliate (2011:26) has said, "...which not only brought Mongolia into a bilateral political dialogue process with the EU, but also gave the country favourable trading terms." In addition, EU not only provided long - term financial support but also supplied technology for the Mongolian mining sector. More importantly, as the bilateral dynamics between Mongolia and EU gained strength and momentum, the latter also proved to be a source of invaluable diplomatic support towards the former's aspirations for membership of regional and intra-regional organisations. When Mongolia joined Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) in 2008, it had the backing of the EU during the negotiations. In the recent times, European Union has become a key partner for Mongolian trade and development. Mongolian products have been allowed virtually tariff - free entry into Europe with EU becoming a third largest trading partner after China and Russia. On security front, in November 2012, Mongolia became the 57<sup>th</sup> participating state of the Organisation for the Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE), a milestone development that formerly recognised Mongolia's

interests within the ambit of Europe. The economic relations touched a high peak when Mongolia was provided 15 million Euros for multiple developmental and education projects annually.

Therefore, as Eastern Europe merges with the EU as an exemplar for regional integration, Mongolia's stands to gain maximum benefits with its third neighbour policy particularly bringing about a multiplier effect for the country. This could also cast an influence on other Cold War era communist countries.

### **5.3. Buddhism: key element of Mongolian foreign policy**

In light of the demise of USSR in 1991 followed by new political developments unfolding in Mongolia, the new constitution had opened the path of a strong revival of the traditional religion "Lamaism" which had until then been completely destroyed by the communist rule in Mongolia. Although Buddhism has its roots in Tibet, it was also widely spread among national groups in Mongolia (Barkmann 1997: 69). However, the demand for liberal democracy in 1989 had affected, "law of separation of State and Religion". In fact, it was as far back as in 1934 when Buddhism was removed from the State and School. With the adoption of new constitution, however, it was laid down by the State that in principle "Mongolian state respects its religion and the religion respect its State" opening the door of Mongolia studying the importance of Buddhism and Buddhism becoming state religion (Barkmann 1997: 73). From then onwards, the State was bound to accord due respect to religion, namely, Buddhism, as Soni (2016) described "The Government shall grant proper respect to Buddhism as predominant religion of the country for the sake of national unity and maintenance of cultural and historic traditions." No wonder then the political role of Buddhism as a unifying cultural force gets inevitably linked to the country's foreign policy given Buddhism's footprints spread far and wide. .

In the post-communist era, state religion became one key element of achieving foreign policy goals. However most of the foreign countries separated religion and state. But in case of Mongolia, Buddhism became involved with state, directly or indirectly, in many ways. Religion was used as a vehicle of resolving disputes within and around the state. Hence Buddhism became a key instrument of Mongolian diplomacy constituting a prominent part in safeguarding of the country's national



security and serving the national interest. Without doubt, the spread and expansion of Mongolian civilisation has been an ancient phenomenon. Its expansion is not limited to China, Central Asian states and Southeast Asian states but it also covers India too. In the same way, Mongolian Diaspora is not only spread to India but across the globe. Diaspora is that bond making and supporting the bilateral/diplomatic relations with other countries towards protecting the art and culture and the way of life of Mongols ([www.mongolianembassy.us](http://www.mongolianembassy.us)). Soft power diplomacy has been an integral component of the broader foreign policy of each and every state in the world politics where culture plays a pivotal role. Given that Buddhism has a long-standing historical tradition, this religion has helped establish cultural ties with many countries. For example, both Mongolia and India have a very strong and rich tradition of Buddhism, which has helped towards numerous instances of cooperation between the two, both at national and individual levels. So much so that in modern times they are now known as “spiritual” neighbours. On the importance of cultural diplomacy, Soni (2016) cites that “the last’s year visit of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi to Mongolia has been part of this shared religious heritage with neighbours at the centre of his regional engagement. Mongolia, indeed, offers many possibilities for Prime Minister Modi’s cultural diplomacy. Hence, Buddhism, today remains at the very forefront of India’s new Asian outreach, both culturally as well as politically.”

Taking lessons from China and India in how Buddhism is used as a soft power tool in foreign relations, there is great scope for Mongolia as well. Perhaps emulating them, there is visible evidence of how Buddhism has played a pivotal role in Mongolian foreign ties with the capitalist and non-capitalist states “such as in Mongolia’s engagement with ASEAN countries, and with East Asian countries like Japan and Korea” strengthening the country’s bilateral relations with the other Buddhist societies. In an era of liberal democracy, whereas internally Mongolia has upheld freedom of expression and thought, good governance and all-round economic development with distributive justice as fundamental principles of governance; externally, peaceful coexistence with others and peaceful resolution of disputes have been the key ideological pillars of its foreign policy.

Quite fittingly, it is Buddhism which has served as a moral force behind the twin pillars of peaceful coexistence and peaceful resolution of disputes imparting its

unique dimension to Mongolia's foreign policy. In this day and age when several countries across the world have been beset by the long and pernicious shadow of religion over foreign policy and diplomacy, the positive role of Buddhist religion and culture on Mongolian foreign policy, howsoever limited or susceptible to premature judgement, presents a striking and extraordinary exception.

# **CHAPTER-VI**

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## **Conclusion**

Mongolia, a land-locked country with a nomadic society in the true sense of the term, had to weather unprecedented politico-economic churning right through the twentieth century and even earlier. Until 1911 when the Chinese Republic was established, it had been under the direct rule of the Chinese Manchu dynasty for over two hundred years. With the advent of the Bolshevik-communist government in Soviet Union post-Bolshevik revolution and its expanding influence in and around the region, Mongolia too eventually came under a communist government in 1924. Lasting for over seven decades at the end of which the country witnessed another round of political upheaval coincident with the unravelling of the Cold War. As the bipolar Cold War started to fray in the 1990s, and as the Soviet Union began to implode under Gorbachev's leadership, parts of East Europe and elsewhere saw a new dawn of political transformation as well as economic overhauling. Being a client state of Soviet Russia, Mongolia too was caught in the cross-currents of those momentous changes sweeping the world what has often been described as heralding a new world order or more precisely, a post-Cold War global order.

As Gorbachev stepped on to the podium to deliver that iconic and historic Vladivostok speech in 1986, he advanced two key concepts, namely glasnost and perestroika, redefining and signalling a complete systemic change in the Soviet Russia's politico-economic landscape. From Mongolia's standpoint, that he announced the breaking off military and economic linkages from the land-locked country was a significant milestone in its 'political coming of age' and marching to a new era of democratic state formation and nation-building. Touching off a country-wide debate on the imperative for a more democratic Mongolia, particularly led by the Western-educated intelligentsia, the whole country was galvanised into seeking a new Mongolia predicated on the principles of democratic representation, the rule of law and civil liberties. In a matter of three years, this political energy even found expression in an uprising, albeit a peaceful one, in September 1989 at the end of which the country saw the rise and formation of a new political party by the name of Mongolian Democratic Union (MDU). Signalling a more democratic polity, the new party comprising an assortment of multiple factions participating in the uprising was the first political outfit that could effectively pose a counter-force to the political predominance of Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP). In the

meanwhile, the fall of the Berlin Wall heralding a new democratic era in Eastern Europe which Samuel Huntington suitably described as the third wave of democratisation had given a new impetus to the ongoing clamour for political reforms within Mongolia. Finally demonstrating real change on the ground, the first multi-party democratic elections were held in July 1990. As MDU emerged victoriously, the demand for respect for human rights, freedom of the press and widening the scope of civil and political rights for the common people increasingly gained momentum. In this process, the Catholic Church played an active role serving as a mediator between the government and the civil society. Amidst all this, on the foreign policy front, Mongolia established its first independent diplomatic relations outside the orbit of the Soviet Union with the United States as early as 1987.

In the aftermath of the aforementioned first democratic elections, the chorus for a completely new Constitution gained fervour among the Mongolian electorate. With the official disintegration of USSR in 1991, as Eastern Europe saw the popular domino theory being realised on the ground, Mongolia too took a cue witnessing the onset of economic restructuring and a steady move towards industrialisation in the former socialist economy. Given that market economy and a liberal democratic model complement each other, it was but necessary for Mongolia to adapt to the new rules of economic and commercial engagement. But more importantly, these new rules could only be effectively and efficiently operationalised in a more expanded and representative liberal-democratic political climate underpinned by a robust regime of laws and regulations.

As a consequence, replacing the fourth constitution of 1960, a new constitution was adopted in 1992 declaring the country a parliamentary republic and renaming the earlier Mongolian People's Republic as simply Mongolia. This had been a culmination of about a year-long discussion from November 1991 until January 1992 when it was finally adopted. While the previous constitutions had emphasised the 'building of state through socialism', the new constitution upheld the 'establishment of democracy'. The earlier bicameral parliament was replaced by a unicameral one with a 76-member House. The four major themes have undertaken under this new Constitution were as follows: human rights; state affairs; economic, social and political matters; and legal and constitutional issues. Under the new constitution, a

welter of new institutions were introduced chief among them being streamlining of electoral processes, registration of new political parties, an independent election commission, a more potent and meaningful opposition with a 'politics of difference' and a free and independent judiciary embodying the concept of separation of power. More specifically, voting rights were given to all adult over 18 regardless of race, religion or sex. Under this new constitution, the first elections were held in 1992 which saw the MPRP making an electoral comeback emerging victorious. Significantly, amidst all this movement for a new constitution, the new-generation foreign educated intelligentsia, the media and the NGOs had individually and collectively played a pivotal role in educating the larger civil society on the value of democratic principles and practice.

Followed by the new election laws coming in 1992 and the elections held the same year under those new laws, the 1996 parliamentary elections were conducted under a single-member district system. Therefore since 1992, the country had parliamentary elections through 1996, 2000, 2004, 2008 and 2012 and presidential elections through 1993, 1997, 2001, 2005, 2009 and 2013. As the electoral processes progressed through the years, there was a periodic introduction of new reforms thereby strengthening the electoral and democratic institutions in the country. For instance, under the 2005 electoral reforms, there was an enlargement of electoral constituencies with multiple mandates implying that 2 to 4 candidates could contest from a singly electoral district. It was the 2008 elections which were finally conducted under these new reforms.

Therefore as democracy began to take deep roots in the country, Mongolia also reoriented its foreign policy. A foreign policy consensus was forged among the major political parties with the release of three new documents in 1994, namely, Concept of Foreign Policy, Concept of National Security and Military Doctrine. Essentially, the key implication was that the former Soviet Union was no more to exercise the overarching influence on Mongolian foreign policy that it had wielded until then. Instead, Mongolia ushered in a new era of foreign policy equidistance from Russia and China. However, most importantly, it was the newly-minted third-neighbourly policy which was to serve as the guiding force and instrument behind the country's relations with foreign countries hereafter. Irrespective of Soviet Russia and China and

keeping its supreme national interests in mind, Mongolia developed a blueprint for cultivating special relations with other critical countries such as the USA, Europe and Japan. In particular, the United States attained a high priority status in its foreign policy schema with officials routinely referring to the oldest democracy in the world as Mongolia's "third neighbour". At the same time, Mongolia also charted a course in favour of bolstering its relations with and within Asia. By 2011, Both India, the largest democracy in the world and Turkey, a torn country between Asia and Europe, were accorded the "third neighbour status". The pursuit of developing relations with foreign countries was also followed by strengthening linkages with regional and global processes and institutions. In its natural course, Mongolia also decided to actively participate in the regional organisations such as APEC, ARF, SCO and ADB as well as global institutions and processes such as the Group of 77, the NAM, IMF and World Bank. Today, Mongolia maintains diplomatic relations with 143 countries and adheres to 178 international multilateral treaties.

As a more independent, open and globalised foreign policy evolved, the country was well on its way to harness the economic and commercial benefits for itself. In tune with the spirit of the times, the country undertook privatisation from 1994 which eventually led to the adoption of a full-fledged market economy in 1996. From a primarily agricultural and livestock economy, it aspired to recast itself in the mould of an export economy which would bring prosperity to an erstwhile poor country. In order to modernise its economy and to develop its export potential, the rules for foreign investment and technology infusion were increasingly relaxed bringing to the country advanced technology in spheres such as agricultural production and mineral processing, state-of-the-art techniques in food processing and chemical industries as well as global business standards and practices all supported by much-needed foreign investment. Financially speaking, a new banking system was introduced more in line with global financial systems and practices. This resulted in more capital for optimal utilisation of the country's natural resources, in turn, giving a flip to industrialisation in the country. Additionally, the foreign economic aspect also received a stimulus from the Diaspora and cultural outreach of the country. As Mongolians became exposed to a more global culture exchanging influences from around the world, Diaspora became a key agent of knowledge and skills dissemination. With Mongolian students pursuing world-wide education and training, the Mongolian economy in time

was soon run by a vastly trained human resource pool conversant with new economic systems and practices.

Democracy is not only a powerful instrument of political and economic change, it, in the long run, transforms the social-cultural canvas of a country. As more and more people join the political processes and systems, there is a somewhat reawakening of a whole country earlier psycho-politically reconciled to a colonial-style rule. Emboldened by, the newly acquired power to choose their rulers, their political aspiration takes on a whole new meaning. As a matter of fact, they are no more limited in their ambition for a greater political participation. They seek to go beyond the political horizons to a higher plain of economic fulfilment and self-realisation. Just like its enlightened citizens, the country embarks upon a new 'voyage of rediscovery' channelled through a more proactive and outward-looking foreign policy evident in the accelerated participation in multiple regional and global bodies as well as enhanced interaction with several foreign countries.

The politico-diplomatic and the economic dividends flowing from this more dynamic foreign policy provides not only a wider set of foreign policy alternatives for the country but as mentioned earlier, the resultant foreign investment and technology adds to the long-term infrastructural muscle of the country. Politically speaking, between 1992 and 2012, as Mongolian political system evolved into a more mature democratic system what is often termed as *procedural democracy*, the changes on the ground are far too evident for anyone to see. The formation of a coalition government for the first time in the country's political history in 2004 in which the two main rival parties, namely, MPRP and DP, came together in a power-sharing arrangement had been nothing less than unprecedented. This political maturity continued as demonstrated in 2009 when the first non-MPRP President came to power in a period of almost 20 years of political reforms in the country. Most notably, the provision of a 20 percent quota for women in 2012 was historic in nature underlining the acute gender-sensitivity in an increasingly mature Mongolian political system. Moreover, the securing of a win by DP in the 2012 elections preceded by the DP Presidential candidate emerging triumphant in 2009 adequately illustrates the long distance that the Mongolian politics has travelled these almost twenty years. In fact, the 2013 Presidential election also saw the DP candidate coming up victorious. This



‘downsizing’ of the deeply-entrenched MPRP, a traditionally predominant party, also indicates a steady erosion of the political influence of the older elite whose replacement by new political forces represents the march of true democracy in the country. Another instance of the march of true democracy in the country is attested to by the fact is that as the over-all poverty in the country has come down; the participation in terms of numbers in the electoral processes has gone up.

Nevertheless, there indeed has been a downside to this whole phenomenon. And that is that alongside the strengthening of democracy has been a simultaneous rise in corruption in the system. Ironically, a more participatory and representative system with more checks and balances should have weakened graft and malfeasance. However, this has somewhat been incidental to the progress of liberal democracy and policy of open economy adopted by the country. In fact more than the factor of greater democratisation, it is the incipient nature of the neo-liberal market economic model embraced by the country which could be a bigger cause of corruption. Nonetheless, there is no denying that in the course of time, as Mongolian political processes and institutions mature further and the economy develops more systemic tools of conducting itself with due oversight mechanisms, there will be greater over-all transparency and accountability in the system stamping out corruption.

In a nutshell, twenty years is not at all long in the lifetime of a country. In these twenty years, while the democratic transition and the political reforms apparently signify political change, the reality is that Mongolia has undergone a multi-faceted and holistic transformation. The spirits unleashed by the newly democratic polity has not only set the stage for a more vibrant economic and commercial climate but in fact, has served in tandem with the latter preparing Mongolia to find its true place in the comity of nations. A more independent and imaginative foreign policy has only assisted in inching towards that objective.

# **APPENDIX**

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## **APPENDIX I**

### **THE CONSTITUTION OF MONGOLIA**

#### **WE, THE PEOPLE OF MONGOLIA:**

- Strengthening the independence and sovereignty of the nation,
- Cherishing human rights and freedoms, justice and national unity,
- Inheriting the traditions of national statehood, history and culture,
- Respecting the accomplishments of human civilisation, and
- Aspiring toward the supreme objective of developing a humane, civil, democratic society in the country,
- Hereby proclaim the constitution of Mongolia.

#### **CHAPTER ONE**

#### **SOVEREIGNTY OF MONGOLIA**

##### **ARTICLE 1**

1. Mongolia is an independent, sovereign republic.
2. The supreme principles of the activities of the state shall be to give effect to democracy, justice, freedom, equality and national unity and respect of law.

##### **ARTICLE 2**

1. By its state structure, Mongolia is a unitary state.
2. The territory of Mongolia shall be divided into administrative units only.

##### **ARTICLE 3**

1. State power shall be vested in the people of Mongolia. The people shall exercise state power through their direct participation in state affairs as well as through the representative bodies of state power elected by them.
2. Illegal seizure of state power or attempt to do so shall be prohibited.

##### **ARTICLE 4**

1. The territorial integrity and frontiers of Mongolia shall be inviolable.
2. The frontiers of Mongolia shall be safeguarded by law.
3. Stationing of foreign troops in the territory of Mongolia, allowing them to cross the state borders for the purpose of passing through the country's territory shall be prohibited unless an appropriate law is passed.

##### **ARTICLE 5**

1. Mongolia shall have an economy based on different forms of property which takes into account universal trends of world economic development and national specifics.
2. The state recognises all forms of both public and private property and shall protect the rights of the owner by law.
3. The owner's rights shall be limited exclusively by due process of law.
4. The state shall regulate the economy of the country with a view to ensure the nation's economic security, the development of all modes of production and the social development of the population.
5. The livestock is national wealth and is to be protected by the state.

##### **ARTICLE 6**

1. The land, its subsoil, forests, water, fauna and flora and other natural resources in Mongolia shall belong exclusively to the people and be under state protection.

## *Constitution of Mongolia*

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2. The land, except that given to the citizens of Mongolia for private possession, as well as the subsoil with its mineral wealth, forest, water resources and game shall be the property of the state.
3. The state may give for private ownership plots of land, except pastures and areas under public utilisation and special use, only to the citizens of Mongolia. This provision shall not apply to the ownership of the subsoil thereof. Citizens shall be prohibited to transfer the land in their possession to foreign citizens or stateless persons by way of selling, bartering, donating or pledging or by way of transfer to others for exploitation without permission from competent state authorities.
4. The state shall have the right to hold land owners responsible in connection with the manner the land is used, to exchange or take it over with compensation on the grounds of special public need, or confiscate the land if it is used in a manner adverse to the health of the population, the interests of environmental protection or national security.
5. The state may allow foreign citizens, legal persons and stateless persons to lease land for a specified period of time under conditions and procedures as provided for by law.

### **ARTICLE 7**

1. The historical, cultural, scientific and intellectual heritage of the Mongolian people shall be under state protection.
2. Intellectual values produced by the citizens are the property of their authors and the national wealth of Mongolia.

### **ARTICLE 8**

1. The Mongolian language is the official language of the state.
2. Paragraph 1 of this article shall not affect the right of national minorities of other tongues to use their native languages in education and communication and in the pursuit of cultural, artistic and scientific activities.

### **ARTICLE 9**

1. The state shall respect religions and religions shall honour the state.
2. State institutions shall not engage in religious activities and religious institutions shall not pursue political activities.
3. The relationship between the state and religious institutions shall be regulated by law.

### **ARTICLE 10**

1. Mongolia shall adhere to the universally recognised norms and principles of international law and pursue a peaceful foreign policy.
2. Mongolia shall fulfil in good faith its obligations under international treaties to which it is a party.
3. The international treaties to which Mongolia is a party, shall become effective as domestic legislation upon the entry into force of the laws or on their ratification or accession.
4. Mongolia shall not abide by any international treaty or other instruments incompatible with its constitution.

### **ARTICLE 11**

1. The duty of the state is to secure the country's independence and to ensure national security and public order.
2. Mongolia shall have armed forces for self-defence. The structure and organisation of the armed forces and the rules of military service shall be determined by law.

### **ARTICLE 12**

1. The symbols of the independence and sovereignty of Mongolia are the state emblem, banner, flag, seal and the anthem.
2. The state emblem, banner, flag, seal and the anthem shall express the historical tradition, aspiration, unity, justice and the spirit of the people of Mongolia.

3. The state emblem shall be of circular shape with the white lotus serving as its base and the “never-ending tumen nasan” pattern forming its outer frame. The main background is of blue colour signifying the eternal blue sky, the Mongols traditional sanctity. In the centre of the emblem a combination of the precious steed and the golden soyombo sign is depicted as an expression of the independence, sovereignty and spirit of Mongolia. In the upper part of the emblem, the chandmani (wish-granting jewel) sign symbolises the past, the present and the future. In the lower part of the emblem, the sign of the wheel entwined with the silk scarf hadag is an expression of reverence and respect, symbolising continued prosperity. It is placed against the background of a “hill” pattern conveying the notion of “mother earth”.
4. The traditional great white banner of the unified Mongolian state is a state ceremonial attribute.
5. The state flag shall be a rectangle divided vertically into three equal parts coloured red, blue and red. The blue colour of the centre of the flag, symbolises “the eternal blue sky” and the red colour on both sides symbolises progress and prosperity. The golden soyombo sign shall be depicted on the red stripe nearest to the flag pole. The ratio of the width and length of the flag shall be 1:2.
6. The state seal having a lion-shaped handle, shall be of a square form with the state emblem in the centre and the words “mongol uls” (Mongolia) inscribed on both sides. The president shall be the holder of the state seal.
7. The procedure for the ceremonial use of the state symbols and the text and melody of the state anthem shall be prescribed by the law.

#### **ARTICLE 13**

1. The capital of the state shall be the city where the state supreme bodies permanently sit. The capital city of Mongolia is the city of Ulaanbaatar.
2. The legal status of the capital city shall be defined by law.

### **CHAPTER TWO**

#### **HUMAN RIGHTS AND FREEDOMS**

#### **ARTICLE 14**

1. All persons lawfully residing within Mongolia are equal before the law and the court.
2. No person shall be discriminated against on the basis of ethnic origin, language, race, age, sex, social origin and status, property, occupation and post, religion, opinion or education. Everyone shall have the right to act as a legal person.

#### **ARTICLE 15**

1. The grounds and procedure for Mongolian nationality, acquisition or loss of citizenship shall be defined only by law.
2. Deprivation of Mongolian citizenship, exile and extradition of citizens of Mongolia shall be prohibited.

#### **ARTICLE 16**

The citizens of Mongolia shall be guaranteed the privilege to enjoy the following rights and freedoms:

- 1) Right to life. Deprivation of human life shall be strictly prohibited unless capital punishment is imposed by due judgment of the court for the most serious crimes, pursuant to Mongolian penal law.
- 2) Right to healthy and safe environment, and to be protected against environmental pollution and ecological imbalance.
- 3) Right to fair acquisition, possession and inheritance of moveable and immovable property. Illegal confiscation and requisitioning of the private property of citizens shall be prohibited. If the state and its bodies appropriate private property on the basis of exclusive public need, they shall do so with due compensation and payment.
- 4) Right to free choice of employment, favourable conditions of work, remuneration, rest and private enterprise. No one shall be unlawfully forced to work.

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- 5) Right to material and financial assistance in old age, disability, childbirth and child care and in other circumstances as provided by law.
- 6) Right to the protection of health and to medical care. The procedure and conditions of free medical aid shall be defined by law.
- 7) Right to education. The state shall provide basic general education free of charge. Citizens may establish and operate private schools if these meet the requirements of the state.
- 8) Right to engage in creative work in cultural, artistic and scientific fields and to the benefit thereof. Copyrights and patents shall be protected by law.
- 9) Right to take part in the conduct of state affairs directly or through representative bodies. The right to elect and to be elected to state bodies. The right to elect shall be enjoyed from the age of eighteen years and the age eligible for being elected shall be defined by law according to the requirements in respect of the bodies or posts concerned.
- 10) Right to form a party or other public organisations and to unite voluntarily in associations according to social and personal interests and opinion. All political parties and other public organisations shall uphold public order and state security, and abide by law. Discrimination and persecution of a person for joining a political party or other public organisation or for being a member of such party or organisation shall be prohibited. Party membership of some categories of state employees may be suspended.
- 11) Men and women shall have equal right in political, economic, social, cultural fields and in family affairs. Marriage shall be based on the equality and mutual consent of the spouses who have reached the age defined by law. The state shall protect the interests of the family, motherhood and the child.
- 12) Right to submit a petition or a complaint to state bodies and officials. The state bodies and officials shall be obliged to respond to the petitions or complaints of citizens in conformity with law.
- 13) Right to personal liberty and safety. No person shall be searched, arrested, detained, persecuted or deprived of liberty save in accordance with procedures and grounds determined by law. No person shall be subjected to torture or to inhumane, cruel or degrading treatment. Where a person is arrested he/she, his/her family and counsel shall be notified within a period of time established by law of the reasons for and grounds of the arrest. The privacy of citizens and their families, correspondence and residence shall be protected by law.
- 14) Right to: appeal to the court to protect his/her right if he/she considers that the rights or freedoms as spelt out by the Mongolian law or an international treaty have been violated; be compensated for the damage illegally caused by others; not testify against himself/herself, his/her family, or parents and children; self-defence; receive legal assistance; have evidence examined; a fair trial; be tried in his/her presence; appeal against a court judgment, seek pardon. It shall be prohibited to compel a citizen to testify against him or herself. Every person shall be presumed innocent until proved guilty by a court by due process of law. It shall be prohibited to impose the charges or convictions of a person on his/her family members or relatives.
- 15) Freedom of conscience and religion.
- 16) Freedom of thought, free expression of opinion, speech, press, peaceful demonstration and meetings. Procedures for organising demonstrations and other assemblies shall be determined by law.
- 17) Right to seek and receive information except that which the state and its bodies are legally bound to protect as secret. In order to protect human rights, dignity and reputation of persons and to defend the state national security and public order, secrets of the state, individuals, or organisations which are not subject to disclosure shall be defined and protected by law.
- 18) Right to freedom of movement within the country and freedom to choose the place of one's residence, right to travel or reside abroad and, to return to home country. The right to travel

and reside abroad may be limited exclusively by law in order to ensure the security of the nation and population and to maintain public order.

**ARTICLE 17**

1. Citizens of Mongolia while upholding justice and humanism, shall fulfil in good faith the following basic duties:
  - 1) Respect and abide by the constitution and other laws;
  - 2) Respect the dignity, reputation, right and legitimate interests of others;
  - 3) Pay taxes levied by law;
  - 4) Defend motherland and serve in the army according to law.
2. It is a sacred duty for every citizen to work, protect his/her health, bring up and educate his/her children and to protect nature and the environment.

**ARTICLE 18**

1. The rights and duties of foreign citizens residing in Mongolia shall be regulated by Mongolian law and by the treaties concluded with the state of the person concerned.
2. Mongolia shall adhere to the principle of reciprocity in determining the rights and duties of foreign citizens in an international treaty being concluded with the country concerned.
3. The rights and duties of stateless persons within the territory of Mongolia shall be determined by the Mongolian law.
4. Foreign citizens or stateless persons persecuted for their beliefs, or political or other activities and who are pursuing justice, may be granted asylum in Mongolia on the basis of their well-founded requests.
5. In allowing foreign citizens and stateless persons residing in Mongolia to exercise the basic rights and freedoms provided for in article 16 of the constitution, the state may establish certain limitations upon the rights other than the inalienable rights spelt out in international instruments to which Mongolia is a party, in order to ensure the security of the nation and population and to maintain public order.

**ARTICLE 19**

1. The state shall be responsible to the citizens for the creation of economic, social, legal and other guarantees for ensuring human rights and freedoms, to fight against violation of human rights and freedoms and to restore infringed rights.
2. Human rights and freedoms as defined by the constitution and other laws in case of a state of emergency or war shall be subject to limitation only by a law. Such a law shall not affect the right to life, the freedom of thought, conscience and religion, or the right not to be subjected to torture or inhuman and cruel treatment.
3. In exercising his/her rights and freedoms one shall not infringe on the national security, rights and freedoms of others or violate public order.

**CHAPTER THREE**

**THE STRUCTURE OF THE STATE**

**I. The State Ih Hural of Mongolia**

**ARTICLE 20**

The state ih Hural of Mongolia is the highest organ of state power and the supreme legislative power shall be vested only in the state ih Hural.

**ARTICLE 21**

1. The state ih Hural shall have one chamber and consist of 76 members.
2. The members of the state ih Hural shall be elected by citizens of Mongolia entitled to vote, on the basis of universal, free, direct suffrage by secret ballot for a term of four years.

3. Citizens of Mongolia who have reached the age of 25 years and are eligible for elections may be elected to the state ih Hural.
4. The procedure of the election of members of the state ih Hural shall be defined by law.

#### **ARTICLE 22**

1. If extraordinary circumstances arising from sudden calamities occurring in the whole or a part of the country, the imposition of martial law or the outbreak of public disorder prevent regular general elections from being held, the state ih Hural shall retain its mandate until the extraordinary circumstances cease to exist and the newly elected members of the state ih Hural are sworn in.
2. The state ih Hural may decide on its dissolution if not less than two thirds of its members consider that the state ih Hural is unable to carry out its mandate, or if the president in consultation with the chairman of the state ih Hural, proposes to do so for the same reason. In case of such a decision, the state ih Hural shall exercise its powers until the newly elected members of the state ih Hural are sworn in.

#### **ARTICLE 23**

1. A member of the state ih Hural shall be an envoy of the people and shall represent and uphold the interests of all the citizens and the state.
2. The mandate of a member of the state ih Hural shall begin with an oath taken before the state emblem and expire when newly elected members of the state ih Hural are sworn in.

#### **ARTICLE 24**

1. The chairman and vice-chairman of the state ih Hural shall be nominated and elected from among the members of the state ih Hural by secret ballot.
2. The term of office of the chairman and vice-chairman of the state ih Hural shall be four years. they can be relieved of or removed from their posts before the expiry of their terms for reasons defined by law.

#### **ARTICLE 25**

1. The state ih Hural may consider at its initiative any issue pertaining to domestic and foreign policies of the state, and shall keep within its exclusive competence the following questions and decide thereon:
  - 1) To enact laws and make amendments to them;
  - 2) To define the basis of the domestic and foreign policies of the state;
  - 3) To set and announce the date of elections of the president and the state ih Hural and its members;
  - 4) To determine and change the structure and composition of the standing committees of the state ih Hural, the government and other bodies directly accountable to it according to law;
  - 5) To pass a law recognising the full powers of the president after his/her election and to relieve or remove the president;
  - 6) To appoint, replace or remove the Prime Minister, members of the government and other bodies responsible and accountable to the state ih Hural as provided for by law;
  - 7) To define the state's financial, credit, tax and monetary policies; to lay down the guidelines for the country's economic and social development; to approve the government's program of action, the state budget and the report on its execution;
  - 8) To supervise the implementation of laws and other decisions of the state ih hural;
  - 9) To define the state borders;
  - 10) To determine the structure, composition and powers of the national security council of Mongolia;
  - 11) To approve and change the administrative and territorial divisions of Mongolia on the recommendation of the government;



- 12) To determine the legal basis of the system, structure and activities of local self-governing and administrative bodies;
  - 13) To institute honorific titles, orders, medals and higher military ranks; to determine the table of ranks in some special fields of state service;
  - 14) To issue acts of amnesty;
  - 15) To ratify and denounce international agreements to which Mongolia is a party; to establish and sever diplomatic relations with foreign states on the recommendation of the government;
  - 16) To hold national referendums; to verify the validity of a referendum in which the majority of eligible citizens has taken part; and to abide by and give effect to the decision of the majority in a referendum;
  - 17) To declare a state of war if the sovereignty and independence of Mongolia is threatened by armed actions on the part of a foreign power, and to rescind it;
  - 18) To declare a state of emergency or martial law in the whole or some parts of the country in special circumstances described in paragraphs 2 and 3 of this article, and to approve or nullify the president's decree to that effect.
2. Under the following extraordinary circumstances the state ih Hural may declare a state of emergency to eliminate the consequences thereof and to restore the life of the population and society to the norm:
    - 1) If natural disasters or other unforeseen dangers occur which have threatened or may threaten directly the life, health, well being and security of the population inhabiting the whole or a part of the country's territory;
    - 2) If state authorities are not able within legal limits to cope with public disorders caused by organised, violent, illegal actions of any organisation or a group of people threatening the constitutional order and the existence of the legitimate social system.
  3. The state ih Hural may declare martial law if public disorder in the whole or a part of the country's territory results in armed conflict or creates a real threat of armed conflict, or if there is armed aggression or a real threat of aggression from outside.
  4. The other powers, structure and the procedures of the state ih Hural shall be defined by law.

#### **ARTICLE 26**

1. The president, members of the state ih Hural and the government shall have the right to initiate legislation.
2. Citizens and other organisations shall forward their suggestions on proposed laws to those entitled to initiate a law.
3. The state ih Hural shall officially promulgate national laws through publication and, unless a law provides otherwise, it shall be effective 10 days after the day of publication.

#### **ARTICLE 27**

1. The state ih Hural shall exercise its powers through its sessions and other organisational forms.
2. Regular sessions of the state ih Hural shall be convened once every six months and shall last not less than 75 working days on each occasion.
3. Extraordinary sessions may be convened at the demand of more than one third of the members of the state ih Hural, or on the initiative of the president and the chairman of the state ih hural.
4. The president shall convoke the first session of the state ih Hural within 30 days following the elections. Other sessions shall be convoked by the chairman of the state ih hural.
5. In case of the proclamation by the president of a state of emergency or war, the state ih Hural shall be convened for an extraordinary session within 72 hours without prior announcement.
6. The presence of an overwhelming majority of the members of the state ih Hural shall be required to consider a session valid, and decisions shall be taken by a majority of all members present and voting unless the constitution and other laws provide otherwise.

**ARTICLE 28**

1. The state ih Hural shall have standing committees dealing with specific fields.
2. The state ih Hural shall determine the competence, structure and procedures of the standing committees.

**ARTICLE 29**

1. Members of the state ih Hural shall be remunerated from the state budget during their term and shall not hold concurrently any posts and employment other than those assigned by law.
2. Immunity of members of the state ih Hural shall be protected by law.
3. If a question arises that a member of the state ih Hural is involved in a crime, it shall be considered by the session of the state ih Hural which shall decide whether to suspend his/her mandate. If a court proves the member in question to be guilty of crime, the state ih Hural shall terminate his/her membership in the legislature.

**II. THE PRESIDENT OF MONGOLIA**

**ARTICLE 30**

1. The president of Mongolia shall be the head of state and embodiment of the unity of the people.
2. An indigenous citizen of Mongolia, who has attained the age of forty five years and has permanently resided as a minimum for the last five years in the native land, shall be eligible for election to the post of president for a term of four years.

**ARTICLE 31**

1. Presidential elections shall be conducted in two stages.
2. Political parties which have obtained seats in the state ih Hural shall nominate individually or collectively presidential candidates, one candidate per party or coalition of parties.
3. At the primary stage of the elections citizens of Mongolia eligible to vote shall participate in electing the president on the basis of universal, free, direct suffrage by secret ballot.
4. The state ih Hural shall consider the candidate who has obtained a majority of all votes cast in the first voting as having been elected president and shall pass a law recognising his/her mandate.
5. If none of the candidates obtains a majority vote in the first round, a second vote shall take place involving the two candidates who obtained the largest number of votes in the first round. A law recognising the mandate of the candidate who wins the second ballot shall be passed by the state ih Hural.
6. If neither of the candidates wins in the second ballot, presidential elections shall be held anew.
7. The president can be re-elected only once.
8. The president shall not be a member of the state ih Hural or the government and shall not concurrently hold the post of Prime Minister or any other posts or pursue any occupation not relating to his duties assigned by law. If the president holds another office or a post he/she shall be relieved of it from the date on which he/she takes the oath.

**ARTICLE 32**

1. The mandate of the president shall become effective with the oath taken by him/her and shall expire when the oath is taken by the newly elected president.
2. Within 30 days after the election the president shall take the following oath before the state ih hural: "i swear that i shall guard and defend the independence and sovereignty of Mongolia, freedom of the people and national unity and i shall uphold and observe the constitution and faithfully perform the duties of the president".

**ARTICLE 33**

1. The president enjoys the following prerogative rights:

- 1) To exercise the right to veto against a part or entirety of laws and other decisions adopted by the state ih hural. The laws or decisions shall remain in force if two thirds of the members participating in the session of the state ih Hural present do not accept the president's veto;
  - 2) To propose to the state ih Hural the candidature for the appointment to the post of Prime Minister in consultation with the majority party or parties in the state ih Hural if none of them has majority of seats, as well as to propose to the state ih Hural the dissolution of the government;
  - 3) To instruct the government on issues within the areas of his competence. If the president issues a decree to that effect, it shall become effective upon signature by the Prime Minister;
  - 4) To represent the state with full power in foreign relations and, in consultation with the state ih Hural, to conclude international treaties on behalf of Mongolia;
  - 5) To appoint and recall heads of plenipotentiary missions of Mongolia to foreign countries in consultation with the state ih Hural;
  - 6) To receive the letters of credence or recall of heads of diplomatic missions of foreign states to Mongolia;
  - 7) To confer state titles and higher military ranks and award orders and medals;
  - 8) To grant pardon;
  - 9) To decide matters related to granting and withdrawing Mongolian citizenship and granting asylum;
  - 10) To head the national security council of Mongolia;
  - 11) To declare general or partial conscription;
  - 12) To declare a state of emergency or a state of war on the whole or a part of the national territory in the emergency situation described in paragraphs 2 and 3 of article 25 of this constitution in circumstances of urgency where the state ih Hural is in recess and to issue ordinances commencing military operations. The state ih Hural shall consider within 7 days the presidential decree declaring a state of emergency or a state of war and shall approve or disapprove it. If the state ih Hural does not make a decision on the matter, the presidential decree shall be void.
2. The president shall be the commander-in-chief of the armed forces of Mongolia.
  3. The president may address messages to the state ih Hural and/or to the people, he/she may at his/her own discretion attend sessions of the state ih Hural and report on and submit proposals concerning vital issues of domestic and foreign policies of the country.
  4. Other specific powers may be vested in the president only by law.

#### **ARTICLE 34**

1. The president within his/her powers shall issue decrees in conformity with law.
2. If a presidential decree is incompatible with law, the president or the state ih Hural shall invalidate it.

#### **ARTICLE 35**

1. The president shall be responsible to the state ih hural.
2. In case of breach of his oath or violation of the constitution or the president's authority, the president may be removed from his/her post on the basis of the finding of the constitutional court by an overwhelming majority of members of the state ih Hural present and voting.

#### **ARTICLE 36**

1. The person, residence and transport of the president shall be inviolable.
2. The dignity and immunity of the president shall be protected by law.

**ARTICLE 37**

1. In the temporary absence of the president his/her full powers shall be exercised by the chairman of the state ih hural.
2. In the event of the resignation, death or voluntary retirement of the president his/her full powers shall be exercised by the chairman of the state ih Hural pending the inauguration of the newly elected president. In such a case the state ih Hural shall announce and hold presidential elections within four months.
3. The procedure of exercising the duties of the president by the chairman of the state ih Hural shall be determined by law.

**III. THE GOVERNMENT OF MONGOLIA**

**ARTICLE 38**

1. The government of Mongolia is the highest executive body of the state.
2. The government shall implement the state laws and, in accordance with its duties to direct economic, social and cultural development, shall exercise the following powers:
  - 1) To organise and ensure nation-wide implementation of the constitution and other laws;
  - 2) To work out a comprehensive policy on science and technology, guidelines for economic and social development, and make state budget, credit and fiscal plans and to submit these to the state ih Hural and to execute decisions taken thereon;
  - 3) To elaborate and implement comprehensive measures on sectoral, inter-sectoral, as well as regional development;
  - 4) To undertake measures on the protection of the environment and the rational use and restoration of natural resources;
  - 5) To guide the central state administrative bodies and to direct the activities of local administrations;
  - 6) To strengthen the country's defence capabilities and to ensure national security;
  - 7) To take measures for the protection of human rights and freedoms, to enforce the public order and to prevent crimes;
  - 8) To implement the state foreign policy;
  - 9) To Conclude And Implement International Treaties With The Consent Of And Subsequent Ratification By The State Ih Hural As Well As To Conclude And Abrogate Intergovernmental Treaties.
3. The specific powers, structure and procedure of the government shall be determined by law.

**ARTICLE 39**

1. The government shall comprise of the Prime Minister and members.
2. The Prime Minister shall, in consultation with the president, submit his/her proposals on the structure, composition and change of the government to the state ih hural.
3. The state ih Hural shall consider the candidatures proposed by the Prime Minister one by one and make decisions on their appointment.

**ARTICLE 40**

1. The term of the mandate of the government shall be four years.
2. The term of office of the government shall start from the day of the appointment of the Prime Minister by the state ih Hural and terminate upon the appointment of a new Prime Minister.

**ARTICLE 41**

1. The Prime Minister shall lead the government and shall be responsible to the state ih Hural for the implementation of state laws.

2. The government shall be accountable for its work to the state ih hural.

#### **ARTICLE 42**

Personal immunity of the Prime Minister and members of the government shall be protected by law.

#### **ARTICLE 43**

1. The Prime Minister may tender his/her resignation to the state ih Hural before the expiry of his/her term of office if he/she considers that the government is unable to exercise its powers.
2. The government shall step down in its entirety upon the resignation of the Prime Minister or if half of the members of the government resign at the same time.
3. The state ih Hural shall consider the matter and make a final decision within 15 days after taking initiative to dissolve the government or receiving the president's proposal or the Prime Minister's resignation.
4. The state ih Hural shall consider and decide upon the dissolution of the government if not less than one fourth of the members of the state ih Hural formally proposes the dissolution of the government.

#### **ARTICLE 44**

If the government submits a draft resolution requesting a vote of confidence, the state ih Hural shall proceed with the matter in accordance with paragraph 3 of article 43.

#### **ARTICLE 45**

1. The government shall, in conformity with legislation, issue resolutions and ordinances which shall be signed by the Prime Minister and the minister concerned.
2. If these resolutions and ordinances are incompatible with laws and regulations, the government itself or the state ih Hural shall invalidate them.

#### **ARTICLE 46**

1. Ministries and other government offices of Mongolia shall be constituted in accordance with law.
2. State employees shall be Mongolian citizens. They shall strictly abide by the constitution and other laws and work for the benefit of the people and in the interest of the state.
3. The working conditions and social guarantees of state employees shall be determined by law.

### **IV. THE JUDICIARY**

#### **ARTICLE 47**

1. Judicial power shall be vested exclusively in courts.
2. The unlawful establishment of a court under any circumstances and the exercise of judicial power by any organisation other than the courts shall be prohibited.
3. Courts shall be established solely under the constitution and other laws.

#### **ARTICLE 48**

1. The judicial system shall consist of the Supreme Court, aimag and capital city courts, soum, intersoum and district courts. Specialised courts such as criminal, civil and administrative courts may be formed. The activities and decisions of the specialised courts shall not be outside the supervision of the Supreme Court.
2. The structure of courts and the legal basis of their activities shall be defined by law.
3. The courts shall be financed from the state budget. The state shall ensure economic guarantee of the courts' activities.

#### **ARTICLE 49**

1. Judges shall be independent and subject only to law.

*Constitution of Mongolia*

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2. It shall be prohibited for a private person or any civil officer (including the president, Prime Minister, members of the state ih Hural or the government or an official of a political party or other public organisation) to interfere with the exercise by the judges of their duties.
3. A general council of courts shall function for the purpose of ensuring the independence of the judiciary.
4. The general council of courts, without interfering in the activities of courts and judges, shall deal exclusively with the selection of judges from among lawyers, protection of their rights and other matters pertaining to ensuring conditions exist for guaranteeing the independence of the judiciary.
5. The structure and procedures of the general council of courts shall be defined by law.

**ARTICLE 50**

1. The Supreme Court shall be the highest judicial organ and shall exercise the following powers:
  - 1) To review and make decisions at first instance on criminal cases and legal disputes under its jurisdiction;
  - 2) To examine decisions of lower-instance courts through appeal and supervision;
  - 3) To examine and take decision on matters related to the protection of law and human rights and freedoms therein which are transferred to it by the constitutional court and the prosecutor general;
  - 4) To provide official interpretations for correct application of all other laws except the constitution;
  - 5) To Make Judgments on all other matters assigned to it by Law.
2. The decision made by the Supreme Court shall be a final judicial decision and shall be binding upon all courts and other persons. If a decision made by the Supreme Court is incompatible with law, the Supreme Court itself shall have to repeal it. If an interpretation made by the Supreme Court is incompatible with a law, the latter shall have precedence.
3. The Supreme Court and other courts shall have no right to apply laws that are unconstitutional or have not been promulgated.

**ARTICLE 51**

1. The Supreme Court shall comprise the chief justice and judges.
2. The president shall appoint the judges of the Supreme Court upon their presentation to the state ih Hural by the general council of courts, and appoint judges of other courts on the recommendation of the general council of courts.
3. A Mongolian citizen of thirty five years of age with higher legal education and experience in judicial practice of not less than ten years, may be appointed as a judge of the supreme court. A Mongolian citizen of twenty-five years of age with higher legal education and legal practice of not less than three years, may be appointed as a judge of the other courts.
4. Removal of a judge of a court of any instance shall be prohibited except in cases when he/she is relieved at his/her own request or removed on the grounds provided for in the constitution and/or the law on the judiciary or by a valid court decision.

**ARTICLE 52**

1. Courts of all instances shall consider and make judgment on cases and disputes on the basis of collective decision-making.
2. In passing a collective decision on cases and disputes, the courts of first instance shall allow representatives of citizens to participate in the proceedings in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.
3. A judge alone may decide those cases which are specifically singled out for such trial by law.

**ARTICLE 53**

1. Court trials shall be conducted in the Mongolian language.

2. A person who does not know Mongolian shall be acquainted with all facts of the case through translation and shall have the right to use his/her native language at the trial.

**ARTICLE 54**

Court trials shall be open to the public except in cases specifically singled out by law.

**ARTICLE 55**

1. The accused shall have a right to defence.
2. The accused shall be accorded legal assistance according to law and at his/her request.

**ARTICLE 56**

1. The prosecutor shall supervise the registration of cases, investigation and the execution of punishment and participate in the court proceedings on behalf of the state.
2. The president shall appoint the state prosecutor general and his/her deputies in consultation with the state ih Hural for a term of six years.
3. The system, structure and legal basis of the activities of the prosecutor's office shall be determined by law.

**CHAPTER FOUR**

**ADMINISTRATIVE AND TERRITORIAL UNITS OF MONGOLIA AND THEIR GOVERNING BODIES**

**ARTICLE 57**

1. The territory of Mongolia shall be divided administratively into aimags and a capital city; aimags shall be subdivided into soums; soums into bags; the capital city shall be divided into districts and districts into horoos.
2. The legal status of towns and villages located in the territories of administrative divisions shall be defined by law.
3. Revision of an administrative and territorial unit shall be considered and decided by the state ih Hural on the basis of a proposal by a respective local Hural and local population, and with account taken of the country's economic structure and the distribution of the population.

**ARTICLE 58**

1. Aimag, the capital city, soum and district are administrative, territorial, economic and social entities having their own functions and administrations provided for by law.
2. Borderlines of aimags, the capital city, soums and districts shall be approved by the state ih Hural on the recommendation of the government.

**ARTICLE 59**

1. Governance of administrative and territorial units of Mongolia shall be organised on the basis of combination of the principles of both self-government and central government.
2. The self-governing bodies in aimag, capital city, soum and district shall be Hurals of representatives of the citizens of the respective territories; in bag and horoo-the self-governing bodies shall be general meetings of citizens. In between the sessions of the Hurals and general meetings, their presidiums shall assume administrative functions.
3. Hurals of aimags and the capital city shall be elected for a term of four years. The memberships of these Hurals as well as those of soums and districts, and the procedure of their election shall be determined by law.

**ARTICLE 60**

1. State power shall be exercised in the territories of aimags, the capital city, soums, districts, bags and horoos by their respective governors.
2. Candidates for governors shall be nominated by the Hurals of respective aimags, the capital city, soums, districts, bags and horoos. Governors of aimags and the capital city are appointed by the

Prime Minister; soums and district governors by the governors of aimags and the capital city; governors of bags and horoos by the governors of soums and districts respectively for a term of four years.

3. In case the Prime Minister and governors of higher levels refuse to appoint the gubernatorial candidates, new nominations shall be held in the manner prescribed in paragraph 2 of this article. Pending the appointment of a new governor the previously appointed governor shall exercise his/her mandate.

#### **ARTICLE 61**

1. While working for the implementation of the decisions of a respective Hural, a governor, as a representative of state authority, shall be responsible to the government and the governor of higher instance for proper observance of national laws and fulfilment of the decisions of the government and the respective superior body in his/her territory.
2. A governor shall have a right to veto decisions of respective aimag, capital city, soum, district, bag and horoo hurals.
3. If a Hural by a majority vote overrides the veto, the governor may tender his/her resignation to the Prime Minister or to the governor of higher instance if he/she considers that he/she is not able to implement the decision concerned.
4. Governors of aimag, the capital city, soum and district shall have secretariats/offices of the seal. The government shall determine the structure and staff limit individually or by a uniform standard.

#### **ARTICLE 62**

1. Local self-governing bodies besides making independent decisions on matters of socio-economic life of the respective aimag, the capital city, soum, district, bag and horoo shall organise the participation of the population in solving problems of national scale and that of larger territorial divisions.
2. The authority of higher instance shall not make decisions on matters coming under the jurisdiction of local self-governing bodies. If law and decisions of respective superior state organs do not specifically deal with definite local matters, local self-governing bodies can decide upon them independently in conformity with the constitution.
3. If the state in Hural and government deem it necessary they may delegate some matters within their competence to the aimag and capital city Hurals or governors for their solution.

#### **ARTICLE 63**

1. Hurals of aimag, the capital city, soum, district, bag and horoo shall adopt resolutions and governors shall issue ordinances within their competence.
2. Resolutions of the Hurals and ordinances of the governors shall be in conformity with law, presidential decrees and decisions of the government and other superior bodies, and shall be binding within their respective territories.
3. Administrative and territorial units, and the powers, structure and procedure of their governing bodies shall be determined by law.

### **CHAPTER FIVE**

#### **THE CONSTITUTION TSETS OF MONGOLIA**

#### **ARTICLE 64**

1. The constitutional tsets shall be an organ exercising supreme supervision over the implementation of the constitution, making judgment on the violation of its provisions and resolving constitutional disputes. It shall be responsible for guaranteeing the strict observance of the constitution.
2. The constitutional tsets and its members in the execution of their duties shall be guided by the constitution only and shall be independent of any organisations, officials or anybody else.
3. The independence of the members of the constitutional tsets shall be ensured by the guarantees set out in the constitution and other laws.



**ARTICLE 65**

1. The constitutional tsets shall consist of 9 members. Members of the constitutional tsets shall be appointed by the state ih Hural for a term of six years upon the nomination of three of them by the state ih Hural, three by the president and the remaining three by the Supreme Court.
2. A member of the constitutional tsets shall be a Mongolian citizen who has reached forty years of age and is experienced in politics and law.
3. The chairman of the constitutional tsets shall be elected from among the nine members for a term of three years by a majority vote of the members of constitutional tsets. He/she may be re-elected once.
4. If the chairman or a member of the constitutional tsets violates the law, he/she may be withdrawn by the state ih Hural on the recommendation of the constitutional tsets or on the decision of the institution which nominated him/her.
5. The president, members of the state ih Hural, the Prime Minister, members of the government and members of the Supreme Court shall not be nominated to serve on the constitutional tsets.

**ARTICLE 66**

1. The constitutional tsets shall review and make judgment on the disputes at the request of the state ih Hural, the president, the Prime Minister, the supreme court or the prosecutor general and/or on its own initiative on the basis of petitions and information received from citizens.
2. The constitutional tsets in accordance with paragraph 1 of this article shall make and submit judgment to the state ih Hural on:
  - 1) The conformity with the constitution of laws, decrees and other decisions of the state ih Hural and the president, as well as government decisions and international treaties signed by Mongolia;
  - 2) The conformity with the constitution of national referendums and decisions of the central electoral authority on the elections of the state ih Hural and its members as well as on presidential elections;
  - 3) Breaches of law by the president, chairman and members of the state ih Hural, the Prime Minister, members of the government, the chief justice or the prosecutor general;
  - 4) The validity of the grounds for the removal of the president, chairman of the state ih Hural or the Prime Minister and for the recall of members of the state ih hural.
3. If a decision submitted in accordance with sub-paragraphs 1 and 2 of paragraph 2 of this article is not acceptable to the state ih Hural, the constitutional tsets shall re-examine it and make final judgment.
4. If the constitutional tsets decides that the laws, decrees and other decisions of the state ih Hural and the president or government decisions and international treaties concluded by Mongolia are inconsistent with the constitution, the laws, decrees, instruments of ratification and decisions in questions shall be considered invalid.

**ARTICLE 67**

**DECISIONS OF THE CONSTITUTIONAL TSETS SHALL ENTER INTO FORCE IMMEDIATELY.**

**CHAPTER SIX**

**AMENDMENTS TO THE CONSTITUTION OF MONGOLIA**

**ARTICLE 68**

1. Amendments to the constitution may be initiated by organisations or officials enjoying the right to initiate legislation or may be proposed by the constitutional court to the state ih hural.
2. a national referendum on constitutional amendment may be held on the concurrence of not less than two thirds of the members of the state ih hural. The referendum shall be held in accordance with the provisions of article 25 paragraph 1, sub-paragraph 16 of the constitution.

**ARTICLE 69**

1. An amendment to the constitution shall be adopted by not less than three fourths of votes of all members of the state ih hural.
2. A draft amendment to the constitution which has twice failed to win three fourths of votes of all members of the state ih Hural shall not be subject to consideration until the state ih Hural sits in a new composition following general elections.
3. The state ih Hural shall not undertake amendment of the constitution within 6 months prior to the next general elections.
4. Amendments which have been adopted shall be of the same force as the constitution.

**ARTICLE 70**

1. Laws, decrees and other decisions of state bodies, and activities of all other organisations and citizens should be in full conformity with the constitution.
2. This constitution of Mongolia shall enter into force at 1200 hours on the 12<sup>th</sup> day of February of 1992, or at the hour of horse on the prime and benevolent ninth day of yellow horse of the first spring month of black tiger of the year of water monkey of the seventeenth 60-year cycle.

**LEARN AND ABIDE.**

The State Ih Hural of the Mongolian People's Republic

## **APPENDIX II**

*Number 2, 1995*

*DOCUMENTS*

### **CONCEPT OF MONGOLIA'S FOREIGN POLICY**

The Cold War which dominated international relations since the end of World War II has come to an end, the mutually opposing bipolar world structure has collapsed, and a process of forming a new international order is gaining momentum.

In line with trends of advancing human society, in particular with requirements of economic and technological progress, the nations of the world are drawing closer together, and conditions for enhancing their relationship are taking shape.

The disintegration of the world socialist system and the Soviet Union has dramatically changed the external situation of Mongolia which used to be aligned with them. The major changes taking place in Mongolia's two neighboring countries have a direct impact on its external environment.

The restructuring and reforming of the country's political, social and economic systems provide it with favorable conditions for conducting a foreign policy based on realism and according priority to its national interests.

Based on these external and internal factors, the concept of Mongolia's foreign policy is defined as follows.

#### **1. GENERAL PROVISIONS**

1. Independent and sovereign Mongolia, in terms of its state structure, is unitary State upholding rights, freedoms, and a free economy, in political and geographical respects; it is a developing country in Asia, landlocked between two great powers. Mongolia's foreign policy shall be based on its national interests, as defined in its Constitution: the country's specific external and internal situation constitutes the basis for determining its foreign policy objectives, principles and priorities
2. Mongolia's foreign policy objectives reside in ensuring its independence and sovereignty by following the trends of human Society's advancement, maintaining friendly relations with all countries, strengthening its position in the international community and forming with influential countries in the region and in the world a network of relationships based on the interdependence of political, economic and other interests.
3. Mongolia shall pursue an open and non-aligned policy. While following a policy of creating realistic interest of developed countries in Mongolia, it will seek to avoid becoming overly reliant or dependent on any particular country.
4. In formulating Mongolia's foreign policy and determining its priority directions and objectives, a flexible approach shall be applied, paying close attention to the development of international relations and to the regional and world political situation.
5. The priority of Mongolia's foreign policy shall be safeguarding of its security and vital national interests by political and diplomatic means, and creating a favorable external environment for its economic, scientific and technological development.
6. Considerations of foreign relations shall be in the political, economic, scientific, technological, cultural and humanitarian fields of foreign policy.
7. Mongolia's foreign policy in the political field is an important instrument for ensuring and strengthening its security. Thus its results will be measured first and foremost by how the country's security and independence interests are met, and to what extent its international position has been strengthened and its prestige enhanced.
8. In developing its relations with other countries, Mongolia shall be guided by universally recognized principles and norms of international law as defined in the Charter of the United Nations, including mutual respect for each other's sovereignty, territorial integrity and inviolability of frontiers, right of self-determination, non-interference in internal affairs, non-use of force, settlement of disputes by peaceful means, respect for human rights and freedoms, and equal and mutual beneficial cooperation.

9. In its foreign policy Mongolia shall uphold peace, strive to avoid confrontation with other countries and pursue a multi-based policy. While always championing its national interests, it will at the same time respect the legitimate interests of other countries and its partners. Mongolia will not interfere in the disputes between its two neighboring countries unless the disputes affect Mongolia's national interests. It shall pursue a policy of refraining from joining any military alliance or grouping, allowing the use of its territory or air space against any other country, and the stationing of foreign troops or weapons, including nuclear or any other type of mass destruction weapons on its territory.
10. Mongolia shall seek to guarantee its interests in the international arena through bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements, Mongolia shall respect and observe international law, and fulfill in good faith its obligations under international treaties.
11. As a member of the world community, Mongolia shall strive to make active contributions to the common cause of settling pressing regional and international issues. In doing so, it shall be guided primarily by its national interests, values and fundamental principles.
12. In implementing its foreign policy, Mongolia shall be guided by the following:
  - a. Maintaining friendly relations with the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China shall be a priority direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity. It shall not adopt the line of either country but shall maintain in principle a balanced relationship with both of them and shall promote all-round good neighborly cooperation. In doing so, the traditional relations as well as the specific nature of our economic cooperation with these two countries will be taken into account.
  - b. The second direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity shall be developing friendly relations with highly developed countries of the West and East, such as the United States of America, Japan, and the Federal Republic of Germany. At the same time, it will also pursue a policy aimed at promoting friendly relations with such countries as India, the Republic of Korea, Thailand, Singapore, Turkey, Denmark, the Netherlands, Finland, Austria, Sweden, and Switzerland, and at creating and bringing to an appropriate level their economic and other interests in Mongolia.
  - c. The third direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity shall be strengthening its position in Asia and securing a constructive participation in the political and economic integration process in the region. Within the framework of this objective, greater attention shall be given to Asia and the Pacific region, in particular to Northeast and Central Asia. Mongolia shall take an active part in the process of initiating dialogues and negotiations on the issues of strengthening regional security and creating a collective security mechanism. It will strive to become a member of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC). Prerequisites for participating in regional integration shall be created primarily through expanding and promoting bilateral relations with the countries of the region.
  - d. The fourth direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity shall be promoting cooperation with the United Nations Organization and its specialized agencies, and with international financial and economic organizations, including the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank.
  - e. The fifth direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity will be developing friendly relations with the countries of the former socialist community as well as the newly independent states. When developing relations with these countries, a flexible approach will be adopted, reinforcing the positive legacy of our past relations while at the same time taking into account the potential of promoting relations in conformity with new circumstances. Particular attention will be given to promoting relations with Poland, Hungary, and the Czech Republic in Eastern Europe as well as with Kazakhstan, Ukraine, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.
  - f. The sixth direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity shall be developing friendly relations with developing countries and cooperating with them, as much as possible, in the solution of common objectives. Beyond the framework of bilateral relations with these countries, this task will be realized mainly through cooperation within the

framework of international organizations and movements such as the United Nations, the Group of 77, and the Non-Aligned Movement.

13. The placement of Mongolia's plenipotentiary (diplomatic) representatives abroad shall be carried out with due regard to directions of foreign political relations so as to ensure conditions for their implementation.
14. The assignment of highly qualified and competent personnel from the economic, scientific, and technological spheres to Mongolia's diplomatic missions abroad shall be deemed a matter of principle.
15. The fundamental objective of Mongolia's policy concerns foreign economic relations lies in the optimal use of external factors to achieve adequate solutions to long-term and current economic goals in the light of the concept of sustainable development and in eventually securing a proper place for its economy in regional economic integration.
16. In developing economic relations and cooperation with foreign countries, Mongolia, while safeguarding against any adverse impact on its economic security and against becoming dependent on any given country, shall pursue a policy designed to ensure conditions leading to equality, mutual benefit and faithful fulfillment of obligations, freedom from political and other pressures, based on the principles and norms of international economic relations.
17. In the implementation of projects connected with establishing economic, customs, and trade special zones, joint ventures or enterprises with full foreign investment or with granting concessions, their political and economic consequences shall be thoroughly examined to ensure that they do not adversely affect the country's economic security and that they will bring economic gains.
18. In selecting partners in the implementation of projects of crucial importance to the national interests, political interests shall have a significant role to play.
19. External debt issues shall be settled without detriment to national economic security, and loans will be accepted on the basis of a thorough assessment of guarantees of their repayment and effective utilization.
20. In developing foreign economic relations, Mongolia shall adhere to the following main guidelines:
  - a. foreign economic activities shall be focused on enhancing the country's potential, increasing export resources, developing economic infrastructures, and producing import-substituting goods;
  - b. mindful of the need to modernize the economy, presently dominated by raw materials production, and to develop basic sectors conducive to building a rational structure, measures will be taken to achieve the most effective level of processing minerals as well as raw materials of animal and plant extraction and to produce goods that are competitive on the world market;
  - c. pursuing the policy of modernizing existing industries by re-equipping them with advanced technology and techniques, and developing export-oriented industries such as food, light, mining and chemical industries, as well as biotechnology and new products on the basis of raw materials available in the country;
  - d. in enhancing its export potential, Mongolia shall promote cooperation with foreign countries in the fields of processing mineral resources, including gold, copper, molybdenum, uranium and of manufacturing finished products thereof, as well as in the area of full processing agricultural raw materials and producing goods capable of competing on the world market;
  - e. expanding markets for Mongolia's export items; f. developing fuel, energy, transportation, communications, and other necessary components of the economic infrastructure and creating favourable conditions for securing access to seaports and transit to them;
  - f. integrating in the international transportation, information, and communications networks, particularly those in Northeast Asia;

- g. pursuing a policy of securing foreign assistance and technology for developing small and medium industries oriented toward the production of import-substituting goods;
  - h. taking advantage of Mongolia's natural, historical and cultural heritage, international tourism will be developed by enhancing its material basis and raising its service level to world standards
  - i. securing most favored nation treatment in foreign trade and retaining for a certain period of time the status which enables Mongolia to get soft loans and grants.
21. The main objective of foreign relations in the scientific and technological fields will lie in making full use of external factors to build and enhance a modern national scientific, technical and technological potential capable of serving as a driving force for the effective development of the national economy and industry and able to be competitive at regional, continental and global levels.
  22. Mongolia shall apply the principle of benefiting from world scientific and technological achievements to enrich the pool of national endowment and intellectual capacity which are congruous with the national human and natural resources, the level of social theory and though as well as with the unique culture of its pastoral livestock economy.
  23. In implementing its scientific and technological foreign policy, Mongolia shall adhere to the following basic guidelines:
    - a. introducing advanced technology and methods into production and services. In doing so, priority will be given to the selective introduction of knowledge-intensive technology. Greater attention will be paid to introducing technologies related to processing mineral resources, raw materials of animal and plant extraction, and the use of renewable energy sources;
    - b. gearing the national scientific and technological information system to the international information network;
    - c. developing bilateral and. multilateral cooperation in the fields of intellectual property as well as science and technology.

#### ***Y. CULTURAL AND HUMANITARIAN POLICY***

24. The main objectives of cultural and humanitarian foreign relations reside in protecting the culture and way of life of Mongols, endowing their unique cultural heritage, enriching it with the achievements of world culture, restoring national historical and cultural assets, recovering cultural and art relics from abroad, using cultural cooperation for the purpose of educating and training skilled personnel capable of working in new conditions, introducing Mongolia to foreign countries, expanding the ranks of well-wishers and supporters of Mongolia, encouraging Mongolian Studies in other nations, and promoting mutual understanding and trust.
25. In promoting cultural and humanitarian cooperation, Mongolia shall practice both Government and people's diplomacy, and apply the principle of respect for human rights, freedoms, equality, and mutual benefit.
26. In developing humanitarian relations with foreign countries, Mongolia shall adhere to the following guidelines
  - a. safeguarding the rights, freedoms, legitimate interests and security of Mongolian citizens residing or traveling abroad through the promotion of wide cooperation with foreign countries in the legal sphere;
  - b. enhancing contacts and cooperation with Mongolian nationals residing abroad and mutual support in preserving and developing the Mongolian language, culture, and traditions as well as securing their contributions to Mongolia's progress and growth;
  - c. taking preventive measures to thwart the influence of reactionary movements and groups prejudicial to the national security of Mongolia and unity of its people;
  - d. giving priority to the training in developed countries of Mongolian students, managerial personnel and specialists in the fields of market economy, politics, law, management and marketing as well as in the leading areas of the country's scientific and technological

fields. In doing so, Mongolia shall seek to benefit from specialized funds of international organizations and developed countries, scholarships of public and private universities and institutes for the purpose of training students, upgrading specialists, arranging degree studies, training highly skilled workers as well as for using the services of foreign lecturers and scholars of excellence;

- e. studying the advanced methods and technology of training and management of foreign countries in general education and vocational training with a view to applying them flexibly in a way suitable for the country's specific conditions;
- f. in restoring and protecting Mongolia's historical, cultural and natural heritage and assets and in sharing them with other nations, Mongolia shall cooperate with Asian countries which have similar historical, religious and cultural legacies as well as with other interested countries, UNESCO, and other related international organizations;
- g. promoting active relations with international organizations, foundations and non-governmental institutions in the fields of education, culture, arts, sports, and information, according to relevant treaties, establishing and promoting direct ties among similar organizations, encouraging the exchange of scholars, teachers, creative workers, representatives of the media, and sportsmen, taking part in international cultural, art, and sport events, and organizing such measures in the country;
- h. promoting cooperation designed to help bring favorable external conditions for ensuring the country's ecological security, maintaining its ecological balance, and protecting nature.

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