

Article

THE PHILOSOPHICAL AND METHODOLOGICAL ISSUES OF MONGOLIA'S CIVILIZATION IN THE MULTI-POLAR WORLD

*Chuluunbaatar Gelegpil**
*Khatanbold Oidov***
*Aleksandr S. Zhelezniakov****

DOI 10.24833/2073-8420-2020-1-54-3-13



Introduction. *The article is devoted to the evaluation of topical ideas of Inner Asia civilization in the multi-polar world. Without doubt, in contemporary global world it is essential for each country to creatively explore ideas and scientific civilizational theories to define its place in modern global community. Today the Mongols actively explore*

these theories and doctrines which have linkage to Western origin, but the research deserves a creative approach and does not fit properly the national reality and specifics.

Material and methods. *To define the specific features of Mongolian civilization the authors study philosophical doctrines of existence in harmony, doctrine of duality, time, Buddhism – all the ideas that influenced the Mongolian views on “nation” and “democracy”, historical lessons and geopolitics.*

Results. *At present Mongolia has a tough choice in pursuing foreign policy. Three main world development centers- the USA, China and Russia- have emerged and the threat of a potential conflict between them have increased. It is apparent that this process in the future will strongly influence the present and further development of*

* **Chuluunbaatar Gelegpil**, Doctor of Sciences (Philosophy), Professor, First Vice-president of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Ulan-Bator, Mongolia
e-mail: chuluunbaatargelegpil@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0001-7135-535X

** **Khatanbold Oidov**, Ph.D, Senior Researcher, Institute of Philosophy of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Ulan-Bator, Mongolia
e-mail: khatanboldo@gmail.com
ORCID: 0000-0001-7867-6850

*** **Aleksandr S. Zhelezniakov**, Doctor of Sciences (Political Science), Deputy Director, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences; Principal Researcher, Federal Center for Theoretical and Applied Sociology, Russian Academy of Sciences, Moscow, Russia
e-mail: zhelezniakovas@yahoo.com
ORCID: 0000-0002-6477-6161

each region and country in the world. Thus the fundamental issues concerning the methodological approach in development philosophy as well as in civilizational philosophy appeared alongside the changes in world situation. The issue of national identity should not be excluded from the political agenda as well as historical and development issues from policy analysis.

Discussion and Conclusions. Mongolia in respect to its geographical location belongs to the Asia-Pacific region. In the civilizational aspect Mongols are nomadic nation. These two factors are fundamental conditions for the shaping of national identity. In context of civilizational affinity and national identity Mongols are more close to the Central Asian space. In this area such regional organizations as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and APEC operate. However, Mongolia is not a member of these organizations and cannot efficiently participate in big regional and world projects and programs having the status of observer. Hence the membership in these regional organizations and the significant economic growth are strategically important for Mongolia.

Introduction

Within framework of fundamental issues of development philosophy there is an acute need to arrange basic ideas related to *methodology of Mongolian philosophy of development policy*. Any/every nation or ethnos in order to survive and develop as a state formation should inherit the fundamental philosophical and spiritual ideas and principles for their existence. However, it is not easy to provide with universal answer what kind this national idea would be, due to different social, historical and economic context of individual country. Moreover, at present the issue agenda is different for big world superpowers which are defining world policy in comparison with small states and ethnos which are hardly trying to survive in whirl of globalization.

Such factors that Mongolia is the sparsely populated country with the extensive territory, rich in the minerals what is causing interest in foreigners, prevalence of a nomadic civilization - all of them in a complex create a *favorable background for formation of philosophy of national development*. Mongols should not forget that their country was determining some time away not only the history of the region but also world history by dominating on most than half of world, however it is also worth to be aware of changed circumstances of modern world. Without doubt, in contemporary global world for each country is essential to explore creatively ideas and scientific theories to define a common approach to trends of development in modern global community. Today Mongols enough suf-

ficiently explore these theories and doctrines which have linkage to Western origin, but the research deserves a creative approach and does not fit properly to national reality and specifics. The conscious respond perception of national legacy, traditions and present situation is indispensable for further evolution of development philosophy. Indeed, search for clues from the past is the most beneficial for philosophy of national development.

Study

Doctrine on two beginnings and existence in harmony

Based on historical sources and philosophical reflection of the views and ideas of scientists spiritual the idea of Mongolian national identity and the most fundamental base that defines the philosophy of development, is a religious-philosophical concept of 'Tenger' (Heaven) and 'Gazar' (Earth) as *the only dual beginnings* of everything in the Universe. It perhaps be was caused by the fact that Mongolian philosophy, social thought and national intellectual identity were developed from the concept that everything in the Universe was created by two beginnings and exists in harmony.

Recent years the research interest into study of Tengerism is steadily increasing. A comparative analysis of research and ideas provides with the following main approaches. First of all, it is common enough an approach that has the following interpretation of '... Tengerism as an advanced idea of Hunnu's shamanist worldview' [26. P. 42]. Also, belief in Heaven was

the supreme worship of Mongols since Hunnu times and the main symbol of statehood passing through many generations [14. P. 180, 240, 286; 23. P. 15]. In other historical sources is reflected the idea that "The sky is the male beginning of life and Earth is female beginning giving to life the form" [26. P. 39]. The similar idea in various variations is mentioned in works of many researchers.

Particularly, there are many attempts to explain in terms of philosophy that for Mongols the Sky is not only belief in the nature, a simple fetish of Shamanism, but a reflection of unity of the Universe, coherent unity of a body and soul [12. P. 153-170], a big achievement of abstract thinking and abstract category of the highest worship of Mongols [2. P. 53], interrelation of universal qualities of the sky [15. P. 129] and a tengerism as a broader justification of dualism of the sky and earth [22. P. 38]. Also is interesting prof. A.S. Zhelezniakov's concept "tengrian-buddhist universe" in relation to area of ancestors of Inner Asian nomadic empire and its unique center of Mongolian civilization [24. P. 13]. The idea of Mongolian civilization was developed in further monograph of A.S. Zhelezniakov [25] and in works of his scientific team [10; 20].

The core of all above-mentioned statements has different foundations, but it is likely a hypothetical discourse mostly based on Secret history of Mongols and, monuments, art, archeological artifacts and other historical texts and myths. However, the Mongols' view of sky (Tenger) in terms of Western philosophy is a unique philosophic epistemological and ontological category of substantial character and transcendental nature with. There are a lot of elements of esoteric in view and assumptions of Mongols of the Tenger. Because study of Tengerism is a separate issue from my study I omit it now. In Buddhist or Oriental concept of dual nature of everything (dual beginning, dual quality of things, etc.) have common origin but is interpreted in different ways. It is natural for persons familiar to philosophy of mediation of ancient Indian Ebam, Chinese yin and yang principles, and Mongolian arga-bilig principle.

Considering these ideas there is a need for further study of the issue. This study can be a hard work required new solutions, based on documents and data in order to understand how to interpret it.

The doctrine of duality

The thinking explaining the phenomena with interference of two things/principles in process of development of the Mongolian statehood has developed in *doctrine of duality* about

close interrelation of the state matters and the religious doctrine. Doctrine of duality is stated the most systematically in historical treatise "White history of 10 virtuous doctrines/teachings of four states" (Dürvün türijn arvan buyant nomyn Tsagaan tüüh), which is a suite of teachings, decrees and laws related to history of Mongolian statehood. It is an issue about resemblance of idea of duality about interrelation of statehood and religion with Western /Occident Theocratic.

Great thinker G.W.F. Hegel once said that "... the history began by establishment of the Theocratic state rule/governance in China and Mongolia." Our researchers often make reference to that statement. In doing so, they usually focus on role of the nomadic state played in world politics. Indeed, oriental concept of duality and western concept of theocratic are not the same. Hegel interpreted our idea of God's governance as theocratic on the basis of some similarities in form [8]. Therefore, there is necessary some explanation. *First*, in Western tradition idea on dual beginning, mutual relation is not common, *second*, western common philosophical and religious traditions are different in comparison with our shamanist and Buddhist, *third*, according Western tradition theocratic concentrates state and religious power, while in our case state and religious deeds are built on equal base and mutually interrelated. In general, religion and science are difficult to distinguish, but they exist independently in cognitive and intellectual world. Brochure "Spiritual cognition" published in 2011 by Institute of philosophy, sociology and law covered a range of mentioned issues. In Introduction to this book I wrote: "Specific paradigm of the modern era is overcome the established concept separating the cognition on the theoretical and practical, and the proof of the *existence of spiritual knowledge* that is in the relationship of pure theory and rational action, or knowledge of Arga Bilig. Introducing new concepts such as "gots chinar (phenomena) and "oyun setgekhuu" (spiritual thinking) while keep using hermeneutic and phenomenological methods is considered as a merit of this work [18. P. 5].

Doctrine of time

Mongols are expressing *time, dimensions (scale)* and *harmony* refers to state policy and every life phenomenon by category of "Tsag" (time). In Mongolian history, literature and works of wise men the category has been used as "Heaven time", "time of distress" (hard times) or "will of time". In the case of "Heaven time" and "time command" assessment of historical situation dominates, while expression "Hard

times" refers to critical assessment of crisis in society and drastic social changes (revolution etc.).

Mongolian thinkers diagnosed the reasons and conditions of "heavy time" when a hard blow has been struck to traditions of statehood, the state has weakened and the life of people has worsened. So, as an example, let me state words of the prominent Mongolian philosopher, religious figure and the politician Dandar agramba. He, Shadavdandararamba (1835-1915) in work "Diamond's fire spark comment on poisonous sting events of hard times" wrote: "...current khans and lamas *without knowledge of public and religious affairs* have stepped on the head to mankind, and *their greed and cunning have destroyed all virtues*. Broken a religious vow, the liars who have made cunning the main thing and their followers... feudal lords and officials are the villains have destroyed everything good" [16, p. 363]. Here the expression '*...without knowledge of public and religious affairs*' points out on main reason of hard time of state-loss of duality principle. To summarize above mentioned, it would be useful to carry out a reflection of the events which are taking place at us today. But at the same time, it is necessary to remember the meaning of "hard times" which means to remember the past and to be careful of new.

Mongolian Buddhism and teaching of the Middle way

For a very long time Buddhism as the national mainstream religion spread Mongolia and "Mongolian Buddhism" [13, p. 51] in terms of Mongolian philosophical thinking became the main intellectual source of national intellectual identity. Buddhist philosophy of the *Middle way (Madhyamaka)* or the concept of emptiness (*sūnyatā*) is closely linked to history of our statehood. Philosophy of Madhyamaka denies bias view about eternal existence of things or their non-existence and claims that things ultimately either exist or do not exist. This doctrine has deeply penetrated into Mongolian social thinking, intellect and morality of Mongol man and was studied in numerous works of Mongolian scholars.

However, professor B. Dash-Yondon has offered very interesting and uncommon explanation. Madhyamaka does not mean to look for balance between «good and evil» in order to adhere the golden mean. Otherwise, it means to be forced out from both sides. The golden mean leads to psychological discomfort/conflict. Thus, the middle way is above both - «good and evil». These two «parts» are necessary to consider identical. «Good» is not entire good and «good and evil» is not entire evil. Indeed, one cannot be without another. There is no reason to give more preference to one of them. Therefore,

there is no necessity to distinguish two things as positive and negative. These two words are conditional categories (terms).

It is not possible to talk about elimination of one part, because elimination of one part means elimination of the whole. Doctrine of conflict between two parts leads to intellectual violence/coercion on phenomena or things. Teaching of the Middle way does not deal with protection of one part, does not patronage them, but it is «above them». By this B. Dash-Yondon try a new, original interpretation making an assumption that «the Middle way teaching is based on very deep wisdom and compassion» [6]. Fundamental feature of Mongol's way of thinking is based on the Middle way teaching, and this becomes a basis of national identity.

If in philosophy, and generally in thinking, prevails tendency to the conflict and confrontation, but not to harmony, thus among thinkers, politicians and the public «the number of those who are desperately rushing between two extremes» (Karl Marx) will increase. Within the last century our philosophical science, state policy and mentality of Mongols have got into a similar situation.

So, in the 20th century the naive perception of Marxism and blind imitation of the Russian experience has dominated. On the contrary, now the Western liberal and neoliberal ideas, their simplified interpretation began to be praised. In such hard times it is necessary to be free from bias to one idea and search for right balance between different opinions.

Results

Respect for state, oath to a comradeship, unity

Respect for State as Heaven (sky) father and respect for people as a respect for mother, obedience to the rule of law and decrees, understanding and dealing in concordance with the traditions, partnership and comradeship, fidelity to the oath are one of the basic factors of authentic national identity of Mongols. Hence it seems unacceptable to apply criteria of western political science to traditional Mongolian judicial system and conclude that it is obsolete and backward instead looking for analogy between traditions of Mongolian judicial system and contemporary concepts of rule of law and constitutional state. Mongols, having received a historical lesson that internal disagreements and division lead to decline, are the people *respecting harmony and unity*. Tradition of this mentality and actions are serving as one of the main factors of national identity of modern Mongols.

Nationalism and democracy

The fundamental feature of Mongolian national identity is *nationalism*, because Mongolia during many centuries was in the center of big nations' interest. Generally, two inseparable characteristics determine nationalism: one is perception of affiliation to the nation and another is sense of patriotism. Mongols could combine these two features to the right degree.

In terms of philosophy the democracy is the inherent attribute of the existence and of socialization of any people, regardless their nationality. At practical level, it means collective discussion, collective decision and joint implementation of it. In this sense this phenomenon is historical tradition for Mongols. Today there is a desperate demand for consolidation of democracy in Mongolia.

Professor Dash-Yondon B, stated about interrelation of national and democratic conceptions the following: "Concept of national democracy is not invented by someone at all; it is reflection of the concept of national development, its perspectives in terms of national interest". He noted that democratic and nationalist concepts are different in itself, however along with underlining of their unity in a national context he notes that at the same time the nationalism answers national specifics, while the democratic concept answers historical necessity of democratization of society [6]. So, modern Mongols could give a preference to concept of national democracy. In a modern situation, when ideologies of different origin widely extend in society, bringing a split in public opinion, the need for the capable to unite national-democratic ideology increases.

Naturally, there is a question as far as the modern model of democracy is fit to Asian countries in the context of democratic globalization. Arthur Schlesinger said: «*Europe is a unique source of individual freedom, political democracy, and rule of law, human rights and cultural freedom. ... These are the only idea of the Europe, not of Asia, Africa or the Middle East. Others have just adopted it*» [9. P. 6]. Thus, to limit the idea of freedom only by European continent at least means to diminish the value of freedom as well as to discriminate people by nationality. But it would more proper to discourse about freedom in context of basics of democracy and measure of its value. Professor Samuel Huntington has raised a contradictory question: «*To which extent modern democracy as the western product will spread in non-western societies?*» [9. P. 6] So, he also expresses a vision that democracy is spread to other countries from West.

The modern democracy in Mongolia has changed from the ideology and desires into the daily actions and real-life needs of achievement

of the people. Hereof, a few of challenges, one-sided approaches and polarization have occurrence in the consolidation process of democracy as followed an inverse and failures. The prominent researchers such as Francis Fukuyama were noted that democracy is a natural phenomenon. The democracy understanding has yet become orderly among to Mongolians. In accordance with general trends, the people mean that's building and making the realities of national democracy such plants in our own land as followed to imitating that external approaches from the outside of Mongolia and other nationals. Regarding to a key significance of democracy expressed by mediating values of human rights, freedom, equality which prevails as excessively general and declarative pretend perception within the people such renowned scholars.

Since its democratic transition in 1990, researchers who considered as underlying factors and state of affairs of democracy in Mongolia that represented a country for "fourth wave in the democracy" and Central Asian region since 1990, Mongolia that emphasized as the "first example of the extraordinarily unusual" in the democratic process as considered by internationally. The essence of "Extraordinarily unusual" emphasizes were not being as "prerequisite" of the traditional democracy same with western countries, in regards that quite a few of democratic cultural features were important as unique or classical transfer to liberal form of democracy. Mongolia situated between two substantial neighbors such implements a different way of democracy in the world, that relates to the unique of "extraordinarily unusual" tells a number of factors and circumstances that we have concerning that facial appearance, aspects in the democracy studies. It involves a *primary key argument* in this research paper. Regarding to the democracy assessment such requires that relevant understanding and categories should be related to forming measurable indicators that basic concept, categories estimation to assess. We usually think that democracy is not only as a dream, which is not a matter within the country or state. Any kind of democratic principles are related to the union of collective decision - making. There is a significant relationship between the democracy and level of statehood and other social institutions' stage of democracy. The state-government has the rights to regulating the all categories of social affairs and forced taxing ability, and that have authorities to decision of living and passing away of members, and in relating to valued decision of the democracy in the government level in building up the most extensive framework of acting for unions or co-

alitions. We are having lots of reasons to set up the democracy is being as our values. This is our *next key argument* of the research.

Analyzing post-communist regimes J. Møller and S.E. Skaaning put Mongolia in the group of minimalist democracy countries, emphasized its exception from the Central Asia where the autocracy regimes prevail. According to Freedom in the world 2008 identification of regime types Mongolia is in the list of free post-communist countries [17. P. 61, 64, 67].

However, democracy does not develop by itself; it spread on the real soil of national culture, traditions and way of thinking. The Mongolian national identity is based on nomadic civilization. Nomadic intellectual and spiritual life is unique. Chinese writer Jiang Rong in his novel «Wolf totem» translated in 40 world languages wrote about his life experiences of staying in Inner Mongolia: «... steppe nomads believe that the nature and pastures in comparison with human life is the supreme vital value, whereas in settled communities a human life is considered» as the highest value. Statement of old Mongolian herder that «*How can man survive if the nature and pastures will be destroyed?*» [19. P. 66] contains an interesting idea on specifics of nomadic mentality expressing an eco-philosophical approach. Chibilev A.A. also writes about unique mutual influence of landscape of steppe and anthropogenic factor of nomads, identifying the multifaceted traces and consequences of nature-man interaction on the territory of the Great Plains of Northern Eurasia at the period of so-called “nomadic steppe empires”. He concludes “that the landscapes of the steppe zone constituted natural-anthropogenic complexes resulting from cultural transformation of space by the nomadic peoples” [4. P. 219].

So, if freedom and democracy is assumed to be universal values of humankind, then along with displaying their relationship to issues of origin, history, traditions and rituals, religion and values system of the country it is important to seriously examine this issue.

Additionally, until just before the decade of the 1980s, however the failings of Marxism-Leninism and the superiority of democracy and the market system were not always that obvious. Whatever our recurring questions, they were suddenly answered by what can only be called the near simultaneous volcanic eruption in what had been assumed to be essentially quiescent Marxist-Leninist world. To understand the reasons for the unraveling of the Communist world, it is necessary to retrace the evolution of the Communist movement. In many events, the dictatorship of the proletariat or rather the com-

munist parties in the bloc countries with its intellectuals, seemed to be the perfect vehicle for mobilizing capital and labor and overseeing the transformation of a backward agrarian and agricultural country into a modern industrialized society. Such an approach however proved to be very costly. Thus, since in communist countries the capitalists were removed, the Communist parties had to implement industrialization. Because these countries lacked facilitating economic and political institutions such as a middle class with independent incomes, guilds and institutional constraints on unlimited power, though, their ‘transformations’ were accompanied by social, structural and political regimentation and inherent abuses which hindered their economic as well as political modernization [7. P. 10]. Mongolia is a part of the countries which newly established democracy in the democratic development and governance sustainability. In accordance with national statement to the Constitution, the Mongolian people have the right to participate directly in political decisions. This right is implemented through election of state institutions. In addition, the particulars of democracy in Mongolia have naturally valuable in the people’s living, and that also significance of instrumentally and constructively consequences in the political decision-making process.

Decision making process on law and policy-making is semi-open and consultations with citizens and the public are not conducted properly. Despite the many unique features that characterise Mongolia, the follow-up activities reflect a common set of challenges faced by many new democracies, as well as many mature democracies, suggesting Mongolia joins other democracies in the world in struggling to develop long-lasting democratic institutions and to inculcate deeply felt democratic values. Additionally, the general sense of cooperation at the domestic level, the follow-up activities were carried out in a spirit of international cooperation, and in many ways set a milestone in the idea of supporting democracy worldwide. On the other hand, in order to increase the political participation of citizens, elected officials and politicians should not only rely on their ultimate power of decision making, but also discussion and consultation with citizens should be carried out prior to final decision.

The countries that switched to democracy in the level of the first two waves of democracy have begun to emerge from the same circumstances in general environment such as economic and political conditions, while the third wave of democracy has changed into differentially, and formed by the following conditions. For an instance, *Since the transition to the democracy as*

designed by the process of globalization, that proceedings of the various forms of democracy and the transitional process have become common entrance, and all of this should be a clear indication of global political processes. In other words, only non-state and international factors such as historical, economical, social and cultural aspects are influenced by the form of democratization, initiative commitment and other entries of the democratic process. Today, any countries which applies to non-democratic regimes that the class is not unconnectedly as democratic political process of globalization, there are signs that commenced by the third wave of an independent democratic basis of international relations, which influenced by the social democratic movement and its substantial content more democratically efforts.

As considering of democracy referred as a proper values and main beliefs, that establishment of the problems of democracy has solidly defined as legitimate needs as not only required by a way of context of a pragmatic tool. Practically, the democratic institution has explained as solving the definite problems such related to the social and economic spheres. Ideally, democracy is considered as the needs of the people, rather than appropriated political regime in the current environment. The democracy, even if it is an economic crisis, which has proved relatively stable.

Since the democratic regime has many scenarios, the following questions were associated with it. Now, it is globally accepted and recognized beliefs such adhering to judge the strengths and weaknesses of liberal democracy, as well as investigating that other forms of democracy expression as required that is essential for their tolerance. Political changes at the end of the twentieth century would not be end with a process of democratization, then a history of democracy will not complete by it. In this sense, democracy is based on the idea of a combination of collapse and depression. In other words, while some countries are moving towards to democracy, some others may emerge from the democracy, then, the fourth wave of democracy is likely to be occur in the 21st century. Consequently, the attitude of predicting the development of new forms of democracy will prevail in the political theory.

Samuel Huntington explained by the above-mentioned that democratic character and its substantive analysis and approaches to the human being as fully aware of that achieve the democratic movement back to the irreversible phenomena [9, p. 6]. In accordance with the concept of slogan under "democracy in Mongolia" that has been considered as the negotiations, surveys and publications on democracy

in Mongolia. In the within political groups and political scientists were thanked and supported by this concept as constituted with an absolute majority. In the 20th century, the Mongols spoke, wrote and studied on democracy. At first, it focused on the notion of «proletarian or socialist democracy» in Marxist theory, and then it referred to escort on the idea of «liberal or free democracy» either nor Marxist theory. So, they were limited access to otherwise. Though, regardless of attempts to implement socialist democracy has failed to a standstill in the 1990s, then, the liberal democratic process reversed by the two decades, it was still remarked about the crisis in recent years, and somewhat it proceeded slowly [3]. Creative thinking is necessary spiritual quest questions about the future. This perspective is the firstly important to focus on the methodological issues [21. P. 16].

Correct interpretation of history, learning from its lessons and be proud of it is one source of national consciousness, its intellectual background and of philosophy of national development policy. All this is the matter of historical philosophy or if be more exact it has relation to issues of development philosophy.

We have to take into consideration an origin of historical records and scientific value of these sources. Hegel did not say occasionally that «With China and the Mongols... history begins» [8. P. 129].

According to the opinion of Professor Dash-Yondon B., considered that statement expression contains a concrete idea in the philosophical and historical aspect. He stated that settled nations had more opportunities left historical memory than nomads. So, World history supposed to be started from states with written history, nevertheless history is also product of states which creates it. Indeed, the World history is connected to Asia, particularly China and Mongolia «... Some of nomads from mountainous steppes are living peacefully, another occasionally invades others. And although nomads did not develop written historical sources, they have the huge potential capable to cardinaly change life of the people, so the beginning of history perhaps should be looked for among them» [5]. It is possible that the essence of told by Hegel is that nomads make history in all places (everywhere) where they have been [8]. And the settled people make historical entries about nomads as well as about themselves. Confirmation of this is that the mention of nomads is available in cultural heritage over 40 countries, generally with a settled way of life. Therefore, given circumstances are necessary to consider at interpretation of historical sources.

At national and civilizational level, the po-

litical process itself has either positive or negative impact on development. Political process does not emerge from nothing; it has by substance a real civilizational background.

In order to constitute a mode of governance responding to specific requirements consistent with the modern Mongolian civilization basic social relations should be regulated by law, traditions, customs, behavior, morality and other mechanisms. The answer on inquiry about present situation is as likely to be negative. Discourse on development philosophy and policy, proper mode of governance is still in progression and issue of changing the Constitution reached the legislative level. Doctrine (concept) of rule of law does not exceed limits of political propaganda. Implementation of law is not realized; morality, transparency and social justice are decreasing. The corruption and bribery are spread widely, and political-business groupings are dominating at every level of society. The entire political process does not fit the fundamentals features of democratic society (civilization) and national interests.

Issues of national development are not possible to consider without the understanding specifics (peculiarities) of Mongolian religion, culture and civilization, particularly of national mentality. Religion, culture and civilization are intertwined phenomena and processes which are emerged and developed among people of same origin and race in same natural and spatial environment simultaneously without strictly defined order. The nation is emerging when people of same nature-geographical region and same ethnicity and origin are uniting on the spiritual (religion), existential (culture) and political (civilization) predispositions.

Geopolitical aspect

The beginning of the twenty-first century created the new situation in world and regional development trends. Political analysts said that «power balance in the international relations transferred into multipolar world»¹. Three main world development centers – USA, China and Russia – are emerged and threat of potential conflict between them increased respectively. It is apparent that this process in future will strongly affect the present and further development of each region and country in the world. It is necessary for each country and nation to identify the impact, the fundamental basis for development, methodology, approach and new challenges.

Thus, fundamental issues on level of methodological approach in development philosophy

as well as in civilizational philosophy appeared respectively to changes in world situation. The issue of national identity should not be excluded from political agenda as well as historical and development issues from policy analysis.

At present Mongolia has a tough choice in pursuing foreign policy. There are many options. According Professor Zheleznyakov A., it might be choices for nonpolar, organic, monopoles, bipolar or multipolar world [24. P. 11]. Mongolia is also involved in different economic projects of Russia and China, for example transport and energetic routs [1]. Russia and Mongolia are connected not only with the common socialist past but also friendly and respectful mutual perception of the citizens of both countries that was proofed with many social surveys [11].

Respectively to intensification of geopolitical and geo-economics interests of our two neighbors the activity of the “third neighbor” – USA, Japan and South Korea- increased significantly. In these circumstances is important to find a proper balance. It mostly depends on mining and transportation infrastructure; however, the issues of civilizational and national identity are also important. Unfortunately, there is did only a few for analyze of the situation and implement in policy.

Conclusion

Mongolia in respect to its geographical location belongs to Asia-Pacific region. In civilizational aspect Mongols are nomadic nation. These two factors are fundamental conditions for shaping of national identity. In context of civilizational belonging and of national identity Mongols are closer to Central Asian space. In this spatial area operate regional organizations such as the Shanghai Cooperation Organization and APEC. However, Mongolia is not a member of these organizations and having only status of observer could not efficiently participate in big regional and world projects and programs. All main trade and business partners of Mongolia-Russian Federation, China, USA, Japan, South Korea and Australia – are members of APEC. Mongolia is developing a strategic partnership with RF, China, Japan and USA. Hence membership in this regional organization in addition to the economic significance has for Mongolia a strategic importance.

To recapitulate above said the following basic factors of national identity should consider in process of regional integration at all levels.

¹ Bayarkhuu D. Ukraine's crisis crossed borders. An interview. "Daily News of Mongolia" Newspaper. 2014. № 069.

First, conservation of clean and safe ecological environment and ensure the sustainability of ecological development;

Second, rational use of natural resources on the basis of research taking into account the future perspective and without pressure from the outside;

Third, preserving the specifics and advantages of the national civilization, and relying on own mind and strength to develop Mongolia without trying to imitate others. Only in this case all risks associated with active international and regional integration will be minimized.

References:

1. Badaraev D.D., Vinokurova A.V., Litvinova T.N., 2017. The creation of economic corridors «China – Mongolia – Russia» as an alternative to the «Silk Road». *Ojkumena. Regional Researches*. No. 2 (41). P. 7-17.
2. Bira, Sh., 2007. *Tüüver zokhioluud*. [Selected works]. Ulaanbaatar.
3. Changes in the Democratic Governance in Mongolia. 2006; 2008; 2010; 2013. IPSL, SPAI, UNDP, «Sansudai» Printing house. «Bembi-san LLC». Ulaanbaatar.
4. Chibilev A.A., 2009. Landscapes of Eurasian steppes as the object of historical steppe science. *Geography and Natural Resources*. No. 30. P. 219-223.
5. Dash-Yondon, B., 2012. Setgelgeegee shinechlekh ni khyamralaas garch devjikhiin ündes mön [Updating of thinking is a way from crisis to growth]. *Tsag üye: setgel bodrol, filosofi* [Time: thoughts and philosophy]. Ulaanbaatar.
6. Dash-Yondon, B., 2012. Töv үзел-setgekh arga [Teaching of the Middle way is the way of thinking]. *Tsag üye: setgel bodrol, filosofi* [Time: thoughts and philosophy]. Ulaanbaatar.
7. Goldman, M. & Goldman, M., 1992. To Leninism and back. *From Leninism to Freedom: The challenges of Democratization*. Edit. Margaret L. Nugent. San-Francisco: Boulder, Oxford: Westview Press.
8. Hegel, G.W.F., 2001. *Philosophy of History*. Ontario: Batoche Books Kitchener.
9. Huntington, S. P., 1997. After twenty years: the future of the third wave. *Journal of Democracy*. Volume 8 (4). P. 3-12.
10. Litvinova, T.N., 2017. The Idea of Mongolian Civilization as a Concept of a Multipolar World Order. *Polis. Political Studies*. No. 5. P. 187-191.
11. Litvinova, T.N., Zheleznyakov, A.S. 2019. Vzaimnoye vospriyatiye obrazov Rossii i Mongolii v kontekste transtsvilizatsionnogo vzaimodeystviya [Mutual perception of images of Russia and Mongolia in the context of trans-civilization interaction]. *Sotsiologicheskie Issledovaniia* [Sociological Studies]. No 5. P. 129-138.
12. Lkhagva, O., 2011. Munkh tengerii i golograficheskaia vsyelyennaya. [Munkh tengri and golographic univers]. *Tengerizm ba mongolchuud*. [Tengerism and Mongols]. Ulaanbaatar.
13. Luvsantseren, G., 2008. Buddyn gün ukhaany onol, tüükhiin asuudlaas. [Issues of Buddhist philosophy and history]. Ulaanbaatar.
14. MongolUlsyn tüükh [History of Mongolia], 2003. Volume 1. In V volumes. Ulaanbaatar.
15. MongolUlsyn tüükh [History of Mongolia], 2003. Volume 2. In V volumes. Ulaanbaatar.
16. Mongolyn filosofiin tüükh (XVII-XIX zuun) [History of Mongolian philosophy for XVII-XIX cc.], 2001. Volume 4. Ulaanbaatar, Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law, Mongolian Academy of Sciences.
17. Møller, J. & Skaaning, S.E., 2010. Post-Communist regime types: Hierarchies across attributes and space. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. No. 43. P. 51-71.
18. Oyuunlag tanin medekhüi [Spiritual cognition], 2011. Joint work. Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law, Mongolian Academy of Sciences. Ulaanbaatar.
19. Rong, Jiang, 2010. Wolf totem. Translated Boldbaatar D., Edited by Mend-Ooyo G., Ulaanbaatar: «Mon sudar» Printng LLC.
20. Rossiya i Mongoliya: tsivilizatsionnyye aspekty modernizatsii (sravnitel'nyy analiz) [Russia and Mongolia: civilizational aspects of modernization (comparative analysis)], 2016. /edited by A.S. Zheleznyakov, T.N. Litvinova. Moscow: Institute of Sociology RAS. [Electronic resource] URL: <http://www.isras.ru>.
21. Tsanjid, A., Chuluunbaatar, G., Ganbat, D., 2008. Democratic principle and integration on the National characteristics and culture. *Report on the Grant project on Scientific*. Ulaanbaatar.
22. Tsanzhid, A., 2011. Tör barikhui mongol ukhaan [Mongolian art of state management]. «Admon» Printing Company. Ulaanbaatar.
23. Tseveen, Zh., 2000. *Tüüver zokhioluud* [Selected works]. Ulaanbaatar.
24. Zhelezniakov, A.S., 2012. The Civilisational Dimension of Identity in Multipolar World. *Russian Journal of Philosophical Sciences*. No.11. P.11-21.
25. Zhelezniakov, A.S., 2016. Mongol'skaya tsivilizatsiya: istoriya i sovremennost'. Teoreticheskoye obosnovaniye atlasa. [Mongolian Civilization: History and Modernity. Theoretical Justification of the Atlas]. Moscow.

26. Zhugder, Ch., 2006. Mongolyn niigem uls tör, filosofiin setgelgeenii khögjil. [Development of Mongolian social-political and philosophical thought]. Ulaanbaatar, «Bembi san» Printing Company.

This article is prepared with the support of the Russian Foundation for Basic Research and the Ministry of Culture, Education, Science and Sports of Mongolia, project N 19-511-44012 "Inter-civilizational interaction of Russia and Mongolia in the context of the Great Eurasian Partnership"

ФИЛОСОФСКИЕ И МЕТОДОЛОГИЧЕСКИЕ ВОПРОСЫ ИССЛЕДОВАНИЯ МОНГОЛЬСКОЙ ЦИВИЛИЗАЦИИ В МНОГОПОЛЯРНОМ МИРЕ

Введение. Статья посвящена оценке актуальных идей цивилизации Внутренней Азии в многополярном мире. В современных условиях каждой стране необходимо креативно исследовать идеи и научные цивилизационные теории, чтобы определить свое место в мировом сообществе. Сегодня монгольские ученые достаточно подробно изучают эти теории и доктрины западной философской мысли, но такое исследование заслуживает творческого подхода, так как эти концепции не вписываются должным образом в национальную реальность и специфику.

Материалы и методы. Чтобы определить особенности монгольской цивилизации, авторы изучают философские учения и представления о гармонии, учение о двойственности, времени, основы буддизма – все те идеи, которые повлияли на воззрения монголов на «нацию» и «демократию», историю и геополитику.

Результаты. В настоящее время у Монголии сложный выбор линии внешней политики. Появились три основных центра мирового развития – США, Китай и Россия, и соответственно возросла угроза потенциального конфликта между ними. Очевидно, что этот процесс в будущем будет сильно влиять на настоящее и дальнейшее развитие каждого региона и страны в мире. Таким образом, фундаментальные проблемы методологического характера, а также цивилизографии связаны с изменениями в международной ситуации. Вопрос национальной идентичности не должен быть исключен из геополитической повестки дня, а также вопросы исторического развития из анализа политики.

Обсуждение и выводы. Монголия по своему географическому положению относится к

Азиатско-Тихоокеанскому региону. В цивилизационном аспекте монголы являются кочевой нацией. Эти два фактора являются фундаментальными для формирования национальной идентичности. В контексте цивилизационной принадлежности и национальной идентичности монголы ближе к среднеазиатскому пространству. В этой пространственной области действуют такие региональные организации, как: Шанхайская организация сотрудничества и АТЭС. Однако Монголия не является членом этих организаций, имея лишь статус наблюдателя, а потому не может эффективно участвовать в крупных региональных и глобальных проектах и программах. Следовательно, членство в этих региональных организациях в дополнение к экономическому росту имеет для Монголии стратегическое значение.

Чулуунбаатар Гелегпил,
доктор философских наук, профессор,
первый вице-президент Монгольской академии наук, Улан-Батор, Монголия

Хатанболд Оидов,
кандидат политических наук, старший
научный сотрудник Института философии
Монгольской академии наук, Улан-Батор,
Монголия

Железняков Александр Сергеевич,
доктор политических наук, заместитель
директора Института востоковедения РАН,
главный научный сотрудник, Федеральный
научно-исследовательский социологический
центр РАН, Москва, Россия

Ключевые слова:

Внутренняя Азия, монгольская цивилизация, кочевники, геополитика, национальная идентичность, внешняя политика

Keywords:

Inner Asia, Mongolian civilization, nomads, geopolitics, national identity, foreign policy

Литература:

1. Бадараев Д.Д., Винокурова А.В., Литвинова Т.Н. Создание экономических коридоров «Китай – Монголия – Россия» как альтернатива «Шёлковому пути» // Ойкумена. Регионоведческие исследования. 2017. № 2 (41). С. 7-17.
2. Бира Ш. Түүвэр зохиолууд. [Избранные работы]. Улан-Батор, 2007.
3. Changes in the Democratic Governance in Mongolia. Ulaanbaatar: IPSL, SPAI, UNDP, «Sansudai» Printing house, «Bembi-san LLC., 2006; 2008; 2010; 2013.
4. Chibilev A. A. Landscapes of Eurasian steppes as the object of historical steppe science // Geography and Natural Resources. 2009. No. 30 P. 219–223. DOI: 10.1016/j.gnr.2009.09.003
5. Даш-Ёндон Б. Сэтгэлгээгээ шинэчлэх нь хямралаас гарч дэвжихийн үндэс мөн. [Обновление вашего мышления является основой для выхода из кризиса] // Цаг үе: сэтгэл бодрол, философи. [Времена: психология и философия]. Улан-Батор, 2012.
6. Даш-Ёндон Б. Төв үзэл-сэтгэх арга [Срединный образ мышления] // Цаг үе: сэтгэл бодрол, философи. [Времена: психология и философия]. Улан-Батор, 2012.
7. Goldman, M. & Goldman, M. To Leninism and back // From Leninism to Freedom: The challenges of Democratization. Edit. Margaret L. Nugent. San-Francisco: Boulder, Oxford: Westview Press. – 1992.
8. Hegel, G.W.F. Philosophy of History. Ontario: Batoche Books Kitchener, 2001.
9. Huntington, S. P. After twenty years: the future of the third wave // Journal of Democracy. 1997. Volume 8 (4). P. 3-12.
10. Литвинова Т.Н. Идея монгольской цивилизации как концепт многополюсного мироустройства // Полис. Политические исследования. 2017. № 5. С. 187-191. DOI: <https://doi.org/10.17976/jpps/2017.05.13>
11. Литвинова Т. Н., Железняков А. С. Взаимное восприятие образов России и Монголии в контексте трансцивилизационного взаимодействия // Социологические исследования. 2019. № 5. С. 129-138. DOI: 10.31857/S013216250004967-6
12. Лхагва О. Мунх тэнгэрий и голографическая вселенная. [Небо и голографическая вселенная] // Тэнгэризм ба монголчууд. [Тенгрианство и монголы]. Улан-Батор, 2011.
13. Лувсанцэрэн Г. Буддын гүн ухааны онол, түүхийн асуудлаас. [Из теории и истории буддийской философии]. Улан-Батор, 2008.
14. МонголУлсын түүх. [История Монголии]. Том 1. В 5-ти томах. Улан-Батор, 2003.
15. МонголУлсын түүх. [История Монголии]. Том 2. В 5-ти томах. Улан-Батор, 2003.
16. Монголын философийн түүх (XVII-XIX зуун). [История монгольской философии (XVIII-XIX вв.)], Часть вторая, книга IV. Улан-Батор: Институт философии, социологии и права МАН, 2001.
17. Møller, J. & Skaaning, S.E., 2010. Post-Communist regime types: Hierarchies across attributes and space. *Communist and Post-Communist Studies*. No. 43. P. 51-71.
18. Оюунлаг танин мэдэхүй. [Духовное познание]. Улан-Батор: Институт философии, социологии и права МАН, 2011.
19. Rong, J. Wolf totem. Translated Boldbaatar D., Edited by Mend-Ooyo G. Ulaanbaatar: «Mon sudar» Prinitng LLC, 2010.
20. Россия и Монголия: цивилизационные аспекты модернизации (сравнительный анализ) / отв. ред. А.С. Железняков, Т.Н. Литвинова. Москва: Институт социологии РАН, 2016. – 196 с. [Электронный ресурс] URL: http://www.isras.ru/index.php?page_id=1198&id=4447
21. Tsanjid, A., Chuluunbaatar, G., Ganbat, D., 2008. Democratic principle and integration on the National characteristics and culture. Report on the Grant project on Scientific. Ulaanbaatar.
22. Цанжид А. Төр барихуй монгол ухаан. [Монгольское искусство государственного управления]. Улан-Батор: «Адмон», 2011.
23. Цэвээн Ж. Түүвэрз охиолууд. [Избранные работы]. Улан-Батор, 2000.
24. Железняков А.С. Цивилизационное измерение идентичности многополюсного мира // Философские науки. 2012. №11. С. 11-21.
25. Железняков А.С. Монгольская цивилизация: история и современность. Теоретическое обоснование атласа. М.: Весь Мир, 2016. 288 с.
26. Жүгдэр Ч. Монголын нийгэм улс төр, философийн сэтгэлгээний хөгжил. [Развитие монгольской социально-политической и философской мысли]. Улан-Батор: «Бемби сан», 2006.

Статья подготовлена при поддержке РФФИ и Министерства культуры, образования, науки и спорта Монголии, проект № 19-511-44012 «Межцивилизационное взаимодействие России и Монголии в контексте Большого Евразийского партнерства»