Domestic Trade and Other Services

In pre-1921 Mongolia, domestic trade and services were primitive. Few commodities were exchanged; those that were primarily were by barter. Traders were almost entirely foreigners—Chinese and Russian—except for Mongolians who conducted trade and provided services at Mongolia's monasteries. After the 1921 revolution, the government began seizing control of the internal trade system and transforming it into a socialist distribution network with Soviet assistance. In 1921 the Mongolian Central Cooperative was established; in the late 1920s, such Soviet trade organizations as the Stormong Company and the Sherst Company began to displace all other foreign traders in the Mongolian economy. In 1929 the Mongolian Central Cooperative was expanded, and Chinese traders were expelled from the country. In 1932 the Mongolian Central Cooperative was reorganized as the Union of Consumer Cooperatives. The Mongolian and the Soviet governments also founded a joint-stock wholesale trading company, Mongsovbuner, which took over the Mongolian Central Cooperative's wholesale operations. In 1934 the Soviet Union handed over its share of Mongsovbuner to the Mongolian government, which transformed Mongsovbuner into the Mongolian State Trading Office. The expropriation of monastic property in the late 1920s and the early 1930s effectively ended the monasteries' participation in trade. Forced collectivization of *arads,* however, failed miserably and set back government attempts to socialize the internal trade system. Nevertheless, about 90 percent of retail trade was carried out by state and cooperative trade organizations by 1940.

During World War II, state procurement from individual households was instituted by means of taxes in kind and obligatory delivery of goods. The wartime taxation measures provided the foundation of Mongolia's procurement and distribution system as the economy was collectivized in the 1950s. During the Three-Year Plan (1958–60), the Union of Consumer Cooperatives was abolished, and its components were consolidated with state trading organizations under the newly formed Ministry of Trade and Procurement. By 1983 the state trade network accounted for 95 percent of retail trade turnover; cooperative agricultural trade represented the remainder. In the late 1980s, this ministry still ran Mongolia's internal trade and state procurement systems.

Retail Trade and Consumption

In 1985 retail trade turnover was 4,138.4 million tugriks, of which 3,948.4 million tugriks occurred in state outlets. Retail trade in Mongolia rose slowly from negligible levels—the equivalents of

60,000 tugriks in 1921 and 8.7 million tugriks in 1924—to 184.8 million tugriks in 1940. Beginning in the 1950s, retail trade grew dramatically as large-scale Chinese and Soviet assistance permitted Mongolia to purchase imported consumer goods not produced domestically. By 1960 the total reached 975.8 million tugriks, and after Mongolia's 1962 entry into Comecon, retail trade increased to 1,914.6 million tugriks in 1970. Total retail trade in 1980 and 1985 was, respectively, 3,348.3 million and 4,138.4 million tugriks. In 1985 foodstuffs accounted for 49.9 percent and non-food commodities, for 50.1 percent of retail trade in state trading organizations. Ulaanbaatar accounted for 41.6 percent of retail trade in state trade organizations.

In 1984 Mongolia's state retail trade and public catering enterprises included 1,382 shops, 2,498 stalls and agents, and 543 restaurants and canteens. In the 1980s, the government began introducing self-service stores, with a limited variety of products, into the state retail network. The self-service stores eliminated the practice of triple queuing—lining up to select, then to pay for, and finally to receive products purchased. State retail outlets, including mobile shops in rural areas, offered equipment for *arad* households, such as batteries, cooking pots, and paraffin lamps, as well as special-order departments for goods not stocked. A wider range of goods was available in urban areas, particularly in Ulaanbaatar.

The capital's main department store in the late 1980s was Ulsyn Ih Delguur. In addition, there was a specialty shop restricted to members of the Mongolian *nomenklatura* (see Glossary). Two duty-free shops (in Ulaanbaatar's main hotels) sold foreign luxury goods and high-quality domestic products to foreigners exchanging hard currencies and to Mongolians possessing hard-currency vouchers. A Sunday market for spare parts and odds and ends was located in the northern suburbs of Ulaanbaatar. Prices in this market, unlike those in the state retail system, were negotiated freely.

All other prices were controlled strictly by the government, and great efforts were made to ensure stable prices for consumer goods. Before January 1988, prices were determined by the State Committee for Prices and Standards, the functions of which were absorbed by the new State Planning and Economic Committee. Retail prices were said to have declined by 0.5 percent from 1970 to 1980. In the late 1980s, however, it was unclear how economic reforms would affect retail price levels. Although the draft state enterprise law stipulated that enterprises would set their own prices for products, the role of the State Planning and Economic Committee in setting price guidelines was uncertain. There were indications

that the government thought that some inflation would be unavoidable.

In the late 1980s, the Mongolian government was working to raise the standard of living by increasing per capita food consumption and by offering a greater number and variety of consumer goods for purchase. In the Eighth Plan, the supply of foodstuffs was to rise by 23 percent. Efforts were to be made to increase agricultural production; to raise the efficiency of foodstuff procurement, shipment, storage, and sale; and to eliminate spoilage and losses. Changes in the average annual per capita consumption of foodstuffs revealed a changing diet. Consumption of such traditional foods as meat and dairy products declined, while consumption of such foods as vegetables, bread, and sugar increased. In 1985 the government launched a fifteen-year Target Program for the Development of Agriculture and the Improvement of Food Supplies. Per capita meat consumption was to drop to 88 kilograms. Other per capita consumption targets were cereals, 13 to 15 kilograms; dairy products, 120 to 130 kilograms; eggs, 35 to 50 kilograms; flour and flour products, 110 to 115 kilograms; fruits and berries, 11 to 13 kilograms; potatoes, 47 to 53 kilograms; sugar and sugar products, 24 to 26 kilograms; and vegetables 29 to 31 kilograms. The Eighth Plan also aimed to increase the commodity turnover of public catering establishments by 19 to 21 percent. More restaurants and cafeterias were to open, and tastier meals in greater variety were to be offered.

Statistics on retail sales of consumer goods were sketchy, but they revealed increasing availability of goods since the 1970s. In 1984 the minister of trade and procurement stated that, between 1970 and 1983, the sale of motorcycles per 1,000 people increased 140 percent; of refrigerators, 900 percent; of television sets, 140 percent; of vacuum cleaners, 280 percent; and of washing machines, 310 percent. A British journalist, Alan J.K. Sanders, calculated that between 1975 and 1982, 1 family in 345 purchased a car, 2 families in 3 acquired radios, and each family bought 2 watches or clocks. From 1975 to 1983, roughly one family in seven bought a motorcycle; one in nine, a bicycle, and one in twenty-eight, a camera. During the 1975–83 period, one urban family in three acquired a refrigerator or washing machine; one in three, a television set; and one in seven, a vacuum cleaner. The Eighth Plan targeted the sale of consumer goods to rise by 21 to 24 percent. The plan stipulated an increase in sales of "cultural-everyday durables and also garments and knitwear, carpets, and other types of industrial commodities." The plan's goals for increased retail sales

were part of the government's efforts to increase the quantity and the quality of consumer goods.

Mongolian sources revealed little about other services. In 1985 Mongolia had 465 hotels, 760 public baths, 295 beauty and barber shops, 125 photography shops, 130 dry cleaners, and 392 shoe-repair shops. The Eighth Plan called for increasing consumer services by 27 to 29 percent, including an expansion of 55 to 57 percent in rural areas.

Labor Force

Composition

In 1921 nomadic herders and monks dominated Mongolia's work force. Foreigners—Russians and Chinese—comprised the vast majority of the work force for all other occupations, namely agriculture, trade, handicrafts, and services. Mongolia faced the task of transforming the labor force into one capable of filling the variety of occupations required by a modern socialist economy. At first, the new government encountered numerous problems in building its work force, including illiteracy, the lack of qualified personnel, labor shortages, and attitudes inconsistent with systematized work and regular hours. As a result of these problems and the economy's initially slow development, the labor force remained primarily agrarian until the mid-1960s.

The composition of Mongolia's labor force changed slowly in the 1920s and the 1930s. In 1924 party leader Horloyn Choybalsan remarked that Mongolia had no more than 150 industrial workers. By 1932 the country had 2,335 "workers and employees" (employees were defined as nonproduction state employees, such as administrators and professionals), of which 302 were industrial workers. By 1936 industrial workers had increased to 2,400, and they had surpassed 10,000 in 1939. There were 33,100 workers and employees in 1940; nevertheless, 90 percent of the work force was engaged in agrarian pursuits—primarily, in herding. The distribution of the worker and employee work force in 1940 was 41.4 percent in industry, 29.3 percent in nonproduction occupations, 3.0 percent in agriculture, 4.2 percent in trade and communications, and 2.2 percent in trade. Large-scale transformation of the work force accompanied the major effort to industrialize and to collectivize agriculture after World War II. By 1960 agricultural and forestry workers represented 60.8 percent of the labor force; industrial and nonagricultural material production workers, 26.2 percent; and employees engaged in nonmaterial production labor, 13 percent. In 1985 agricultural and forestry workers dropped to

33.8 percent of the work force, while industrial and nonagricultural production workers rose to 39.8 percent, and nonproduction workers, to 26.2 percent.

Furthermore, large numbers of women entered all sectors of the economy as it developed. Women and children traditionally took part in herding activities; as the economy expanded, so did women's participation. Between 1960 and 1985, women's representation in the "worker and employee" work force rose from 30.8 percent to 51.3 percent. According to the 1979 census, women comprised 45.6 percent of the work force. Sixty-nine percent of all employed women, or 42.5 percent of the work force, were engaged in material production. Thirty-one percent of all employed women were engaged in nonmaterial production; these women comprised 54.6 percent of all workers in nonmaterial production (see table 5, Appendix).

Foreign labor played a major role in the development of Mongolia's economy. Because of labor shortages, Chinese and Soviet workers initially constituted a large proportion of the industrial and construction force. In 1927 about 26 percent of industrial workers were Mongolian, and in 1934 about 50 percent were foreign. In 1940 Mongolians made up 87.7 percent of all workers and employees; 6.6 percent were Chinese; and 5.7 percent were Soviets. In the 1950s, China sent approximately 10,000 laborers to Mongolia to engage in such construction projects as road and bridge building. In 1961 the number of Chinese workers peaked at 13,150; then, it declined, in the wake of the Sino-Soviet split. Soviet citizens had a major role in the Mongolian economy as advisers and employees of joint Mongolian-Soviet enterprises, particularly after 1960. Smaller numbers of East European experts also came to Mongolia after its 1962 entry into Comecon. At the beginning of the 1980s, about 32,000 Soviets and 15,000 East Europeans were working in Mongolia.

Labor Force Policy and Planning

The Mongolian regime sets and implements labor force policy and planning. In the late 1980s, policy on the work force followed the General Plan for Development and Distribution of the Mongolian People's Republic's Productive Forces for the Period up to the Year 2,000 and the Program for Optimal and Rational Use of the Mongolian People's Republic Labor Resources. Manpower was managed by the State Committee on Labor and Wages until January 1988, when the committee was dissolved and its functions were absorbed by the new State Planning and Economic Committee (see Major State Organizations, ch. 4). The major objectives

of state manpower policy were: planned filling of all jobs with workers possessing the appropriate occupational qualifications in order to satisfy manpower requirements for the smooth functioning of the economy; full employment, balancing the number of workers with jobs available; increased labor productivity in all economic sectors; and manpower management based on principles of free will and material interest and on observance of the constitutional right to work and to free choice of occupation. The government planned labor resources and allocated labor by drawing up a national manpower balance sheet for one-year and five-year periods. This balance sheet, which aggregated territorial and administrative manpower balance sheets, took into account total population, total labor resources, distribution of labor resources, and estimates of additional manpower and training requirements; it also estimated the number of young people starting work or study courses. Analysis of the national manpower balance sheet enabled the state to plan for the training and the allocation of skilled manpower.

Special emphasis was placed on domestic vocational and technical training and on training opportunities abroad. In 1985 Mongolia had 40 vocational training schools with an enrollment of 27,700 (see Education, ch. 2). Many Mongolians studied and took training courses of varying duration in the Soviet Union and other Comecon countries; in 1988 there were approximately 10,000 such students in the Soviet Union. The Eighth Plan called for the training of 52,000 specialists with higher and secondary technical specialist education and for no fewer than 60,000 skilled workers. As a result of such training, Mongolia's literate work force possessed increasingly sophisticated technical skills.

The state allocated manpower in two principal ways. First, local committees considered individual wishes, place of residence, and family situation, then provided work warrants to graduating students from all levels who were not pursuing further education. These work warrants compelled the management of organizations requesting workers to give the graduating students work in the appropriate occupation, as well as to provide additional training, housing, and other benefits. Second, state labor organizations recruited workers to fill positions. Workers could choose occupations, and they signed contracts committing them to work for either an indefinite period or for a fixed period of up to three years. State recruitment of labor was important because of labor shortages in certain sectors of the economy. With increased urbanization and the emphasis on specialized technical training, agricultural laborers were scarce, as were workers in capital construction. Imbalances in the labor force, combined with the composition of the population (the

World Bank projected in 1987 that by 1990 some 72 percent of the population would be younger than fifteen) have led at least one Western analyst to suggest that sectoral unemployment among Mongolia's well-educated youth would be a problem in the 1990s.

Working Conditions and Income

The Labor Law of the Mongolian People's Republic, enacted in 1973, set forth the framework governing working conditions, wages and benefits, and trade union activity for workers and employees. The labor of members of agricultural cooperatives was regulated by individual *negdel* charters; they were based on the Model Charter of the Union of Agricultural Associations, last amended in 1979, and on other legislation. The Labor Law and agricultural legislation emulated Soviet law.

Workers and employees had an eight-hour workday (six hours on Saturdays and on the eve of holidays), eight public holidays, and fifteen days' paid vacation. In 1989 some service collectives were experimenting with a five-day workweek to determine whether the country should change from a six-day to a five-day workweek. Those engaged in arduous labor worked seven-hour days. Overtime was restricted, with some exceptions for emergencies. Minors (ages sixteen to eighteen; some fifteen-year-olds could obtain permission to work) worked a seven-hour day, and they received thirty days' paid vacation; arduous labor for minors was prohibited. The Labor Law contained sanctions for those who violated labor discipline and incentives for outstanding work performances. Workers, employees, and *negdel* members received compulsory state social insurance, paid for by their employers or *negdels*. State social insurance provided benefits for temporary incapacity to work because of illness, pregnancy and birth; benefits for birth of a child and for burial; and pensions for old age, disability, and loss of a breadwinner. In addition, state social insurance funds maintained a system of rest homes, sanitoriums, resorts for workers and employees and their families, pioneer camps, and so forth. The retirement age for the entire work force was sixty years for men with twenty-five years' experience and fifty-five years for women with twenty years' experience. Employers provided funds, full pay, reduced work days, and leaves of absence in order to raise the professional and technical qualifications of workers and employees through study and training courses.

Because of the high percentage of women of childbearing age in the labor force, the Labor Law contained provisions to protect pregnant women and women with children younger than one year. Refusal to hire women, reduction of their earnings, or dismissal

Bus transportation in Ulaanbaatar
Courtesy Allen R. Kassof

because of pregnancy or the existence of children were all illegal. With medical commission concurrence, pregnant and nursing mothers were eligible for a shortened workday and for transfer to lighter work; they were not eligible for night work, overtime, or business trips. Women received forty-five days' pregnancy leave and fifty-six days' birth leave; women who did not fully use their pregnancy leave could combine the remainder with birth leave. Mothers also could combine pre-partum and postpartum leave with annual leave. In addition, they could receive an additional six months of unpaid leave and retain their jobs. Nursing mothers were granted paid breaks of up to two hours per day to nurse infants younger than six months and one hour to nurse infants from six to twelve months. Workplaces with large numbers of female employees were required to provide facilities for nurseries, for kindergartens, for nursing mothers and infants, and for personal hygiene (see Position of Women, ch. 2).

National income in Mongolia in the 1980s was supposed to be distributed according to socialist principles contained in Article 17 of the Constitution (see Constitutional Framework, ch. 4). First, the state deducted from the social fund for "the expansion of socialist production, the creation of reserves, the development of public

health and education, the maintenance of the aged and the disabled, and the satisfaction of the collective requirements of members of society." Second, the remainder of national income was distributed in accordance with the quality and quantity of labor, based on the socialist principle "from each according to his ability, to each according to his labor." Information on real wages and income, however, was scarce. Western sources estimated that 1985 per capita income was US$880 based on gross domestic product (GPD—see Glossary) and US$1,000 based on GNP. Mongolian sources referred to raising wages and income in percentage terms, but they rarely listed actual numbers. The Economic and Social Development Guidelines for 1986–90 stated that during the Seventh Plan real income per capita rose by 12 percent, and they called for a 20-percent to 23-percent increase in monetary income during the Eighth Plan. Real income during the latter plan was to grow in part through wage increases and in part through such measures as reduction of electricity tariffs and a 30-percent increase in the minimum pension for *negdel* members.

Government statistics provided only limited information on salaries. For example, statistics on the growth rate of monthly average salaries for workers and employees indicated that salaries rose 44.2 percent between 1960 and 1985. Salaries of production workers rose 54 percent, and those of nonproduction employees rose 22.9 percent. No figures were available on the actual level of salaries. Average annual wages for *negdel* members rose from 474 tugriks in 1960 to 2,400 tugriks at the end of the 1970s.

Trade Unions

Mongolia's trade union movement initially had a difficult start, but then it settled down to peaceful growth as a useful tool of the regime. In 1917 Mongolia's first two trade unions, which had mostly Russian and few Mongolian members, were established but trade unionists were murdered in 1920 by troops of the White Russian baron, Roman Nicolaus von Ungern-Sternberg (see Period of Autonomy, 1911–21, ch. 1). Reestablished in 1921 with 300 members, the unions were reorganized in 1925 into Mongolian, Chinese, and Russian chapters. In August 1927, 115 delegates, representing 4,056 union members, held the First Congress of Mongolian Trade Unions, establishing the Mongolian trade union movement in the form it still maintained in the late 1980s. In 1927, as in the late 1980s, the organization and functions of Mongolia's trade unions were patterned on those of the Soviet Union (see Planned Modernization, ch. 2; and Mass Organizations, ch. 4).

In the late 1980s, the highest-level trade union organization was the Mongolian Trade Unions Congress, which was convened every five years; the thirteenth congress was held in 1987. In the interim, trade union affairs were run by the Central Council of Mongolian Trade Unions. The chairman of the Central Council was a member of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party Central Committee and of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural (see Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, ch. 4; Government Structure, ch. 4). Mongolian trade unions, through the Central Council, possessed the right of legislative initiative in the People's Great Hural. Below the Central Council were four branch union organizations—each run by its own central committee—for agricultural workers; for construction and industrial workers; for workers and employees in transport, for communications, trade, and services; and for employees in culture and education. Each *aymag,* as well as Ulaanbaatar, Darhan, and Erdenet, had its own trade union council, as did the Ulaanbaatar Railroad. Below the provincial level there were 3,000 primary trade union committees and more than 7,000 trade union groups. The Central Council published the newspaper *Hodolmor* (Labor) three times a week and the magazine *Mongolyn Uyldberchniy Eblel* (Mongolian Trade Unions) six times a year. In 1982 there were 425,000 trade union members. In 1984 about 94.7 percent of all office and professional workers and laborers in the national economy were trade unionists, and members of the working class accounted for 55.8 percent of trade union membership.

Mongolian trade unions did not engage in collective bargaining to represent worker interests to management as was done in capitalist countries. Instead, Mongolia's trade unions had a variety of functions. Politically, trade unions received party and state guidance and served regime goals by ". . . [contributing] to winning over the masses in order to succeed in the implementation of the social and economic policy of the party." The Mongolian trade unions were active in the international arena; the Central Council of Mongolian Trade Unions joined the World Federation of Trade Unions in 1949, and Mongolia joined the International Labour Organization in 1968. The Central Council maintained contacts with more than sixty foreign trade union organizations, and it sent delegations to all World Federation of Trade Unions congresses and other international trade union conferences. Mongolian delegations to conferences sponsored by the Soviet Union and other socialist countries frequently issued communiques or statements supporting Soviet, and criticizing United States, policies.

The most important functions of Mongolian trade unions were, according to the 1973 Labor Law, "[to] represent the interests of workers and employees in the realm of production, labor, life, and culture, participate in working out and realizing state plans for the development of the national economy, decide questions of the distribution and use of material and financial resources, involve workers and employees in production management, organize the socialist competition and mass technical creativity, and promote the strengthening of production and labor discipline." Together, or by agreement with enterprises, institutions, and organizations and their superior agencies, trade unions influenced labor conditions and earnings, the application of labor legislation, and the use of social consumption funds. Specifically, this meant trade unions supervised the observance of labor legislation and rules for labor protection, controlled housing and domestic services for workers and employees, and managed state social insurance as well as trade union sanatoriums, dispensaries, rest homes, and cultural and sports institutions. In practice, the major function of trade unions was the administration of state social insurance and of worker health and recreation facilities.

Despite the broad rights granted to the trade union movement, not all trade union bodies carried out their stipulated functions. In a May 1987 address to the Thirteenth Congress of Mongolian Trade Unions, party general secretary Jambyn Batmonh criticized some trade union councils for being "on the leash of the enterprises' administrations," that is, emphasizing the fulfillment of plans while neglecting labor productivity and substandard working and living conditions. Batmonh also called on enterprises and their supervisory government bodies to observe labor laws strictly and not to oppose the legitimate demands of trade union groups.

Foreign Economic Relations and Comecon

In the late 1980s, Mongolia's foreign economic relations were primarily with Comecon members and other socialist countries. Mongolian policies related to Comecon were set by the Comecon Commission of the Council of Ministers. The principal official mechanisms for bilateral foreign economic relations were the various joint intergovernmental commissions on economic, scientific, and technical cooperation, which were established by treaty in the 1960s, the 1970s, and the 1980s between Mongolia and the Soviet Union as well as other socialist nations. Intergovernmental commissions—such as the Mongolian-Soviet Intergovernmental Commission for Economic, Scientific, and Technical Cooperation—met annually or semiannually to coordinate planning and

to arrange bilateral annual, five-year, and longer-term trade and cooperation agreements signed on the deputy premier level. The Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Supply primarily, but not exclusively, was handling Mongolia's day-to-day economic interaction with foreign countries and with Comecon in the late 1980s.

Close economic ties between Mongolia and the Soviet Union have existed for a long time. For example, in 1984 Mongolian-Soviet links included direct ties among 20 Mongolian and 30 Soviet ministries and departments handling economic affairs as well as among 55 Mongolian and Soviet ministries and departments and about 100 Mongolian and Soviet scientific research organizations handling scientific and technical cooperation.

In December 1987, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Supply was formed from the Ministry of Foreign Trade, the State Committee for Foreign Economic Relations, and the State Committee for Materials and Technical Supplies. Because much of Mongolia's machinery and equipment, fuel, and consumer goods were imported, the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Supply—rather than the Ministry of Trade and Procurement (which ran Mongolia's domestic trade system)—had specialized organizations that combined export-import and domestic distribution functions. These organizations included Abtoneft Import and Supply Cooperative, which handled imports of motor vehicles, fuels, and lubricants; the Agricultural Technical Equipment Import and Supply Cooperative; Kompleksimport and Supply Cooperative, which imported sets of equipment for the mining industry, power stations, and production lines for the food and light industries; the Materialimpeks and Supply Cooperative, which imported construction materials and equipment; and the Technikimport and Supply Cooperative, which handled imports of industrial machinery and equipment, raw materials, chemicals, and dyestuffs.

Other organizations involved in foreign trade included Mongolimpex, which handled imports and exports of goods in convertible currencies; Mongolnom, which exported Mongolian publications; and Mongolilgeemj, which handled foreign parcel post, the sale and purchase of consumer goods, establishment of business contacts with foreign companies, and intermediary service on foreign trade and commodity exchange. The Ministry of Social Economy and Services ran Horshoololimpex, which exported handicrafts. Mongolia also had a Chamber of Commerce, the functions of which included establishing contacts between Mongolian and foreign trade and industrial organizations as well as organizing

and participating in international trade exhibitions in Mongolia and abroad.

Participation in Comecon

Entry into Comecon was a great boon to Mongolia's economic development, enabling it to secure increased amounts of foreign investment, assistance, and technical cooperation; to expand foreign trade markets; to raise product quality to international standards; and to coordinate economic planning better in order to direct the specialization and development the of the economy under "socialist economic integration." Mongolia coordinated its five-year plans with Comecon's five-year multilateral cooperation plans as a participant in Comecon's Cooperation in the Sphere of Planning Activity Committee as well as its Science and Technology Cooperation Committee. These committees also drew up multilateral long-term, special cooperation programs in the areas of transportation, food, energy, and consumer goods, which included development projects in Mongolia, such as the thermal electric power plant in Baga Nuur. Mongolia also participated in Comecon commissions for agriculture, coal industry, electric power, food industry, geology, light industry, nonferrous metallurgy, and transportation, and it cooperated in Comecon efforts in construction, currency-finance, foreign trade, health care, standardization, statistics, telecommunications, and postal communications.

Mongolia also received assistance from Comecon on a multilateral basis. Comecon financed the activities of the Comecon International Geological Expedition and the construction of a number of scientific, communications, and cultural facilities in Mongolia. As a member of Comecon's International Bank for Economic Cooperation and the International Investment Bank, Mongolia was eligible for, and took advantage of, loans at preferential rates. Mongolia also benefited from "incentive prices" for basic imported commodities; such commodities as fuel were imported at lower prices than those charged to Comecon's more developed East European countries (see Foreign Assistance, Investment, and Joint Ventures, this ch.).

Foreign Assistance, Investment, and Joint Ventures

Foreign assistance and investment in Mongolia were in the form of credits, gratis assistance, turnkey projects, and joint ventures. Most foreign investment and assistance came from the Soviet Union, but precise information was lacking or was hard to quantify. Foreign observers have estimated Soviet assistance (in constant 1967 United States dollars) to Mongolia from 1955 to 1983

to total US$7 billion in aid agreements, of which US$5.5 billion was disbursed, US$1.9 billion was repaid, nearly US$400 million represented interest payments, and US$1.5 billion of loans still were outstanding. Estimates included a credit agreement of US$225 million for the period 1947–56, and irregular, minor assistance agreements of US$61 million in 1957, US$25 million in 1964, US$17 million in 1969, and US$19 million in 1974. Major assistance agreements coincided with Mongolia's five-year plans: US$500 million in 1961 for the Third Plan, US$550 million in 1965 for the Fourth Plan, US$633 million in 1970 for the Fifth Plan, US$1.6 billion in 1976 for the Sixth Five-Year Plan (1976–80), and US$3.4 billion in 1980 for the Seventh Plan. Another Western source estimated that 11 percent of the Mongolian GNP during the 1976–79 period came from the Soviet Union. Assistance from capitalist countries was negligible; Japan granted Mongolia a 5-billion yen loan to finance the building of a cashmere plant which began operating in 1981.

A Soviet source detailing Soviet credit and gratis assistance to Mongolia noted that 17 percent of the Mongolian budget from 1924 to 1940 came from Soviet loans, which accounted for 90 percent of Mongolia's foreign credit. Soviet credits to Mongolia totaled 450 million rubles from 1961 to 1965, 470 million rubles from 1966 to 1970, 550 million rubles from 1971 to 1975, and about 1.1 billion rubles from 1976 to 1980. Most of these loans were granted at a concessionary rate of 2 percent annually; deferments of repayments, during which time interest was not charged, were obtainable if necessary. Soviet credits represented a large proportion of Mongolian capital investments: 32.2 percent from 1958 to 1960, 47 percent from 1961 to 1965, and 59 percent from 1976 to 1979. Credit assistance went to reimburse Soviet and Mongolian organizations involved in construction, installation, and technical assistance in agriculture, industry, construction, transportation, communications, housing, and cultural projects as well as to finance Mongolia's trade with the Soviet Union. Soviet gratis assistance to Mongolia was listed as 77.5 million rubles from 1921 to 1940, as 50 million rubles from 1966 to 1975, and as 40 million rubles from 1976 to 1980.

Turnkey projects, financed by loans from the Soviet Union and other Comecon nations, were a major form of assistance in the 1980s. The Soviet Union was the leader in providing Mongolia with turnkey projects; it constructed or modernized 90 economic facilities from 1961 to 1965, 52 from 1966 to 1970, 150 from 1971 to 1975, and 240 from 1976 to 1980. From 1971 to 1975, turnkey projects represented 44.9 percent of Soviet credits to Mongolia.

By 1981 facilities built by the Soviet Union contributed more than half of Mongolia's total industrial output: 90 percent of thermal and electric power generation; 80 percent of coal production; 70 percent of confectionery and bakery products; and 100 percent of woolen cloth, felt, formula food, copper and molybdenum concentrate, and fluorite output.

Examples of turnkey projects constructed after the 1960s included a woodworking combine, a glue factory, and two distilleries built by Poland; a clothing mill and flour mill built by Hungary; a tannery and a cement works built by Czechoslovakia; a furniture and a cardboard combine built by Romania; a meat combine built by the German Democratic Republic (East Germany); a sheepskin coat factory and the Sharin Gol state farm's fruit and vegetable processing factories built by Bulgaria; and a house-building combine and spinning mill built by the Soviet Union. Turnkey projects often were part of larger joint Soviet-Mongolian development projects, such as those at Baga Nuur, Choybalsan, Darhan, and Erdenet (see table 8, Appendix).

Since 1924 joint-stock companies and joint ventures between Mongolia and the Soviet Union as well as other socialist countries have been a major means of securing foreign investment, of training Mongolian personnel, and of developing the Mongolian economy. Although many joint-stock companies eventually were handed over to sole Mongolian ownership by the Soviets, joint ventures in operation in the late 1980s also enabled the Soviet Union to penetrate, and to exercise control over, important sectors of the Mongolian economy, especially in the early days of the republic. Mongolbank, Mongoltrans (Mongolian Transportation), Stormong, the Ulaanbaatar Railroad, and the Erdenet Mining and Concetrating Combine are examples of joint ventures of strategic economic value to the Soviet Union. All partners in a joint venture typically have equal or nearly equal shares; part of the profits are allocated to development, reserve, and special funds; the balance is shared equally by the partners. Directors of joint enterprises with the Soviet Union typically are Soviets, and their first deputy directors are Mongolians. Beginning in the 1970s, many East European countries formed joint ventures with Mongolia.

Mongolia provided a very modest amount of foreign aid. During World War II, Mongolia gave the Soviet Union 35,000 horses, 2.5 million tugriks, and 300 kilograms in gold, and it financed an armored column of 53 tanks and the Mongolian Herdsman aircraft squadron. According to a Soviet source, Ulaanbaatar also supplied the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) and Democratic Republic of Vietnam (North Vietnam) with

financial assistance during their "wars of liberation." In the 1980s, recipients of Mongolian aid included Afghanistan, which received two fully equipped *ger;* Cambodia, which received 77 tons of unspecified aid; Laos, which received a sheep-breeding station and a 200-bed hospital; and Vietnam, which received canned foodstuffs, school equipment, and 100 million meters of cloth. In 1988 the Soviet Union accepted 1.9 million tugriks and 300,000 tons of canned meat from Mongolia for the Armenian earthquake relief fund.

Exports and Imports

Although Mongolia's foreign trade has risen consistently since 1940, it has registered chronic deficits. In 1940 foreign trade amounted to 144.2 million tugriks, of which 54.9 million represented exports and 89.3 million represented imports. In 1960 foreign trade jumped to 676.7 million tugriks (289.6 million in exports and 387.1 million in imports), but it increased more slowly in the next decade. It reached 820.5 million tugriks in 1970, of which 337.6 million represented exports, and 482.9 million, imports. External trade more than tripled between 1970 and 1980, rising to 2.8 billion tugriks—1.2 billion tugriks in exports and 1.6 billion tugriks in imports. In 1985 foreign trade totaled 5.3 billion tugriks, with exports valued at 2 billion tugriks and imports at 3.3 billion tugriks.

In the 1980s Mongolia exported primarily fuel, minerals, metals, and raw materials, including foodstuffs, and it imported machinery and equipment, fuels, and consumer goods. Agricultural products initially made up most of the exports, but they decreased in importance as exports of minerals expanded after 1970. Exports of processed foodstuffs and such consumer goods as woolen blankets and leather clothing increased after 1970, while exports of unprocessed foodstuffs and animal products declined. Since 1970 imports of machinery and fuels have risen, and those of consumer goods have fallen (see table 9, Appendix). Principal export commodities included cement, lumber and sawn timber, wool, large and small hides, grain, meat, and clothing. Although mineral exports were substantial, no figures were available on export volume. Principal import commodities included machine tools, diesel generators, electric motors, transformers, construction equipment, motor vehicles, gasoline and diesel fuel, iron and steel, fertilizers, cement, foodstuffs, textiles, and consumer goods (see table 10, Appendix). The Eighth Plan called for increasing foreign trade volume by 20 to 25 percent, for improving the quality and the selection of export

products, and for raising the proportion of mining and light industrial products in exports.

Trading Partners

Since 1930 Mongolia's predominant trading partners have been communist countries. Between 1930 and 1952, the Soviet Union was Mongolia's sole trading partner. Trade with China began in 1953 and reached its zenith in 1960, when it accounted for 18 percent of all foreign trade. Trade with other communist countries also began in the 1950s and intensified in the 1960s after Mongolia's entry into Comecon. In 1966 trade with the Soviet Union fell to 60 percent, but it has steadily risen since then, attaining 80 percent in the late 1980s.

In 1986 communist countries received 96.7 percent of Mongolian exports: Comecon countries absorbed 94.2 percent; other communist nations, such as China and North Korea, imported 2.5 percent. Capitalist countries, such as Japan and Britain, imported 3.3 percent of all Mongolian exports. Communist nations provided Mongolia with 98.3 percent of its imports; Comecon countries supplied 96.7 percent, and other communist states, 1.6 percent. Western countries provided 1.7 percent of Mongolian imports. Efforts to expand trade with Western countries were hampered by lack of hard currency.

In 1986 foreign trade with the Soviet Union, including credits, totaled 1.5 billion rubles, of which exports amounted to 400 million rubles and imports to 1.1 billion rubles. The Soviet Union provided Mongolia with machines and equipment for agriculture, light, food, mining, and construction materials industries; oil products, rolled ferrous metals; instruments; and consumer goods. In return Mongolia supplied minerals, processed foodstuffs, and such consumer goods as cashmere and camel hair products.

In 1989 little information was available on the value of Mongolian trade with other countries, but types of commodities exchanged were known. Hungary exported equipment and spare parts or light industry and food processing plants, telecommunications and laboratory equipment, medicine, textiles, and cosmetics; it imported animal hides, furs, leather products, and processed meats. Czechoslovakia supplied diesel generators; equipment for leather, footwear, and clothing industries; equipment for cement plants; medical equipment; chemicals; buses; medicines; and consumer goods. It received copper, tin, and tungsten concentrates; fluorite; and wool, leather, and furs from Mongolia. East Germany provided machinery and equipment for the light and the food industries, electrical and scientific equipment, and chemicals in exchange for

mining products, leather and fur clothing, carpets, and wool. China exported textiles, machinery, fruit, and light industrial products and imported timber, wool, sheepskin, cashmere, and fur. Mongolian-Chinese trade amounted to US$33 million in 1988. In 1985 Mongolian-Yugoslav trade totaled US$8.2 million; Yugoslavia exported US$5.4 million and Mongolia exported US$2.8 million worth of unspecified goods. In 1988 trade between Mongolia and Japan totaled US$30 million, half of Mongolia's trade with Western and non-communist countries. Mongolia sent industrial raw materials, semimanufactured goods, and ready-made apparel of cashmere and camel wool in exchange for electronic and technical equipment, including color television sets and small power generators.

Tourism

In the late 1980s, tourism played a minor role in Mongolia's foreign economic relations. About 10,000 foreign visitors came from communist, North American, and West European countries annually. Mongolia has natural, historical, and cultural sites of interest to foreign tourists, such as the Nemegt Valley's "dinosaur graveyard," the ancient city of Karakorum, and the medieval Erdene-Dzuu monastery. Hunting expeditions also are a tourist attraction. The Foreign Tourist Office, Juulchin, which was part of the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Supply in 1989, handled all foreign tourists.

Transportation

Prior to 1921, Mongolia had a primitive transportation system consisting primarily of horse relay stations along ancient caravan routes. *Arad* households supported this relay system by paying a horse-relay duty. Draft animals carried passengers and cargo. There were no hard surface roads, railroads, or air transportation. Efforts to introduce a modern transportation system began in 1925, when the government established a state transportation committee with twelve trucks. Soviet aid to Mongolia's transportation sector was inaugurated the same year, with agreements for road repair and bridge building, water transportation by the Soviet Selenge State Shipping Line on the Selenge and the Orhon rivers, and establishment of Mongolian air transport linking Ulaanbaatar and Troitskosavsk in the Soviet Union. Construction of hard surface roads also began in the late 1920s. In 1929 the Fifth National Great Hural nationalized the transportation network and established the joint motor transport monopoly, Mongoltrans, with the Soviet Union. The Soviet share of Mongoltrans devolved to Mongolia

in 1936. Railroad construction started in the late 1930s. A 43-kilometer, narrow-gauge (1.435 meters) railroad linking Ulaanbaatar and the Nalayh coal mine opened in 1938; the next year the Soviets built a 236-kilometer broad-gauge (1.524 meters) line connecting Choybalsan with Borzya, Soviet Union, on the Trans-Siberian Railway. The first asphalt road, linking Ulaanbaatar and Suhbaatar, was built in 1940. Development of the transportation system reached a plateau in the early 1940s, when the outbreak of World War II effectively interrupted Soviet assistance. Despite the modernization of this sector, draft animals remained the predominant form of transportation; in the mid-1940s animals carried 70 percent of the freight, and motor transport the rest.

Rapid development of the transportation sector resumed in the late 1940s and the 1950s. In 1947 Soviet-aided railroad construction was resumed with the building of the north-south trans-Mongolia line. The first segment of this line, connecting Ulan Ude, Soviet Union, with Ulaanbaatar, became operational in 1950. The second segment, linking the capital and the Chinese border, was completed in 1955. The opening of the trans-Mongolia line significantly altered transportation patterns in Mongolia: the railroads assumed the bulk of freight transportation, freed large numbers of motor vehicles and draft animals for use in other parts of the country, and permitted the abolition of the horse-relay duty in 1950. Because this line cut across the economic center of the country, the economic benefits of its opening were considerable. In the late 1950s, China rendered Mongolia considerable assistance in road construction.

Since the 1960s, modernization of the transportation system has been incremental compared with advances in previous decades. Efforts have focused on extending hard-surface roadways, on constructing railroad spurs to industrial facilities, on improving rolling stock, on upgrading facilities, and on increasing the capacity and the productivity of all forms of transportation (see fig. 12).

Roads

In the late 1980s, Mongolia had 6,700 kilometers of roads, of which 900 kilometers were paved. Most paved roads were in cities. Principal routes included the north-south highway connecting Ulaanbaatar with Erenhot at the Chinese border and Kyakhta at the Soviet border, and the east-west highway linking Ulaanbaatar with Choybalsan in the east and Olgiy in the west. Roads also linked Choybalsan with Chita, Soviet Union, and Hailar, China. A highway from Biysk, Soviet Union, reached Olgiy, and one from Irkutsk, Soviet Union, reached Turt on Hovsgol Nuur. In 1985

roads carried 35.9 million tons of freight and 1,934.3 million ton-kilometers, accounting for 24.8 percent of all freight turnover. Roads transported 168.4 million passengers and 688.3 million passenger-kilometers, or 48.7 percent of all passenger turnover. Bus service existed in major cities and towns, and in Ulaanbaatar it was being supplemented by construction of a trolley bus line. Motor transport services were based in depots located in most provincial centers. No figures were available on the number and the types of motor vehicles in service; however, visitors reported that Soviet jeeps provided the major form of transportation in rural areas and that motorcycles were becoming increasingly popular. Automobiles and trucks also were important modes of transportation. It was not known to what extent draft animals supplemented motorized transport in carrying freight and passengers on Mongolian roads.

Railroads

All trains were powered by diesel locomotives, the last steam locomotive having been consigned to a museum in the 1970s. Freight cars were of Soviet manufacture, and passenger cars were imported from East Germany. More than 90 percent of all railroad freight was loaded and unloaded by mechanized means.

In the late 1980s, Mongolia had 1,750 kilometers of 1.524-meter, broad-gauge track. Major lines included the Ulaanbaatar Railroad, which connected Ulaanbaatar with Suhbaatar and Naushki, Soviet Union, in the north, and with Dzamyi Uud, Mongolia, and Erenhot, China, in the south. The eastern line connected Choybalsan with Ereentsav, Mongolia, and Borzya, Soviet Union. Another line linked the Trans-Siberian Railway with Beijing. Branch lines ran from Darhan to the Sharin Gol coalfield; from Salhit, near Darhan, to Erdenet; from Bagahangay to the Baga Nuur coal mine; and from Har-Ayrag to the Bor Ondor fluorite mines. Mongolia's railroad company, Ulaanbaatar Railroad, was a joint-stock venture with the Soviet Union; both countries had equal shares in the company. The director was Soviet; the deputy director and the chairman of the board were Mongolian. In 1985 Ulaanbaatar Railroad carried 14.8 million tons of freight and 5,822.8 million ton-kilometers of freight turnover, accounting for 75 percent of all freight turnover. In 1985 the railroad transported 2.1 million passengers and accounted for 432.2 million passenger-kilometers, or 30.6 percent of all passenger turnover. Railroads also accounted for 97 to 98 percent of all import-export transportation. Each year Mongolia signed a multilateral railroad transportation protocol governing

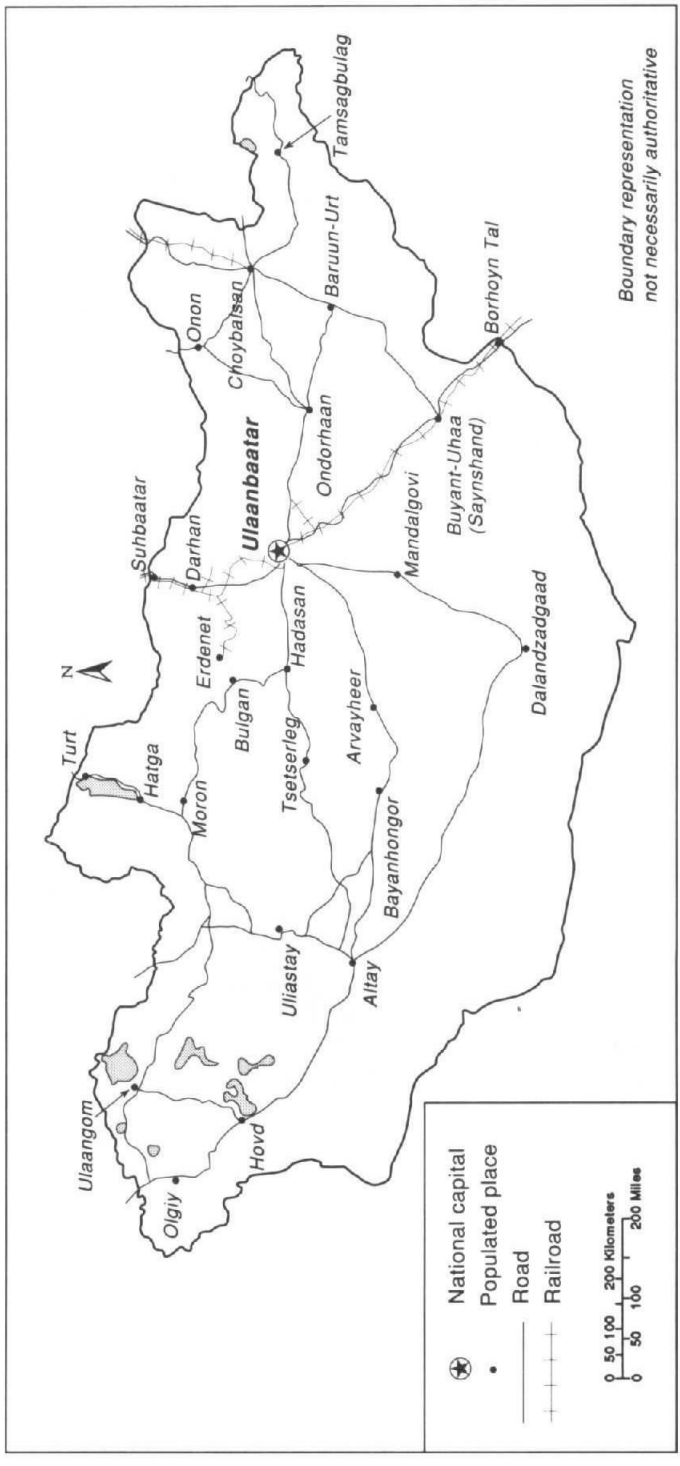


Figure 12. Transportation, 1989

A billboard advertising Mongolian Airlines
Courtesy Allen H. Kassof

import-export freight transport with the Soviet Union, China, and North Korea.

Inland Waterways

Mongolia has 397 kilometers of navigable waterways, principally on Hovsgol Nuur and on the Selenge Moron, which are passable only five months of the year. These water routes were used to transport cargo—grain, agricultural machinery, industrial equipment, lumber, consumer goods, and fuel—to and from the Soviet Union. On Hovsgol Nuur, a fleet of freighters, barges, and tugs connected Turt, which had a road link to the Soviet Union, with Hatgal on the south shore. Mongolia's shipping fleet was built with the assistance of Soviet shipbuilders. In 1985 water transport carried 40,000 tons of cargo and 4.8 million ton-kilometers, or 0.1 percent of all freight turnover. Inland waterways did not carry passenger traffic.

Civil Aviation

In the late 1980s, Mongolia had 38,300 kilometers of air routes serviced by Mongolian Airlines (MIAT). MIAT was run by the Civil Air Transport Administration under the Council of Ministers.

The directorate was headed by a military officer, and MIAT pilots had military rank. MIAT aircraft were used for crop dusting, for forest and steppe fire patrols, and for air ambulance services, in addition to carrying passengers, freight, and mail. Mongolia had eighty airfields, of which thirty were usable, and ten with permanent-surface runways. MIAT's air fleet included 22 major aircraft—19 An-24s and 3 Il-14s—and an assortment of smaller aircraft, particularly An-2 biplanes for local service. MIAT offered international service from Ulaanbaatar to Irkutsk and Beijing. Aeroflot also connected Ulaanbaatar with Moscow, Washington, and New York. Regular air service between Ulaanbaatar and Moscow, on the Soviet airline Aeroflot, had begun in 1945. Mongolia coordinated international air operations with other Comecon countries under an agreement signed in 1966. The Civil Air Transport Administration also cooperated with the Soviet Ministry of Aviation. Domestic routes offered service to all towns, cities, and *aymag* centers. In 1985 civil aviation carried 11.6 million tons and 6.4 million ton-kilometers, or 0.1 percent of freight turnover. Air transport carried 600,000 passengers and 293.1 million passenger-kilometers, or 20.7 percent of passenger turnover. Efforts to modernize the civil aviation system during the Eighth Plan included building a new air terminal and reconstructing the runway at the Ulaanbaatar airport, providing modern air traffic control equipment to airfields, and improving air safety.

Telecommunications

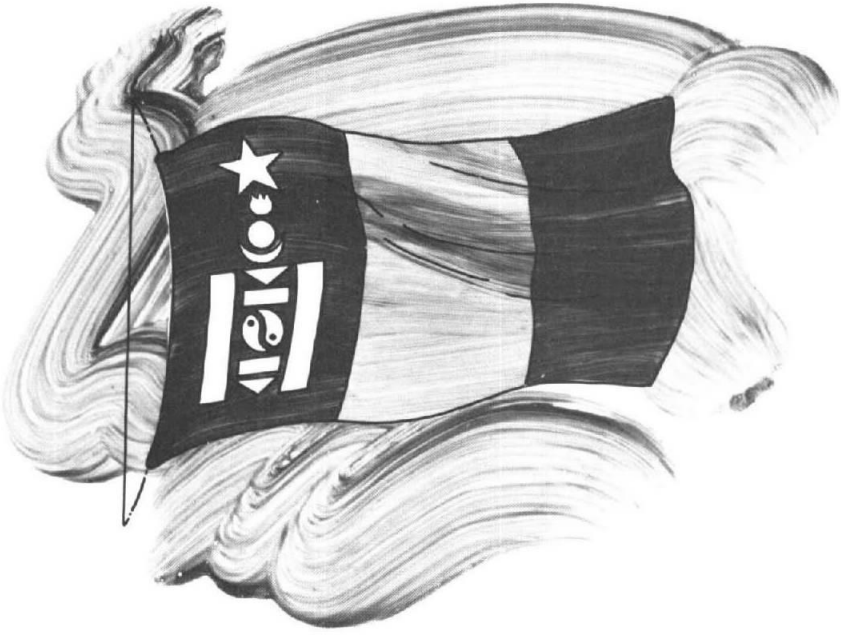
In 1921 Mongolia nationalized postal and telecommunications services—then Russian-owned, Chinese-owned, and Danish-owned—and placed them under the Postal and Telegraph Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. With Soviet assistance, Mongolia extended telephone and telegraph lines between 1923 and 1930, inaugurated motorized intercity mail delivery in 1925, and began radiobroadcasting in 1934 and television broadcasting in 1967. Since the 1920s, Soviet aid—including technical assistance, investment, and training—enabled Mongolia to create national postal and telecommunications networks as well as to establish international communications links. In the 1980s, the Ministry of Communications, which ran the postal and the telecommunications systems, emphasized expanding and upgrading the telecommunications services and facilities to create a unified communications system. This system included telephone, telegraph, telex, radio, and television; it still relied on cooperation and assistance from the Soviet Union and other Comecon countries.

In 1985 Mongolia's telephone, telegraph, and telex system included 420 postal, telephone, and telegraph offices; 28,000 kilometers of telephone and telegraph lines; and 49,300 telephones. The Ministry of Communications was working to introduce a unified digital data-transmission system, to upgrade the telephone system to an automatic-switching network, to increase the length of multiplex telephone channels, and to establish a land-based mobile telephone network using earth satellite facilities. Radio-relay lines provided intercity and international, direct-dialing telephone links. Telex lines connected Ulaanbaatar with Irkutsk and Moscow.

* * *

English-language sources on the Mongolian economy are few; a substantial literature exists in Russian, but little in that language, or in Mongol, has been translated into English. In English the best source on Mongolian economic affairs published since 1970 is chapter 4, "The Economic System," in *Mongolia: Politics, Economics, and Society* by Alan J.K. Sanders. Articles by Sanders in the *Far Eastern Economic Review* [Hong Kong], in scholarly journals, and in other reference publications often deal with economic topics. Judith Nordby's "The Mongolian People's Republic in the 1980s: Continuity and Change" treats economic policies and problems. Michael Kaser's "The Industrial Revolution in Mongolia" deals with Mongolian industrialization, as does Alois Holub's "Mongolia: Modernizing the Industrial Structure." "Manpower Policy and Planning in the Mongolian People's Republic," by M. Lkhamsuren, examines labor resources. William E. Butler's *The Mongolian Legal System: Contemporary Legislation and Documentation* includes Mongolian legal documents and commentary touching upon economics. *Asian Survey* and the Far Eastern Economic Review's *Asia Yearbook* contain annual surveys of developments in Mongolia, including economic developments. Other sources for Mongolian economic affairs are the Foreign Broadcast Information Service *Daily Report: East Asia;* the Joint Publications Research Service *Mongolia Report, Mongolia* [Ulaanbaatar]; and the Russian-English-French edition of *National Economy of the MPR for 65 Years, 1921-1986.* (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography).

Chapter 4. Government and Politics



The flag of the Mongolian People's Republic;
it symbolically proclaims wisdom, liberty, peace, and justice.

THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC was undergoing a major transition in the development of its government and political institutions in the late 1980s. Beginning in 1984, the country had embarked on a program to restructure its political and economic system in ways that engaged the entire population and made it responsible and accountable for the country's modernization. Much of the inspiration for this program came from the Soviet Union's examples of *glasnost* (see Glossary) and *perestroika* (see Glossary).

Nevertheless, in developing its policies, Mongolia's senior leadership displayed a realistic awareness not only of the severe challenges, but also of the opportunities, afforded by Mongolia's unique political, social, economic, and geophysical conditions. There were efforts by mid-1989 to revive key elements of the Mongolian cultural heritage. This effort apparently was inspired by the recognized need to instill vitality in a polity long stifled by the wholesale imposition of Soviet models. Openings to the West, including the 1987 establishment of diplomatic relations with the United States, increased Mongolia's options within the international diplomatic community and provided additional developmental models. Finally, by mid-1989, the gradual normalizing of Sino-Soviet relations had helped significantly to reduce the tensions inherent in Mongolia's strategic location, enveloped between these giant countries, which facilitated a resurgence of Mongolian national identity and allowed a small measure of Mongolian political independence.

Government Structure

Form of Government

Mongolia in 1989 was a communist state modeled on Soviet political and government institutions. The government was a one-party system, presided over by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. The party exercised political supervision and control over a pyramidal structure of representative governmental bodies known as *hurals*—assemblies of people's deputies (see Glossary; fig. 13).

The highly centralized governmental structure was divided into three major parts: the executive branch, presided over by the Council of Ministers; the legislative branch, represented at the national level by the unicameral People's Great Hural (the national

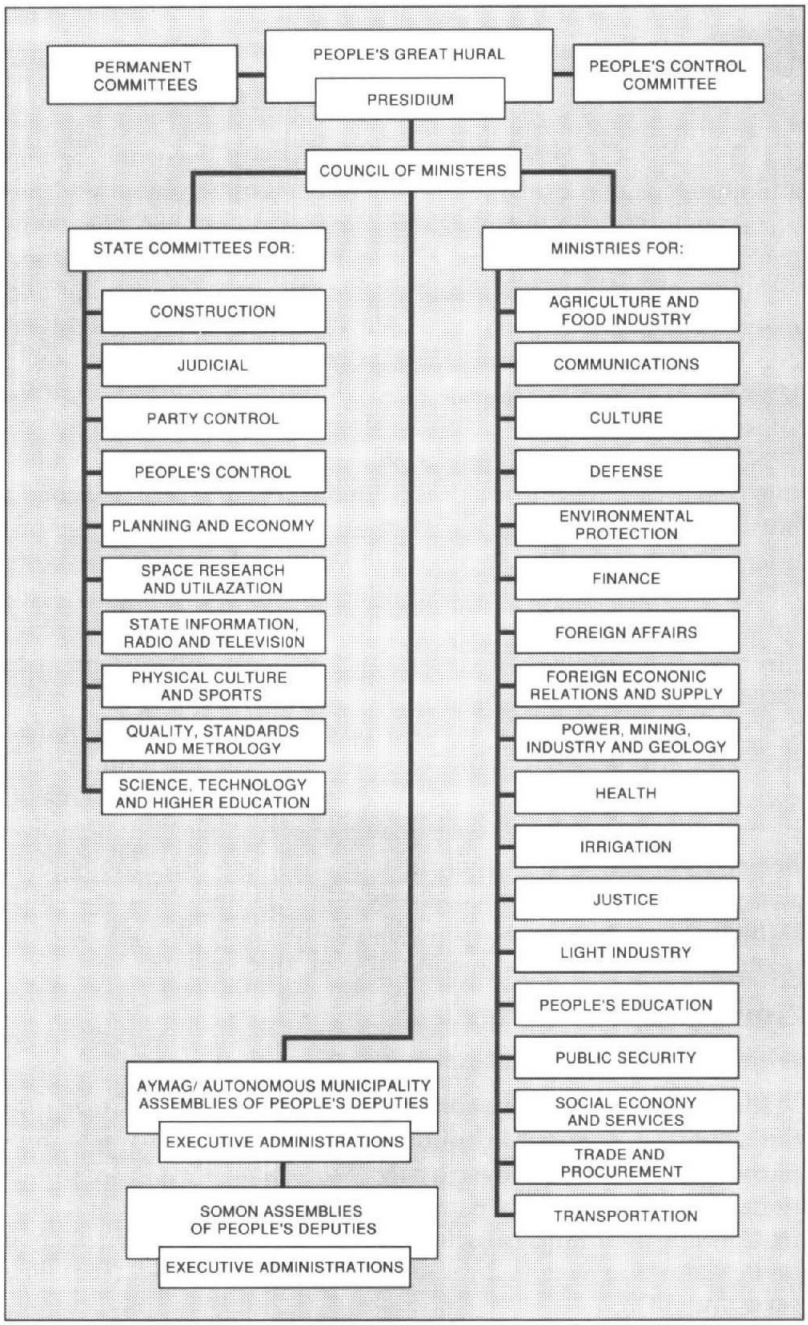


Figure 13. Organization of the Government, 1989

assembly); and the judicial branch, with a Supreme Court presiding over a system of law administered by courts and by an Office of the Procurator of the Republic. The duties and responsibilities of each of these major bodies were identified in the Constitution promulgated in 1960.

Beneath the national level were key administrative subdivisions consisting of eighteen *aymags,* or provinces, and of the three autonomous cities (*hots*) of Ulaanbaatar, Darhan, and Erdenet (see fig. 1). On the next lower administrative level were counties, or *somons* (see Glossary), and town centers. At this basic level, government and economic activity were connected closely, so that the leadership of the *somon* and those of the livestock and agricultural cooperatives operating within the *somon* often were identical (see Structure of the Economy, ch. 3).

The party related to the apex of the governmental system through its authoritative Political Bureau of the party Central Committee. In 1989 this nine-person body contained the presiding leadership of the country, and it was headed by party general secretary Jambyn Batmonh. Batmonh had dual power status in that he also was head of state as chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural. Batmonh was promoted to these top-level positions in 1984 after his predecessor, Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, who had been in power since 1952, was replaced by the Central Committee, reportedly for health reasons (see Socialist Construction under Tsedenbal, 1952–84, ch. 1).

Below the national level, each *aymag* and *somon* had its own party organization that conveyed the policies and programs decided by the Political Bureau and directed the work of its counterpart assembly of people's deputies, its agricultural cooperatives, and the local government executive committee in implementing party programs on its level. The concentration of power at the top of the political system and within party channels had, throughout history, helped to create a complacent party and government bureaucracy, a development that hampered the leadership's plans to modernize the country and to stimulate economic development in the late 1980s.

Constitutional Framework

The Constitution was adopted on July 6, 1960, by the People's Great Hural. It was the third constitution promulgated since the revolution of 1921. The first constitution was passed by the First National Great Hural on November 26, 1924. It abolished the system of monarchial theocracy, described the legislative consolidation of state power, provided a basic statement of socioeconomic

and political rights and freedoms for the people, and espoused a national program that would bypass the capitalist stage of development in the course of promoting fundamental social transformations in order to bring about socialism in Mongolia (see Revolutionary Transformation, 1921-24, ch. 1).

The second constitution, adopted on June 30, 1940, took the Soviet constitution of 1936 as the model. As Mongolian premier Horloyn Choybalsan reported to the Eighth National Great Hural in 1940: "We are guided in our activity by the experience of the great country of socialism, the experience of the Soviet Union. Consequently, only the constitution of the Soviet Union may be a model for us in drafting our new constitution." In subsequent revisions to the 1940 Mongolian constitution in 1944, 1949, 1952, and 1959, disparities between the Mongolian and Soviet constitutions were reduced even further.

Under the 1940 constitution, elections were restricted—"enemies of the regime" could not vote—and indirect; lower bodies elected higher levels. Constitutional amendments introduced after 1944 changed this system, however, by restoring political rights, including the right of suffrage throughout the society; by instituting a unitary hierarchy of directly elected representative bodies; by reorganizing electoral districts; by replacing voting by the show of hands at open meetings with voting by secret ballot; and by abolishing the National Little Hural—the Standing Body of the National Great Hural—transferring its functions to the National Great Hural, which was renamed People's Great Hural in 1951. The regime's justification for making these changes was that Mongolia had already realized many sociopolitical achievements in its advance toward socialism. Therefore, it became historically correct to introduce reforms that had been adopted in the more advanced society of the Soviet Union.

The Constitution adopted in 1960 includes a lengthy preamble that acclaims the successes of the revolution and notes the importance of the "fraternal socialist assistance of the Soviet Union" to growth and development in Mongolia. The preamble clarifies the dominant role of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party as the "guiding and directing force in society," using as its guide the "all-conquering Marxist-Leninist theory." A renewed commitment is made to completing the construction of a socialist society and culture, and eventually, to building a communist society. Enunciated foreign policy goals describe a diplomacy based on the principles of peaceful coexistence and proletarian internationalism.

The points outlined in the preamble are explained more fully in the main body of the Constitution. Compared with its 1940

predecessor, the 1960 Constitution is more succinct. The 1940 document had been divided into twelve chapters. The 1960 Constitution clusters most of the same content into four general sections: socioeconomic structure, state structure, basic rights and duties of citizens, and miscellaneous provisions. Within these categories, the articles are compressed into ten chapters, compared with twelve chapters in the 1940 constitution.

In the first general section, the socialist system, rooted in the socialist ownership of national wealth and the means of production, is presented as the economic basis of society. Areas protected under law include private ownership of one's income and savings, housing, subsidiary husbandry, personal and household articles, as well as the right to an inheritance. These legal guarantees, however, are subject to the qualification that "it shall be prohibited to use the right of personal ownership to the detriment of state and social interests."

The second and longest general section defines the state structure, following that laid down in the 1940 constitution, as amended in 1959. It details the nature, composition, and duties of all state organs of power, including the executive, the legislative, and the judicial at both the national and local levels.

In the third general section, the fundamental rights and duties of citizens are grouped together, a departure from the previous constitutions. The rights promised in this basic law and the actual experience of Mongolians in daily life, however, are often at variance. Among the basic rights guaranteed are equality irrespective of sex, racial or national affiliations, faith, social origin, and status. These were overlooked in practice, to the extent that male Khalkha (see Glossary) Mongols occupied most of the elite government positions, and religious practice has been an impediment to career advancement in an atheistic Marxist-Leninist society. In addition, citizens are guaranteed freedom of speech, press, assembly, meeting, demonstration, and processions, but with the restriction that the activities must be practiced "in accordance with the interests of the working people and with a view to developing and strengthening the state system of the Mongolian People's Republic."

A list of duties begins with the exhortation that "every citizen of the Mongolian People's Republic shall be obliged to: show dedication to the cause of building socialism; maintain the priority of the interests of society and the state vis-à-vis private interests; safeguard the concept of communal socialist property; and fulfill all civic duties, and demand the same of other citizens." Other duties involve supporting international friendship and worker

solidarity "under the leadership of the Soviet Union," and teaching and practicing good social values.

The Constitution can be amended by the People's Great Hural with a majority of not less than two-thirds of the delegate votes, a system that has produced frequent revision. Perhaps the most novel feature of the Constitution is contained in its concluding article, unique among socialist constitutions. Article 94 allows the gradual repeal of the constitutional provisions: "The Constitution . . . will be repealed when the need for the existence of the state, which is the principal instrument for building socialism and communism, disappears, when it will be replaced by a communist association of working people."

The official seal of Mongolia also has been revised and reflects aspirations of becoming an industrialized society. Furthermore, the Constitution says that the state arms of Mongolia "shall reflect the essence of the state and the idea of friendship of peoples and shall show the national and economic peculiarities of the country." Accordingly, the official seal now consists of a circle framed by sheaves of wheat, fastened together by a machine cog-wheel, replacing animal heads that denoted a pastoral country. In the center is a figure of a "working man on horseback galloping upward toward the sun—communism," in place of a herdsman holding a lariat and galloping toward the rising sun.

Major State Organizations

As is true of any communist-run state, the party's influence and voice were authoritative and all high government officials belonged to the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (see Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, this ch.). Nevertheless, in order to establish the mechanisms of government for pursuing the party program, the Constitution provides authority to key state executive, legislative, and judicial bodies, and defines their respective character, composition, and powers.

Legislative

The unicameral People's Great Hural is described in the Constitution as "the highest agency of state power in the Mongolian People's Republic." It is assigned exclusive legislative power for the country by Article 19. The Eleventh People's Great Hural, elected in July 1986, had 370 deputies as determined by a constitutional amendment in 1981 (see table 11, Appendix). Of the 370 elected deputies, nearly 89 percent were party members or candidate members; 28 percent, industrial workers; 28 percent, agrarian cooperative members; and 44 percent, intellectuals and

Main government building, Ulaanbaatar, with Sukhe Bator Mausoleum in front
Courtesy Regina Genton

bureaucrats. Also, 25 percent of the deputies were women, and 67 percent were elected for the first time. Finally, deputies were afforded special protection in that they may not be arrested or brought to trial without the consent of the Hural or its Presidium.

Deputies served four-year terms, and they were elected from districts divided equally according to population. The slate of candidates presented, however, required party review and approval well in advance of the election. Candidates were proposed by trade unions, farm organizations, youth and party organizations, and other social organizations. Before election day, usually in June, the names of candidates for these constituencies were published in the press. Registered electors could vote for one registered candidate by placing an unmarked ballot bearing the candidate's name in the ballot box. To vote against a candidate, an elector had to strike the candidate's name from the ballot.

It was estimated that 33 percent of the deputies—representing the party and state leadership—were reelected after each term. Not surprisingly, a high proportion of the elected deputies were party members or candidate members. There also was a noticeable trend reflecting the gradual urbanization of the country, as shown in the

1979 Mongolian census figures. Press coverage of results usually reported 99.98 percent turnout, in favor of the official candidates.

The People's Great Hural, which convenes once a year, elects its officers, including a chairman (speaker) and four deputy chairmen. It selects standing commissions (budget, legislative proposals, nationality affairs, and foreign affairs), and it elects the Presidium. Constitutional powers accorded to the People's Great Hural include amendment of the constitution; adoption of laws; formation of the Council of Ministers; and confirmation of ministers, the national economic plan, and the budget. In 1989 the deputy chairmen were the president of the Presidium, an army officer, a woman, and, to show recognition of minorities, a Kazakh (see Glossary).

Ten permanent committees assisted in specialized areas of government work: industry; environmental protection; construction; youth affairs; budgets and planning; transportation and communications; labor resources; agriculture; trade and services; and health, education, culture and scientific affairs. Also, the People's Great Hural was given powers to establish "the basic principles and measures in the domain of internal and foreign policy" and to decide "questions of peace and defense of the socialist motherland." In practice, however, authority in the fields of foreign and domestic affairs was exercised regularly by the chairman of the Presidium and the minister of foreign affairs. By a constitutional amendment in November 1980, the People's Great Hural is charged with forming the state's People's Control Committee that heads a system of agencies "which shall incorporate state and social control of the working people at enterprises, institutions, organizations, and agricultural associations."

Although legislative power is concentrated in the People's Great Hural, the right of legislative initiative is accorded to several bodies. They include the Presidium, the Council of Ministers, deputies and standing commissions of the People's Great Hural, the Supreme Court, and the Office of the Procurator of the Republic (see Legal System, ch. 5). In addition, legislation can be introduced by youths and workers through the Central Committee of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League and the Central Council of Mongolian Trade Unions.

The Presidium of the People's Great Hural was the "highest agency of state power" presiding in the interval between legislative sessions. In 1989 the chairman of the Presidium, Batmonh, was the de facto president of Mongolia. Other Presidium officers included a deputy chairman, a secretary, and five members representing trade unions (two persons for this category), youth, women, and a key party department (either the cadres administration or

foreign relations department). The principal powers of the Presidium include formation, abolition, and reorganization of ministries; appointment of ministers and ambassadors; ratification or denunciation of treaties and agreements with other states; and award of military and other titles and ranks. The Presidium also participates in the regular powers accorded to the People's Great Hural.

Executive

The Council of Ministers is the "highest executive and administrative agency of state administration." Under Article 42 of the Constitution, this body is composed of a chairman—or premier, a first deputy chairman, five other deputy chairmen, ministers, chairmen of the state committees, the chairman of the State Bank of the Mongolian People's Republic, the president of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, and the head of the Central Statistical Board. In the 1980s, the deputy chairmen regularly included the chairmen of the State Planning Commission; the State Committee for Construction, Architecture, and Technical Control; and the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon—see Glossary) Affairs. In 1986 the Council of Ministers was composed of thirty-three members.

Members of the Council of Ministers also were party members or candidate members. In 1989 Dumaagiyn Sodnom, a full member of the party Political Bureau, was chairman of the Council of Ministers, making him de facto premier. The principal responsibilities of the Council of Ministers in the late 1980s were to coordinate and to direct the work of the ministries; to supervise national economic planning and to implement the national plan; to exercise general direction over foreign relations and defense matters; to take measures for the defense of state interests and the concept of socialist ownership; to ensure public order; and to direct and to guide the work of *aymag* and *somon* executive administrations.

A general ministerial reorganization was carried out in 1987 and 1988 during which 3,000 administrative positions were abolished—reportedly, a significant saving of funds. In December 1987, the Mongolian press announced the dissolution of six ministries and two state committees and the subsequent formation of five new ministries. These efforts to streamline the government structure and to make it more efficient continued into January 1988, when six state committees and special offices were dissolved and two new state committees were formed. In general this reorganization resulted in the performance of certain functions by separate ministries or in the subsuming of several committees under the mission of one. For example, the responsibilities for agriculture and the

food industry, previously handled by two separate ministries, were combined in the new Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry. The newly established Ministry of Environmental Protection indicated Mongolia's recent and growing concern over one of its most intractable problems: the protection and renewal of the national environment.

There was no formally constituted permanent civil service to staff government positions. Party organizations were paramount in the selection and assignment of civil servants. The party decided which person was suited to what kind of work on the basis of individual loyalty, honesty, political consciousness, knowledge of relevant tasks, and organizational abilities.

Judicial

The Supreme Court is described in the Constitution as "the highest judicial authority" that directs "all. . . judicial agencies and also establishes supervision over their judicial activity." It is elected for a four-year term by the People's Great Hural, and it presides over the lower structure made up of eighteen *aymag* courts and local *somon* courts. Members of the local court structure were elected locally, and the judges for these courts served three-year terms. Elected in May 1986, the chairman of the Supreme Court, Lubsandorjiyn Renchin, had a first deputy and two other deputies, including the chairmen of the criminal affairs and the military affairs collegia.

The Procurator of the Republic exercises "supreme supervision over the precise observance of laws by all ministries and other central agencies of administrations, institutions and organizations." The procurator was appointed by the People's Great Hural for a term of four years.

The law and the legal system were described officially as being solidly grounded in the ideology of Marxism-Leninism. The purpose was to ensure that the socioeconomic order produced and shaped a distinctive political, economic, and legal superstructure. Within this context, the principal function of law was to regulate the economy and to contribute to the building of socialism. As of 1989, there still was a limited role for custom in the area of socialist law, but only those considered compatible with prevailing legal norms persisted. There also was a new emphasis on equal rights for women. For the most part, the law functioned as a body of prescriptive regulations that guided social relationships and interpreted the duties of citizens in ways that the party found to be in the best interests of society and development. In general, regulations and codes controlled more areas of life than ever before.

Two separate legal codes form the basis of Mongolian law—the Civil Code and the Criminal Code. The Civil Code, which went into effect in April 1963, was modeled closely on the code adopted by the Soviet Union in 1963. This code regulates personal relations more carefully than had been the case before its enactment. It extends certain rights, including protecting the honor and the dignity of citizens. The code enlarges the discussion of obligations to include contracts of delivery and carriage—matters essential to efficient business operations. There also are law codes that apply to the family and to the workplace.

Formal training in law was given under the Faculty of Social Sciences of the Mongolian State University. Beginning in 1980, 100 full-time students per year were enrolled at this institution. Although the Constitution contains no channel of appeal, the law does provide for appeals of all verdicts except those of the Supreme Court.

Local Administration

In Mongolia's organizational pyramid, government beneath the national level was carried out by assemblies of people's deputies operating in the eighteen *aymags* and the three provincial-level autonomous cities (*hots*), sometimes called "republic cities." In the late 1980s, each *aymag* continued to be divided into about thirty *somons;* towns and population centers within a *somon* were apportioned into "districts and districts-in-cities." Each of these administrative divisions had its corresponding governing assembly of people's deputies. Some continuity between the Mongolian People's Republic and the traditional Mongolian political culture was provided in preserving the terms *aymag,* which was a fifteenth-century word for a tribal unit, and *somon,* which was the traditional basic-level administrative unit (see Pastoral Nomadism, ch. 2). *Aymags* were established on the basis of geographic boundaries, ethnic groupings, economic conditions, population density, and convenience of administrative control. *Somons* were the basic units of administration within *aymags,* and they were where the greatest interaction between government and the people took place.

Deputies to the local assemblies are elected for three-year terms, according to the Constitution. In June 1987, a total of 15,967 deputies were elected to local assemblies, by the usual 99.98 percent of the vote cast. Regular sessions of *aymag* and autonomous municipal assemblies convened at least twice a year. Sessions of *somon* and district assemblies were convoked at least three times a year. Each local assembly elected presidiums to administer the government between sessions of the assemblies. Presidiums were

composed of a chairman, a deputy chairman, a secretary, and members who included party functionaries and local luminaries residing in the administrative centers.

Within their respective jurisdictions, the assemblies and their presidiums were responsible for directing "economic and cultural-political construction," for supervising the economic and cooperative organizations, for confirming and implementing the economic plan and local budgets, for ensuring the observance of laws, and for making certain that all citizens were fully involved in the work of the state. Superior assemblies of people's deputies were empowered to "change or repeal" decisions of lower assemblies and their presidiums.

Procurators and courts also functioned at the local levels. Local procurators were appointed by the state procurator for three-year terms, and they were subordinate "only to the superior procurator" in the system. Courts were elected by deputies of the corresponding assemblies of people's deputies, also for three-year terms; precinct-level courts were formed by direct elections and by secret ballot for three-year terms.

Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party

Mongolia's communist party was established on March 1, 1921, with 164 members in a country that previously had no political parties. At that time, it was called the Mongolian People's Party (see Revolutionary Transformation, 1921–24, ch. 1). In August 1924 at the Third Party Congress, the party assumed its current nomenclature, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. It was the only political party, modeled closely after the organizational structure and party program of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. It has followed the Soviet example during most of its existence, and it continued to do so in mid-1989.

The authoritative Party Program, the fourth in Mongolian history, which was adopted in 1966, states that party organizations serve as "the directing and guiding force of society and the state," and at the national level are decisive in setting policy, developing programs, and making key personnel appointments. Below the national level, party organizations and personnel ensure the implementation of the Party Program, maintain political discipline, and supervise appointment to all party and non-party organizations.

Following the pattern of ongoing developments in the Soviet Union, high-level substantive discussions of party organizational reform measures were being held in 1989. One measure under consideration would have government bodies play an enhanced role as consultative bodies in the party's policy-making process. New

senior government bodies that eventually could disperse some of the party's closely held power were being discussed. Consideration also was being given to the devolution of some decision-making powers from upper party levels to the primary party organizations. Nevertheless, in the late 1980s, top-level party organizations still continued to hold exceptional authority, dominating the governmental, economic, and military life of the country (see fig. 14).

Membership

As of April 1988, party membership was reported at 89,588, an average of 1 in 11 of the adult population. According to the Rules of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, "anyone of the working people, acknowledging the Party Program and Rules, actively participating in their implementation, working in a party organization, and implementing all party resolutions, may be a member of the party." Membership was open to males and females at least eighteen years old, although those between eighteen and twenty years could earn party membership only through acquiring a good record as a Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League member.

A candidate for party membership must be sponsored by a party member who has held a full membership for three years. After sponsorship, a candidate's acceptance into the party was discussed by a general meeting of the appropriate party cell and was considered resolved if at least two-thirds of those attending approved. Conversely, expulsion from the party was decided by a vote of at least two-thirds of party members present, but it was effective only after confirmation by the appropriate party committee at the next-highest level. Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party membership increased by 16 percent during the period 1981 to 1986.

Party Congress

The party congress, convened regularly every five years, is theoretically the most authoritative body in the Mongolian party system (see table 12, Appendix). The Nineteenth Party Congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, convened in May 1986, was attended by 851 delegates—for 79 percent of whom it was their first party congress. An overview of the composition of the delegates revealed that 66 percent also were deputies to the People's Great Hural or to assemblies of people's deputies. Thirty-three percent were workers in industry, construction and communications; 17 percent were collectivized herdsmen; and 50 percent were white-collar workers, including members of the military and

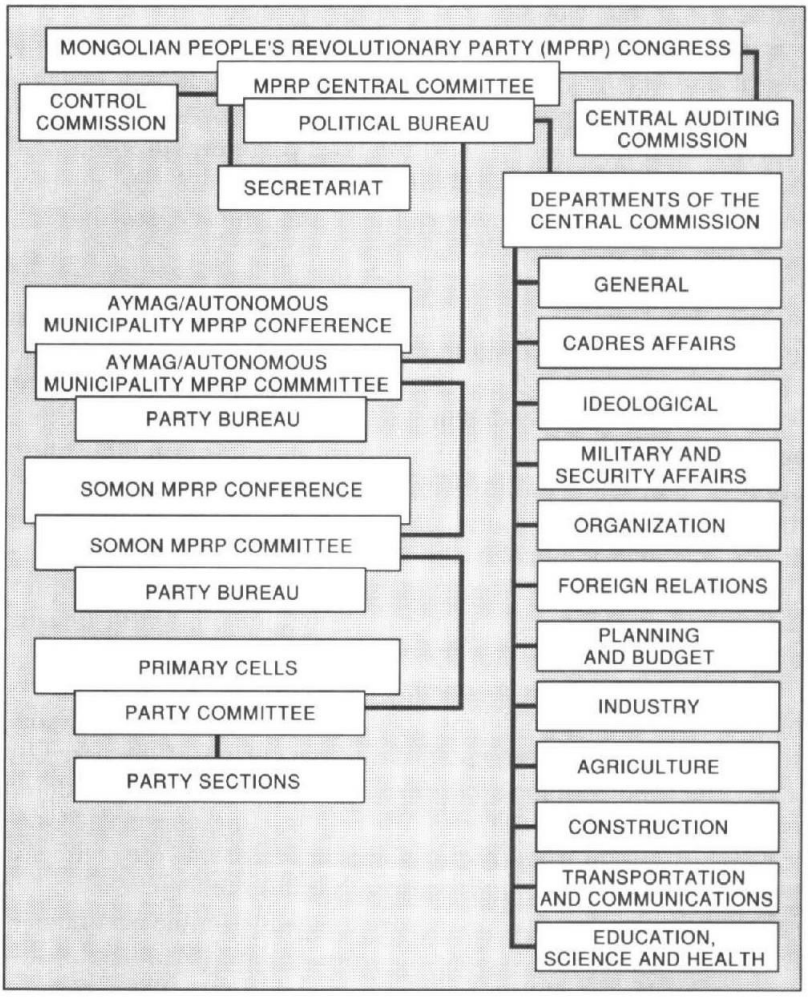


Figure 14. Organization of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, 1989

the intelligentsia. Seventy-nine percent were of the majority Khalkha nationality (see Mongols and Kazakhs, ch. 2).

These statistics showed predominantly urban and educated delegates, and they indicated the professionalization of the Mongolian leadership, much like what had occurred in the Soviet Union by the 1960s. In 1986 women accounted for 21 percent of the total number of delegates, which suggested a substantial representation within the leadership until this figure was balanced against the 30 percent of total party membership that women held in 1986.

The party congress also elects the Central Auditing Commission,

which examines and verifies state expenditures. The Nineteenth Party Congress elected a Central Auditing Commission of twenty-three members, smaller than the previous commission of thirty-one, elected in 1981. Eighty-three percent of the commission's members were newly elected.

The Nineteenth Congress also stated its commitment to the existing Party Program, which in essence is dedicated to completing the "construction of socialism" in Mongolia. The Party Program contains the concepts and goals to be realized through the five-year plans and implemented by the government bureaucracy. As stated in the program, the party's role is to instill total commitment among citizens toward this goal: "The party will devote unflagging attention to organizing resolute struggle against views and morals as well as survivals of the past alien to socialism in the minds and lives of people." Extolling the values of patriotism and "proletarian internationalism," the program dictates that Mongolia "will educate the working people in the limitless love and devotion to their homeland, the Soviet Union and other countries in the socialist community. . . ."

Because the party congress of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party meets in regular session only every five years, it cannot serve as the governing party organization. Rather, one of its key functions is to elect the Central Committee, the body that sets the tone and establishes the overall leadership for the country.

Central Committee

The Central Committee elected by the Nineteenth Congress in 1986 included eighty-five members and sixty-five candidate members. It was a smaller body than the Central Committee elected at the Eighteenth Party Congress in 1981, which had an additional six members and six candidate members. Fifty-seven members were reelected to the Nineteenth Central Committee, eleven were promoted from candidate membership, and seventeen were newly appointed. No full members were demoted to candidate membership, but twenty-four retired, died, or had been removed. Candidate members filled the places of former Central Committee members. The number of members on the Nineteenth Central Committee was smaller than that of its predecessor, but the number of new members increased by 20 percent and of new candidate members, by 77 percent. Thus, the composition of the new Central Committee suggested trends toward reducing the size of the senior party leadership, toward adding new members, and toward initiating the newcomers through service first as candidate members.

In 1989 the Central Committee had twelve departments responsible for managing specialized functions including a general department for overseeing and coordinating party affairs. The departments supervised cadres affairs; ideological matters; party organization; military and security affairs; foreign relations; planning and budget; industry; agriculture; construction; transportation and communications; and education, science, and health. Another key body, the Party Control Commission, is subordinate to the Central Committee and is responsible for maintaining internal party discipline and for dealing with incidents that challenge party authority. There also were a Higher Party School and an Institute of Social Studies (formerly the Party History Institute), both of which had the status of a Central Committee department.

Political Bureau and Secretariat

The Political Bureau is elected by the Central Committee to conduct the party's business between plenary sessions of the Central Committee and to provide the top leadership for the party and the country. As the senior policy-making body, it establishes specific goals; and it regularly evaluates the progress of national programs.

The Secretariat also functions between plenary sessions, and it is the administrative center of the party apparatus. It is elected by the Central Committee to oversee implementation of the Party Program and party resolutions and to select leading cadres. This last function gives the Secretariat *nomenklatura* (see Glossary), the authority to make appointments to the key positions in both the party and the government bureaucracies.

The ruling hierarchy was stable during the 1980s. In May 1986, the Political Bureau included seven members and three candidate members. The Secretariat was composed of six secretaries. Batmonh was reelected general secretary of the Central Committee. These elections produced few changes; four leaders were retained as both Political Bureau members and secretaries of the Central Committee. Three leaders were retained as members of only the Political Bureau, and three were elected candidate Political Bureau members. Two new secretaries were elected to the Central Committee. This leadership group, averaging fifty-nine years of age, was changed somewhat at the third plenary session—or fully constituted meeting—of the Central Committee in June 1987, when one Political Bureau member retired and was replaced by a candidate member. By 1989 the Political Bureau had been reduced to nine members after the death of one candidate member. Two Political Bureau members mentioned as likely successors to Batmonh were Bat-Ochiryn Altangerel, a former Ulaanbaatar first secretary, and

Tserendeshiyn Namsray, a member of the party Secretariat and chairman of the Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society.

Some party leaders held concurrent key government positions. For example, Batmonh was chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural, and Sodnom was chairman of the Council of Ministers, or premier. All Political Bureau members and candidate members also were deputies to the People's Great Hural. The known substantive responsibilities of the top party leadership covered several specialties: party disciplinary affairs, law and administration, foreign affairs, building and construction, and industry.

Regional and Local Party Organizations

A general understanding of the size of the party structure below the national level was provided by reports in January 1981 that recorded "twenty-seven provincial, town and equivalent-level party committees, seven urban district party committees, 256 basic-level committees, and 2,600 party cells." In March 1989, Batmonh noted that there were 3,199 primary party organizations, or cells. Party first secretaries of *aymags* and those of the three autonomous cities, usually were represented on the Central Committee. In addition to their key party organizational responsibilities, these regional leaders had the important duty to implement the party's economic policies and programs within the areas under their supervision. In fact, active participation in the current party programs emphasizing economic development was regarded as essential to the regional leaders' success; this probably explained their participation on the Central Committee. Two other key posts, probably equal in rank to *aymag* first secretaries, were held by leading party representatives in the state Railroad Administration and the army's Political Directorate.

Aymag-level and *somon*-level party organizations are formed by election of the conferences of representatives within the respective jurisdictions. These committees control the executive and the legislative institutions of government as well as economic enterprises. Meeting in plenary sessions at least twice a year, the committees' regular daily business is conducted by an elected bureau of seven to nine members. Bureau meetings are held once or twice every fourteen days to hear reports and recommendations, to discuss implementation of higher-level decisions, to coordinate and to assign cadres' work, to approve acceptance of candidate members, to assign cadres to non-party organs in territorial units, to provide leadership to party cells and to evaluate their achievements and

shortcomings, and to maintain party discipline within various subordinate organizations.

The party cell is considered the primary party organization. Every party member has to belong to a cell. These bodies exist in industrial enterprises; agricultural cooperatives; state farms; and educational, cultural, and other establishments. Cells are formed from not fewer than eight party members or candidates for membership. The cell's responsibilities include recruitment of party members, training and ideological development of the membership, and party discipline. When there are fewer than eight members to be organized, a party section is formed; it has responsibilities similar, insofar as possible, to those of the party cell.

Mass Organizations

Youth Organizations

The Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League, founded on August 25, 1921, is the party's most important auxiliary. The Party Program describes the organization as the party's "militant assistant and reliable reserve." In 1986 the league had 235,000 members between fifteen and twenty-eight years of age and was a significant element in reinforcing the party ranks and in contributing to social and economic development. A good record as a youth league member was a prerequisite to selection for party membership. Seminars, lectures, and technical schools were run under league sponsorship to raise the ideological, educational, and cultural standards of Mongolian youths. The league also played an active role in preparing youths for service in the armed forces by instilling patriotism and by encouraging participation in reserve training programs to maintain a high level of physical fitness.

The league structure resembles that of the party, with a Central Committee, a Political Bureau composed of members and candidate members, and a Secretariat. Tserendorjiyn Narangerel, who was sixty-eight in 1989, was elected first secretary of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League in 1984. In 1986 he was elected to the party Central Committee and became a deputy in the People's Great Hural. Narangerel's predecessor until 1983 was Lodongiyn Tudeb, who became editor-in-chief of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party newspaper, *Unen* (Truth). In addition to Narangerel, the top league leadership in 1989 included a second secretary and four secretaries. Below the national level, the league included committees led by first secretaries in various-level units that had structures comparable to that of the party. The league

Provisional national government headquarters, Ulaanbaatar, July 1921
Courtesy Institute of Party History, Ulaanbaatar

belonged to the World Federation of Democratic Youth and the International Union of Students.

The Sukhe Bator Mongolian Pioneers Organization, named after the revolutionary hero, Damdiny Sukhe Bator, and founded in May 1925, was supervised by the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League. With a membership, in the late 1980s, of 360,000, it served children ages ten to fifteen. In 1989 its head—and chairman of the Central Council—was concurrently a secretary of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League Central Committee. Like the youth league, the Pioneers Organization is meant to involve the children in active work and service in fulfilling party goals. It sponsored rallies focused on labor themes; provided medals for good progress in work and study; and encouraged the ideological, moral, and educational development of children. The organization also hosted sports competitions, art reviews, and festivals. In the summer, the organization operated camps to enhance the physical training and the education of youths.

Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society

Although party-sponsored mass organizations existed for women, laborers, the elderly, and creative artists, the largest mass

organization in the late 1980s was the Mongolian-Soviet Friendship Society, established in 1924. With 580,000 members in 1984, the society was chaired by Political Bureau member Namsray, and it included most of the country's prominent leaders. As the name implied, its mission was to strengthen friendly ties and cooperation with the Soviet Union. The society furthered this goal by sponsoring films, exhibits, and lectures and by conducting an annual friendship month celebration preceding the anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution on November 7. Another body, the Federation of Mongolian Peace and Friendship Organizations, acted as an umbrella association, serving other international friendship societies.

Women's Organizations

The Mongolian Women's Committee was established in 1924. This body operated through women's councils established in industrial centers, businesses, and schools in cities, towns, and *aymags*. Lubsanchultemiyn Pagmadulam chaired the group in 1989. The federation had approximately 5,000 women's councils that sponsored rallies, educational activities, and work-related training, and it monitored national health care and maternal issues for those sixteen years and older. It supported raising the level of culture among youth and enhancing the quality of their upbringing by instilling moral values. In 1946 the organization affiliated with the International Democratic Federation of Women.

Labor Organizations

The Mongolian Trade Unions originated in 1927. In 1989 it included 600,000 members, grouped into four categories of trade unions: industry and construction; agricultural workers; transportation, communications, trade, and services; and culture and enlightenment. Trade union organizations ran production and training conferences, and they participated in collective agreements between the managements of enterprises and trade union committees. They also articulated issues of concern to the work force, supervised social insurance programs, and oversaw the observance of labor legislation. These and other powers were vested in law, particularly in the National Labor Law (see Labor Force, ch. 3). Schools run by labor organizations focused on improving the qualifications and vocational education of factory and office workers.

The highest body in the organizational structure of the labor unions was the Congress of the Mongolian Trade Unions, which elected a central council and an auditing commission. In 1989 the Central Council of the Mongolian Trade Unions was chaired by

Bat-Ochiryn Lubsantseren, also a member of the party Central Committee and the Presidium of the People's Great Hural. A presidium—composed of the chairman of the Central Council of the Mongolian Trade Unions, a deputy, and two secretaries—and a four-person secretariat provided the leadership for the subordinate trade union councils and committees. About 3,000 committees operated at the primary factory level. The composition of the trade unions in the late 1980s was 50 percent industrial workers, 30 percent office and professional workers, and 20 percent agricultural workers. In a population that was 58 percent working class, and in a work force that was 95 percent unionized by 1984, trade unions played an important role. How well they performed was another question. At a party Central Committee plenary session in December 1988, the Central Council of the Mongolian Trade Unions was criticized for not adequately protecting workers' interests. The Mongolian Trade Unions was affiliated with the Soviet-sponsored World Federation of Trade Unions.

Other Mass Organizations

Like most other professional groups in Mongolian society, journalists were organized into a mass organization. By 1989 the Union of Mongolian Journalists had 800 members, more than half of them formally trained as journalists. Ninety-seven percent of the membership had received higher education. In 1989 the press in Mongolia was undergoing major changes, and the effect of these changes on this body still was unclear (see The Media, this ch.).

There also were "creative unions" to organize writers, artists, and composers. Their main purpose was to ensure that artistic content supported the party's social and political policies. The top leaders of these mass organizations usually served on the party Central Committee. In 1984 the Writers' Union included a sixty-one member committee with seven presiding author-secretaries.

A newer mass organization, established in 1988, was the Culture Fund of the Mongolian People's Republic. Its purpose was to protect monuments and key examples of Mongol history, literature, and architecture as well as to recover cultural treasures that have been taken out of the country. It was funded by voluntary contributions.

The attempt to organize segments of the country's population extended to elderly citizens. The Union of Mongolian Senior Citizens was established on March 25, 1988, with 120,000 members. Its purposes were to make the elderly more productive and involved in the country's development as well as to study and to improve the health of the aging. The organization had a chairman,

a deputy chairman, a 150-member executive Committee, a 15-member presidium, and a 7-member central auditing committee. An important subcommittee of this mass organization, reflecting the World War II legacy of military service, was the Committee of War Veterans.

The Political Process

Since 1924 the Mongolian political system and apparatus, patterned after those in the Soviet Union, has followed the organizational principle of democratic centralism. As applied in the Soviet Union, this principle concentrates decision-making authority and the power to take policy initiatives at senior party levels. Throughout the party system, the decisions of higher-level bodies are binding on subordinate-level party organizations. The democratic feature of this Leninist principle prescribes that members of party organizations at all levels are elected by conferences of delegates and are accountable to their respective electorates. Policy issues are to be discussed freely within the party organizations, but once final decisions (expressed in programs) are adopted, strict party discipline then dictates that policies be implemented exactly, without any further expressions of disagreement.

Democratic Centralism

Under the guidance of early party leaders Horloyn Choybalsan and Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal, the principle of democratic centralism was weighted heavily toward its centralizing features, just as it was being applied in the Soviet Union under Josef Stalin. Purges, reprisals, and political violence in Mongolia mirrored the arbitrary behavior of Stalin. Choybalsan directed his attacks against political foes, rivals, and religious institutions. After Choybalsan's death in 1952 and Tsedenbal's emergence as the top party and government leader, Mongolian politics again followed the Soviet example. Starting in 1956, Tsedenbal initiated an extensive anti-Stalinist, anti-Choybalsan campaign, accusing the party leader of having conducted a "cult of personality" like Stalin.

In 1989, in the latest mirroring of Soviet politics, observers concluded that the democratic aspects of democratic centralism were beginning to play an enhanced role in Mongolian politics. Highly personalized and centralized politics were giving way to increased involvement by more democratic or representative sectors. Party general secretary Batmonh, speaking before the important fifth plenary session of the Central Committee held December 21-22, 1988, emphasized the need for "renewal" of the Mongolian sociopolitical system by "democratizing the party's inner life." Just before

Posters of Gorbachev, Batmonh, Lenin, and Sukhe Bator, May Day parade, 1988, Ulaanbaatar
Courtesy Steve Mann

the plenary session, in November 1988, Batmonh pointed to the poor performance of the Mongolian economy even under the policies of "renewal," or Soviet-style restructuring. He gave as reasons for this condition a lack of vitality in the Mongolian political system, which, he said, could be remedied only by a more open and free social and political system.

At the December 1988 plenary session, which focused on reform of the political system, Batmonh spoke at length on the Mongolian equivalent of *glasnost* and *perestroika* and, for the first time, identified by name his predecessor, Tsedenbal, with the social, economic, and political problems that plagued Mongolia. In addition, Batmonh linked Tsedenbal's shortcomings with the "serious damage" that the personality cult of Choybalsan had caused and charged that "democracy was restricted and the administrative-command method of management took the upper hand."

Probably with a view to containing the political impact of these provocative statements, Batmonh urged the leadership to recognize these mistakes in leadership in a positive and instructive way. He also laid out the new political course by emphasizing that "a key point to the transformation and renewal" was recognition of the importance of the various levels of assemblies of people's

deputies. He said the assemblies' deputies embodied the institutional expression of self-government now regarded as essential to the efficient and effective functioning of the political system. In addition to stressing the importance of these representative bodies, Batmonh exhorted several key mass organizations, particularly the trade unions and the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League, to play a more active role in "perfecting organizational renewal" by becoming more vocal about issues and more involved in reform programs. Accordingly, democratic reform was to be carried out at all levels—in central and local government bodies, as well as in party, state, and mass organizations. The assemblies of people's deputies and all mass organizations were to be made responsible for "perfecting" the government system by engaging in free dialogue and in criticism and debate of reform issues and programs.

This speech by Batmonh set the agenda for further party action. The fifth plenary session concluded with the Central Committee's adoption of a seven-point resolution espousing the democratization of the political system. Batmonh discussed the major party reforms involved during an interview reported in the March 1989 issue of the Soviet periodical, *New Times*. They included: reducing the size of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party membership and giving priority to the primary party organization, the point of contact with the Mongolian population; setting a fixed five-year term of office for elected party bodies, from the Central Committee to the district party committee, and limiting the opportunity to be reelected to one further consecutive term; holding party conferences every two to three years, with the partial—up to 25 percent—replacement of members of party committees; and conducting Political Bureau and Secretariat elections by secret ballot. In general, these party reforms were to contribute to a rejuvenation of party leadership and to democratize internal party politics.

Batmonh revealed that government reforms being proposed at the fifth plenary session were to emphasize the People's Great Hural and assemblies of people's deputies as the "political basis of the state." He said that a distinction would be more clearly drawn between the functions of party and state organizations. Briefly, party organizations were to make policy decisions, the results of which were to be managed and implemented through government representative bodies. Major government reforms included reducing and streamlining the government bureaucracy; limiting the term in office in any of the representative assemblies to five years, with only one opportunity for reelection; nominating several candidates for an office; and discussing candidate qualifications freely. Following up on the fifth plenary session's initiatives, the Political

Bureau proposed developing revisions to both the Party Program and the state Constitution to reflect Batmonh's concerns. In February 1989, a commission was formed to begin drafting a new edition of the state Constitution, to be presented for national discussion by December 1989. Addressing its first meeting, Batmonh asserted that "implementation of restructuring in the country was impossible without perfecting its existing laws, and this matter should be started with a new edition of the . . . Constitution." In addition, a new body was being planned, the Commission for Constitutional Control, to improve adherence to the Constitution. Revisions of the Rules of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party and to the Party Program were to be ready for the Twentieth Party Congress planned for 1991.

In large measure, Batmonh's efforts to emphasize and to strengthen the democratic features in the political system reflected his responsiveness to precedents set in Moscow. Nevertheless, if implemented, these reforms may have at least the short-term effect of opening debate and allowing more discussion of pressing local issues, a development that might improve the quality of life for Mongolians. Over the long term, the permanence of these "democratic" policies was likely to be related closely to the success or the failure of the ongoing economic programs.

Batmonh's professional background fits neatly into the mold of the senior Mongolian political leader. He was born in 1926 in Hyargas Somon, Uvs Aymag, in western Mongolia, reportedly to a peasant family of herdsmen. Like his predecessor, Tsedenbal, Batmonh was educated in the Soviet Union, at the Academy of Social Sciences. Typical of past and present members of the party Political Bureau, Batmonh has a strong economic-technical background. He studied at the Mongolian State University, and in the late 1960s he was rector of the Higher School of Economics. From 1963 to 1973, he was vice rector and then rector of the Mongolian State University. Batmonh's political ascent was rapid and remarkable. While serving as head of the Central Committee's Department of Science and Education, he became chairman of the Council of Ministers in June 1974, without first being elected to Political Bureau membership. At that time, he was only a candidate member of the Central Committee. By December 1984, Batmonh was concurrently the party's general secretary, having replaced Tsedenbal in August, and chairman of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural. He thus had control over, and access to, the two governing bureaucracies, securing his place at the center of the political system.

Sodnom was the second most prominent leader in Mongolia in the late 1980s. Born in 1933 in Orgon Somon, Dornogovi Aymag, Sodnom graduated from the Finance and Economics Technical School in Ulaanbaatar and the Finance and Economics Institute in Irkutsk, Soviet Union. His professional career concentrated on economics and planning. From 1963 to 1969, Sodnom was minister of finance; by 1974 he was chairman of the State Planning Commission. He became a full Political Bureau member and chairman of the Council of Ministers (premier) in December 1984, succeeding Batmonh.

The backgrounds of others serving on the Political Bureau in 1989 were mixed, but they shared a notable emphasis on economics and state-planning experience. Demchigjabyn Molomjamts, perhaps the third most influential leader, was minister of finance and concurrently held key state planning positions. Altangerel was concurrently the first deputy premier. Colonel General Jamsrangiyn Dejid a former minister of public security, was concurrently a party secretary. Namsray, a former aide to Tsedenbal and a journalist, was elected to the Political Bureau in June 1984, just before Tsedenbal's retirement in August. Candidate Political Bureau members Bandzragchiyn Lamjab and Sonomyn Lubsangombo represented different, but critical, career specialties. Lamjab concurrently served as chairman of the Party Control Commission. Lubsangombo, an urban development specialist, was chairman of the State Building Commission and deputy chairman of the Council of Ministers (or, deputy premier).

Political Issues

The political leadership style of Batmonh can be described as cautious and pragmatic, and it explains in part why the senior leadership levels in the party have escaped major shake-ups. Under his leadership, the political program has focused on bringing greater productivity, efficiency, and material prosperity to society. Implementing this program, however, has raised certain key political issues of central concern to Batmonh and other top party leaders. One issue has been the performance of the party and government bureaucracies. The official bureaucracy has come under attack for apathy to reform measures and for displays of resistance to their implementation. Another major criticism, often related to those just cited, was that some party and government leaders were considered either unqualified or too inept to understand and to carry out reform programs.

In attempts to address this issue, party pronouncements have stressed the participation and the accountability of officials at all

Poster of People's Great Hural chairman and party secretary general Jambyn Batmonh, 1988
Courtesy Allen H. Kassof

levels of the bureaucracy. This has been accomplished in some measure at the provincial level by increasing participation of *aymag* first secretaries on the party Central Committee. Having them serve on this national body included them in the policy debate and made them responsible for, and accountable for, the effective implementation of policies and programs. In 1986 the Central Committee included fourteen of the eighteen first secretaries, as either full or candidate members. Two of the unrepresented *aymags* actually were represented indirectly by having representatives on the Central Committee who had been elected from the autonomous cities, Darhan and Erdenet, located within those *aymags*. Two decades earlier, only a few *aymag* first secretaries served on the party Central Committee.

In 1989 the change that linked *aymag* leaders to the national-level leadership probably did not indicate a major decentralization of political power in Mongolia. Official policy still followed precedents set in the Soviet Union that were transmitted by the central party structure. Instead, these "decentralizing" measures appeared to be inspired more by a recognition of the nature of past economic stagnation and failure. They were designed to provide *aymag* party leaders with a substantial political stake in the regime in order to

win their much needed enthusiasm and commitment to the new reformist goals.

Creative approaches and bold thinking were qualities that the regime espoused to energize its often-complacent bureaucracy. At the Nineteenth Congress in 1986, Batmonh echoed the reformist thrust of Mikhail Gorbachev's speech to the preceding Twenty-seventh Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. Batmonh stressed that party members needed to "think and work in new ways." He identified as the "chief political result of the supreme forum of Mongolian Communists" (that is, the party congress) the recognition that more attention had to be paid to party ideological and organizational work and "to strengthening inner-party democracy." Batmonh raised similar themes in his key December 1988 plenary session speech. In discussing ideological work within the party bureaucracy, he identified the main task as being "to foster in people a scientific world outlook and further raise their social consciousness."

Developing a program of "renewal and rejuvenation" has precipitated as an issue the question of what should constitute the official view of Mongolian history. Who were the heroes, and who obstructed progress? By late 1988, Tsedenbal, for the first time, was identified with the regime's economic failures because economic stagnation and official dogmatism that stifled growth and creativity flourished during his tenure. The charges leveled against Tsedenbal during this revision of modern Mongolian history also appeared to extend into the emotional area of the fate and the status of indigenous Mongolian cultural institutions and heritage. Calling for a "realistic appraisal" of Tsedenbal's career, Batmonh said "we draw serious conclusions on the acts of destroying historical and cultural monuments, monasteries and temples. But that bitter lesson was not duly considered, and even today a careless attitude to national culture persists." Filling in what have been called "blank spots" in Mongolian history appeared in mid-1989 to extend even to the historical treatment of Chinggis Khan and perhaps can be viewed as one important barometer of political change in Mongolia. Traditionally, the Soviet press has described Chinggis as a "feudal and backward element." By early 1989, the Mongolian press had adopted a more positive view of this historic national figure, a change suggesting that, politically, the Mongolian leadership has begun to move somewhat out from under Soviet political tutelage.

Role of the Military

The Mongolian military establishment played only a minor role in the political system in the late 1980s. In 1989, no Political Bureau

member or candidate member represented defense interests. Dejid served on the Political Bureau and the Secretariat, but not as a military leader. Rather, his responsibilities were civilian in nature, involving preservation of party and state unity and discipline in the course of carrying out the new programs of openness and leadership restructuring.

Dejid's career experience was typical of military leaders who had risen to positions of influence in party and state circles. Dejid was a former minister of public security and chairman of the Party Control Commission. During his active military service, he was involved in public security, censorship, and civilian control activities. Ancillary to these duties were his obligations to greet visiting Soviet military delegations and to participate in defense discussions with Soviet commanders.

The percentage of military representation on the party Central Committee was not reported officially, but the number was thought to be small. It was clear that military officers with direct and primary defense responsibilities maintained a low political profile. This was well illustrated by the fact that Colonel General Jamsrangiyn Yondon, minister of defense in 1989, was not a member of the Central Committee when he was selected for the senior government defense post in 1982. The well-documented career of Yondon's predecessor, Jorantayn Abhia, was characteristic of a member of the Mongolian military elite. Abhia held several key positions successively in police or militia work and in the court and procuracy system. Senior military officers often filled the key positions in government public security and in the civil and criminal justice system. In 1989 the minister of public security was Lieutenant General Agbaanjantsangiyn Jamsranjab, and the chief of state security was Lieutenant General B. Tsiyregdzen. Tsiyregdzen's duties included suppressing anti-Soviet propaganda and counterespionage as well as guarding against alleged Western subversion, particularly through censorship of the mails.

Probably the greatest impact the military has had on the Mongolian political process has been indirect—through its organizational and ideological activities. Beginning with the militarist period of leadership under Choybalsan and even in 1989, the military establishment contributed to the formation in the popular consciousness of the concepts of state and national polity (see Modern Mongolia, ch. 1). In addition, the army played a significant role in spreading literacy, and it served as an integrating agent by spreading the national language to minority groups. In the 1970s and 1980s, as a result of improvements in media and communications, the military probably has found it somewhat easier to fulfill

the goal of producing a dedicated cadre of soldiers who will return to civilian life.

General Political Values and Attitudes

The political system became heavily regimented under communism and the organizational principle of democratic centralism. Young and elderly citizens, urban and rural dwellers, skilled and unskilled laborers all had to become fully involved in, and cognizant of, the goals and the ideological content of party programs. Inevitably, the implementation of this political system has provoked a variety of responses. Mongolians, now middle-aged and older, who by 1959 had experienced collectivization and were deprived of their animal herds and the freedom to roam in search of new pastures, harbored resentment against the government's procedures and limitations on their erstwhile freedoms. Any outright opposition was put down quickly, but negative feelings probably have not been eradicated.

Support for the regime existed, and it was likely to continue in the 1990s among those with the greatest stake in the success of its policies—for example, party and government cadres, economists, and technocrats. The earlier sovietization of politics and society, and the role of officials in that process, had given this group an elevated status, but with the concomitant requirement that they exhort the people to uphold the preferred values of conformity and political orthodoxy at the expense of more traditional values and spontaneity. Improvements in communications and transportation as well as the opportunities for reaching a larger audience afforded by increased literacy have permitted the communist regime and its cadres more immediate contact with the populace. By the 1980s, there were no more mass political purges, but the state machinery had become more efficient and pervasive in organization. Its political influence was deeply felt throughout the country. How this system would fare under the reformist policies of openness and democratization could not be assessed in mid-1989.

Reportedly, some resistance to this method of rule—from Mongolian youths who were better educated, aware that change was occurring, and anxious that even greater openness be permitted—was becoming evident. Politically, they seemed to advocate extending the trend toward democratization. They viewed democracy more as a human right than as a means for improving the political system and its policies, by such methods as encouraging public criticism of cadre incompetence, poor management practices, and so forth. Youth demands also may have been shared by the artistic community and by some members of the intelligentsia. The latter,

while saluting the de-Stalinization campaign ongoing in 1989, also may have wanted a more extensive reappraisal of Mongolian culture and its heroes. It was difficult to assess how deep these feelings were, but observers doubted that they represented any immediate threat to the regime's stability.

Foreign Policy

Mongolia's foreign policy must be viewed in the context of the nation's landlocked position, sandwiched between the Soviet Union and China. The country's survival and growth have largely depended on its leaders' adroit management of this sensitive and strategic location. Too weak to act independently to hold encroachments from both China and the Soviet Union in check, Mongolia's leaders have interpreted their national interests as being best served by accepting the political direction and military support of Moscow. Thus, for more than sixty years, the Soviet Union has been the patron and the predominant force shaping Mongolian foreign affairs. In 1987 this Mongolian stance was expressed succinctly in Batmonh's statement that his country was "grateful Soviet units were still guarding socialism in Mongolia."

Motivation and Goals

In 1989 the principal motivations driving Mongolia's foreign policy were the preservation of territorial integrity, together with the projection of a substantial measure of political independence. Major goals included expanding and modernizing the economy through aid and trade arrangements, and extending diplomatic and economic contacts with the international community. During the 1970s and 1980s, the opportunities afforded by Soviet economic aid and assistance, along with those available through Comecon and the Soviet military guardianship, continued to hold Mongolia firmly within the Soviet orbit. Internationally, Mongolia often served as a Soviet proxy, representing the Soviet position when and where needed.

By mid-1989, some indications of changes in Mongolia's foreign policy direction were visible, very likely in response to initiatives taken by Soviet leader Gorbachev. Operating within the context of the distinct improvements being made in Sino-Soviet relations, Mongolian leaders also began to demonstrate a more relaxed attitude toward China. Furthermore, they seemed willing to explore new relationships with other Asian countries and to accelerate contact and deepening relationships with Western and Third World countries.

Ministry of Foreign Affairs

Foreign policy goals are pursued through the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, headed in 1989 by Tserenpiliyn Gombosuren. The trade aspects of foreign relations are carried out by the Ministry of Foreign Economic Relations and Supply (see Foreign Economic Relations and Comecon, ch. 3). The power of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs is limited to implementing foreign policies formulated by high-level party organizations. That Gombosuren was only a candidate member of the Central Committee underlines this fact.

The formulation of foreign policy is done in the name of the party Central Committee, and it is closely controlled by top party leaders, organizations, and departments. Foreign policy is formulated by senior leaders in the Political Bureau who are well attuned to Soviet foreign policy preferences. In mid-1989 Political Bureau member and party secretary Namsray appeared to have responsibility for supervising foreign affairs. In addition, the party Central Committee has a subordinate department responsible for foreign relations; the head of it in mid-1989 was concurrently a member of the Presidium of the People's Great Hural. He probably coordinated foreign policy matters with the chairman of the Standing Commission for Foreign Affairs of the People's Great Hural, who also happened to be a party secretary. In 1989 the minister of foreign affairs was assisted in implementing foreign policy by a first deputy minister, two deputy ministers, and heads of specialized departments. Some key departments believed to have been responsible for specific geographic areas were: number one, the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), and Poland; number two, remaining European countries; number three, East Asia and Southeast Asia; and number four, South Asia, West Asia, and Africa. Additional departments handled cultural affairs, treaties and archives, relations with international organizations, legal affairs, protocol, the administration of diplomatic agencies, the press, and other matters.

Foreign Relations

Soviet Union

In the late 1980s, the close relationship between Mongolia and the Soviet Union was much the same as it had been since the 1920s. Mongolian foreign policy stressed consolidating the "fraternal alliance" with the Soviet Union and close cooperation with the members of the Warsaw Pact and Comecon. The two countries had direct links among ministries, agencies, departments, and party organizations. The Soviet Union encouraged direct contacts

Detail of mosaic dedicated to Mongolian-Soviet unity, Ulaanbaatar
Courtesy Steve Mann

between Mongolia and the Buryatskaya Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic and Tuvinskaya Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic as well as the Central Asian Soviet republics. By 1985 the Soviet Union had consulates in the cities of Choybalsan; Darhan, where many Soviet-built factories were located; and Erdenet, the site of a Mongolian-Soviet joint copper and molybdenum mining enterprise (see Industry, ch. 3). In August 1988, the only Mongolian ambassadorships with incumbents serving concurrently on the party Central Committee were assignments to countries of major concern to the Soviet Union: Albania, Afghanistan, East Germany, and Finland. The Mongolian ambassador to the Soviet Union also served on the party Central Committee.

When Batmonh became general secretary of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, an event followed closely by Gorbachev's election as general secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union, the two leaders pledged to uphold and to strengthen the Mongolian-Soviet alliance. Gorbachev's "new thinking" in foreign policy matters soon became evident, however, and it no doubt raised major concerns, on the part of Mongolian leaders, particularly regarding a warming of relations between the Soviet Union and China. Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze visited

Mongolia from January 23 to 25, 1986, shortly after celebrations marking the twentieth anniversary of the signing of the 1966 Mongolian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance and its extension for ten years. Shevardnadze said that "the period of strained relationships with China is now behind us. The Soviet Union is for normalizing and improving relations with the Chinese republic on condition that the principle of not harming third countries be observed." One clear purpose of the Soviet formula of "not harming third countries" was to reassure Mongolia that the Soviet Union did not plan initiatives toward China that would compromise or endanger Mongolia's national security or expose that country to Chinese encroachments.

In July 1986, Gorbachev extended the new direction in foreign affairs in a speech on Asian security delivered in Vladivostok. He indicated Soviet interest in improved Moscow-Beijing relations, and he included a plan to withdraw Soviet troops from Mongolia, a major factor in Soviet diplomatic initiatives designed to meet China's conditions for normalization of relations (see Threat Perception, ch. 5).

Shortly after the Vladivostok initiative, Mongolian officials began talks with United States diplomats concerning another attempt to improve relations. Ulaanbaatar probably viewed prospective ties with Washington as offering a greater degree of maneuverability in the increasingly complex international setting in Asia. In January 1987, diplomatic ties were established with the United States, and the Soviet Union announced its intention to withdraw one division of troops from Mongolia. Both actions no doubt were the subject of lengthy substantive talks between Soviet and Mongolian leaders.

Mongolia further broadened its diplomatic horizons by hosting delegations from twenty-one communist and workers' parties for the Consultative Meeting of Communist and Workers' Parties of Asia and the Pacific Region, the first regional gathering of this type, in July 1986. The theme of this meeting was "peace, security and good-neighborly cooperation in Asia and the Pacific region." By hosting this meeting, Ulaanbaatar served Moscow's purposes of underscoring Gorbachev's new interest in Asia—further highlighted by the attendance of a high-powered Soviet delegation. China declined to send a delegation, claiming that conditions were "not ripe," and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) did not attend either, probably as a gesture to China.

As Mongolia expanded its contacts in the international community, Gorbachev continued to extend his Asian initiatives, a development directly affecting Mongolia's national interests. In a

speech delivered on September 16, 1988, at the southeastern Siberian city of Krasnoyarsk, Gorbachev presented a seven-point program designed to enhance security in the Asia-Pacific region and to promote his view of a multipolar approach to resolving issues in foreign relations. The so-called Krasnoyarsk initiative indicated both Soviet intentions to play a major role in the region and its awareness that China also must be included in regional development plans. Observers speculated that the Soviets must have expended considerable effort in reassuring Mongolian leaders that Soviet proposals dealing with East Asia, particularly those involving China, did not threaten Mongolian national security.

The challenge for Mongolia's foreign policy makers was to comply with Soviet initiatives, about which they had little choice, but to do so in a manner that suggested that Mongolia was acting as an independent country, shaping a foreign policy that served its national interests. At the same time, the Soviet Union could not appear to be overlooking the interests of its ally Mongolia while making its overtures to China. This mild restriction on Soviet behavior had helped to reassure Mongolia that continued Soviet protection and strategic support were reliable. In any case, Mongolian compliance with the Soviet initiatives was evident in Gorbachev's address to the United Nations (UN) General Assembly on December 7, 1988. In it he announced that most Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia would be withdrawn. Subsequently, in February 1989, during talks between Batmonh and a Soviet deputy foreign minister, the latter explained that discussions to resolve questions connected with "the withdrawal from the territory of Mongolia of 75 percent of Soviet land forces and other military subunits would soon begin." On March 7, 1989, the Soviets announced, probably as an additional concession to China on the eve of the May 1989 Sino-Soviet summit, that withdrawal plans had been finalized.

China

Mongolian-Chinese relations historically have suffered because of China's claims to "lost territory" and Mongolia's fear of China's expansion because of overpopulation. Since 1984 improvement in Mongolian relations with China has lagged behind the more rapid advances in Sino-Soviet relations. An early indication of lessening of tensions, however, came in July 1984 when Ulaanbaatar sent to Beijing a delegation led by its deputy foreign minister, the first such visit in several years. The Mongolian representative met with China's minister of foreign affairs to discuss developing bilateral economic, cultural, trade, and technical relations. Also, the officials signed a document verifying the first joint inspection of the

Mongolian-Chinese border. The warming atmosphere continued with the signing of an agreement on civil aviation in December 1985, followed by the resumption of direct Beijing-Ulaanbaatar air service in June 1986. A five-year agreement increasing levels of trade was signed in April 1986.

Batmonh gave official sanction to improvements in Mongolian-Chinese relations in his address to the May 1986 Nineteenth Congress. Displaying caution and restraint, Batmonh declared that Mongolia was pursuing consistently its "scrupulous policy" of normalizing relations with China, with the qualification that the relationship should be based on equality and "non-interference in another's internal affairs." This evident uncertainty concerning national security was reflected in Mongolian press statements, just prior to Gorbachev's July 1986 address that announced Soviet troop withdrawals were under consideration. The press stressed that the disposition of Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia was an internal matter between Mongolia and the Soviet Union, and that it was not a subject for discussion during any Sino-Soviet consultations. An article appearing in the press shortly after Gorbachev's speech captured the Mongolian sentiment that "no country which borders on China feels secure."

Batmonh's initiatives were followed by an August 1986 visit to Mongolia of a vice foreign minister described as the highest-ranking Chinese official to visit Mongolia in twenty years. This important meeting resulted in the signing of a consular agreement, the first since the establishment of diplomatic relations between the countries in 1949. This agreement was followed in 1987 by several key visits and events: a high-level delegation from China's legislative body, the National People's Congress, visited Mongolia in June; this visit was reciprocated in September 1988 by a delegation from the People's Great Hural, the first since 1960; a scientific and technical cooperative program for the 1987 to 1988 period was ratified in July; and a major Mongolian friendship delegation visited China in September 1987—reciprocated by a Chinese friendship delegation that went to Mongolia in July 1988.

Other important points of discussion at the August 1986 meeting reportedly were "certain international issues of common concern." Japanese press reports indicated that the Mongolians had rejected a Chinese request at the meeting that all Soviet troops be withdrawn from Mongolia. In China's view, the presence of Soviet troops in Mongolia was a key "obstacle" to normalization of relations between China and the Soviet Union. China, maintaining that only a total troop withdrawal would be satisfactory, refused to back down from this position. From the Chinese perspective,

Mongolia once had been under China's domination; it was therefore particularly galling that Soviet troops were now massed in that area and were directed against China.

In 1988 security concerns and Mongolia's image as an independent country were especially visible in its foreign policy vis-à-vis China. The Mongolian minister of foreign affairs remarked in November that significant progress had been made in Mongolian-Chinese relations, but he stressed that any further Soviet withdrawals from Mongolia were a matter for deliberation by the Mongolian government. Mongolia's message was that this was not a unilateral Soviet issue. Following Gorbachev's UN address in December, Mongolia announced that Soviet troop withdrawals had been set in accordance with an agreement reached between Mongolia and the Soviet Union and had resulted from "the positive shift that had occurred in Asia and on the international arena as a whole." Bilateral cooperation between Mongolia and China on security issues had advanced to the point that on November 28, 1988, a treaty on a border control system was signed in Beijing. The Chinese side described the purpose of the treaty as being to maintain stability in the border areas.

The stationing of Soviet troops on Mongolia's border with China remained a major impediment both to improved Sino-Soviet relations and to Mongolian-Chinese relations. Nevertheless, by early 1989 Soviet assurances that Mongolian security would not be compromised, complemented by Mongolia's new relationship with the United States and enhanced international status, apparently allowed Mongolia's leaders to accept additional Soviet efforts to remove the Chinese "obstacle" of border troops. Sino-Soviet consultations, in preparation for the May 1989 summit between Gorbachev and Chinese leader Deng Xiaoping resulted in the retention of Soviet troops in Mongolia—a requirement, no doubt of Mongolia—although a 75 percent force reduction was to occur at some unspecified time in the future. Whether this action would satisfy China fully was still unclear in mid-1989. What was clear was that Mongolia's status would change significantly, with a much reduced level of protection from the Soviet Union. In addition, with increasing Chinese influence and involvement in Mongolia, Soviet motivation for providing larger aid and assistance packages might be diminished.

Foreign observers assumed that the agenda of the May 1989 Sino-Soviet summit was a key subject for discussion during Minister of Foreign Affairs Tserenpiliyn Gombosuren's eight-day visit to Beijing, beginning in late March. With Sino-Soviet relations showing significant improvement, and the normalization of

Mongolian-Chinese relations being in practice a by-product of these developments, the expansion of Mongolian-Chinese relations might be expected to accelerate. The Beijing meeting of foreign ministers, the first in twenty-seven years, resulted in agreement to establish a joint commission on cooperation in economy, trade, and science and technology; on allowing visa-free travel between the two countries; and on restoring a Mongolian consulate general in China's Nei Monggol Autonomous Region (Inner Mongolia—see Glossary).

United States

The United States and Mongolia established diplomatic relations on January 27, 1987, after a period of "mutual flirtation" when negotiations were conducted in New York by the two nations' UN missions. United States officials were primarily interested in establishing ties because of Mongolia's strategic and geographic position in the Sino-Soviet relationship. Washington had considered establishing diplomatic relations in the past, but it had deferred to the Guomindang (Kuomintang in Wade-Giles), or Chinese Nationalist, government in Taiwan, which still claimed Mongolia as part of China. In the early 1970s, negotiations were reopened, and they were almost completed when the proceedings were broken off by Mongolia because of problems between the United States and the Soviet Union, including the Second Indochina War (1963–75).

The establishment of Mongolian-United States relations reflected improvements in the United States-Soviet relationship, and it was consistent with Gorbachev's interest in dealing with all states that have substantial interests in Asia. The United States gained the diplomatic recognition of a strategically located country in Asia. The new Mongolian-United States relationship was assisted by the establishment of ties between China and the United States. For Mongolia the new relationship has given greater credibility to its political independence and sovereign status and has increased its foreign policy options.

The United States embassy in Ulaanbaatar opened in April 1988. Because of continued inadequate facilities, however, the ambassador to Mongolia was the only United States chief of mission who was resident in Washington. By 1989 the ambassador had traveled to Mongolia several times in the space of a year in order to carry out state business.

Other Countries

By mid-1989, Mongolia had diplomatic relations with 104 countries. From 1921 until 1948, Mongolia had only one significant

diplomatic tie, that with the Soviet Union. The schedule followed by Mongolia in recognizing, and being recognized by, other states demonstrated the general character of its foreign policy and relations. The first states to be recognized were those run by communist parties and established after World War II. In 1955 India became the first noncommunist state to be accorded diplomatic recognition. By 1965 nine Asian states, along with twenty-four from Europe and Africa, had been recognized. The decade of the 1970s was the most active diplomatic period; forty-six countries established relations with Mongolia.

In mid-1989 only seventeen countries, however, maintained missions in Ulaanbaatar. They included Britain, Japan, India, China, the Soviet Union, and East European nations. France closed its mission because of difficulties in staffing and expenses. Most of the other countries with continuing diplomatic relations concurrently accredited their ambassadors to the Soviet Union—resident in Moscow, or their ambassadors to China—resident in Beijing. In a similar fashion, Mongolian diplomats were responsible for diplomatic affairs with several countries: the ambassador to Japan—resident in Tokyo, also handled matters concerning Malaysia and Australia. The Mongolian ambassador to Britain, resident in London, was concurrently the ambassador to Denmark, Norway, the Netherlands, and Sweden.

Mongolia established diplomatic relations with Japan in 1972. Modest economic and cultural ties existed between the two countries in 1989, although Batmonh occasionally expressed interest in expanding relations. The Mongolian minister of foreign affairs visited Japan in May 1987, seeking exchanges in scientific, technical, and political areas. Agricultural biotechnology was identified as a key field for cooperation. The chairman of the People's Great Hural went to Japan to attend the February 1989 funeral of Emperor Hirohito, Mongolia's wartime enemy (see Economic Gradualism and National Defense, 1932–45, ch. 1).

After diplomatic ties had been established in 1955, Mongolian-Indian relations were strengthened by India's strong support for Mongolia's candidacy in the UN. During the 1970s, bilateral relations were friendly; they were circumscribed only by differences in the domestic and the social systems of the two countries and by the absence of substantial people-to-people contact. In 1981 an Agreement on Cooperation in the Fields of Culture and Science was signed, followed by the establishment in 1981 of a Center for Indian Studies in the Mongolian Academy of Sciences. Batmonh's state visit to India in March 1989 further strengthened bilateral ties. He and Indian prime minister Rajiv Gandhi discussed

Asia-Pacific security issues. The visit produced an agreement on cooperation in science and technology.

International Organizations

Mongolia became a member of the UN in October 1961. It had permanent delegations resident in New York and in Geneva, Switzerland, and was active in the UN Education, Scientific, and Cultural Organization, as well as these groups: the World Health Organization, the Food and Agriculture Organization, the Industrial Development Organization, the International Atomic Energy Agency, the Disarmament Commission, the World Intellectual Property Organization, and the World Meteorological Organization.

In 1989 Mongolia also belonged to the Economic Council for Asia and the Far East, the Interparliamentary Union, the World Peace Council, the International Labour Organization, the World Federation of Trade Unions, the International Telecommunications Union, the Universal Postal Union, the International Association for Mongol Studies, and the International Red Cross. Mongolia was a member of the Joint Institute for Nuclear Research, headquartered in Moscow, and the Organization for the Collaboration of Railways, located at Warsaw, Poland.

In June 1962, Mongolia joined Comecon, an economic association binding the economies of the communist states of Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union. Mongolia and Vietnam were the only Asian states in that association. Afghanistan sent only observers to Comecon meetings. Mongolia participated fully in all Comecon commissions that related to its own economy, and its Eighth Five-Year Plan (1986–90) was adopted only after it was harmonized fully with the economic plans of the other member states (see Socialist Framework of the Economy, ch. 3).

The Media

Mongolia's approach toward the development and the dissemination of information and its policies concerning the degree of access to, and influence allowed from, other countries were undergoing significant change in the late 1980s as, particularly in 1989, official views concerning themes, events, and leading personalities in Mongolia's recent and early history were undergoing substantial revision. Many of these new interpretations were opening the way to further research on the Mongolian cultural heritage, an area previously regarded as sensitive because of its potential for arousing "nationalistic" emotions. Echoing similar events in the Soviet

Union, these developments were in keeping with the political trend toward openness and democratization.

Information Policy

At the Nineteenth Party Congress in 1986, Batmonh described the media as powerful "tools of openness" that were "to influence the formation of public opinion, foster a creative atmosphere in society, and inspire an active approach to life in the individual." Recognizing the chief role of the media as being to educate and to inform as well as to direct the population toward the goals and program developed by the party, Batmonh and the senior party leadership also appeared to be using media channels for improving the performance of party and government organizations. There was a new emphasis on exposing the shortcomings in economic performance and on making "the real state of affairs" known. In December 1986, Batmonh launched an attack on "bureaucracy, stagnation and passivity," calling instead for "a new and creatively courageous approach to work in an atmosphere of openness, frankness, justness and principledness." By mid-1987, the press included exchanges of letters between readers and responsible officials discussing examples of bureaucracy and government inefficiency.

At the key December 1988 Central Committee plenary session, Batmonh said that the media needed to foster in people "a scientific world outlook and further raise their social consciousness." He also extended the scope of *il tod* (openness), Mongolia's version of *glasnost,* to include a critical reappraisal of questions about Mongolian history and society by filling in the so-called "blank spots." In addition to criticisms of Tsedenbal, Political Bureau resolutions emanating from the plenary session stressed the importance of Mongolia's cultural heritage. In a major departure from the past, the party was instructed to preserve the national culture carefully and to transmit it to the next generation. Even Chinggis Khan, whom the Soviet Union repeatedly had identified as a "reactionary figure," was given an honored place in Mongolian history as founder of the nation. A two-volume biography of Chinggis, published in China's neighboring Nei Monggol Autonomous Region in 1987, reportedly was in great demand by young Mongolians.

Underlying the party's new information policy—espousing critical thinking, intellectual vitality, and national pride—was the intention to inspire and to involve the entire population in the party's developmental program. The media carried the party message throughout society through press, radio, television, publishing outlets, vocational and social clubs, films, and libraries. The selection of thematic material was being supervised closely in the late

1980s, but, in comparison with the Tsedenbal years, a relaxed atmosphere toward the media was apparent.

Major Channels

Channels of communication were government-owned and government-operated; information and propaganda were woven together in news, educational material, and entertainment. The most important body directing the media was the Press Agitation and Propaganda Section (Agitprop) of the party Central Committee. Agitprop, in conjunction with the Council of Ministers, published *Unen* (Truth), established in 1920. It was the most widely read newspaper; in 1988 it had a circulation of 170,000 and was published six days a week. The weekly publication of the *Unen* newspaper organization was *Shine Hodoo* (New Countryside), aimed at the rural population. *Unen* also published eighteen issues annually of the popular satirical magazine, *Toshuul* (Woodpecker), which featured cartoons and light reading material. *Namyin Amdral* (Party Life), with a circulation of 28,000, has served since 1923 as the Central Committee's monthly ideological organ. *Ediyn Dzasgiyn, Asuudal* (Economic Questions), also published by the Central Committee, carried speeches and documents concerned with political and economic affairs and was published in eighteen issues annually. Another party periodical, *Uhuulagch* (Agitator), emphasized propaganda material and was published bimonthly, with a circulation of 34,000 in the late 1980s.

Communications media were directed by overlapping and interlocking government commissions and committees of the People's Great Hural, the Council of Ministers, and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. The Presidium of the People's Great Hural published a quarterly journal, *Ardyn Tor* (People's Power), with a circulation of 11,000. The Ministry of Culture, together with the Union of Mongolian Writers, published a weekly periodical called *Utga, Dzohiol Urlag* (Literature and Art). The Ministry of Defense and the Ministry of Public Security jointly produced *Ulaan Od* (Red Star), a biweekly, and *Ardyn Armi* (People's Army), a quarterly magazine. The Mongolian Academy of Sciences and the Mongolian Society for the Dissemination of Knowledge published a bimonthly popular science magazine, *Shinjleh Uhaan, Amidral* (Science and Life). Finally, the Office of the Procurator of the Republic, the Supreme Court, and the Ministry of Justice collaborated in the publication of the quarterly journal *Sotsialist Huul' Yos* (Socialist Legality).

In 1987, a total of almost 130 million copies of 35 national newspapers and 38 periodicals were being published. In addition,

there were nineteen provincial newspapers, mainly published biweekly by provincial party and government executive committees. The cities of Ulaanbaatar, Nalayh, Erdenet, and Darhan also had their own newspapers. The two major news agencies were Mongol Tsahilgaan Medeeniy Agentlag (MONTSAME—Mongolian Telegraph Agency) and Mongolpress. The latter published fortnightly news bulletins in Russian, English, and French. In 1987 each household reportedly received four to six publications. Another body, the Media Information Center, was established in February 1989, reportedly to expand the range of information available to the public by providing members of the press and the media with increased access to high party and government officials.

Various mass organizations also had publishing arms. The official organ of the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League, *Dzaluuchudyn Unen* (Youth Truth), was published biweekly and carried league speeches and documents. Other youth journals included *Dzalgamjlagch* (Successor) and *Dzaluu Uye* (Young Generation). The Central Council of the Sukhe Bator Mongolian Pioneers Organization, together with the Youth League Central Committee, published 84 issues annually of *Pioneriyn Unen* (Pioneers' Truth) and was circulated to 175,000 subscribers.

The leading publications of the Central Council of the Mongolian Trade Unions was *Hodolmor* (Labor), published three times a week, and a bimonthly magazine entitled *Mongolyn Uyldberchniy Eblel* (Mongolian Trade Unions). The publishing organ of the Federation of Democratic Women was the quarterly magazine *Mongolyn Emegteuchuud* (Mongolian Women). The Union of Mongolian Writers published the bimonthly political and literary journal, *Tsog* (Spark). The Union of Mongolian Artists and the Ministry of Culture published a quarterly journal, *Soyol, Urlag* (Culture and Art). Another quarterly journal published by the union was *Dursleh Urlag* (Fine Arts).

Most titles of Mongolian publications were translations of the titles of counterpart Soviet publications, which served as models for format and content. A Russian-language newspaper, *Novosty Mongolii* (News of Mongolia) published 26,000 copies, three times weekly; a Chinese-language journal, *Menggu Xiaoxi* (News of Mongolia), was published weekly. Publications in other languages were scarce in 1989, although the situation was improving. In 1986 the Mongolia Express Agency for Publication Data was established to aid in the distribution of publications and bulletins published in several foreign languages.

Radio and television were available through Ulaanbaatar Radio and Mongoltelevidz, both of which were supervised by the State

Committee for Information, Radio, and Television. In December 1988, a new radio and television center, built with Soviet aid, opened in Ulaanbaatar. It was estimated that in 1989 the center would increase the volume of broadcasting by 150 percent. Almost every family, including those residing in rural areas, had access to a radio receiver in 1989. In 1985 Mongolia had 382 broadcasting centers, providing radiobroadcasts to more than 90 percent of the population and television broadcasts to more than 60 percent. By 1987 radiobroadcasts were available eighteen hours daily through two programs, with broadcasts in Mongol, Kazakh, Russian, English, French, and Chinese to sixty countries. A 1987 poll of listeners and viewers indicated that the primary sources of news information for this audience were: radio, 66 percent; the press, 21 percent; and television, 12 percent.

By 1988 an estimated 64 percent of families residing in Ulaanbaatar possessed television sets. National television broadcasts were available five times a week, or for 15,000 hours annually. Broadcasting also was available from Orbita, a Soviet satellite communications system that relays television broadcasts. Almost 60 percent of the Mongolian population viewed television by late 1987. Mongolian-originated television was available in Ulaanbaatar, Erdenet, and Darhan; in fifteen *aymag* centers; and in forty-eight towns and *somon* centers. The Orbita broadcasting was more limited.

The State Publishing House and the Mongolian Academy of Sciences supervised publishing. Each year they produced a prospectus of books to be published that year. The Sukhe Bator Publishing House produced 70 percent of Mongolia's printed matter, including 400 book titles. There also were publishing facilities in each *aymag,* and there were other publishing houses in Ulaanbaatar. Russian-language books always dominated the foreign category, but there also were prose and verse from France, the United States, and India, which offered a view of the noncommunist world. By 1985 Mongolia had 983 libraries housing more than 13 million volumes, most of which were located at the State Library in Ulaanbaatar.

Foreign Sources

The major foreign source for media information in the late 1980s, as it had been since the 1920s, was the Soviet Union. Foreign news consisted mainly of edited material available through the Soviet news agency, Telegrafnoye Agentstvo Sovetskovo Soyuza (TASS). Other foreign bureaus located in Ulaanbaatar were the Soviet Agentstvo Pechanti Novosti (APN) and the East German Allgemeiner Deutscher Nachrichtendienst (ADN). MONTSAME had

a staff based in, or visiting and reporting from, all capitals of its communist allies. Foreign newspapers, magazines, and books came from the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. No newspapers from the United States or Britain were being distributed in Ulaanbaatar in the late 1980s. Also, distribution channels reportedly have been faulted for causing lengthy delays in deliveries to subscribers and readers. English-language materials include *Mongolia Today,* a magazine geared to foreign consumption, published monthly by the Mongolian embassy in New Delhi and distributed in Mongolia.

The existing political system, ruled by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, was firmly established in Mongolia in the late twentieth century. Beginning in 1989, however, major revisions of the country's government and party structure were being undertaken, patterned after reforms going on in the Soviet Union. Although it was too early to assess the situation adequately in mid-1989, these measures were expected to meet with bureaucratic resistance, as had occurred in other communist party-ruled states undergoing reform. Still there were certain factors—political and international—that might be expected to work in favor of the reform program's success: a stable political leadership, a tradition of political conservatism and conformity, and an international climate that continued to lessen external pressures on Mongolia. The emerging relaxation in internal politics and the thaw in key external foreign relations might, if they lasted, afford Mongolian leaders valuable opportunities to establish a sense of national identity and some measure of cultural authenticity, both probably essential to Mongolia's revitalization and revival in the 1990s.

* * *

Mongolia's contemporary politics have not been so widely studied by Western scholars as have the traditional historical subjects. A shortage of qualified linguists, the inaccessibility of the country to foreign scholars, and the fact that Mongolia has not played a major independent role in international affairs, were the main reasons for the dearth of scholarship and reporting. The most recent and inclusive source in the English language is *Mongolia: Politics, Economics, and Society* by Alan J. Sanders. Sanders also reports frequently on all aspects of Mongolia in the *Far Eastern Economic Review.* Victor P. Petrov's, *Mongolia: A Profile,* although dated, is also helpful. Useful articles and annual survey articles dealing with Mongolian politics appear in *Asian Survey.* Robert A. Rupen's *How Mongolia Is Really Ruled* explores the dynamics of Mongolian politics and demonstrates the importance of external factors, mainly the Soviet Union.

The primary source on Mongolian legislation and legal documentation was William E. Butler's *The Mongolian Legal System.* A detailed study of the Mongolian Constitution is provided by George Ginsburgs in "Mongolia's 'Socialist' Constitution," in *Pacific Affairs.*

Mongolian foreign policy matters were dealt with in Thomas E. Stolper's *China, Taiwan, and the Offshore Islands,* and in more detail in the annual *Asian Survey* articles and in Robert A. Scalapino's *Major Power Relations in Northeast Asia.* The United States government's Joint Publications Research Service publishes translations of selected Mongol-language and Russian-language material. Mongol radiobroadcasts and periodicals are translated and published in the United States government's Foreign Broadcast Information Service, *Daily Report: East Asia.* The annual editions of the *American Bibliography of Slavic and East European Studies* and the *Bibliography of Asian Studies* also should be consulted for current publications on Mongolian government and politics. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Chapter 5. National Security

Monument dedicated to the Revolutionary Mongolian Tank Brigade of World War II

THE RICH MONGOL MILITARY tradition reached its highest point during the thirteenth century, when a vast empire stretching across Asia and into Europe was established and sustained by well-organized, disciplined Mongol cavalry. Although Mongol political power soon waned, and the empire disintegrated, the reputation of the prowess of the Mongol cavalry remained well into the nineteenth century.

Modern Mongolian military practices trace their origin to the 1921 Mongolian Revolution, in which Mongolian rebel forces, under the leadership of Damdiny Sukhe Bator and Horloyn Choybalsan, joined with a major detachment of the Russian Fifth Red Army to defeat Chinese and Russian White Guard forces. This alliance marked the beginning of a long and close relationship between the Mongolian and Soviet armed forces.

In the 1930s, Mongolian forces once again joined with Soviet forces to suppress internal rebellion and to guard their borders against Japanese incursions. In July and August 1939, Mongolian armed forces with their Soviet allies accomplished their proudest feat: defeating Japanese forces and ending Japanese provocations along the border. Mongolia takes pride in its economic support of Soviet military forces during World War II and its part in the August 1945 defeat of Japanese forces in Manchuria (see Glossary).

Soviet military support greatly increased during the 1960s and the 1970s, following the Sino-Soviet split and increased Mongolian concern over the Chinese threat. Although Soviet military support decreased significantly in the 1980s, when Sino-Soviet and Sino-Mongolian relations improved, exclusive defense ties with the Soviet Union continued, as did Soviet military training and the acquisition of Soviet military equipment.

In 1989 internal security was maintained by the national police force, called the militia. The structure of the courts and the procuraturates was based on the 1960 Constitution, and the 1963 Code of Criminal Procedure set out the rules for their operation. The 1961 Criminal Code determined which acts were criminal and the punishment allotted for those crimes, placing heavy emphasis on crimes against the state and crimes against socialist ownership. All of these documents were under review and were expected to be revised or replaced.

The Armed Forces

Historical Traditions

Mongol military power reached its apex in the thirteenth century. Under the leadership of Chinggis Khan and two generations of his descendants, the Mongol tribes and various Inner Asian steppe people were united in an efficient and formidable military state that briefly held sway from the Pacific Ocean to Central Europe (see The Era of Chinggis Khan, 1206-27, ch. 1).

In an age when opposing armies were little more than feudal levies around a nucleus of well-armed and well-trained, but relatively immobile and inflexible, knights, the Mongol armies were the dominant force on the battlefields of Asia and Europe. Mongol forces, made up of skilled warriors well trained in marksmanship and horsemanship, were characterized by absolute discipline, a well-understood chain of command, an excellent communications system, superior mobility, and a unified and extremely effective tactical doctrine and organization.

As the control of the descendants of Chinggis weakened and as old tribal divisions reemerged, internal dissension fragmented the Mongol empire, and the Mongols' military power in Inner Asia dwindled. The tactics and techniques of the Mongol warrior—who could deliver shock action with lance and sword, or fire action with the compound bow from horseback or on foot—continued in use, nevertheless, through the end of the nineteenth century. The mounted warrior's effectiveness decreased, however, with the growing use of firearms by the Manchu armies beginning in the late seventeenth century (see Caught Between the Russians and the Manchus, ch. 1).

Mongol leaders in the late sixteenth century, and later their Manchu overlords, encouraged the spread of Tibetan Buddhism (Lamaism—see Glossary). Its passive religious doctrine gradually diluted the warlike qualities of the Mongols and encouraged between 30 and 50 percent of the male population to escape military service by entering monasteries (see Buddhism, ch. 2). To keep the Mongols militarily weak, the rulers of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911) downgraded the hereditary princes and recognized theocracy as the local government of many Mongol areas. The Mongols were divided further by intertribal warfare fought with traditional means and by revolts against the Qing. Nevertheless, the Qing continued to call up Mongolian levies to help quell rebellions in actions against foreign invaders in China in the latter half of the nineteenth century. Mongols fought in the Taiping Rebellion (1851-65), in the Nianfei peasant revolt in northern

China in the 1850s and 1860s, against the British and French in 1860, against Muslim rebels in the 1860s and 1870s, in the Sino-Japanese War (1894–95), and in the Boxer Uprising of 1900. They were employed as light cavalry and were considered the best of the traditional troops. Their style of fighting had become obsolete, however, because foreign troops and increasing numbers of Chinese units used firearms and modern tactics. Mongolia's nomadic economy could not produce guns, and the Qing would not permit their acquisition.

The memory of Chinggis, his descendants, and their military domination of Asia remains. Although little attention has been paid to Mongol military exploits after that period, popular legends are filled with accounts of violent opposition to foreign oppressors, such as the usurious Chinese trader and his armed guards, or the local Qing tax collector.

Beginning of Modern Military Practices, 1911–21

In terms of a consciously expressed military tradition, modern Mongolian military history began in 1911 with the autonomy of Outer Mongolia (see Glossary) and the establishment of a new-style army with Russian military assistance. Russia, after its disastrous defeat in the 1904–1905 Russo-Japanese War, noted the modernization of the Chinese army and realized the need for a buffer between a resurgent China and Russia's tenuous lifeline to eastern Siberia, the Trans-Siberian Railway. Consequently, Russia looked with favor on Outer Mongolia's efforts to free itself of Chinese rule in 1911. The tsar received a Mongolian delegation in August 1911, and he agreed to furnish arms and ammunition to Outer Mongolia. When the Chinese revolution occurred in October, the Mongolians proclaimed their freedom, receiving diplomatic support from Russia (see The End of Independence, ch. 1).

In 1912 a small Russian military mission arrived in Yihe Huree (present-day Ulaanbaatar—see Glossary) to train a Mongolian army of conscripts furnished by the ruling nobles. As increments of this force were trained, they were sent as first priority to the Chinese frontier. About half the army was retained near Yihe Huree as a general reserve. In the summer of 1912, elements of this fledgling army fought their first battle, forcing the surrender of a Chinese garrison at Hovd in western Mongolia. On November 3, 1912, a secret Mongolian-Russian agreement supported Mongolia's claim for its own national army and promised to prohibit Chinese troops in Mongolia.

The Mongolian government of monks and nobility lacked both the funds and the will to pay for such an armed force. The

Mongolians, who wanted the Chinese to leave, were disappointed by the Sino-Russian agreement of November 1913, which recognized Chinese suzerainty over Outer Mongolia and substituted the vaguer concept of autonomy for the Mongolian claim to independence. In addition, not all the nobility, particularly not those in western Outer Mongolia, willingly accepted Yihe Huree's hegemony over their territories, and the Chinese initially held Hovd. The new national state still did not see the need for a modern armed force for its preservation, seemingly relying on Russia's diplomatic support and promises, as well as on its own estimate that revolution-torn China was little to be feared.

In February 1913, Russia granted the Mongolian government a loan of 2 million rubles (then equivalent to about US$1 million) for the maintenance and training of an army consisting of two cavalry regiments with a machine gun company, a four-gun battery of artillery, and 1,900 soldiers and officers. The loan and a Russian military mission did not solve the problem. The Russians promptly made a new loan of 3 million rubles, but this time they sent a Russian financial adviser to control the expenditures.

Russia's objective of creating a Mongolian self-defense and internal security capability encountered further difficulties in 1913. Freedom-loving Mongolian recruits did not relish the idea of two years of barracks life under harsh discipline. Furthermore, the Russian colonel in charge insisted on infantry drills, which were anathema to hard-riding nomadic cavalry. The desertion rate was high, and one unit actually mutinied against its Russian instructors, who called out the Russian Cossack Legation Guard to suppress the uprising. The Mongolian government's lack of interest in an effective military force further plagued the Russian effort; for the most part, misfits and sick men were sent as recruits.

Mongolian irritation at the harshness of the Russian instructors and the constant Russian pressures for government moral and material support resulted in the one-year agreement's being allowed to lapse on its termination date. Russia won reluctant Mongolian agreement to its being allowed to maintain 1,000 troops and thus to reduce its military mission by only half; however, by the end of 1914, continued resentment against the Russian instructors and reluctance to support a regular army forced the recall of the military mission.

World War I diverted Russia's attention from Mongolia. Russia's principal effort with respect to Mongolia and China was to call a tripartite meeting in Kyakhta, on the Siberian side of the Mongolian-Russian border, in 1915. Chinese and Mongolian

representatives attended with considerable reluctance, but eventually a treaty resulted (see Period of Autonomy, 1911–21, ch. 1). Its principal military effect was to limit Chinese forces in Mongolia to a 200-strong guard for the residence of the Chinese high representative at Yihe Huree. Between 1914 and 1919, the Mongolian army languished, but it retained some semblance of order. During these years, the expenditures for the army varied from 20 to 25 percent of the total government budget. Although an agent of the Communist International (see Glossary), also called the Comintern, said while visiting Yihe Huree in 1919 that there was no army, 2,000 troops were actually on the rolls.

The Chinese took advantage of the Russian preoccupation with their own revolution at home to reinforce their consular guard at Yihe Huree in 1918—in violation of the 1915 Treaty of Kyakhta. The Russians protested, but with the collapse of effective White Guard forces in Siberia in late 1919, the Chinese brought in 3,000 more troops. In October 1919, General Xu Shucheng arrived with an army of 4,000 (later increased to 10,000); he suppressed the autonomous government, carrying out numerous executions, lootings, and other atrocities. Thus the army of autonomous Mongolia came to an end after a scant eight years of tenuous existence. The army was to live on, however, in a small cadre of demobilized Russian-trained soldiers that was led by Sukhe Bator and aspired to again free Mongolia from Chinese rule.

Sukhe Bator—whose name means Ax Hero—was poor and jobless when he was called up at the age of nineteen as one of the first conscripts for the new army in 1912. His lack of wealth and position reportedly was more than compensated for by intelligence and vigor. Sukhe Bator soon became a junior noncommissioned officer (NCO). During border clashes with the Chinese, he distinguished himself in combat and was promoted to senior NCO rank. As a member of a machine gun company, a technical and prestigious assignment for that time, he was associated closely with Russian instructors, and he learned some Russian. He also reportedly was a natural leader, liked and respected by his peers, and he was an accomplished practical soldier.

In late 1918, the recently demobilized Sukhe Bator, anticipating the return of the Chinese, formed a group of like-minded army friends to plan a new revolution and encouraged discharged soldiers to await his call. In November 1919, under the aegis of Russian Bolshevik agents in Yihe Huree, Sukhe Bator's group joined with a similar small group of revolutionaries led by Choybalsan. In 1920 Sukhe Bator and Choybalsan, with about fifty followers,

escaped the returning Chinese forces and moved to Siberia where they received further military training.

As Bolshevik victories grew, some opposing White Guard troops retreated into Outer Mongolia, where they were supported and encouraged by Japanese forces in Manchuria and eastern Siberia. The largest White Guard band was 5,000 strong and was led by Baron Roman Nicolaus von Ungern-Sternberg. After an abortive attack on Yihe Huree in October 1920, von Ungern-Sternberg attacked again in February, drove out the Chinese troops, and declared an independent Mongolia.

In February 1921, Sukhe Bator, Choybalsan, and their followers were joined in Irkutsk by a Mongolian delegation from Moscow. In March 1921, they moved to Kyakhta, where they formed the Mongolian People's Party and a provisional national government. Sukhe Bator was named minister of war. The partisan forces, now numbering 400, were combined to form the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army, with Sukhe Bator as commander in chief and Choybalsan as commissar.

In mid-March 1921, Sukhe Bator drove the Chinese out of the trading settlement now known as Amgalanbaatar across the Mongolian-Russian border from Kyakhta, and he established a provisional capital under the new name of Altanbulag. In April 1921, the provisional Mongolian government announced the conscription of all males older than nineteen in the territory under their control. At the same time, they asked for the assistance of the Russian Red Army in opposing the White Guards.

Von Ungern-Sternberg's force struck north against the new Bolshevik-sponsored government in May. The provisional government, assisted by a division-size task force from the Fifth Red Army, resisted. The White Guard offensive began May 22, 1921, and Altanbulag was attacked June 6, 1921. The Red Army force divided to meet this two-pronged attack; there was a Mongolian contingent in each column, one under Sukhe Bator at Altanbulag, and the other under Choybalsan. The attacks were repulsed, and the combined Red Army-Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army force swept toward Yihe Huree. Yihe Huree was captured on July 6, 1921, and it was renamed Niyslel—capital—Huree. A provisional national government was proclaimed on July 11, 1921, under close Bolshevik supervision. Von Ungern-Sternberg escaped with a remnant of the White Guards. In late August 1921, Mongolians in his own forces seized him and turned him over to the Red Army for execution (see Revolutionary Transformation, 1921-24, ch. 1).

Headquarters of Mongolian partisan army, March 1921, near Altanbulag
Courtesy Institute of Party History, Ulaanbaatar

The Mongolians are extremely proud of these revolutionary feats. On every public patriotic occasion—such as the anniversary of the founding of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army on March 18, 1921, the day marking the expulsion of Chinese forces from Amgalanbaatar—speeches of national leaders invariably refer glowingly to the events of 1921 and to the virtues of the participants, as well as to the fraternal help of the Red Army. Sukhe Bator died suddenly, and, some thought, mysteriously, in 1923 while still a young man. The tragedy of his early death assisted in his immortalization as the great young hero of the revolution. A heroic-size equestrian statue of Suhke Bator stands in the main square of Ulaanbaatar (Red Hero).

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army of Sukhe Bator and Choybalsan provided a convenient patriotic symbol to inspire Mongolians and established a new military tradition. This army also formed the nucleus of the eventual Mongolian People's Army, which was to expand to a strength of 10 percent of the population by the late 1930s in response to the Japanese threat. It also acted as a modernizing force and gave the nation a generation of political leaders. Choybalsan led the nation militarily in the 1920s and the 1930s as commander in chief of the army, and he was premier

and top party leader from 1939 until his death in 1952 (see Modern Mongolia, 1911–84, ch. 1).

The Mongolian Army, 1921–68

Early Development

The provisional national government in March 1921 declared that every male in the country, regardless of class, must perform military service. This compulsory service included the large numbers of monks and others who traditionally had been exempt, although in practice monks were not conscripted during the 1920s. The new government also proclaimed that it could declare war, negotiate peace, and determine budgets. A Mongolian-Russian accord signed on November 5, 1921, provided Russian assistance in organizing a regular army and in conducting training. In addition, special Comintern representatives eventually set up a military council in the government and propagated militant communism. Thus began a continuing close military association between the Soviet Union and Mongolia, which has endured with varying intensity through 1989 (see Foreign Relations, ch. 4). This association helped to communize and modernize Mongolia, as well as to provide the Soviet Union with a loyal ally and a buffer against Japan and later China.

In the early 1920s, Russian White Guard remnants remained as brigands in remote parts of Mongolia, and Chinese bandits and detachments of warlord armies constantly encroached upon the borders. Thus one of the first orders of business for the new Mongolian government was to establish a strong and politically reliable army. To help suppress White Guard remnants and Chinese bandits and to carry out Comintern policy, detachments of the Soviet Red Army remained in Mongolia at least until 1925. Thereafter, until the revolts of the early 1930s and the Japanese border probes beginning in the mid-1930s, Red Army troops in Mongolia amounted to little more than instructors and guards for diplomatic and trading installations.

The development and politicization of the Mongolian People's Army became an essential element of the Comintern's plan for Mongolia. As early as August 1921, the Main Political Administration of the army was established to supervise the work of the political commissars and the party cells in all army units, and to act as a political link between the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Party and the army (see Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, ch. 4). This politicization of the army served not only to ensure its loyalty, but also that of the government at

large. Up to one-third of the soldiers were members of the party, which became the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in 1924; still others belonged to the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League. The army received up to 60 percent of the government budget in these early years, and it expanded from 2,560 men in 1923 to 4,000 in 1924, and to 17,000 by 1927. The more leftist members of the government, who also were prominent in the party, tended to be connected with the army as well, which made the army an important political force in the 1920s. With the close cooperation of the Red Army and the Mongolian and Soviet secret police, purges of rightists and nationalists were conducted, and the Buddhist theocracy was severely curtailed.

Most of the Altanbulag revolutionaries—soldiers and politicians alike—appear to have been more nationalist than communist. Choybalsan and a few of his immediate associates were exceptions. From an early age, Choybalsan had been Russian-oriented by schooling and communist-influenced by Bolsheviks at the Russian consular compound and print shop in Yihe Huree. In the early 1920s, however, the nationalists either became communists or were purged. Choybalsan's close cooperation with Comintern agents and the Soviet Union enabled him to survive to become premier.

Horloogiyn Dandzan, another member of the original Altanbulag government, succeeded Sukhe Bator as minister of war and commander in chief of the army when Sukhe Bator died in 1923. With the growth of the Mongolian People's Army and the reduction of the Soviet garrison, Dandzan thought he had sufficient power to opt for a Mongolian nationalist policy. Dandzan's anti-Soviet remarks to the Third Party Congress in 1924, however, led to his arrest by armed Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League members, directed by Choybalsan. His trial and execution were completed within twenty-four hours, and Choybalsan was elevated to commander in chief of the army. The portfolio of minister of war was given to Sandagdargiyn (Khatan Baatar) Majsarjab, a revolutionary military hero who had secured western Mongolia for the government. Members of the new top command, however, did not have the supreme authority enjoyed by Sukhe Bator and Dandzan. Comintern agents, many of whom were Russian-trained Buryat Mongols (see Glossary) acting either as advisers or as actual administrators, were the real power in the government, which was backed by the secret police and by the Red Army. They instituted organizational changes that effectively attenuated the authority exercised by Majsarjab and by Choybalsan.

The Military Council was inserted in the chain of command between the Presidium of the National Great Hural and Council of

Ministers and the minister of war. The council was headed by a Buryat Comintern agent, and its members were among the more trustworthy leftists. Furthermore, interposed between the commander in chief of the army and his staff departments was a Soviet general as chief of the general staff. Thus restricted, the Mongolian military leadership would have had difficulty becoming deviationist even if it had chosen to. Majsarjab may have tried, for he soon was executed, but Choybalsan displayed complete loyalty to the Soviets. He succeeded Majsarjab as minister of war and continued his rise. In 1926 Choybalsan was a member of both the Central Committee and the Presidium of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

Even with substantial Soviet assistance, organizing and training the Mongolian army in the 1920s was a frustrating experience for both the Soviets and the Mongolians. It helped that the recruits were excellent riders and good shots. The training base of experienced soldiers, however, initially was little better than it had been ten years before when the Russians first attempted to train Mongolian soldiers. The illiteracy rate of 90 percent among the population at large must have been reflected among the recruits. Venereal disease, tuberculosis, and trachoma were endemic. About one-third of the men of military age were monks exempt from military service in the 1920s. The young nomads who were conscripted were resentful of military discipline, were passive by conditioning, and were influenced against military service by the monks. Finally, the building of the army had to be carried out along with the simultaneous suppression of revolts in the Hovd and the Uliastay areas of western Mongolia in the 1922–23 and the 1925–26 periods and along with guarding the borders against the encroachments of Chinese bandits and warlord armies.

From the beginning, the army consisted of a cadre of regulars augmented by short-term conscripts, who were trained and returned to their homes as part of a reserve pool from which they could be mobilized when needed. In the beginning, both regulars and conscripts frequently deserted; a deserter was virtually impossible to apprehend in the steppes or the mountains.

Initially, training of conscripts lasted only three months before they returned home. Although the training period was short, it was an effort to bring as many men as possible under the unifying and modernizing influence of military training and political indoctrination. Administration of conscription and the conduct of post-service military training were delegated to *aymag* (see Glossary) and to *somon* councils. Those eighteen years and older were conscripted locally and were sent either to the capital or to one of the principal

garrison towns. Upon completion of their three-month training period, they returned to their native districts, where they were to reassemble every three years for refresher training and maneuvers. The population, however, still was largely nomadic and constantly on the move, and the administrative structure of the subdivisions was rudimentary and inefficient at best. Because individuals were hard to locate—if indeed they were known to exist—initial and retraining call-ups were hard to enforce.

By 1926 the government hoped to train 10,000 conscripts annually and to increase the training period to six months. Chinese intelligence reports in 1927 indicated that between 40,000 and 50,000 reservists could be mustered at short notice. These reports greatly overestimated the mobilization potential of the Mongolian army. In the fall of 1929, a general mobilization was called to test the training and reserve systems. The expected turnout was 30,000, but only 2,000 presented themselves. This fiasco prompted several changes and reforms. A new Soviet chief adviser arrived early the following year to aid in enforcing military service, but his unpopularity provoked an assassination attempt. The Military Council was reorganized, and in September, when the National Great Hural met, it strengthened the military service enforcement provisions of the legal code (see Government Structure, ch. 4). These actions, together with new laws that abolished all but a few monasteries—returning monks to civilian life, prohibiting young men from becoming monks, and making them available for conscription—laid the foundation for an effective army.

By the end of the 1920s, despite its deficiencies, an army with some cohesion and effectiveness had been established by Soviet instructors and Mongolian leaders through both patient efforts and draconian measures. The groundwork was laid for an army that was to put down the popular revolts of the early 1930s despite some disaffection, to meet the challenge—with its Soviet allies—of large-scale border clashes initiated by the Japanese, and finally to mount the invasions of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia in 1945. In March 1925, an aviation branch was formed with four aircraft; the anniversary of this event continues to be celebrated annually as Mongolian Aviation Day. By 1927 the army, almost exclusively cavalry, numbered about 17,000 mounted troops, and it boasted more than 200 heavy machine guns, 50 mountain howitzers, 30 field guns, and 2 armored cars. The basic unit was the 2,000-man cavalry regiment of three squadrons. Each 600-plus-man squadron had five companies, a machine gun company, and an engineer unit. Cavalry regiments were organized into larger units—brigades or divisions—which included artillery and service support units. The chief

characteristic of this force was mobility over the great distances of Mongolia; small mounted units were able to cover more than 160 kilometers in 24 hours.

Internal Discord and War with Japan

In the late 1920s and the early 1930s, the army frequently was called on to put down widespread popular revolts led by nobles and monks (see Purges of the Opposition, 1928–32, ch. 1). The revolts erupted from a basic feeling of nationalism (particularly in western Mongolia), from opposition to the pro-Soviet line, and from the government's extreme measures in forcing collectivization of stock raising and harsh actions against the monks. The revolts culminated in an uprising by 13 detachments of more than 3,000 troops in April 1932; it was put down by the Mongolian army, assisted by a large Soviet Red Army force. By the mid-1930s, the communist government had suppressed the insurgency. It then decided that a more reliable army was necessary, both for internal security and for actions as a forward screen for Soviet troop deployment in the event of a Japanese invasion.

As the army recovered from the revolt, it began rebuilding. The number of young Mongolians on active duty increased annually. During this period, the army acted as an important unifier of the population, in effect supplanting the liquidated monasteries in this role. In striving for national reinvigoration, the army's military role was less important than its social and political roles. A Soviet observer wrote that the army taught the soldier to read and write the national language and converted him into a politically aware soldier-citizen. Soviet arms and military equipment were provided to the expanding army, and Soviet officers acted not only as instructors, but also as unit advisers and commanders. These arrangements were formalized first in November 1934, when a Mongolian-Soviet "gentlemen's agreement" was reached in Moscow to provide for mutual assistance in the event of attack. This accord was unpublished, because Moscow still nominally recognized the Chinese government (see Economic Gradualism and National Defense, 1932–45, ch. 1).

Monasticism directly inhibited military buildup. Therefore, it was imperative that the monasteries be dealt with. During the period of the "leftist deviation" in the early 1930s, almost half the monasteries had been closed. This policy was relaxed during the insurrectionary period between 1933 and 1936, however, and the monasteries were reopened. By 1936 the monastic population had increased by 10,000 to more than 100,000—11 percent of the total population and 35 percent of men of military age. This drain

adversely affected the government's ability to meet the increasing personnel requirements both for defense and for economic production. Monastic influence also perpetuated a general lack of interest among the general population in establishing an effective national army. The government, therefore, undertook drastic measures against the monks. Monasteries were taxed severely for each monk of military age who did not respond to the military call-up. A law was passed requiring the first son of every family to enter the army when of age; the second son was to remain with the family to work; only the third son was permitted to enter the monastery. Because few Mongol families had more than two sons, this measure was effective in diminishing the monastic population. Monastic power was reduced, senior monks were liquidated, and monks of middle-rank were imprisoned. Finally, ordinary monks were forced out of the monasteries, which then were destroyed, and all monastic livestock (10 to 15 percent of the national total) was confiscated. By 1939 these repressive measures had ended monasticism and had released a substantial reservoir of manpower for military service and for the civilian economy.

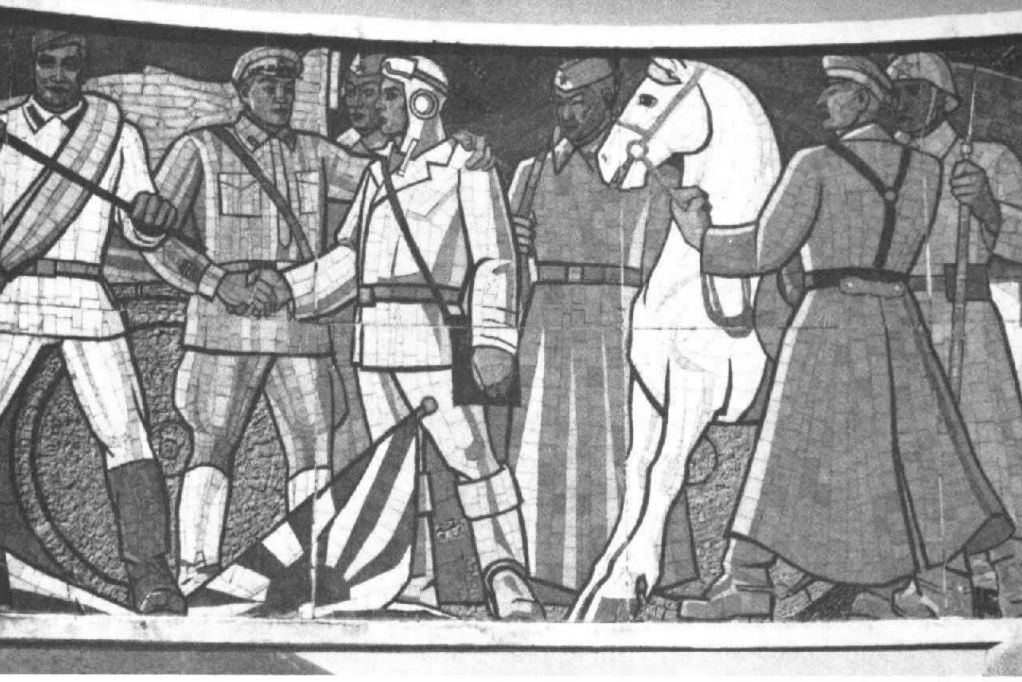
Japan's occupation and annexation of neighboring Manchuria in 1931 left no doubt of Tokyo's long-range objectives in Northeast Asia. A program of subversion among the Mongolians and of agitation in support of pan-Mongolism was followed by minor clashes along the Mongolian-Manchurian border in 1934 that reached major intensity in 1935. After serious clashes with the Japanese along the eastern Mongolian border in early 1935, a conference of Mongolian and Japanese representatives was convened in June at the Chinese border town of Manzhouli to settle border demarcation and other matters. After six months without reaching agreement, the effort was abandoned. On March 1, 1936, Josef Stalin publicly and unequivocally stated that "If Japan should venture to attack the Mongolian People's Republic and encroach upon its independence, we will have to help the Mongolian People's Republic . . . just as we helped in 1921. . . ." Two weeks later, a Protocol Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance reiterated the main provisions of the 1934 agreement. Apparently the Soviets at the time were less concerned about Chinese sensibilities than they had been earlier. The protocol was to run for ten years; it provided for joint consultation and protective action in the event of threat to either party by a third power, for military assistance in the case of a third-power attack, and for the stationing of troops in each other's territory as necessary. Some Soviet troops had remained in Mongolia after the suppression of the revolts; when Japan invaded northern China and occupied Inner Mongolia, this treaty

provided a basis for increasing Soviet strength to a reinforced corps, the Fifty-seventh Independent Rifle Corps.

In 1937 the Japanese invaded northern China, which enabled Japanese forces to occupy the Inner Mongolian provinces of Qahar and Suiyuan along Mongolia's southern border. This widened the zone of contact between Mongolian and Japanese forces and increased Mongolian security problems. Incidents continued along the Mongolian borders with Manchuria and Inner Mongolia. In July 1938, the Japanese Guandong (Kwantung in Wade-Giles romanization) Army (the Japanese army in Manchukuo, as Japan called the region) mounted a major, yet unsuccessful, attack against Soviet positions in an ambiguously demarcated area along the Manchurian-Siberian border near Vladivostok. Frustrated along the Siberian border, Japan turned the following year to the more vulnerable Mongolian border, where it thought that subversion against the Mongolians would pave the way.

Mongolia's easternmost portion is a salient jutting deep into Manchuria (see fig. 1). A branch railroad runs from Changchun on the Shenyang-Harbin railroad to within a few kilometers of the border; on the other side of the frontier, the Halhin Gol runs parallel to the border on the Mongolian side for about 70 kilometers. This area had been the scene of serious clashes in early 1935. To facilitate military deployment into this vulnerable area, the Soviet Union built a wide-gauge railroad, completed in 1939, connecting the Chinese-Eastern railroad to the Mongolian town of Choybalsan. The frequency of border clashes increased until they occurred almost daily in this area during 1938 and early 1939. In early May 1939, Soviet foreign minister Vyacheslav M. Molotov issued another stern warning to Japan: "I give warning that the borders of the Mongolian People's Republic will be defended by the USSR as vigorously as we shall defend our own borders."

On May 11, 1939, the Japanese army occupied portions of Mongolia between the border and the Halhin Gol. A combined Mongolian-Soviet force quickly moved against the invaders. By the end of May, the joint force had seized a bridgehead on the Halhin Gol's eastern bank. To counter this move, the Japanese by early July concentrated a corps of 38,000 troops and attacked the northern flank of the Mongolian-Soviet bridgehead. The Japanese drove the allies back across the Halhin Gol, crossed it themselves, and established their own bridgehead on the western bank. On July 5, 1939, Soviet armor counterattacked and eliminated the Japanese bridgehead, after which both sides began a major force buildup.



Detail of mosaic commemorating the Mongolian-Soviet victory over Japan in 1939, Ulaanbaatar
Courtesy Steve Mann

During July 1939, the Mongolian-Soviet forces were reorganized. The Trans-Baykal Military District was set up as a front headquarters, with the First Army Group under General Georgi Zhukov as the striking force. Soviet forces were concentrated in eastern Mongolia, and the Mongolian army mobilized to its full strength of 80,000 in eight cavalry divisions; the 515 aircraft of the combined force were used mostly in screening the southern borders. Zhukov's First Army Group included Mongolia's Sixth and Eighth Mongolian cavalry divisions, both of which were employed as flank protection for the army group along the 70-kilometer front on the Halhin Gol. During July and early August, the Japanese forces, setting August 20, 1939, as the target date, prepared to cross the river and to destroy the opposing forces.

The Japanese decision to attack must have been based on faulty intelligence or on extreme overconfidence, because the Japanese were weaker in infantry battalions by 30 percent, in tanks by 60 percent, and in aircraft by 25 percent. Further, Soviet intelligence was superior to the Japanese, because the Soviets had detected the Japanese buildup for the attack and had evidently correctly estimated its timing. At dawn August 20, 1939, the commander of the Mongolian-Soviet troops preempted the Japanese attack: 150

bombers struck Japanese positions, rear areas, and lines of communication. A ground attack by the southern and the northern wings of the First Army Group penetrated the Japanese flank with armor and infantry, and then they turned inward in a classic double envelopment as Mongolian cavalry protected the outer flanks.

The Japanese defended tenaciously, but by August 23 the Soviets had encircled the Japanese forces along the Halhin Gol. For five days, the Mongolian-Soviet forces beat back fierce attacks by Japanese relief forces as well as attempts by the surrounded units to break out. Japanese relief attempts slackened, and pockets of resistance were cleared out. On August 31, 1939, the Mongolian-Soviet forces advanced to the frontier. The Japanese conceded defeat and a cease-fire took effect on September 16, 1939.

Soviet casualties came to nearly 10,000, and the Mongolians lost 1,130. Japanese losses were far greater, with more than 18,000 killed and 25,000 wounded (some total estimates were as high as 80,000). More than 170 guns and 200 aircraft were lost. After the defeat, Japan turned its military thrust southward. On June 9, 1940, an agreement fixing the Manchukuo-Mongolian border was signed in Moscow. This was followed on April 13, 1941, by the Soviet-Japanese Neutrality Pact, which included a Soviet pledge to recognize the territorial integrity of Manchukuo and a similar Japanese pledge with respect to Mongolia. Germany's invasion of the Soviet Union in June 1941 and the entry of the United States into World War II in December fully committed the Soviet Union and Japan to other flanks of their respective domains; thus, their Mongolian flanks remained relatively quiet until the final weeks of World War II.

Mongolia stayed mobilized, however, at the 80,000-troop level to guard its frontiers and to discourage any further Japanese incursion. Mongolia also devoted extensive resources to its part of the 1936 mutual-assistance pact, providing the Soviet armed forces with winter clothing, wool, hides, leather goods, meat, and almost half a million ponies and horses for draft and remount use from 1941 to 1945. The Mongolian people raised the money for a brigade of tanks, named the Revolutionary Mongolian Tank Brigade, and for a squadron of aircraft, named Mongolian Herdsmen, presented to the Red Army. In August 1945, Mongolian and Soviet forces joined in the invasion of Manchuria and Inner Mongolia, destroyed the greatly weakened Japanese army, and achieved Soviet political and military goals in northeastern Asia.

Postwar Developments

In early 1946, Mongolia and the Soviet Union renewed the 1936 Protocol Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance for another

ten years, this time making it extendable. Although the provisions remained essentially the same, what had been a protocol treaty became a formal treaty to signify that, because China had relinquished claims of suzerainty, Mongolia was legally competent to handle its own foreign affairs. Thus Mongolia's close defense ties with the Soviet Union continued, as did Soviet military assistance in the form of training and matériel. This treaty encouraged Ulaanbaatar's intransigence against Guomindang (Kuomintang in Wade-Giles romanization), or Chinese Nationalist Party, troops in 1947, when violence flared along the ill-defined and disputed Mongolian-Chinese border in the Altai Mountain region. Indigenous Kazakhs and Mongols had been grazing their herds indiscriminately throughout the entire area, and the Soviets had developed gold and tungsten mines in areas the Chinese considered part of Xinjiang. Kazakh rebels opposed to the Chinese regime had declared their autonomy in 1944, probably with Soviet encouragement; however, when China reestablished control over Xinjiang in 1946, some of the Kazakh leaders redefected to China.

In June 1947, Mongolian cavalry with tank and air support attacked the Kazakh and Chinese troops, apparently in an attempt to take over the disputed territory. The Soviet Union and Mongolia denied that they were aggressors and claimed that the Chinese were 15 kilometers inside Mongolia; the Chinese countered that the Mongolian army had driven 200 kilometers into Xinjiang. The Chinese were driven back, and the Soviets continued to operate the mines despite a further outbreak of fighting in early 1948 (see Foreign Relations, ch. 4).

The Mongolian armed forces, with the close and continuous collaboration of the Soviet Red Army, came of age in the years after 1929. It had survived and had helped to suppress internal revolts, had successfully fought the Japanese and the Chinese, and had played a major role in the education, training, and indoctrination of the Mongolian people. The 1949 communist victory in the Chinese civil war eliminated the threat on Mongolia's southern border for the next decade. This development permitted Mongolia to begin reducing its 80,000-troop army, which had been maintained at about that level for 10 years.

During the 1950s, Mongolia was able to deemphasize defense. Defense expenditures dropped from 33 percent of the total budget in 1948 to 15 percent in 1952. Yumjaagiyn Tsedenbal became premier after the death of Choybalsan in 1952. Although he had been a lieutenant general and chief political commissar of the army during World War II, Tsedenbal was an economist, and he was less inclined to maintain a large army without a definite need. Thus,

defense expenditures continued their steady drop in the next few years; soldiers went into the labor force and defense funds were diverted into neglected economic development and social services.

The nation's economic and social development required an infrastructure: public buildings, housing, factories, roads, and power plants. The army formed a mobile, disciplined, and partially skilled work force in a country that was short of labor. Units were apprenticed to construction gangs made up of technicians and workers from the Soviet Union, Eastern Europe, and China. By the late 1950s, the army's Military Construction Administration was building workers' apartments and public buildings, and it was in charge of constructing a large part of the industry around Darhan (see Labor Force, ch. 3).

The army continued to develop and modernize during the 1950s. It continued to use the two years' compulsory military training to provide Mongolian youth with Marxist-Leninist indoctrination, to ensure their literacy, and to teach them a variety of useful technical skills. Soviet troops continued to be garrisoned in Mongolia until 1956, at first to ensure against Chinese irredentist moves and later, probably, to discourage any deviation that might have resulted from the post-Stalin and post-Choybalsan thaw. The combat elements of the now-smaller army were modernized; tanks, self-propelled guns, armored infantry, jet fighters, and surface-to-air missiles replaced the last of the cavalry. Soviet instructors and advisers served with the Mongolian army, but more and more, the Mongolian People's Army was standing on its own, except in the production of arms and heavy equipment.

The 1960s saw quite altered prospects for the army. The Sino-Soviet rift occurred in 1960, and China adopted an increasingly hostile policy toward the Soviet Union and Mongolia. As the new threat from China was perceived and then grew more ominous, the Soviet Union and Mongolia again became militarily close. Soviet troops once more entered Mongolia in strength. Military, and other, national celebrations provided opportunities for the exchange of top-level military delegations, for consultations on defense matters, and for public hymns of praise, loyalty, eternal friendship, and cooperation. Marshal Rodion Yakovlevich Malinovskiy and other top Soviet military leaders, together with senior Chinese generals, visited Ulaanbaatar on People's Army Day, March 18, 1961. The Soviets were honored with high Mongolian decorations, whereas the Chinese were snubbed, receiving none.

Significantly, while Mongolia and the Soviet Union reacted to the perceived Chinese threat much as they had to the Japanese threat in the 1930s—that is, by deploying Soviet troops and

strengthening Mongolia's defenses—the magnitude of the measures taken in the 1960s was not so great. This circumspection probably reflected the policies of Soviet leader Nikita Khrushchev and Tsedenbal, versus those of Stalin and Choybalsan, as well as the strengthened internal and global positions of Mongolia and the Soviet Union. Soviet assistance enabled the Mongolian army, while continuing to equip and train for modern war, to carry on with its construction projects at Darhan and elsewhere.

Chinggis and ancient Mongol warriors were used as symbols to inculcate patriotism and a military tradition as early as 1927. Feeling pride and confidence in their new national viability, Mongolian leaders, despite Soviet disapproval, celebrated the 800th anniversary of the birth of Chinggis on May 31, 1962, with ceremonies and the unveiling of a monument at his purported birthplace. The Soviet Union took exception to this display of nationalism with its pan-Mongol overtones, and the Soviet press vehemently attacked Chinggis as a reactionary and an evil person. Whether connected or not with this demonstration of independent thought and the Sino-Soviet rift, a bloodless purge of a number of top Mongolian defense officials took place. Those replaced were the commandant of Ulaanbaatar, the minister of public security, the chief of the general staff, and the head of the army's political department. Just as past purges had missed Choybalsan, this one passed by Colonel General Jamyangiyn Lhagbasuren, longtime minister of people's army affairs and commander in chief of the army. Again, suspected nationalists and those with pro-Chinese leanings were purged. The military tradition to be fostered was not that of ancient Mongol military heroes, but that of the 1921 revolution and the battles against the Japanese in the 1930s and the 1940s. These events always stressed the cooperation and close comradeship in arms of the Soviet army.

Chinese border incidents, though not serious, continued through the 1960s, and they were accompanied by a strengthening of the Mongolian troop presence in border areas. China, in turn, charged that reconnaissance flights from Mongolia and Siberia had violated its airspace. Meanwhile, the Soviet Union and Mongolia continued their public display of political and military affinity. In 1966 the Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance was renewed for another twenty years; it was extendable for an additional ten. It included a clause permitting the stationing of Soviet troops in Mongolia. A parade in Ulaanbaatar in 1967 honored the fiftieth anniversary of the Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 and showed off new weapons, including Mongolian army-manned SA-2 surface-to-air and SNAPPER antitank guided missiles. In his address,

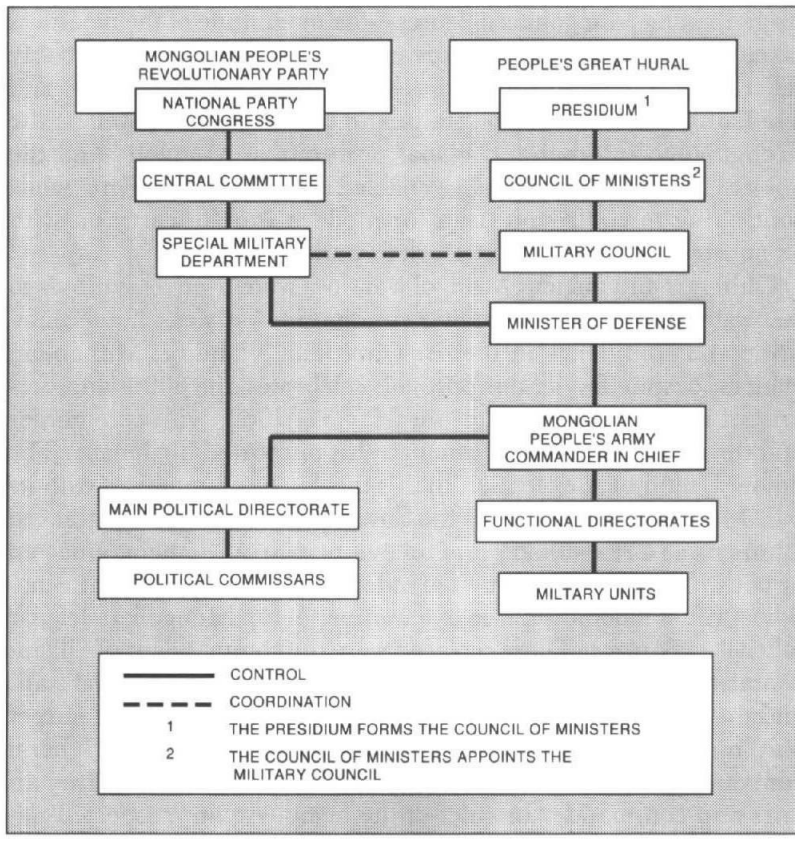


Figure 15. Organization of the Armed Forces, 1989

Lhagbasuren gave high praise to Soviet military aid. In May 1968, at the forty-seventh anniversary of the founding of the Mongolian People's Army, Lhagbasuren spoke similarly of the "fraternal disinterested" aid of the Soviet Union. These panegyrics, while intended to instruct Mongolians in the current policy and to reassure the Soviets of Mongolian solidarity, nevertheless amply demonstrated the degree of Soviet influence and the subordinate Mongolian position in the Soviet mutual defense agreement.

Organization since 1968

The Military Council, originally established by the Mongolian-Soviet defense accord of 1921, was responsible in the 1980s to the Council of Ministers for all defense matters (see Major State Organizations, ch. 4). Observers thought that the council was

composed of the minister of defense (who was called the minister of people's army affairs until March 1968) and his deputy ministers, the chief political commissar of the army, and top party officials with military experience and orientation. The Military Council worked in close conjunction with the Special Military Department of the party Central Committee, which lent political authority to its directives (see fig. 15).

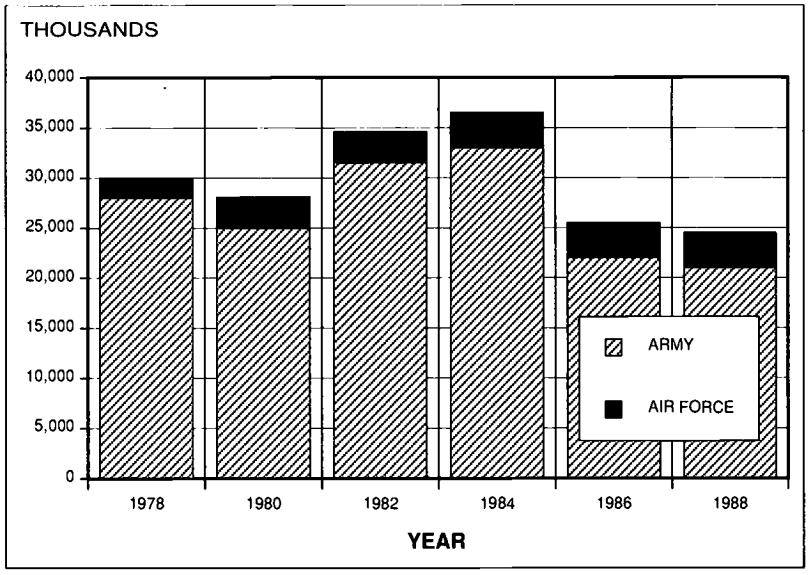
In 1987 the Ministry of Defense was allotted an annual budget of US$249.44 million. It was administered by the minister of defense, Colonel General Jamsrangiyn Yondon, assisted by the chief of the general staff, Lieutenant General C. Purebdorj, and by deputies responsible for various functional directorates, including operations and intelligence, organization and mobilization, military transportation, and signal communications, the main inspectorate, the main directorate of the rear services, and the main political directorate. More than 70 percent of armed forces personnel were members of either the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party or the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth League.

In 1988 the armed forces consisted of 24,500 active-duty personnel (21,000 army and 3,500 air force), augmented by 200,000 army reservists and by various paramilitary forces, including militia (internal security troops and frontier guards attached to the Ministry of Public Security) and military construction troops. The army included approximately 17,000 conscripts (see fig. 16). It was organized into four motorized rifle divisions and equipped with Soviet weapons and equipment ranging from relatively modern to obsolete (see table 13, Appendix). The air force included 100 pilots and was organized into one fighter regiment, at least two transport squadrons, and a helicopter squadron. The air force was equipped with more than thirty Soviet MiG-21 fighters along with An-2 biplanes, An-24, An-26, and An-32 transports, and Mi-4 and Mi-8 helicopters.

The Civil Air Transport Administration, responsible for Mongolian Airlines (MIAT), was thought to be affiliated with the air force. All airline pilots had military ranks, and they flew Soviet-built transport aircraft on crop dusting, forest and steppe fire patrol, and air ambulance missions. They also provided mail and passenger service on 38,300 kilometers of domestic routes as well as on international routes to Irkutsk and Beijing, the latter inaugurated in 1986 (see Civil Aviation, ch. 3).

Personnel

The Universal Military Service Law declared all male citizens between the ages of eighteen and twenty-eight to be eligible for



Source: Based on information from International Institute for Strategic Studies, *The Military Balance,* London, 1978-88.

Figure 16. Armed Forces Personnel Strength, Selected Years, 1978-88

military conscription. Soldiers and noncommissioned officers (NCOs) in the Mongolian armed forces had been required to serve three years of active duty—two years, for those with higher education. In August 1988, compulsory military service for all conscripts was reduced to two years. Males seventeen or older who attended military schools were considered to be on active military duty. Those older than twenty-eight with special skills who had not been drafted might be accepted into special service. Male enlisted personnel could serve on active duty until the age of forty-five. Although there were women in the armed forces in 1989, no information was available on the role women played.

Most officers received their commissions from a military academy, but some were educated in civilian universities. Soldiers and NCOs with a secondary or higher education who had performed in an exemplary fashion also might be granted commissions after being discharged from active duty. Experts up to the age of thirty-five might be inducted to carry out such functions as those of medical officers or computer specialists. Company-grade officers (junior lieutenant, lieutenant, senior lieutenant, and captain) were permitted to serve on active duty to the age of forty-five and in the reserves to the age of fifty. Field-grade officers (major, lieutenant

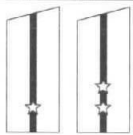
colonel, and colonel) were permitted to serve on active duty to the age of fifty-five and in the reserves to the age of sixty. General officers (major general, lieutenant general, and colonel general) were permitted to serve on active duty to the age of sixty and in the reserves to the age of sixty-five. Those holding the rank of general of the army or marshal could remain on active duty regardless of age. (The last person to hold these ranks was Tsedenbal.) In 1989 there were indications that these age restrictions were being relaxed because of a shortage of middle-aged men.

The uniforms and insignia of the armed forces in the 1980s were similar to those worn by the armed forces of the Soviet Union. Mongolian officer and enlisted uniforms differed in texture and quality of material, but the cut and style were the same. Women's uniforms generally were the same color and texture as their male counterparts' in the respective services and branches.

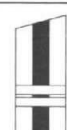
There were four categories of uniforms in the army and the air force: full dress, dress, service, and field. The full-dress uniform was worn during formal reviews, such as parades; during conferral of a promotion in rank or a military decoration; or in performance of duties as a member of an honor guard. The dress uniform was worn during off-duty hours; the service uniform was worn for duty with troops in garrison. The field uniform was worn during training, maneuvers, and firing exercises. All four categories of uniform were olive drab. An ornate gold and red belt was worn on the service jacket of the full-dress uniform, along with medals, an olive drab shirt and tie, long trousers, low quarter shoes, and a service hat. The dress uniform was similar to the full-dress, except that service ribbons were substituted for medals and no belt was worn. The service uniform was the same as the dress uniform, except that leather Sam Browne-type belts were worn by officers, and garrison caps were worn by enlisted personnel. Both officers and enlisted personnel wore breeches, high boots, and steel helmets with their field uniforms. Seasonal differences allowed for the wearing of an overcoat, gloves, and a fur pile cap. A quilted olive drab jacket and field breeches also were worn as a winter field uniform. The background of the shoulder boards, the collar tabs, and the service hatband was red for the army and blue for the air force.

All rank insignia were displayed on shoulder boards. Marshals (when there were any) and general officers wore stars on a broad, ornate gold stripe with a red background. Field-grade officers wore two longitudinal gold stripes and smaller gold stars, and company-grade officers wore one longitudinal gold stripe with even smaller gold stars. Enlisted ranks were identified by longitudinal or transverse gold stripes on shoulder boards (see fig. 17). Branch-of-service

COMMISSIONED OFFICERS

MONGOLIAN RANKS	BAGA DESLEGCH/ DESLEGCH	AHLAH DESLEGCH	AHMAD	HUSHUUCH	DED HURANDA	HURANDA	HUSHUUCH GENERAL	HURANDA GENERAL	DESLEGCH GENERAL	ARMI GENERAL	MARSHAL*
ARMY AND AIR FORCE											
U.S. RANK TITLES	2D LIEUTENANT	1ST LIEUTENANT	CAPTAIN	MAJOR	LIEUTENANT COLONEL	COLONEL	BRIGADIER GENERAL	MAJOR GENERAL	LIEUTENANT GENERAL	GENERAL	GENERAL OF THE ARMY
					NO NAVY						

ENLISTED PERSONNEL

MONGOLIAN RANKS	BAYLDAGCH	NO RANK	AHLAH BAYLDAGCH	BAGA TURUUCH	NO RANK	TURUUCH	AHLAH TURUUCH	TITLE NOT KNOWN
ARMY AND AIR FORCE								
U.S. ARMY RANK TITLES	BASIC PRIVATE	PRIVATE	PRIVATE 1ST CLASS	CORPORAL	SERGEANT	STAFF SERGEANT	SERGEANT 1ST CLASS	SERGEANT MAJOR
U.S. AIR FORCE RANK TITLES	AIRMAN BASIC	AIRMAN	AIRMAN 1ST CLASS	SERGEANT	STAFF SERGEANT	TECHNICAL SERGEANT	MASTER SERGEANT	SENIOR MASTER SERGEANT

NOTE- *There is no Marshal in the Mongolian Air Force.

Figure 17. Officer and Enlisted Ranks and Insignia, 1989

insignias worn on collar tabs were gold metallic devices, except in the veterinary service, which used silver devices. Both officers and enlisted personnel wore a cockade on their headgear.

The armed forces maintained a reserve force in excess of 200,000 people. Enlisted personnel automatically were transferred to the reserves when they were discharged from active duty, and they remained in the reserves until the age of forty-five.

Education and Training

The educational level of the Mongolian armed forces compared favorably with that of the armed forces in most other countries. All officer and enlisted personnel in the mid-1980s had at least a secondary education, and many had received a specialized civilian education. Most officers were educated in the academies and schools of the Military Institute, an outgrowth of the Sukhe Bator Military Academy of the 1930s. Among those who were offered direct commissions were some discharged enlisted personnel with secondary or higher education, whose enlisted performance was exemplary, and civilians up to thirty-five years of age who had expertise useful to the military. Many officers received higher education and high-level training in the Soviet Union.

In the late 1980s, arms training at individual, small unit, and combined arms levels was supervised by Soviet instructors and advisers, or by Mongolian army instructors thoroughly trained in Soviet army courses. The training met Soviet military standards, and it was conducted under both winter and summer conditions. Discharged enlisted personnel with up to two years of active military service received two months of reserve training every two years. Those who had more than two years of active military service received up to two months of reserve training every three years. Officers who registered in the reserves after completing their active duty, no matter what the source of their commission, received up to three months of reserve training every two years. Soldiers received a thorough political indoctrination. The technical training required for their military specialty was related constantly to civilian needs after military service. Soldiers trained as tank drivers could apply these skills in civilian life as tractor drivers, and soldiers trained as truck drivers in the army could be used as civilian drivers. The army also trained printers and tailors, as well as specialists in agriculture and animal husbandry.

In the mid-1980s, the Mongolian armed forces instituted major improvements in the content and methodology of staff, logistical, and field military training. Tactical training grounds, firing ranges,

tank training grounds, and airfields were mechanized and automated. Field and training exercises included good-quality live firings, rocket launches, and operational training flights.

Civil-Military Relations

In the Mongol military tradition, all men were warriors, and therefore military training was not confined to the regular army. In the early days of the Mongolian People's Republic, before universal military conscription, party and youth league members received sporadic special military training in the reserve and in physical culture detachments. Women were admitted to this training on a voluntary basis. In 1929 the League for Assisting the Defense Aims of the Mongolian State was established by the party Central Committee; it was based on the Soviet Voluntary Society for Cooperation with the Armed Forces. In 1942 the league was reorganized as the People's Volunteer Self-Defense Detachment and was used in home defense against the Japanese. In 1945, at the end of World War II, it again was reorganized and renamed—this time the Auxiliary Defense Organization. A 1975 decree of the Political Bureau of the party Central Committee specifically assigned the Auxiliary Defense Organization the task of fostering patriotism and support for the army through sponsorship of annual defense popularization months, Mongolian-Soviet friendship months, and military sports competitions throughout the year. In the late 1980s, the Auxiliary Defense Organization still was responsible for these activities and for providing spare-time schools and courses to train all seventeen-year-old males in basic military skills and specialties of use to the military. "To protect the economy against weapons of mass destruction," all citizens were obliged to participate in civil defense training organized by the Civil Defense Office of the Ministry of Defense. In 1982 there reportedly were 600 civil defense units in Mongolia.

Economic Role

The army over the years has had a generally positive impact on the national economy. Although the work-force shortages and military expenses of World War II imposed austerity on personal consumption and retarded social development and the economy's civilian sector, many soldiers acquired valuable technical skills. In 1934 the Choybalsan industrial combine with 1,500 workers was established to produce cloth, clothing, saddles, harnesses, fur coats, and footwear for the army. By 1939 its production almost completely supplied the army with clothing and individual equipment. Beginning in the early 1950s, wartime facilities turned to producing

items both for the civilian sector and for export (see Light Industry, ch. 3).

Transportation was another industry intended initially as much for military as for civilian use. In 1929 the Soviet Union aided in the establishment of Mongoltrans (Mongolian Transportation), a transportation company with approximately 100 trucks and buses as well as a repair shop. Mongoltrans was a paramilitary organization from the beginning; its personnel received military training and transport was diverted to military tasks on call. Air transport was established, in 1925, also with Soviet assistance. In 1989 it was operated as part of the air force both for military and for civilian use (see Civil Aviation, ch. 3).

The Military Construction Administration, developed out of the Darhan Military Construction Project in the late 1950s, continued in the late 1980s as a paramilitary organization under the Mongolian army. Between 1981 and 1984, military construction troops helped to establish the new city of Erdenet; they built more than 1,000 installations and enterprises—including state farms, a shoe factory in Ulaanbaatar, and an international camp for young pioneers—for the civilian economy.

Threat Perception

In the early 1980s, despite improved Sino-Soviet relations, Mongolia maintained its traditional distrust of Beijing and was unwilling to reduce its own armed forces or the level of Soviet forces stationed in Mongolia. By 1985 Soviet troops in Mongolia still numbered 75,000; they included two tank and three motorized infantry divisions. China insisted that Soviet forces in Mongolia be withdrawn as a condition for improved Sino-Soviet relations. Soviet communist party general secretary Mikhail Gorbachev responded to that demand in a July 1986 Vladivostok speech in which he offered to withdraw Soviet troops from Mongolia. Two weeks later, the Mongolian government gave its support for "the withdrawal of a considerable part of the Soviet troops from Mongolia . . . to promote the establishment of the overall Asian and Pacific security and serve the cause of strengthening trust and good neighborliness in Asia." Between April and June 1987, the Soviet Union announced the withdrawal of one full-strength motorized rifle division and several separate units, which reduced Soviet forces in Mongolia to approximately 55,000 (see Foreign Relations, ch. 4).

Mongolia's relations with China also improved during this period; the exchange of government, trade, and friendship delegations culminated in the November 1988 signing of a Mongolian-Chinese border treaty. In December 1988, Mongolia's first deputy minister

of foreign affairs, Daramyn Yondon, commenting on a Soviet offer to withdraw the majority of its troops stationed in Mongolia within two years, stated that "if relations with China continue to improve, all Soviet troops will be withdrawn." In February 1989, official Mongolian news sources quoted Mongolian military leaders as calling for a reduction in the size of the Mongolian armed forces. Mongolia's concern over the Chinese threat, although by no means eliminated, was at its lowest level in nearly thirty years.

Criminal Justice and Public Security

The Mongol legal heritage, based on a nomadic pastoral culture, first was unified and codified in the *yasaq* (see Glossary). The *yasaq,* promulgated in 1229, contained directives on state administration and military discipline, criminal law, private law, and special customs for the steppe region. It served as a basis for a more extensive legal code during the Yuan Dynasty (1279–1368).

With the breakup of the Mongol empire, Mongol tribes returned to earlier customs. In 1640 an alliance of Mongol princes drafted the Mongol-Oirad Regulations, characterized by the strong influence of Lamaism and by considerably milder punishments than foreign codes of the time or previous Mongol codes. Under Qing Dynasty rule, Mongol laws and customs were combined with Chinese law.

In an effort to improve on some of the harsher aspects of the criminal justice system, the Mongolian government, in 1922, abolished various investigative tortures and corporal punishments left over from the Qing period. A November 1925 law on judicial reform provided that courts were to be guided by new laws and that punishment should be to protect public order and to reeducate criminals. The old system remained in effect, however, except when superseded by the new regulations.

The first criminal code of the Mongolian People's Republic, adopted on October 21, 1926, established a statutory basis for the control of crime and disorder. It consisted of 227 articles in 31 chapters, and it applied extensive criminal regulations and sanctions to citizens and foreigners. That code was replaced on September 23, 1929, by a new criminal code with modifications reflecting the political struggle taking place in Mongolia at that time (see Purges of the Opposition, 1928–32, ch. 1). The 1929 code remained in effect for five years. It was replaced by the 1934 criminal code, which was adopted in two stages—the general part, confirmed on May 24, 1934, and a special part, confirmed on October 8, 1934, that expanded the scope of "counterrevolutionary" crimes and added a chapter on military crimes. The 1934 code was in turn

replaced on January 17, 1942, by a code reflecting the changes in society and the influences of World War II. The 1942 code remained in effect, with numerous amendments, until January 31, 1961, when the code still in use in 1989 was confirmed.

Mongolia's first constitution, adopted by the National Great Hural on November 26, 1924, established a state structure, including courts and procuraturates, based on the Soviet system. The 1924 constitution was replaced by the 1940 constitution, closely modeled on the 1936 Soviet constitution. The 1940 constitution was replaced by the Constitution adopted on July 6, 1960. Later amendments to the 1960 Constitution increased the terms of Supreme Court members and procurators from three to four years and the terms of the members of city and people's courts from two to three years (see Constitutional Framework, ch. 4).

The Legal System

Criminal Code

According to the 1961 Criminal Code, a crime was a socially dangerous act or failure to act. Insignificant acts that did not present a "social danger" were not considered crimes, even though they may have violated the letter of the law. Crimes committed against the state and socialist ownership were considered more serious than crimes against private persons. Crimes against the state included treason, espionage, terrorism, sabotage, and smuggling. Crimes against socialist ownership included theft, misappropriation, or embezzlement of state property; and intentional or negligent destruction of state property. Other crimes listed in the criminal code included murder; deliberate crippling; mayhem; impairing the health of others; rape; theft; banditry; vagrancy; destruction of state, communal, or individual property; slander; insult; misuse of guardianship; false imprisonment; forgery; hindering people in voting; illegal search of homes; violation of the privacy of correspondence, of labor laws, or of the separation of church and state, or church and school; and interference with religious freedom.

Generally, any crimes committed by military personnel and active-duty reservists were treated as military crimes. Specific military crimes included insubordination, desertion, unwarranted absence or abandonment of a duty station, evading military service through self-mutilation, violations of guard-duty rules, and mistreatment of prisoners of war.

Close attention was given to equal rights for women. According to the 1961 Criminal Code, it was a crime to force a woman to marry or to prevent her marriage, to violate the equal rights of

women (for example, by preventing them from studying in a school or working in a state agency or in industry), and to refuse jobs to pregnant women or to mothers.

People sixteen and older were considered legal adults. Those between the ages of fourteen and sixteen were treated as juveniles, except in the most serious cases. Courts were encouraged to apply "compulsory measures of education" rather than criminal penalties to people younger than eighteen who had committed crimes, unless doing so would risk a serious danger to society.

According to the criminal code, punishment was intended to reeducate and correct the offender's behavior rather than to inflict bodily harm or humiliation. If court sentences were reversed, the official responsible for wrongly imposing punishment was liable to criminal court or disciplinary action.

Punishments consisted of confinement in prisons or correctional labor colonies, assignment of correctional tasks without deprivation of freedom, deportation from the country, prohibition from holding public executive or managerial jobs, fines, public reprimands, confiscation of private property, expulsion from one's native *aymag,* and loss of the right to hold public office. For treason, espionage, public subversion (which covers a variety of antistate crimes), murder, and armed banditry, the death penalty could be imposed. Women were exempt from the death penalty, as were men younger than eighteen or older than sixty.

Prison sentences generally were limited to terms of six months to ten years, but repeated criminal acts could be punished by prison terms as long as fifteen years. Minor theft and embezzlement usually were punished by imprisonment of up to one year, plus eighteen months of correctional tasks to be served at the convicted person's place of work or residence; repeat offenders could receive sentences of one to five years in prison.

Stricter punishments could be imposed on those who misappropriated, plundered, or stole state and public property. They could be sentenced to up to seven years in prison, and repeat offenders could be sentenced to six to fifteen years, in some cases accompanied by full or partial confiscation of property. Stealing private property could be punished by terms of up to five years in jail or by eighteen months of correctional tasks without deprivation of freedom; repeat offenders could receive five to ten years in prison. Robbery with the use or threat of force could be punished by imprisonment for ten years, and repeat offenders could be imprisoned eight to fifteen years. Malicious embezzlement and squandering of state property were punishable by death by a firing squad and confiscation of private property. A sentence of death, ten to

Soviet-made BMP-1 mechanized infantry combat vehicles, from a train window
Courtesy Allen H. Kassof

fifteen years in prison, or property confiscation was meted out to persons using force in robbery or banditry; misappropriating funds and property, or dissipating them by illegal consumption; abusing their official positions; swindling; extorting; or showing carelessness or negligence in the discharge of official duties. Terms spent in jail awaiting trial counted toward completion of the sentence, and probation was permissible after one to five years in prison had been served. There were statutes of limitation for most crimes, and pardons occasionally were granted. Penalties against violators of public order consisted of warnings, public rebukes, fines, imprisonment, and compulsory labor for five to thirty days.

Criminal Court System

The Constitution charges the courts with administering justice in accordance with the laws of the state; with upholding the Constitution; with protecting the rights and interests of the state; with protecting state, public, and cooperative property; and with safeguarding the personal, political, and property rights of the citizens. Courts try cases of treason; sabotage; embezzlement of state, cooperative, and public property; theft; robbery; swindling; and other crimes based on the criminal code. They also try cases

involving losses inflicted on private citizens, on the state, and on cooperative and public enterprises and organizations according to the civil code (see Major State Organizations, ch. 4).

Courts punish persons convicted of crimes, but they also serve as educative and political agencies. They correct, reeducate, and reform criminals. They are called on to train citizens in the spirit of "dedication to the fatherland" and in the cause of "socialist democracy"; to uphold the strict and undeviating observance of the law; to train citizens in the careful treatment of state, cooperative, and other public property; and to support the observation of labor discipline, the honoring of state and public duty, and respect for the rules of communal life. The courts are expected to promote popular attitudes of loyalty, patriotism, peaceful behavior, and enthusiasm for socialism; to uphold conformity with the laws and respect for public property and labor discipline; and to involve citizens in state and civic affairs.

The court system consists of the Supreme Court, *aymag* courts, city courts, and special courts. Except in special cases for which provisions are made by law, all cases in all courts are tried by permanent judges in the presence of assessors, who are elected representatives sitting on the bench with the judges. The assessors hear the evidence, may question witnesses and the accused, examine the case as presented by the procurator, and participate in findings and sentences. When a question of law or its interpretation arises, however, the judge's opinion rules. An assessor may serve for no more than twenty days per year, unless the nature of a case or crime requires the period to be extended. Citizens twenty-three years or older who have never been convicted by a court are eligible for election as judges and assessors.

According to the Constitution, the Supreme Court is the highest judicial body. It is elected by the People's Great Hural for a term of four years, and it is responsible and accountable to the People's Great Hural and its presidium (Article 66 of the Constitution as amended). It consists of a chairman, a deputy chairman, members, and assessors, as may be determined by the People's Great Hural. The Plenum of the Supreme Court consists of the chairman, the deputy chairman, and all members meeting together in a general session. The Presidium of the Supreme Court consists of a committee of selected members. There is a judicial chamber in charge of criminal cases, another in charge of civil cases, and a third in charge of overseeing the work of all the judicial organs of the state.

The Supreme Court directs, inspects, and reviews the work of all the lower courts. It supervises all judicial work in the state, and

it formulates national legal policies. The court holds a general session at least once a month, that is attended by the procurator or the procurator's deputy. Decisions at general sessions are adopted by voice majority of the membership. Such sessions may change previous interpretations of the laws, but not the Constitution. Only the Presidium of the People's Great Hural has the right to examine and change decisions reached in the Supreme Court's general sessions or in court cases. The Presidium of the Supreme Court reviews the work of all lower courts and investigates the general causes of crime in the country. The Supreme Court also may take jurisdiction over certain cases, presumably those posing serious difficulties, problems of legal procedure or jurisprudence, or serious dangers to the state that ordinarily would be tried by military or by railroad courts.

In 1989 there were about 100 circuit courts throughout the country—5 to 7 in each *aymag*. Circuit courts serve about 340 counties, or *somons* (see Glossary), and towns. Each circuit court has jurisdiction over several *somons* in dealing with citizen complaints and with criminal and civil cases. Judges and jurors are elected for three-year terms—the judges by the regular session of the *aymag* assemblies, the jurors by direct elections. The courts promote knowledge of the laws, and they work for crime prevention.

Each *aymag* and city court consists of a chairman, a deputy chairman, members, and assessors. Judges and assessors are elected for two-year terms by the local assemblies of people's deputies. These courts can try all criminal cases except those that fall under the jurisdiction of the Supreme Court, the special courts, and the state arbitration organs. These courts also engage in crime prevention propaganda and the popularization of the law. They report on their own work to *aymag* and municipal assemblies.

There also are special military and railroad transport courts. Each is staffed by a chairman, a deputy chairman, members, and assessors; all are elected by the People's Great Hural to three-year terms. Military courts try cases involving military personnel, fire fighters, and militia members. Railroad courts try cases connected with the operation of railroad lines and with criminal and civil offenses committed by railroad workers. A trial is carried out under the chairmanship of one judge, assisted by two assessors.

The Constitution establishes the Office of the Procurator of the Republic. It vests the position with supreme supervisory power over the strict observance of the laws by all ministries and other central administrative bodies, and by the institutions and organizations subordinate to them; by local bodies; by all public and cooperative organizations; by all officials; and by all citizens. The procurator

is appointed by the People's Great Hural to a four-year term and is responsible and accountable to the People's Great Hural and its presidium. The procurator appoints *aymag, somon,* and municipal procurators for three-year terms. These local procurators are subordinate only to the procurator of higher rank.

Thus the procuratorial system parallels that of the courts, and its chain of command extends unbroken from top to bottom. The Office of the Procurator serves as a check on the entire court system, as well as on the government apparatus. As such it wields enormous power and is a strong arm of the party for enforcing its national policies.

The procurator is authorized to review the activities of the Ministry of State Security and its field organizations, all organizations of inquiry, all militia units, and all judicial organizations. The procurator's staff reviews all cases, takes account of sentences, and checks on the legality of detentions and on prison conditions. It supports public prosecution work in each locality, issues arrest warrants and confirms indictments, protests against laws it considers illegal or unconstitutional, checks the legality of resolutions, ensures that state orders and regulations are properly issued, and supervises all public prosecutors and the investigative apparatus.

The deputy procurator is appointed by the procurator for a three-year term, subject to confirmation by the Presidium of the People's Great Hural. The incumbent is charged with reviewing the investigative organs of the Ministry of State Security and the militia; with checking prison conditions and the legality of detentions; with reviewing legal judgments, rulings, and decisions of regular and special courts; and with participating in Supreme Court preparatory and judicial sessions as the procurator's representative.

The assistant procurator is appointed by the procurator and confirmed by the Presidium of the People's Great Hural. The assistant procurator supervises the coroners, the Office of the Military Procurator, and the border guards; is responsible for prompt action on all statements and complaints from state and public institutions and private citizens; and supervises the legal personnel on the procurator's staff and legal training in the country.

At the local level, *aymag* and municipal procurators issue arrest warrants, direct coroners and militia organs in crime investigations, and review the investigative activity of the organs under the Ministry of Internal Affairs. Coroners, under direction of the procurators, are required to make prompt inquiry into all criminal cases. They appear in court in criminal cases as expert witnesses and in civil cases as defenders for workers and the state. They may be members of the medical bureaus that are attached to all courts in

Mongolian People's Army honor guard
Courtesy Steve Mann

order to examine victims injured in crimes, to perform autopsies, and to conduct scientific investigations. Bailiffs at each level are appointed by the court chairman. They see that the decisions and sentences imposed by the courts are carried out.

All persons charged with a violation can be handed over, together with the evidence against them, to the courts of local assemblies by official and public organizations, local authorities, procurators, militia members, or citizens. An accused person has the right to be tried within one month of arrest or is automatically absolved.

Court proceedings are conducted in Mongol, but a person not speaking the language has the right both to an interpreter and to use his or her own language in court. Accused people are guaranteed the right to defend themselves. All cases are heard in public, except for special cases in which the law provides for closed courts.

Verdicts, decrees, and decisions of all courts except the Supreme Court may be appealed by the defense or by the prosecution. Decisions and sentences legally in force can be protested only by the chairman of the Supreme Court, by the state procurator, or by the minister of state security.

The Penal System

Mongolia maintained both prison camps and correctional or educational colonies in the 1980s. There also were detention camps for minor offenders, designed to rehabilitate them by "socially useful

labor." Such labor included town-improvement projects: cleaning the street, and repairing buildings. Those performing this labor received neither wages nor food; they purchased their food or depended on their families to provide it. Local jails existed for brief detentions (twenty-four hours or less) of intoxicated persons and those awaiting indictment.

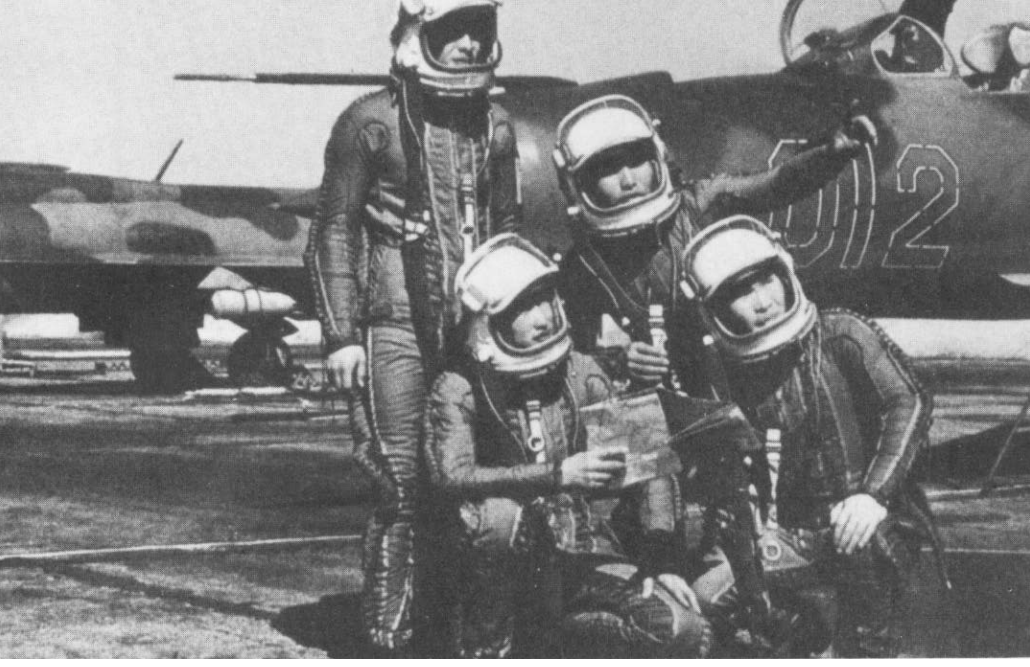
Law Enforcement

The Security System

The people of Mongolia were subject to the control of a variety of political, economic, and social organizations inside and outside the government. The entire system was guided by the party, which directed the overall policies of the government agencies; other political groups, such as the youth and labor organizations; and the network of herding and agricultural cooperatives that extended to include the lowliest *arad* (see Glossary). Through this hierarchy of formal control and the dynamics of its politico-social activities, the central government extended its general, and often extremely particular, direction over the entire population (see The Society, ch. 2; Major State Organizations, ch. 4).

In the government structure itself, the security system comprised the Ministry of Public Security under which were the central Militia Office and the network of police departments, called militia departments; the State Security Administration; the Fire Prevention Administration; the Border and Internal Troops Administration; and the offices handling correctional organizations. In addition, both governmental and public auxiliary law-enforcement groups helped these agencies to maintain public order and safety (see Local Administration, ch. 4).

The national police apparatus, commonly called the militia, had a department in each *aymag* and a militia office in each district. The militia was responsible for the registration and supervision of the internal passports that all citizens aged sixteen and older were required to carry, and for enforcement of the passport regulations at the national and local levels. A passport was necessary for internal travel, and persons wishing to travel first had to obtain permission from the militia. After arriving at their destination, they had to register with the militia. The militia collected the passports of those entering military service. The passports of persons under criminal investigation and detention were held by the investigative organ, but those who were sentenced to prison surrendered their passports to the militia. A system of tight control was imposed upon the movements of all citizens. The militia also had been



Mongolian People's Air Force pilots
Courtesy Mongolian State Publishing Office

designated as the organ of criminal investigation—giving central direction to police work and combining the functions of criminal investigation and criminal arrest. The procurators supervised the militia's crime-detection work. Militia investigators were expected to have strong political convictions, a knowledge of jurisprudence, extensive working experience, loyalty, and honesty.

Militia organs, together with local assemblies administered compulsory labor sentences of convicted criminals. Militiamen, as well as the executive committees of local governments, had authority to put intoxicated persons into detention houses for twenty-four hours or less and to fine them.

Each militia office had a motor-vehicle inspection bureau, which regulated vehicular traffic, investigated accidents, issued licenses, and could impose fines on operators guilty of minor law infractions. Detectives attached to motor vehicle inspection bureaus also investigated vehicular accidents. Militia members directed motor traffic, and they were stationed along the railroads.

The Ministry of Public Security also was responsible for the Fire Prevention Administration and the State Security Administration. The Fire Prevention Administration supervised all fire-prevention and fire-fighting activities. The State Security Administration was

a counterintelligence organization thought to oversee anti-espionage, antisubversion, and anti-sabotage activities.

The Border and Internal Troops Administration was in charge of 15,000 troops responsible for border patrol, for guard duties, and for immigration control. Border defense troops were equipped with fixed-wing aircraft, helicopters, tanks, motor vehicles and motorcycles, radio communications equipment, engineering equipment, and automatic weapons.

Auxiliary Security Forces

Various governmental and public organizations assisted the regular law-enforcement agencies in keeping order. Public brigades had been organized as auxiliaries to help the militia in crime detection and prevention, in gathering evidence, in observing public gatherings, in finding stolen goods, and in tracking escaped criminals. In addition, there were mass social organizations, including block and district committees, and parents' committees in schools. These citizens' groups were used to help fight such crimes as murder, burglary, theft, and arson. They also could function as deputies or special police, as the occasion demanded. In addition, there were administrative committees, special police courts, committees of public-spirited citizens to deal with juvenile delinquents, and anti-crime commissions in the larger cities and towns.

The most important of these bodies were the Crime Fighting and Crime Prevention Councils, which were voluntary and informal party organizations operating without paid staffs at all levels of the party-government structure. These councils were strictly advisory bodies, and they had no authority to replace judicial or law-enforcement agencies in any way. Their function was to discuss in general terms the problems of crime and how best to combat it.

Incidence of Crime

In the late 1980s, the most common crimes were theft and embezzlement of state property, black-marketing, juvenile delinquency, misappropriation of materials (food and drugs, for example), and speculation (such as selling automobiles). To combat these crimes, the authorities called for better enforcement of laws, harsher punishment for criminals, and additional public involvement in fighting crime.

Hooliganism and vandalism by juvenile delinquents in the towns and cities also caused the authorities grave concern. Much of this activity was attributed to the rising rate of divorce and to broken homes. To combat this situation, the authorities called for efforts to strengthen the family structure; to ensure better compliance with

family and marriage laws; to improve the laws on family, marriage, child adoption, and guardianship; and to better integrate schools with the job market, in order to discourage idleness among students more effectively.

In 1989 Mongolian government and party leaders, now less fearful of foreign threat, were taking steps to reduce the size of the armed forces and to make further use of the skills of demobilized military personnel in support of the civilian economy. The leaders were more concerned with the threats of corruption and of incompetence in law enforcement that allowed for an increase in crime, especially economic crimes. To remedy this situation, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party called for renewed efforts to reform law-enforcement organizations by enhancing the role of the Ministry of Justice, to ensure the independence of prosecutors, and to improve the training and evaluation of judicial cadre.

* * *

Little has been published on the Mongolian armed forces. What is available is mainly historical, such as the discussion of the great Mongol conquests of the thirteenth century in *History of the Mongolian People's Republic,* published by the Soviet Akademia Nauk, and an account of the exploits of the Mongolian People's Army in World War II in the *History of the Mongolian People's Republic,* available in William A. Brown's and Urgunge Onon's English translation. William R. Heaton's and Kenneth Jarrett's articles in *Asian Survey* provide insight into the evolving Mongolian perception of the military threat from China. *Military Balance* [London] each year provides an up-to-date table of organization and equipment for the Mongolian armed forces. Albert P. Blaustein and Gisbert H. Flanz's *Constitutions of the Countries of the World* and William E. Butler's *The Mongolian Legal System* provide indispensable information on the legal system. (For further information and complete citations, see Bibliography.)

Appendix

Table

1 Metric Conversion Coefficients and Factors
2 Population Statistics, Selected Years, 1918–89
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Table 1. Metric Conversion Coefficients and Factors

When you know	Multiply by	To find
Millimeters	0.04	inches
Centimeters	0.39	inches
Meters	3.3	feet
Kilometers	0.62	miles
Hectares (10,000 m²)	2.47	acres
Square kilometers	0.39	square miles
Cubic meters	35.3	cubic feet
Liters	0.26	gallons
Kilograms	2.2	pounds
Metric tons	0.98	long tons
	1.1	short tons
	2,204	pounds
Degrees Celsius (Centigrade)	9 divide by 5 and add 32	degrees Fahrenheit

Table 2. Population Statistics, Selected Years, 1918-89

Year	Estimated Population	Crude Birth Rate (per thousand)	Crude Death Rate (per thousand)	Rate of Natural Increase (per thousand)
1918	647,000	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1925	651,700	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1935	738,200	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1940	738,600	26.1	21.8	4.3
1945	759,300	n.a.	n.a.	n.a.
1956	845,500	32.3	14.2	18.1
1960	936,900	43.2	10.5	32.7
1965	1,076,000	38.0	12.0	26.0
1970	1,230,500	40.2	12.3	27.9
1975	1,424,400	39.4	10.0	29.4
1979	1,595,000	37.2	9.5	27.7
1980	1,639,700	37.9	10.4	27.5
1985	1,890,500	36.0	9.2	26.8
1989 *	2,125,000	35.1	7.6	27.5

n.a.—not available.

* Projected.

Source: Based on information from Mongolia, Central Statistical Board, *National Economy of the MPR for 65 Years, 1921-1986,* Ulaanbaatar, 1986, 79-80; United States, Department of Commerce, Bureau of the Census, Center for International Research, *World Population Profile, 1987,* Washington, 1987, 292; and K.C. Zachariah and My T. Vu, *World Population Projections: 1978-88 Edition,* Baltimore, 1988, 282.

Table 3. Ethnic Composition, 1979 Census

Ethnic Group	Estimated Population (in thousands)	Percentage of Population
Khalkha	1,236	77.5
Kazakh	84	5.3
Dorbet	45	2.8
Bayat	31	1.9
Buryat	29	1.8
Dariganga	24	1.5
Dzakchin	20	1.3
Urianhay	19	1.2
Oold	9	0.6
Torgut	9	0.6
Other	88	5.5
TOTAL	1,594	100.0

Source: Based on information from Mongolia, Central Statistical Board, *National Economy of the MPR in 1981,* Ulaanbaatar, 1982, translated in JPRS-MON-86-001, January 27, 1986, 13.

Table 4. Urban-Rural Breakdown by Family Size, 1979 Census

Family Size	Urban		Rural		Total	
	Number (in thousands)	Percentage	Number (in thousands)	Percentage	Number (in thousands)	Percentage
1-3	24.6	17.0	39.8	23.9	64.4	20.7
3-4	42.2	29.3	46.7	28.0	88.9	28.6
5-6	36.7	25.4	34.4	20.7	71.1	22.8
7-8	24.8	17.2	25.2	15.1	50.0	16.1
9 and over	16.1	11.1	20.5	12.3	36.6	11.8
TOTAL	144.4	100.0	166.6	100.0	311.0	100.0

Source: Based on information from Mongolia, Central Statistical Board, *National Economy of the MPR in 1981,* Ulaanbaatar, 1982, translated in JPRS-MON-86-001, January 27, 1986, 22.

Table 5. Females in the Work Force by Sector, 1979 Census

Sector	Female Employees as Percentage of Sector	Females in Sector as Percentage of Employed Females
Material production		
Agriculture	46.8	34.9
Communications	46.9	0.9
Construction	35.0	6.7
Industry	45.9	14.5
Trade and procurement	57.8	8.9
Transportation	14.7	2.8
Total material production	42.5 [1]	69.0 [2]
Nonmaterial production		
Education, art, and culture	62.6	11.5
Finance, credit, and insurance	59.3	0.6
Housing and domestic services	54.9	3.1
Public health and social security	78.8	9.4
Science and scientific service	41.3	1.4
Total nonmaterial production	54.6 [1]	31.0 [3]
TOTAL	45.6 [1]	100.0

[1] Average.
[2] Figures do not add to total because of rounding.
[3] As published.

Source: Based on information from Mongolia, Central Statistical Board, *National Economy of the MPR for 65 Years, 1921-1986,* Ulaanbaatar, 1986, 144-47.

Table 6. Education Statistics, 1970, 1980, and 1985

	1970	1980	1985
Schools			
Institutions of higher learning	5	7	8
Vocational secondary	28	37	40
Specialized secondary	19	25	28
Primary and junior secondary	761	885	911
Total schools	813	954	987
Students			
Institutions of higher learning	8,400	23,200	24,600
Vocational secondary	10,600	22,100	27,700
Specialized secondary	11,100	18,700	23,000
Primary and junior secondary	245,900	394,400	435,900
Total students	276,000	458,400	511,200

Source: Based on information from Mongolia, Central Statistical Board, *National Economy of the MPR for 65 Years, 1921-1986,* Ulaanbaatar, 1986, 361-64.

Table 7. Employment by Sector, Selected Years, 1960–85
(in percentages)

Sector	1960	1970	1980	1985
Material production				
Agriculture and forestry	60.8	47.3	39.9	33.8
Construction	6.9	5.8	6.0	6.1
Industry	12.1	15.5	16.0	18.6
Trade, material, technical supplies, and procurement	3.5	6.5	6.8	7.3
Transportation and communications	3.7	5.4	7.1	7.8
Total material production *	87.0	80.6	76.0	73.8
Nonmaterial production				
Education, culture, and art	3.7	7.8	9.6	10.3
Finance, credit, and insurance	0.1	0.3	0.4	0.4
Housing and domestic services	0.6	2.0	2.8	3.8
Public administration	4.6	2.1	2.2	2.4
Public health and social security institutions	2.8	5.2	6.3	6.4
Science and scientific services	0.4	1.0	1.7	1.9
Total nonmaterial production *	13.0	19.4	24.0	26.2
TOTAL	100.0	100.0	100.0	100.0

* As published.

Source: Based on information from Mongolia, Central Statistical Board, *National Economy of the MPR for 65 Years, 1921–1986,* Ulaanbaatar, 1986, 134–37.

Table 8. Major Joint Ventures, 1987

Joint Venture	Partner	Sector	Date	Comments
Erdenet Mining and Concentrating Combine	Soviet Union	Mining	1973	Exploitation of copper and molybdenum.
Monogolbank	-do-	Banking	1924	Turned over to Mongolian control in 1954 and renamed State Bank of the Mongolian People's Republic.
Mongolbolgarmetall	Bulgaria	Mining	Late 1970s	
Mongolchekhoslovakmetall	Czechoslovakia	-do-	1979	Exploitation of fluorite and tin.
Mongolneft	Soviet Union	Oil	1949	Turned over to Mongolian control in 1957.
Mongsovbuner	-do-	Wholesale trade	1932	Turned over to Mongolian control in 1934.
Mongolsovtsvetmet	-do-	Mining	1970s	Exploitation of nonferrous metals.
Mongoltrans	-do-	Transportation	1929	Turned over to Mongolian control in 1936.
Sovmongmetall	-do-	Mining	1949	Turned over to Mongolian control in 1957.
Sovmongolpromstroy	-do-	Construction	After World War II.	
Stormong	-do-	Foreign trade	1927	Turned over to Mongolian control at unknown date.
Ulaanbaatar Railroad	-do-	Transportation	1949	Established with 53 percent Soviet share; equal shares agreed upon in 1968.

Source: Based on information from Alan J.K. Sanders, *Mongolia: Politics, Economics, and Society*. Boulder, Colorado, 1987, 85-87.

Table 9. Foreign Trade, 1970, 1980, and 1985
(in percentages)

	1970	1980	1985
Exports			
Raw materials and processed products (nonfoodstuffs)	58.5	30.9	24.5
Raw materials (foodstuffs)	19.5	13.4	6.2
Foodstuffs	9.6	19.0	9.2
Industrial consumer goods	5.9	9.6	16.8
Fuel, minerals, raw materials, and metals	5.4	26.4	42.6
Chemicals, fertilizers, and rubber	---	---	---
Construction materials	0.9	0.4	0.6
Machines and equipment	0.2	0.3	0.1
Total exports	100.0	100.0	100.0
Imports			
Raw materials and processed products (nonfoodstuffs)	2.0	2.4	2.8
Raw materials (foodstuffs)	0.3	2.9	1.4
Foodstuffs	12.7	8.4	6.2
Industrial consumer goods	36.3	20.9	17.3
Fuel, minerals, raw materials, and metals	12.8	24.1	28.7
Chemicals, fertilizers, and rubber	5.1	6.3	6.0
Construction materials	1.7	1.9	1.4
Machines and equipment	25.9	33.1	36.2
Total imports	100.0	100.0	100.0

---means negligible.

Source: Based on information from Mongolia, Central Statistical Board, *National Economy of the MPR for 65 Years, 1921-1986,* Ulaanbaatar, 1986, 340-42.

Table 10. Principal Foreign Trade Commodities, 1986

Commodity	Unit	Quantity
Exports		
Cement	thousands of tons	13
Grain	-do-	139
Meat and meat products	-do-	44
Wool	-do-	16
Large hides	thousands	121
Small hides	-do-	1,256
Lumber	thousands of cubic meters	39
Sawn timber	-do-	121
Clothing	millions of rubles	38
Imports		
Cement	thousands of tons	49
Fertilizers	-do-	33
Fresh fruits	-do-	2,600
Gas, diesel, and paraffin	-do-	788
Lubricating oil	-do-	24
Paper	-do-	9
Refined sugar	-do-	42
Rolled iron and steel	-do-	74
Canned vegetables	tons	1,500
Insecticides	-do-	1,615
Cotton cloth	millions of meters	55
Silk and synthetic cloth	-do-	8
Woolen cloth	-do-	1
Buses	units	319
Clocks and watches	-do-	120,000
Cranes	-do-	55
Diesel generators	-do-	7
Electric forklifts	-do-	17
Excavators	-do-	60
Machine tools	-do-	50
Motorcycles	-do-	7,107
Automobiles	-do-	551
Radio receivers	-do-	17,100
Refrigerators	-do-	12,600
Sewing machines	-do-	10,100
Television sets	-do-	11,000
Tractors	-do-	695
Transformers	-do-	186
Trucks	-do-	1,546
Washing machines	-do-	6,500
Leather footwear	thousands of pairs	566

Source: Based on information from *Europa Year Book, 1988,* London, 1988, 1, 865.

Table 11. Hurals, 1924–86

Hural *	Date
First National Great Hural	November 1924
Second National Great Hural	November 1925
Third National Great Hural	November 1926
Fourth National Great Hural	October–November 1927
Fifth National Great Hural	December 1928–January 1929
Sixth National Great Hural	April 1930
Seventh National Great Hural	December 20–27, 1937
Eighth National Great Hural	June 20–July 9, 1940
Ninth National Great Hural	February 12–19, 1949
First People's Great Hural	July 1951
Second People's Great Hural	June 1954
Third People's Great Hural	June 1957
Fourth People's Great Hural	July 1960
Fifth People's Great Hural	June 1963
Sixth People's Great Hural	July 1966
Seventh People's Great Hural	June 1969
Eighth People's Great Hural	July 1973
Ninth People's Great Hural	June 1977
Tenth People's Great Hural	June–July 1981
Eleventh People's Great Hural	July 1986

* Known as National Great Hural from 1924 to 1951, when the National Little Hural was abolished and its functions absorbed; thereafter known as People's Great Hural.

Table 12. Party Congresses, 1921–86

Party Congress *	Date
First Party Congress	March 1–3, 1921
Second Party Congress	July 18–August 18, 1923
Third Party Congress	August 4–24, 1924
Fourth Party Congress	September 23–October 2, 1925
Fifth Party Congress	September 26–October 4, 1926
Sixth Party Congress	September 22–October 4, 1927
Seventh Party Congress	October 23–December 10, 1928
Eighth Party Congress	February 21–April 3, 1930
Ninth Party Congress	September 28–October 5, 1934
Tenth Party Congress	March 20–April 5, 1940
Eleventh Party Congress	December 7–23, 1947
Twelfth Party Congress	November 19–24, 1954
Thirteenth Party Congress	March 17–22, 1958
Fourteenth Party Congress	July 3–7, 1961
Fifteenth Party Congress	June 7–11, 1966
Sixteenth Party Congress	July 1971
Seventeenth Party Congress	June 14–18, 1976
Eighteenth Party Congress	May 26–30, 1981
Nineteenth Party Congress	May 29–31, 1986

* Party known as Mongolian People's Party from 1921 to 1924; thereafter known as Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party.

Table 13. Major Equipment of Mongolian People's Army, 1988

Description	Country of Origin	Estimated Number in Inventory
Armor		
Main battle tanks (T-54, T-55, T-62)	Soviet Union	650
BRDM-2 reconnaissance vehicles	-do-	135
BMP-1 mechanized infantry combat vehicles	-do-	420
BTR-40, BTR-60, and BTR-152 armored personnel carriers	-do-	450
Artillery		
D-30 122mm, M-46 130mm, and ML-20 152mm towed artillery	-do-	650
ZPU-4 14.5mm, M-1939 37mm, and S-60 57mm air defense guns	-do-	100
T-12 100mm antitank guns	-do-	n.a.
120mm and 160mm mortars	-do-	n.a.
BM-21 122mm, B-13 132mm, BM-16 132mm, BM-14 140mm, BM-16 140mm, and BM-17 140mm multiple rocket launchers	-do-	120+
Surface-to-air missiles		
SA-7	-do-	300
Fighters		
MiG-21 (Fishbed), including one MiG-21U trainer	-do-	30
Transports		
An-2 (Colt)	-do-	20
An-24 (Coke)	-do-	19
An-26 (Curl)	-do-	1
An-32 (Cline)	-do-	1
Helicopters		
Mi-4 (Hound)	-do-	10
Mi-8 (Hip)	-do-	n.a.

n.a.—not available.

Source: Based on information from *The Military Balance, 1988-1989*, London, 1988, 171.

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(Various issues of the following publication were also used in the preparation of this chapter: Association for Asian Studies, *Bibliography of Asian Studies.*)

Glossary

arad—Mongolian term for people; the workers; the common people.

aymag—Provincial-level or second-level unit of administration in Mongolia since 1921. *Aymags* are divided into *somon* (*q.v.*). Traditionally, an *aymag* was a tribe.

Communist International—also called the Comintern or the Third International. It was founded in Moscow in 1919 to coordinate the world communist movement. Officially disbanded in 1943, the Comintern was revived as the Cominform (Communist Information Bureau) from 1947 to 1956.

Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (Comecon)—Also abbreviated CEMA and CMEA, the organization was established in 1949 to promote economic cooperation among socialist bloc countries and is headquartered in Moscow. Its members as of 1989 included the Soviet Union, Bulgaria, Cuba, Czechoslovakia, German Democratic Republic (East Germany), Hungary, Poland, Mongolia, Romania, and Vietnam. Mongolia, the first non-European member, joined Comecon in 1962 and has traditionally been a supplier of raw materials to the Soviet Union.

fiscal year (FY)—January 1 through December 31.

Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence—Mutual respect for one another's territorial integrity and sovereignty; mutual nonaggression; mutual noninterference in one another's internal affairs; equality and mutual benefit; and peaceful coexistence.

ger—Mongol term for the round, felt-covered tent known by its Russian (from the Turkic) name of yurt.

glasnost—Russian term meaning outreach, openness.

Golden Horde—From Mongol, *altan ordo,* or Tatar (*q.v.*), *altun ordu,* literally golden palace or camp, from the color of the tent used by Batu Khan (died 1255) in his conquest of Russia. Term used to refer to the Mongol suzerains of Russia (1240–1480), also known as the Khanate of Kipchak.

govi—Mongol term for arid pastureland, and source of the name Gobi.

gross domestic product (GDP)—The total value of goods and service produced by the domestic economy during a given period, usually one year. Obtained by adding the value contributed by each sector of the economy in the form of profits, compensation to employees, and depreciation (consumption of capital). Most GDP usage in this book was based on GDP at factor

cost. Real GDP is the value of GDP when inflation has been taken into account.

gross national product (GNP)—Obtained by adding GDP (*q.v.*) and the income received from abroad by residents less payments remitted abroad to nonresidents. GNP valued at market prices was used in this book. Real GNP is the value of GNP when inflation has been taken into account.

horde—A horde (*ordo* in Mongol) was a force of several *tumen* (*q.v.*), roughly equivalent to a modern army corps. See also Golden Horde.

hurals—Assemblies of people's deputies. *Hural* is a vernacular term for *kuriltai* (*q.v.*).

Inner Mongolia—The southern part of traditional Mongolia; during the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911), comprised the provinces of Suiyuan, Qahar, and Rehol; the present-day Nei Monggol Autonomous Region of China (Outer Mongolia, *q.v.*).

Kazakh—Turkic-speaking, traditionally Muslim ethnic group of pastoralists, living in the Soviet Union, northwestern China, and western Mongolia.

Khalkha—Mongol subethnic group inhabiting the central and eastern portion of Mongolia and forming the majority of the population. Variant form: Halha.

khan—A king, prince, or chief; common title for sovereigns in Inner Asia. Sometimes used interchangeably with *kaghan*.

kuriltai—A council of Mongol chieftains or khans having origins among the assembly of the Kitan; a great assembly and a type of electoral procedure developed among tribal leaders in the first century A.D. A classical Mongol term having the same meaning as *hural* (*q.v.*).

Lamaism—Tibetan Buddhism, became the state religion of Mongolia in 1586.

living buddha or incarnate buddha—Western term for Tibetan Buddhist leaders who are considered incarnations and reincarnations of buddhas actively working for human salvation. Mongolia's Jebtsundamba Khutuktu was one of the many Living Buddhas.

Manchuria—The present-day northeast Chinese provinces of Heilongjiang, Jilin, and Liaoning; homeland of the Manchus, founders of the Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). Known as Manchukuo during the period of Japanese control (1931-45).

negdel—Mongol term for a herding collective. Comprises agricultural stations and herding camps in the *somon* (*q.v.*) and is subordinate to the Ministry of Agriculture and Food Industry. Contrast with state farm, which produces crops.

nomenklatura—Russian-language term for the elite administrative positions filled by direct appointment by the communist party, and hence for the elite administrative class as a whole.

Outer Mongolia—The name applied to the northern part of traditional Mongolia during the period of Manchu control (1691–1911) and commonly in Western literature thereafter.

perestroika—Russian-language term meaning reform, or, restructuring of political system.

somon—Third-level administrative unit, subdivision of an *aymag*. The term, the root of which means arrow, derives from a Qing Dynasty (1644–1911) hereditary military unit of about 100 families.

Tannu Tuva—Uriankhai region of northwestern Outer Mongolia (*q.v.*); in December 1921, as a result of Soviet insistence, it became the Tannu Tuva People's Republic, the independence of which was later recognized by Mongolia in the Mongolian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship of 1926. In 1944 it was annexed by the Soviet Union as the Tuvinian Oblast of the Russian Soviet Federated Socialist Republic, and in 1961 it became the Tuvinskaya Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. Tuvins (*q.v.*).

Tatar—Name of unknown origin, which first appeared in the eighth century. In the thirteenth century it became the European appellation for the Mongols, although the Mongols themselves had been fighting against the Tatars. From the fourteenth century, the name was applied to Turks living in the European parts of Russia, mainly in the khanates of Kazan and of the Crimea.

tugrik—The unit of currency; in March 1989, value of 1 tugrik = US$2.985. The tugrik is made up of 100 mongo; there are one, two, five, ten, fifteen, twenty, and fifty mongo denomination coins and a one tugrik coin. Currency consists of 1, 3, 5, 10, 25, 50, and 100 tugrik notes.

tumen—Traditional Mongol military unit, roughly equivalent to a modern division, comprising 10,000 troops and their families.

Tuvins—Ethnic group of Turkic-speaking pastoralists from the Tannu Tuva (*q.v.*) region of the Soviet Union, which was administered as part of Mongolia under the Qing Dynasty (1644–1911). Also known as Uriankhai.

Uighurs—Inner Asian ethnic group of oasis-dwelling, Turkic-speaking, traditionally Muslim agriculturalists resident largely in northwest China's Xinjiang-Uygur Autonomous Region.

Urga—*see* Yihe Huree.

Uzbeks—Inner Asian ethnic group of Turkic-speaking, Muslim agriculturalists, resident primarily in the Soviet Union.

yasaq—A legal code developed after Chinggis Khan's death but attributed to him; regulations; the code of Mongol law.

Yihe Huree—Literally, "great monastery" or "great camp," founded in the seventeenth century as the residence of the Jebtsundamba Khutuktu (Living Buddha, [*q.v.*]) and capital of Mongolia in 1911, when it was renamed Niyslel—capital—Huree. Commonly referred to in Western literature as Urga. In 1924 when the state was secularized, the name was changed to Ulaanbaatar, which means Red Hero.

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