

opción

Revista de Antropología, Ciencias de la Comunicación y de la Información, Filosofía,
Lingüística y Semiótica, Problemas del Desarrollo, la Ciencia y la Tecnología

Año 34, 2018, Especial N°

14

Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales
ISSN 1012-1587/ ISSNe: 2477-9385
Depósito Legal pp 198402ZU45



Universidad del Zulia
Facultad Experimental de Ciencias
Departamento de Ciencias Humanas
Maracaibo - Venezuela

Officialdom of the Tuvan people's republic: transformation of the socio-cultural

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Abstract

The article aims to the problems of the transformation of the socio-cultural image of officialdom during the period of the Tuvan People's Republic (1921-1944). The author on the basis of the analysis of archival sources reveals the problems of transforming the socio-cultural appearance of officialdom in the period of the formation and development of a sovereign state. As a methodological basis for the study, the principles of historicism, the method of comparative historical analysis were used. The author reveals the transformation of the socio-cultural image of Tuvan officials on the examples, external and internal factors that influenced this process.

Keywords: official, system, socio-cultural, Officialdom.

La oficialidad de la república popular de Tuvan en 1921-1944: transformación de la imagen sociocultural

Resumen

El artículo apunta a los problemas de la transformación de la imagen sociocultural de la burocracia durante el período de la República Popular de Tuvan (1921-1944). El autor sobre la base del análisis de las fuentes de archivo revela los problemas para transformar la apariencia sociocultural de los funcionarios en el período de formación y desarrollo de un estado soberano. Como base metodológica para el estudio, se utilizaron los principios del historicismo, el método de análisis histórico comparativo. El autor revela la transformación de la imagen sociocultural de los funcionarios de Tuvan en los ejemplos, factores externos e internos que influyeron en este proceso.

Palabras clave: oficial, sistema, sociocultural, Officialdom.

1. INTRODUCTION

Officialdom, being a special stratum of the social structure of society, occupies an important place in state and local government. Moreover, as an integral component of the state machinery itself, it plays a special role in its functioning. In the course of the historical development of the state, at every stage the composition and position of representatives of the officialdom is changing, more or less

privileged in comparison with the rest of the population. At the same time, the personnel composition of the bureaucracy of each state has its own specifics. The socio-cultural image of officialdom of the Tuvan People's Republic differed in the first years of its independent existence, after gaining independence in the twenties of the last century. The article is devoted to the study of the transformation of the sociocultural image of Tuvan officialdom in the period of formation and development of the Tuvan People's Republic (1921-1944) (hereinafter –the TPR).The aim of the article is to study the socio-cultural image of Tuvan officials that came to power at the time of the creation of the Tuvan People's Republic and its gradual transformation which was influenced by external and internal factors. The relevance to the study is due to insufficient research into the transformation of the sociocultural image of Tuvan officials in domestic and foreign historiography. In the historiography of Tuva, despite the existence of extensive works on the history, ethnography, culture and socio-economic development of the Tuvan People's Republic, attempts were not made to analyze the history of the officialdom of Tuva, although some aspects were touched upon by historians from time to time (Khovalyg, 2014).

Scientific understanding and realizing of the history of the Tuvan people begins with the works of Soviet historians (Aranchin, 1982; Iyesuitov, 1956; Serdoboy, 1971) The undoubted merit of the works of Soviet scientists is: firstly, the expansion of the research subjects; secondly, the inclusion of a wide range of sources in the

study, including previously unused archival documents; thirdly, the introduction of system analysis, the formational approach and the principles of historicism into the study of Tuvan society in the beginning of the twentieth century which made it possible to give the first systematic exposition of the history of the Tuvan people. It should be emphasized here that the very process of writing the history of Tuva represented complexity not only in methodology. A certain source of difficulty for researchers was the source base. A new direction of research was the study of the socio-economic and post-revolutionary history of Tuva. One of the first people to study it was (Kabo, 1934; Dulov, 1956). The key advantage of Kabo's (1934) work was the study of the social structure of Tuvan society at the beginning of the 20th century. The author characterized public relations as feudal with specific forms of ancestral survivals (Kabo, 1934). Dulov (1956), who investigated the socio-economic relations of Tuva at the end of the 19th and the beginning of the 20th century, comes to the conclusion that semi-patriarchal, semi-feudal relations prevailed in Tuvan society. Despite the profound analysis of the social structure of that society, the question of the socio-cultural appearance of Tuvan officials was not developed by virtue of prevailing ideological attitudes, the formative and class approach (Dulov, 1956). Later, in the writings of Soviet historians, the socio-economic problems were broadened; much attention was paid to the history of party building, socio-political organizations of the Tuvan People's Republic and relations with the USSR.

Historical and ethnographic studies continued to develop, the greatest contribution to which was made by (Weinstein, 1972). Weinstein (1961) conducted ethnographic and archaeological expeditions to various regions of Tuva. He also thoroughly studied one of the authentic areas of Tuva –Todja (Weinstein, 1961). However, since the topic of officialdom was not the subject of Weinstein's (1961) scientific research, the questions about the formation and, the more so, of the transformation of the social layer of managers and leaders remained without proper research and description. Ultimately, the historiography available at that time on the history of the Tuvan people allowed to generalize it which resulted in the creation in the early 1960s of the two-volume work "History of Tuva" which covered the period from ancient times to 1961 (that is, before formation of the Tuvan Autonomous Republic). However, the problems of the formation and evolution of the officialdom of the Tuvan People's Republic, the socio-cultural image and its further transformation were affected minimally. The next stage in the historiography of Tuva is marked by a change in ideological and methodological paradigms which led to the changes in the methods of research and historical description. At the same time researchers gained access to previously closed sources which enabled historians to reveal new facets of Tuva's historical development. The result was the emergence of works on interdisciplinary problems of ethanepalynologyMoskalenko (2004) political science (Belov, 1997;Belov, 1999;Datsyshen and Ondar, 2003; Aiyzhy and Mongych, 2016; Aiyzhy and Mongych, 2016;

Bulag, 2011)and social history (Khovalyg, 2015; Khovalyg, 2015; Ochirova, 2015).

The scientists of the Institute of Humanitarian Applied and Socio-Economic Research of the Republic of Tuva have done a lot of work on the systematization of materials, taking into account the changed principles and methods of research, expanding the source base, revealing new facts from the history of Tuva. The result of their research was the publication of a multi-volume work "History of Tuva"(Lamin, 2007). Modern historiography is marked by the scientific interest in foreign authors of the ethnography and anthropology of the Tuvan people. Donahoe (2004), an anthropologist, analyzed the legal status of landownership and land tenure of rural communities of the Tuvans-Todjans who are referred to indigenous small ethnic communities. Thus, despite certain successes in the actual Tuvan and All-Russian historiography, the transformation of the socio-cultural image of the officialdom was revealed only in the context of describing the class struggle, the elimination of feudal-bai elements in the ranks of the party and state apparatus, besides as just auxiliary subjects. The chronological scope of the study is limited to 1921-1944 which is the period of the Tuvan People's Republic. The lower border is conditioned by the creation of an independent state of the Tuvan People's Republic. The upper border is conditioned by the accession of the Tuvan People's Republic to the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics in 1944. It is the exact time when the transformation of the society begins together with the social image of the Tuvan official.

This is determined by the fact that by this time, after the internal and external upheavals, the social composition, their system of ideological values and methods of recruiting the management personnel of Tuva are radically changing, as a result of which the bases for the functioning of the state apparatus that existed until the collapse of the USSR were formed.

2. METHODOLOGY

The methodological basis of the study is the principles of historicism, objectivism and an integrated approach. These principles made it possible to study the activities of central and local governments starting from the first years of independent existence of the standpoint of dialectical developments, taking into account the interrelation of this activity with the events that took place at that time not only in Tuva, but also in Russia and neighboring Mongolia and China. The principle of historicism makes it possible, having studied the conditions for the emergence of the administrative apparatus in the era of the rule of the Manchu empire of Qing, to consider its dynamics in interconnection and interdependence from changing external conditions, to show an integral picture of the system of the state administration. Scientific objectivity was ensured by studying historical literature and an extensive documentary base of the research topic in all its diversity.

3. DATA, ANALYSIS, AND RESULTS

On August 13-16, 1921, the Constituent Khural (Congress) of the Tuvan people was held, at which it was announced about the establishment of the Republic of Tannu-Tyva Ulus. It was announced that the People's Republic of Tannu-Tuva is a free state, free from anybody in its internal affairs, but in international relations it operates under the leadership of the Russian Socialist Federative Soviet Republic. Also the first Constitution of Tuva was adopted according to which the supreme and legislative authority in the TPR belonged to the congress of all khoshuns - the People's Khural which was convened at least once a year. At the same time, the Constitution did not yet have a provision for a permanent supreme legislative and administrative body of authority. The highest executive, i.e. governmental, power was exercised by the General Central Council. In the interval between the congresses of the People's Khural the full power belonged to it. It had the right to issue resolutions of the Constitution. The Central Council was to be convened for work at least four times a year, and, if necessary, an extraordinary meeting could be convened at the request for two members of the Council. In the intervals between sessions the members of the Council took turns managing the affairs of the Republic. It can be argued that the same order of work in the administration that took place in the traditional system of governance of the Tuvans was preserved. Also, the establishment of such an order for government work is most likely explained by the traditional preference for personified power to the collegial leadership. In

addition, in the organization of the People's Khural, the response of the former communal seim which is convened at least once a year, or even more often, is clearly visible.

Although the Constitution declared the principle of election of state officials, in fact it did not prevent the preservation of the dominant position of the historically established Tuvan aristocracy in the managing affairs. The analysis of the social composition of the first government of Tuva which included seven people shows that they all represented the former power elite of the Tuvan society, since they had previously held the position of ugerda (1). The chairman of the government was OyunSodnam-Balchyr, the last hereditary ambynnoyon of Tuva (2). However, Sodnam-Balchyr acted as the chairman of the government for only a few months, since soon, on the pretext of illness, he left office and gave up his position. The functions of the head of the government had to be executed by MongushBuyan-Badyrgy (3) who was closely connected with the local nobility. A new phenomenon was the attempt to remove Buddhist clergy, which played a significant role in the life of the Tuvan society, from participation in management affairs. According to legitimate order lamas, living in monasteries and existing at the expense of public offerings, lost their right to be elected to public office. Lamas, having their independent husbandry and economy, and the khuuraks (probationers, pupils of lamas) were equalized in rights with the rest of the population of Tuva. However, the first attempt to enforce the principle of the separation of the state and religion has not yet brought a noticeable practical result,

since in fact the clergy, especially the higher one, continued to exert considerable influence on the socio-political life of the Republic.

In 1922 it was decided to rename the Central Council to the Council of Ministers of the Republic. At the same time there were established the following ministries of foreign affairs, internal affairs, justice and military affairs. At the end of 1922 the Ministry of Finance was established. The leading posts of the ministries at that time were occupied by representatives of the traditional nobility, wealthy strata and, in part, people from the Lamaism clergy. It is sufficed to say that out of ten successive heads of government until 1929, five of them were from hereditary ugerda, princely classes and pre-revolutionary bureaucracy. For example, the Chairman of the Council of Ministers and the Minister for Foreign Affairs was Lopsan-Osur, the former change of Maady Sumon. The son of a wealthy Russian merchant and industrialist P.S. Medvedev was his advisor (Belov, 1999). It should be noted that in the first years of the existence of ministries there is a great turnover of personnel in the top management of ministries. The reason for this phenomenon was the old practice of working in the administrative apparatus. Usually, officials performed official functions of three months to one year, until they were recalled and replaced. In the first years of the Tuvan People's Republic's existence, this tradition was transferred to state bodies [The State Archive of the Republic of Tuva, arch. 144, series. 2, case 12, sheet 56]. In addition, at first the state leadership and ministers worked without salary and did not permanently reside in the capital. Only since 1923 they began to

receive nominal wages. An important factor that influenced the further state building of Tuva was the Russian population of the Republic. By resolution of the All-Tuvan Constituent Khural, the Russian population of Tuva was allowed to form an autonomous colony that lives according to the Soviet laws - the Russian self-governing labor colony. The Russian colony maintained close contacts with Soviet Russia and the Comintern. To a large extent, sovietization of Tuva was carried out through this colony.

4. DISCUSSION

Specificity of the first years of the development of the Tuvan People's Republic was that the formation of public authorities went in parallel with the process of the establishment of the Tuvan People's Revolutionary Party and the Revolutionary Youth Union. In 1923 with the help of the Bolsheviks – a secretary of the District Bureau of the Russian Communists Party (of the Bolsheviks) Y. Chugunov and the Soviet Consul in the Tuvan People's Republic F. Falsky - the Tuvan People's Revolutionary Party was established. During a year the number of those who joined the party increased to 7000 which represented a solid organized force. Gradually, since 1925, in the lower apparatus of the party, and then in its Central Committee and government, there have been changes in the direction of increasing the number of arts in their composition. This was due to the fact that in 1925 young people that had previously been sent to study in the party

schools of the Soviet Union, Mongolia and the Orate Republic began to return. From the point of view of the representatives of the Soviet Union and the Committer who closely watched and sometimes intervened from time to time in the internal affairs of Tuva, they were excellent candidates for joining the leadership of the republic with a view to carrying out socialist transformations. The result was a close linkage between the party and state decisions adopted (Belov, 1999). So I Great Khural of the Tuvan People's Republic (September 20 - October 1, 1923) confirmed the decisions on the Second Party Congress on the abolition of princely titles, ranks and signs of their differences; established a new administrative division of the country and elected a new composition of the Council of Ministers. Similar processes took place in neighboring Mongolia where the Mongolian People's Republic (Mongolia) was proclaimed on November 26 1924 at the First Great People's Khural. One of the tasks of the young state was the abolition of feudal order. The authorities turn to various social groups, arts, commoners and aristocracy (Sneath, 2012).

Nevertheless, the social composition of Tuva's management personnel remained practically unchanged until the events of 1924 when there was an uprising led by Sumunak, the former assistant of the ruler of the khoshun. It is specific that the Mongolian People's Republic also experienced repeated social unrest, the largest of which occurred in 1932 (Kuzmin and Oyunchimeg, 2015). Even in 1928 the presence of the old officialdom was noticeable in the leadership of the Tuvan People's Revolutionary Party, in its Politbureau and the

government of the Republic. Out of 34 people in senior management: two were former princes, large officials in the rank of urged; six of them had once the class ranks of the traditional hierarchy (chagyrykchy, meiren, chalan, changy and even one zaisan), four of them were Buddhist priests and only twenty officials were new appointed ones from the arts. It should also be noted that in the first period of the development of the Tuvan People's Republic there were no women in the leadership of state bodies. Only at the end of the reviewed period, one girl appeared at the presidium of the Tuvan Revolutionary Youth Union.

5. CONCLUSION

Thus, in the first period of the development of the Tuvan People's Republic, the composition of the party and officialdom is characterized by social diversity. In the interval from 1921 to 1925 there was a clear advantage in the power structures of representatives of the former princely class and large officialdom. This is explained by the fact that the new Soviet government to a large extent used the previous, traditional managerial experience in creating a new state system. Although the external form of power has changed, but the principles of strict hierarchy of bureaucracy, the methods of selecting leading cadres, respect for ranks remained the same. Unless, in place of the old military and civilian ranks of the Manchu-Mongolian administration, new posts of party and government leadership appeared

that were occupied by representatives of the former princely and bureaucratic elite. To such phenomena the ruling circles of the Soviet Union were very wary. Through his agents of influence, through the representatives of the Commenter, the USSR sought to change in its favor the alignment of forces and form the party-state elite of Tuva which is under its control. The result was the conducting the purge of the state apparatus from representatives of the "feudal-bai group" and the transfer of control levers into the hands of a rigidly centralized group of party functionaries in 1928-1929. After 1929 a new stage in the development of the state system of the Tuvan People's Republic begins at the expense of extending the terms of office of officials and turning their duties into permanent functions. In the end, by 1944 the entire control system has evolved, completely reproducing the model of the organs of the USSR. An example of the new socio-cultural image of the bureaucracy of the Tuvan People's Republic was represented by a poor art that spoke Russian purely by heart, citing the "Short Course of the All-Union Communist Party (of the Bolsheviks)", good at the methods of class struggle, preferably a graduate of the party school— S.K. Toka(8). S.K. Toka - the son of his time, formed under the influence of revolutions, his outlook was formed into the walls of the Communist University of the Toilers of the East and was strengthened during party-and-state work. He lived in the work; many contemporaries remembered his amazing efficiency. And most importantly, he was unselfishly devoted to the Soviet Union, knowing full well that if it were not for Soviet Russia, he would spend his entire life as a farm laborer (at the lowest level of the social hierarchy of the

traditional Tuvan society). Therefore, it is not by chance that S.K. Tokawas highlighted as the most typical representative of the new socio-cultural image of the party-and-state official.

Thus, as a result of party purges and repressions of the 1930s, the new leadership of the republic is being formed, gradually, under the leadership of the young party apparatus and government in Tuva, social and economic reforms have been carried out which have broken the traditional way of life of the Tuvan society. Not all innovations brought such tragic results as repression and fighting against Buddhism, the people gained their state, social sphere transformation, writing, national literature, theater, economy, industry, agriculture, education and medicine which contributed to the further development of Tuva and the formation of a new socio-cultural image of Tuvan officials.

6. COMMENTARY

1. Ugerda(also ogurta, ogurda, uherida, uher-da, in Chinese - tzung-guan) – a ruler who exercised rights of dzasaks. By this term, in the Mongolian hierarchy of power, which was also extended to Tuva, they called the ruler of the principality not recognized as an officially recognized princely degree, but who nevertheless enjoyed all the power in the territory under his jurisdiction. The position of ugerda, however, was considered

not hereditary, but elective, and the candidate selected for it was subject to the following statement from the side of jiangjun, i.e. governor of the Chinese emperor in Northern Mongolia.

2. OyunSodnam-Balchyr (1878-1924) is the last hereditary ambyn-noyon of Tuva. Ambyn-noyon was the title for the supreme ruler, to whom the Tuvan khoshuns were subordinated. Sodnam-Balchyr consistently adhered to the position of Tuva's accession to Mongolia. In 1921 he was elected the head of the Central Council, but he did not begin to fulfill his duties. In 1923 he was elected Minister of Justice. He was one of the inspirers of the rebellion in Khemchik (1924) under the slogan of annexing Tuva to Mongolia. He was killed when trying to cross the river Tes-Khem and escape to Mongolia.

3. MongushBuyan-Badyrgy (1892-1932) - the last ruler of Daa-Khoshun (one of the western districts of Tuva), a prominent statesman and politician of the Tuvan People's Republic. In 1921 - The chairman of the All-Tuvan Constituent Khural; in 1921-1922. - acting head of government; in 1923 - Prime Minister of the Tuvan People's Republic. From 1924 to 1927 - a prominent party figure, the author of the draft laws of the Republic. In 1927 - Minister of Finance of the Tuvan People's Republic. In 1928 - the head of Gostorg. In 1929 - he was arrested on suspicion of counter-revolutionary activities and in March 1932 was shot.

4. However, soon the War Ministry was disbanded and its functions were transferred to the Ministry of Internal Affairs.

5. First of all, in the Communist University of the Toilers of the East.

6. March 11, 1924 in Shemy under the leadership of the former chagyrykchy Kuular Sumnak, the opposition, not pleased with the ongoing reforms (including the abolition of the former system of titles, ranks and posts, as well as signs of their differences, the government's tax policy) has made a group of 23 people. The main goal was the restoration of the old system, the liquidation of Tuva's state independence, Tuva's accession to Mongolia, where, as they expected, there would be rebellion and insurrection.

7. Sodunam Oorzhak Donchaa-oglu - the former laborer of Buyan-Badyrgy. He studied in Urga. From 1923 to 24 he was the secretary of the Chadan Party chapter. In 1925 he graduated from the party school in Ulan-Bator. From October 1925 to July 1926 he was in charge of the Department of Public Education of the Ministry of Internal Affairs. He was a General Secretary of the Central Committee of the Tuvan People's Republic from 1926-1928. In 1927 he was a member of an economic delegation to the USSR. Later he was accused as a supporter of Buyan-Badyrgy and in 1932 was shot on charges of counter-revolutionary activity.

8. Salchak Kalbak-Khorekovich Toka (1901-1973) - was born in an arat family, in his early childhood he learned the poverty, the hard and bitter fate of a farm laborer. In 1921 he was drafted to serve for the government squad. From 1925 to 1929 he studied

at the Communist University of the Toilers of the East named after I.V. Stalin. In 1929 Toka was elected a secretary for the ideology of the Central Committee of the TNRP (Tuvan national revolutionary party) and the Minister of Culture. Since 1933, he served as the chairman of the Presidium (since 1936 –General Secretary) of the Central Committee of the TNRP and in fact conducted the state. During the Great Patriotic War (1941-1945) S.K. Toka led all the work on the restructuring of the economy of Tuva on a war footing and providing assistance to the USSR. He was the developer of the draft Constitution of the Tuvan People's Republic of 1941, in Moscow, together with the Soviet party workers, he was in command of the text, and immediately learned the methods of leadership of the party and the republic. He actively advocated Tuva joining the USSR in 1944. After Tuva's admission to the Soviet Union and the RSFSR, he had been its permanent leader for almost 30 years.

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Revista de Ciencias Humanas y Sociales

Año 34, Especial N° 14, 2018

Esta revista fue editada en formato digital por el personal de la Oficina de Publicaciones Científicas de la Facultad Experimental de Ciencias, Universidad del Zulia.
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