

Development of the first constitution by Bogd khan's government

Otgonjargal.S

(National University of Mongolia)

Товч утга: XIX зууны дунд, XX зууны эхэн үед Монгол оронд гадаадын худалдаа, үйлдвэр санхүүгийн капитал нэвтэрч байснаар 1911 оны хувьсгалын дараа Богд хаант засгийн газар зах зээлийн эдийн засгийн бодлогыг баримжаалж, гадаадын капиталыг илүү түлхүү татах бодлогыг тууштай дэмжих болов. Монгол улс ийнхүү хөрөнгөлөг замаар хөгжих болсноор засаглалын хэлбэрийг өөрчлөх шаардлага зүй ёсоор тавигдсан юм. Дэлхийн олон оронд төрийн бодлогод ард түмний саналыг төлөөлөгчдийн байгууллагаар дамжуулан тусгах парламентат ёс нэгэнт тогтсоныг Монголын Засгийн газар хэлэлцэн үзэж үндсэн хуульт засаглалыг тогтоож Улсын хурлыг байгуулах нь зүйтэй хэмээн үзжээ. 1911 оноос эхлэн дэлхийн хөгжингүй улс орнуудын үндсэн хуулийг орчуулан судлах ажил эрчимтэй өрнөж 1914 он гэхэд Америк, Англи, Япон зэрэг 10 орчим улсын Үндсэн хуулиудыг орчуулж бэлэн болгожээ. Үүний дараа Монгол Улсын Ерөнхий сайд Т.Намнансүрэн Улсын хурлын гишүүдийн эрх, үүрэг, эзэн хаан, Засгийн газар, Улсын хурлын хоорондын харилцааны учир холбогдлыг нарийн чанд хуульчилсан үндсэн хууль боловсруулах даалгаврыг эрдэмтэн Цэвээнд өгснөөр “Улсын эрх” баримт бичиг бэлэн болжээ. Энэхүү баримт бичиг нь Монголын анхны Үндсэн Хуулийн төсөл байсан хийгээд уг баримт бичгийн дагуу Монголд Дээд, Доод хурал бүхий парламентат засаглал тогтсоныг түүхэн баримтад тулгуурлан гаргаж тавихыг зорьсон болно.

Түлхүүр үгс: Гадаадын капитал, Үндсэн Хууль, Хэмжээт эрхт хаан, Парламентын засаглал, Улсын Дээд, Доод хурал

Mongolia's entrance into capitalist market framework

Following the 1911-1912 National revolution, Mongolian government began to develop a market economic policy. The market economic policy was not a brand new one for Mongolia. In the early 19th and mid-20th centuries, Mongolia witnessed an increasing strong competition of foreign trade and the flow of foreign industrial and financial capital into the country. It was made possible after the old law, which restricted the penetration of Chinese capital into Mongolia, was cancelled, and English, American and other foreign firms entered the local market through mediation of Chinese trade firms. For instance, there were few dozens of Chinese trade and big and medium sized pawnbroker firms in Outer Mongolia in the 60's of the 19th century, however, that number increased to 500 in the early 20th century. There were 160 firms and shops in Ikh Khüree, 86 in Uliastai, 65 in Khövd, 100 in

Kiachta, 30 in Vangiin Khüree, 20 in Ulaangöm and 12 in Zayiin shawi. Chinese merchants took Mongolian animal raw materials out to European and American markets and in exchange, European and American industrial goods were brought into Mongolia in great amount. Mongolian wool was mainly taken to America and England, with about 3\4 to American market. Most of animal fur went to Germany¹. An international shareholding company named “Mongolore” was founded in 1900 to develop the enormous gold deposits which were discovered in Khalkhyn Tüsheetskhan and Setsenkhan aimags. The major shareholders of that company were Russian queen Mariya Feodorovna, king Leopold of Belgium and Li Hung Qan, the famous figure of Qin Dynasty. “Mongolore” maintained direct contacts with some international industries and financial capitals including “Zolotoros” gold industrial society in Russia, Mendelson & Co in Berlin, “General Committee for Promoting Russia’s Industrial Development” in Paris, “St. Petersburg International Bank, “Russian-Chinese Bank”, “Paris-Netherlands Bank”² and with world famous business people like Rothstein, a son-in-law of French capitalist Rothschild, the member of “Syndicate” general committee and Belgian banker Browne de Tiège. Following the establishment of “Mongolore”, some Russian and Chinese banks opened their branches in Khüree and Uliastai in the spring of 1900 and a Belgian named von Grot who was appointed a Director of “Mongolore” suggested establishing a Mongol bank.³ Mongolore Mining Company was fully equipped with American technology, employed more than 40 American engineers and about 10,000 Chinese laborers. Mongolore Mining Company sold all the extracted gold in Hamburg, Amsterdam and Paris. In 1906-1919, the Company reportedly explored more than 600 puu³ gold. In 1907, a Manchu bank branch was launched in Khüree. By the end of the 19th century, the trading firms of Imperial Russia, England, Germany and America became dominant in Mongolia to compete strongly against Chinese firms. Some Chinese traders in Mongolia became the middlemen of English, German and American firms. America developed a policy to establish its economic influence not only in Manchuria but also in Mongolia and Russian Far East, entered into treaty with the Qin government and agreed to build a Janchkhüü-Kiachta railroad via Da Khüree. Imperial Russia protested against that policy and stated, provided the Russians were allowed to build the rail portion between Kiachta and Da Khüree, the Americans could build the railroad from Da Khüree to Janchkhüü. However, in 1909-1910, the Manchu government developed the policy to build the railroad linking Janchkhüü with Da Khüree and from Da Khüree to Uliastai and Khövd, and thus aimed to separate Mongolia from Imperial Russia. Russia was totally against the construction of that railroad because the construction of such an expanded railroad would definitely threaten the Russian-Mongolian trade.

¹ Лувсандорж, П. *БНМАУ-ын эдийн засгийн хөгжлийн зангилаа асуудлууд*. Улаанбаатар: 1980, 54.

² Сандаг, Ш. *Империализмын үеийн Монголын зах зээл*. ШУА-ийн мэдээ, №1, 1969, 16.

³ 1 puu is equal to 16.3 kg S.O

Thus the pre-1911 National revolution Mongolia irrevocably entered the circle of capitalist market. Besides Ikh Khüree, the cities of Khövд and Uliastai also became big trading centers and there have emerged city residents. Residents of Ikh Khüree could find Russian and Chinese goods at the local market as well as cigarettes from Manila of the Philippines, champagne from America and France and jewelry from Japan and Germany⁴.

At that time of choosing the capitalist road of development, Mongolia obtained its independence and Bogd Khan government began to implement a market economic policy and attracted more foreign capital into the local economy. The cancellation of the old Manchu laws and regulations encouraged English, American and other foreign firms to penetrate the local Mongol market through mediation of Chinese traders and Mongolian market experienced a free competition of international firms. Mogolore Mining Company expanded its activities with almost 20 branches. Bogd Khan government encouraged trade firms and industries of England, America, Germany, France, Belgium, Denmark, Czechoslovakia, Norway, Turkey, Japan and many other countries to develop mines and industries, and to invest in Mongolia. As a result, many international firms like American “Anderson & Mayor”, “Mongolian Trading Company” firm, Austrian “Henrich” opened in Khüree and a Norwegian “Mamia” firm opened in Naimaa city. Many small-sized industries and shops opened in Mongolian capital. To name but a few, a Greek man named F. Korifidi opened a bread and confectionary, an Austrian citizen V. F. Henrich started an alcohol and beer factory, a Japanese man opened two drug stores, a watch repair, a canteen and a goods shop, and a German man named Hackman opened an American goods shop in Khüree⁵. Also, the British government demanded to grant the British citizens the same favorable conditions as the Russians enjoyed in Mongolia, and make Outer Mongolia more “open”. The Americans gave a “Ford” car and provided some financial assistance to Bogd Jebtsündamba in an attempt to get in closer contact with the government of Mongolia. In 1913, the government received business related requests from foreign citizens like a request of an English merchant Paver and an Englishman Hinada to open a firm in Niislel Khüree, a request of an Austrian Gorono to open a shop and a request of German citizen Rigta to open a cinema in Maima city of Kiachta⁶.

Mongolia’s development along the capitalist road of development naturally required a change of governance. In consideration of a common parliamentary system to collect people’s votes in resolving state affairs through representative bodies, the government of Mongolia decided to create a constitutional government and form

⁴ Сандаг, Ш. “Имперализмын үеийн Монголын зах зээл”. ШУА-ийн мэдээ, №1, 1969, 18.

⁵ *Монгол Улсын түүх*. Улаанбаатар: 2006, 176-177

⁶ Сандаг, Ш. “Имперализмын үеийн Монголын зах зээл”. ШУА-ийн мэдээ, №1, 1969, 17-18.

a State Khūral. In view of this, the translation and study of constitutions of some developed nations started intensively.

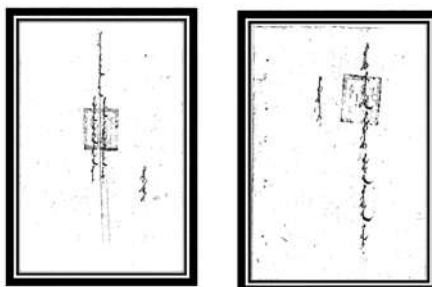
Preparations for creating a constitutional monarchy, bourgeois republic

In order to develop in pace with the developed nations, Bogd Khan government of Mongolia decided to create a constitutional government and in this sense, began to study constitutions of some foreign countries. The translation of some international constitutions started in 1911 and by 1914, there were translated the constitutions of America, England, Norway, Japan, Russia, Germany, France, Switzerland, and the Netherlands.

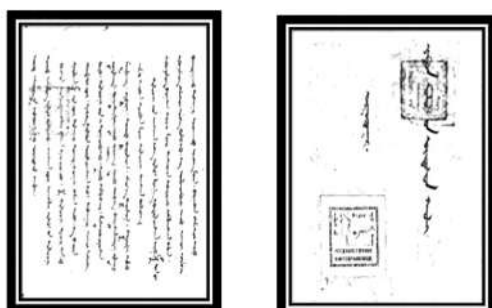
Fragments of some international constitutions translated in 1911-1914 (of England, Magna Carta)



Fragments of some international constitutions translated in 1911-1914 (of Norway, Federal Republic of North America)



Fragments of some international constitutions translated in 1911-1914 (of North America, Japan (1889))



Fragment of the constitution of Japan (1889) translated in 1911-1914



Each translated constitution was studied thoroughly and compared with others, and there was produced a document named “Introduction to international constitutions.”

From history of the Constitution of Mongolia: Analytical conclusion of some international constitutions translated in 1911-1914



It reads: “... England is different from many other nations and has been safeguarding, amending and enacting its constitution relied on the historically rich heritage of pioneering constitutional charters and documentation. Other nations do not have such ideology.”⁷ This way the conclusion singled out the Constitution of England. The conclusion wrote further “... Located in the western part of Europe, England had been constantly and gradually changing and improving the form and content of its governance, streamlining and refreshing it, particularly in respect of the **people’s right to vote**, and this ideology of England had always been studied by experts ...”⁸ “... England opened **representative institutions** in many of its colonies, with different levels of executive power with due consideration of ideology, education, powers and traditions of each location. ... as far as the people differ in their educational level, wealth etc ... there was developed an extremely wise policy which classified many different ranks of governing power ... ”⁹ writes the “Introduction to international constitutions” in appreciation of the constitutional monarchy of England. “The Great Charter”, commonly called *Magna Carta* declared in 1215 by King John (1166-1216) of England laid the foundations for constitutional government. Bogd Khan government took into consideration this charter of liberties which has centuries old history and which had been tested through centuries and clearly defined in the “Introduction to international constitutions” that the *Magna Carta* exercised a strong influence on the constitutions of the various developed nations. For instance, “The

⁷ Олон улсын Үндсэн хуулийн оршил. Анхдугаар Үндсэн хуулийн судалгааны эх сурвалж. Улаанбаатар: 2009, 7.

⁸ Олон улсын Үндсэн хуулийн оршил. Анхдугаар Үндсэн хуулийн судалгааны эх сурвалж. Улаанбаатар: 2009, 13.

⁹ Мөн гэнд, 14

federal constitution of North America was adopted in September, 1787 and it is the first of modern international constitutions. The Constitution of North America is a federal constitution and it recommended that each state created its own constitution. Every constitution created by newly independent states is the continuation and expansion of love and resolutions guaranteed by England in the 17th century to its colonies in America. Therefore, all are created under “the principles of the English constitution”¹⁰. About how France took the example of the English Constitution, the “Introduction to international constitutions” wrote: “France considered the French translation of the English constitution in the adoption of its constitution.”¹¹ The “Introduction to international constitutions” said that every nation of the world had a constitution and presented the analyses of mistakes and achievements of constitutions of different states in their development. Also, it stated that every nation had different forms of government under constitution. For instance, “the first constitution of France dictated the experimental creation of a people’s representative assembly in Europe and laid the foundation of the development of a modern constitutional government.”¹² The example of France was followed by Italy, Switzerland, and the Netherlands which created a republican government to calm down the inner crisis for a while, noted the document. Thus the “Introduction to international constitutions” clearly defined the details about how America, England, Italy, the Netherlands, Denmark, Germany, Austria, Hungary, Japan, Portugal, Spain, Romania and Russia adopted their constitutions and what were the achievements and consequences. The fundamental idea of the “Introduction to international constitutions” was to develop a Mongolian constitution under the principles of the English constitution and to create a constitutional monarchy in Mongolia. The global thinking of the Mongolians under Chinghis Khan (1162-1227) was exercised inherently in the early 20th century or at the time of re-declaration of Mongolia’s independence. Bogd Khan government (1911-1924) had skillful scholars who not only translated big international legislative acts, but also conducted comparative study and made adequate conclusions about what kind of government and constitution Mongolia should adopt.

¹⁰ *Олон улсын Үндсэн хуулийн оршил. Анхдугаар Үндсэн хуулийн судалгааны эх сурвалж.* Улаанбаатар: 2009, 7—8.

¹¹ *Олон улсын Үндсэн хуулийн оршил. Анхдугаар Үндсэн хуулийн судалгааны эх сурвалж.* Улаанбаатар: 2009, 9.

¹² Мөн тэнд. 8

Development of the first draft constitution “State rights”

After the enormous translation of some international constitutions was completed, Mongolian Prime Minister Namnansüren. T assigned scholar Tseveen. J to draft a constitution clearly legalizing the rights and duties of members of the State Khūral, and the interrelationship between the Khan, the government and the State Khūral. Scholar Tseveen. J worked out the document named “State rights.” Scholar Tseveen. J did not however put the date of drafting the document, but wrote at the end of the “State rights”: “As was assigned by Sain Noyon Khan (of) Namnansüren, President of the Mongolian Council of Ministers, the son of Buryat Jamsran named Tseveen defined in brief the inner rights of the state, and a dutiful writer was Delegnyam of Dzasagt khan aimag. Let Mongolian statehood flourish.”¹³ The words “... as was assigned by Sain Noyon Khan (of) Namnansüren, President of the Mongolian Council of Ministers ... ” indicate that Sain Noyon Khan Namnansüren when he was the



Prime Minister of Bogd Khan government in 1912-1915 ordered to work out a draft of the first constitution of Mongolia. Doctor Sanjdorj. M wrote in his work titled “Revolutionary democratic dictatorship of working people” that the “State rights” which was developed in around 1914-1915 at the order of Prime Minister Sain Noyon Khan is an eloquent proof of “penetration of the spirits of bourgeois republic in Autonomous Mongolia”¹⁴ Doctor Idshinnorov. S in his article about two draft constitutions of Mongolia wrote: “... In 1914, Prime Minister of Bogd Khan government Namnansüren. T assigned Buryat scholar Tseveen. J to work out the book titled “State rights” ...”¹⁵ The above said indicate that the

document “State rights” was produced in the years between 1914 and 1915. The author appreciates that Doctor Idshinnorov. S in his article mentioned the “State rights” as a draft constitution.

The Article titled “Establishment of a State Khūral” of the draft constitution legalized the basic principles of creating a constitutional monarchy, bourgeois republic as follows: “the State Khūral should consider, if required, the cancellation of the constitution and issuance of the national currency”, “although the State Khūral enjoys great powers, the laws and regulations issued by the Khūral should be reported to the Khan. Provided the Khan did not approve the issued laws and regulations they should not be executed, but should be reconsidered. Although the Khan enjoys great rights, he is not empowered to approve, at his own wish, any laws and regulations unless they

¹³ Цэвээн, Ж. *Улсын эрх. Түүвэр зохиолууд*. Боть I. Улаанбаатар: 1997, 31.

¹⁴ Санждорж, М. *Монгол төрийн түүхээс*. Дэд дэвтэр. Улаанбаатар: 2007, 17.

¹⁵ Идшинноров, С. “Монгол Улсын Үндсэн хуулийн хоёр төслийн тухай”. Музей судлал. Улаанбаатар: 2003, 93.

are not discussed at the State Khural. Although Ministers are authorized to resolve state affairs, they are not allowed to initiate laws and regulations and resolve solely the matters concerning the state income and expenditure and other important state matters without consideration by the State Khural”, “the State Khural is not allowed to implement actions harmful to politics and the Khan of the nation. In the event of such a case, the Khan should immediately produce an order to dissolve the existing State Khural and form a new Khural”, “Although the Khan of the nation holds the supreme power, he should not regard the subordinating state as his private property”, “The supreme state power is held first by the khan, second, the State Khural and third, government ministers.” The Article titled “Individual rights of citizens” indicates the rights as follows: “... the government should not violate but protect individual rights”, “movable and immovable properties, belongings and any goods of individuals should not be confiscated by force without any reason”, “every individual enjoys the right to express his/her thoughts and share with others their thoughts and opinions through written correspondence”, “Everybody enjoys the freedom of speech and press”, “Every individual has the right to freedom of association in cooperatives, parties, committees and departments on the basis of their initiative to execute any activities and creations”, “All persons have the freedom to assembly for consideration of any matters and for criticism.”¹⁶ The comparison could demonstrate that the provisions of this draft constitution match exactly the content of the active 1992 Constitution of Mongolia, the author in the present article did not aim to make the comparison. Although the author did not see any material evidence of the discussion and approval of the draft constitution by Tseveen. J, the State Upper and Lower Khürals were formed and started functioning officially following the development of the draft constitution.

In 1914, the State Upper and Lower khürals with the mandate of consulting were formed under Bogd Khan government. A letter of request asking Bogd Khan’s approval of creation of the State Upper and Lower Khürals was issued on March 23, 1914. It said “With this letter of request we seek your approval of the creation of Khürals which would discuss important political affairs and suggest for your consideration eight rules of forming such an institution ... ministers, clerks and common people, under the patronage of the Khan shall enjoy the right to express their thoughts and criticism through Khürals regarding all political affairs and it should create the grounds for Mongolia to develop and prosper in the political, economic and other sectors and for people to live a rich and wealthy life under stability in the country.

Many world powerful, wealthy and developed nations all have upper houses composed of selected representatives to discuss political matters and lower houses to consider common policies regarding local perspectives.

Although this time the election of the chair and members of the State Khürals

¹⁶ Цэвээн, Ж. *Улсын эрх*. Түүвэр зохиолууд. Боть I. Улаанбаатар: 1997, 23-30.

was not held, for all the ministers and clerks are capable enough to guide the country's future development, they should be appointed to the State Upper and Lower Khürals."¹⁷

The letter of request for approval of the creation of the State Upper and Lower Khürals was made on March 23, 1914 and Bogd Khan's approval was issued on April 12. On the other hand, the words "although this time the selection was not made yet" which are contained in the letter of request, as we could understand, meant the idea to appoint members of the Lower Khüral by election afterwards. Bogd Khan's decree said "Upper Khüral should include heads of ministries to provide general governing, deputy ministers to provide counseling, including in part governing and non-governing *khan, van, beil, beis, gūn* and *ikh shawi* in Niislel Khüree and governors of Khülün büir, Dariganga, Tsahar and other locations", and "Lower Khüral should have assistant officers of different ministries, draft writing clerks, as well as administrators of Erdene shanzdüb ministry in Niislel khüree, da janjins of four aimags and a number of clerks from rural settlements. Also, if there are governing and non-governing *van, beil, beis* and *gūns* among assistant officers of ministries and draft writing clerks, they should not be in the Lower Khüral but be moved to the Upper Khüral according to their ranks."¹⁸ As clearly indicated here, hereditary peers despite their position of assistant officers are authorized to sit in the Upper Khüral according to their rank. The draft constitution "State rights" indicates "in the selection of members to the Upper Khüral ... great *van, beil, beis* and *gūns* should be selected to the Upper Khüral by decree."¹⁹ About the Lower Khüral the document said "The list of people in each khöshuu, frontier region, border guard units, *shawi* administration, cities and settlements who are eligible to elect and be elected to the State Lower Khüral should be produced without any exception, and the appropriate number of representatives to the Lower Khüral should be elected on a fixed date²⁰. Thus in accordance with the first constitution "State rights", the parliament was created in 1914 based on the principle of the Upper and Lower Houses of the English Parliament.

With the creation of the parliamentary system of government, the foundation of democracy was laid in Mongolia in the early 20th century and Mongolia entered the era of intensive development. In 1916, *gūn* (duke) Badrakhbaatar submitted for consideration of the Lower Khüral the proposal to establish a Mongolian national bank with the state budget. "He calculated that if Mongolia's total livestock population was supposed to be 16 million, 50 *möngös*²¹ could be levied on a head of big animals and 10 *möngös* per a head of small animals, and the collected three million *lans*²² could

¹⁷ Монгол улсын Дээд, Доод хурал. Баримт бичгийн эмхтгэл 1 (1914—1916). Улаанбаатар: 2003, 24.

¹⁸ Монгол улсын Дээд, Доод хурал. Баримт бичгийн эмхтгэл 1 (1914—1916). Улаанбаатар: 2003, 28.

¹⁹ Цэвээн, Ж. Улсын эрх. Түүвэр зохиолууд. Боть I. Улаанбаатар: 1997, 21.

²⁰ Цэвээн, Ж. Улсын эрх. Түүвэр зохиолууд. Боть I. Улаанбаатар: 1997, 20.

²¹ *möngös* - small national currency unit

²² *Lan*- was introduced as a temporary monetary unit to function as a medium of exchange. One *lan* was

be used to create an authorized fund of the bank. The Lower Khūral supported this proposal and submitted to the Upper Khūral another proposal to conduct a livestock census and a population census as well in order to define the exact number of the livestock and human population.”²³ In 1915, Meeren Dorj of Tusheet khan aimag (ex Minister of Finance of the People’s government) submitted a proposal to the Lower Khūral about replacing the horse relay service between Khūree and aimags by automobile transportation. The cost of relay service between four Khalkha aimags was calculated to be 880 thousand *lan* and all expenditures were suggested to be collected from four aimags in cash. Under Dorj’s proposal, it was resolved to impose extra 150 thousand *lan* relay service tax on Bogd Geegen office, and increase the total expenditure up to one million *lan* and furthermore, use that money to purchase the required automobiles along with the spare parts reserve for 3-4 years and invite professional Russian drivers and technicians. Ex Finance Minister Meeren Dorj’s plan of creating an auto fleet also included the construction of garages, snow protection dams and fixing of tariffs of passenger and freight transportation²⁴. In 1914, clerk Dandaa submitted proposals on coin melting, on establishing a bank, on development of trade, land farming, construction and transportation and on proper utilization of mineral resources and forest reserves. “In view of considerable benefit to the nation’s livelihood, a coin melting business should be started to produce silver, copper and brass coins and dispatch them throughout the world and make Mongolian wealth known to the outside world. Also, some mountains in different khōshuu should be prospected for gold, silver, copper, brass, precious stones, water crystal, coal etc, and the mineral wealth should not be taken out of the country but rich Mongolian individuals should be encouraged to pay for the prospecting and to do the prospecting with the help of wheel devices, and then benefits of mountains would increase”²⁵. It clearly indicates that the Upper and Lower Khūrals considered numerous policy documents aimed at developing the country and making it powerful, and Mongolia was irrevocably put on the road of revival.

The Upper and Lower Khūrals or the parliamentary government was established under Bogd Khan government of Mongolia in 1914, however it was dismissed in the November of 1919 under general Xu Shuzheng’s intervention. According to the documents kept in the National Archives, within the brief time of its existence, the Lower Khūral held the total of 65 sessions and considered many important issues concerning Mongolia’s foreign policy, economy, finance, military, culture and education and submitted them for consideration of the Upper Khūral. The State

equal to one Chinese silver *yanchaan*, 1.42 Russian gold coin, and two *lans* were equal to one Russian paper currency

²³ Пунцагноров, Ц. *Монголын автономит үеийн түүх*. Улаанбаатар: 1955, 109.

²⁴ Пунцагноров, Ц. *Монголын автономит үеийн түүх*. Улаанбаатар: 1955, 109.

²⁵ *Монгол улсын Дээд, Доод хурал*. Баримт бичгийн эмхтгэл 1 (1914-1916). Улаанбаатар: 2003, 33-34.

Upper Khūral held the total of 83 sessions. However, these are incomplete data and no archival documents are left concerning the issues discussed by the State Khūrals in the period between 1914 and 1919²⁶.

Conclusion

Early in the XX century, the Bogd Khan's government launched the development of the Constitution, had got translated the constitutions of about 10 countries like America, England, and Japan and produced a document which contained an analytical conclusion of those international constitutions. Consequently, a draft constitution was produced under the name "State rights". The draft was produced on the example of the Constitution of England and was directed towards creating a constitutional monarchy.

In 1914, the State Upper and Lower Khūrals started functioning officially following the letter of request for creation of the State Khūrals was sent to the Bogd Khan and got his approval. The State Upper Khūral was composed of lords and noblemen whereas the Lower Khūral was composed of administrators and clerks of local settlements. Generally speaking, the State Upper and Lower Khūrals were established on the example of the Upper and Lower Houses of the English Parliament.

Thus, it could be said that the foundation of democracy was laid down in Mongolia with the creation of a universal parliamentary system of governance in the country in the early XX century.

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