

## **Mongolia**

### **Vanderbilt**

COW considers Mongolia to be independent starting in 1921, but Polity only provides data starting in 1924 (when the Mongolian People's Republic was declared) so the regime type variable is missing for the first three years. After this Mongolia is coded as a non-democracy through 1945. According to Geddes, Mongolia is a single-party system starting in 1921.

Mongolia became independent from Beijing in 1921 after having lost its autonomy to Chinese warlords in 1919. After 1921 the state was still in flux. Following a short provisional government of Chagdariev (MAKN: The Mongolian People's Party), Dogsomyn Bodo (also called Bodo) (MAKN) became the first prime minister of the People's Government of Mongolia, a regime that consisted of the radical intellectuals of Bodo's 'consular hill' and the 'East Uрга' independence movement of Danzan, which was different from the earlier Bogdo Khan (holy ruler) regime of nobles and clerics (Batbayar 2005; Cotton 1989; Saboff & Altangerel 2001; worldstatesmen.org). In fact, according to Geddes, Mongolia becomes a single-party regime under MAKN starting in 1921.

However, although Chagdariev and Bodo both had different supports than the earlier Bogdo Khan caln, we do not code a SOLS change with either Chagdariev (a provisional) or Bodo. Our codebook states that, "in the case of newly independent states, we do not code a SOLS change for the transition from the last leader of the colonial government to the first leader of the newly independent country." While it was under Bodo of MAKN when the country gained its independence (in September 1921), before independence, the MAKN set up a Provisional Government, led by Dambyn Chagdarjav, one of the founding members of the party.

In the summer of 1922 Bodo was charged with counter-revolutionary plotting after criticizing a too heavy influence of Soviets, again indicating that the MAKN was in charge. Bodo was forcefully removed from office and executed (Batbayar 2005; Cotton 1989; Saboff & Altangerel 2001; worldstatesmen.org). Following the fall of Bodo, commander-in-chief Sukhbaatar who was a member of the East Uрга movement and MAKN took over. This is not a SOLS change.

Sukhbaatar died of illness in February of the following year. Danzan, who was the chairman of the central committee of the Mongolians People's Party, in turn, replaced Sukhbaatar. This is not a SOLS change (Batbayar 2005; Cotton 1989). Danzan was himself purged in 1924 at the Third Party Congress of the Mongolian People's Party by comintern representative Richino with the support of the youth wing of the party. This is not a SOLS change since Richino was also a member of MAKN (Nordby 1988, 48). He was replaced by the new party chairman Dambadorj without further irregularities (Batbayar 2005; Cotton 1989; worldstatesmen.org).

[Though Mongolia is further coded as a single party regime there were two notable purges of the leadership that might indicate a SOLS change. In 1928 a Soviet supported Coup purged the 'rightist' flank of the party – including Dambadorj - and brought Gendun to power. Although the Party name remained the same, the composition of the ruling party as well as the source of leadership support changed. Gendun in turn was purged in favor of Choibatsan in 1936 when after Gendun had opposed Stalin's demands with respect to the Buddhist church, which is coded as another SOLS change (Batbayar 2005).]

In the period from 1945 until 1993, Mongolia is coded as a single party autocracy led by the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP – also MAKN). There have been two leadership changes in this period, but no SOLS changes because all three leaders in this period - i.e. Choibatsan, Tsendenbal, and Batmönh - were MPRP leaders. (worldstatesmen.org; U.S. Department of State 2010; Sanders 1974, 1985; Ginsburg 1995)

In wake of the fall of communist regimes in Eastern Europe, the Mongolian political situation changed rapidly, however. On the 21<sup>st</sup> of March 1990 the party leadership of the ruling MPRP resigned following popular demonstrations, and was replaced by a younger party leadership, headed by Punsalmaagiyn Orchibat. The new MPRP leadership was thereafter quick to hold the first multi-party elections in July of the same year. Following these elections, which were won by MPRP, i.e. the previous single-party, Orchibat was named President during the period of redrafting the new constitution. (Heaton 1991; Ginsburg 1995)

The first presidential elections following the implementation of the new constitution was held in June 1993 and where won by the incumbent Orchibat. (Batbayar 1993; Ginsburg 1995) However, to complicate matters further, Orchibat had by then gotten into several conflicts with MPRP party leadership and had run as the opposition - Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP – also MUAN)- candidate (Batbayar 1994; Ginsburg 1995). He would remain the opposition candidate until beaten by the MPRP challenger in the 1997 elections. (Ginsburg 1998)

Based on our coding rules, Orchibat's entry was not coded as a SOLS change. GWF's (as well as Geddes 2009) single-party regime continues until 1993. (This is slightly tricky since the country democratized in the 1990-1993 period. We might also code a SOLS change in 1993 when Orchibat wins the presidential election as an opposition candidate. At that point, he certainly had a different source of societal support. However, based on our rule of not coding SOLS changes during the time the same leader is in office, we do not code a SOLS change in 1993.) The entry of Orchibat's successor Bagabandi is coded as SOLS change. Orchibat's successor, Bagabandi, was clearly not of the same party as Orchibat when he took over. According to the coding rules, Bagabandi's entry is therefore coded as a SOLS change. As Bagabandi's successor Enkhbayar was like Bagabandi a MPRP candidate, no further SOLS changes were coded. (worldstatesmen.org; Tuya 2006)

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