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**Peculiarities of the formation of parliamentarism
In Tuvan peoples' republic (1921-1944)***

Zoya DORZHU, Evgeniya ONDAR
Tuvan State University, Kyzyl, Republic of Tuva

Abstract. *The article is devoted to the history of the formation of parliamentarism in the young sovereign state – Tuvan people's Republic (1921-1944), which had its own characteristics associated with the lack of such experience and the influence of Soviet Russia on Tuva. The authors consider the Constitution of the TPR, the activities of the Tuvan people's revolutionary party in determining the place and role of the Great Khural as a body of Supreme power. It is noted that in the early years of the TPR the representatives of the former ruling elite continued to hold the leadership positions, unsuccessfully trying to combine traditional ideas with revolutionary beginnings. According to the archival materials, protocols of convocations of the Great Khural its competence, powers and a place in the system of state body are analyzed. Interesting facts on the property, age and social composition of the Great Khural delegates are given. The authors believe that due to the establishing of the Small Khural and its Presidium the Great Khural became a kind of prototype of a bicameral body of state power. It is said that with the strengthening of the role of the Central Committee of TPRP the body of Supreme power has lost its independence, in fact it has put the decisions of the party into practice. The authors come to the conclusion that the Great Khural has laid the foundations of parliamentarism in Tuva and played an important role in the development of Tuvan statehood.*

Keywords: the formation of the state; the formation of the parliamentarism; the body of Supreme power; system of bicameral body; khurals of workers.

Introduction

In modern scientific literature “parliamentarism” is mostly understood as a political system, where the interests and will of the people in the conditions of separation of powers and multiparty are embodied in the elected state representative institution – the Parliament. In the interests of the people, the Parliament conducts legislative activities and controls the Executive bodies.

In political and scientific debates, the issues of parliamentarism and the role of Parliament continue to occupy an important place. Such issues as the conflict between the Executive and legislative branches of government, interaction between Federal and regional representative bodies adds further interest to the subject. Such issues as the conflict between the Executive and legislative branches of government, interaction between Federal and regional representative bodies adds further interest to the subject. In this regard, the study of the history of the formation of the Parliament is necessary for scientific understanding of the General problems of modern political history, it is important in determining the further path of democratic development, to avoid the mistakes and stops in the development of democracy. The most important lesson of world history is that a parliamentary system is able to provide a peaceful and evolutionary modernization of state and society. Historical experience has shown that without public authority, composed of elected representatives from all social groups in the country, it is impossible to develop civil society.

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The parliamentarism is currently being developed not only at the national but also at the regional level. The Russian Federation, as a federally organized country, has an institution of regional parliaments. These are legislative (representative) bodies of state power in all subjects of the Russian Federation. For nearly a quarter of a century, the existing system of regional parliamentarism has had some political experience that also requires generalization and scientific reflection. The analysis of the current state of regional parliamentarism makes it possible to identify the problems of its development, to assess their importance for ensuring effective public administration throughout the political power of modern Russia. The study of the aspects of regional parliamentarism is also relevant against the background of the processes of integration and disintegration of States, which have become more acute in the modern world. In many European countries, there are regions with strong separatist sentiments and a desire to secede from the state concerned, which also points out the growing importance of regional parliaments in the political process of individual countries and of the world community as a whole. Thus, the study of the historical experience of the formation of the parliamentarism of a particular region, namely the subject of a Federal state, will make it possible to understand the peculiarities of its political development better, both in the past and in the present and in the future.

The interest in the problem of the legislature took place in ancient society. Modern sound and practical embodiment of the parliamentary system received in the XVI-XVII centuries. The Idea of popular representation was highlighted in the writings of John Locke, J.-J. Rousseau, CH. - L. Montesquieu and many others.¹

The founder of the theory of separation of powers J. Locke spoke about three types of power: legislative, Executive and Federal. Locke allocated legislative power of these three branches, which in his opinion was the Supreme power. At the same time, the legislature must obey the law. In the XVIII century Montesquieu gave the classic justification of the theory of separation of powers. J. Rousseau justified the concept of national sovereignty and thus contributed to the development of the theory of parliamentarism.

Theoretical and methodological aspects that make up the scientific preconditions for the formation and development of parliamentarism in relation to the representative authorities of Russia at different stages of its history were considered in the works of N. M. Muravyeva, P. I. Pestel, M. M. Speransky, M. M. Kovalevsky, V. I. Lenin.²

Such prominent theorists of Western political science as S. Haggard, M. Shugart, S. Ross, D. Carey, K. Strom and others studied Parliament both in the

¹ J. Locke, *Two treatises on the Board. Works*. Moscow, Thought, 1988; p. 3; J. J. Rousseau, *Treatises*, Moscow, Science, 1969; Ch. Montesquieu, *Selected works*. Moscow, Gospolitizdat, 1955.

² ***, *Selected socio-political and philosophical works of Decembrists*, Moscow, 1951; M. M. Kovalevsky, *From direct popular rule to representative and from the Patriarchal monarchy to parliamentarism*, Moscow, 1906, p. 1-3; B. N. Chicherin, *About the folk mission. The anthology of world political thought, Vol. 4*, Moscow, 1997, p. 131-157; V. I. Lenin, *State and revolution. The Marxist theory of the state and the tasks proletariat in the revolution*, vol. 33, Poln. Coll. Op., 1974.

context of interaction with the Executive power, and from the angle of political regimes and forms of government.³

The experience of foreign parliamentarism was analyzed in the studies of authors such as M. Bihari, J. Coakley, D. Olson, D. Ornstein whose works were given different assessment of the parliamentarism, from idealization to underscore the insignificance of its impact on political processes.⁴ Nevertheless, the scientists are united in understanding the essence of parliamentarism, considering it as a whole system, within the various institutions and social structures are interacting.

The deep study of numerous specific problems of the current state of the Russian parliamentarism, including the regional level, is contained in the works of S. A. Avakian, N. P. Baranova, R. M. Romanova and many others⁵. It is summarized the experience of organizing the parliamentary activity, its development within the framework of the Federal Assembly of the Russian Federation, as well as political aspects, legislative and regulatory norms.

Despite the wide range of scientific literature, the problem of parliamentarism has not lost its importance at the present time, as evidenced by the recent work⁶. The nature of Russian parliamentarism is shown as a reflection of the features of the historical development of Russian statehood, different approaches to understanding the essence of parliamentarism, the place of the modern Parliament of the Russian Federation in the system of public authorities are analyzed.

In recent years, there have been many works describing the history of the formation, functioning and activities of regional parliaments in modern Russia.⁷

³ S. Haggard, M. D. McCubbins, *Presidents, Parliaments and Policy*. Cambridge, Cambridge University Press, 2001; M. S. Shugart, J. M. Carey, *Presidents and assemblies: Constitutional design electoral dynamics*, New York Cambridge University Press, 1992; C. Ross, *Federalism and Democratization in Russia*, Manchester, 2002; K. Strom, "Contending Models of Cabinet Stability," in *American Political Science Review*, LXXIX (1988).

⁴ M. Bihari, *Parliamentarism. World of politics. Judgments and assessments of Western political scientists*, Moscow, 1992; J. Coakley, "Bicameral and separation of powers in modern States," in *Polis*, III (1997), p. 148-168; D. Olson, "The Parliament. How it was conceived," in *Constitutional law: Eastern European review*, II (1995), no. 11, p. 22-26; D. Ornstein, *The Role of legislative bodies in a democratic society*, Moscow, 1994.

⁵ S. A. Avakyan, *Federal Assembly – the Parliament of Russia*, Moscow, The Russian law published house, 1999; N. R. Baranov, *Evolution of the Russian parliamentarism: the sociological aspect*, Diss. of Doc. of Sociology. Moscow, 2004; R. M. Romanov, *Russian parliamentarism: history and modernity*, Moscow, Publishing house RITS ISPI ran, 2000.

⁶ Y. V. Nechipas, I. A. Poberezhnaya, "Parliamentarism in Russia: historical experience, problems and prospects," in *Bulletin of the Academy of the Prosecutor General of the Russian Federation*, LVI (2016), no. 6, p. 61-67; S. N. Revina, O. E. Surkova, N. M. Vilensky, "Parliamentarism in Russia: problems of history, modernity, prospects of development," in *Bulletin of Volga state University of V. N. Tatishchev*, II (2017), no. 1, p. 12-19; N. I. Dorokhov, *Russian parliamentarism: features of origin and modernity. Actual problems and directions of development of the law, society and the state in modern Russia. Materials of the all-Russian scientific and practical conference*, Moscow, 2017, p. 145-156.

⁷ V.G. Gorbachev, "Multi-party system and parliamentarism in the region: Bryansk regional Duma of the third convocation," in *Scientific notes of Orel state University. Series: Humanities and social Sciences*, LXXIII (2016), no. 4, p. 11-15; P. S. Sharaev, "Regional parliamentarism: historiography of the problem (1990-2000-s)," in *Bulletin of Tomsk state pedagogical University*, CXLIV (2014), no. 3, p. 75-79; A. A. Abzalilova, "Parliamentarism in South Ossetia," in *Theory and practice of modern science*, XXI (2017), no. 3, p. 18-22; B.

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Thus, there is a significant historiographic tradition of studying the history of the formation and development of parliamentarism in domestic and foreign literature, although most of the available studies are works, primarily by political scientists and lawyers. As regards, it should be noted that the history of Tuvan parliamentarism has not been the subject of special study yet. However, one has considered the institutions of government, including the Supreme Khural, in the literature of history, where some aspects of the history of Tuva are explored, in particular the formation of Tuvan statehood,

In the works of S. V. Shostakovich, S. A. Shoizhelov, H. M. Seifulin more attention has paid to the formation of the Tuvan people's Republic, which is clearly interpreted as an example of the national policy of the Bolsheviks, as well as the result of the people's revolution⁸. The problems of Tuva's political history were considered primarily in line with the activities of the Tuvan people's revolutionary party, without finding a comprehensive study.

The process of formation and development of the first public authorities is analyzed in the monograph of Y. L. Aranchin as well as the study of socio-economic development of Tuva.⁹ Like many works of the Soviet period, the author could not escape the ideological pressure of the time. According to the researcher, the khurals which personified the idea of peasants' meetings and later became the main form of political organization were a kind of peasant Councils. The monograph contains quite detailed information about the work of the Great Khural for the entire period of the existence of the TPR and the activities of this body are revealed.

N.A. Ondar has been studying in his works the problems of state construction of the Republic of Tuva, the main stages of formation and development of the Tuvan state, the constitutional development of the Republic since 1921.¹⁰ The problem of formation of parliamentarism is considered through a prism of constitutional construction of the Republic there.

Describing the degree of study of the problem, it is necessary to note the preponderance of legal and political studies over historical ones in scientific literature. Russian and foreign scientists have created a certain theoretical basis for studying the process of formation of regional authorities, including legislative ones. The review of literature testifies to the high scientific level of the study of legal and political aspects

I. Borubashev, U. N. Akylbek, "Parliamentarism in the Kyrgyz Republic: analysis of problems and solutions," in *Bulletin of the Kyrgyz-Russian Slavic University*, XVII (2017), no. 6, p. 111-114; P. A. Kostyukova, "Parliamentarism in the regional aspect (on materials of the Novgorod region)," in *Bulletin of the Novgorod branch of RAPPFaSS*, III (2015), no. 1-1, p. 75-87.

⁸ S. V. Shostakovich, *Political system and international legal status of Tannu-Tuva in the past and present*, Irkutsk, Type. ed. "Labor power," 1929; S. A. Shoizhelov, *Tuvan people's Republic: materials and documents on the history of the national-revolutionary movement of the Tuvan pastoralists*, Moscow, Standard, 1930; H. M. Seifulin, "TPR is an important stage in the history of the Tuvan people," in *TRILLH Scientific notes*, XIII (1968), p. 3-28.

⁹ Yu. L. Aranchin, (1982). *The Historical path of the Tuvan people to socialism*, Novosibirsk, Nauka, 1982, p. 337.

¹⁰ N. A. Ondar, *Constitutional development of the Republic of Tuva (history and present). Monograph*, Abakan, SUE "Printing enterprise "Khakassia," 2009.

of the functioning of regional parliaments in various subjects of the Russian Federation. But at the same time, it can be noted that there are virtually no historical works, as a result of which the problems of the formation of regional legislatures and analysis of historical experience remain to be little studied.

The main purpose of the study is to study the peculiarities of the formation of parliamentarism in the Tuvan People's Republic (1921-1944).

Method

General scientific methods of cognition of historical, socio-political phenomena and processes as historical-comparative and historical-genetic methods were used in the study of the problem.

The use of historical and comparative method allowed to trace the history of the formation of parliamentarism in Tuva, to create a complete picture of the events, revealing both General and specific features of The Tuvan People's Republic. Historical and genetic method is used to identify the relationship of subjective and objective factors in the historical process, which, one way or another, influenced the development of Tuva in 1921-1944.

Data, Analysis, and Results

Tuva is one of the youngest regions of the Russian Federation, included in it only in 1944. From the earliest times generic Tuvan tribes were a part of the Mongol khanate, which in turn, since the mid-eighteenth century was dependent on the Qing dynasty of China. After winning the China Xinhai revolution of 1911-1912 and the fall of the Qing dynasty, Mongolia and Tuva were free from the yoke of the Manchus.

In this complex political environment the Tuvan noyons (Kombu-Dorzhu, Buyan-Badyrgy, Chamsy Hamby Lama and others) repeatedly appealed to the Imperial government with the request to take them to Russia to protect themselves from the claims of the Mongolian feudal lords. As a result, the issue of Uriankhay region (then the name of the region) was finally settled in favor of Russia, in June, 1914, it was declared a Russian protectorate over Tuva.¹¹

It is necessary to take into account the historical situation of that time. Tuva on the geographical position was such a remote province that the Chinese government here was carried out by the Mongolian feudal lords, the Chinese merchants traded. Therefore, when the Manchu dynasty collapsed and Mongolia gained sovereignty, China could not control the situation in Uriankhay region, so the Imperial government immediately took advantage. It should be noted that the protectorate of Russia over Tuva was not issued by any international act, and all orders to adopt Tuvans under the patronage of Russia were purely domestic.

Tsarist Russia has invested in the status of protectorate course for the gradual accession of Tuva, but it was prevented by revolutionary events in Russia. The establishment of the Soviet power in the Uryankhai region was accompanied by a

¹¹ Z. Y. Dorzhu, "To the question of establishing a protectorate over Tuva," in *Authority*, IV (2014), p. 157-161.

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review of the Russian-Tuvan relations. Following the principle of self-determination of the Nations, the Uryankhai regional Council on April 13, 1918 called the population of the region "... to convene a national Congress...to solve the main and most important issue of Tuva to become finally a part of Russia or an independent country"¹². It was proposed to send one delegate from every 10 yurts to the Congress.

The Kraisovet trusted the member of the Executive Committee of the Council of Minusinsk and the hot supporter of the independence of the Tuva I. G. Safianov the Work on the preparation alltuvan Congress. Safianov, who knew Tuva and its people, travelled to the aals (camp, settlement) and conducted explanatory work there on the importance of the upcoming Congress. On June 14, 1918 the Congress of the Tuvan people decided to declare the Tuvans to be completely independent, from anybody independent. However, the events of the civil war 1918-1921 prevented the implementation of this decision. After graduation this issue was discussed again. If the geopolitical situation had not given to it the chances, now, on the contrary, it was favorable.

On June 25-26, 1921 in Chadan, representatives of two Khemchik khoshuns (where more than 50% of the population lived) held talks with the Soviet delegation. The document, signed during the negotiations, pointed to the need to achieve full independence of Tuva. The idea of convening the all-Tuva Constituent Khural (Congress) was proposed to address the issues of political and state structure.

The alltuvan constituent Khural (Congress) which was held from 13 to 16 August 1921, was attended by 62 representatives from 7 khoshuns of the Uryankhai region, as well as the Soviet delegation of 17 people. The Congress, in adopting the Constitution, announced the formation of the Tuvan people's Republic (TPR) free, completely independent in their internal Affairs of the state, but in international Affairs acting under the patronage of the Soviet Russia¹³.

According to the first Constitution of the TPR, the Supreme power belonged to the Congress of all khoshuns, consisting of deputies from the people and convened at least once a year¹⁴. Congress of khoshuns in historical literature was called the people's Assembly or the Great Khural. For the first time, the principle of election of officials was affirmed, although the Constitution had not included a permanent Supreme legislative and administrative authority yet.

The Supreme Executive power was held by the General Central Council (government). It possessed all the fullness of power among congresses of the people's Khural. Among the meetings of the government, convened at least four times a year, the Affairs of the Republic were managed in turn by members of the government. In the organization of the people's Khural, you can see an echo of the former alltuvan sames convened at least once a year or even more often. The khoshun and summon conventions (khurals) became the authorities in khoshuns and summons convened

¹² Lamin, B. A. (2007). The history of Tuva: In 3 T. T. II. Novosibirsk: Nauka, pp. 430.

¹³ Constitution of Tuva 1921-1993 (1999). Kyzyl: Tuva book publishing house, pp. 216.

¹⁴ State archive of the Republic of Tuva. F. 93. Op. 1. D. 3.

twice a year, and in the intervals among the meetings the heads of khoshuns and its three aides, who were elected for the khoshun khurals operated the Affairs.

Judicial functions were assigned to collegial organs: summons - on the Council, khoshun – Khural, and the Republic – a Central Council. Thus, the principle of separation of powers was not observed: the Legislative and Executive branches became independent, and the judiciary was combined with the Executive.

So, initially the vertical of the power was under the construction by type of Councils. In the Soviet historiography it was assumed to regard the khurals as the main form of political organization, which was a kind of peasants Soviets⁹. As you know, the Bolsheviks decisively rejected the idea of parliamentarism and the separation of powers, the power of the Soviets joined both the Executive and administrative functions. Thus, in the conditions of the TPR the peasant Councils were essentially people's khurals, designed to consolidate and implement in practice the country's transition to socialism. It was difficult to call the governing bodies people's, peasant or aratian in Tuva of different levels, if they were represented mainly feudal lords.

The emergence and establishment of institutions of statehood and socio-political system of the TPR went in difficult conditions, primarily associated with the political and economic dependence of the new Tuvan government on Soviet Russia. In the opinion of the Soviet leaders, for TPR it was more suitable the dictatorship of labor arats (pastoralists, in a broader sense-workers in general, the people). The bulk of the Tuvans was illiterate, so civil servants were mostly from among the former rulers and officials, who were selected on the basis of their loyalty to the new government. There are no statistics on the literacy rate of the Tuvan population in the first half of the 1920s, but strong indirect evidence suggests that it was low. On materials of census of 1925, in Tuva 52 700 people lived, of which 106 were "well-educated" (0.2 %) and 286 "poorly educated" (0,5 %), that is, the literate were only 329 people, which was even less than one population (0,7 %) ¹². Therefore, it is not surprising that the ideology of Bolshevism was obscure and absolutely alien to the majority of the population of the TPR.

In these circumstances, decisions of all constituent Khural about the formation of a sovereign state was of critical importance, as laid the foundations of national statehood and determined the future of the Soviet-Tuva convergence on an interstate basis. In the structure and order of formation of the first bodies of state power it was reflected both the traditional understanding of Tuva on the organization of government and some of the principles of democracy. The state was declared as a parliamentary Republic, but the principle of separation of powers in the Basic law was not clearly defined. Firstly, the Great Khural was created precisely as a Congress, a non-permanent body of power, whose powers were not detailed.

The peculiarity of the first years of development of the TNR was that public authorities were formed in parallel with the creation of the Tuvan People's revolutionary party (TPRP) and the revolutionary youth Union (RYU). Thus, the Tuvan government and the people as a whole acquired both the experience of state-building and the experience of social and political life. Not having a tradition of

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multiparty rule, the TPR immediately started the creation of the people's revolutionary party, although the analysis of sources shows that the majority of the population had no clear idea about the goals and objectives of the party.

From the beginning TPRP sought to play a leading role in public Affairs. II organizational Congress in 1923, was adopted its Charter, according to which the governing body of the party was the Central Committee which virtually ruled the whole of the work of the state bodies and public organizations through the party groups (factions). In Soviet historiography, such a circumstance was welcomed as evidence of the party's leading position in the political system of Tuva. So, for 1923. it was held 18 meetings of the Central Committee of the TPRP, which addressed issues of socio-economic and socio-political development of the Republic. Resolution of the Central Committee of the TPRP became a guide for action at the state level, one can say, party decisions had received legal force at the congresses of the Great Khural.

With the adoption of the second Constitution of the TPR in 1924, the system of state bodies received a more harmonious structure. It was first time to mention the name of the new body – the Great Khural. In the interval between the great Khurals, the Supreme power belonged to the Small Khural of the TPR, which worked at periodic sessions. The small Khural was given powers to create and open the Great Khural, both in proper time, and in the case of emergency. The delegates of khoshuns were elected as the members of the Small Khural on the basis of norms of one delegate from 200 households. Among them, the Chairman of the Bureau of the Small Khural, his Deputy, the Secretary and two members were elected. Between sessions, the highest authority was the Presidium of the Small Khural, which worked on a permanent basis. Elections to bodies were held through a multi-stage system by open voting. At General meetings of arbans (decategory (old administrative division in the former of Tuvan People's Republic) the arban dargas (the Chairman, the chief) were chosen. Sumon khurals formed sumon control and sent delegates to khoshun Khural that in their turn elected the khoshun management and the delegates of the Great Khural. The norm of representation was set in proportion to the number of farms in each sumon, but not less than two delegates from the smallest number of people in the sumon. All citizens, regardless of gender, aged 20 years or over, were allowed to vote. A candidate was considered elected if he or she obtained more than one third of the votes in the presence of one third of all voters, and he or she was elected for one year only.

The Chairman of the Council of Ministers and Ministers were elected among the delegates of Maly Khural. The government was accountable to the Small Khural, all its decisions were approved by the Presidium of the Small Khural.

Established by the Constitution of the electoral system the election of all public authorities from summon offices to the Great Khural, as well as separation of functions of Central and local bodies of power was the indicator of the development of the system of managerial organs of TPR.

Unfortunately, the archival materials do not allow to reconstruct the course of elections of deputies of the Great Khural, only known the number of elected representatives of the people, and not all Khurals. So, 154 delegates arrived at the

meeting of the Great Khural I (1923). The work of the III Great Khural (1925) was attended by 86 elected people, in the IV Great Khural (1926) - 77, and in the VII Great Khural (1929) – 91. Thus, the number of deputies in the Great Khural, differing in property, age and social status, ranged from 70 to 90 people.

A five-member state Commission was set up to conduct the annual election campaign on the basis of the instructions of the Central Committee of the TPRP and the government. On the ground was created khoshun and sumon Commissions. On official posts religious Ministers could not be elected also people who were under investigation and did not accept the principles of the party, the elderly, insane and sick people with a disorder of the Central nervous system. To be admitted to elections, the loyalty to the TPRP policy was required.

In general, in the Constitutions of the TPR of 1924 and 1926 the same electoral system remained without significant changes. Only the age limit of voters was reduced from 22 to 18 years. The upcoming elections were announced in advance, the elections were considered to have taken place at 2/3 of the meeting. 75 delegates took part in the work of the V Great Khural, only 25 of them knew Mongolian writing well, only 7 could read, the rest of the delegates were illiterate. Social origin among the delegates, the vast majority were poor – 68, of the feudal lords – 3, average - 4. Also, the absolute majority of delegates aged 20 to 50 years was members of the TPRP and only 25 were non-party.¹⁵ Thus, most of the delegates of the Great Khural did not have primary education, they were ordinary arats of social origin, consisted in the ranks of the TPRP.

The great Khural with the establishment of the Small Khural and its Presidium became a kind of prototype of a bicameral body of the state power. It was created and opened by the decision of the Small Khural, the composition of which was elected from among the deputies of the Great Khural normally one delegate from 200 farms. The Chairman of the Bureau, his Deputy, the Secretary and two members were elected from the Small Khural.

The Small Khural issued laws, regulations and orders, gave the General direction of the Government and controlled the implementation of the basic laws of the Republic and regulations of the Great Khural. The sessions of the Small Khural, as a rule, were convened twice a year, it elected a Bureau of 5-9 people. It was the highest legislative, executive and administrative authority in the period among sessions. Thus, the Great and Small Khurals, the Presidium of the Small Khural were referred by the Constitution of the TPR to the Supreme state authorities. Summarizing the provisions of the constitutional norms of the TPR, it is possible to distinguish the terms of reference of the representative authorities of the TPR. At the meetings of the Great Khural the budget was approved, the development of the economy and culture of the Republic was discussed, the management of Central and local government, the election of Executive bodies, members of the small Khural, decisions on them were taken by open vote of simple majority. From 1923 to 1928 the Great Khural was convened annually, usually in October-November, its work had been lasting for a

¹⁵ *Russian state archive of socio-political history (RGASPI)*, F. 495. Op. 153. D. 14.

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week, and sometimes more. At the Congress the reports of the Ministers were heard, brought them resolution, the agreements and provisions were approved. The delegates took an active part in the debate, and to discuss those or other questions, which were serious debates.¹⁶

Consideration of the proceedings of the fourth Great Khural provides an opportunity to present in general the peculiarities of the work of this body. And so, on 18 November 1926 at 18 o'clock the opening of IV the Great Khural took place. It was attended by 77 delegates, including 37 poor, 38 middle – aged, 2 rich, 16 former officials, 32 employees of local self - government bodies, 12 employees of grassroots party organizations, and 1 cooperative¹⁵. More than half of the delegates (44 persons) were members of the party (TPRP) and the youth Union (TRYU). The meeting of the Great Khural was opened by the Chairman of the Small Khural Mongush Nimazhap, urging the delegates fruitful work. After that the Presidium was elected in the amount of 10 people from different khoshuns, the Secretariat and the credentials Committee for 3 of the delegate. According to the example of Soviet Russia, the decision was taken on the election of the honorary Presidium of the Great Khural in the stuff of the General Secretary of the CC of the TRP Sodnam Balcer, the General Secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU (b) Stalin I. V., the Chairman of the CEC of the USSR M. Kalinin, the people's Commissar of foreign Affairs Chicherin, G. V., the Chairman of the Small Khural of the Mongolian people's Republic Genden Palzhidiin, the Chairman of the ECCI under the CC of the TPRP Nazov S. A., the Consul of the Soviet Union in TPR Starkov A. G. and it was unanimously decided to send them a welcome telegram. Then the solemn session of the Khural was closed at 20 o'clock in the evening¹⁵. As a rule, the first working day of the next convocation of the Great Khural was ended there, which had been lasting for a week. The IV Great Khural outlined the main activities of the country's financial policy, judicial system, administrative construction in the center and in the field, it was adopted the Constitution of the Republic and the General part of the Criminal procedure code. The Khural approved the budget for 1926-1927. There was a heated debate on the report of the Ministry of Finance on the main objectives of the country's financial policy, deputies harshly criticized the activities of the Ministry, they insisted on a firm budget discipline and finding sources of indirect income, so that the tax burden did not fall on the farms of the arats¹⁵. According to the report of the foreign Minister, the Great Khural instructed the government to strengthen the established political and economic ties with the USSR and the MPR. The Khural also approved laws on local self-government, income and property tax. The considered bills were developed by the legislative Commission of the Small Khural, so the Great Khural adopted them without changes. The composition of the Small Khural chose 30 people, 25 of them were members of the TPRP and Revsomol.

Thus, during the convocation of the next Great Khural, the delegates, having listened to the reports and reports of all ministries, raising problems relating to the

¹⁶ Z. Y. Dorzhu, E. M. Ondar, *To the history of the formation of the Great Khural of the Tuvan people's Republic. Herald of KrasSAU, Vol. 1*, Moscow, 2014, p. 192-196.

population of the Republic, raised serious questions to the government on further strengthening of the state apparatus and improving the political and economic situation of the country. Most of all the issues were discussed on strengthening of relations with the USSR and the MPR. The analysis of the Protocol IV of the Great Khural clearly demonstrates how the Republic has lived, what issues has been concerned about and how they have been solved.

In the late 1920s, with the active support of the USSR and its purposeful policy, there was a change of power in the TPR, the leadership positions were occupied by Pro-Soviet politicians, which led to radical changes in the country. In autumn of 1929 by the decision of the Presidium of the Small Khural and the Council of Ministers of the TPR all “feudal lords and Bai” were deprived of the electoral rights, as well as the representatives of religion – lamas and shamans. The result of these changes had become VII Great Khural, held in October 1930, which adopted the fourth Constitution of TPR, which determined the legal nature of the people’s Republic and its objectives.¹⁷ There was an actual change in the name of the state – Tuvan Arat Republic. As the main purpose of the state a crash course was declared on building socialism, bypassing the capitalism. Its integral parts were the mass collectivization and transfer of the arats to settlement, the elimination of feudal lords as a class. In the Khurals of all levels in 1929 and the 1930s almost all decisions were accepted by the line of the Comintern and the Central Committee of the TPRP.

With the strengthening of the role of the Central Committee of the TPRP, the Presidium of the Small Khural actually implemented the party’s decisions and lost its independence. It was at the meetings of the Central Committee of the TPRP where the date of convocation of the Great and Small Khurals were determined in advance, the speakers and the composition of the Presidium of the small khurals were claimed. All branches of government were concentrated in the hands of a single party, the TPRP. Thus, at a meeting of the Politburo of the TPRP on February 13, 1941 it was decided to convene X Great Khural on June 1, 1941 in Kyzyl and the procedure for its work was established: the report of the government of the TPR (reporter Bair), the consideration of the draft new Constitution (reporter Toka), the election of members of the Small Khural of the TPR.¹⁸

In the 1930s, the Great Khural had gradually lost its value, the less its convocations were held - in 1935, 1938 and 1941. It was increased the importance of the Small Khural and its Presidium, all the decisions of TPRP were approved only by the Presidium of the Small Khural, composed of 5-7 people. According to the Constitution of 1930, the Government had not chosen the Great and the Small Khural. The Presidium of the Small Khural became the highest legislative and administrative body of the Republic in the period between the convocations of the Khural and now had the right to appoint or dismiss individual Ministers (under the Constitution of 1926 the Presidium of the Small Khural was entrusted only with the

¹⁷ E. M. Ondar, "To the question about the peculiarities of the political development of the Tuvan people's Republic in 1920-1930-ies," in *Bulletin of the Tomsk state pedagogical University*, XII (2016), p. 158-162.

¹⁸ *Russian state archive of socio-political history (RGASPI)*, F. 495. Op. 153. D. 75.

"Peculiarities of the formation of parliamentarism in Tuvan People's Republic (1921-1944)", *Astra Salvensis*, VI (2018), Supplement no. 1, p. 485-499

General leadership of the Government, the possibility of removing Ministers from office was not registered).

Thus, in the young Tuvan People's Republic, a system of bodies of state power was created on the basis of electivity. The Small Khural and its Presidium secured the status of authorized legislative, executive and administrative bodies enjoying all the rights of the Congress, except for those issues that were assigned to the exclusive competence of the Great Khural: the approval and amendment of the Constitution of the TPR, the establishment of basic principles of foreign and domestic policy, the election of members of the Small Khural of the TPR. The Constitution of the TPR of 1921, 1924 and 1926s gradually reformed the system of the state power and management. From 1923 to 1928 there was an organizational registration of the Supreme power of the TPR – the Great Khural.

In the formation and development of the state system in Tuva it was great influence of the USSR, which led to the gradual rapprochement of the Tuvan state with the Soviet, first in form, and then in content. The principles and procedures for the formation of the Great Khural, its activities can be described as transitional, with elements of democracy and the first signs of the future of the Communist system. In the conditions of the TPR, the khurals were an attempt to implement the Leninist idea of peasant Councils. In the Soviet Union the Supreme representative body was of the all-Russian Congress of Soviets, and in the period among the sessions of the Central Executive Committee. The administration of the country was entrusted to the government - the Council of people's Commissars, headed by V. I. Lenin. If we draw a parallel, it is possible to identify that the functions of the Small Khural were close to the functions of the Central Executive Committee. It also issued laws, decrees, orders, it gave the General direction of the Government and controlled the implementation of the basic laws of the Republic and regulations of the Great Khural. The Small Khural worked in session, going at least twice a year, and its members, as a rule, worked in various institutions. Constantly working body was the Presidium of the Small Khural, and it could work in two directions. On the one hand, the leadership of the Small Khural – the management of meetings, the distribution of the members of the Small Khural between institutions, preparation of materials for meetings and submission of projects for consideration by the Small Khural, on the other hand, independent work – the adoption of laws and regulations, as well as the return to correct the decisions of the Government or to suspend the resolution of the issues on Amnesty, the appointment and change of individual Ministers, resolution of the conflicts between ministries, as well as review of citizens complaints against improper actions of the administration. In this respect, it is impossible not to agree with the opinion of S. Shostakovich, "on the construction and functions the Supreme organs of the TPR represent the cast of the Mongol, therefore, who are related to the Soviet."⁸

The great Khural was to meet at least once a year (since 1930 – once every three years). During the period between congresses its functions passed to Small Khural, but also that last gradually passed to the sessional order of work. A permanent body was the Presidium of the Small Khural, consisting of a narrow circle of people.

The Chairmen of the Small Khural were Donduk Kuular, Nimazhap Mongush, Khemchik-ool Adyg-Tulush, Polat Oyun, Anchimaa Hertek.

The powers of the Great Khural were assigned to all issues of national importance, i.e. the competence of the Congress was not limited. The agenda of the congresses included issues related to the formation or reorganization of authorities and management, the adoption of fundamental legislation, regularly heard reports of the Small Khural of the TPR and the Council of Ministers of the TPR, elected a new composition of the Small Khural. At the same time, the Constitution define neither the organizational structure nor the procedure of the Small Khural, all those issues were resolved independently. The working bodies of the Small Khural had the presidency, the divisions and commissions.

The Constitutions denied the concept of the separation of powers; the Supreme authorities were created as legislators and governors at the same time. Both the Small Khural and the Council of Ministers in equal measure were legislative and executive. The differences were not in functions, but in the place in the hierarchy of structures. The Small Khural could cancel or suspend any order of the Government, but then the real power was in the hands of the Council of Ministers of the TPR and the Central Committee of the TPRP. The principles enshrined in the Constitution had been relegated to the background.

Not being the state bodies, the structures of the Central Committee of the TPRP actually concentrated political power in the country, prepared decisions that determined the activities of the state bodies, the order of formation and work of khurals, they were the initiators of changes in electoral legislation and carried out the current management of election campaigns. There was a practice: long before the official elections the Central Committee of the party published policy letters, which contained guidelines for the reports of deputies and elections of the Great Khural. On the basis of their local party the committees made decisions. This practice, which developed in the 1930s, with certain modifications remained in the future.

The composition of the delegates of the congresses was systematically updated, which allowed involving the representatives of the people in the direct activities of the higher authorities. However, that practice had the opposite side - weak continuity. In addition, the convocation of the Great Khural was short-term representative institutions, their work was not strictly regulated, and each Congress adopted its own rules of procedure. The work of the congresses was open, widely covered in the press. The Khurals became the political basis of the TPR, their activities were supervised by party bodies. The only party – the TPRP - in its actions and orders was guided by the recommendations of the Comintern and secret orders of the Supreme party bodies of the USSR.

Discussion

The emergence and establishment of institutions of statehood and socio-political system of the Tuvan people's Republic went in difficult conditions, associated primarily with the political and economic dependence of the new Tuva government on Soviet Russia. In the opinion of the Soviet leaders, for the TPR the dictatorship of

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labor arats more suited to. In this regard, the khurals, which were a kind of peasant Councils, were called upon to consolidate and implement in practice the country's transition to socialism. That view had been dominating the Soviet historiography for many years.⁹ At the same time, it is difficult to call the governing bodies in Tuva of different levels peoples', i.e. peasant and arat, if they were represented mainly by feudal lords.

Until almost the end of the 1920s, the representatives of the former ruling elite continued to hold senior positions. Very often there was a combination of several positions in the hands of one person, which was the norm at that time. The majority of Tuvans was illiterate, so the civil servants were from among the former rulers and officials, who were selected on the basis of their loyalty to the new government. They also unsuccessfully tried to combine tradition with the changes. Therefore, it is not surprising that the ideology of Bolshevism was obscure and absolutely alien to the majority of the population of the TPR.

Traditionally, it was believed that the formation of the TPR was the result of the people's revolution, which is in doubt in the national historiography now [19]. The lack of experience of the state-building in the previous periods of development, and also the big influence I can even say dependence on the Soviet Union, led to the political development of the TPR. The adoption of a one-party political system led by the Tuvan people's revolutionary party, along with the intervention of the USSR in the internal political affairs of the TPR contributed to the coming to power of the "left", which began radical changes and proclaimed a non-capitalist way of development of the country. In the TPR the political system similar to the USSR has established.

The great Khural, as the organ of the Supreme power gradually lost its value, the less was its convocation from 1930, once in three years. In decisions of the Great Khurals of the TPR in 1920s, there is a lot of autonomy and original identity. At the Congress it was heard the reports of all ministries and it was imposed on them resolution. Another thing was the khurals of all levels in the period of the 1930s. Their decisions were often preceded by the line of the Comintern and the Central Committee of the TPRP.

Conclusion

Summing up, it should be noted that despite the lack of experience of the state building, the political culture in 1921-1944 and the great influence of the USSR, the activities of the Great Khural were distinguished by originality, combining the desire of the people to defend their traditions, using the elements of unfamiliar democracy. By analogy with the Soviets of the USSR in Tuva the Khurals of workers were created, which became the political basis of the TPR, whose activities were supervised by the party bodies. The only existing party – TPRP - in its actions and orders was guided by the recommendations of the Comintern and secret orders of the Supreme party bodies of the USSR.

The results and conclusions of this study deepen and expand existing in the national historiography of the idea of the historical experience of the state-building in

the years of the TPR, also they reveal the peculiarities of the formation of parliamentarism in the period under review.