

## **Mongolia**

### **Rice**

With the help of Russia, Mongolia declared its independence from China in 1911. However, China quickly retaliated and, as Russia's attentions were diverted due to civil war within its own borders, was able to reestablish control over some areas of Outer Mongolia. Mongolians organized (again with the help of Soviet Russia) and were able to mount resistance to the Chinese through their new Communist Party—the Mongolian People's Party (MAKN), founded in 1920. In 1921, Mongolia was again able to declare its independence from China. However, it was basically formed as a “government under [the] patronage” of the Soviets (Batbayar 1999, 227). Geddes codes Mongolia as a single party state from 1921-1993, and there are no SOLS changes throughout.

Before Mongolia was independent, MAKN set up a Provisional Government, led by Dambyn Chagdarjav, one of the founding members of the party. Chagdarjav was only in power from 13 March to 16 April 1921, upon which point he turned over office to Dogsomyn Bodo, another of the founding members of MAKN. It was under Bodo that Mongolia gained its independence (in September 1921). Beginning in January 1922, the leader of Mongolia is listed as Damdiny Sukhbaatar, who was Commander in Chief. Sukhbaatar dies February 23, 1923, and Danzin, who was Chairman of the party, becomes the leader according to Archigos.

Danzan remained Chairman of MAKN until 31 August 1924, when he was ousted from power by another MAKN official, Elbegdorj Rinchino (spelled in the spreadsheet as Elbek-Dorzhi Rinchino). Rinchino's official title was “Presidium Member of the Military Council and Presidium Member of the party Central Committee”—and he rose to power beginning in 1923. Rinchino was able to secure the installation of one of his allies, Tseren-Ochiryn Dambadorj, as Chairman of the Party in 1924 (replacing Danzan as indicated above), but continued to hold power over the government until 1925, when he was recalled and sent to be a professor at the Communist University for the Working People of the Far East (Batbayar 1999, 271).

Dambadorj remained the Chairman until October 1928, when the leadership of MAKN passed to the Secretary of the Central Committee of the MAKN, Peljidiyn Genden. He was then elevated to the position of Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars in 1932, and remained in that office until 1936. That year, Genden was removed from his position due to his disagreement (and apparent public conflict with) Stalin (Batbayar 1999, 348). Stalin then installed Horloogiyn Choybalsan, a party member who Stalin had encouraged through the ranks of MAKN since 1932, as the Chairman of the Council of People's Commissars, thereby making him the leader of Mongolia. Choybalsan would remain in power until 1946.

GWF (as well as Geddes 2009) classify Mongolia as being a single-party state under Soviet occupation from 1922 to 1993. Mongolia was not technically ‘occupied’ during the period, however, its policies “echoed those of its patron and protector, the USSR. New...programs announced in the USSR would shortly thereafter be introduced in Mongolia, prompting the view that the second communist country in world history was merely a Soviet satellite” (Rossabi 2005, 6). Occupation may also refer to the stationing of 100,000 Soviet troops in Mongolia beginning in the 1960s, to defend against the threat of China. In terms of SOLS changes, the extent of Soviet influence does not matter, because there was only one party in power during the 1945-1990 period, the communist Mongolian People's Revolution Party (MAKN). This party was led by Choibalsan (who is sometimes referred to as “Mongolia's Stalin” (Rossabi 2005, 2) until his death in 1952. Choibalsan was succeeded by Yumjaagiin

Tsedenbal, also of the MAKN. Tsedenbal was overthrown by his opponents within the Communist party (apparently with Soviet support [Rossabi 2005, 7]) in August 1984. He was replaced by Jambyn Batmunkh, also a high-ranking party official (no SOLS change).

Protests and strikes for democratic reforms began to break out in the late 1980s. This led to an amendment of Mongolia's constitution in May 1990, creating a multiparty system and new elections. Elections were held in July 1990, however, the MAKN emerged victorious. The leader of Mongolia became Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat, a member of MAKN. We do not code a SOLS change here since Mongolia is still coded as a single-party system by Geddes. Yet, Mongolia began the transformation into a market economy regardless, and the new constitution went into effect in 1992. Mongolia was now a mixed presidential-parliamentary system, where the President is the chief executive, and the prime minister is appointed by the president (but has to be from the party who won the majority of seats in the Khural). The presidential elections under the new constitution were held, and Ochirbat was again elected President, but as a member of MUAN (Mongolian National Democratic Party) on June 6, 1993. We do not code a SOLS change here since, by our coding rules, SOLS changes do not happen during the time the same leader is in power.

Ochirbat was in power until 1997. It should be noted that during his tenure in office, his party, the MUAN formed a coalition with the Mongolian Social Democratic Party called the Democratic Union, or DU. The DU broke down shortly after Ochirbat's loss in the elections of 1997 (Rossabi 2005, 95). Ochirbat was replaced as President by the MAKN candidate, Natsagiin Bagabandi, who had been the Speaker of the Khural from 1992 to 1996 (SOLS change). Bagabandi was reelected in 2001, but was not allowed to run for reelection in 2005 (there is a two-term limit for President). The election was won by the new MAKN candidate, Nambaryn Enkhbayar (no SOLS change). Enkhbayar remained in power until 2009, which is outside of the time range of this study.

## Sources

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