

THE KANTIAN IDEALS AND THE MONGOLIAN YOUNG DEMOCRACY: ACHIEVING PEACE AND DEMOCRACY THROUGH INTERNATIONAL COOPERATION

(КАНТЫН ҮЗЭЛ САНАА БА МОНГОЛЫН ЗАЛУУ АРДЧИЛАЛ: ОЛОН УЛСЫН
ХАМТЫН АЖИЛЛАГААГААР ЭНХ ТАЙВАН БА АРДЧИЛАЛД ХҮРЭХ ЗАМД)

Т.Заяа

ХИС-ийн ОУХНС-ын тэнхимийн багш

Summary

The purpose of this article is to demonstrate how, even in the most remote from Europe country, in this case in Mongolia, the ideas of such great philosophers as Rousseau, Montesquieu and Kant went to this ancient nation to transform it entirely from a communist state to a vibrant democracy.

Key words: *democracy, foreign policy, international cooperation, international law*

Introduction

Emmanuel Kant was one of the greatest philosophers in human history. Among other things he advocated for a federation of free States, bound together by a covenant forbidding war. Reason utterly condemns war, which only an international government can prevent. Obviously, people like Woodrow Wilson, George Clemenceau and the founders of the United Nations would have been enthusiastic about such a conclusion.

Emmanuel Kant dreamed of a worldwide democracy and a perpetual peace through international cooperation¹. Kantian dream became true in the form of the Organization of the United Nations and other multilateral bodies such as the European Union, Organization of American States, the African Union or the ASEAN etc. In all that, the international law played an important role. In this connection, it is necessary to underline the vital importance of the international cooperation, as put it Kant, especially for small states like Mongolia. Moreover, the multilateral institutions are the last refuge for them, since they rely on international law² and international institutions.

Mongolia is more than twice as big as Texas and nearly the same size as Alaska. Its area is 1.6 million km² (603,000 mi²), four times the size of Japan and almost double that of Eastern Europe. This makes Mongolia the sixth-largest country in Asia and 19th in the world, but the population is only 3.2 million, which makes Mongolia one of the least-densely populated areas in Asia. This is a landlocked country located entirely between two major powers such as China and Russia.

From 1921 until the end of the 1980s, Mongolia was a one-party state closely tied to the Soviet Union. It received technical, economic, and military assistance from the Soviet Union and generally followed Soviet guidance in political and economic matters and in the building of a socialist society. These assumptions had led scholars like Owen Lattimore in the sixties to declare that Mongolia was

¹ Russell, Bertrand. "History of western philosophy". Collectors edition. Routledge, 1993. p.692.

² Тумурчулуун, Г. "Процесс принятия внешнеполитических решений в малых государствах (на примере Монголии)." (1999). С.15-16.

“a satellite state of the USSR”³ and outlined the main features of such a state. However, beginning in 1990, forces for change in Mongolia ended the monopoly of political power by the communists in favour of free multiparty elections, coalition government, a new Constitution, greater cultural and religious freedom with more emphasis on Mongolian national traditions, a neutral position in international relations, and a transition to a market economy.

Mongolia was the only country to carry out the transition from socialism and centrally planned economy to democracy and market economy simultaneously without violence. There were street non-violent manifests but not shootings.

As for as foreign policy is concerned the Constitution of 1992 constituted a breakthrough in all foreign relations of the country. Here we can see that the Kantian ideals fulfilled. The Article X of the Constitution entirely is dedicated to foreign affairs. It says that Mongolia shall adhere to the universally recognized norms and principles of international law, and shall pursue a peaceful foreign policy. Mongolia shall enforce and fulfill in good faith its obligations under the international treaties to which it is a State Party. Furthermore, the international treaties to which the country is a Party shall become effective as domestic law upon their ratification by the parliament⁴.

Installing democracy

Mongolia made those democratic changes first, domestically adopting a new Constitution and second, introducing far ranging changes to foreign relations-related laws and the government action programs. The successive governments of Mongolia made sure that all the citizens of the country participated in a fair and just way in the adoption of the new Constitution as well as in the election of the presidents and members of the Parliament, elected from 1990-ies so far.

The Constitution of Mongolia states: “...the people of Mongolia, whereas respecting and upholding human rights and freedoms, justice and unity of our nation, whereas considering and respecting the accomplishments of human Civilization, aspire towards the supreme goal for building and developing a humane, civic, and democratic society in our Motherland”⁵. It continues “The fundamental principles of the activities of the State are democracy, justice, equality, national unity and rule of law”⁶.

As a result in Mongolia occurred a system change aimed at democracy, a law-based state structure and the Mongolian people managed to install a right division of power between democratically elected the State Great Hural (one chamber parliament) the president and the government. The Constitution also established the Constitutional Court, which is “the competent organ with powers to supervise the enforcement of the Constitution, to make conclusions on the breach of its provisions, and to solve constitutional disputes, and shall be the guarantee for the strict observance of the Constitution.

For Mongolia, at the outset of the new historical epoch, it was crucial to manage wisely its relations with both the Russian Federation and the People’s Republic of China, the only neighbors of the country.

New cooperation through international law

³ Lattimore, Owen. "The historical setting of Inner Mongolian nationalism." *Pacific Affairs* 9, no. 3 (1936): 388-405.

⁴ The Constitution of Mongolia (English translation), 1992. Art. 10.

⁵ Ibidem, The preamble.

⁶ Ibidem. Chapter One., Art. 1.

Mongolia, in dealing with international relations, followed one of the most important findings of Western political thought consisting in the idea that democracies do not fight each other.

Mongolia applied two new approaches to its international cooperation policies. First, to review former bilateral treaties signed with both Russia and China, second, to make advances in the international institutions, including the regional ones, in which Mongolia has not been represented at all during the socialist period.

The bilateral Treaties with the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China were revised fundamentally in 1993 and 1994. The new documents signed clearly stated that there will be no more military alliances and coalition and the bilateral relations will be based on universally accepted norms and principles of international relations^{7 8}.

A new concept of the "third neighbor" was introduced. Relations with the USA, Japan, Germany, ROK, Turkey, the EU strengthened on the new basis⁹. Working Relations established with World Bank, International Monetary Fund, the Asian Development Bank and the World Trade Organization. Mongolia joined international regimes and conventions, including the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

A new community of donor countries headed by the USA and Japan emerged to help Mongolia to make the democratic transition.

In 1991 Mongolia became a member of the Non-Aligned Movement. Mongolia declared itself as non-nuclear zone^{10,11}. In 1992, Mongolian President Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat announced that Mongolia would seek to become a one-state Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone (NWFZ). The last Russian troops had left the country that same year, and Mongolia perceived a change in its geopolitical status and an opportunity for non alignment¹².

The initiative to become a Nuclear-Weapon-Free Zone was well received by Mongolia's neighbors, the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China (both nuclear weapons states), as well as by the world community at large.

Mongolia has consistently supported joint efforts of the international community against terrorism in all its forms and manifestations.

It is well-known fact that Mongolia helps to establish peace in war-torn Afghanistan, sending troops. Mongolian peacekeepers are in a number of African countries.

In 2006, Mongolia made its first sizeable contribution to UN peacekeeping when it deployed 250 military personnel to the UN Mission in Liberia, a West African country that was recovering from a violent civil war. Six years later, Mongolia undertook its largest deployment to date when it sent a full battalion of 850 troops to the UN Mission in South Sudan, where they continue to play an important role in protecting civilians¹³.

⁷ Монгол-Хятадын харилцааны түүхэн баримт бичгийн эмхэтгэл (1990-2010). Улаанбаатар. 2014. Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation with PRC.1994. Articles 1, 4.

⁸ Монгол-Оросын харилцааны түүхэн баримт бичгийн эмхэтгэл (1992-2014). Улаанбаатар. 2016. Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation with Russian Federation. 1993. Article 2, Articles 4-6.

⁹ Гадаад бодлогын үзэл баримтлал. Foreign Policy Concept of Mongolia. 2011. Article 14.

¹⁰ ЕА-н 53/77 дугаар тогтоол. Монгол Улсын олон улсын аюулгүй байдал ба цөмийн зэвсэггүй статус. GA Resolution/Decision: 53/77 D. Mongolia's international security and nuclear-weapon-free status. 1998.

¹¹ Цөмийн зэвсгээс ангид байх тухай хууль, 2000. Law on non nuclear status of Mongolia. 2000. Article 3.1.2

¹² Enkhsaikhan, J. "Mongolia's Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status: Concept and Practice." Asian Survey 40, no. 2 (2000): 342-359.

¹³ <https://news.un.org/en/story/2018/03/1004552>

Throughout its decade-and-a-half history in UN peacekeeping, Mongolian contributions to UN peacekeeping have been notable for their high standards of training and for the high number of women (645 women) they deploy¹⁴.

Mongolia has risen to become the 27th largest contributor to UN peacekeeping, with nearly 900 military and police personnel deployed in five operations. But they have not forgotten their first mission--they continue to send a handful of military observers to Western Sahara.

Peacekeeping is a dangerous business. UN personnel can sustain injuries in the line of duty, the workplace or in vehicular accidents, and harsh conditions and disease can also take its toll. Peacekeeping operations deploy medical contingents contributed by Member States to ensure that UN personnel – troops, police and civilians – receive the best medical care possible.

In Kabkabiya in the Darfur region of Sudan, Mongolia has for several years provided a Level Two Hospital to address this need. The unit consists of 68 personnel, 34 men and 34 women, and is responsible for providing UN personnel with health care, emergency resuscitation and stabilization, life and limb-saving surgical interventions, basic dental care and facilitation of casualty evacuation for more severe cases. It also administered vaccinations and other prophylaxis measures. In addition to serving UN staff, the Mongolian hospital unit treated more than 10,000 people from the local communities¹⁵.

Since 2003, more than 14,000 Mongolian peacekeepers have served in UN missions around the world. Today, Mongolia deploys nearly 900 peacekeepers to five UN peacekeeping operations – in South Sudan, Abyei, Darfur, the Democratic Republic of the Congo and Western Sahara. The Mongolian contribution consists of troops, police and unarmed military observers¹⁶.

A key task of the UN Mission for the Referendum in Western Sahara (MINURSO) is monitoring the ceasefire observed by the parties since September 1991 – carried out by some 200 military observers. Seen here, a Mongolian military observer serving with MINURSO, together with colleagues from Ghana, France and Bangladesh, check a map while carrying out an observation patrol in the vast area in Smara¹⁷.

In recent years, the people of South Sudan have simultaneously endured civil war and high levels of food insecurity. Among their tasks, Mongolian peacekeepers provide security as the UN World Food Programme (WFP) drops much-needed food in Bentiu, South Sudan. Their responsibilities also include protecting civilians, securing UN bases, carrying out patrols, escorting convoys, supporting search operations carried out by UN Police, as well as protecting fellow peacekeepers as they carry out road maintenance and demining operations¹⁸.

Mongolia also aspires to contribute to the Northeast Asian peace and security. With this aim, it launched Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian security which has become a valuable mechanism for security and peace.

The last VI Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security was held in June 2019, sponsored by the Mongolian Ministry of Foreign Affairs and The Institute of Strategic Studies of Mongolian National Security Council¹⁹.

¹⁴ <https://www.montsame.mn/mn/read/201305>

¹⁵ <https://news.un.org/en/story/2018/03/1004552>

¹⁶ Ididem

¹⁷ Mendee, Jargalsaikhan. *Mongolia's Peacekeeping Commitment. Training, Deployment, and Evolution of Field Information Capabilities*. National Defense Intelligence College. Washington. DC. Center for Strategic Intelligence Research, 2007. 19-20.

¹⁸ <https://unmiss.unmissions.org/mongolian-peacekeepers-provide-much-needed-medical-care-communities-unity>

¹⁹ Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on North East Asian security. VI International Conference Proceedings, Ulaanbaatar. June 2019.

The Ulaanbaatar Dialogue is a process. It pursues three main goals namely, building confidence in NEA, fostering mutual understanding and promoting regional cooperation and finally, setting up an international mechanism of dialogue.

It is important to underline that to achieve mutual trust, parties need to understand the perspective of others. In this regard, intercultural events such as NEA Woman Parliamentarians' symposium, NEA Mayors Forum and NEA Youth Symposium held as part of Ulaanbaatar Dialogue encourage a wide range cooperation in the region. Ulaanbaatar Dialogue aims to reach the long-term goals of regional peace by setting up institutional mechanisms of dialogue in Northeast Asia, an idea similar to that of Kant, who dreamed of signing peace treaties among world nations.

In that context Mongolia, as other nations of the world, always declared that the repeated launch of missiles by North Korea would not help the confidence building and eventual reunification of the two Koreas.

The new foreign policy of the country deserved respect and support on the side of world community, which helped the country to become a member of the UN Council on Human Rights in 2015²⁰, to organize in Ulaanbaatar the conference of Foreign ministers of Community of Democracy in 2013 and the ASEM Summit meeting in 2016. The Community of Democracies is a global coalition of states that support adherence to common democratic values and standards enshrined in the Warsaw Declaration²¹.

Conclusion

The experience of Mongolia shows that democracy-building is not an easy endeavor. It takes time to be fully completed. However, Mongolia is full of energy to do so in translating the ideals of Kant into reality through the UN and in the heart of North East Asia. Mongolia's democratic achievements during the last few years constitute also an expression of Kantian thoughts. Kantian ideals remain important in Northeast Asia. To fulfill Kantian dreams in our region confidence-building measures are increasingly important in reducing military tensions between nations and diminishing deeply-rooted mistrust through open discussions in Northeast Asia.

Түлхүүр үг: ардчилал, гадаад бодлого, олон улсын хамтын ажиллагаа, олон улсын эрх зүй

Товч агуулга

Энэхүү өгүүллийн гол зорилго нь Европ тивээс багагүй хол зайд орших эртний түүх бүхий Монголд Руссо, Монтестье, Кант зэрэг агуу их сэтгэгчдийн үзэл санаа коммунизмаас ардчилалд хүрэхэд хэрхэн нөлөөлсөн тухай авч үзэхэд оршино.

References

Russell, Bertrand. History of western philosophy: Collectors edition. Routledge, 1993.

Г.Тумурчулуун. Процесс принятия внешнеполитических решений в малых государствах (на примере Монголии). Научная книга. Москва. 1999.

Төмөрчулуун Г. “Монголын Гадаад бодлого 20, 21-р зууны зааг дээр”. Улаанбаатар. 2016.

²⁰ <https://www.un.int/mongolia/mongolia-and-united-nations-0>

²¹ <https://www.aseminfoboard.org/events/12th-asem-summit-asem12>

Enkhsaikhan, J. "Mongolia's Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status: Concept and Practice." Asian Survey 40, no. 2 (2000).

Mendee, Jargalsaikhan. Mongolia's Peacekeeping Commitment. Training, Deployment, and Evolution of Field Information Capabilities. National Defense Intelligence College. Washington, DC. Center for Strategic Intelligence Research, 2007.

Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on North East Asian security. VI International Conference Proceedings, Ulaanbaatar. June 2019.

Legislation and legal acts:

The Constitution of Mongolia (English translation). 1992.

Foreign Policy Concept of Mongolia. 2011.

GA Resolution/Decision: 53/77 D. Mongolia's international security and nuclear-weapon-free status. 1998. ЕА-н 53/77 дугаар тогтоол. Монгол Улсын олон улсын аюулгүй байдал ба цөмийн зэвсэггүй статус. GA Resolution/Decision: 53/77 D. Mongolia's international security and nuclear-weapon-free status. 1998.

Монгол-Хятадын харилцааны түүхэн баримт бичгийн эмхэтгэл (1990-2010). Улаанбаатар. 2014. Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation with PRC. 1994.

Монгол-Оросын харилцааны түүхэн баримт бичгийн эмхэтгэл (1992-2014). Улаанбаатар. 2016. Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation with Russian Federation. 1993.

Law on non nuclear status of Mongolia. 2000.

Цөмийн зэвсгээс ангид байх тухай хууль, 2000. Law on non nuclear status of Mongolia. 2000.

<https://news.un.org/en/story/2018/03/1004552>

<https://unmiss.unmissions.org/mongolian-peacekeepers-provide-much-needed-medical-care-communities-unity>

<https://www.montsame.mn/mn/read/201305>

<https://www.un.int/mongolia/mongolia/mongolia-and-united-nations-0>

<https://www.aseminfoboard.org/events/12th-asem-summit-asem12>

<https://www.mfa.Mongolia>