

**FOREIGN POLICY OF MONGOLIA AND ITS  
APPROACH TOWARDS MULTILATERAL  
ENGAGEMENT, 1991-2013**

*Thesis submitted to Jawaharlal Nehru University  
for award of the degree of*

**DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY**

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**DECLARATION**

I declare that the thesis entitled “**FOREIGN POLICY OF MONGOLIA AND ITS APPROACH TOWARDS MULTILATERAL ENGAGEMENT, 1991-2013**”, submitted by me for the award of degree of **Doctor of Philosophy** of Jawaharlal Nehru University is my own work. The thesis has not been submitted for any other degree of this University or any other University.

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**CERTIFICATE**

We recommend that this thesis to be placed before the examiners for evaluation.

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SUPERVISOR

*THIS WORK IS DEDICATED*

*TO*

*MY BELOVED PARENTS*

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## ABBREVIATIONS

ADB	Asian Development Bank
ASEAN	Association of Southeast Asian Nations
APEC	Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation
CMEA	Council for Mutual Economic Assistance
CASS	Chinese Academy of Social Sciences
CAREC	Central Asia Regional Economic Cooperation
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CDS	City Development Strategy
CIS	Commonwealth of Independent states
CODEP	Coping with Desertification Project
CRCs	Citizens Representative Committees
DANIDA	Danish International Development Assistance
DUC	Democratic Union Coalition
EASC	East Asian Security Community
EIA	Environmental Impact Assessment
ENA FLEG	North Asia Forest Law Enforcement and Governance
EDN	E-Mail Daily News
EIU	Economist Intelligence Unit Country report
FBIS	Foreign Broadcast Information Service
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organization
FIFTA	Foreign Investment and Foreign Trade Agency
FPA	Foreign Policy Analysis
GDP	Gross Domestic Product

GIO	Gross Industrial Output
HDI	Human development Index
HDAC	House Democracy Assistance Commission
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IAAC	Independent Authority against Corruption
IMAR	Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region
IMET	International Military Education and Training Programme
IRI	International Republican Institute
JICA	Japanese International Cooperation Agency
MDU	Mongolian Democratic Union
MPRP	Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
MFOS	Mongolian Foundation for Open Society
MNA	Montsame Mongolian News Agency
MNDP	Mongolian National Democratic Party
MPR	Mongolian People's Republic
MCC	Millennium Challenge Corporation
MCUD	Ministry of Construction and Urban Development
MDI	Mongolian Development Institute
MDRC	Mongolian Development Research Centre
MOD	Ministry of Defence
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
MOF	Ministry of Finance
MPRP	Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
MRPAM	Minerals Resources and Petroleum Authority
MAF	Mongolian Armed Forces
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement

NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
NEAC	Northeast Asian Conference on Environmental Cooperation
NGO	Non-Government Agencies
NPACD	National Plan of Action to Combat Desertification in Mongolia
NSO	National Statistics Office
PRC	Peoples Republic of China
MSDP	Mongolian Social Democratic Party
NGO	Nongovernmental Organisation
NSO	National Statistics Office
NTR	Normal Trade Relations
MFN	most-favored-nation
ODA	Overseas Development Aid
OSCE	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe
PDK	People's Deputy Khural
PPF	Partnership for Peace
PLA	People's Liberation Army
PRC	People's Republic of China
ROC	Republic of China (Taiwan)
SCO	Shanghai Cooperation Organization
SDC	Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation
SEPA	State Environmental Protection Agency
SAARC	South Asian Association for Regional Cooperation
TACIS	Technical Assistance to the Confederation of Independent States
TCC	Troop Contributing Country
TCDC	Technical Cooperation Among Developing Countries
TEMM	Tripartite Environmental Ministers Meeting

UB	Ulaanbaatar
UNDP	United Nations Development Programme
UNICEF	United Nations Children's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
UN	United Nations
UNFPA	United Nations Population Fund
UNICEF	United Nation's Child's Fund
USAID	United States Agency for International Development
WHO	World Health Organisation
WB	World Bank
WCO	World Customs Organisation
WTO	World Trade Organisation

# PREFACE

The foreign policy of a state can be termed as a strategy to deal with external environment in order to not only safeguard national interest but also survive in the ongoing international system. However, due to the globalization and transnational activities, particularly in the post-cold war period, foreign policy changes have been noticed in several states worldwide to suit the interest of the nation. Mongolia is an example of such foreign policy changes through high-level decision-making processes ever since the country opted for reforms in its internal and external affairs taking into consideration the national interest.

Having a rich historical legacy with proud traditions of statehood and foreign relations Mongolia is one of the least densely populated countries in the world. It possesses a landmass of 1,566,500 kilometers with a mere population of 2,712,315 people. Geographically positioned as a landlocked country it is surrounded completely by Russia and China. Mongolia is known as the birthplace of Genghis Khan, arguably the most prolific ruler the world has ever known. His empire stretched from the eastern edge of Asia to the far reaches of central Europe, and from parts of southern Indonesia to the frigid arctic of Siberia. This is the largest of any empire in the world's history. In the centuries that followed the height of the Mongol empire, the nation experienced multiple periods of transition. After the fall of the Mongol Empire in the 14th century, Mongolian history was dotted with few significant events for nearly two centuries. The rhythmic lifestyle of nomadic herders set the pace of life, as opposed to the warring hordes that had dominated the region in previous centuries. Then in the 17th century, an extended period of Chinese influence and occupation began, fueling a rivalry between these two nations that endures even today. Not until the early 1900s did Mongolia gain complete autonomy from China, but this autonomy was quickly undermined with the commencement of Russian/Soviet maneuvering. This finally resulted in Mongolia's independence in 1921 with an identity of becoming the second communist state in the world after the Soviet Union.

Right from 1921 until the late 1980s, Mongolia remained under Soviet influence or more precisely under "Soviet control", though it was never officially part of the former USSR. But after the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991, Mongolians wasted

little time in manifesting their independent status once for all. Today, Mongolia is a democratic country with a free-market economy that has made an impressive transition from its Soviet socialist system to a democratic nation with an ambitious and optimistic outlook on the future. In fact, the post-1921 revolution era saw Mongolia depending on former Soviet Union in its internal and external policies that affected not only its sovereign and independence status but also its cultural and political identity as an Asian nation. The year of 1986 was a turning point in Mongolia as Gorbachev's policy of *Glasnost* and *Perestroika* and the ensuing process of reforms and restructuring in Soviet domestic and foreign policy had inevitable impact over Mongolia. Not only did Soviet reforms influence Mongolia but also Gorbachev's 1986 seminal Vladivostok speech to change Soviet foreign policy particularly towards Asia provided Ulaanbaatar an opportunity to carry out reforms independently in its own domestic and foreign policy. The process of Soviet style reforms and restructuring through *Iltod* and *Orchilan baigalalt* began in Mongolia, which permitted the government in particular and the people in general to have more open discussions on the ongoing problems and past mistakes.

It further gained momentum after the collapse of former Soviet Union and the end of the cold war which also altered the geopolitical environment of Mongolia and left it in a great power vacuum. But in 1992 when Mongolia adopted a new constitution known as fourth constitution replacing the 1960 constitution, the country embarked on a new beginning towards democratization. With the adoption of the new Constitution in January 1992 Mongolia entered a new era of democracy. Symbolically, the name of the country was changed from the 'People's Republic of Mongolia' to simply 'Mongolia'. The Constitution established a mixed political system, resembling a semi-presidential regime loosely modeled on France's Fifth Republic. The President is the head of state with power to veto parliamentary legislation, while the Prime Minister serves as head of government. The key element of the new constitution emphasized "establishment of democracy." The two chambers Parliament (*Great Hural*) became unicameral (*State Hural*) comprising 76 deputies. But this reform process towards democracy and market economy warranted a drastic shift in the strategies, purpose and priorities of the country's foreign policy. Hence, Mongolia abandoned "Satellite State" foreign policy and developed an independent, non-aligned, multi-pillar, open foreign policy concept based on guidance by its national interests.

Since Mongolia's foreign policy and national security concerns are interlinked, the country adopted its own independent foreign policy document entitled "Concept of Foreign Policy" in 1994. The new foreign policy described as a "multi-pillar" foreign policy aimed first of all at developing long-term, stable and good neighbourly relations with its neighbours, particularly Russia and China. The policy core was not to adopt the line of either of these two neighbours but maintain a balanced relationship with both of them. Mongolia signed Treaties on Friendly Relations and Cooperation with Russia in 1993 and with China in 1994. Based on the universal principles of mutual respect for each other's sovereignty and territorial integrity, non-aggression, non-interference in internal affairs and peaceful co-existence, these agreements laid a legal foundation for the bilateral relations with these two nations.

This Ph.D. Thesis comprises of six chapters including conclusion. The first chapter "*Introduction*," presents some of the features regarding background and history of Mongolia. It also deals with foreign policy in the pre-1991 period as well as changes took place under the influence of Gorbachev's domestic and foreign policy until 1991 when Soviet collapse left Mongolia in a vacuum.

The second Chapter "*Evolution of Post-Soviet Foreign Policy of Mongolia*", examines the determinants of Mongolian foreign policy in a new geopolitical situation in the external environment following the Soviet collapse. It also discusses the impact of domestic and external factors on the foreign policy making and related debates among the policy planners and intellectuals. The chapter further highlights the adoption of a fresh constitution in 1992 that led to the emergence of a new foreign policy in 1994, its characters and key features that oriented towards multilateral engagements.

The third chapter "*Multilateral Engagement: Theoretical and Policy Analysis*" provides a conceptual framework of foreign policy in general and conceptualizes it in the Mongolian context. It also addresses the "Multi-pillar" character of Mongolian foreign policy with a particular focus on its approach towards multilateral engagement. It emphasize on the need of searching for "Third Neighbors" as a revolutionary approach of Mongolia's foreign policy in order to balance the two geographic neighbours Russia and China. In addition, it highlight the economic direction of Mongolian foreign policy initiated in 2010 that has been giving boost to



Mongolia's efforts of engaging multilateral partners for securing its sovereignty and economic independence.

The fourth chapter "*Mongolia's Engagement with External Powers*" focus on Mongolia's foreign policy implications for engaging itself with both of its two geographic neighbors-Russia and China as well as third neighbors like USA, Japan, Korea, EU countries, Australia, Canada and India in political, economic, cultural, and humanitarian areas. It also deals with the role of so-called third neighbors in providing Mongolia a security umbrella to avoid dominance by physical neighbors. In addition, it highlights the Mongolian leadership initiatives towards revamping the prevailing foreign policy to suit national interests through bilateral and multilateral engagements.

The fifth chapter "*Participation in Multilateral Organizations*" dealt with Mongolia's participation in various regional and multilateral organizations in the Asia- Pacific, particularly in the North East and Central Asia, as well as in other International organizations such as the UN, IMF, World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ADB). Its participation in two key organizations, i.e., Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has been discussed in detail in Order to understand the security implications of Mongolia's foreign policy in the context of multilateral engagement. It also highlight the overall benefits, Mongolia has been witnessing through its participation in multilateral forums.

Finally, while summarising the key findings and arguments made in previous chapters, the Sixth chapter i.e. "*Conclusion*" has tested the hypothesis and drew some new findings of the study. By this way, an attempt has been made to look at the overall assessment and findings of the whole study with broad arguments and inferences so that it would suggest some areas where further research may be conducted. This thesis has, thus summed of the most significant implications of this research work in addition to considering the prospects for future progress in the field of foreign policy in Mongolia in the context of multipolar and multidimensional policy.

During my field trip to Mongolia this thesis work and Data Collection from 14 to 29 September 2016 which was granted by Indian Council of Social Science Research, New Delhi I received much needed support by Mongolian embassy in New Delhi as

well as Indian embassy in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia. Many experts from Mongolian origin pointed out that, India is a trustworthy partner needed to be proactive in Mongolia. They also suggested that India's foreign policies articulations needed to be implemented in the Mongolia. Most of the scholars supported their multi-vector foreign policy approach in terms of engagement of the external powers. They consider China as a political and economic influence on Mongolia. At the same time, most of the scholars remain cautious about China's long term motive in the region. Historically, the perception of China has been a "sleeping kind of threat" to the region. However, they perceive China as the best economic investor in the region compare to other external powers. It is often said that, where India spends millions, China spends billions. As a consequence, it is argued that there is no big role of India in terms of engagement in Mongolia. But, many of the observers/analysts are supporting India's engagement in the region as a soft power.

I have also asked some questions to the new generations about the involvement of major powers in Mongolia, and got different perceptions. The old generations build close affinity with Russia because of its historical legacy. Whereas, the new generation are keen to support multi-vector foreign policy in the region. Realistically, some of the Mongolian researchers also pointed out that the involvement of major powers is serving their own interest in the region. The establishments of NGOs are the tool for "information gathered" for the major powers.

Intact, the foremost objective of Mongolia's foreign policy is to secure its independence and sovereignty most importantly. Foreign policy of Mongolia focuses on promoting cooperation designed to help bring favorable external conditions for ensuring the country's security, maintaining its balance on the globe, and protecting established relations. The priority of Mongolia's foreign policy shall be safeguarding of its security and vital national interests by political and diplomatic means, and creating a favorable external environment for its economic, scientific and technological development. Mongolia's foreign policy objectives reside in ensuring its independence and sovereignty by following the trends of human society's advancement, maintaining friendly relations with all countries, strengthening its position in the international community and forming with influential countries in the region and in the world a network of relationships based on the interdependence of political, economic and other interests. Mongolia thus pursues an open and non-

aligned foreign policy. While following a policy of creating realistic interest of the developed countries in Mongolia, it also seeks to avoid becoming overly reliant or dependent on any particular country.

At the end, I hope the chief objective of this study is to generate enthusiasm for further in-depth research into Mongolian foreign policy in the new world order after the disintegration of Soviet Union in 1991. Due to its geostrategic location and accessibility of natural resources Mongolia is getting importance day by day by the international players, which provides opportunities for further study and research.

Throughout this work, referential sources have been provided. Needless to say, the lists are not meant to be exhaustive; rather, they include some of the most important primary and secondary sources and are meant to be a guide for further research. Wherever possible, I have included in the references works that themselves are of a referential nature, with exhaustive information concerning the writings of various authors.

**JNU New Delhi, 2017**

**Subhash Kumar Baitha**

# Map - Mongolia and It's Neighbours

(Not in Scale)



Source -<http://www.istockphoto.com/>

# ***CHAPTER ONE***

## ***INTRODUCTION***

## Chapter One

### **Introduction**

Mongolia is a land lock country located in the north-central Asia. Mongolia lies in the heart of the Asian continent. It is located between Russia to the north and China to the south, deep within the interior of eastern Asia far from any ocean. The Mongols have a long prehistory and a most remarkable history. Mongolia's foreign policy has a long history. Mongolia is known as the birthplace of great ruler Genghis Khan. He is considered as one of the greatest ruler not only in Mongolia but also in the world history. His territory was extended from the eastern part of Asia to the central Europe and from some parts of southern Indonesia to the arctic zone of Siberia. It is considered as the largest empire in the world's history. The zenith of the Mongol empire, which followed the nation, and also has gone through number of transition. Mongolian history seems to mark with few significant events for nearly two centuries after the fall of the Mongol Empire in the 14th century onwards. The systematic lifestyle of nomadic herders set the pace of life, as opposed to the warring hordes that had dominated the region in previous centuries. In the beginning of 17th century onwards, the rivalry between these two nations was started due to the direct interference from Chinese side, which seems even today. The early 1900s Mongolia gained complete autonomy from China, but this power vacuum was not extended over a long period of time because Soviet began their influence over Mongolia. As a result, in 1921, newly independent Mongolia considered as a second communist state after the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic (USSR) emerged.

#### **1.1 Historical Background of Mongolian Foreign Policy**

In the early 1920s, after the victories of Soviet military over the White Army of Russian forces and the occupation of the Mongolian capital Urga in July 1921,<sup>1</sup> Mongolia was declared as independent state. On 25 November 1924 the announcement of Mongolian People's Republic took place and legislative power under the socialist administration started to be solidified by the Mongolian party

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<sup>1</sup>White Army included the Cadets, who wished to continue the war against the Central Powers.  
For detail please see [Online: web] Accessed 2 January, 2015  
URL:<http://www.scoop.co.nz/stories/WO0903/S00062.htm>

called Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP). Many historian scholars characterized several factors to the country in post -1921 periods. The society was essentially nomadic and illiterate. The aristocracy and the religious establishment shared the country's wealth also there was no industrial class. Country had the widespread popular obedience to traditional authorities. The Government had small organisation or less experience and the party had no public grassroots support as well. The leftist government had taken extreme measures such as the attacked of the two most dominant institutions in the country for the fast socio-economic change. As namely aristocracy and secondly religious establishment. Between the year of 1932-1945, the excess enthusiasm, intolerance, and inexperience which controlled to anti-communist revolts<sup>2</sup>. Afterward, in the year of 1930s, seem many incidents like eliminations of the religious institution resulted in the desecration of hundreds of Buddhist monasteries and led to imprisonment of more than ten thousand people (U.S. Department of State Diplomacy).

Following the second world war secured in its relations with Moscow, the Mongolian Government shifted its attention was paid to post war development.<sup>3</sup> By this way Mongolia established International relations were extended, and started making relations with North Korea and newly communist governments of Eastern Europe. Mongolia is also participated in conferences and international organisations, which was sponsored by the communists. Mongolia became a member of the United Nations in the beginning of the year of 1960s. Mongolia tried to uphold a neutral opinion, which was gradually controversial in Sino-Soviet relation. This neutrality position distorted in the middle of the decade. In the year of 1966 Mongolia and the Soviet Union signed a defense treaty because of this treaty large-scale of Soviet ground forces deputed on Sino-Soviet border. Mongolia-China relations were declined during the period of Sino-Soviet conflicts. In the year of 1983, Mongolia steadily initiated to expelling some of the seven thousands ethnic Chinese who were living in Mongolia and involved in various construction work.<sup>4</sup>

After the fall of the Berlin Wall in 1989, which led to peaceful demonstrations, and afterwards in the March 1990, resignation of the politburo and in the year of July

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<sup>2</sup>U.S. Department of State Diplomacy in Action, *Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs*, January 6, 2012, [Online: web] Accessed 20 January. 2015 URL:<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2779>.

<sup>3</sup>[Online: web] Accessed 20 January. 2015 URL:<http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2779.htm>

<sup>4</sup> ibid

1990 Mongolia witnessed of the first multiparty elections. In the democratic period, which followed the 1990 elections, Mongolia wanted to keep good relationships with its two immediate neighbours Russia And China as well as with others democratic countries including the United States, Japan and South Korea. Consequentially Mongolia was also wanted to proactively engage with more international as well regional organisations such as the United Nations (UN), International Atomic Energy Agency, Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum and sought membership in the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).<sup>5</sup> In the pre 1991 period since Mongolia got independence in 1921, its foreign policy was conducted through Soviet Union for almost 70 years from 1921 to 1991 until the collapse of the Soviet Union.

## **1.2. Development of Mongolia's Foreign Policy**

### **1.2.1: Mongolian Revolution of 1921**

According to the historians, 1921 revolution of Mongolia was started by Soviet Russia and it was forced on the Mongolian people's. Somehow due to the fact that so far, different works on this issue have been exclusively based on the Russian and Chinese resources. Materials published in the Mongolian People's Republic, however, provide plentiful evidence that the Mongolian revolution originated in a purely Mongolian situation, though the Mongols could never have succeeded in their revolution without Soviet support (Fujiko 1976: 375-394). Thus with the help of the Soviet Red Army ousted Russian White Guards of the nation established the Mongolian People's Republic in 1924. Although until the 1990 Mongolian People's Republic was a satellite state of the Soviet Union. Due to the revolution, Chinese occupation over Mongolia ended which had existed since 1919. In 1921, revolution has occurred, which was considered as "People's Revolution" by the Mongolian Official.<sup>6</sup>

Though Mongolia was never officially part of the former USSR but from 1921 to 1991, Mongolia was under Soviet influence. "In that period, Mongolia followed the Soviet model in politics and economics arena, and closely associated with the Moscow's foreign policy. But after the disintegration of the Soviet Union,

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<sup>5</sup> ibid

<sup>6</sup> It's also known as the Outer Mongolian Revolution of 1921, or People's Revolution of 1921.



Mongolians looked into their manifesting for independent status once again. However, after the 1921 revolution era was witnessed Mongolia depending on former Soviet Union in her internal and external policies which was affecting its sovereign and independence status. This was also affected its cultural and political identity as an Asian nation” (Batbayar 2003: 182).

### **1.2.2: Foreign Policy Changes in the Post -1991 Period**

Major changes in the foreign policy of Mongolia were seen between 1986 and 1991. Significantly, first as a result of Gorbachev’s reform policies and then due to the collapse of the Soviet Union.<sup>7</sup> When Mongolia established the diplomatic relations with USA in the year of 1987 that considered as a major event in Mongolia’s foreign policy changes. Then Mongolia’s relations with China started normalizing. In that sense changes in Mongolian foreign policy cannot be understood without keeping in mind Mongolia’s peculiar international position but before that it is also necessary to understand the role of Mongolian revolution on the country’s foreign policy priorities. The Mongolian revolution of 1921 had a very significant role to play in Mongolian foreign policy. The significance of the revolution to the life of the Mongols should be evaluated not in comparison with Western standards. But keep it in the mind problems of life and survival in Mongolia before the revolution. It is assumed that the Bolshevik revolution in Russia was the most important cause or significance for Mongol nationalists, who become really revolutionary. Their mission to Russia would only have been a repetition of what happened in 1911. It is uncertain whether the Mongols could have become even bourgeois revolutionaries. “There had been practically no way for them to be influenced by the ideology of the role model of Western democracy. And in any case, Western democracy was introduced in Asian countries predominantly in the form of imperialism and colonialism. On the other hand China was not yet liberated from the warlord struggles and the only philosophy which confronted Bolshevism with Lamaism that had nothing to offer in the way of changing the existing order of society” (Isono 1976: 375-394).

There were two major developments which was took place in Mongolia’s foreign policy initiatives under the influence of Gorbachev’s reform policies. Due to that effect first time Mongolia expanded itself to come closer to the United States and

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<sup>7</sup> When USSR collapsed in 1991 and many changes happened in international relations.

established their diplomatic relations in 1987. On the other side normalization of relations with China also began and it was witnessed about the same time. The above mention two events provided Mongolia self-confidence to pursue its own independent foreign policy away from the influenced by the Soviet Union. Though in terms of geographical and strategic location Mongolia's international position remained same. In terms of security its international position began to change after the Soviet collapse in 1991 became even more prominent. Developments on the international front in 1991 demonstrated Mongolia's commitment to integration as an active participant in the Asia-Pacific community and to strengthening ties with the European Community. These developments were recognizing to Mongolia's foreign policy as a non-aligned nation (Severinghaus 1995:75).<sup>8</sup>

New foreign policy direction in Mongolia was drastically changed after recognition of South Korea. Not only Pyongyang reacted sharply by recalling its ambassador but also sent a new ambassador a few weeks later. By this way making Mongolia the first state to achieve diplomatic relations with North and South Korea. Mongolian delegations traveled throughout the world in search of new political, economic, social, and cultural ties, and to promote tourism. Several countries in East Asia agreed to new mutual relationships, even Taiwan, which formally maintains that Mongolia belongs to the Republic of China, agricultural and vocational assistance to Ulaanbaatar. In the earlier phase, Mongolian leaders focused on the Soviet Union and China. Therefore, P. Ochirbat concluded a successful state visit to China in May 1990, and numerous delegations with China were exchanged (Heaton 1991: 77-83).

“But despite sincere words of friendship and understanding, the Chinese remained wary of the impact of changes in Mongolia on Inner Mongolia. According to a Mongol oppositionist leader, when a delegation from Inner Mongolia attended meetings of the Democratic Party Beijing protested” (Heaton 1991:56).

Mongolian President P. Ochirbat declared in November 1990 that all Soviet forces would be withdrawn from Mongolia by the end of the year 1991 and all support units by 1992. He further said, “Would abolish its formal alliance with the USSR and join the nonaligned movement as soon as Soviet troops withdrew” (ibid: 55). Relations with the West improved as U.S. Secretary of State James Baker visited Mongolia in

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<sup>8</sup> This is according to NSC Secretary J. Enhsaihan, as reported in Mongol Messenger, August 9, 1994.

August 1990. He was the first high-ranking American to visit after Vice-President Wallace in 1944. Afterwards in October 1990, Mongolian Foreign Minister Gombosuren met with Secretary Baker in the U.S. to sign a bilateral investment treaty. Mongolia focus to play a more extensive role in the world arena through the delegations exchanged with Japan, the U.K., France, and other Western countries where as (ibid: 56). As it sought to reduce the influence of Soviet style communism and the use of traditional symbols to promote national consciousness by rapid development of traditional culture which accompanied the opening up of Mongolia's political process.

Culture and history of any country play very important role in the making foreign policy. Genghis Khan acknowledged new attention as a historical figure at the domestic level. The Mongolian government officially announced that the traditional script, which was abolished in the 1940s, would be restored, taught in the schools, and used in all official correspondence by the year of 1995. "Therefore, freedom of religion was declared, and Buddhist monasteries were reopened. The Buddhists created a political party that claimed that they have 80,000 members. Thus, 1990 witnessed significant change for the Mongolian People's Republic, though it remained under communist party control" (ibid: 56). As Heaton described, "It was a year of reform and upheaval but not as yet revolution".

### **1.2.3: Democratic Movement**

There are close links between domestic reforms and foreign policy. During the last decades of cold war, some changes came in the USSR's foreign policy, because of domestic reforms. The policy of Soviet Union such as Perestroika and Glasnost and the democracy movement in Eastern part of Europe were also seen in Mongolia. For the first open pro-democracy protest movement revolutionaries met in front of the Youth Cultural Centre in Ulaanbaatar On December 10 1989. Later Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj announced the formation of the Mongolian Democratic Union (Ahmed, Norton and Philip: 2015).<sup>9</sup>

Activists of thirteen democratic leaders continued to organize demonstrations, rallies, protests and hunger strikes, as well as teachers and workers strikes following the next

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<sup>9</sup>Ahmed and Norton, Nizam U. and Philip (1999), *Parliaments in Asia*, Frank Cass & Co. Ltd, London p, 143. [Online: web] Accessed 220 January. 2015

months (Baabar 2009). Whereas activists had gaining support from Mongolians, both in the capital and as well as over the country which followed the union's activities led to other calls for democracy all over the country (Kathy 1990: 4). Afterward the huge demonstrations of several thousands of people in the Ulaanbaatar as well as provincial centres the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) Politburo the authority of the government ultimately pressurised and entered negotiations with the leaders of the democratic movement (Munkhbayar 2013). Eventually chairman of Politburo of MPRP's Central Committee, Jambyn Batmonkh had dissolved the Politburo and to resign on 9 March 1990 (Tsakhia 1999: 5). Resulted, they started the way for the first multi-party elections in Mongolia. "Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj announced this news to the hunger strikers and the people those gathered on Sukhbaatar Square at 10PM on that day after the negotiations between leaders of MPRP and Mongolian Democratic Union" (Gamba 2004: 3). Consequentially as the result, Mongolia In the Asian continent became the first country to transition into democracy from communist rule (Sanders 2010: 209). At that time Elbegdorj worked as the prominent Leader of the Mongolian Democratic Union in 1989–1997.<sup>10</sup>

### **1.3: Socialist Period and Single Party Administration**

The Mongolian government established on the basis on Soviet Model after the Mongolian revolution between 1921 to till 1990. For the function of state machinery only two parties such as communist party the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) were officially permitted. During the first two decades there were no discontent had been seen until December 1989, in the communist regime. "Collectivization livestock, introduction of agriculture, and the extension of fixed habitats were all carried out without visible popular opposition" (Elbegdorj 2013).

### **1.4: Multi-Party System**

Consequence of the Democratic Revolution 1990s, Mongolia was a witnessed of the many amendment in constitution, deleting reference to the MPRP's role as the guiding force in the country, creating a standing legislative body, legalizing opposition parties, and forming the president office.

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<sup>10</sup> Law On The Election Of The State Great Hural Of Mongolia Procedure For Observation And Reporting On The Election Of The State Great Hural Of Mongolia, 2012. Accessed on 3 December 2015

Mongolia's first multi-party elections for a People's Great Hural (parliament) were held On 29 July 1990, which was considered as the way of democratic reform. Whereas, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party won 85% seats of the total seats. The People's of Great Hural elected a president from MPRP party, vice president from Social Democratic Party (SDR) party, Prime Minister from MPRP party, as well as 50 members to the Baga Hural (small parliament). The vice president was also considered as a chairman of the Baga Hural in November 1991. The members of Great Hural started discussion on a new constitution, which was adopted on 13 January 1992. "The Constitution came in to being into force on 12 February 1992. Further it was big change in Mongolian history as a creation of new constitution which provide a status to Mongolia as an independent, sovereign republic and guaranteeing a number of rights and freedoms, the new constitution restructured the legislative branch of government, creating a unicameral legislature, the State Great Hural (parliament)".<sup>11</sup>

According to the 1992 constitution the president would be elected by popular vote despite the fact that legislature as before. In June 1993, incumbent Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat won the first popular presidential election running as the candidate of the democratic opposition. "The State Great Hural meets semi annually. The parliament had the 76 members. By 2012 legislative election law, since 2012 parliamentary election, a parallel voting system began to be used in legislature in Mongolia. Eventually 48 of the parliamentary members are popularly elected by district and 28 of them are elected from nationwide lists using proportional representation. State Great Hural members elect a speaker and vice speakers from each party or coalition in the government and they serve 4-year term".<sup>12</sup>

### **1.5: Impact of Gorbachev Policy**

Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union on March 11, 1985. Beginning with the new leadership the conduct of Soviet foreign policy was developed and implemented. An experienced public relations effort was created to enhance an important component of Moscow's

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<sup>11</sup>Law On The Election Of The State Great Hural Of Mongolia Procedure For Observation And Reporting On The Election Of The State Great Hural Of Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar 2012).

<sup>12</sup>Quoted from Constitution of Mongolia (1992), World Intellectual Property Organization,13 January 1992.

diplomacy. Although the substance of the U.S.S.R.'s international behavior also changed significantly. The President Gorbachev was also personally progressively eager to express about the need for a new approach in addressing the problems and situation of the world order at that time. In the twenty seventh Party Congress, which was held in the month of February 1986, he said, "It is not only in internal affairs that the turning point has been reached".<sup>13</sup> Further, he expressed that "It characterizes external affairs as well. The changes in contemporary world development are so profound and significant that they require a rethinking and comprehensive analysis of all factors involved. The situation of nuclear deterrence demands the development of new approaches, methods and forms of relations between different social systems, states and regions".<sup>14</sup>

In the Vladivostok speech in the year of July 1986, Gorbachev was even bolder claiming that "the current stage in the development of civilization is dictating the need for an urgent, radical break with many of the conventional approaches to foreign policy, a break with the traditions of political thinking".<sup>15</sup> A Drastically changes seems in the fields of foreign policy, Under the Gorbachev regime. He changed the national security leadership and had taken more power control in decision-making. The new team of Gorbachev rapidly illustrates itself in launching Gorbachev's policy as well as also introducing a wide variety of foreign policy initiatives ranging from arms control proposals to overtures to China.<sup>16</sup>

Russian President Mikhail Gorbachev implemented the policies of *perestroika* and *glasnost*. This policy reform in Soviet Union also encouraged similar reforms in Mongolia. The process of reform and restructuring in former USSR's domestic and foreign policy had unavoidable impact over Mongolia. "This process of Soviet style reforms and restructuring through *Il tod and Orchilan baigalalt* began in Mongolia in 1988, which allowed the government to discuss ongoing problems and mistakes. Not only did Soviet reforms influence Mongolia but also Gorbachev's 1986 seminal Vladivostok speech to change Soviet foreign policy particularly towards Asia provided Ulaanbaatar an opportunity to carry out reforms independently in its own

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<sup>13</sup> For detail please see, [Online: web] Accessed 220 January. 2015  
URL:<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/41714/dimitri-k-simes/gorbachev-a-new-foreign-policy>

<sup>14</sup>Concept of Mongolia's Foreign Policy (1994), Permanent Mission of Mongolia to the United Nations

<sup>15</sup> ibid

<sup>16</sup>For detail please see [Online: web] Accessed 22 January. 2015

URL:<http://www.foreignaffairs.com/articles/41714/dimitri-k-simes/gorbachev-a-new-foreign-policy>

domestic and foreign policy” (Soni 2006: 252-268). Therefore, the reforms were essential not only domestic political, social and economic fields but also in the foreign affairs as well. In the meantime, the disintegration of the former USSR in the year of 1991 and the end of the Cold War changed the geopolitical environment of Mongolia and left it in a great power vacuum. Although in 1992 when Mongolia accepted a new constitution known as fourth constitution replacing the 1960 constitution the country embarked on a new beginning regarding the process of democratization. The key element of the new constitution emphasized on “establishment of democracy”. Such as the two chambers Parliament (Great Hural) became unicameral (State Hural) comprising 76 deputies. But “such reform process towards democracy and market economy warranted a drastic shift in the strategies, purpose and priorities of the country’s foreign policy. Thus, Mongolia abandoned ‘Satellite State’ foreign policy and developed an independent, non-aligned, multi-pillar, open foreign policy concept based on guidance by its national interests” (Soni 2006).

After the huge protests demonstration in the winter season of the year of 1990, the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party had been loosen its controls from the political system. “The Politburo of the MPRP resigned in March, and in May the constitution was amended, deleting reference to the MPRP’s role as the guiding force in the country, legalizing opposition parties, creating a standing legislative body, and establishing the office of President. On July 29, 1990, the first free, multiparty elections in Mongolia were held. Following by the election results returned a majority for the MPRP, which won with 85% of the total vote. It was not until 1996 that the reformed MPRP was voted out of office by the democrats for the first time in the contemporary history of Mongolia”.<sup>17</sup>

The Soviet Union removed its Army, technical support and financial assistance from Mongolia, which was placed between the years of 1987 to 1992. Afterwards, the foreign and defense policy of Mongolia was also changed. The impact of Mongolia’s internal and external policies changes was that the country declared, “Maintaining friendly relations with the Russian Federation and the People’s Republic of China shall be a priority of Mongolia’s foreign policy activity. It shall not adopt the line of

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<sup>17</sup>For detail please see, [Online: web] Accessed 5 February. 1995  
URL:[http://www.uniblogger.com/en/Mongolian\\_People's\\_Republic](http://www.uniblogger.com/en/Mongolian_People's_Republic)

either country but shall maintain in principle a balanced relationship with both of them and shall promote all-round good neighbourly co-operation”.<sup>18</sup>

## **1.6: Political Developments**

The political party system of a country plays a very important role in domestic development as well as international affairs. The Main Political Party of Mongolia was ‘Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (MPRP)’ till June 1996. Punsalmaagiin Ochirbat of Democratic Party was the president at that period. He was a member of MPRP until 1990 but later he changed his party to Democratic Party subsequently the democratic revolution. He was also a chairman of Democratic Party, and win huge number of seats in 1996 parliamentary elections as 50 out of 76 parliamentary seats. Democratic Union Coalition of Democratic Party and Social Democratic Party was in power in the year of 1996-2000 with the leadership of Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj (Sanders 2010: 209).

“Mendsaikhany Enkhsaikhan, election manager of Democratic Union Coalition worked as the Prime Minister from 7 July 1996 to 23 April 1998. In 1998, a clause in the constitution was removed that prohibited members of parliament to take cabinet responsibility. Thus on 23 April 1998, the Parliament elected (61–6) Elbegdorj, chairman of the Democratic Union Coalition and the Majority Group at the Parliament as the Prime Minister”.<sup>19</sup> Due to opposition MPRP’s demand Elbegdorj lost confidence vote at the Parliament (Kohn 2006: 209) and was replaced by Janlavyn Narantsatsralt (Democratic Party) on 9 December 1998 (Zuckerman 2006). Janlavyn Narantsatsralt served country as a Prime Minister for the eight months until his resignation in July 1999. After that Rinchinnyamyn Amarjargal became chairman of Democratic Party’s and all most one year he served as a new Prime Minister from 30<sup>th</sup> July 1999 to 26 July 2000 (ibid).

In the presidential election of 1997 Natsagiin Bagabandi of MPRP party was elected as the country’s President. Again re-elected as President in 2001 in presidential election and served as the President until 2005. The vote share of the 2004 parliamentary elections was consistently divided between the two major political

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<sup>18</sup> Concept of Mongolia’s Foreign Policy (1994), Permanent Mission of Mongolia to the United Nations.

<sup>19</sup> Law on the election of the state great Hural of Mongolia procedure for observation and reporting on the election of the state great Hural of Mongolia (pdf). 2012. [Online: web] Accessed 5 march. 2016



forces such as Motherland-Democratic Coalition of Democratic Party and Motherland Party and the MPRP.<sup>20</sup> Therefore, it was the first coalition government in Mongolia between the two major party as democratic coalition and the MPRP. “On 20 August 2004, Elbegdorj became the Prime Minister of Mongolia for the second time leading a grand coalition government. Consequently in the presidential election Nambaryn Enkhbayar of MPRP party was elected as the country’s President in the year of 2005”. The MPRP became a majority party with the 46 seats of total 76 seats in 2008 parliamentary election. The Democratic Party won only 27 seats with the three remaining seats came a minor party. The MPRP party formed a coalition government with the Democratic Party though that had the sufficient seats to form a government alone at the parliament.<sup>21</sup>

Tsakhagiin Elbegdorj victory the presidential election which held on 24<sup>th</sup> may 2009 in the despite of sitting President Nambaryn Enkhbayar.<sup>22</sup> He was sworn into office and became the country’s president on 18 June 2009.<sup>23</sup> Elbegdorj was a first president to had a Western education. As well as he was the first who was never have been members of the former communist Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party and thus the first president.<sup>24</sup>

In the year of 2010 Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party changed its name to its pre-revolution name, the Mongolian People’s Party. Nambaryn Enkhbayar established a new political party and named it Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party after his defeat in 2009 presidential election. Subsequently receiving the old name of Mongolian People’s Party from the Supreme Court of Mongolia in 2010 and he hold the post of the chairman of the new party.<sup>25</sup> In June 2012 the Democratic Party won the 2012 parliamentary elections and became the majority at the Parliament. “The Democratic Party established a coalition government with Civil Will-Green Party and Justice Coalition of new MPRP and Mongolian National Democratic Party due to Democratic Party having not enough seats at the parliament

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<sup>20</sup> “Ts. Elbegdorj, (2004)”, Prime Minister, Open Society Forum. 20 August 2004.

<sup>21</sup> *ibid*

<sup>22</sup>“Mongolia’s new president sworn in”, euronews.com. 18 June 2009. [Online: web] Accessed 20 January. 2016

<sup>23</sup>“Tsakhagiyn Elbegdorj”. globalsecurity.org. [Online: web] Accessed 20 February. 2016

<sup>24</sup>“Former MPRP is reborn and former President named chairman”. Business-Mongolia.com. 2 February 2011. [Online: web] Accessed 15 January. 2016

<sup>25</sup>News Parliament of Mongolia (2013),[Online: web] Accessed 20 January. 2016

to establish a government on its own by law. Members of the Parliament are: 35 from Democratic Party, 26 from Mongolian People's Party, 11 from Justice Coalition, 2 from Civil Will-Green Party, and 3 independent".<sup>26</sup> "Incumbent President Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj, candidate of Democratic Party won the 2013 Mongolian presidential election on 26 June 2013 and was sworn into office for his second term as President of Mongolia on 10 July 2013 Thus since 2012 Democratic Party has been in power holding the presidency, and the parliament and the government" (ibid).

### **1.7: Evolution of Post-Soviet Mongolian Foreign Policy**

After the collapse of the USSR that changed the geopolitical environment and created a great power vacuum Mongolian foreign policy was reshaped. In 1992 when Mongolia adopted a new constitution known as fourth constitution replacing the previous 1960 constitution, the country embarked on a new beginning towards a new phase of democratization. Mongolia entered a new era of democracy after the adoption of new constitution of 1992. People's Republic of Mongolia now became a simply Mongolia after it changed its name. Following the model of France's Fifth Republic, Mongolian Constitution established a mixed political system resembling a semi-presidential regime. Prime Minister serves as a head of government though the President is the head of state with power to veto in parliamentary legislation (Soni 2006: 27-39).

However, during the democratic transition drastic changes appeared in Mongolia in the field of domestic as well as external scenario. Now it was the prominent responsibility of think tank to shape Mongolia's foreign policy objectives as well as security policy (ibid). It was then understood that Mongolia's national security could only be unilateral, bilateral and multilateral measures. "In June 1994, Mongolia made radical changes in its national security and Foreign policy Concepts as well as the Military Doctrine, which were finally endorsed by the Mongolian Parliament. The overall concerns for Mongolia's security thus aimed at achieving favorable internal and external conditions for ensuring vital national interests, which include the existence of the Mongolia people and their civilization, the country's independence,

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<sup>26</sup> "Incumbent Mongolian president wins 2nd term on pro-Western, anti-graft platform". *The Washington Post* (Washington). 27 June 2013.[Online: web] Accessed 8 January. 2016

sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of state frontiers, relative economic independence, sustainable ecological development and national unity”.<sup>27</sup>

Subsequently “the decades of unilateral policy, Mongolia began trying to formulate its national security, foreign policy and military doctrine taking into account the international developments, based on principles of international relations”. Sanders argues that “having served as a geopolitical buffer in the relations between Russia and China, Mongolia is trying to pursue a balanced relation with them, bearing in mind at the same time the need to maintain balance of forces and interests in the region” (Sanders 1991: 120).

However the objective of “Mongolia’s Third Neighbour policy” is to balance the influence from its two big neighbours- China and the Russia. Mongolia considered both the west and East in the country’s policy as “Six directions”, and considered them as significant third neighbour partners. Further, apart from the two neighbours, the USA, Japan, and Germany were also regarded as first priority countries. Mongolia is still highly dependent on foreign aid and assistance, which in many ways have simply replaced the large subsidies enjoyed during the Soviet period. “Still domestic economic policy is influenced by external influence, where the combination of market liberalization and privatization on the one hand and Western aid on the other has undermined the social security system and the relative economic equality that had been previously created by Soviet development aid”. There are many countries, which are considered as a Mongolia’s primary donors such as the United States, Japan and South Korea whose pattern of aid over the period since the transition has been substantial.

### **1.8: Constitutional Provision of Foreign Policy in the New Constitution**

In the year of 1992, when Mongolia adopted its new constitution it witnessed significant changes in external affairs. Mongolia’s new constitution providing to its people political freedom, respect to human rights and equality of all forms of property ownership.<sup>28</sup> “Following the formation of the new government in October 1990, a

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<sup>27</sup> Concept of National Security of Mongolia, 1996: p.173.

<sup>28</sup>In January 1992, Mongolia adopted the new constitution and declared itself a parliamentary Republic. A one house Parliament that consists of 76 members appoints the cabinet. Chapter one of the constitutions declares that the stationing of foreign military forces on Mongolian territory is prohibited unless otherwise provided for by law (The Constitution of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, 1992).

Constitution Drafting Commission headed by President Punsalmaagin Ochirbat started working on a fourth Constitution. Later twenty-one members from different political parties were added to the commission depending on their experience” (Sanders 1992: 506-51). “The Constitution Drafting Commission was divided into four groups reflecting the Constitution’s main themes such as human rights, state affairs, economic, social and political matters, and legal and constitutional issues” (ibid).

On the concern of foreign policy, the constitution of Mongolia needed to follow the universally recognized norms and principles of international law and to pursue a peaceful foreign policy. In practical terms, Mongolia opted for an open foreign policy, free of past ideological constraints (Stobdan 1992: 225). The security of Mongolia is tainted by foreign policy and defense policy activities (Soni 2002: 222-226). The document views national security as based on the vital national interests of Mongolia and it defines these vital national interests of Mongolia as “the existence of the Mongolian people and their civilization and the country’s independence sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of state frontiers, relative economic independence, sustainable ecological development and national unity” (ibid). Mongolia’s aim is to establish balance foreign policy with immediate surroundings as well as two countries to establish Mongolia’s security policy as well as foreign policy objectives (Stobdan1997: 179).

National interest is a center point of foreign policy. Mongolia’s foreign policy also revolves around its national interest as the National Security concerns. In the foreign policy concepts it has been clearly mentioned that the “priority of Mongolia’s foreign policy shall be safeguarding of its security and vital national interests through the political and diplomatic means and making a favorable external environment for in many field such like its economic, scientific and technological development. The first priority is to have all round good neighbourly cooperation with Russia and China, without adopting the line of either country” (Soni 1996: 171-179).

While it shall be developing friendly relations with countries as well as international organisations such as the United State of America, Japan, Germany and other developed nations, European, Association of Southeast Asian Nations and SAARC countries (ibid). However in the new geopolitical environment, considering the

emergence of new situation through impact of political reforms and economic rearrangement especially during 1990-92 took Mongolia at a crossroad where it had to consider its future development and security issues. In the past decade it seems that Mongolia has extended its existence in the world through strengthening its bilateral and multilateral ties in a balance manner. Mongolia is reinventing itself as an emerging democracy to redefine the future in its ancestral traditions. “In this new global order the future of Mongolia will depend not only on well established relationships with its two neighbours China and Russia on the vertical level but also on its relation with the outside world. Mongolia is dedicated to peace and stability in the Asia and Pacific region, which is vital for Mongolia’s development for it wishes to take the advantage of international cooperation in the field of commerce and economic cooperation” (Basu 2011: 55-71).

## **1.9: Review of Literature**

Various scholars in different situations have studied Mongolian foreign policy. The literature available on this subject provides a better understanding of Mongolian foreign policy objectives both during the Soviet period as well as post-Soviet period. It also indicates various situations during which foreign policy kept changing, particularly after the collapse of Soviet Union. However, it was in 1994 that Mongolia finally adopted a fresh independent “multi-pillared” foreign policy to suit its interest particularly in bilateral and multilateral ties with the outside world. It is in this context that the literature review has been divided into the following three broad themes:

### **Emergence of Post-Soviet Mongolian Foreign Policy**

“Domestic politics frequently influences foreign policy through a process of decision-making that grows out of the decision-makers awareness of the requirements for effective action in the political context” (Barbara 2004). It is therefore necessary to develop a theory that can explain how the political context’s characteristic features affect decision-makers’ thinking. In doing so an attempt must be made to combine insights culled from the literature on political decision-making with psychological theories of decision-making processes. Further, the history of the twentieth century Mongolia beginning from 1911 when the independence of theocratic Mongolia was proclaimed until the events unfolded during the late 1980s and early 1990s saw

changes in Mongolia's domestic and foreign policy. Batbayar and Soni (2007) have highlighted such changes till 1996 elections which resulted in the victory of democrats for the first time in the history of Mongolia, thus providing the country a much needed bulwark for ensuring an independent identity in the comity of nations, particularly from those having democratic background.

Rossabi has argued that the "termination of crucial Russian economic support, free-market ideology advanced by the IMF, the World Bank and the ADB replaced the old commitment to central planning. Mongolia was pressured to go the shock therapy route, and the resulting transition was rougher even than Russia's, with inflation reaches high level. However, the Mongolian reformers through their skillful efforts for democratization brought their country into the international system" (Rossabi 2005: 231-250). The agencies and countries providing grants and loans insisted on Mongolia's adherence to a set of policies that also includes its foreign policy objectives.

The problem Mongolia encountered by opting for reforms in its foreign policy has further been explained in the context of the sharp reduction in Soviet aid and the difficulties in securing supplies (Heaton 1992). The contemporary issues ranging from economic and cultural change to nationalism and emergent elites, apart from dealing with the post-Cold War Mongolian foreign policy and its implications for Mongolia's relations with the outside world are directly concerned with this proposed study (Kotkin and Bruce 1999). The history of the twentieth century Mongolia unfolded various events at the closing decade of that century leading to the 1990 pro-democracy and national movement (Batbayar and Soni2007). This resulted in multi-party parliamentary elections beginning from 1990 till date (Warikoo and Soni 2010). The Mongolian President has made changes in the power structure following the initiation of Iltod and Orchilan Baigalaltin political and economic spheres (Soni 2008). The democratic transition in the country has been showing positive results as Mongolia has made its domestic and foreign policy implementation successfully since the beginning of transition from a Soviet style communism to a free-market economy and democratic political system.

Contemporary Mongolia is often seen as one of the most open and democratic societies in Asia, undergoing remarkable post-socialist transformation both internally

and externally. It learnt a lot from the transformation of the elite and social structures through the prism of the communist party's cadre's policy and the party's collaborations with the Third Communist International and other Soviet departments that operated in Mongolia until the mid-1980s (Morozova 2009). But Gorbachev's reform policy introduced in Soviet society did impact Mongolia not only to carry out reforms in internal but also in foreign policies. In 1990 Mongolia went to its first democratic multiparty election to the parliament, which unlike the cold war era opened the door for new democratic forces in the country to enter in to the government. Further Soni explain "in 1992, a new constitution, the fourth one since 1921, was adopted replacing the 1960 constitution, which brought considerable changes in Mongolia's political system. Key elements in the new constitution emphasized the establishment of democracy contrary to the previous constitution, which had stressed building the state through socialism" (Soni 2006). The concept of reforms and restructuring began to take hold in Mongolia with first moves made to rationalize the administration along with the drive for economic efficiency. This was followed by adoption of a new foreign policy to suit the country's national interests.

Consequently, Mongolia's foreign policy options in the face of internal and external security environment during the democratic transition have been assessed in various works. Sanders (1988) review some aspects of changes in Mongolian foreign policy as reflected in key documents and events of the late Communist and early post-Communist periods. He also finds foreign trade and foreign aid as two important features of the ongoing foreign policy. The new security environment of Mongolia following the withdrawal of Soviet troops from its territory, which led to the adoption of new foreign policy (Ganbaatar 2001). A comparison of the foreign policy of Mongolia that existed during the communist regime with that of newly adopted policy during the democratic transition gives a new direction for existence of Mongolia in the international affairs (Khaliun 2003). However, one cannot escape from the action-reaction models that have dominated the statistical analysis of foreign policy behavior (Matthew and Moore 2003). In brief, the concern for the level of integration of a time series matters both for our understanding of individual variables and for the modeling choices we make when investigating the relationships between states.

The broad feature of Mongolia's foreign policy is also to strike a balance with nations having economic interests in Mongolia and those, which are of strategic importance

for Mongolia (Nyamdavaa 2001). Regional multilateralism and domestic development is a way out for Mongolia from its geographical constraints.

The post-Soviet Mongolian foreign policy in the context of multilateral engagement speaks of 'Third Neighbour' policy. In fact, the 'Third Neighbour' policy is an effort on the part of Mongolia to balance the influence from its two huge neighbours, the Peoples' Republic of China and the Russian Federation (Miliate 2009). Peiran rendered in his work that "while this policy was formulated in the early years of Mongolia's transition to a market economy and democracy, the whole concept of additional neighbours beyond the physically geographical ones has something of a long history, especially in respect to one nation in particular such as India known as spiritual neighbour. The ties between the two countries are as dynamic as they are historical, so establishing a basic constructional understanding of such relations is as important as understanding multilateralism by looking specifically at the current role of India and Mongolia in each other's foreign policies" (Peiran 2009). Besides, cooperative initiatives in diverse areas will help diffuse rivalry between Mongolia on one side and either of the two neighbours on the other side to promote stability and trust among the three nations.



## **Mongolia's Engagement with External Powers**

Miliate examined that “Mongolian foreign policy is constructed with a firm eye on the security of the country. Mongolian national interests focus on the preservation of the Mongolian people and their civilization, the country's independence, territorial integrity, and relative economic independence. Following these four themes, Mongolia's concept of security is broken into nine sectors: existence, social order and state system, citizen's rights and freedoms, economic concerns, scientific and technological development, information security, preservation of Mongolian civilization, protection of the population and gene pool, and ecological security. These are then further divided into internal and external, plus time markers such as immediate, temporary, long-term, or permanent” (Miliate 2009).

Beside that Telford all explore above mention that “of these are ensured by social, political, organisational, economic, diplomatic, military, intelligence, legal, unilateral, and international co-operations. The external forces policy objectives that were enacted independently had eventually impacted both the domestic and external influences on Mongolian foreign policy. Although Mongolia as a nation is now more secure than ever, inevitably its foreign policy is dominated by the need to secure financial assistance and the interests of powerful external forces, such as China, the United States of America, international financial institutions and to a lesser extent the Russian Federation (Telford 2004). The remote vastness of Mongolia has always been a mystery to most Westerners no less so in the twentieth century (Kotkin and Ellemen 1999). It is perhaps the most intriguing of the post-communist “transition” societies. Mongolia's international relation, particularly with Russia and China in the aftermath of the adoption of new foreign policy shows equidistance in their relations (Tumurchuluun 1999). The same phenomenon can be witnessed even today when the focus remains concentrated on the ‘third neighbour’ policy (Soni 2012).

Further Batbayar (2003) poinout in his work that “Engagement with external powers began soon after P. Ochirbat was elected as President in 1993. He pursued an active diplomacy by traveling extensively in Europe and Asia as well as to New Zealand and Australia. He visited the Russian Federation in 1993, India, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam in 1994, Germany, Belgium, European Union and Hungary in 1995, France and Great Britain in 1996, Indonesia, New Zealand and Australia in 1997. He also

participated in the inauguration ceremony of the new Japanese emperor Akihito in 1991 and in Moscow activities commemorating the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Russian victory over Nazi Germany in 1995” (Batbayar 2003). However, Ochirbat’s greatest diplomatic score was the summit meeting with President Yeltsin in Moscow in 1993 that produced a new bilateral treaty on friendly relations and cooperation. Since then high level visits by Mongolian leaders have been taking place on reciprocal basis in order to ensure Mongolia’s security both economic and strategic.

Afterwards Soni (2006) examine the Mongolia’s objectives of foreign policy and stated that, “as mentioned in policy papers Mongolia’s search for security has been influenced by national security concerns which aim at achieving not only its border security but also economic security through cooperation with the international community and active participation in regional and international arrangements. State interest that implies independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity has always been one of the major security concerns for a small state like Mongolia”. From the perspectives of multi-layers structures, Russia and China are two important countries in Mongolian foreign policy and relations. Among them, Russia has the most direct impact on Mongolian national interests. Nevertheless, the pivotal value of Mongolian foreign policy and national security lies on reality (Soni 2006). In other words, issues of economics and trade are the most practical. In terms of the problems that the Northeast Asian countries have to face and the main stream of regional economic development, economic cooperation with neighbouring countries seems an important orientation in this area (Zhao 1994). This is especially so when such cooperation holds values both internally and externally. From this point of view, the economic relations between Mongolia and Russia are important.

With the prospective of Mongolia’s Presidential election Campi (2012) observed that “since the Mongolian parliamentary elections of June 28, 2012, won by the pro-Western Democratic Party, there has been a re-emphasis on strengthening Mongolian-Russian political and military relations as part of the new government’s efforts to counter-balance China’s monopoly over Mongolia’s economy. Mongolia and Russia have acted to boost their bilateral political and economic ties in 2012. In 2012, Sergei M. Mironov, Chairman of the Council of Inter-Parliamentary Assembly of States in the upper house and Head of the Russia-Mongolia inter-parliamentary group, received Mongolian Ambassador to Russia Doolonjin Idevkhten to review efforts to deepen

relations between the State Duma and Mongolia's parliament. In addition, joint military relations have also not been neglected by the two sides Russian-Mongolian military exercises called Selenga 2012 were conducted on September 21–30 near Kyakhtha in Russia's Republic of Buryatia, in southern Siberia" (Campi 2012).

With the drastically increasing need for petroleum, China has been depending more and more on importing petroleum from outside of the world. One of its two strategies on petroleum is to diversify oil exploitation, including the diversification of channels of import and ways of cooperation. The other is to establish a strategy of petroleum reservation. Since the successful exploitation of the first well in 1997, Mongolia has produced more than thirty thousand tons of crude oil and exported them all to China (Kao 1993). China has to depend on its neighbouring countries for the safety of petroleum, and Mongolian oil resources meet its needs. There is no definite data about Mongolia's oil reserve yet; nevertheless, the Sino-Mongolian relations and cooperation on petroleum can further be enhanced. China has traditionally viewed its relations with the Mongols to its north with much seriousness (Campi 1994). "Chinese policymakers in the 21st century are fully aware of the historical record of devastating invasions of the Chinese heartland from the Mongolian plateau, and such memories are still significant when developing policy. Although China has recognized the independent status of Mongolia, the PRC has often published official maps, which include the territory of Mongolia within its borders" (Soni 2009).

Simultaneously, Wang (1994), portrays Mongolia-China relations after 9/11 scenario in his work "since 9/11, there has been an emphasis on high-level exchange between China and Mongolia, and as these discussions indicate, terrorism prevention and cooperation on regional security issues has gradually become the core content of the talks. By contrast, pre-9/11 Sino-Mongolian exchange focused around economic cooperation. For the future, Beijing and Ulaanbaatar will work diligently together by taking further steps in making regional security a top priority" (Wang 1994). Afterwards he also believed that "after 9/11, both China and Mongolia each respectively had different methods and different degrees of participating with the U.S. in its actions against terrorism. The United States recognized Mongolia in 1987 and since then has sought to expand cultural and economic ties. At Mongolia's invitation, the United States began a Peace Corps program there in 1991, which by 2007 was maintaining about 100 Peace Corps volunteers in the country. Also in 1991, following

the signing of a bilateral trade agreement, the US restored Mongolia's most-favored-nation trading status now referred to as Normal Trade Relations under conditional annual waiver provisions. The development of US-Mongolia relations in the post-9/11 era coincided with the democratic and economic reforms in Mongolia and that the relationship between the two sides witnessed a positive role of Mongolia in the anti-terrorism alliance which proved to be advantageous for its geostrategic concerns" (Wang 1993).

According to views of Dumbaugh and Morrison (2009) "Mongolia became eligible for US assistance through the Millennium Challenge Account (MCC), and in 2007 received a \$285 million aid, focused mainly on improving rail transportation, property rights, and vocational education and health care. The House Democracy Assistance Commission (HDAC) has established a partnership with the Mongolian parliament, the State Great Hural, focusing on parliamentary reforms and improving transparency in government" (Dumbaugh and Morrison 2009). "Due to Mongolia's strategic positioning in Northeast Asia, Ulaanbaatar fits in well with America's new wartime strategy to project superior force in the region. As a result, Washington has been pushing forward many facets of political, economic, and military exchange. According to a US-Mongolia Joint Statement in the year of 2011, both sides have now reaffirmed their commitment to a comprehensive partnership based on common values and shared strategic interests. Over the years, Mongolia received US aid apart from an US assurance to be its third neighbour to meet the challenges, if any, from both Russia and China" (Wachman 2009). The U.S.-Mongolian political and economic relations are major concerns for Mongolia's key security and foreign policy issues.

Japan began to put its eyes on Mongolia at the beginning of the 20th century. The war between Japan and Russia in 1904 provided Japan an opportunity to develop in Asian continent. Japan's success in Manchuria and Mongolia in the early part of the 20th century further boosted its confidence to make contact with Mongolia. However, Japan never developed any formal diplomatic relations with Mongolia until 1972 due to the presence of Russian and Soviet influence; and Japanese aid to Mongolia were also mainly small-scale humanitarian aid programs (Saran 1993). Due to reforms and open door policy in Mongolia after 1990, and Japanese feelings toward Mongolia and

geopolitical considerations, Japan began to provide long-range and all-around aids to Mongolia and the two countries have enjoyed a very close bilateral interaction.

Despite the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1972, Campi (2013) highlights that “Mongolia and Australia had only modest economic and political interest in the relationship, even though Australia has provided Mongolia with \$81 million in development assistance since 1995. Australia believes it can be a strong “third neighbour” to Mongolia because its companies are well placed to assist in the development of Mongolia’s resources sector. Concurrently, this is a way for these companies to lessen the impact of Mongolian minerals replacing Australian ones in the Chinese market” (Campi 2013). Further Soni express their view that “how to Mongolia shape their policy priority on the basis of their enriched mining industry he said that “though the political controversies around revising Mongolia’s foreign investment laws and reopening the *Oyu Tolgoi*<sup>29</sup> agreement with Rio Tinto are serious concerns for Australia, Mongolia can be a priority country for managing its mining economy and mineral wealth under its Mining for Development initiative. It appears that Mongolia has succeeded in forging growing relationships with a roster of “third neighbour” countries prepared to underwrite a portion of Mongolia’s development, invest, and encourage the democratic transition/consolidation that is under way” (Soni 2012). The United States, Japan and Australia, such “third neighbour” countries mainly include Canada, South Korea, India, Germany, and other influential countries in Europe, and that Mongolia’s relationship with these countries are continuing within the framework of bilateral and multilateral engagement.

### **Mongolia’s Participation in Multilateral Forums**

Multilateralism is a multiple countries working in concert on a given issue. Multilateralism was defined by Kahler (1992) as “international governance of the ‘many, and its central principle was opposition bilateral discriminatory arrangements that were believed to enhance the leverage of the powerful over the weak and to increase international conflict” (Kahler 1992). Although much has changed since the end of the Second World War, the most basic definition of multilateralism has not. Keohane defined multilateralism as “the practice of coordinating national policies in

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<sup>29</sup>Oyu Tolgoi is one of the world’s largest new copper-gold mines and is located in the South Gobi region of Mongolia, approximately 550 km south of the capital, Ulaanbaatar, and 80 km north of the Mongolia-China border.

groups of three or more states (Keohane1990). In 1992, Ruggie also states “multilateralism refers to coordinating relations among three or more states in accordance with certain principles”. So it can say a simple word that multilateralism is when more than one group or government makes decisions.

Mongolian Development Research Centre stated, that “in recent years, the Mongolian Government has been actively seeking to expand its multilateral relations with countries in the Asia-Pacific region and engage in regional security dialogue. This is consistent with the approach set out in Mongolia’s Foreign Policy Concept, where stronger bilateral relations are seen as the building blocks for effective regional and global strategies. Moscow and Beijing both have encouraged Mongolia to be an observer in the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation, which focuses on counter-terrorism and, increasingly, economic cooperation” (MDRC 2006).

Author Tumurchuluun (2006) contend in his work, that “being an Asian nation, Mongolia naturally pays particular attention to the solution of existing issues and concerns in the Asia Pacific region. The Mongolian Government outlined its foreign policy goals and objectives in the Government Policy Action Program covering the periods 2004-08 and 2008-12. These Action Programs formulated a foreign policy to expand bilateral relations between Mongolia and the Asia Pacific countries, participate in the multilateral dialogue and integration evolving in the region as well as contribute to promotion of stability and cooperation. Participation in the regional political and economic relations and striving for acceding to the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation remained the main aim of the government. Mongolia thus attaches special significance to the solution of pressing issues and urgent problems still existing in the region. It is particularly important to have a clear vision of Mongolia’s role in the Asian affairs of bilateral and multilateral efforts, its potential to contribute to the settlement of the regional issues as well as its present and future participation in the multilateral forums” (Tumurchuluun2006).

Further he elucidates that, “Mongolia traditionally maintains friendly relationships with all Southeast Asian nations. Termination of the Cold War and Mongolia’s reforms brought about new favorable opportunities for further boosting Mongolia’s relations with ASEAN member countries. Mongolia also maintains friendly relations with South Asia nations. Mongolia calls India a spiritual partner because the Indo-

Mongolian cultural and spiritual relationship dates back centuries. Despite great geographical distance Mongolia-India relations are developing in different areas, including political, economic, cultural, humanitarian, communication and information technology. Mongolia's strategy vis-a-vis Central Asia including Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and others is another foreign policy dimension in the Asia-Pacific region. Mongolia constitutes a bridge over East Asia and Central Asia both geographically and politically" (Tumurchuluun 2006). There is a growing cooperation between Turkey and other West Asia countries. Mongolia has sought to join Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (APEC) and took part in APEC meetings of working groups as observer.

"Mongolia's effort is to contribute in its own way to the regional integration process, its membership in major intergovernmental organisations in East Asia is limited mainly to the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF). For Mongolia, economic, trade and investment integration into a larger regional cooperation structure is the best-suited way to accelerate its economic growth and alleviate poverty on a long-term and sustainable basis" (Soni 2006). Additionally in his argument Telford (2004) observe that "The Asian Development Bank is the single largest multilateral donor, followed by the World Bank, International Monetary Fund (IMF) and the UN. For many countries these multilateral institutions are the means through which the majority of their assistance is channeled. Japan is the largest donor, and aid extended by Japan to Mongolia accounts for approximately one-third of total aid for Mongolia" (Telford 2004). However, as Campi (2003) notes, the United States plays the 'leading role of donor aid coordinator' even though it 'ranks a distant second in terms of its development assistance' (USAID 2004). "Mongolia's foreign policy decisions are influenced to a degree by the need to ensure overseas financial assistance not only from the individual countries but also from the various multilateral forums. The conditionality attached to aid compromises Mongolia's internal sovereignty by dictating domestic policy decisions such as the focus on macroeconomic stabilization and privatization" (Batbayar 2003). The Mongolian government 'understands that firm consistency in the reform agenda will be a guarantee of continued donor assistance' even if there is a 'significant problem of bad donor planning and financial practices' (ibid).

“Mongolia joined the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe in 2004 as its Asian partner for cooperation and since then it has been closely participating in its activities. Open and friendly cooperation with the OSCE and its participating states, as well as a desire to contribute to the common vision of the OSCE encouraged Mongolia to formally apply for full membership of this multilateral forum in 2011”. Finally, it has become the 57th country to join the OSCE as a participating state. As the strategic stability of Asia is important for Mongolia’s security, it has been contributing to confidence building in the Northeast Asia (Dari 2012). Within the OSCE, Mongolia can serve as a link between Europe and Asia as well as broaden its engagement with the Asian Partners for cooperation. According to Dari, Ulaanbaatar considers OSCE’s decision regarding Mongolia’s membership as recognition of its democratic achievements, respect for human rights, rule of law as well as political engagement and commitment for multilateral cooperation. Tracik (2008) advocates that “the best way to ensure that Mongolia’s two neighbours Russia and China respect his independent identity is to integrate that isolated land into regional and multilateral structures like the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum, the Northeast Asia Cooperation Dialogue, and, of course, NATO’s Partnership for Peace”.

Subsequently the Observation of Peverelli (2009) is significant, he explain that, “in 1995, the People’s Republic of China, Mongolia, Russia, and South Korea, signed three agreements to create the Tumen River Economic Development Area. The name of the river comes from the Mongolian word *tumen*, meaning ‘Ten thousand’ or a myriad. The Tumen River Area Development zones are regarded as useful way to increase economic cooperation between the participating nations. However, not all zones live up to the expectations, while others seem to be able to continue forever. The Tumen River Area Development Zone, consisting of regions of three nations, China, Russia and North Korea seems to be very resilient, in spite of the turbulent history of the region and the difficult relationships between the three participating nations. However the zone also makes sense to another nation, which is not directly participating in the zone. The indirect support of that nation is probably the force behind the continuation of the zone, particularly for economic integration of region on multilateral basis” (Peverelli 2009).

The proposed research work will be different from the available literature in the sense that it will be a systematic study of the foreign policy of Mongolia and its approach



towards multilateral engagement from 1991 to 2013 that has not been done till date on the period of study undertaken. Moreover, the available literature does not suffice to the exact objectives of the study and, therefore, relevant information gathered from different sources would be analyzed in such a manner that it gives a real perspective of Mongolia's foreign policy in the post-Cold War period.

### **1.10: Definition, Rationale and Scope of the Study**

Since the signing of the treaty of Westphalia in 1648 states have been trying to engage themselves both regionally as well as internationally. This is more so in the post-1945 era when UN came into existence and provided an institutional framework. In the post-1991 era, due to the forces of globalization different forces are shaping the contours of both bilateral and multilateral relations. Mongolia is one such state where both regional and international forces propelled it to pursue a policy, which can ensure its multilateral engagement. The foreign policy of Mongolia with a focus on the "third neighbour" policy clearly defines its approach towards multilateral engagement, which has further been encouraged by adopting a programme on enhancing the Economic Orientation of Foreign Relations. The goal of the programme, which began in 2009, is to ensure Mongolia's economic benefits through the means of foreign relations, particularly in the framework of multilateral engagement.

Today Mongolia's foreign policy is dominated by a need to secure sovereignty and economic independence. The main aim of this study is to analyze foreign policy of Mongolia in the context of multilateral engagement in order to ensure the country's development in the post-Soviet geostrategic environment. It will assess Mongolia's security challenges following the Soviet collapse when it began moving away from Russia towards an uncertain future where the great concern was China. It will also analyze the factors that Mongolia advocates for the development of such a multilateral institution which could supplement bilateral relations and ensure the security of the region both economic as well as strategic. The post-Soviet period in the history of Mongolia formed new loyalties and transformed the old ones. "Having built up an independent, multi-pillared, open foreign policy, Mongolia has been able to gain more and more overseas friends and partners apart from advancing its position regionally and internationally. Today, Mongolia maintains diplomatic relations with 143

countries and adheres to 178 international multilateral treaties. Furthermore, Mongolia is a member of 49 international and intergovernmental organisations”.

The rationale behind this research study lies in to the fact that Soviet collapse in 1991 caused a massive cut in the vital Soviet economic assistance. Hence, the leadership of Mongolia turned their attention to the world community, expanding their search for global partners and donors to replace the former patron. The emergence of new situation under the impact of democratic reforms and economic restructuring especially after 1991 brought Mongolia at a crossroad where it had to consider its future development in the framework of new geopolitical realities, which the post-Soviet foreign policy of Mongolia took into consideration. As such securing sovereignty and economic independence as Mongolia’s foreign policy goals is being realized through multilateral engagement during the period of the proposed study. Multilateral engagement, therefore, is one of the key approaches of Mongolia’s foreign policy, which needs to be examined in order to understand the ground reality of the policy implications.

The scope of this study is limited to the period from 1991 to 2013. The year 1991 has been chosen as the starting period of the study because Mongolia’s seventy years of alliance with the former Soviet Union came to a rapid end after disintegration of the USSR. This provided Mongolia an opportunity to launch democratic reforms in its domestic and foreign policies. As a result, a fresh constitution was adopted in 1992 that led to the emergence of a new foreign policy in 1994. Significantly, for the first time in nearly seven decades Mongolia opened itself to the outside world in accordance with an independent multi-pillared foreign policy. Over the years, within the framework of third neighbour policy, Mongolia has been able to engage itself for bilateral and multilateral relations with the developed democratic countries in political, economic, cultural, and humanitarian areas, which this study covers until 2013.

### **1.11: Research Questions**

1. How did the emergence of Post-Soviet new geostrategic environment influence the evolution of Mongolian foreign policy?

2. What were the key factors that led Mongolia to adopt a multi-pillared new foreign policy?
3. What were the strategies that defined multilateral engagement as a long term approach of Mongolia's foreign policy?
4. Whether Mongolia's foreign policy is still influenced by outside actors, particularly the actions and events of two geographic neighbours- Russia and China?
5. What benefits Mongolia has achieved due to its participation in multilateral organisations?

### **1.12: Hypotheses**

1. Economic compulsions propelled Mongolia to adopt a balanced foreign policy both towards regional as well as international actors.
2. Multilateral engagement with 'third neighbours' is a geostrategic need of Mongolia to avoid dominance from either of its two geographic neighbours.

### **1.13: Research Methods**

Historical, analytical and descriptive methodology have been followed while examining this research study, particularly with regard to the changes in the nature of Mongolian foreign policy after the collapse of the Soviet Union. The whole study is based on available primary sources such as government documents in the form of parliamentary debates; government action plans and plans implementation, constitutional documents as well as conceptual documents on national security and foreign policies. These primary sources have been supplemented by secondary sources such as books, journals and newspapers etc. The study is based on both inductive and deductive methods. Different speeches, statements and reports concerning foreign policy-making and its implementation available with Mongolian Foreign Ministry and various UN agencies have also been consulted through websites on the Internet. A field trip to Mongolia has been undertaken to consult relevant material that's helped improve the quality of this research in many ways.

## ***CHAPTER TWO***

# ***EVOLUTION OF POST-SOVIET FOREIGN POLICY OF MONGOLIA***

## Chapter Two

### **Evolution of Post-Soviet Foreign Policy of Mongolia**

Past of any country is itself an important determinant of foreign policy. Historical Linkages of Mongolia with Russia had an extensive impact over its changing dynamics in foreign policy. In the year of 1991, there were substantial moves in the direction to break from Russian 'imperialism' and as Ginsburg (1999:248) points out, that the "top cadres and urban intellectuals shared a common cosmopolitan orientation and common formative experiences in the USSR. He found that most of the political elites between 1990- 1998 had studied at Russia or Eastern Europe". This common background means that their decisions were "inevitably a product of their formative experiences in Russia". This led to the atmosphere of tension and distrust towards China and prolongation of its reverence against Russia (Telford 2004:60).

#### **2.1: Post -Soviet Reform Initiatives**

Border disputes are big issues of foreign policy between any states, especially with land lock countries. Most of the international problems are related to the boarder issues. The Mongolian boundaries were secured during the post soviet and stability prevailed among its neighbours. In the following post-soviet period, Mongolia started focusing on a number of domestic and socio-economic issues. The country's long term security and economic prosperity was substantially threatened by poverty, rapid urbanisation, unemployment and subsequent displacement. However Mongolia had no option but to take such measures that could help the country progress both at the domestic as well as foreign affairs levels at a time when globalisation was becoming the order of the day. "In that sense introduction of democracy and market economy brought about significant changes in Mongolia's domestic policy, which ultimately influenced the country's foreign policy as well" (Soni 2006: 38).

##### **2.1.1: Enhanced Presidential Role in Foreign Policy**

Mongolia is geographically located between two great Powers. This geostrategic location has both merits and de-merits. Various steps had been taken by the President Elbegorj to prioritise the management of the problems varying from historical

differences and energy security in order prevents corruption to assure a prosperous and sustainable future for the nation. The current Mongolian government has started progressive measure to its foreign policy for securing benefits at different level. President Elbegdorj pursue a pragmatic policy in order to follow the similar way of newly re-elected Turkish Prime Minister Tayyip Erdogan that advocates to established with, “zero problems” on its borders. While on another hand security prospective Mongolia does not have the same problems as Turkey. The challenge of managing its relationships with China and Russia seems to be considerable (Miller 2011).<sup>1</sup>

After the disintegration of Soviet Union, Mongolia had search new partners for the alternative economic assistance, which was cut by USSR. The new Mongolian leadership focused their attention to countries of global community, moving forwards towards searching new world partners and those who would donate so that the former patron would be replaced. The Mongolian policy called “Six directions” outlines a Foreign policy feature that has listed the countries of the West and East and these countries are those, which were considered by the current leadership of Mongolia as important partners. In addition to the two immediate neighbours, the USA, Japan, and Germany were thought as countries of high priority. Despite of that Mongolia also wanted to have friendly relations with countries like India, the Republic of Korea, Thailand, Singapore, Turkey, Denmark, the Netherlands, Finland, Austria, Sweden, and Switzerland (The concept of foreign policy, Document 1995: 70-78).

In the year of 1993, Mongolian President P. Ochirbat, elected and followed an active diplomatic role by visiting too many European and Asian countries, as well as to Australia and New Zealand. In the year of 1993 President visited to the Russia, India, Thailand, Laos and Vietnam in 1994. “He also visited Germany, Belgium, European Union and Hungary in 1995. As well as France and Great Britain in 1996 and Indonesia, New Zealand and Australia in 1997. He had also actively participated in the many international occasions such as inauguration ceremony of the new Japanese Emperor Akihito in 1991 and in Moscow activities commemorating the 50<sup>th</sup>

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1 Onathan Berkshire Miller (13 July 2011), Mongolia: Looking East, Looking West, [Online: web] Accessed 5 Sept. 2015, URL: [asiasentinel.com/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=3316&Itemid=373](http://asiasentinel.com/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=3316&Itemid=373)

anniversary of Russian victory over Nazi Germany in 1995” (Tsedendamba 2003: 45-59).

The greatest diplomatic achievement of President Ochirbat was the success of summit meeting held in Moscow in 1993. The summit generated a pact on friendly relations and cooperation. Both the countries signed a great number of essential documents during this high-profile visit, which included “a Joint Statement on Stalinist purges of 1930s in Mongolia”.

Domestically, the visit was considered as a huge achievement for Mongolia, because of the two important reasons. Firstly, the Mongols were still used to associating their national interests with agreements at the State level. Secondly, because of the tremendous power of the Presidential post in Russia, the summit meeting with President Yeltsin and his signature on the bilateral treaty did his Mongolian counterpart hope for the best substantial results. While he was the head of the National Security Council, Orchirbat was completely in the favour of the idea to convert Mongolia into nuclear-weapon-free zone (Enkhsaikhan 2000: 342-359).

## **2.2: Adoption of Constitution in Mongolia**

### **2.2.1: Three Constitutions between, 1924 and 1960**

Dominance was exercised by the USSR over Mongolia from 1924 to 1989. At this period, Soviet’s model of politics and economics was followed by Mongolia, and the country strictly adhered to Moscow’s foreign policy. After the disintegration of Soviet Union the MPRP failed to maintain its hegemony.

Before 1924, there was no written Constitution in Mongolia. The declaration of independence from Manchu rule, Qing law remained the guide for administration in order to the period of autonomy after the December 1, 1911. A professional bureaucracy and various ministries were established. Until the October 1912 the post of Prime Minister was not created. In 1914 two houses of a parliamentary type were formed. Though their role was considered and they were convened and dissolved by the Bogd Khaan. “The upper house has high-ranking secular and ecclesiastical lords including departmental ministers, and that was chaired by the prime minister. And

other hand the lower house consisted of less important nobles, lower-ranking officials, and army officers” (Sanders 1992: 506-520).

Mongolia’s revolutionaries took part in the first Congress of the Mongolian People’s Party” in Khyakhta on USSR territory In March 1921 and adopted a party program as anti-feudal goals. “After the victory of the revolution and the installation of the people’s government with Soviet Russian assistance in July 1921, a provisional hural (people’s assembly) was set up as an advisory body” (Ewing 1980: 35). “The Bogd Khaan was still head of state, though the Oath-Taking Treaty or Solemn Compact of 1921, which might be regarded as confirming a constitutional division of power, limited his powers. After the death of Bogd Khaan’s in May 1924, it was decided to establish a republican regime without a President” (Sanders 1992: 506-520).

The First Great Hural came together after three months to announce the first constitution “an independent People’s Republic in which all power belongs to the people” and who’s most important job was to “strengthen the new republican order”. “The first constitution comprised six chapters, opening with the Declaration of Rights of the People of Mongolia. Chapter 2 outlined the functions of the Great Hural, the Little Hural elected by the former, the Presidium, and the government. “Local self-government” in Chapter 3 provided for rural hurals modeled on the peasant Soviets set up in Soviet Central Asia. The right to vote and be elected was accorded by Chapter 4 to citizens over 18 years of age living by their own labor, but it disenfranchised “secular and ecclesiastical feudalists” and lamas permanently resident in monasteries. Chapter 5 explained the national budget, while Chapter 6 described the state seal, arms, and flag. This constitution represented a commitment to social transformation in the direction of socialism while bypassing capitalism” (Sanders 1992: 518).

To adopt the second Mongolian Constitution, the Eighth Great Hural in 1940 was called. The Constitution was structured on the basis of 1936 Soviet constitution model. The second constitution described the MPR as an “independent state of working people, herdsmen, workers and intelligentsia, which guarantees the country’s non-capitalist road of development for the future transition to socialism”(Ewing 1980: 35). “Article 95, highlighting the monolithic nature of the one-party state, described the MPRP as the vanguard of the working people and the core of all their



organisations” (Friters 1949). “Amendments to the 1940 constitution introduced by the Ninth Great Hural in 1949 included direct elections, a secret ballot and universal suffrage following the restoration of political rights. These changes came into force for the 1951 elections, after which the sessions of the Great Hural were renumbered. The Little Hural was abolished” (Zlatkin 1952: 349-366).

Continuously in the first session of the Great Hural (fourth convocation) the Mongolia’s third constitution was adopted in July 1960. Earlier in 1940, Mongolia was largely a livestock raising country but by the year of 1960 onwards it had developed a mixed agrarian-industrial economy and acquired a substantial portion of working class. It had collectivized herding and developed mining and light industry (Sanders 1992: 512). According to the preamble of the third constitution, Mongolia embarked on the path of building a communist society. The development of guiding and directing forces of society and of the state was the MPRP, which was considered as guided in its activities by the all-conquering theory of “Marxism-Leninism”. In the third constitution amendment the name was changed from Great Hural to the People’s Great Hural (Sanders 1992: 517).

The term of 1960 Constitution was consecutively extended from three to four years and then to five years. And eventually, the number of deputed were fixed at 370. Some important amendments were introduced in March of 1990 under compulsion for democratic reforms. These eradicated the reference of MPRP as the “guiding and directing force of society and of the state”. Further in May 1990, the post of President and Vice President was created and the Little Hural or the standing legislature was revived after July 1990 election with 50 members. The membership in any political party was legalized by the law on political parties, along with formalizing the procedure of registration (Sanders 1991: 172).

### **2.2.2: The Fourth New Constitution, 1992**

From the year of 1990 to 1992, the leadership of the MPRP in the country was eliminated by Mongolia through initiation of political reforms. The new constitution of Mongolia was adopted in January of the year 1992 during which it turned into a new democratic phase. The country’s name got changed from the ‘People’s Republic of Mongolia’ to ‘Mongolia’. The Constitution was established as a mixed political

system which was like a ‘semi-presidential regime’, and was inspired by the model of France’s Fifth Republic. The President serves as the head of state who, also has the power to veto legislations of the parliament. Although the Prime Minister is the head of the government. “The transitional bicameral parliament was consolidated into a unicameral body, the State Great Hural. On the other hand, the Constitution called for the formation of new political institutions including a National Security Council, a Constitutional Court, and a new body called the General Council of the Courts to oversee judicial administration and ensure the constitutionally declared goal of judicial independence” (Sanders 1992: 518).

“The State Great Hural, which has a 76 member unicameral legislature is the most significant apparatus of the state”. “It can make laws dealing with domestic, financial, monetary, and foreign policy, and supervised their implementation, approved the budget, sets the dates for legislative and presidential elections, removes or relieves the President, appoints and replaces the Prime Minister and other officials accountable to the State Great Hural, determines the organisation and role of the National Security Council, holds national referenda, ratifies and vetoes international agreements, establishes and severs diplomatic relations, and declares a state of emergency or war” (Batbayar 2003: 45-49). The President can dissolve the State Great Hural, after consultation with Prime Minister, if a two-third majority of its members approve the same.<sup>2</sup>

After consulting with majority party or a group of parties, the President then nominates the Prime Minister (Batbayar 2003:45-49). He guides the cabinet and he issues decrees, which become effective after Prime Minister has given his consent. “The President represents Mongolia in foreign relations and enters into international treaties, serves as commander-in-chief and as head of the National Security Council, declares general or partial conscription, and can declare a state of emergency or war, with the State Great Hural’s approval within seven days.<sup>3</sup> The Prime Minister leads the Government and he would be the responsible to the State Great Hural for implementation of state laws” (ibid: 45-49).

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<sup>2</sup>Mongol Ulsyn Undsen Khuul (The Constitution Of Mongolia) (Ulaanbaatar, 1992), chapter 3, Article 25.

<sup>3</sup> Ibid, Articles 30, 31, and 33.

Since 1996, one of the constitutional debates that have continued, is if the MP can sit in the office of a ministerial post initially, the decision that was taken was negative. The first government of democratic coalition fell due to these affairs. The President's role of vetoing or approving candidate for Prime Ministerial seat was also debatable. "This question became the focus of the aggressive debate when President Bagabandi (the MPRP) vetoed the Democratic Coalition nominee for Prime Minister seven times repeatedly (Batbayar 2003: 45-49)". These factors contributed to ineffective governance of the same period (Sheldon 2000: 132-134).

Besides, "in the name of defence of the state, national security and public order, Article 16:17 excludes the right to know secrets that the state and its bodies shall protect according to the law, and declares that secrets of the state, individuals or organisations which are not subject to disclosure shall be defined and protected by law. Parties and public organisations are obliged to uphold state security (Article 16:10), and there is some cause for concern that an individual could thereby protect his personal interests on the grounds of state security" (Sanders 1992: 506-520).

The democratic sphere has gone into debates about the powers of the President "to direct the Government on matters within the area of his competence and the legitimacy of a rule issued in this direction by him and counter signed by the Prime Minister" (Article 33:1). In the earlier governments President Ochirbat and Prime Minister Byambasuren were both symbolized old style MPRP communists who held positions of authority. The setting of a minimum age limit of 45 years for the president also tends to favor older MPRP candidates, since most noncommunist politicians are much younger (ibid).

In the year of 1992 as independent Mongolia's first democratic constitution came into existence, "the Social Democrat Hatanbaatar stressed that a key feature of its adoption was the guarantee that its provisions would not become only plane declarations". It indicated that Mongolia moved forward from communism tried to catch up by following global development. It proves that Mongolia has taken the transition from a communist-type one-party rule to a government combining the traditions of statehood and parliamentary rule.<sup>4</sup> The adoption of 1992 constitution, which gave way to the adoption of national security concept as well as the foreign policy concept. So that it

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<sup>4</sup> Mongol Messenger, February 4, 1992.

can say that, constitution played an import role in changing the existing foreign policy of Mongolia.<sup>5</sup>

Although Mongolia, as a land-locked country, which is situated between two big powers Russia and China, needs a coherent foreign policy that was thought to be is essential in maintaining any political regime intact. “An extraordinary degree of foreign policy consensus emerged in Mongolia in the 1990s reflected in such ideas as ‘multi-pillar’ foreign policy and a ‘balanced’ relationship with two neighbours” (Soni 2006: 32-41). The President is considered, as a weak and symbolic post defined by the 1992 Constitution, emerged as a key player in foreign policy affairs in the Mongolian domestic political scenario. It is very significant that has been found during the period of this research study is that there have been interrelations between foreign policy and domestic reforms and that domestic influence on foreign policy changes in Mongolia (ibid).

### **2.3: Domestic Impacts on Foreign Policy**

Some domestic principles have an essential influence over the foreign policy of Mongolia. These came up as a necessity to safeguard Mongolian identity, sovereignty and the Soviet past.

#### **2.3.1: Sovereignty as a Factor in Mongolia’s Foreign Policy**

Mongolia’s geo-political location between China and Russia, and the record of Soviet’s influence in its history have not really gave the country an atmosphere of full sovereignty, in a sense of framing its own foreign policy and excusing control of domestic affairs. In the period before1996 Mongolia’s position in the post Soviet period as a small ‘developing’ nation means that it is a relatively insignificant player on the global arena. Hence, in order to give a voice to its viewpoint, and to recognize and safeguard its sovereignty Mongolia began relying on global institutions. Because as Mongolia being a member of at least twenty different international organisations and as the matter of fact the United Nations (UN) is the most important. Mongolia had become its member in 1961 following a campaign of fifteen years.

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<sup>5</sup> ibid

“The Mongolian Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MMFA) proclaimed that Mongolia’s membership was the most viable guarantee of its independence and sovereignty. If Mongolia ever faces a threat and decides to refer the matter to the UN Security Council, the US, along with other members of the security council would consider appropriate steps to be taken”(Tumerchuluun 1999:286).

As recently it has been observed that Mongolia has started to actively participate in UN processes and activities, most important are the recent UN sponsored peacekeeping activities and particularly Mongolia’s contribution of 250 military personnel in assisting the reconstruction in Iraq.<sup>6</sup> Ginsburg (1999:250) has observed that “Mongolia has aggressively courted Europe, US and Asia in the search for a ‘third neighbour to guarantee national security. <sup>7</sup> Initially there was optimism that the US or Japan might prove to be such a ‘neighbour’. However political realism has set in and as authors such as Ginsberg (1999) Bruun and Odgaard (1997) conclude, it is the international community as a whole that guarantees Mongolia’s security and survival, rather than one individual nation” (Telford 2004:57).

### **2.3.2: Identity as a Factor in Mongolia’s Foreign Policy**

The nature of population of a country also an important determinant of foreign policy. Multi ethnic state’s foreign policy can be affected, because of internal disturbance. Mongolia is mainly an ethnic and homogenous country which comprises 86 % Khalakh Mongols and also a small minority of Kazak (Mayhew, 2001:34). Culture of this community is very different from both the neighbours like Chinese and Russian cultures. Mongolia has historically been a nomadic country which has led to “conflict in foreign policy making between some who thought Mongolia would grow by embracing its traditional identity and maintain closer ties with central Asia with similar culture, Soviet history and economic ties” as put by Campi (2003b: 48) and those such as the former Prime Minister Enkhbayar who believed nomadism to be economically unfruitful to what Mongolia was trying to achieve in modern market economy and so the Northeast Asian ‘modern’ countries were to be encouraged

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<sup>6</sup>British Foreign and Commonwealth Office: [Online: web] Accessed 5 Sept. 2015 URL: <http://www.fco.gov.uk/servlet/Front?pagename=OpenMarket/Xcelerate/ShowPage&c=Page&cid=1007029394365&a=KCountryProfile&aid=1019041550447>

<sup>7</sup> ‘The notion that Mongolia must find a nation or group of nations to counterbalance the traditional monopoly China and Russia exerted over Mongolia’s foreign relations’ (Campi, 2003b:30).

(Batbayar 2002: 3-11). Even it seems that Mongolia began identifying itself as a North East Asian country (Telford 2004: 4).

Despite this, the huge potential of investment, trade and security, Campi (2003b: 48) warns that “tying itself mainly to Northeast Asia will not work economically and militarily, because Russia and China are the main developing economies which overwhelmingly attract investment money and trade, therefore, Mongolia should reinforce links with Central Asia”. As Campi has mentioned, “the notion that Mongolia must find a nation or group of nations to counterbalance the traditional monopoly China and Russia exerted over Mongolia’s foreign relations” (Campi, 2003b: 30). So, the importance implied to the different identities of Mongolia in terms of being both modern and traditional, had an impact on prioritising the relations with neighbours. The Asia Pacific region was in reality the priority instead of Central Asia as is indicated by the “Concept of Foreign policy”.<sup>8</sup> This was considered an end to a bond between Mongolia, Russia and other Central Asian countries (Telford 2004: 5).

### **2.3.3: Soviet Past as a Factor in Mongolia’s Foreign Policy**

“Mongolia’s Foreign policy” has been significantly influenced by its historical links with Russia. In the year of 1991 there were substantial efforts in making a clean break from Russian ‘imperialism’ but as Ginsburg (1999:248) points observes that “top cadres and urban intellectuals shared a common cosmopolitan orientation and common formative experiences in the USSR”. He said that, “almost all the political elites between 1990 and 1998 had studied at some point in Russia or Eastern Europe. This common background means that their decisions are inevitably a product of their formative experiences in Russia. This result has contributed to the attitude of distrust towards China and continuation of subservience towards Russia” (Telford 2004: 5).

### **2.3.4: Geographical Importance as a Factor in Mongolia’s Foreign Policy**

Geographical location of a country plays a great role in deciding and shaping its foreign policy and hence an understanding of physical geographical position of place is significantly important. Because the agriculture, food security, and economic

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<sup>8</sup> UB Post, (2003). The State Ikh Hural has adopted the National Program of the Latin Script. July 25th. [Online: web] Accessed 25 Sept. 2014 URL: [http://ubpost.mongolnews.mn/national.php?subaction=showcomments&id=1059096507&archive=&cns.how=news&start\\_from=&ucat=6&](http://ubpost.mongolnews.mn/national.php?subaction=showcomments&id=1059096507&archive=&cns.how=news&start_from=&ucat=6&) (accessed 05/05/04).

security and trade of a state depends on geography, location, nature of land and natural resources. Thus geographical location of Mongolia is a dominant influencing factor on its national security. For past six centuries, Mongolia's security has always been interrelated between China and Russia and with their diplomatic ties with each other. The Mongolian land is as such that it has slopes from the area of "Altai mountains in the west and the north to plains in the south and the east". Mongolian, Russian and Chinese borders converge at Hutuyen Orgil, in the extreme west of Mongolia and which is considered to be the highest point of the area. 560 meters is the lowest of the point, which is actually the undistinguished point in the eastern Mongolian plain. Average elevation of the country is 1,580 meters. Asiaas one of the largest lake called Hovsgol Nuur comes under the Mongolian landscape, along with other salt lakes, marshes, rolling grassland, sand dunes, alpine forest and permanent mountain glaciers.<sup>9</sup>

**Map 2.1: Political Map of Mongolia**



*Source: UN Cartographic Section Map No. 3721 Rev. 3 United Nations, January 2004, Department of Peacekeeping Operations Cartographic Section<sup>10</sup>*

<sup>9</sup>For detail please see [Online: web] Accessed 5 Sept. 2015 URL: <http://countrystudies.us/mongolia/33.htm>

<sup>10</sup> [Online: web] Accessed 2 January. 2016 URL:<http://www.un.org/Depts/Cartographic/map/profile/mongolia.pdf>

There are three major mountain ranges in Mongolia. Altai Mountains, which is the highest one runs along the western and southwestern regions, on a northwest to southeast axis. The Hangayn Nuruu which is stretching northwest to southeast, occupies almost all of the central and north-central Mongolia, which is relatively much old, low and eroded mountains, and it comprises of a lot of forests and pastures. The Hentiyn Nuruu has mountains near the Russian border to the northeast of Ulaanbaatar is lower still. The plain occupies much area of eastern Mongolia, and the lowest area of the region is a southwest-to-northeast trending depression that reaches from the Gobi region in the south to the eastern frontier (Worden and Savada 1989).

“Some minor tributaries of Siberia’s Yenisey River also rise in the mountains of northwestern Mongolia. Rivers in northeastern Mongolia drain into the Pacific through the Argun and Amur (Heilong Jiang) rivers, while the few streams of southern and southwestern Mongolia do not reach the sea but run into salt lakes or deserts. Moreover the vast geographical land of Mongolia has always been of strategic importance for the outside the world” (Worden and Savada 1989).

### **2.3.5: Emergence of New Geopolitical Environment**

Mongolia has been a territorial buffer state for many centuries. When China was conquered by Qing Empire the Manchu rulers and it was established, they also occupied Mongolia into their domain. When the Qing emperor collapsed, Moscow sucked Mongolia into its own expanding domain. Hence the Soviet Union deployed troops and military equipment in Mongolia during the period of Sino-Soviet hostility from the mid-1960s to 1989 in order to enhance its strategic position over the Peoples Republic of China. “For Moscow, Mongolia was then a territorial buffer state the particularities of Mongolian territory underscored its salience as a shield behind which Russia felt more secure than if Mongolia had been in China’s hands” (Garver 1988: 217 and Liu 2006: 342). “As Mongolia was apparently seeking protection of Soviet Union against the prospect of Chinese irredentist chimera of expansionism”. But its area was utilized by Moscow in order to ensure that there are shorter lines of attack on China in comparison with the Soviet Union , which otherwise would have offered to Mongolia a greater strategic advantage towards the Soviet Union that could combat a Peoples Republic of China assault. However it had Beijing that attacked with an assault on the Soviet Union (Soni 2002: 222- 226). Mongolia was nominally



independent during the time when Mongolia was under Moscow's rule. Moreover, Mongolia had a status of a "satellite" State of Soviet. The dependence of Mongolia on Soviet Union had brought along some development which is now called by Mongolians as

Civilization in form of "infrastructure associated with modernity and urbanization. But, Mongolians paid with their freedom, their personal property, and their freedom to think" (Babaar 199: 413). Moscow's expectation of exploiting Mongolian resources was one of the burdens of dependence. Moscow and Ulaanbaatar had signed a twenty-year "Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation and Mutual Assistance" in the year of 1991. This treaty enabled a transfer of 100,000 Soviet troops, tanks, and missile units to Mongolia while they were "ideally situated for an attack on the Chinese capital" (Dittmer 1992: 188 and Soni 2002: 241). This atmosphere remained intact until 1990 and by this time the Soviet imperialism was disintegrating rapidly. The Soviet Republics, which are nominally independent states under Soviet's dominance and some authoritarian autonomous regimes allied with USA and drifted towards democracy. Mongolia then declared itself a democracy and is constantly repositioning itself in the international community (Huntington 1993: 22-49).

Mongolia continuously positions itself on global level as an independent State, but it cannot escape its geo-political position of which it is situated. Mongolia is landlocked between Russia and China. It is bound by the fact, that historically it has had relations with both of its immediate neighbours and relations of its neighbours with each other. This history of established relations has arisen as a product of geographical positioning (ibid).

Samuel Huntington emphasized on as a "third wave" of democratization that reached Mongolia and accelerated in late 1989 (Huntington 1993: 22-49). Mongolia's small Khural (legislature) passed a resolution on October 4, 1990, which would establish a new constitution. This constitution came in to effect on February 12, 1992. This renamed Mongolian People's Republic as Mongolia. Its independence opened great opportunities to establishing relationships with the countries afar, releasing it from geographic constraints. Mongolia shifted from a "satellite foreign policy as an "independent, non-aligned, multi-pillar, open foreign policy". Mongolia has over the years developed policy of gracious defiance, along with "National Security Concept"

and the “Concept of Mongolia’s Foreign Policy” ,which articulated a policy of balance that is known as the “third neighbour” policy.<sup>11</sup>

Mongolia’s foreign policy is highly influenced by the fact that is landlocked situation, sandwiched between China and Russia. It’s development and growth has always depended on how the leader managed this location, which is very sensitive and strategic at the same time. Preserving territories and their integrity and projection of the state to be sovereign and independent, was the primary aim to driving Mongolia’s foreign policy in the year of 1989. It was a challenge for realizing some major goals, which comprised of expanding and modernizing the economy with help of aid and trade arrangements, and also extending its diplomatic and economic relations with the global community. In mid 1989, as result of Gorbachev’s initiatives, some changes in the country’s foreign policy took place and visible. Mongolian leaders started to illustrate a friendlier attitude towards China, as result of important improvements being made in Sino -Soviet relations. Moreover, they were eager to establishing new relations with other countries of Asian countries, Western countries as well as Third World countries (ibid).

During this time the foreign Affairs Minister was assisted by a first Deputy Minister along with others in implementing foreign policy. “Some important offices responsible for particular geographic territories are (a) the Soviet Union, Czechoslovakia, the German Democratic Republic (East Germany), and Poland; (b) European nations; (c) East Asia and Southeast Asia; and (d) South Asia, West Asia, and Africa. Further departments handled cultural affairs, treaties and archives, relations with international organisations, legal affairs, protocol, and the administration of diplomatic agencies, the press, and other matters” (ibid).

Though, a significant change in foreign policy of Mongolia came only after the disintegration of Soviet Union and the end of the cold war in 1991. This resulted in arising of a new political atmosphere in Mongolia, which led to end of “buffer” status of Mongolia and it created a vacuum in Mongolia both in case of political as well as economic development. Thus, China came to fill this void of vacuum, though USA also appeared on the scene. So that, this whole new geopolitical environment in

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<sup>11</sup>Ministry of Foreign Affairs (2006), “Concept of Mongolia’s Foreign Policy,” Diplomatic Bluebook 2006, Ulaanbaatar.

Mongolia led to change the geopolitical atmosphere of Mongolia and it also changed foreign policy (ibid).

### **2.3.6: National Interest**

The national interest is a key factor of foreign policy, it is also apply on Mongolia. After being a second communist state once under Soviet's influence, Mongolia's transition to a democratic country has not been an easy job because it was for almost seven decades, cut off from the outside world except Soviet Union. However, Gorbachev's Vladivostok policy of 1986 to eradicate tension and conflict in the Asia-Pacific region, which also changed the Mongolia's status of a "buffer zone" in Sino-Soviet relations (Soni 2002: 218-221). Impact of restructuring of economy and domestic political reforms and emergence of new geopolitical situation particularly during 1990-1992 led to an atmosphere of debate and discussions in national interest. "This eventually led to a consensus to consider Mongolia's development and security within the framework on new realities. In this direction, its foreign and security policies were reviewed and in June 1994, it resulted in establishment of three important documents such as, Concept of National Security, Concept of Foreign Policy and Military Doctrine" (Soni 2006: 252-268).

These documents were connected in terms of their aims, which is to safeguard country's national interest on both internal and external level in order to ensure the country's development. Threats from both internal and external situations were taken into account while framing these documents. One interesting feature that Soni describes, "the previously made commitments to strengthen international communist order went into oblivion and instead the pursuit of fundamental national interests described as pragmatic realism came into focus". Hence, former President of Mongolia N. Bagabandi during his speech delivered to opening session of State Great Hural (Mongolian Parliament) on April 6, 1998 described national security of Mongolia as "multi-faceted". He emphasized "within the framework of activities aimed at ensuring the national security, it is a pressing task to create favourable external conditions for the existence of Mongolia, strengthen friendly relations with

influential countries and carry out a multi-pillared foreign policy” (Concept of National Security of Mongolia 2000).<sup>12</sup>

The adoption of the National security concept was very important and it marked an essential change in post-Cold war security thinking of Mongolia. As this concept puts, “the vital national interests of Mongolia consist in the existence of the Mongolian people and their civilization, in the country’s independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of State frontiers, relative economic independence, sustainable ecological development and national unity”.<sup>13</sup>

In this manner, national security of Mongolia has been described on few basic terms, such as “security of the existence of Mongolia, security of the social order and state system, such as security of the existence of Mongolia, security of the social order and state system, security of citizens rights and freedoms, economic security, scientific and technological security, security of information, security of Mongolian civilization, security of the population and its gene pool, and ecological security. Thus, any policy regarding security concerns revolves around its national interests in the first place, depending upon how constructively the policy and strategy can achieve the defined goals” (Soni 2006: 252-268).

The Concept of National Security illustrates that Mongolia in its foreign relations shall practice “political realism and consistently principled approach, accord top priority to vital national interests and other national considerations, seek to secure many partners in its international relations and promote a non-aligned policy so long as it does not threaten the country’s vital interests”(National Security Council: Concept, Law and Regulations, Ulaanbaatar, 2000). Following this approach, Mongolia started to follow policies with commitment to “promote the policy of consultation with influential countries on issues of strengthening world peace and security, of developing international cooperation, of enhancing the country’s strategic significance and fostering strategic interests of major powers in Mongolia”. Moreover, Mongolia while dealing with other landlocked and developing nations, Mongolia follows the line of jointly defending and promoting the shared interests on

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<sup>12</sup>Collection of the Public Statements and Addresses of the President of Mongolia related to National Security and Defence Policies (Ulaanbaatar, 2000), p.14.

<sup>13</sup> See, “Concept of National Security of Mongolia”, in National Security Council: Concept, Law and Regulations (Ulaanbaatar, 2000), second edition, p.82.

the international field. “Mongolia is also committed to safeguarding and security of its existence by strictly following policy of not allowing the use of the country’s territory against other States; ensuring its Nuclear-Weapon-Free status at the international level and making it an important element of strengthening the country’s security by political means” (Soni 2001: 11-14).

Mongolia’s thoughts on security are dependent on its foreign policy that focusing its national interests. This Foreign Policy Concept outlines, “The priority of Mongolia’s foreign policy shall be safeguarding of its security and vital national interests by political and diplomatic means, and creating a favorable external environment for its economic, scientific and technological development”.<sup>14</sup>

In order to achieve this end, Mongolia was set to ensure maximum benefits from regional and international cooperation. Consequently, Mongolia adopting a “multi-pillar” foreign policy rejected the attitude of Cold War period and emphasized on policy of non-alignment. Therefore, that position is considered in the world affairs as a developing nation. Until 1996, It “broadened its diplomatic outlook and the scope of its international activities by adhering to the principle of flexible priorities in foreign policy implementation until 1996” (Soni 2006: 252-268).

One of the main features of Mongolia’s Constitution is “Pragmatism” which also for many is quite a new thinking. Therefore, Mongolia started to rely on the ongoing global politics and also on the international legal system in addition to following the trends of international economic development. Although, the main issue remained of involving priorities of its foreign policy which was to secure the country both internally and externally through formation with influential countries in the area as well as in the world a network of relationships (ibid). In this manner, new relationships with regional and global institutes came up in accordance to framework of its multi -dimensional and multi-pillared foreign policy, so that its security in terms of socio-economic and civilian interests is ensured (ibid 2002).

“The Military Doctrine is the third document, which became the guiding principle to ensure the strategic interests of the country. It was adopted when Mongolia’s leadership acknowledged the fact that the danger of armed conflict and war had not

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<sup>14</sup>Concept of Mongolia’s Foreign Policy (1995), The Mongolian Journal of International Affairs, Ulaanbaatar, no.2, 1995, p.71.

been fully eradicated. In order to collective system of security has not yet been created neither at global or regional level. Despite the fact that with end of the Cold War an atmosphere of mutual understanding and trust has started to take roots in international politics. Thus, this guiding principal has been protected in the military doctrine to avoid any military conflict or danger in that region. Therefore we can observe that the document stresses upon the fact that foreign policies and relations of Mongolia had shifted technological and informational fields, in other words, from geopolitics to geo-economics".<sup>15</sup>

Thus, Mongolia assured that it would never get involved in any sort of conflict with an exception to the case if gets invaded and that the state shall never become a member to any military bloc as long as its independence and sovereignty are not threatened.<sup>16</sup> Other security issues, particularly in the area of Asia-Pacific region were taken into account while formulating the military doctrine. Thus, the main objective of Mongolia in terms of defense policy was to take part in the creation of collective security system. Mongolia still wished to do more while engaging itself in different kinds of dialogues on issue of regional security to look for a convenient place in regional cooperation. Nonetheless, Mongolia's foreign policy and national security reflected upon internal politics and regional dynamics. Therefore the relations with other countries around the world played an important role in the coming future (Soni 2001: 11-14).

#### **2.4: Impact of External Factors in Post-Soviet Foreign Policy**

Mongolia has "3485kms border with Russia and a 4677kms border with China" (Foreign Policy Blue Book 2000:18). Both the countries have continued to hold imperial ambitions towards Mongolia and they are still the greatest threat to Mongolia's independence and sovereignty and nationality (Telford 2004: 1). "As a part of reform process Mongolia's domestic and external scenario underwent a drastic change during the democratic transition, and that it's security and foreign policy objectives figured prominently among the country's think-tanks" (Soni 2006:27-39).

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<sup>15</sup>Enkhsaikhan, J. (1995), "Mongolia's Security Policy: Regional and International Aspects," *The Mongol Messenger*, 18(210), at [Online: web] Accessed 2 January. 2015 URL: <http://www.indiana.edu/~mongsoc/mong/security.htm>

<sup>16</sup>The Fundamentals of the Military Doctrine of Mongolia (1996), *Strategic Digest*, New Delhi, 26: 193-195.

It was observed that that Mongolia's national security would be ensured by taking unilateral, bilateral and multilateral measures. Some radical changes were made in the year of June 1994 in the field of national security and Foreign policy objectives. The Mongolian Parliament then finally approved these changes. At the sake of national interest Mongolia's main concerns in terms of its security were aimed to be achieved by favorable internal and external atmosphere.

## **2.5: National Security Concern**

Mongolia's national security is represented by the status when internal and external conditions are favorable and secured to ensure national interests. To keep it in mind the following national interests lay in the existence of the Mongolian people and their civilization, "such as in the country's independence, sovereignty territorial integrity, inviolability of State frontiers, relative economic independence, sustainable ecological development and national unity. The endurance of national security implies State policy aimed at creating all-round guarantees of protecting and strengthening of Mongolia's vital national interests, actions taken by the State, its agencies and functionaries to that effect as well as measures implemented by its citizens" (Boldbat 2004).

The Mongolian Constitution (1992 has been enshrined with the Concepts of National Security and Foreign Policy (1994)<sup>17</sup>, as well as the Bases of the State Military Policy (1998) which are the first democratic legal acts in order to decide in the long term, through sustainable state policies in the new atmosphere of the security sector. National Security includes the following elements:<sup>18</sup>

- Security of the existence of Mongolia,
- Security of the social order and state system,
- Security of citizens rights and freedoms,
- Economic security,
- Scientific and technological security,
- Security of information,

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<sup>17</sup> Concepts on the National Security of Mongolia (1995), Appendix 1 of Resolution 56 of the Great Khural, Ardyn Erkh, July 26, 1994, No. 145.

<sup>18</sup> Document (1995), Concept Of National Security Of Mongolia, The Mongolian Journal of International Affairs, Number 2, 1995: 64-85

- Security of Mongolian civilization,
- Security of the population and its gene pool,
- Ecological security

While taking into consideration the above-mentioned entities, the National security can be ensured by certain measures designed on the basis that the information is reliable and has been gone with thorough its evaluation and assessment. The ciriyens of Mongolia and Mongolian State are the main guarantors of the national security. Political, legal and moral-psychological components are the entities comprised in International guarantees of national security. Collective security system along with collective efforts in this direction and Military-political security can be assured by participation in such a system.<sup>19</sup>

According to the Concept of National Security of Mongolia, “The duties to ensure national security are incumbent on the State Great Hural. The President of Mongolia is considered as the head of the National Security Council. The legislative, executive, judicial and local self-governing bodies are obligated to implement, within their competence, the tenets of the national security concerns strengthened by the Constitution, legislation another relevant legal acts. Political and public organisations, as well as citizens are obliged to strictly observe the legislation on ensuring national security and actively participate in the realization thereof. The National Security Council is charged with the coordination of the strategies and tactics of the implementation of the security measures with due regard to existing circumstances”. Its duty is to safeguard national security and informing the Great Hural of the developments annually. The funds are provided by the organisations concerned, which are needed to be implemented regarding the measures in their budgets. Expenses are supposed to be converted by the State budget, in the case of special measure.<sup>20</sup>

### **2.5.1: Linkages between Security and Foreign Policy**

Multi-dimensional success in geo-economics balance defines the national security of Mongolia in both theoretical and practical aspects rather than geo-political and geo-strategic balance. Which dominates both actions and scholarly thoughts since the

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<sup>19</sup> ibid

<sup>20</sup> ibid



democratic revolution was started in Mongolia in the year of 1990. After almost 70 years of dominance and membership with Soviet bloc, which curtailed freedom to establish international relations, Mongolia attained its independence. This led to drastic changes in perception of national security and strategy. The core concern remained the same, instead of the shift in substance from politics to economy. Mongolia started to pursue a policy to diversify its partners and greater number of partners resulted in balance of opportunities, which led to an environment of guaranteed external security.<sup>21</sup>

### **2.5.2: Early to Mid 1990: Security through Democratisation**

In 1924 Mongolia achieved a status of being the second of world's socialist country, which was determined to become the first country from Asian continent to have given up the old system through process of a revolution without violence that led to developments in Mongolia, between 1990 and 1994 and this change was very dramatic in nature and equally fascinating which was the remarkable fact since it was achieved with non-violence and bloodshed.<sup>22</sup>

A strong legal framework for genuine democratic reforms was constituted in 1992 Constitution of Mongolia. Multi-party system and Pluralism came into the scenario. Economic life of the nation was governed by the free market rules. Mongolia became member of the IMF (International Monetary Fund), the World Bank, the ADB (Asian Development Bank), and the WTO (World Trade Organisation). These achievements proved to be a landmark in the process which led to integration of the country into the global community and also its economy. These achievements proved to be a huge breakthrough. Mongolia eventually learned a seek and balanced relations with its both of the neighbours while at the same time seeking wider recognition and global interaction at the most. This lesson was learned after being dominated by China for two centuries and then by Soviet Union for seven decades. These developments proved to be a landmark in the process of integration of Mongolia into the outside world and its economy.<sup>23</sup>

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<sup>21</sup> Dorjjugder, Munkh Ochir (2009), *Same Rules, New Dimensions For Mongolia's National Security: Adapting to the New Geo-Economic Environment*, Associate Senior Analyst, Institute for Strategic Studies, National Security Council of Mongolia.

<sup>22</sup> ibid

<sup>23</sup> ibid

Although, it was very unlikely to be expected from Mongolia that it would become the case to achieve and transform itself into democracy. M. Steven Fish has observed that “mostly a history of previous government, its political ideology, former experience with elements of a capitalist free market political ideology former experience with elements of a capitalist free market economy, and even, proximity to other democratic states results in a country’s transition to democracy and its success. This leads to an understanding, which establishes a fact, and reason as to how many East and Central European nations have underwent their transitions. Mongolia did not have any of these. This is why Fish describes successful transition of Mongolia as “democracy without prerequisites”.<sup>24</sup>

It is now believed that the initial consolation of national security was closely linked to, and significantly depended upon the processes of liberalization and democratization. It was necessary for Mongolia to become an open country in order to ensure international recognition. For this, M. Fish also mentions that “it was required that Mongolia distances itself from the political domination of the then still existing Soviet Union and post-Tiananmen China and establish relations with the so-called third neighbours, such as major democracies like the United States and Japan. The most important factor to assure national security in the other hand unfavourable historical and geographical environment was this international recognition and appreciation of Mongolia’s transition in to liberal democracy”.<sup>25</sup>

### **2.5.3: Mid to Late 1990s: Security through Proactive Diplomacy**

Mongolia’s strategy of assuring maximum degree of national security through its democratization process, which resulted into the achievements in foreign policy. In the year of 1994, two key documents were adopted by the Parliament, which were based “on the spirit of the 1992 Constitution”.<sup>26</sup> The “Foreign Policy Concept” publicizes that there are some substantial transitions in the modus operandi of Mongolia’s engagement with other world countries when the Cold war’s end of and the ideological conflict occurring presented Mongolia with the opportunities in order

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<sup>24</sup> *ibid*

<sup>25</sup> *ibid*

<sup>26</sup> Munkh-Ochir Dorjjugder (2009), Same Rules, New Dimensions For Mongolia's National Security: Adapting to the New Geo-Economic Environment, Associate Senior Analyst, Institute for Strategic Studies, National Security Council of Mongolia

to pursue foreign policy which is to be independent. For Mongolia to achieve this end, it followed following prospects:<sup>27</sup>

- “Maintaining friendly relations with both Russia and China;
- Developing friendly relations with developed countries in both the West and the East;
- Strengthening the nation’s position in Asia and participating in the political and economic integration process in the region;
- Seeking cooperation with international institutions such as the United Nations, its affiliated agencies, and international financial institutions;
- Developing friendly relations with countries of the former socialist countries, including the newly independent states;
- Promoting friendly relations and cooperation in the pursuit of common objectives with developing countries.”

From the concern of global and regional security in which all issues particularly relating to their strategic partnership and similar mindedness in mostly every issue so that a vital relationship and competitive believes can be build up, Mongolian scholars invented a new term and pursued the “Third Neighbour Policy”. This led to development of even closer political, economic, cultural and security relations in order to develop democracies, including the countries like United States, Japan, India, and European nations, along with the international organisations (Dorjjugder 2009).<sup>28</sup> The “National Security Concept” that was constituted in 1994 outlines that how can a comprehensive, human-centered, development-oriented security approach can lead to Mongolia’s political will and leadership in order to pursue liberal democracy (ibid).<sup>29</sup>

As per this setting of a proactive arrangement and the approach of liberal institutionalism to national security, various exceptional activities have been offered by Mongolia. These activities are inside the Northeast Asian region as dynamic commitments to regional security. Mongolia has proclaimed itself nuclear-free zone, a status that has been perceived by the five permanent members from the United Nations Security Council. In addition, Mongolia proposes to extend nuclear-free zone past its boundaries in the Northeast Asia. Although it sounds very unrealistic but this

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<sup>27</sup> ibid

<sup>28</sup> ibid

<sup>29</sup> ibid

step was taken in order to curtail Pyongyang's nuclear ambitions, in the neighbourhood of nuclear Russia and China, which could destabilize the region. Mongolian government, as a good-will gesture showed interest in maintaining good relations with both of the Korean States, which is also part of their multi-pillar foreign policy. Mongolia also showed its interest in peaceful settlement with Korean crisis and its will to contribute to the mutual understanding among other active nations. Specifically, friendly relations of Mongolia with both Korean states, Japan and the USA served as an asset to enhance the mutual understanding and to build the confidence. Although, North Korea faced difficulties in communicating with other nations. Mongolia has been keen on becoming a full time member during the time spent Asian regional integration. It is additionally member from the "Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum, as is currently looking for ASEAN Dialog Partner status and participation in Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the East Asian Community". Mongolia has been excited about turning into a full time member during the time spent Asian provincial reconciliation. It is additionally member from the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Regional Forum, as is presently looking for ASEAN Dialog Partner status and enrollment in Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and the East Asian Community.<sup>30</sup>

Meanwhile, the procedure of proactive strategy is a more refined technique to guarantee security than only a political democratization, which marked the second half of the 1990s. Subsequent to securing a steady and agreeable connection with both Russia and China while looking for more prominent visibility in the area, it was required to reinforce the idea of "third neighbour". These conditions were based upon democratization, and responsibilities, which then guaranteed security through proactive diplomacy.

## **2.6: Emergence of "Multi-Pillar" Foreign Policy and its Implications**

Since Mongolia is a land-locked country situated between Russia and China, "a coherent foreign policy is indispensable in maintaining any political regime intact. An extraordinary degree of foreign policy consensus emerged in Mongolia in the early 1990s reflected in such ideas as 'multi-pillar' foreign policy and a 'balanced'

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<sup>30</sup> *ibid*

relationship with two neighbours” (Soni 2006: 32-42). The aim to adopt such a foreign policy was to make productive relations with all nations, to pursue independence from its two powerful immediate neighbours, and to avoid any form of dependency on any single partner. After the disintegration of the USSR, Mongolia became one of the so-called “Nationalizing States”. A new genealogy of nationhood and a model of political succession were taking shape during this time, though Mongolia has led its succession since the times of Genghis Khan, who was the epoch of the Great Mongolian State. The following people are distinguished in the history as the key personalities in the nationalist discourse: Genghis Khan, the founder of the State, Zanabazar, renowned as Mongolian Leonardo da Vinci, and Sukhe-Bator, the leader of 1921 revolution (Kaplonski 2004: 323-337). However, presently, Mongolian has been described neither as nationalist who contributed essentially nor to the democratic transition of the country but to the emergence of a new foreign policy.

The emergence of new “multi pillar” foreign policy owes a lot to the process of reformation. Mongolia, under the influence of USSR lunched Soviet style reforms and restructuration through Il tod and Orchilan baigalalt took place in 1988. This led the government to discuss several problems and mistakes committed by the Mongolian leadership. This led the government to discuss several problems and mistakes committed by the Mongolian leadership. Hence, the reforms were required in the field of foreign affairs besides in domestic political, social and economic arenas. During this time as discussed in previous chapters, the collapse of the former USSR in 1991 and the end of the Cold War led to transition in the geopolitical atmosphere of the country and rendered Mongolia in the emptiness of power vacuum, after which begun the process of reformation towards democracy and market economy that ensured the dynamic shift in the strategies, purpose and priorities of Mongolia’s foreign policy. And hence, Mongolia’s status of “Satellite State” turned itself over so that its foreign policy and developed an independent, non- aligned, multi-pillar, open foreign policy based on its national interests (Soni 2006: 32-42).

## **2.7: Determinants of Mongolian Foreign Policy**

The failure of the socialist world and the Soviet Union’s disintegration has considerably transitioned the outer conditions of the country that were initially its allies. The major alterations in two neighbouring States of Mongolia directly affected

its external milieu. The political, social and economic changes in the system offered favorable environment in order to conduct a foreign policy, which had its basis of pragmatism and the national interests. The concept of Mongolia's foreign policy takes into account the following:<sup>31</sup>

Mongolia despite being sandwiched between two great powers holds on to be a Unitary state by possessing rights, freedom and free economy and developing itself in Asian region. The basis of its foreign policy is national interests and the external and internal position also determines its foreign policy objectives. A country, which pursues an open and nonaligned policy, asserts its foreign policy, which is, based on minting its independent and sovereign status. This is executed by following the trend of human society and its advancement, friendly ties with all, developing its place in various international communities and a network of relationship based on various interests such as political, economic, etc. Therefore, it avoids being unilaterally dependent on any particular country though it wants the developed countries to create interest in the region. So in this light it guides its foreign policy by applying flexible approach and also close watch on international development including regional and political positions as well. Its major focus is to maintain its security with national interests in its foreign policy and also open for convincing external environment for scientific technological and economical development, cultural and humanitarian fields.<sup>32</sup>

### **2.7.1: Mongolia's Foreign Policy in the Political Field**

Mongolia's foreign policy in the political sphere is an essential tool to ensure and strengthen its security issues.<sup>33</sup> "Hence, as the concept of foreign policy establishes, the country's security and independent interests being met is the priority to measure its results, and the extent of its global position being strengthened and its prestige enhanced". Regarding this, the foreign policy Concept of Mongolia according to their official documents says that, "foreign policy of Mongolia shall uphold peace, strive to

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<sup>31</sup> Embassy of Mongolia in the UK, Concept of Mongolia's Foreign Policy [Online: web] Accessed 12 June. 2015

URL:[http://www.embassyofmongolia.co.uk/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=59&Itemid=76&lang=en](http://www.embassyofmongolia.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=59&Itemid=76&lang=en)

<sup>32</sup> [Online: web] Accessed 22 December. 2015 URL:

[http://www.mongolianembassy.us/eng\\_foreign\\_policy/the\\_concept\\_of\\_foreign\\_policy.php?](http://www.mongolianembassy.us/eng_foreign_policy/the_concept_of_foreign_policy.php?)

<sup>33</sup> Concept of Mongolia's Foreign Policy, [Online: web] Accessed 2 January. 2016 URL:

[http://www.mongolembassy.com/sub03\\_02\\_3.php](http://www.mongolembassy.com/sub03_02_3.php)

avoid confrontation with other countries and pursue a multi-pillar policy. While always championing its national interests, it will at the same time respect the legitimate interests of other countries and its partners". It is also elaborated that Mongolia shall not interfere in the conflicts between two of its neighbouring countries until and unless these conflicts affect their national interests. It shall follow a policy in order to ensure that they remain refrained from participating in any military pact or groups which would allow its territorial region or air space to be utilized against any other country or State as well as stationing of foreign troops or weapons that includes nuclear or any other type of mass destruction weapons in its territory. Mongolia shall seek bilateral and multilateral treaties and agreements in international arena in order to fulfill its national interests. International law shall be observed and respected by Mongolia, obligations under international treaties be fulfilled in good faith. As being a member of the global community, Mongolia shall actively contribute to the common cause of settling regional and international issues. In order to do that, it shall follow mainly its national interests, values and fundamental principles.<sup>34</sup> Above-mentioned points are to strengthen national interest, and to avoid disputes with other countries to seek a multi- pillar foreign policy.<sup>35</sup>

Batbayar and Soni have discussed six directions as guidelines for the following directions guide implementing Mongolia's foreign policy as such Mongolia. They have clearly outlined the following:

- i. "The priority of Mongolia's foreign policy shall be to maintain friendly relations with the Russian Federation, People's Republic of China. It shall not align itself with either of the countries but should maintain a balanced relationship with both of the countries and shall support an all-round neighbourly and regional cooperation. In order to do so, the traditional relations and the specific nature of our economic cooperation with the two countries will be considered.
- ii. The second direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity shall include developing good relations with developed countries of the West and East such as the United States of America, Japan and the Federal Republic of Germany.

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<sup>34</sup> *ibid*

<sup>35</sup>The Mongolian Embassy in Washington, D.C.(United States), [Online: web] Accessed 2 July. 2015  
URL: [http://www.mongolianembassy.us/eng\\_foreign\\_policy/the\\_concept\\_of\\_foreign\\_policy.php?](http://www.mongolianembassy.us/eng_foreign_policy/the_concept_of_foreign_policy.php?)

At the same time it also shall pursue a policy aimed to promote friendly relations with the countries as India, the Republic of Korea, Thailand, Singapore, Turkey, Denmark, the Netherlands, Finland, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland and at creating and in this direction bringing to a certain level their economic and other several interests in Mongolia.<sup>36</sup>

- iii. The third direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity would be to strengthen its position in Asian continent and securing a positive participation in the political and economic integration process in the region. In this direction, greater importance shall be given to Asia and the Pacific region, specifically to North-East and Central Asia. Mongolia shall be an active participant in the process of initiating dialogues and negotiations on the issues of regional security and creating a collective security mechanism. It will seek membership of the Asia, Pacific Economic Cooperation forum (APEC). Prerequisites of participation in regional integration shall be created primarily through promoting bilateral relations with the regional countries (ibid).
- iv. The fourth direction of Mongolia's foreign policy, activity shall be promoting cooperation with the United Nations Organisation and its specialized agencies, and with international financial and economic organisations, including the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank (ibid).
- v. The fifth direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity will be developing friendly relations with countries of the former socialist community, as well as the newly independent states. When developing relations with these countries, a flexible approach will be adopted, reinforcing the positive legacy of our past relations while at the same time taking into account the potential of promoting relations in conformity with the new circumstances. Particular attention will be given to promoting relations with Poland, Hungary and the Czech Republic in Eastern Europe as well as with Kazakhstan, the Ukraine, Belarus, Kyrgyzstan and Uzbekistan.

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<sup>36</sup> ibid



- vi. The sixth direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity shall be developing friendly relations with developing countries and cooperating with them, as much as possible, in the solution of common objectives. Beyond the framework of bilateral relations with these countries, this task will be realized mainly through cooperation within the framework of international organisations and movements, such as the United Nations, the Group of 77 and the Non-Aligned Movement" (Batbayar and Soni 2007: 121-123).

### **2.7.2: Mongolia's Foreign Policy in the Economic Field**

The Goal of foremost importance in Mongolia's policy is to regard foreign economic relations in order to optimally utilize the external factors so that a solution to achieve a long-term goal could be found. Afterwards in accordance with sustainable development and to eventually secure a proper place for its economy in regional economic integration. Similarly following the concept of sustainable development and to find a good position in terms of its economy in regional economic integration.

The implementation of project concerning foundation of economic, customs and trade special zones, joint ventures or enterprises along with full foreign investment or with subsidizing concessions, their political and monetary thoughts and results should be introspected to guarantee that they don't have bad effect on the nation's economic security and benefitting the nation a whole.<sup>37</sup>

The usage of significant projects that is vital to the national interests, political interests that would have a critical part to play in determination of a partner. Settlement of foreign debit issues is managed without hindrance to national economic security, and acknowledgment of loan should be done simply after completely analyzing the assurances of their reimbursement and viable use.

Mongolia has to adhere to the following main guidelines, in order to develop foreign and economic relations:

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<sup>37</sup>Embassy of Mongolia in the UK, "Concept of Mongolia's Foreign Policy", [Online: web] Accessed 27 February 2015 URL: [http://www.embassyofmongolia.co.uk/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=59&Itemid=76&lang=en](http://www.embassyofmongolia.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=59&Itemid=76&lang=en)

- i. To improve the country's potential, increase export resources, develop economic infrastructure and produce import substituting goods should be the focus area of foreign economic activities.
- ii. In order to develop its export oriented industries i.e., food, light, mining and chemical and biotechnology it makes the raw material available in the country itself. Mongolia also follows a policy, which deals with modernizing industry this is done by providing them with advance technology and techniques.
- iii. Mongolia needs to work in close cooperation with foreign countries in order to process its mineral resources including gold cooper uranium and also to fully process the agricultural raw materials in order to produce the gods, which can compete in world market.
- iv. Mongolia needs to develop its fuel, energy transportation communication sector and also to create conditions so they get the opportunity to access the sea ports and transit facility from them.
- v. Most importantly northeast Asia and other countries international integration is needed in transportation communication and information.
- vi. In order decrease it import dependence it needs to develop the small and medium industries which is possible through a policy which provides for foreign assistance and technology.<sup>38</sup>

### **2.7.3: Mongolia's Foreign Policy in the Science and Technology**

The main aim of establishing foreign relations in the scientific and technological fields lies in utilizing fully its external factors to build and promote a modern national scientific, technical and technological potential capable of serving as a driving force for the development of the economy and industry of the nation and ability to be competitive at regional, continental and global levels. "Thus Mongolia shall apply the principle of getting benefitted from world scientific and technological achievements to enrich the pool of national endowment and intellectual capacity which are congruous with the national human and natural resources, the level of social theory

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<sup>38</sup> *ibid*

ibid and thought besides being with the unique culture of its pastoral livestock breeding economy” (Concept of Mongolia’s Foreign Policy 1999).<sup>39</sup>

Mongolia adheres to the following basic guidelines, in ‘implementing its scientific and technological foreign policy’<sup>40</sup>

- a) When Introduction of “advanced technology and methods into production and services takes place, the selective introduction of research-intensive technology will be prioritized. Introduction of technologies related to processing mineral resources will be given greater attention to, like raw materials of animal and plant extraction, and use of renewable energy sources;
- b) Speeding up the national scientific and technological information system to the international information network; and
- c) Developing bilateral and multilateral cooperation in science and technology and the field of intellectual property”.

#### **2.7.4: Mongolia’s Foreign Policy in the Cultural and Humanitarian Field**

“The main aim of the cultural and humanitarian foreign relations is to protect the culture and the lifestyle of Mongols, endorsement of their unique cultural heritage and enriching it with the achievements of world culture, restoring national historical and cultural assets, recovering cultural and art relics from abroad, in using cultural cooperation for the purpose of educating and training skilled personnel capable of working in new conditions, introducing Mongolia to foreign countries, expanding the ranks of well-wishers and supporters of Mongolia, encouraging Mongolian studies in other nations and promoting mutual understanding and trust. In promoting cultural and humanitarian cooperation”. The concept of foreign policy says that, Mongolia will practice both Government and people’s diplomacy, and apply the principle of respect for human rights, freedoms, equality and mutual benefit. In developing humanitarian relations with foreign nations, Mongolia adheres to the following guidelines:<sup>41</sup>

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<sup>39</sup> Mongolia’s Foreign policy objectives have been taken from ‘*Concept of Mongolia’s Foreign Policy*’, Ulaanbaatar, 1999:36-46.

<sup>40</sup> ibid

<sup>41</sup> ibid

- i. “Mongolia’s Foreign policy objectives have been taken from ‘Securing and safeguarding the rights, freedoms, legitimate interests and the national security of citizens of Mongolia either residing or traveling abroad through the promotion of broad cooperation with foreign countries in the legally.
- ii. Promoting contacts and cooperation with Mongolian nationals residing abroad and providing mutual support in preserving and promoting the Mongolian language, culture, and traditions as well as securing their contributions to Mongolia’s progress and growth.
- iii. Taking certain preventive measures in order to restrain the influence of reactionary movements and groups prejudicial to the national security of Mongolia and the unity of its people.
- iv. Mongolian students training in other developed nations of the world to be prioritized, managerial personnel and specialists in the field of market economy, politics, law, management and marketing as well as in the leading areas of the country’s scientific and technological fields. In this direction, benefit from specialized funds of international organisations and developed countries shall be sought by Mongolia, scholarships in public and private universities and institutes for the purpose of training students, upgrading specialists, arranging degree studies, training highly skilled workers as well as for using the services of foreign lecturers and scholars of excellence.
- v. In order to promote the study of advanced training and technology ideas Mongolia needs to look for the method which is adopted in foreign countries and apply them in a flexible way which is accordance with the conditions prevailing in the country.
- vi. In order to protect and restore its rich cultural and historical heritage Mongolia needs to cooperate with Asian countries, which share the same historical legacy, and also with UNESCO and countries interested.
- vii. Working towards establishing active relations with international organisations, foundations and non-governmental institutions in the field of education, culture, arts, sports and information, acceding to relevant treaties, establishing and promoting direct ties between similar organisations, encouraging the

exchange of scholars, teachers, creative workers, representatives of the media and sportsmen, taking part in international cultural, art and sport events, and organizing such measures in the country. and

- viii. Cooperating with other nations and designing a plan to help bring about favorable external conditions for ensuring the country's ecological security, maintaining its ecological balance and protecting nature".<sup>42</sup>

## **2.8: Implementation of Foreign Policy through Democratic Elections**

The democratic camp broke into fragments at the end of the 1990s. A lot of new parties came into existence. Since 1951 only one party existed in the country, which was Mongolian people revolutionary party, which as a follow up of soviet system and the party followed communist ideology. It ruled until 1990. A great influence of perestroika and uprisings in Eastern Europe was seen in Mongolia successful political transition and also introducing multi party system of election for the first time in 1990 election to parliament. "The country's multi-party system lead to eventually in the following years with the First opposition coalition party, which was the so-called Democratic Union Parties, forming prior to the elections of 1996 wherein they scored a huge victory over the MPRP breaking 75 years of communist party rule".<sup>43</sup>

## **2.9: Timeline of Mongolian Democracy: <sup>44</sup>**

- **1990-** Huge public protests demanded the resignation of politburo Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) Politburo. "Political parties are legalized. Elections to the Great Hural (parliament) are won by the MPRP, but 19 of the 50 seats in a new standing legislature go to non-communists.
- **1992-** A new constitution adopted by Mongolia, which mentioned human rights and freedoms. New actions led to the victory of MPRP with 71 seats out of 76 in the great hural.

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<sup>42</sup>For detail see Embassy of Mongolia in the UK, [Online: web] Accessed 2 January. 2016 URL: [http://www.embassyofmongolia.co.uk/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=59&Itemid=76&lang=en](http://www.embassyofmongolia.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=59&Itemid=76&lang=en)

<sup>43</sup> See [Online: web] Accessed 25 January. 2015 URL: [www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2219\\_e.htm](http://www.ipu.org/parline-e/reports/2219_e.htm)

<sup>44</sup> BBC News (19 August 2015), Mongolia Profile Timeline, [Online: web] Accessed 2 January. 2016 <http://www.bbc.com/news/world-asia-pacific-15466133>

- **1993-** candidate Nominated By national and social democrats, where as Ochirbat won the first direct presidential elections.
- **1996** though the national and social democrats won 50 seats in great Hural but the MPRP can still deny quorum, which will in a way, hinder the passage of any legislation.
- **1997** - Bagabandi a MPRP candidate wins presidential election.
- **2000** - After the democrats form three new governments in two years the MPRP wins 72 seats in the Great Hural elections. The National and Social Democrats and three other parties form a new Democratic Party. 2001 February - UN launches appeal for \$8.7m (£6m) to support herders suffering in worst winter conditions in more than 50 years.
- **2001** May - President Bagabandi re-elected.
- **2001** October - In order to deal with poverty and increase economic growth IMF provided a low interest loan of 40million for three years.
- **2002** November - a visit by dalai Lama infuriates china and warns Mongolia to meet with the spiritual leader.
- **2003** July - for peacekeeping in Iraq a 200 soldiers troops was sent.
- **2004 January** - Russia writes off all but \$300 million of Mongolia's debts.
- **2004 June-August** - a deadlock happened in parliamentary elections where opposition was in a strong position. T.E was appointed as the prime ministry with a followed by power sharing deal.
- **2005 March-April** - Protest demanded resignation from the government and also and end to corruption and poverty faced by Mongolian citizens.
- **2005 May** - MPRP candidate Nambaryn Enkhbayar wins presidential election".<sup>45</sup>

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<sup>45</sup> ibid

## **2.10: Promoting the Integrity of the Electoral Process**

Due to the dominance of MPRP in the great Hural since 1951 the state hardly saw any positive developments in democratic ideas as they tried to use this political monopoly for self-interest. Despite the fact that opposition performed fairly well in 1990 election but still the electoral progress has been minimal irrespective of any government in power.<sup>46</sup>

- i. “Promote the integrity of the election process several essential steps had been taken place to guarantee basic fair competition in the country’s democratic elections, which are:<sup>47</sup>
- ii. Promote access to a transparent voter registration process: Ensure that the electors have transparent voter registration process and eligible voters participation. This will increase the acceptance of election results by the public
- iii. There is need of fair playing field in both the campaign and political environment. This not only requires during campaign period but from the very beginning. State machinery should never be favoring the ruling party.
- iv. Promote the professionalism of the electoral officers to perform in a neutral manner: Elections are usually only rigged with the participation of electoral officers at various levels. The notion of increasing the professionalism of electoral officers then should be promoted as a crucial factor to increase public trust in the electoral result as well as a means to avoid disputes and a repetition of the destructive civil unrest that occurred after the 2008 election”.

## **2.11: Democratic Role of Political Parties in Elections**

In the year of 1989, students and other intellectuals formed several political groups, discussing current social and political problems. These groups did not meet regularly, nor did they have a clear organisational structure. At the end of the year, the first opposition party was founded, the Mongolian Democratic Union (Christian 2004: 1-6). In early year of the 1990, “several other opposition parties, such as the Mongolian Democratic Party (MDP), the Mongolian Green Party (MGP), the Mongolian

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<sup>46</sup>Read: Parliament (State Great Hural) Of Mongolia Election

<sup>47</sup>Read: Regulation of observation and reporting of Election

National Progress Party (MNPP), and the Mongolian Social-Democratic Party (MSDP) were established. The opposition parties organized several large demonstrations with some 40,000 people demanding free elections, referenda on important political issues and the implementation of a market economy. The MPRP leadership finally gave in, allowing political reforms” (Schafferer 2004: 1-6).

In July 1990 the first free multi-party election was held. According to Siemers “Even though the opposition won less than twenty percent of seats, the election was a watershed in Mongolia’s political development. Competition was fairly tough with more than two thousand candidates from six parties contesting 430 seats” (Siemers 1995: 694). Besides the fact that the ruling party was the one who had mobilized the entire state apparatus in support of its candidates, the electoral power of the opposition was also weakened by the disunity within the opposition and the fact that the opposition had difficulties in finding promising candidates in all of the 430 districts. A new electoral system and a more united opposition seemed to be a solution.<sup>48</sup>

The new constitution of Mongolia came into existence in the year of February 1992. “According to Article 21, the parliament consists of one chamber and has 76 members. Citizens aged 25 or older are eligible to run for office and citizens aged 18 or older may exercise their right to vote. The term of office is four years. Moreover, a new election law was passed. The law stipulated that the 76 members of parliament be elected by plurality vote in 26 electoral districts with a district magnitude ranging from two to four” (Christian 2004: 1-6).

The first election according to the new law was held in the year of June 1992. Barkmann observes that “the new electoral system seemed promising and the opposition was certain to win more seats this time. Parts of the opposition learned from their failures in 1990 and formed coalitions. There were two broad coalitions. The first (known as the Democratic Alliance, DA) consisted of the Mongolian Democratic Party, Mongolian Green Party and the Mongolian National Party, and the second comprised the Democratic Party of Mongolian Believers and the Mongolian People’s Party” (Barkmann 2005). “The ruling party nominated one candidate in each of the 76 constituencies, whereas the DA could only nominate 48 hopefuls and the

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<sup>48</sup> *ibid*



MSDP only 28 candidates. Other opposition parties fielded a total of 141 hopefuls. The applied Block Vote worsened the chances of the opposition, leading to the landslide victory of the MPRP.<sup>49</sup> The MPRP captured 92.1 percent of the 76 seats at stake with less than 60 percent of the votes cast. The DA gained 4 seats, the MSDP and one independent the remaining seat.<sup>50</sup> The result was widely considered to be not merely unfair but dangerous to the nation-state's political development" (Brick, Gastil, and Kimberling 1992).<sup>51</sup>

On January 1996, parliament finally amended the election law, such as all the 76 members of parliament are now elected by plurality vote in single seat constituencies. "On 30 June 1996, the Democratic Alliance (DA) consisting of the Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP) and the Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP) ended the seventy-five year parliamentary majority of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP). The alliance captured 65.8 percent of the 76 seats at stake in the Great State Hural, Mongolia's parliament. The MPRP lost 45 of the 70 seats the party had obtained in the previous election. The election was a watershed event in Mongolia's short history of democracy" (Christian 2004: 1-6).

Schaffere observes that, "the new government under Premier M. Enkhsaikhan carried out a number of highly unpopular measures that, for instance, led to a drastic rise in energy prices. Moreover, service fees and the prices for other daily necessities rose by about 40 percent. Consequently, the DA lost popular support within a short time. The situation worsened when the new government had to admit that it lacked qualified personnel to replace the MPRP-loyal bureaucrats it had sacked at all levels of administration" (Schafferer 2004: 1-6).

A total of 70 seats won out of 76 in the great Hural of Mongolia which made the dominant regime of one party which existed in countries such as the Kuomintang party of Taiwan or that in Mexico the institutional revolutionary party and Japan's Liberal democratic party. But this dominance did not prevail for long time as the party lost in 1996 parliamentary elections to the democratic union coalition. Influential political figures, which existed in the communist era majorly, formulated the MPRP

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<sup>49</sup> *ibid*

<sup>50</sup> *ibid*

<sup>51</sup> Brick and Andrew, et.al. (1992), An Assessment of the Great People's Hural Mongolia. [www.ifes.org/reg\\_activities/reports/execsum/mongjun92.htm](http://www.ifes.org/reg_activities/reports/execsum/mongjun92.htm). 7 June 2004.

but on the other hand the opposition party was of Mongolian intellectuals who were aware of the political changes, which took in former Soviet Union (Lee 2002: 834). When Mongolian politics was in transition the MPRP still had a strong hold as it won total of 357 out of 430 seats in Mongolian parliament, which continued till 1993. Though the opposition had a very small share in the beginning but they were successful in building party organisations that would challenge the MPRP supremacy (Fritz 2002: 79).

When Mongolian politics was in transition the MPRP still had a strong hold as it won total of 357 out of 430 seats in Mongolian parliament, which continued till 1993. Though the opposition had a very small share in the beginning but they were successful in building party organisations that would challenge the MPRP supremacy (Fish 1998: 135). Though they were successful in making their presence in the period between 1993 and 1996 in 21 aimags and try to bring together small parties in order to form a larger stronger party, which came to be known as democratic union. The party was successful in defeating the MPRP in 1996 elections. Mongolian parties are strong and representative and it varies with ideological viewpoints. It has established itself in Mongolian society for it was build up by the leaders who had resourceful thinking and which does not account for any kind of allegiance to party which was build up political entrepreneurs (Fish 1998: 134).

However, at the internal level the reforms carried out by democratic government that won 1996 elections, did not deliver the country into a better situation as Mongolia experienced political disability and economic crisis. Corruption at the time was seen as rampant and unemployment skyrocketed to 50%. “The dysfunctional political system and political rivalries reached their nadir when a Cabinet Minister was murdered. The effectiveness of the Democratic Coalition was tempered and restrained by its own political inexperience as evidenced by the coalition installing four different governments within a four-year period under the Motherland Democratic Coalition, which had governed Mongolia from 1996 until the elections in 2000” (Landman 2005). But at the external level, the democratic coalition government tried to ensure the implementation of foreign policy in Mongolia’s favor. This was more so because in the post-1991 period, irrespective of any government Mongolia wanted to secure itself both for diplomatic and economic gains.

Though Mongolia has successfully established itself as a democracy, but still there are few lacunas, which needs to be resolved in order to enhance the democratic reforms further. Mongolia has come up with a democratic liberal constitution, which is based on a strong and competitive party structure, free market alterations in civilian power and flourishing vibrant civil society. Though these developments were significant but still Mongolia needs to overcome few hindrances, which are the provision for full civil, and political rights guarantee. It also needs to prohibit any kind of lingering resentments because of the 2004 elections, which had weakened its democratic achievements also, providing for economic and social rights.

## ***CHAPTER THREE***

# ***MULTILATERAL ENGAGEMENT: THEORETICAL AND POLICY ANALYSIS***

### *Chapter Three*

## **Multilateral Engagement: Theoretical and Policy Analysis**

There are so many traditional and non-traditional threats and challenges in the new world order. Multilateralism is considered one of the main political ideology and greatest strength to solve this problem. One nation acting alone simply cannot solve or even manage them. This chapter examines the multilateralism and its institutional implementation as well as theoretical framework of multilateralism. Further it has to be also explore the theoretical view that how a combination of state “weakness” and a fragile national identity influence a “weak state’s” foreign policy towards a much more powerful neighbour. Mongolia is one of the buffer states in between Russia and China and multilateral engagement after the disintegration of Soviet Union in the year of 1991 is one of the best examples of this new dimension. Mongolia’s post-Cold War transition to democracy and adoption of Washington Consensus type economic reforms have left the state “weak”.

In such circumstance, “the shaping of the Mongolian post-Cold War political and economic institutions by international policy rather than by the internal forces of the ruling Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (MPRP) or any other Mongolian group has exacerbated a particular kind of weakness that is derived from the way in which externally constructed institutions do not represent Mongolian identity politics”. It has been observed that the Mongolian regime has required justifying this impotency and maintaining its autonomy through a pragmatic policy aimed at maximizing its strengths in the face of radical regional and international change since the early 1990s (Youla 2009: 30-64).

Though, it is doubtful fact that the close examination of Mongolia’s foreign relations with immediate neighbours like China and Russia indicates that the state is ceding aspects of its sovereignty and security by the means of closer economic relations with them. Some evidence suggests that Mongolia is dependent on China in compare to Russia through the economic relations for his national interest. “This growing

dependency influence entire the country's political, economic, societal, military, and environmental sectors". Therefore, having established the disparity between Mongolia's present day institutions and social identity contributes to state "weakness". Consequently, it is worth to highlight a theoretical framework for the explaining of the relationship between the state's foreign policy and identity politics (ibid).

Moon elaborated that "theoretical account of the limitations of weak state foreign policy that, while not entirely applicable to Mongolian post-transition foreign affairs, is a worthwhile starting point for analysis". As with Keohane, Moon chooses to first approach the issue from the perspective of a weak power rather than a weak state by focusing on what he calls a 'bargaining model'. The author Moon's considered to bargaining model as relies to the assumption that weak powers will associate their own foreign policy with that of a greater power's in exchange for economic and military assistance (Moon 1983: 317). Therefore, the dependent consensus model breaks from the bargaining model in that social and state identities assume a central role. Actually, the weak power like Mongolia aligns itself with the dominant power. Not only for its strategic positioning, but also because of the 'community of interest that is formed by the ties between the dominant and the dependent economy' (Moon 1985: 307). Mongolia is a growing as well as depended state therefore, we can say that the dependent state's likes Mongolia's economic stability becomes increasingly tied to the dominant state, it becomes within 'their own interest to follow the lead on concrete foreign policy issues' (ibid).

Though according to theory it's cannot say factually that Mongolia is a weak country and its compulsion to bargain his foreign policy due to his weakness. Mongolia is changed now that's why it has adopted the multilateral foreign policy. In international arena due its geo-strategic position, therefore Mongolia or any week country could bargain with big powers.

### **3.1: Understanding of Foreign Policy**

In the era of globalization, the states are strongly interlinked and interdependent through the economically, politically and culturally. To get benefits of globalization and development of his country every state has their own foreign policy. Foreign

policy is one of the most important instruments for the management of external relations and activities of the state. According to Jackson “Foreign policy involves goals, policies, actions, approaches, rules, directions, agreements, and so on. State conducts international relations with other nation-states as well as with the international organisations and non-governmental organisations” (Jackson 2013). Therefore, the foreign policy, formulation and adaptation for action, need careful consideration.

Various authors like Henry, Morgenthau, Modelski, Mahendra Kumar, Feliks Grosshas, Padelford and Lincoln, C.C. Rodee, F.S. Northedge, Joseph Frankel, Waltz, Smith and many others had given their different views regarding foreign as well as multilateral practices in the foreign policy which are as follows...

Robert Putnam describes the influential theoretical aspect of level of analysis. In this regard he has described level of analysis as two-level game which means that in spite of international assembling of foreign policy analysts to set mutual aims, where each officials are representing a particular domestic group that have their own particular interest and ideas and norms about the foreign policy doctrine. Policy officials and analysts are namely power brokers that try to put their personal stamp on foreign policy and win the most bread (Henry 2009).

However, Morgenthau has emphasises the most important of foreign policy, which is national interest and that national interest is defined by power. In his word “Foreign policy amounts to the pursuit of the *national interest* defined in terms of power due to an innate drive for power maximization. Never positivist it essentially advocates a Weberian approach conceiving the statesman in ideal-type fashion as a rational leader who steers through the messiness of international politics” (Morgenthau 1948).

However, there are some scholars who also defined the foreign policy in other way round. For instance, George Modelski defines it as, “the system of activities evolved by communities for changing the behavior of other states and for adjusting their own activities to the international environment” (Modelski 1962: 6-7). In this respect he has highlighted the primary policy and objectives of foreign policy, which aim at the changes of the behavior of state. Foreign policy indeed includes both the transformation of existing behavior of the state and continuation of the behavior at different circumstances. Therefore, both with the change and the status quo so far serve the national interest (Mahendra Kumar 1967: 256).

At the liberal point of view, Feliks Grosshas has taken a very liberal view of the term foreign policy. He opines if a state decides not to have any relations with some country, it is also a foreign policy. Its concern is both negative and positive. It is negative when it aims at furthering its interests by not changing the behaviour and it becomes positive if it demands a change in the behaviour of other states to adjust its national interests. In the opinion of Padelford and Lincoln, "Foreign policy is the key element in the process by which a state translates its broadly conceived goals and interests into concrete courses of action to attain these objectives and pressure its interests" (Padelford and Lincoln 1976: 197). In the arguments of C.C. Rodee, "Foreign Policy involves the formulation and implementation of a group of principles which shape the behavior pattern of a state while negotiating with (contacting) other states to protect or further its vital interests" (Rodee 2013: 571).

Moreover, neorealist scholar Waltz has stated that a theoretical aspect of foreign procedure can never be construct or build due to the complexities involved. In his first book, he tried to examine the causes of war at three levels of analysis; and he did theorize the state and thus foreign policy, he pointed that if only to elaborate the point that anarchy as a systemic condition imposes certain requirements on a foreign policy that pretends to be rational (Waltz 1959: 201).

Another Scholar F.S. Northedge highlighted the use of foreign policy in diplomatic arena in terms of imposition of political influence over other state (Northedge eds. 1968: 6-7). According to Research Staff of the Brookings Institution, the terminology of the 'foreign policy' of a nation-state is used to indicate to the multifaceted and dynamic political course that a nation-state follows in relation to other nation-states. In this regard, the foreign policy also includes its commitment, the existing forms of its national interests and aims and the principles of right conduct that it professes in the other words it can be said that the foreign policy of any nation is more than total sum of its foreign policy.<sup>1</sup>

Joseph Frankel (1980:1) define that foreign policy "consists of decisions and actions which involve to some appreciable extent relations between one state and others". Here, the separating line between foreign policy and international politics is difficult as both are deeply ingrained. For this regard one of pioneer of Modern International

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<sup>1</sup>"Major Problems of United States' Foreign Policy: 1952-1953", Washington, D.C.: The Brookings Institution, 1953, pp. 373-75.



theorist Waltz (1959) establishes the framework for envisioning of international relations and foreign policy as two separate fields in terms of “images” or levels of analysis. As the most unmistakable dissemination from the inverse side of the walkway, supplemented this move by contemplating outside course of action in an incredible arrangement all the additionally isolating and meanwhile more positivist way (Snyder, et al. 2002). In any case, more traditional European roles did not necessarily follow this line. Regardless of some imperative complexities they see foreign policy to be inseparably related with “systemic” processes (Morgenthau 1948, Aron 1966, and Bull 1977). Still, in a couple respects by the 1960s, Foreign Policy Analysis had made as a noticeably separate field, particularly in the United States and in specifically contemplations of speculations (Rosenau 1966: 27–92).

It is worthwhile to memorize that all angles on the subject of international relations encompass statements about foreign policy. Traditionally, this has been the condition in light of the way that in each functional sense all ways to deal with deal with the examination of overall relations took the state to be the focal on-screen character. Thus, “approaches as shifting as those focusing on political economy, international society and Marxism have all included a notion of what the state is and how its foreign policy outcomes, paying little respect in which policy might be defined. Theoretical formulation of foreign policies is therefore core to theories of international relations” (Smith 1986: 13-29).

### **3.2: followings are stages that help to making Foreign Policy:**

Assessment of political environment: For the best Foreign policy it is necessary to understand the international and domestic political environment by the state likely emphasize that:

- I. Ambition setting: A state has several foreign policy aims and objective. A state must administrate which goal is most essential in the milieu of domestic interest.
- II. Fortitude of policy options: A state must be governing what policy selections are accessible to meet the goal or goals set in light of the political environment. In this regards, state’s capacity for implement policy options and

an assessment of the consequences of each policy option is independent variable, where foreign policy is dependable variable.

- III. Formal decision-making action: at the formal level, foreign policy decision has been taken at some level within a government. The law implementation body as executive branch of government usually makes foreign policy decisions. Whereas, institutions as well as Common governmental actors, which make foreign policy decisions, such as the head of state or head of government cabinet, or minister.
- IV. Selection of policy option should be executed: Once a foreign policy option has been selected or chosen, and a official decision has been made, then the policy must be executed or implemented.
- V. Role decided: Specialist for example, a Ministry of Foreign Affairs or State Department most frequently execute foreign policy. Other departments may also play role in implementing foreign policy, such as departments for: trade, defense, and aid.

### **3.3: Foreign Policy in Theoretical Frame Work with reference to Mongolia**

#### **3.3.1: Multilateral Theory**

Miles Kahler (1992: 681) defined “multilateralism as international governance of the many”. Another theorist defines Multilateralism as “the practice of coordinating national policies in groups of three or more states” (Keohane 1990: 12-16).

“The term ‘multi-pillar’ refers to a policy that helps develop foreign relations through a framework based on a pragmatic, non-ideological foundation. Therefore, multi-pillar foreign policy is motivated solely by the perceived interests of a particular state in achieving its policy objectives” (Soni 2015: 40).

Prof. Soni (2015) has explained the followings significant factors that backed to embracing the termed as a ‘multi-pillar’ foreign policy by Mongolia.

- I. “Lessons learnt from the over-reliance on a single state, the former Soviet Union”,
- II. “Pursuing a policy of balanced relations with direct neighbours Russia and China”,

- III. “Expanding relations with industrialised nations, with Mongolia’s move towards democracy and market-oriented economy”,
- IV. “Growing regional and international interdependence”,
- V. “Increasing importance of multilateral systems” and
- VI. “Importance of developing its own economic and trade relations”.

On the other hand, it is obvious to note that Multilateralism in foreign policy in Mongolia has been one of the most important factors in order to ease Mongolia’s voice and voting opportunities in international affairs that they would not have. It is necessary to bind the great power, discourage unilateralism. Particularly, if control is looked for by a little control over great power, like China, Russia, US and others big power, then the Lilliputian strategy of small nations accomplishing control by all in all coupling the considerable power is probably going to be best. Similarly, if control is sought by a great power over another great power, then multilateral controls may be most useful. The great power could seek control through bilateral ties, but this would be more costly. Like in the case of Mongolia it would also require bargaining and compromise with the other great power. “Embedding the target state in a multilateral alliance reduces the costs borne by the power seeking control, but it also offers the same binding benefits of the Lilliputian strategy. Additionally, if a small power seeks control over another small power, multilateralism may be the only choice, because small powers rarely have the resources to exert control on their own” (Cha 2010: 165-166).

The United Nations (UN) and the World Trade Organisation (WTO) are one of the most influential and important example in multilateral in nature. According to Keohane, Nye, and Hoffmann “The main exponents of multilateralism have traditionally been the middle powers such as Canada, Australia, Switzerland, the Benelux countries and the Nordic countries. Larger states often act unilaterally, while smaller ones may have little direct power in international affairs aside from participation in the United Nations by consolidating their UN vote in a voting bloc with other nations. Multilateralism may involve several nations acting together as in the UN or may involve regional or military alliances, pacts, or groupings such as NATO. As these multilateral institutions were not imposed on states but were created and accepted by them in order to increase their ability to seek their own interests through the coordination of their policies, much of these international

institutions lack tools of enforcement while instead work as frameworks that constrain opportunistic behaviour and points for coordination by facilitating exchange of information about the actual behavior of states with reference to the standards to which they have consented” (Keohane, Nye, and Hoffmann 1993: 1-20).

To the support of multilateralism Mylonas and Yorulmazlar (1992) argues, “Multilateralism is the best option to avoid dependency on one country or on the powerful neighbour. The term *regional multilateralism* has been proposed suggesting that contemporary problems can be better solved at the regional rather than the bilateral or global levels and that bringing together the concept of regional integration with that of multilateralism is necessary in today’s world”.

Moreover, the foreign policy strategy of Mongolia is both in multi-pillared and multidimensional. In the system of the multi-pillared foreign policy Mongolia endeavors, above all else, to strengthen its relations with the global and regional powers and become close acquaintance with as many other countries and supporters as feasible and reliable ways. As has been stated by experts that “moral, political, financial support of industrialized states, such as the United States of America, Japan are called to assume an uncommonly essential part of solidifying the new economic and social achievements to accelerate the move into the market economy. Consequently, extending political discourse and monetary collaboration with the United States of America, creating relations of exhaustive association with Japan, growing our relations with bilateral from the European Union, for example, the Federal Republic of Germany, Great Britain, and France among others are the needs of our foreign policy”.<sup>2</sup>

In the Mongolian blue book (2006) Nyamosor Tuya (Minister for External Relations) has expressed her country’s foreign policy priority in which is as follows:

As in many other parts of the world, Mongolia’s foreign policy of the past decade has been profoundly affected by the end of the bipolar confrontation, the country’s embrace of democracy, human rights and market economy and the emerging dynamics of globalization. In the face of evolving political and economic realities in the world and the growing complexity of issues related to peace and development, Mongolia has chosen to open herself up to the broader world by strengthening her bilateral ties and engaging more actively in various multilateral processes. It is my firm belief that only enhanced cooperation with others, including cooperation with

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<sup>2</sup> Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book (2006), Ulaanbaatar

civil societies, can best serve our goal of advancing our small-and-developing country perspective. Mongolia's multi-pillared foreign policy which took shape in the 1990s signified our desire to maintain balanced and good-neighbourly relations with our neighbours, Russia and China, build closer relations with such important nations as the USA, Japan, Germany, the ROK, and many other countries, and take a more active part in global and regional efforts aimed at preserving peace and security, promoting development and strengthening democracy. Our recent membership in such organisations as the WTO and the ASEAN Regional Forum, our active work within the United Nations serve as important avenues for advancing these goals. The Mongols, the blue color has always had strong association with Mongolian statehood. Since time immemorial Mongolia was called the Land of the Eternal Blue Sky (Nyamosor Tuya 2000).<sup>3</sup>

### **3.3.2: Origin and Development of International Relations Theory**

There are different types of origin and development of international theory after the first world war onward. The circumstance of the First World War opened new viewpoints in the way states led their relations with each other in the international arena. Though, before this development of viewpoints, many of the international lawyers alleged that the right to declare war without any exterior approval was inherent in the nature of state sovereignty (Brown and Ainley, 2005: 9). At the same time, "Theologians and canon lawyers of the middle Ages considered wars as justum, that is to say, regular and lawful. For that specific reason, theologians and canon lawyers tried to establish the exercise of war as a legal doctrine and an ethical principle" (Brierly 1945: 19 and Dugard 2005: 501). The result of the First World War were in fact shocking to the states that were attacked, but also to its initiators and human civilization. Hundred a large number of peoples were died, different regimes fell, and economies crumpled. The main question has been raising that how could such a disaster happen, and what solutions needed to be adopted and implemented in order to avoid this kind of catastrophic again? These were the inquiries that early understudies of political scientist of International Relations needed to manage. This step demonstrates the commencement of the theorizing about international relations in new world order (Youla 2009).<sup>4</sup>

The importance of theorising in the practices of international relations needs to do with the way that wonders we have to explore don't represent themselves. Halliday,

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<sup>3</sup>Nyamosor Tuya, (2000), Minister for External Relations, Foreword in Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book (2006), Ulaanbaatar.

<sup>4</sup> Christian Youla (2009), Thesis presented in partial fulfillments for degree of Masters of Arts (International Studies), Stellenbosch University.

Burchill and Linklater (2005: 11) give three logics to clarify why theories are to be needed. First of all there needs to be some preconceptions of which facts are noteworthy and which are definitely not. Secondly, any arrangement of facts, regardless of the possibility that acknowledge as true and significant, can be yield unlike interpretations. Third, no human agent, academic or nonacademic, can rest content with facts alone on the grounds that all social activity involves moral question, which cannot be chosen by facts (Halliday, Burchill and Linklater 2005: 11)

There are few definitions of theory of international relations by the different scholars like Hollis and Smith (1990) say that, “theories attempt either to explain and predict behavior or to understand the world ‘inside the heads’ of actors. Theories analyse and try to clarify the use of concepts such as the balance of power” (Butterfield and Wight 1966). At the same time, it can be witnessed that various international theories explain the laws of international politics or recurring patterns of national behavior In the case of Mongolia. Moreover, (Waltz 1979), “Theories are traditions of speculation about relations between states which focus on the struggle for power, the nature of international society and the possibility of a world community”. Moreover, Wight 1991 stated that, “Theories are empirical data to test hypotheses about the world such as the absence of war between liberal-democratic states” (Doyle 1983: 3).<sup>5</sup> “Theories criticize forms of domination and perspectives which make the socially constructed and changeable seem natural and unalterable (critical theory). Theories reflect on how the world ought to be organized and analyze ways in which various conceptions of human rights or global social justice are constructed and defend”.<sup>6</sup> As all the above mention suggestions about the different types of theories, which are involved in the field of International Relations and also seems in the case of Mongolia.

Continuing with above mention fact another theorist like Brown and Ainley has elaborated that, “The diversity of theory comes from the nature of the question we ask. Sometimes, the question is about how things work, or why things happen. Sometimes, the question is about what we should do, either in the sense of what action is instrumental to bringing about a particular kind of result or in the sense of

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<sup>5</sup> [Online: web] Accessed 5 Sept. 2016 URL: <http://frenndw.files.wordpress.com/2010/03/thi-theories-of-international.pdf>

<sup>6</sup>[Online: web] Accessed 5 Sept. 2016 URL: [http://us.macmillan.com/CMS400/uploadedFiles/PalgraveTrade/NonMenu\\_Items/TheoriesofInternational.pdf](http://us.macmillan.com/CMS400/uploadedFiles/PalgraveTrade/NonMenu_Items/TheoriesofInternational.pdf)

what action is morally right. Sometimes, the question is about what something or other means, how it is to be interpreted” (Brown and Ainley 2005: 7).<sup>7</sup>

### **3.3.3: International Relations and Foreign Policy in Mongolia**

On the issue of the linkage between International Relations and foreign policy in Mongolia, it is indeed to highlights defining aspect of International Relations. As “the field of International Relations can be defined as the study of how authority and power is used to organise and manage trans-border relations between actors, and how this contributes to the establishment, maintenance and transformation of order in the world system” (McGowan, Cornelissen and Nel, 2006: 12). On the other hand “Foreign Policy is the sum of official external relations conducted by an independent actor in international relations” (Hill 2003: 3). Further, Hill explains that the “phrase ‘an independent actor’ enables the inclusion of phenomena such as the European Union; external relations are ‘official’ to allow the inclusion of output from all parts of the governing mechanisms of the state or enterprise while also maintaining parsimony with respect to the vast number of international transactions now being conducted; policy is the ‘sum’ of these official relations because otherwise every particular action could be seen as a separate foreign policy; the policy is ‘foreign’ because the world is still more separated into distinctive communities than it is a single, homogenizing entity” (Youla 2009).

The emergence idea of foreign policy advocates that “everything that is given by a state creates formally at the international level takes into consideration the values and principles that its political leaders wish to display their opinion. From these two definitions, we can state that International Relations and Foreign Policy are firmly connected. That can also witnessed in the case of Mongolian foreign policy. While the previous examines trans-borders relations among all international actors including states, INGOs, NGOs, and MNCs and tries to comprehend what impact these relations may have in the foundation, upkeep and change of order in the world system, the later is by all accounts particularly interested in how, officially, states interface with one another”.<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>7</sup> <http://www.palgrave.com/PDFs/1403946647.Pdf>

<sup>8</sup> *ibid*

### 3.3.4: Idealist Approach to the foreign Policy

There are several different explanations about the theory of Idealism. It is gotten from thought, which originates from the Greek idea *in, which means, to see*. The section of the term in the English dialect occurred by 1796. Usually, while discussing Woodrow Wilson's political idealism, it generally advocates the priority of ideals, principles, values, and goals over solid substances. Idealists probably are speak the world, as it ought to be or should be, unlike pragmatists, who have been given focus to the world as it which is existed presently, which is existed. In the arts, similarly, idealism affirms vision and attempts to realize a mental conception of beauty, a standard of perfection, in opposition to aesthetic naturalism and realism.<sup>9</sup> Besides the fact that Britain, France, and Germany are to be accused of leading the world to destruction in the First World War, but there came a light of realization from the dark that there was something wrong with the setup of International Relations which required world's attention.

Consequently, Carr (1966: 2) was of the view that First World War between 1914-18 took an end to the popular belief that "war affected only professional soldiers and dissipated the corresponding impression that international politics could be freely left in the hands of professional diplomats. Subsequently, many of the great thinkers such as Sirs Alfred Zimmern and Philip Noel-Baker and politicians, mostly from America and Britain, pondered upon the question as to how cans the system are changed in order to prevent a recurrence" (Burchill and Linklater, 2005: 6). For them, redesigning international relations was needed because "the old assumptions and prescriptions of power were flawed. The rationale here was that peace would come about only if the classical balance of power were replaced by a system of collective security in which states transferred domestic concepts and practices to the international sphere. From the early 1900s to the late 1930, liberal thinking on international relations impacted significantly on the theory and practice of international relations. Its adherents were motivated by the desire to prevent wars. The First World War shifted liberal thinking towards the recognition that peace is not a natural condition, as its followers thought, but one that needed to be constructed and protect" (Youla 2009: 25-64).

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<sup>9</sup> *ibid*



Some great Writers as S.H. Bailey, Sir Alfred Zimmern, Philip Noel-Baker, and David Miltrany from the UK, and James T. Showell, Pitman Potter, and Parker T. Moon from the USA, who have been called idealists by many, connoted that “the system of international relations that led to the first world War (1914-1918) was capable of being transformed into a fundamentally more peaceful and just world order; that under the impact of the awakening of democracy, the growth of the international mind, the development of the League of Nations, the good works of men of peace or the enlightenment spread by their own teachings, it was in fact being transformed; and that their responsibility as students of international relations was to assist this march of progress to overcome the ignorance, the prejudices, the ill-will, and the sinister interests that stood in its way” (Bull 2001: 58).

The key suppositions of idealism are underneath. This is vital as it essential to surveying what parts of Mongolia's outside scope are described idealist, and whether, really vision was the key power at the back of country's international relations amid this time. As a matter of first importance, idealists recognize the fact that “international politics take place in the case of anarchical arena. Notwithstanding, they do not concur that the absence of a central authority above all actors condemns them to a perpetual competition of one against all, as contended by realists. While they do believe that there is competition in international system”. Further they also hold, as Nel (2006: 33) states that, “people gain from their encounters. Just when they result in these present circumstances acknowledgment that the showdown on a specific issue comes about normally to shared dissatisfaction and misfortunes, they get to be distinctly prepared to consider some different alternatives that stand some shot of increasing some common benefit, notwithstanding when the additions are not the most extreme the States looked for after to start with. Regardless of the way that the worldwide framework is anarchic, it was never anomic” (Little 2001: 299). Little ponders that an important dimension of globalisation has been the establishment of worldwide regimes to foster rule-governed endeavor within the international system. Consequently, there is now no international intercourse devoid of regimes, where states are not circumscribed, to some extent or other, by the existence of mutually accepted sets of rules. In connection with this, idealists posit that the absence of war cannot always be explained in terms of an existence of a balance of power. “It can also be the result of the fact that states share a number of values. This explains why

idealists tend to favour co-operation between states on an increase in range of issues such as global security, health, economic development, environment, and so forth. But, for them, co-operation between states needs to take place in a well-structured environment in which states can trust each other's. In this regard, the respect for international law and international organisations appears to be of a great importance” (Youla 2009: 30-64).

Furthermore, secondly in the sphere of international affairs idealists proclaim that the important role is being played by morality. They will exhibit the true record to show their point. Considering that the establishment of the front line state structure, claims have developed various worldwide great gauges and calendars through support with each other. “Religious freedom has been recognised, slavery has been outlawed and abolished, humane rules of warfare have been accepted, a universal Declaration of Human Rights has been accepted by most states in the world, torture has been outlawed, and the world community has taken steps to punish perpetrators of genocide” (Nel 2006: 34).

State being aware towards the human privileges of its residents, as Schmitz and Sikkink (2002: 518) report, is an old one that goes back to the battles for religious flexibility and the mainstream compositions of Kant, Locke and Rousseau. “The US Bill of Rights and the French Declaration of the Rights of Man and of the Citizens were essentially early most endeavors to give the individual uncommon and unavoidable securities. All the more as of late developed in this line, Schmitz and Sikkink contend, is the optimist driven conviction that the States, as well as the people, could be the subjects in universal law and that human rights should be a fundamental piece of outside arrangement international relations”.<sup>10</sup>

Furthermore, optimists have guaranteed that non-state performing artists are additionally critical elements in worldwide state approaches. Dreamers concur that the state is an essential performer in global undertakings, by and by they decline to see it as dependably the most critical. Today of assorted and complex difficulties, worldwide administration involves an assortment of global performers including states, IGOs, NGOs, MNCs, transnational social developments, and people. In light of how the aggregate sum amongst regions and non-state performers has moved inside

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<sup>10</sup> ibid

the most recent couple of years, optimists trust any significance of universal relations should now take the estimation of non-state on-screen characters.<sup>11</sup>

At long last the idealists keep up that the motivational universal legislative issues are significant and not commanded by and large by military-security issues as proposed by realists. Idealist believers, indicate that over recent decades foreign relations agendas have expanded and diversified, such that economic and social issues are often at the forefront of foreign policy debates (Viotti and Kauppi, 1993:8). “The problems of many common international issues such as energy, resources, pollution, environment, the uses of spaces and the seas now rank with questions of military security, ideology, and territorial rivalry which have traditionally made up the main focused of the diplomatic agenda” (Keohane and Nye, 1997:3).

As the above purposes there is undeniably boundless motivation in international affairs undertaking, with political, economic, and social issues that are as, or much more, vital than military-security issues. In sum, democracy, the rule of law, human rights, collective security, and co-operation are portion of the subjects that are critical in the idealist dictionary. Taking after the fall of the League of Nations, which, some of the time in the record of the field of worldwide relations, is incorrectly viewed as the finish of the optimism convention by a few scholars, certain imperative visionary standards remained. “Mongolian foreign policy priority also based on a number of these fundamental tenets constitutes the core principles of what subsequently became known as liberal institutionalism. In short, liberal institutionalists, like idealists before them, insist on international institutions to carry out a number of tasks that the state cannot perform on its own. By so doing, they have been in the process of perpetuating the idealist tradition” (Youla 2009: 30-64). In these challenges we can state that, Magnolia’s foreign policy approach based on its national interests in one hand and maintaining friendly relations with international community in terms of economic, political and security interest on the other hand.

### **3.3.5: Realist Approach to the Foreign Policy**

Many realist authors and writers explain the rationale behavior of great powers. In this direction, the rigid, classical realist Morgenthau would have had a difficulty to

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<sup>11</sup> ibid

provide a concrete theoretical background for the analysis of national interest in its correlation with such preconception idea or notions, as identity. Therefore, although it depends on Hans Morgenthau's policy, it trust mostly on John J. Mearsheimer's neo-realist propositions about the nature of the international systems well as of the states as actors. Hestipulates "great powers compete with each other for power and strive for hegemony" (Mearsheimer 2001: 10-14). Morgenthau further in his opinion bereaved that there are no permanent friend and enemy in the international system. It's depending on state personal interest.

Realism is considered that "world politics are driven by competitive self-interest. They also believed that there are no universal principles with which all states may guide their actions. Instead, a state must always be aware of the actions of the states around it and must use a pragmatic approach to resolve problems as they arise" (Ashley1981: 204-36).

Carr in his one of the pioneering book in international relations title 'The twenty years crisis: 1919-1939' highlights the three essential principles implicit in Machiavelli's doctrine constitute the foundation stones of the realist philosophy. "First, history is a sequence of cause and effect, whose course can be analyzed and understood by intellectual effort, but not directed by imagination. Second, theory does not create practice, but practice theory. Third, politics are not a function of ethics, but ethics of politics". "From this quote, Carr seems to suggest that the purpose of a theory should be to collect, classify and analyse existing facts in order to draw interferences, and not the other way around as, according to him, idealists did. In the same vein, Morgenthau (1973: 3) notes that the test by which a theory must be judged is not a priori and abstract but empirical and pragmatic. A theory, according to Morgenthau, must be judged not by some preconceived abstract principle or concept unrelated to reality, but by its purpose, which is to bring order and meaning to the plethora of phenomena that exist in the real world" (Youla 2009: 30-64).

According to historian E.H. Carr (1966: 5), believed that "the purpose of a theory is to collect and analyse existing facts, this, does not apply to idealism". Further Carr clarified that idealists gave careful consideration to existing facts or analyse of cause and effect, yet rather gave themselves wholeheartedly to the elaboration of visionary tasks. The mix of the decay of liberal thinking in the late 1930s and the episode of

World War II rejuvenated the realist impression of the part of force, characterized as ability in respect to different states. Keohane (1986: 9) expresses that since 1945, examinations of outside arrangement have been carried on in the dialect of political authenticity that is, the dialect of force and interests as opposed to beliefs or standards. In similar vein, Morgenthau describes universal legislative issues as the battle for power.

As indicated by him, this could be comprehended by accepting that statesmen “think and act in terms of interest defined as power” (1966: 29). Power being the most critical thing in Universal relations endured until the Cold War. In spite of the way that the Cold War was a time of contention, conflict, tension as well competition between the United States and the Soviet Union and their respective allies. No real war happened amid that period. Numerous realists ascribed the absence of war to the bipolar nature of the post-war international system. With the end of the Cold War, most realists concurred that bipolarity had reached an end, in spite of the fact that they differ about when and why it happened. Drawing on classical realism's apparent inability to build constructed a formal deductive hypothesis of international relations, which he called neorealism. Waltz's neorealism theory in world politics emphasizes the importance of the structure (anarchy) of the international system and its role as the primary determinant of state behavior. He believed that there is no any permanent structure in the international system rather than there is anarchy in the international system.

With the previously viewpoints, Mongolian foreign policy highlighted national interest in the ground of multi- bases foreign policy and arrangement and staying away from encounter with whatever other nations. In the concept of Mongolian foreign policy<sup>12</sup>, it has been pointed out that Magnolia will not interfere in the conflicts amongst its neighbour States unless the conflicts or disputes directly cause any harm to Mongolia's national interests. Mongolia is guided by all around perceived standards and standards of universal law as characterized in the Charter of the United Nations, including shared regard for each other's power, regional trustworthiness and sacredness of boondocks, right to self-assurance, non-obstruction

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<sup>12</sup> Embassy of Mongolia in the UK [Online: web] Accessed 5 Sept. 2016 URL: [http://www.embassyofmongolia.co.uk/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=59&Itemid=76&lang=en](http://www.embassyofmongolia.co.uk/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=59&Itemid=76&lang=en)

in inside issues, non-utilization of constrain, settlement of debate by quiet means, regard for human rights and flexibilities, and square with and commonly valuable participation. In these respects this archive says that, outside strategy of Mongolia might maintain peace, endeavor to keep away from encounter with different nations and seek after a multi-base approach.

### **3.3.6: Neorealist Approach to the Foreign Policy**

One of the pioneers of neorealism, Kenneth Waltz, in his book entitled “*Theory of International Politics*” argues in favor of a systemic approach. “The international structure acts as a constraint on state behavior, so that only states whose outcomes fall within an expected range survive” (Waltz 1979). Further he also stated “Neorealism is distinctive from traditional or classical realism in a number of ways”. Moreover, Lamy (2001: 185-186) mentions three of them, which are as follows. “Initially, he point out that neorealist believes that the effects of structure are as important as the actions and interactions of states in the international system. According to Waltz, structure is defined by the ordering principle of the international system, which is anarchy, and the distribution of capabilities across units, which are states” (Youla 2009: 20-64).

From Neorealist followers, the two components assume a part in embellishment all foreign policy choices and, in this way, are significant so as to clarify international politics. Also, in contrary to realists approach in which power is viewed as an end in itself, neorealist trust that power is not just the gathering of military assets and the ability to utilize this military resources and the ability to use this power to coerce and control other states in the system. In the neorealist approach, power is simply the joined capabilities of a state. “States are differentiated in the system by their power and not by their function. Power gives a state a place or position in the international system and that shapes the state’s behavior. And finally, they reject classical realists view on how states react to the condition of anarchy. Lame explains that to classical realists, anarchy is a condition of the system, and states react to it according to their size, location, domestic politics, and leadership qualities. Neorealists, in contrast, suggest that anarchy defines the system. All states are functionally similar units, meaning that they all experience the same constraints presented by anarchy and strive to maintain their position in the system. Consequently, neorealists believe that what

results in differences in policy between states is the combination of differences in their power and capabilities. The importance of Waltz's theory, as Keohane (1986:15) point out that it lies less in his initiation of a new line of theoretical inquiry or speculation than in his attempt to systematize political realism into a rigorous, deductive systemic theory of international politics. In this sense, the Waltzian synthesis is referred to as neorealism to indicate both its intellectual affinity with the classical realism of E.H. Carr, Hans Morgenthau, and Reinhold Niebuhr and its elements of originality and distinctiveness" (Youla 2009: 20-64).

However, Realists are of the opinion that those states which are equipped with strength of having better chance at surviving than the ones with lesser strength. As Morgenthau (1966:29) pointed out "international politics like national politics is a struggle for power". Therefore, Realists always focus on material power mainly in the form of military strength. At the same time Viotti and Kauppi (1993:56) opined that, "economic factors are also very important to realists because they affect national power or capabilities. These two authors observe that industrial countries that effectively combine technology with capital, skilled labour and raw materials not only enjoy a higher standard of living but also tend to have more leverage in their relations with others" (Youla 2009).

Moreover, Realist view states are self-interested oriented and their behaviour is largely molded by the anarchic structure of the international system (Mearsheimer 1994: 5). Due to this reason, "they recommend states to make use of all necessary means to safeguard or increase their interests while dealing with others. In short, realism emphasises the constraints on politics imposed by human selfishness egoism and the absence of international government anarchy, which require the primacy in all political life of power and security" (Gilpin, cited in Donnelly 2005). In this regard, unlike idealists, realists do not believe in the natural harmony of interests among states. Realists are very skeptical about the role of morality in international affairs. Realists and their believers often advocate a dual moral standard. They categorize "One moral standard for individual citizens living inside the state and a different standard for the state in its external relations with other states. The exclusion of morality from foreign policy is an important feature of realism. Beyond the appeals to anarchy and egoism, many realists argue that morality is inappropriate in foreign policy because international politics is a distinct realm of human Endeavour with its

own standards and rules” (Donnelly, 2000: 161-164). Realist adherents believe that the system or the nature of the environment inside which international politics is designed to take place has led to creation of required condition for state leaders to act in an inappropriate way that could be morally unacceptable. Due to this reason, realists consider cheating, lying and killing as moral duties of state leaders, since their objective is to conserve the life of the state and the ethical community it contains (Dunne and Schmidt, 2001: 144). Fourthly, the system’s anarchic element emphasizes exclusively the principle of self-help (or self-interest). According to Waltz (1979: 102) “the state among states conducts its affairs in brooding shadow of violence”. This is, he explains, because “some states may at any time use force, all states must be prepared to do so or live at the mercy of their militarily more vigorous neighbours. Among states, the state of nature is a state of war. Contrary to domestic politics where a wide range of institutions and mechanisms seek to ensure the welfare of individuals, at the international level these are either non-existent or extremely weak. Related to this, realists posit that each state actor is responsible for ensuring their well-being and survival. In this sense, they do not think it is prudent for a state to entrust its safety and survival to another actor or international institution such as the League of Nations or the United Nations because, as Machiavelli stated, today’s friend can quickly become tomorrow’s enemy” (Dunne and Schmidt, 2001: 144).

According to Viotti and Kauppi (1993: 32) the principle of self-help is also empowered by the fact that realists see the state as a lone actor, which is to say that it positions itself in world as an integrated. The idea behind this is that political differences within the state are eventually resolved by exercising authority in way that the government of the state speaks with one voice for the state as whole. The focus on the unitary nature has formulated the idea that the state is necessarily a reaction actor. A rational foreign policy decision-making process, as Viotti and Kauppi explain, “Would include a statement of objectives, consideration of all feasible alternatives in terms of existing capabilities available to the state, the relative likelihood of attaining these various objectives under consideration, and the benefits or cost associated with each alternative” (Neuman, 1998: 5). In short, it is assumed that any behavior can be understood as optimising material self-interest.

In this context, we find that, within anarchical environment, Magnolia has shaped its foreign policy choices and accumulated its ability to use control over other states in



the system. This indicates its sovereignty in international anarchical system and strengthening national interest on the ground of choices and ability formulated by her foreign policy documents.

### **3.3.7: Constructivist's Approach to the Foreign Policy**

Constructivist believes the political orders are socially constructed. At the same time, they refuse the notion that reality reflects objective forces of nature. They examines "how norms, cultures, and debates about identity influence the development of collectively-accepted international rules and practices which affect domestic politics and agree that the spread of collective ideas, in the form of mechanism in the transformation of and reproduction of international political structure" (Smith 1986:14). Paul Kowert and Jeffrey Legro interface the social development to intrigue and the way to accomplish it. In their interpretation, "actor Conceptions of methods may be shaped by such social structures as national identity, norms of scientific knowledge" (Kowert and Legro 1996: 263). Alexander Wendt links collective identity formation to the realist approach of international system at the systemic level:

Self-help security systems evolve from cycles of interaction in which each party acts in ways that the other feels are threatening to the self, creating expectations that the other is not to be trusted (Alexander 1992: 406).

At the same time, it is also evident to note that the constructivism guarantees that imperative parts of international relations are historically and socially unforeseen, rather than unavoidable results of human instinct or other fundamental qualities of world politics (Jackson and Nexon 2002).

The demise of Cold War opened an extension for option points of view and provoked basically slanted researchers to move far from a barely characterized meta-hypothetical evaluate (Reus Smit 2005: 195). Amid the beginning of the 1990s, a new generation of young research scholars started another line of enquiry of or speculation about world politics called constructivism. The essayists like Friedrich Kratochwil (1989), Nicholas Onuf (1989) and Alexander Wendt (1987, 1992) have in their compositions set up constructivist ideas as a genuinely radical contrasting option to ordinary international relations theories (Brown and Ainley, 2005:49). The thoughts of constructivist takes after to the final product that the social world is developed, not given. States might act naturally intrigued yet they persistently characterize what that implies (Youla 2009). "It is to state that the personalities and interests of states that

pragmatists take as given and which they see as bringing about worldwide relations are not in certainty given but rather are things that states have made” (Smith, 2001:244).

Constructivists hold that normative or ideational structures are just as important as material structures. “Where neorealist emphasise the material structure of the balance of military power, constructivists argue that systems of shared ideas, beliefs and values also have structural characteristics, and that they exert a powerful influence on social and political action”. Hence, they argue, is because (1) “material resources only acquire meaning for human action through the structure of shared knowledge in which they are embedded” (Wendt, cited in Adler, 2002:100) and (2) “normative and ideational factors are thought to shape the social identities of political actors. In this sense, social facts, which are facts only by human agreement and which account for the majority of the fact studied in international relations, differ from other physical facts, because unlike the latter, their existence depends on human consciousness and language” (Adler, 2002: 100). In the same manner, Brown and Ainley (2005: 49) explain that “mistaking a social fact for a brute fact is a cardinal error, because it leads to the ascription of a natural status to conditions that have been produced and may be, in principle, open to change. For Brown and Ainley, if we treat ‘anarchy’ as a given, something that conditions state action without itself being conditioned by state action, we will miss the point that ‘anarchy’ is, as Wendt declares, what states make of it and that it does not, as such, dictate any particular course of action” (Youla 2009: 20-64). In international relation, anarchy define that there is no centralised political authority above sovereign state, which mean chaos.

On the conceptualization of the above-mentioned theoretical structure of foreign policy in the context of Mongolia “realism” seems to be most appropriate. This is more important because Mongolia’s foreign policy is driven by the conception of pragmatism. Where Mongolia follows pragmatic approach in order to conduct of its foreign policy in international order, which was adopted in the year of 1994. This has been quite a different approach of foreign policy from which was there in Mongolia in the pre-1986 period. Therefore, in order to understand Mongolia’s foreign policy in the post -1986 periods, i.e. during the reform period, there would be need to have a look on pre-1986 foreign policy and the systematic changes occurred in it before the collapse of the former Soviet Union (Finnemore and Sikkink, 1998: 894).

### 3.3.8: Constructivism: Domestic Norms and Social Identity

Rather than both realist and approach to deal with the investigation of international relations contrast to each other. Moreover, Ruggie (1983: 285) opines that, “in the most realist or liberalist studies the self- interested state is taken as an ontological certainty in which society ‘contains only a reproductive logic, but no transformational logic’. Constructivism is more concerned with the state’s identity and how such identity shapes, and is shaped by, domestic and international norms, cultures, and histories and how these collectively influence the state’s foreign policy”.<sup>13</sup>

Social constructivists believe that states ‘foreign policy and its behaviour are best explained by norms shared throughout domestic society as these norms. Those resulting from of the domestic identity, have greater influence on how various states’ agents conceive of and conduct foreign policy. This ‘bottom-up’ approach stresses domestic norms’ ‘immediate orientation to behaviour’ thereby making them the appropriate independent variable of a constructivist theory of foreign policy (Boekle, Rittberger, & Wagner 2001: 106).<sup>14</sup>

In the case of Mongolia, this distinction can be observed between norms and identity, which is essential for a clear understanding of the role identity that plays in state weakness and foreign policy. While norms are important in that they offer a guide as to how various aspects of identity play in with social structure, they are in many ways corrupted accounts of identity in that they have been in part materially shaped. Therefore, it is not clear indicators of the underlying identity forces that shape them and that are needed for their maintenance. Norms occupy the middle ground between identity and the state’s structure and, therefore, it’s a tool, which is useful means to gauge the interaction between the two in relation to the domestic source of foreign policy. Based in identity, they are culturally specific, but maintained in structure, they are dependent on a state’s immediate environment.<sup>15</sup>

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<sup>13</sup>Jeffrey Reeves (2010), *Mongolian State Weakness, Foreign Policy, and Dependency on the People’s Republic of China*, A thesis submitted to the Department of International Relations of the London School of Economics for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, London.

<sup>14</sup> ibid

<sup>15</sup> ibid

### **3.3.9: Findings of above mentioned Theoretical Analysis**

- i. The unit of international relations; states, considered as a single, rational actor. It comprises of a society, that mean that every individuals have right to perform different view on policy.
- ii. Identity and interest are similarly vital factors in order to formulate foreign policy.
- iii. National Interest can be considered as a rational which depends on state's security and economic benefits.

### **3.4: Mongolia's Economic Orientation of Foreign Relations**

Mongolia's state policy and actions are coordinated at the progression of the commonly advantageous economic cooperation with foreign countries through appearing the country's comparative advantages with a view to escalating the country's development in accordance with the 'Comprehensive National Development Strategy', Foreign Policy Concept and the Action Plan of the Government and other policy documents.<sup>16</sup>

Whereas, Mongolian government has always been interested to increase exports of value-added goods in order to develop production of import-substituting goods. Therefore, the government tries to localize new technologies and also to increase foreign investment. For this purpose, The Mongolian Government has set its priorities to reform and diversify the present economic structure, which is also dependent on natural resources and raw materials. It is the need of Mongolia to make an open door for defending and creating concrete financial relations with remote nations mulling over political and monetary advantages from such relations and potential negative effect on the national security, specifically the economic security.<sup>17</sup>

To understand and evaluate the Mongolian economic system delegates from the International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank (WB) visited Mongolia in the year of 1910 to 1991. Both the international organisations agreed that, in order to stabilise Mongolia's declining economy, nothing short of total reform would suffice.

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<sup>16</sup> Mongolian Government Resolution (324: 2009), Programme On Enhancing The Economic Orientation Of Foreign Relations Of Mongolia.

<sup>17</sup>ibid

“In line with the prevailing Washington Consensus doctrine, which pervaded both funds’ development reform approach, the IMF and WB agreed to provide conditional aid dependent on the Mongolian government’s instituting an economic ‘shock therapy’. This ‘shock therapy’ reform including the privatisation of state assets, reduction of the state budget, dismantling of the planned economy, reformation of the state run banking system, and an introduction of market-oriented system elements” (Rossabi 2005: 45). Other components of the IMF or WB economic reform consisted of devaluating Mongolia currency, implementing a new income tax, suspending all subsidies to producers, eliminating trade tariffs, as well as cutting funding for education, health, and welfare.<sup>18</sup> Although “many MPRP ministers were worried about the displacement ‘shock therapy’ might cause the Mongolian people, both institutions argued it was the only feasible way forward” (Heaton 1991: 54).

The International Monetary Fund (IMF) and World Bank’s economic policy reforms turned out to be ill conceived and ill advised. According to Peet “the national circumstance such as cultural tradition or social structure and forced inappropriate reform regardless of previous tradition in the political economy of development” (Peet 2001: 14). Moreover, as shock therapy requires a strong institutional framework where the central planned economy were preserved by strong authoritative regimes and also were not dismantled before new market institutions were created to suggest simultaneous governmental and economic reforms, indeed to require them as conditional to aid, was entirely inappropriate and harmful (Popov 2007: 3).

“Perhaps one of the most drastic failures of these international monetary fund was their inability to perceive the successful economic policies that Asia’s ‘Four Tigers’ Hong Kong, Taiwan, South Korea, and Singapore had followed to achieve extraordinary poverty reduction and gains in human capital”(Wade 2004: 26). “In contrast to free market capitalism, these four economies employed what Wade refers to as a governed market approach in which the government guides market processes of resource allocation so as to produce different production and investment outcomes than would have occurred with either free market or simulated free market policies while investing in infrastructure, technology, and human capital and employing tariffs

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<sup>18</sup>Jeffrey Reeves (2010), *Mongolian State Weakness, Foreign Policy, and Dependency on the People’s Republic of China*, A thesis submitted to the Department of International Relations of the London School of Economics for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy, London.

to protect a few industries until they became strong enough to compete” (Rossabi 2005: 44).<sup>19</sup>

### **3.5: Democracy and Market Economy in Mongolia**

In the year of 1990 the large scale of unrest in Mongolia was a peaceful democratic revolution that started with hunger strikes to overthrow ruling communist government and eventually move towards democratic changes by adopting a new constitution. Mostly younger people were leading to demonstrate on Sukhbaatar Square in the Mongolia’s capital Ulan Bator. This demonstration was ended after the resignation of authoritarian government without violence. It came about with leaving of dictator government with no slaughter. Fundamental coordinators included Sanjaasurengiin Zorig, Erdeniin Bat-Uul, Bat-ErdeniinBatbayar, and Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj. In the long run thousand years of age parliamentary convention of Mongolia was restored by the tranquil upheaval. In this way started the finish of the 70-year time of communism in Mongolia. In spite of the fact that foundation of a multi-party framework was accomplished, the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (MPRP) appropriately stayed in government until 1996. By and by, changes were actualized and the move to a market economy started. “In fact the revolution was inspired by the reforms in the former Soviet Union and by the similar revolutions in Eastern Europe in late 1989. It is also evident to note that earlier, in 1921, the Mongolian People Party took power in Mongolia. Over the following decades, Soviet Union considered as important aligned partner to Mongolia as, who in turn guaranteed Mongolia’s independence from China. However, in 1984, after the expelling of Yumjaagiin Tsedenbal, Soviet Union witnessed its reforms taken by Mikhail Gorbachev’s reforms, had also implication for the alignment between both. At the same time, the new leadership under Jambyn Batmonkh implemented economic reforms. But he was failed to influence to revolutionary those who, in late 1989, wanted broader changes”.<sup>20</sup>

The first series of small-scale protests organized by the public took place on December 10, 1989, at the Cultural Center for Youth. The protesters demanded that

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<sup>19</sup> ibid

<sup>20</sup> [Online: web] Accessed 5 Sept. 2016 URL: [http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990\\_Democratic\\_Revolution\\_in\\_Mongolia](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/1990_Democratic_Revolution_in_Mongolia)

Mongolia should follow the Soviet Union and adopt perestroika and glasnost.<sup>21</sup> “A demonstration at Sukhbaatar Square on January 21, 1990 followed. Afterwards, they came to weekend demonstrations in January and February and the forming of Mongolia’s first opposition parties. On March 7, 1990 ten dissidents assembled at Sukhbaatar Square and went on a hunger strike. Thousands of supporters joined them. On March 9, 1990, the Communist MPRP government resigned. The new government announced Mongolia’s first free parliamentary elections, which were to be held in July 1990. Unrest also spread to the other industrial centers in Erdenet and Darkhan, and to the province centers, notably Moron in Khovsgol” (Rossabi 2005: 1-28).

Although the opposition parties lost the 1990 elections. There were in total 430 seats in the Great Khural, and the opposition was not able to file nomination of enough candidates as they could muster only 346. And the MPRP held a stronger base in the countryside. The MPRP won 357 seats in the Great Khural and 31 (out of 53) in the small Khural. Nonetheless, under D. Byambasuren, who set a new government, shared power with the democrats. And he successfully implemented constitutional and economic reforms in Mongolia. As these reforms coincided with the demise of the Soviet Union, which had until 1990 provided major economic aid to Mongolia’s state budget, the country did experience harsh economic problems. It is a fact that the first election win for the opposition was the presidential election of 1993, when the opposition democrat’s candidate P. Ochirbat won.<sup>22</sup> However, the opposition for the first time succeeded in winning the majority in the State Great Khural in 1996.<sup>23</sup>

Before the dissolution of Soviet Socialist Republic, Mongolia did not have any experience of political opposition groups. It is also worthwhile to note that Noblemen along with monks were commonly persecuted. Even the highest Buddhist monk was a former university professor, which the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (MPRP) sent to serve as Hamba Lama to the monastery Gandan. Therefore, all as a social stratum in Mongolia accepted socialism or communism. Suddenly in the late 1980s, Mikhail Gorbachev’s perestroika, or restructuring, occupied the thoughts of many Mongolian intellectuals. Many forbidden topics suddenly became open for

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<sup>21</sup> [Online: web] Accessed 25 Sept. 2016 URL: [http://medlibrary.org/medwiki/1990\\_Democratic\\_Revolution\\_in\\_Mongolia](http://medlibrary.org/medwiki/1990_Democratic_Revolution_in_Mongolia)

<sup>22</sup> Ochirbat was originally a MPRP member, but when his party nominated an orthodox communist as their presidential candidate, he agreed to run for the opposition

<sup>23</sup> [Online: web] Accessed 5 Sept. 2016 URL: <http://ubpost.mongolnews.mn/index.php/2011-07-24-01-47-35/24-opinion/5026->

discussion. The MPRP did not have a clear idea of how to deal with the news of change from the Soviet Union. The MPRP alone with other communist parties were rigid and conservative. The most significant note here is that the MPRP waited but did not receive clear instructions from the Communist Party of the Soviet Union about what to do? For the first time since 1921, the governing party did not have any instructions from Moscow and so it fell into a total depression.<sup>24</sup>

Numerous Mongolian erudite people saw that time as a chance to change their lives. Generally, life was hopeless with pitiable dreams of winter coats or small flats. As far as work, the arrangement of vocation development in communist Mongolia was exceptionally limited. Above all else, it required gathering participation. Tragically, the fantasy of gathering participation in the MPRP was prohibited for offspring of government authorities, craftsmen and teachers. “Even Vladimir Lenin stated that these were the most unreliable parts of the social strata. Therefore, if you were a factory worker or herder, oddly, then you were welcomed for the most part to join the party” (ibid).

Moreover, initially, Democratic movements Mongolia were mainly limited. As some of the academic institution and university has initiated the idea of democratic movements and given a platform in order to emerge a new leadership as well. As a result, many of them included from the current leaders of the Democratic Party (DP) joined these movements on later phase. At that time, the future of the democratic movements was precarious at best though Mongolians saw what happened in other socialist countries, especially in Asia. And this resulted in taking place several events as the domestic level, which saw Mongolia’s transition to democracy and market economy from communism and state, controlled economy.<sup>25</sup>

Mongolia has been a standout amongst the most energizing of the economies on the move from pivotal getting ready for the span of the 1990s. And “The massive external shocks in 1989 and 1990 led unexpectedly and suddenly to what was possibly the largest ever- peacetime decline in a country’s gross national expenditure. At the same time Mongolia embraced democracy and rapid economic reform, which exacerbated the decline in output and high inflation. Despite expectations of a political backlash,

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<sup>24</sup> ibid

<sup>25</sup> <http://ubpost.mongolnews.mn/index.php/2011-07-24-01-47-35/24-opinion/5026->



the 1996 elections produced a pro-reform government, which accelerated economic liberalisation. By the late 1990s Mongolia was pursuing a policy of almost complete free trade and had one of the most flourishing democracies in Asia”.<sup>26</sup>

Mongolia is an exception for its level of democratisation compared to its distance from the possible spatial influences of the West (Kopstein and Reilly 2000: 9-12). Outside these “socio-economic reform, cultural, and general geographical concerns, Mongolia serves as an exception to broader regional trends. Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan, Tajikistan, Kazakhstan, and Kyrgyzstan have had significant difficulties in establishing even basic democratic institutions and procedures, and have had persistent problems with the violation of fundamental human rights” (Fish 1998 and Reilly 2000).

Further, “the introduction of democracy and market economy in Mongolia seems to be lies into fact that the year of 1980s saw a major growth spurt as Mongolia was more tightly integrated into the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) international planning system. With large in flows of capital, inputs and technology from Eastern Europe and the Soviet Union, net imports amounted to a massive 30% of GDP. Industry, and especially mining, developed rapidly. Mongolia was so completely integrated both politically and economically with the Soviet Union that it acquired the label of the 16th republic’. This world was turned upside down in the second half of 1989 with the collapse of communism in Eastern Europe and the effective disintegration of the CMEA. Soviet ties were maintained, but the flow of assistance declined in 1990 as the USSR itself experienced growing economic difficulties. In 1991, as the Soviet Union dissolved, Mongolia suffered a huge negative economic shock. Not only did net inflows cease, but also supply chains broke and the favorable terms of trade arising from underpriced Soviet oil and other supplies and overpriced payments for Mongolian copper exports came to an end. The combined shock has been estimated at equal to loss of around half of gross national expenditure” (Pomfret 1993 and Boone 1994).

Despite of the vassal status, the nation had an edge over the other 15 Soviet republics in the feeling of as of now being a sovereign state with globally perceived fringes,

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<sup>26</sup>[http://www.findarticles.com/cf\\_dls/m3955/1\\_52/60139963/p1/article.jhtml?term=%2BDemocracy+%2BEurope](http://www.findarticles.com/cf_dls/m3955/1_52/60139963/p1/article.jhtml?term=%2BDemocracy+%2BEurope)

national foundations and the trappings of statehood. As the races were held in July 1990, the successful President Orchirbat ended the People's Republic and left on a program of fast value advancement and voucher based privatization (Pomfret 1993). In spite of the fact that the parliament was overwhelmed by the successor to the Communist Party, it neither ended monetary change nor kept the drawing up of another constitution in 1992 under which Mongolia had a democratic system with peaceful alternation of power. In that sense one might say that even the socialist party in Mongolia got itself changed to bolster the implementation of democracy and market economy.<sup>27</sup>

### **3.6: Economic Reforms**

In the year of 1990s when Mongolia embarked on democratic transition, these were also years of hyperinflation, other than took after a quickly deteriorating swapping scale and beginning dollarisation. Expectations for everyday comforts recognizably dropped in light of the fact that the of the administrations which were ensured by the old framework disintegrated and the immense guarantees of accessibility and assortment of products by the individuals who supported market-based economy were not discernibly unmistakable. "In the medium term, however, macroeconomic performance improved as positive GDP growth was recorded in 1994 and inflation began to abate. Both the characterisation of Mongolia as a rapid reformer in the early 1990s and the interpretation of its economic performance as short-term pain prior to long-term gain were questioned. Murrell (1996) argues that price reform was liberal in proclamation but partial in practice".<sup>28</sup> The privatisation process was also dramatic in announcement, with beautiful vouchers engraved with Genghis Khan's head issued to the population and a prominently renovated stock exchange building, but after a promising start in 1991 the privatization programme grounded to a halt in mid-1992; little privatisation occurred beyond the small-scale, and the stock exchange was quiescent.<sup>29</sup> "Financial reform was initiated with the replacement of the mono bank by

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<sup>27</sup> The post-1990 election results and voter turnout are summarised in UNDP (1997: 59). The Communist Party's successor won a landslide victory in the 1992 parliamentary elections but lost the 1996 parliamentary elections. Its candidate won the 1997 presidential election.

<sup>28</sup> Pomfret (1993:5-7 or 1996:84-87) provides examples of government regulation of prices in order to alleviate the short-term impact of price increases.

<sup>29</sup> Secondary trading did not begin until August 1995. Corporate governance remained a major problem throughout the 1990s, as lack of transparency in accounting or disclosure rules prevented the stock market from playing a role in promoting good management.

a two-tier banking system in 1991, but this step was followed by substantial disintermediation due to lack of public confidence in the banking system and the financial sector remained in poor shape throughout the 1990s” (Hahm & Yener 1998 and IMF 1999: 26-35).

The relationship amongst approach and execution was constricted by the part of help and copper. Mongolia’s obvious progressivism and geostrategic area made it a favored guide beneficiary, particularly when help was measured on a for each capita premise. The substantial inflows lessened the requirement for residential acclimation to keep up adjust of installments harmony. Mongolia was additionally helped by light world markets for copper, by a long shot its biggest fare, in the early and mid-1990s. Bring down copper costs in 1996 decreased the GDP development rate and brought up issues about the maintainability of Mongolia’s post-1994 development, which itself was proof that the majority rule government was grinding away and there was no risk to financial change activities (Pomfret 2000).

The Democratic Coalition was not an exclusive reformer, but rather likewise they were radical reformers. The new government’s initial step was to free vitality costs as the price of coal went up by 48%, power 60% and warming 40%. Import obligations were abrogated and different types of insurance evacuated. In July 1997 Mongolia agreed to the World Trade Organisation. Sponsorships were decreased or abrogated and open organisation was stream lined. The Law on Housing Privatization goes by Parliament in October 1996 was postponed by presidential veto however inevitably got to be law in February 1997 and 25,000 flats were privatized in Ulaanbaatar in 1997. In 1997; in 1996 13 endeavors had been privatized and yielded income of 1.5 billion to grogs, while in 1997, 236 privatized undertakings yielded 15.5 billion to grogs (IMF, 1999: 85). Deals charge scope was amplified, salary charges streamlined, and expenses for administration acquainted with increment government cost recuperation. Social part spending was changed, e.g. by presenting a medical coverage framework, albeit a few changes were not radical. The general photo of the Mongolian economy by 1997 was that the primary period of post Soviet advancement was finished. The economy was unmistakably advertised based, albeit money related area change was still required and some huge ventures still needed rebuilding (Richard Pomfret, 2000). Financial changes opened Mongolia to whatever is left of world, which changed old mentality for bringing changes Mongolian outside arrangement.

Sales tax coverage was extensive, income taxes streamlined, and fees for service introduced to increase government cost recovery. Whereas, Social sector spending was reformed, e.g. by introducing a health insurance system, although some reforms were not radical. “The overall picture of the Mongolian economy by 1997 was that the first phase of post Soviet development was complete. The economy was clearly market-based, although financial sector reform was still required and some large enterprises were still in need of restructuring. Economic reforms which open Mongolia for the rest of world, which helped to change old mindset for bringing changes Mongolian foreign policy” (Richard Pomfret 2000).

### **3.7: State Relations with Civil Society**

Despite the fact that State-society relations have been influenced by a bunch of the external elements. In Mongolia, the characteristic of both political deference and passivity associated with the socialist legacy, did not prevent the rise of mass pro-democratic movements, which had played a critical role in the transition to democracy in 1989–90 nor the creation of more than 5,300 registered NGOs that have been formed largely since the transition.<sup>30</sup> However, “Post-transition relations between CSOs and public officials have been marked by the state’s acceptance of an independent civil society. The transition is not unqualified, however; the CIVICUS report notes that CSOs continue to be subject to occasional unwarranted government interference” (CIVICUS 2006: 39). ‘Methods of state control include the NGO registration process; control of information dissemination through state-owned mass media; and restrictions on public protests and demonstration; as well as intimidation, interrogation, and surveillance at the local level (CIVICUS 2006: 39–41).

The Mongolian branch of the World Wildlife Fund facilitated the establishment of the Union of Environmental NGOs (UMENGO) in the late 1990s. With the 30 members, he Union served as an umbrella organisation, including the Mongolian Association for Conservation, Nature and the Environment (MACNE), the biggest environmental NGO in Mongolia. MACNE considered as “legacy” NGO that was established in the socialist era as a governmental NGO (referred to as a GONGO), still which has strong

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<sup>30</sup> In contrast with business associations and trade unions, women are well represented in most professional associations and NGOs. In fact, they dominate certain areas such as health, education, poverty alleviation, and human as well as women’s rights, leading some observers to refer to Mongolian civil society as “matriarchal” (CIVICUS 2006:19).

ties with government. UMENGO initially benefited from this close relationship with the Ministry of Nature and Environment.<sup>31</sup>

### **3.8: Social and Economic Accountability of Mongolian Media**

In the era of democracy and globalization, the civil society and NGOs have an influential role in making the foreign policy of state. The media sector of Mongolian has always been characterized by lively, if sometimes not very professional, reporting from outlets that represent the full range of political viewpoints, although few outlets are politically neutral. However, Mongolian media is not unique on the matter of facing its challenges, which have been posing similar challenges to that of other countries. “The emerging from the oppression that characterized the period of socialist rule, although progress toward a free and responsible media has been hampered by Mongolia’s relative poverty. In fact the media played a key role in giving voice to the views and demands of citizens, as well as providing information to both ordinary citizens and decision makers. A free and effective media acts as a two-way conduit for communication between government and the citizenry. So the media played a crucial role in facilitating civic engagement for social accountability during early 1990s”.<sup>32</sup>

The relation between Mongolian media and civil society in the current phase is dynamics. Most of the CSOs, especially Ulaanbaatar based NGOs, were able to entice information coverage of their work. Several CBOs, including the Ongi River Movement worked intently with the media over a number of years to build better relationships and as a consequence ensured better coverage. Many CSOs have complained, however, that they were frequently required to pay for coverage. In the addition some of the argument, which is placed before NGO and NGO, have also paid attention in order to broaden its horizon. As “NGOs paid to broadcast their own productions, including various public interest programs, though they effectively relieved the media of the responsibility to produce it themselves. Consequently, several stakeholders described CSO-media relations as adversarial. In response to a

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<sup>31</sup> *ibid*

<sup>32</sup>[Online: web] Accessed 5 Sept. 2016 URL:  
<http://vle.worldbank.org/bnpp/files/TF053665MongoliaESWFINALweb.pdf>

wave of media criticisms at the CSO forum, a representative of PRTV commented, it is very easy to accuse the media”.<sup>33</sup>

The Concept of Cooperation is the key word of Liberal theory. The concept of foreign policy is more near with liberal theory, because liberals believes that cooperation, interdependency and foreign policy works on the principal of liberal theory. Liberals says that international peace, security and development can get through the cooperative foreign policy.

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<sup>33</sup> While one CSO leader interviewed during the dissemination phase indicated that CSO-media relations are “not so good not very developed” in Mongolia because “the media doesn’t think the CSOs are important,” another criticized the media for “not appreciating democratic values.”

## ***CHAPTER FOUR***

# ***MONGOLIA'S ENGAGEMENT WITH EXTERNAL POWERS***

## Chapter Four

### **Mongolia's Engagement with External Powers**

#### **4.1: Basic Goals of Mongolia's Foreign Policy**

In the present scenario Mongolia follow the principles of the Concept of National Security and the Concept of Foreign Policy, which was established by the State Great Hural (Parliament) of Mongolia in 1994. Though, “these principles will serve as the stable and long-term basis of its foreign policy”. In order to pursue it, Mongolia closely follows the provisions of the Concept of foreign policy, which says that “In formulating Mongolia's foreign policy and determining its priority directions and objectives, flexible approach shall be applied, paying close attention to the development of international relations and to the regional and world political situations”(Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book 2006).<sup>1</sup>

However, from one viewpoint, progress of globalization, expanding interdependency in all parts of the planet, spread of popularity based principles, the mechanical advance and quick improvement of data innovation, besides political, social economic changes in Mongolia determine the contents of the foreign policy and diplomatic activities, aimed at ensuring security and prosperity of the country.<sup>2</sup> These can be summarised as follows:

- Considering global society and culture of cooperation,
- Ensuring Democracy, Human rights and Human security
- Pursuing developmental Diplomacy and
- Safeguarding Human Capital Development

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<sup>1</sup>For detail please see Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book (2006), Ulaanbaatar

<sup>2</sup>ibid



## **4.2: Strategy of Mongolian Foreign Policy**

The foreign Policy of Mongolia deliberately has been known to be both multi dimensional and multi pillared. This strategy contains the following goal:

Mongolia act on the principles of good-neighbourliness, mutual benefit and equality, in a balanced manner on a long-term basis to develop friendly relations with the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China. Mongolia also efforts to create and enhance its relations with many countries and to have large number of supporters in the world arena.

Beside this profound political dialogues and participation in the economic cooperation with the United States of America, improving relations of comprehensive partnership with Japan, widening relations with individuals from the European Union for example, Germany, Great Britain, and France. Further Mongolia gives special attention to the expansion of historically important and rich relations with the India well as ASEAN members, Canada, and Australia (Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book 2006).

Mongolia will open up to novel markets for export and investment sources as result of its improved acquaintances with the Central and Eastern Europe with which Mongolia has traditional ties. Mongolia significantly attaches to the renewal of relations in reference to trade and economics with Commonwealth member States of Independent States, especially with the Central Asian States. The states have acted as its traditional export markets. "Relations of Mongolia with these states, while still holding on to and strengthening of the past positive heritages, has adopted a flexible attitude taking into account the potential for developing the relations in the new circumstances".<sup>3</sup>

## **4.3: Multilateral Relations and Processes**

At the international level there are nothing permanent, the national interest decides the policies and national interested is changeable. So the multilateralism is an important factor in the concept of foreign policy after the end of cold war period. In the current scenario Mongolia has been actively participating in multilateral procedures and international economic organisations majorly such as the United Nations, World

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<sup>3</sup> ibid

Trade Organisation and ASEAN Regional platform, which are vital forums in order to consolidate Mongolia's position in international arena and the progression of its national interests. Though, Implementation of the basic goals of Mongolia's foreign policy is based on the activities of the government agencies as well as rely extensively on the network of relations and cooperation between private citizens, non-governmental organisations and business people. Consequently, the government attaches a special focus to supporting the cooperation between private citizens, NGOs and business communities.<sup>4</sup>

#### **4.4: Mongolia's Third Neighbour Policy**

Third Neighbour policy of Mongolia is an effort on the part of the Mongolian state to balance the influence from its two big powers, the Peoples' Republic of China and the Russian Federation. As mentioned by Miliate, "to an extent from two of its huge neighbours, the Peoples' Republic of China and the Russian Federation. Although this policy was designed during the initial years while Mongolia was still through its transition to a market economy and democracy, the whole principle of additional neighbours beyond the physically geographical sense has something of a long history" (Miliate 2009).<sup>5</sup>

U.S. Secretary of State James Baker mentioned the term 'third neighbour' while a meeting with Mongolian leaders was held during his visit in August 1990.<sup>6</sup> "Baker said that referring to the U.S. as a third neighbour".<sup>7</sup>

It was not an easy task for Mongolia to balance its relations with both Russia and China and also other countries of the world at the same time. "There are Eight (8) countries in third neighbours Policy i.e. India, U.S., Japan, Turkey, South Korea, Europe, Germany, Australia".<sup>8</sup>

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<sup>4</sup> More detail has been discuss in the next (5<sup>th</sup>) chapter.

<sup>5</sup> Miliate, B. Joseph (2009), "*India's Role in Mongolia's Third Neighbor Policy*", ISP Collection. Paper 802. [Online: web] Accessed 5 Sept. 2015 [http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp\\_collection/802](http://digitalcollections.sit.edu/isp_collection/802)

<sup>6</sup> Baasanjav Ganbold, H.E. (June 18, 2013), Ambassador of Mongolia to the Republic of Korea, gave a lecture called "*Mongolia's 'Third Neighbour' Foreign Policy: The Concept and Evolution*". Asia Society Korea Centre's Seoul.

<sup>7</sup> *ibid*

<sup>8</sup> Altantsetseg Noosgoi, (2015), School of foreign Service, National University of Mongolia, Personal Interview taken by me when I was visited to Mongolia for data collection, (18/09/2015).

“In the mid-1920s, the new Mongolian government sent dozens of students to study in Germany, that reflected the age-old sentiment of Mongolia, to look beyond our two neighbours”. A decision, which proved Mongolia’s viewpoint of geopolitics, was that of adopting Buddhism of India over Chinese Confucianism and Russian Slavic religions. Ambassador Ganbold said that

The initial phase of Mongolia’s third neighbour strategy as a win. In the mid 1990s, when Mongolia started political changes, the support of the U.S., United Nations, and other Western nations was critical to its move to a liberal majority rules system. These third neighbours aptitude in drafting enactment about the constituent framework set up the establishment of Mongolia’s political framework. The third neighbour foreign policy was likewise a financial achievement. Giver nations helped Mongolia defeat its hardships after the sudden end of Soviet speculation and endowments, controlling the nation to move to a market economy. We proudly call India our third neighbour, Ambassador Ganbold once said. Turkey and South Korea also fall into this category. Not only these countries are significant and biggest partners for trade but also South Korea giving shelter to 26,000 citizens of Mongolia who are working and studying there. About 100,000 Mongolians diaspora works and live in third neighbour countries and the countries such as the U.S., Europe, Australia, and Japan. Ambassador Ganbold has described this scenario as an essential source of cultural ties and cooperative projects. Though one cannot deny the fact that Russia and China have large influence on the Mongolian economy, He hope that this will be a good chance for us to forge a full sense of the third neighbour strategy, economically, with opportunities in the mining sector (H.E. Baasanjav Ganbold H.E.lecture on June 18, 2013 an Ambassador of Mongolia to the Republic of Korea).<sup>9</sup>

## **4.5: Bilateral Relations of Mongolia**

Mongolia is trying to improve its relations and ties with the countries of outside of the world, which is the very change policy for Mongolia in the after Soviet Period. Changes has been done by Mongolia in its policy for the US as well as India. “In the mid 1990 in the soviet decade, its Ulaanbaatar’s orientation was underlined in 1966, The 20 years treaty of include secret defense relate topics of For the next 20 years, the Mongolian People’s Republic was a front line in the Sino-Soviet confrontation. First decades of Mongolia has been started its policy towards the country its proposal”.

### **4.5.1: Overall Trends in Mongolia’s Foreign Trade**

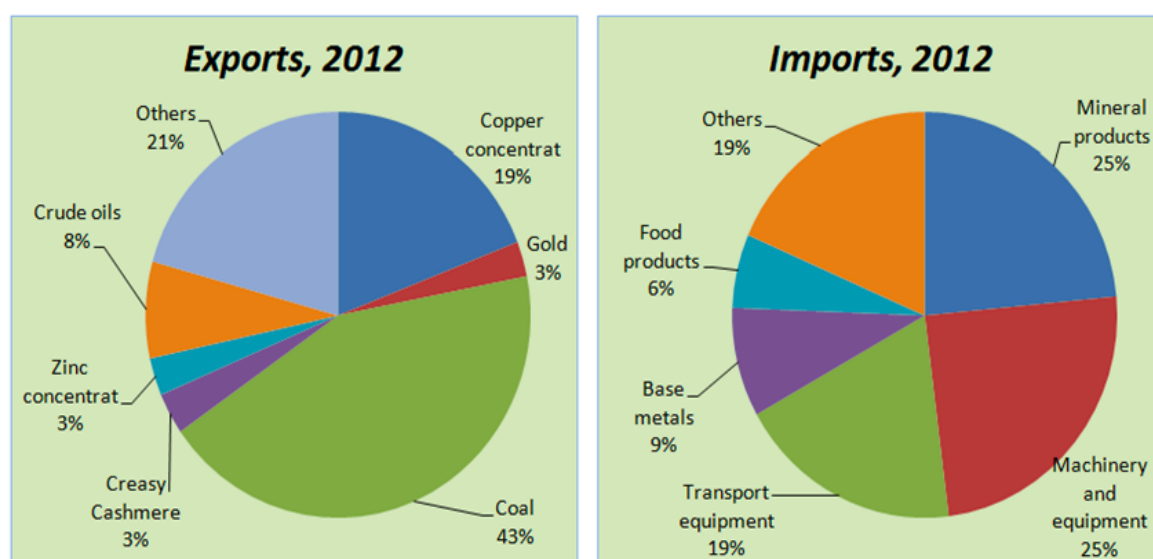
According to the data of Mongolia embassy in US, In 2012, “foreign trade led to a

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<sup>9</sup> ibid

total external trade turnover of U.S.\$6.5 billion of which exports represented U.S.\$2.5 billion and imports represented U.S.\$3.9 billion. In 2012, mineral exports accounted for 89 percent of total exports. The largest exported product was coal, accounting for 43.4 percent, followed by copper concentrate (19.1 percent), crude oil (7.7 percent) and gold (2.8 percent). The three major minerals (copper, coal and gold) together accounted for 73 percent of total exports. In terms of major destination countries of export, China imported 92.6 percent of total exports from Mongolia, followed by Russia (1.8 percent)”.<sup>10</sup>

**Figure: 4.1: Overall Export and Imports of Mongolia in 2012**



**Source:** National Statistical Office of Mongolia, 2012 <sup>11</sup>

<sup>10</sup>Mongolia embassy in US, [Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015.<http://mongolianembassy.us/about-mongolia/trade-and-economy/#.VkweYjCqqko>  
<sup>11</sup> Economic Overview, Mongolia embassy in US, [Online: web] Accessed 30 April 2016 <http://mongolianembassy.us/about-mongolia/trade-and-economy/#.VyWaLDZ97Zs>

**Table 4.1****Imports by Some Commodities, by Month (Unit: USD Thousands)**

Commodity	2015	2015	2015	2016	2016	2016
	(Oct.)	(Nov.)	(Dec.)	(Jan.)	(Feb.)	(March)
<b>Electricity</b>	105,611.50	117,011.40	129,181.70	10,784.40	12,644.70	32,081.40
<b>Flour</b>	4,011.50	4,950.70	6,012.80	909.7	2,211.90	3,439.10
<b>Cars</b>	175,553.80	191,830.10	209,998.50	16,488.50	26,750.10	43,204.00
<b>Petrol</b>	231,960.90	251,565.10	273,971.10	12,955.20	24,296.40	40,339.10

*Source: Mongolian Statistical Information Service (2016), Data Updated on: 2016-04-12 / Term: Monthly 2005.01: 2016.03. [Online: web] Accessed 30 April 2016. <http://www.1212.mn/statHtml/statHtml.do>*

**Table 4.2: The total exports from Mongolia by country /U.S.\$ millions**

Total exports from Mongolia country of destination	For the year ended or as at December 31,					For the six months ended or as at June 30,
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
China	1411.4	1,635.90	1,393.90	2,466.30	4,439.90	2,125.50
Canada	178.6	174.6	147.5	141.6	90.8	40.1
United States	99.9	114.2	13.9	6	5	2.1
Russia	58.5	86.3	68.2	82.7	96.3	33.9
United Kingdom	22.1	165.8	126.9	67.4	20	3.9
Italy	56.7	42.2	31.4	31.8	49.8	9.3
South Korea	41.5	29.9	15.5	30.5	37.9	4.9
Germany	17.8	11	15.6	22.1	14.9	7.7
France	5.4	30.3	2.2	3.9	7.7	1.3
Switzerland	1.8	2.1	2.8	2.9	18	7.3
Japan	15.1	27.6	4.6	2.7	11	1.7
Others	38.7	214.6	62.8	50.6	26.2	24.6
<b>Total</b>	<b>1,947.50</b>	<b>2,534.50</b>	<b>1,885.40</b>	<b>2,908.50</b>	<b>4,817.50</b>	<b>2,262.30</b>

*Source: National Statistical Office of Mongolia<sup>12</sup>*

<sup>12</sup> Economic Overview, Mongolia embassy in US, [Online: web] Accessed 30 April 2016 <http://mongolianembassy.us/about-mongolia/trade-and-economy/#.VyWaLDZ97Zs>

**Table 4.3: The total imports of Mongolia by country/U.S.\$ millions**

Total imports to Mongolia country from destination	For the year ended or as at December 31,					For the six months ended or as at June 30,
	2007	2008	2009	2010	2011	2012
Russia	745	1,242.30	772.8	1,046.70	1,624.70	893.9
China	568.9	898.7	538.6	971	2,023.90	884.9
United States	55.7	84.1	103.7	158.9	536	321
Japan	140.2	238.5	97	196.5	490.2	266.7
Korea	119.6	194.8	155.1	181.8	356.7	225.9
Germany	76.5	92.6	70.3	87.2	273.6	111
Canada	10.6	10.8	7.5	22.3	128.3	49.1
Belarus	7.4	8.9	11.4	15.2	72.3	45.9
Australia	18.6	17.7	15.3	38.6	94.3	42.5
Singapore	29.3	45.6	27.7	51	69.5	38.2
Others	290	410.5	338.3	430.9	928.9	434.2
<b>Total</b>	<b>2,061.80</b>	<b>3,244.50</b>	<b>2,137.70</b>	<b>3,200.10</b>	<b>6,598.40</b>	<b>3,313.30</b>

Source: National Statistical Office of Mongolia<sup>13</sup>

## Mining in Mongolia

The economic conditions of a state are an important determinant of foreign policy and the mining sector is a significant source of economic development. As stated by experts “Mongolia is rich in mineral resources and has some of the world’s major mineral deposits including gold, copper, uranium and coal. Geological data gathered since the 1920s and exploration to date have proven vast mineral reserves, but only 15 per cent of the country has been fully mapped. There are over 6,000 deposits of around 80 different minerals discovered to date in Mongolia. Key mining projects are expected to have a positive impact on Mongolia’s overall economic situation as commercial production commences”.<sup>14</sup>

<sup>13</sup> Economic Overview, Mongolia embassy in US, [Online: web] Accessed 30 April 2016 <http://mongolianembassy.us/about-mongolia/trade-and-economy/#.VyWaLDZ97Zs>

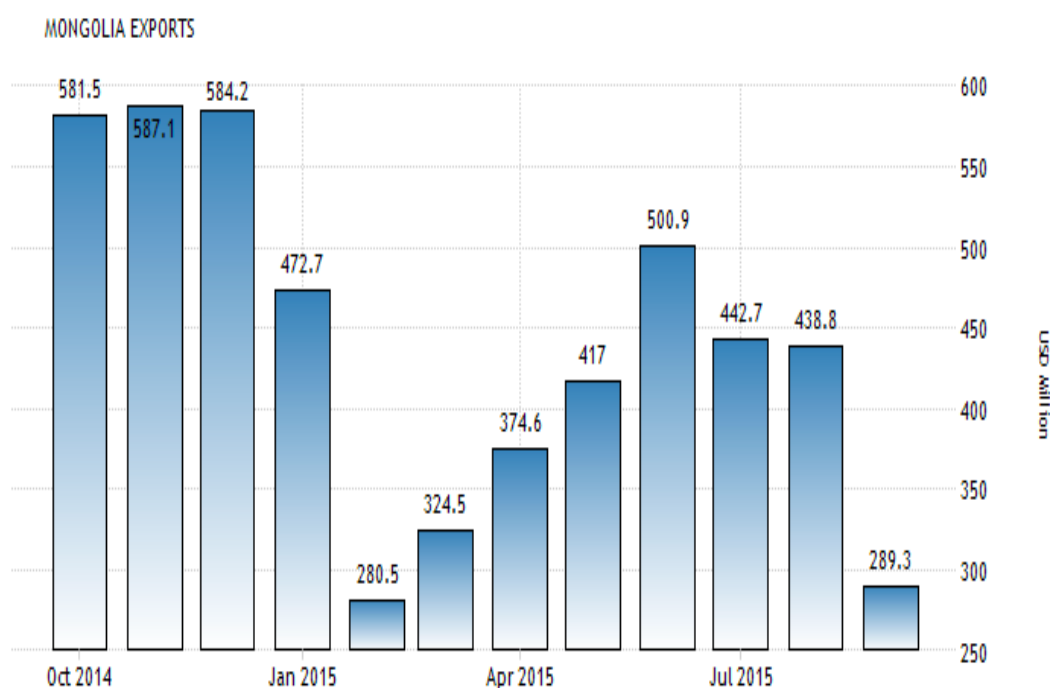
<sup>14</sup> Mongolia embassy in US, [Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015. <http://mongolianembassy.us/about-mongolia/trade-and-economy/#.VkweYjCqqko>

**Table 4.4: Mineral Resources Authority of Mongolia**

Minerals	Estimated reserves/as on January 1, 2012/
Coal (million tons)	18,473.2
Iron (million tons)	1,046.6
Copper (thousand tons)	83,807
Lead (thousand tons)	1,740
Gold (placer) (tons)	221.47
Gold (hard rock deposit) (tons)	2,180.9

Source: - Mineral Resources Authority of Mongolia (2015)<sup>15</sup>

**Figure 4.2: Mongolia's Export in 2014-2015**



SOURCE: WWW.TRADINGECONOMICS.COM | MONGOLBANK

Source: - Trading Economics Mongol Bank, [Online: web] Accessed 28 November 2015, URL: [www.tradingeconomics.com](http://www.tradingeconomics.com).

<sup>15</sup> Economic Overview, Mongolia embassy in US, [Online: web] Accessed 30 April 2016 <http://mongolianembassy.us/about-mongolia/trade-and-economy/#.VyWaLDZ97Zs>

Exports in Mongolia “decreased to 289.30 USD Million in September from 438.80 USD Million in August of 2015. Exports in Mongolia averaged 174.63 USD Million from 1997 until 2015, reaching an all-time high of 635.80 USD Million in August of 2014 and a record low of 15.40 USD Million in January of 1999”. The Mongol bank reports exports in Mongolia.<sup>16</sup>

Mongolia exports mineral products (copper, coal, molybdenum, tin, tungsten, and gold), natural or cultured stones, jewelry, textiles, animal origin products, hides and skins. Mongolia’s main exports partner is China (89% of total exports). Others include Canada and Russia. This page provides - Mongolia Exports - actual values, historical data, forecast, chart, statistics, economic calendar and news. Content for Mongolia Exports was last refreshed on Tuesday, November 17, 2015.<sup>17</sup>

**Figure 4.3: Mongolia’s Import in 2014-2015**



**Source:** - *Trading Economics Mongol Bank*, [Online: web] Accessed 28 November 2015, URL: [www.tradingeconomics.com](http://www.tradingeconomics.com).

<sup>16</sup><http://www.tradingeconomics.com/mongolia/Exports>, [Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015.

<sup>17</sup>ibid



“Imports in Mongolia decreased to 310 USD Million in September from 338 USD Million in August of 2015. Imports in Mongolia averaged 205.69 USD Million from 1997 until 2015, reaching an all-time high of 748.73 USD Million in August of 2011 and a record low of 14.70 USD Million in January of 1999. The Mongol bank reports imports in Mongolia”.<sup>18</sup>

“Mongolia imports mainly mineral products, machinery, equipment, electric appliances, recorders, TV sets & spare parts, vehicles, food products and base metals. Mongolia’s main import partners are Russia (22% of total) and China (26%). Others include Japan, USA and Germany”. The Content for Mongolia Imports was last refreshed on November 17, 2015.<sup>19</sup>

#### **4.6: Mongolia- Russia Relations**

The relations shared between Mongolia and Russia is traditionally friendly and exhibits good-neighbourly ties. The Two have developed diplomatic strategic relations by signature the Agreement on Establishment of friendly relations on November 5, 1921, between the People’s Government of Mongolia and the Government of the Soviet Russia. The two countries established their respective embassies in Ulaanbaatar and Moscow in 1922.

Mongolia was essentially a territorial buffer country. The Manchus came to China and the went on to establishing the Qing Empire, which then led to sweeping Mongolia into their kingdom. After the Collapse of Qing, Moscow engulfed Mongolia into one its own ever-growing territory. While the period of Sino-Soviet tensions from the mid-1960s to 1989 were still going on, the Soviet Union stationed troops and military equipment in Mongolia to enhance its strategic advantage over the PRC.<sup>20</sup> “Garver (1988: 217) and Liu (2006: 342) stated that for Moscow, Mongolia was then a territorial buffer the particularities of Mongolian terrain underscored its salience as a shield behind which Russia felt more secure than if Mongolia had been in China’s hands”(Soni 2002: 222- 226).

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<sup>18</sup><http://www.tradingeconomics.com/mongolia/Imports>, [Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015.

<sup>19</sup> *ibid*

<sup>20</sup> Wachmanb Alan M. (2009), *Mongolia’s Geopolitical Gambit: Preserving a Precarious Independence While Resisting “Soft Colonialism”*, The East Asia Institute (EAI) is a nonprofit and independent research organization in Korea, Tufts University.

The leaders of Mongolia and Soviet Union guaranteed to withstand and to strengthen the Mongolian-Soviet cooperation. Therefore Gorbachev's new thinking influenced over Mongolian foreign policy. However Mongolian leaders were worried regarding a warming of relations between the Soviet Union and China. Not much after the celebrations of the twentieth anniversary of the signing of the 1966 Mongolian-Soviet Treaty of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance and extension of ten years Soviet foreign minister Eduard Shevardnadze paid a visit to Mongolia from January 23 to 25 1986. "Shevardnadze said that the period of strained relationships with China is now behind us. The Soviet Union is ideal for stabilizing and improving relations with the Chinese republic on condition that the principle of not harming third countries is observed". The primary focus of Soviet Union was not harming third countries was to reassure Mongolia that the Soviet Union did not plan initiatives toward China that would compromise or endanger Mongolia's national security or expose that country to Chinese encroachments (Steve Mann 1989: 127-141).

In July 1986, Gorbachev augmented that the "new bearing in outside undertakings in a discourse on Asian security conveyed in Vladivostok. He demonstrated Soviet enthusiasm for enhanced Moscow-Beijing relations, and he incorporated an arrangement to pull back Soviet troops from Mongolia, a central point in Soviet strategic activities intended to meet China's conditions for standardization of relations. Not long after the Vladivostok activity, Mongolian authorities started talks with United States diplomats concerning another endeavor to enhance relations. Ulaanbaatar presumably saw planned ties with Washington as offering a more prominent level of mobility in the undeniably complex global setting in Asia. In January 1987, diplomatic ties were established with the United States, and the Soviet Union reported its goal to pull back one division of troops from Mongolia. Both activities undoubtedly were the subject of long substantive talks amongst Soviet and Mongolian pioneers" (ibid).

Development in diplomatic relationship seems on July 1986 when first gathering take place of twenty-one communist and Workers Parties of Asia and the Pacific Region, its considered as first regional meeting. The meeting was based on the premise of "peace, security and good-neighbourly cooperation in Asia and the Pacific region". By hosting this meeting, Ulaanbaatar served Moscow's purposes of underscoring Gorbachev's new interest in Asia, which was further emphasized by the presence of a

high-powered Soviet delegation. The Chinese government delegation did not attend as conditions were not appropriate that time and North Korea also denied attendance possibly as a gesture to China (ibid).

As Mongolia extended its contacts in the global group, Gorbachev kept on augmenting his Asian activities, an improvement straightforwardly influencing Mongolia's advantages at the national level. A discourse, which was conveyed on "September 16, 1988, at the southeastern Siberian city of Krasnoyarsk, Gorbachev presented a seven-point program, which was planned to upgrade security in the Asia-Pacific district and also to expand his perspective of a multipolar way to deal with settling issues in outside relations. The alleged Krasnoyarsk activity showed both Soviet aims to assume a noteworthy part in the area and its mindfulness that China likewise should be incorporated into local improvement arranges" (Worden and Savada 1989). Spectators hypothesized that the Soviets more likely than not consumed significant exertion in consoling Mongolian pioneers that Soviet proposition managing East Asia, especially those including China did not undermine Mongolian national security (ibid).

There was a challenge for Mongolia's foreign policy makers to conform the Soviet proposals which they had minimal decision, yet to do as such in a way that proposed that Mongolia was going about as an autonomous nation, forming a foreign policy that served its national advantages. In the interim time period, the Soviet Union could not give off an impression of being disregarding the interests of its partner Mongolia while making its suggestions to China. "This trivial constraint on Soviet conduct had consoled Mongolia that proceeded with Soviet security and vital support was solid. Regardless, Mongolian consistence with the Soviet activities, which was evident in Gorbachev's speech in the United Nations General Assembly on 7 December 1988. In the speech he made a declaration of pulling back of the Soviet troops that were posted in Mongolia. Subsequently, in February 1989, amidst dialogues between Batmonh and a Soviet deputy foreign minister, the latter specified that discussions to regulate inquiries related with the removal of troops from the domain of Mongolia of 75 percent of Soviet land strengths and other military subunits would soon start. On March 7, 1989, the Soviets declared, most likely as an extra admission to China on the eve of the May 1989 Sino - Soviet summit that withdrawal arranges had been finished" (Worden and Savada 1989).

Mongolia was not viewed as territorial buffer by the two countries Beijing and Moscow when it got independence from the Soviet Union in the year 1990 though it acted as the geopolitical barrier. “What Moscow and Beijing looked for of Mongolia was not an obstruction that could be subordinated by one to improve the barrier of the country region from attack by the other, yet an impartial region where each of the two neighbours could be assured of Ulaanbaatar’s political pliability and an absence of menace”.<sup>21</sup> “It suited Beijing and Moscow that Ulaanbaatar was deferential to their own core interests, so long as Mongolia did not give precedence to the interests of one over the other. In that sense, Mongolia was still a buffer, but its role was defined politically and economically, rather than territorially, by its determination to be an unaligned zone of neutrality in a region with a fierce and bloody history of geopolitical friction”. Wachman (2009) contend that if Mongolia somehow happened to adjust itself too nearly to both of its proximate neighbours, it would without a doubt start caution. “Should it incline too far toward Moscow or Beijing, the other would quickly consider Mongolia to be a regional support subject to abuse by the opposite side” (Worden and Savada 1989).

After the collapse of the Soviet Union the announcement of friendship and good-neighbourly cooperation between Russia and Mongolia was the first confirmation of their parity as sovereign states. However relations with Russia were in deterioration for much of the 1990’s because of Russia’s internal economic and social problems (Batbayar 2003: 965). At the end of the year 2000 Putin<sup>22</sup> visited Mongolia in order to enhance and revitalize the relations between both the countries. Naturally, Mongolia’s relations first with the Soviet Union and afterward with Russia impacted foreign policy changes in Mongolia.

Mongolia sees its association with the Russian Federation as one of its foreign policy needs. In the long term the relation has seen stable improvement in maintaining good-neighbourly relations, parallel and commonly advantageous ties in all zones with the Russian Federation been seen as fundamental to Mongolia. The Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation that was signed in the year 1993 started a new legal establishment for the enhancement of bilateral ties and recognized the current level of relations between Mongolia and the Russian Federation. The principles enshrined in

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<sup>21</sup> *ibid*

<sup>22</sup> He was the President of Russia.

the Treaty are observed in the good- neighbourly relations between the two countries. The Russian Federation and Mongolia have a rich convention of generating association in all zones including political, monetary, exchange, social circles, instruction, wellbeing, science and innovation. The respective relations came to stagnation because of specific reasons in the mid 1990s.<sup>23</sup>

In spite of the fact that the exchange turnover between the two nations has reduced which was in contrast to the period before, but still the Russia was main trading partners. “In 1999, 29.2 percent of Mongolia’s imports originated from the Russian Federation and 13.4 percent of Mongolia’s exports went to its northern neighbour. Exchange with the Russian Federation constituted 22.7 percent of the aggregate Mongolian foreign trade turnover. The Russian Federation keeps on being the principle provider of some modern products, for example, lubricants, electric energy and spare parts among others. At present, total companies which are jointly developed by Russian and Mongolia have been enlisted in Mongolia that work in areas such as mining, transportation, and hence are beneficial among the others”.<sup>24</sup>

Russia could not suffice of the Mongolian market anymore: “the Russian share in Mongolia’s market had fallen from 85% in the early 1990s to about 25% in 1999. Trade turnover in U.S. dollars amounted to \$180–190 million in 1999, as against \$800–900 million in the late 1980s”. Mongolian Export to Russia constantly declined during the 1990s due to high Russian customs and transit tariffs and inefficiencies, which had engulfed Russian enterprises relations with the Mongolian market. Russia regained its influence again in the Mongolian economy only as an oil supplier and petroleum products and of electricity, by transmission from both the sides. There was a decline in the use of Russian language in Mongolia and the language was no more an obligation to be studied in the schools. Besides this, a lot of Mongolian Russian-language teachers had already started to become English teachers. “Travel to and through Russia by Mongolians continued to be restricted by Russia’s visa requirements. Although Russian television programs remained available on cable TV, their popularity declined. Mongolian elites and their children took to learning English. Modest student grants for Mongolia provided by the Russian government had done little to stem the tide of cultural de-Russification in Mongolia”(ibid).

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<sup>23</sup>Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book (2006), Ulaanbaatar

<sup>24</sup>ibid

The delimitation and division of borders between Mongolia and the Russian Federation in its Tagno Tuva section were carried out between 1959 and 1960 and the remaining part in 1978-1979. During the 1990s, the borderline was inspected and the western and eastern meeting points between Mongolia, Russia and China were delimited. Mongolia will proceed with the approach of growing great neighbourly relations and commonly valuable collaboration with Russia on a steady, long haul premise. There are some short term objectives of Mongolia to expansion of the consistent political dialogue, formation of a more assuring environment for the growth of trade, creation of a free trade zone, efficient involvement in joint economic projects with Russia, China and other nations (ibid).

#### **4.6.1: Economic Cooperation**

Professor Soni states that both the countries are doing pretty much in the sphere of economic cooperation with Russia involvement in the development of its mining resources and also in the construction infrastructure. The combined endeavours of Mongolia-Russia worked in the early years have been from the start the backbone firms in Mongolia and the recently shaped railway venture and Mongolia-Russia uranium production joint venture have made conditions for Russia's future association in tapping mineral assets and going in for foundation improvement in Mongolia. Petroleum products that are needed in large amount in Mongolia are imported from Russia. It is henceforth important to note that Russia has a 49 percent stake in joint ventures of Mongolia's major copper producer, Erdenet and Mongoltsvetmet. These companies contribute in providing around 20 per cent of Mongolian GDP, and 40 percent contribution is provided by Erdenet to the Mongolian national budget. Around 250 smaller ventures exist in Mongolia with Russia's investments that amounts to more than US\$ 20 million. At present, the Russian investment interest in Mongolia has turned out to be phenomenal because of the way that not at all like the Soviet time frame when it was a State investment, now it is chiefly interest of Russian businesses while the Russian Government providing the assistance (Soni 2011: 48).

Both the countries have been developing significant relations in different areas such as politics, defense, road, transportation, mining, food, agriculture, education, culture, science and health ever since they established their diplomatic relations and also with the implementation of high-level visits. Since the beginning of the year of 2009 both

the countries have been effectively developing relations in the spirit of strategic partnership. The first country with which Mongolia established its first strategic ties was Russia. President Vladimir Putin to Mongolia paid a working visit in the year of September 2014 demonstrated the strong bilateral relations between both the countries. Russian President's visit to Mongolia was facilitated to celebrations of the 75th anniversary of the joint victory of Mongolian and Soviet military forces in the battle of Khalkhin-Gol. Before the completion of the year 2014 the total trade volume between Mongolia and Russia was 1.6 billion USD and in this Mongolia's import was 1.5 billion US dollars, and exports of 61.6 million USD. The total amount of Russian investments in Mongolia reached 297 million USD during the period of 1990-2014, which is 2.1% of the total foreign direct investments in Mongolia. "Mongolian-Russian joint companies that serve as flagships of Mongolian economy such as Erdenet, Ulaanbaatar Railways and Mongol Rostvetmet play an important role in the bilateral economic collaboration". Nowadays both the countries are cooperating with their respective partners in order to enhance each other economic potential as well as legal environment. The agreements between both the countries during the period 2000-2013 around 2760 Mongolian students underwent studies in Russia in order to provide for the outline of their bilateral cooperation in education field. "According to the agreement between the Government of Mongolia and the Government of the Russian Federation on visa exemption the citizens of the two countries can travel or transit through the territory of the other country for 30 days".<sup>25</sup>

#### **4.7: Mongolia-China Relations**

The land boundary shared with The People's Republic of China is 4676 kilometres in length. On October 16, 1949 the two countries established diplomatic relations. After the long stretch of political relations Sino-Mongolian relations having experienced certain high points and low points, have kept up the standard of good-neighbourly kinship. Particularly in the most recent 10 years or so, there has been a fast improvement accompanied with striking accomplishments in bilateral relations between both the countries in various fields. In the year of 1994, Mongolia and China signed a treaty on "Friendly Relations and Cooperation" which help to create the

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<sup>25</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia (2015), Mongolia-Russia Relation, Tuesday, 21 April 2015.[Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015,[http://www.mfa.gov.mn/en/index.php?option=com\\_content&view=article&id=3603%3Amongoli-a-russia-relations&catid=170%3Aneighboring-states&Itemid=181&lang=en](http://www.mfa.gov.mn/en/index.php?option=com_content&view=article&id=3603%3Amongoli-a-russia-relations&catid=170%3Aneighboring-states&Itemid=181&lang=en)

essential political and legal establishment for the healthy and stable advancement of bilateral relations. The joint declaration was issued when the Mongolian president paid a state visit to China in the year, which affirmed that “China and Mongolia will establish a long-term steady, healthy, and good-neighbourly relations of mutual trust and cooperation oriented towards the 21st century, indicating the course for future development of bilateral relations” (Worden and Savada 1989).

“Notwithstanding a few some twists and turns in their relations over the past 60 years since the establishment of their diplomatic relations, neighbourliness and friendship have always remained the mainstream of Sino-Mongolian relations”. Specifically in the second half of the 1990s, a rapid development with significant achievement in their relations was witnessed. In 1994, both sides signed a Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation, laying the political and legal foundation for the healthy and steady advancement of their relations (ibid).

Historically the relations between the two countries have suffered due to the Mongolian-Chinese relations historically have suffered because on one side the China’s accusations to “lost territory” and on the other side the China’s expansion because of overpopulation as feared by the Mongolia. Since 1984 progress in Mongolia’s relations with China fell behind the more quick advances in Sino-Soviet relations. “The signs of decline in the tensions was however seen in July 1984 Ulaanbaatar sent a delegation which was led by its deputy foreign minister from to Beijing, the first such visit in several years. They met with China’s foreign affairs minister in order to discuss developing bilateral economic, cultural, trade, and technical relations. Also, the officials signed a document verifying the first joint inspection of the Mongolian-Chinese border”. There was also an agreement on civil aviation in December 1985, followed by the renewal of direct Beijing-Ulaanbaatar air service in June 1986. Also in the year of April 1986 an agreement was signed for increasing the trade level for a period of five years (Worden and Savada 1989).

#### **4.7.1: Political Relations an Overview**

Mongolia is among the first groups of countries, to have recognized the People’s Republic of China. In the year 1962, both the countries signed “Sino-Mongolian Treaty on Friendship and Mutual Assistance”, and “Boundary Treaty” in the year



1962. In mid and late 1960s, ties of the both went through ups and downs. During the 1970s, both countries agreed on exchanging their ambassadors. Again in the year of 1980s, noticeable improvement was observed in their relations. In the year 1989, their state and ruling party's (Chinese communist Party and Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party) ties came to normal terms. After this, their relationship and collaborations have now solidified and enhanced in ranges of the political, financial, social, instructive and military "In 1990, China and Mongolia issued a joint report, amended Sino-Mongolian Treaty on Friendship and Mutual Assistance in 1994, and signed Friendship and Cooperation Treaty between China and Mongolia in view of the past settlement". Both of the nations concurred on fortifying and creating shared cordial ties and collaboration on the premise of the five, peaceful coexistence.

**Following are the Mongolian leaders who have visited China:**

"Chinese leaders who have visited Mongolia are as follows: Premier Zhou Enlai (in 1954 and 1960), Vice-President Zhu De (in 1956), President Yang Shangkuan (in 1991), Premier Li Peng (1994), Chairman of SC of the NPC Qiao Shi (in 1997), Vice-Premier cum Foreign Minister (in 1997), President Jiang Zemin (in 1999), Member of the SC of PB of Central Committee of the CPC cum Secretary of the Secretariat Wei Jianxin (2000) and President Hu Jintao (in June 2003)" (Worden and Savada 1989).

An official authorization was given by Mongolian President Batmonkh to upgrade the Mongolian-Chinese relations when he gave a speech on May 1986 in the Nineteenth Congress. "Showing alert and limitation, Batmonkh proclaimed that Mongolia was seeking consistently its scrupulous policy of normalizing relations with China, with the qualification that the relationship should be based on equality and "non-interference in another's internal affairs". This clear instability concerning national security was reflected in Mongolian press explanations, only preceding Gorbachev's July 1986 address that reported Soviet troop withdrawals were under thought. The press focused on that the disposition of Soviet troops positioned in Mongolia was an internal matter between Mongolia and the Soviet Union, and that it was not a subject for discussion during any Sino-Soviet consultations. An article showing up in the press soon after Gorbachev's discourse caught the Mongolian opinion that "no nation which borders on China feels secure" (Worden and Savada 1989).

The initiatives of Batmonkh were followed by a visit of Chinese highest ranking official to visit Mongolia after twenty years in August 1986 visit to Mongolia. This important meeting was also followed by the approval of a consular agreement, and it was the first to be signed after the diplomatic relations were established between the countries in 1949 and this was also followed in 1987 by a few key visits and occasions: a high-level delegation from China's legislative body, the National People's Congress, visited Mongolia in June, which saw the reciprocation of the visit in September 1988 by a delegation from the People's Great Hural, the first since 1960; a scientific and technical cooperative program for the 1987 to 1988 period was ratified in July, and a noteworthy Mongolian friendship delegation went to China in the year of September 1987 responded by a Chinese friendship delegation visit to Mongolia in July 1988 (Worden and Savada 1989).

Other vital purposes of examination at the August 1986 meeting purportedly were "certain universal issues of normal concern". The press reports released by Japanese determined that the Mongolians denied the Chinese request at the meeting, which was demanding the removal of all the soviet troops from Mongolia. From the Chinese perspective, the major "obstacle" was the presence of soviet troops in Mongolia, which hindered the normalization of the relations between Soviet-Mongolia. China denied coming down from its position for maintaining only a total troop withdrawal would be satisfactory. From the Chinese viewpoint, Mongolia was once under Chinese control, so it was along these lines especially annoying that Soviet troops were currently massed around there and were coordinated against China (ibid).

In 1988 security concerns with Mongolia's image as an autonomous nation were predominantly perceptible in its foreign policy concerning China. The positioning of Soviet troops on Mongolia's fringe with China remained a noteworthy obstacle to enhance Sino-Soviet relations and Mongolian-Chinese relations. China now regards Mongolia's autonomy and sovereignty other than doing mutually advantageous collaboration in political and financial circles, as well as in the defense sector. Soni (2005: 234) proposes, "Mongolia's security is not to be seen in terms of Chinese threat". Telford (2004) additionally enunciated that amid the period of 1990 there was an improvement in the Mongolian-Chinese relations from that of virtual non-presence to one of mutual collaboration, based on the 'Treaty on Friendship and Cooperation' signed in 1994. "Batbayar (2002) characteristics this warming of states of mind to the

change in Sino-Soviet relations, the expulsion of Soviet troops from Mongolia and the downfall of the USSR”. “In contrast to Russia, China’s influence over Mongolia was increasing”. Campi (2004) says, “during the past decade (1990s) Chinese aid has become significant”.

#### **4.7.2: Trade Relations and Economic/Technological Cooperation**

The trade relations between China and Mongolia was started in the year of 1951. They also setup a committee to discuss economic, trade, scientific and technological cooperation in the year 1989 and by far seven meet ups have been held regarding this. During 1991, the governments both the countries entered into a new trade agreement, thereby replacing intergovernmental credit trade with cash trade and an investment protection agreement was also signed in the same year. In 2002 Chinese General Administration of Customs released a data in which it stated the total volume of Sino-Mongolian trade amounted to US\$ 363 million, and China’s exports were of US\$ 140 million and its imports from China was US\$ 223 million.<sup>26</sup>

On the premise of fairness and common advantage, China and Mongolia have created financial and exchange collaboration. Statistically up till the end of 2002, the Chinese investments amounted to the establishment of around 825 enterprises in Mongolia. “With its venture surpassing US\$ 281 million, China has remained Mongolia’s greatest biggest investor, achieving somewhere in the range of 40% of Mongolia’s aggregate foreign investment. The Minister of Foreign Trade and Economic Cooperation Shi Guangsheng visited to Mongolia in the year of June 2002. Since 1985 both the countries have developed border exchanges coinciding with the trade of governments as well. Border trade is also led between China’s Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang Uygur and Ningxia Hui Autonomous Regions, Hebei and Jilin Provinces and Mongolia’s related regions and departments”.<sup>27</sup> China has contributed in terms of investment in Mongolia. For instance, China with US\$ 281 million accounting for

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<sup>26</sup> China Daily Newspaper, China-Mongolia Relations, Updated: 2010-05-27 11:37, [Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015, [http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010wentour/2010-05/27/content\\_9899648.htm](http://www.chinadaily.com.cn/china/2010wentour/2010-05/27/content_9899648.htm)

<sup>27</sup> *ibid*

over 40% investment of Mongolia's total FDI (Chinese Ministry of External Affairs).<sup>28</sup>

From the Mongolian standpoint the Chinese expansion has been an issue of fear. Both the 'Concept of National Security' and 'Concept of Foreign Policy' present themselves as "massive inflows of migrants from a neighbouring state" which is the actual threat to national interests of the country. Besides some several highly publicized maps having its origins in China and presenting all or some part of Mongolia joining into China, there have been some plans on part of China for beginning "large-scale animal-husbandry operations in southern Mongolia (Kaplan, 2004) and there was also a doubt or fear of increments in investments from China might result into economic, although not physical control over Mongolia (Bruun and Odgaard 1997a)".<sup>29</sup>

Soni (2006) articulated that the economic and trade engagements came to a standstill during the time of cold war between Mongolia-china but during the post cold war period there was a significant increase in the trade exchanges which has therefore impacted the foreign policy of Mongolia.

Though it is clear that China sees its own policy as benign and focused on economic development since it has no exceptional territorial differences with Mongolia. "The opening of nine new seasonal border trade portals in addition to the major one at Zamyn Uud in the 1990s has resulted in enormous trade growth in China's favor, even while the rampant smuggling of Mongol minerals and raw animal hair deprives both governments of needed tax revenues". An economic exchange with PRC (and Taiwan) is welcome and by and largely regarded in Mongolia. The tone as well as the element of Sino-Mongolian relations has reformed in the very fifteen years. In the year 2005 there was satisfaction among the Chinese leaders that the regional policy in adherence to the Mongolian relations has been advantageous in both economic and strategic sense and will probably remain in the same way which is henceforth significant to China's overall plans for establishment of its role as an Asian and global power (Campi 2005: 8-9).

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<sup>28</sup> Telford Sarah (2004), *To What Extent Does Post-1990 Mongolia Pursue an Independent Foreign Policy?* "Research Unit on International Security and Cooperation (UNISCI), Madrid, Spain."

<sup>29</sup> *ibid*

## 4.8: Mongolia-United States Relations

The US played noteworthy role in order to affect the Mongolian foreign policy decisions. In the year of 1986 Mongolia was given the green light by Soviet foreign minister Shevardnadze in order to establish independent diplomatic relations with the US. It was basically done due to Gorbachev's decision to pull back Soviet troops in the year 1987, the loss of whose protection they feared (Batbayar 2003: 954). The foundation of the diplomatic relation with the United States was laid during the time when Mongolia was still a communist state and from that point onwards it has sought to develop bilateral cultural and economic ties. In the year 1991, a bilateral trade agreement was signed which was followed by President Bush reinstating Mongolia with a most-favored-nation (MFN) trading status which came to be known as Normal Trade Relations (NTR) and it came under conditional annual waiver provisions of Title IV of the Trade Act of 1974 (Dumbaugh and Morrison 2009). That NTR status was made permanent (PNTR) effective from July 1, 1999, obviating the annual trade status review process.<sup>30</sup>

The primary interest of the United States officials in order to establish ties because of the country's strategic and geographic location in the Sino-Soviet relationship. "Washington had considered establishing diplomatic relations in the past, but it had deferred to the Kuomintang, or Chinese Nationalist, government in Taiwan, which still claimed Mongolia as part of China. Reopening of the negotiations took place in the early 1970s, and was almost completed but the proceedings were broken off by Mongolia on account of issues between the United States and the Soviet Union, including the Second Indo-china War" (1963:75).

The groundwork of Mongolian-United States relations replicated upgrades in the United States-Soviet relationship likewise and it was reliable with Gorbachev's interest in dealing with all states that have substantial interests in Asia. United States successfully gained the diplomatic recognition of a strategically located country in Asia. The new Mongolian-United States relationship also initiated to develop ties between China and the United States. This particular relationship with United States

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<sup>30</sup> See Section 2424 of The Miscellaneous Trade and Technical Corrections Act of 1999, enacted as P.L. 106-36, effective on July 1, 1999, by Presidential Proclamation 7207.

gave Mongolia a more noticeable legitimacy to its political freedom and sovereign status and expanded its foreign policy options (ibid).

The Foreign Policy Blue Book (2000: 23) states that “the relationship with the two immediate neighbour’s remains a top priority in Mongolia’s foreign policy, however from the country’s development and national security perspective, the expansion of the relations with highly developed countries is also a top priority agenda. So improvement of relations with the US is completely predictable with the national interests of Mongolia”. Maybe at the very first look Mongolia strategic importance as a nation could not appear outside of Russia and China, however as Kaplan (2003) says “we live in an era when ‘anyplace can turn out to be strategic and after September 11th Central Asia, including Mongolia, became ‘strategic’ to the US. The USAID21 website states that US interests in Mongolia center largely on its strategic location between Russia and China, two traditional rivals that are also nuclear powers and important global players”. China’s growth on a large scale which was unbelievably rapid both militarily and economically<sup>31</sup> was considerably an issue of concern to the US, although “if we look beyond the present conflagrations in the Middle East, China looms as the greatest challenge to American power” (Kaplan 2004: 72).<sup>32</sup>

As Bruun and Odgaard (1997: 26) say “for the Mongolians, there are historical reasons to see international aid as coinciding with larger, geopolitical interests. The sequence of Russian and Chinese aid reflected delicate balances between the superpowers to which the country had to submit but perhaps owed its survival as an independent nation there is certainly an argument for this being the case today with the US replacing China and Russia. However, there were also significant attempts in the past in order to bring US and Mongolia closer”.

As Scalapino states that, in the year 1919, Bogd Khan (Divine King), the theocratic leader of Mongolia sent two letters to the American government, which requested for political acknowledgment of an autonomous Mongolia and communicated his desire for an American Consulate to be built up in the Mongolian capital of Urga (Scalapino

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<sup>31</sup>Huntington (1993), “Buoyed by spectacular economic development, China is rapidly increasing its military spending and vigorously moving forward with the modernization of its armed forces”.

<sup>32</sup>“Telford Sarah (2004), To What Extent Does Post-1990 Mongolia Pursue an Independent Foreign Policy?, Research Unit on International Security and Cooperation (UNISCI), Madrid, Spain”

2005: 9). Thereafter in April 1921, a United States Consular Office was built up in the city of Kalgan (situated in today's Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region in China).<sup>33</sup> “However, following the Soviet revolution and Mongolia’s occupation under the Soviet umbrella, the United States annulled its diplomatic ties, therefore leaving the fate of the Mongol people and territory to be determined through Soviet and Chinese diplomatic processes. Though the efforts proved futile in the early twentieth century in securing US support, Mongolia noted America’s interest in the region. The memory of this consequently lingered all through the communist time frame, giving Mongolia the certainty to once again reactivate relations with the US amidst the post-cold war period”(ibid).

Porter assimilates that Mongolia has three primary range important to enhance relations with the US, that is: political autonomy, provincial and worldwide security, and financial development. The most noteworthy element in US-Mongolia relations is the acknowledgment of Mongolia’s “third neighbour” foreign policy. Third neighbour approach is something as of late showed and in light of Mongolia’s post-Cold War move from communism to liberal democracy. A struggle for Mongolian territory between Russia and China for over a period of four hundred years, with both exercising inordinate influence over it at different times, another “neighbour” or outside power is viewed significant in balancing the influence of both Russia and China and sustaining Mongolian freedom. Despite the fact that the “third neighbour” policy is basically open to all countries who wish to develop relations with Mongolia, but the Mongolian government takes the US as its main priority.<sup>34</sup>

#### **4.8.1: Bilateral Economic Relations**

The Mongolian economy could not surpass “\$1 billion, with a national budget of \$400 million, direct foreign investment of \$43 million, and total annual foreign aid of approximately \$300 million. By contrast, nominal 2012 GDP was \$10 billion, the national budget was nearly \$5 billion, direct foreign investment amounted to \$2 billion, and foreign aid remained at \$300 million (thereby declining to approximately

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<sup>33</sup> “The United States chose to open its Consulate Office in the city of Kalgan instead of Urga mainly due to the perceived commercial benefits that were available in Kalgan (Chinese Inner Mongolia) as opposed to Urga (Outer Mongolia).”

<sup>34</sup>For see more detail Ron A. Porter, *Realpolitik in Mongolia-US Relations*[http://rcube.ritsumei.ac.jp/bitstream/10367/947/1/6RJAPS26\\_Realpolitik%20in%20Mongolia%20US%20Relations.pdf](http://rcube.ritsumei.ac.jp/bitstream/10367/947/1/6RJAPS26_Realpolitik%20in%20Mongolia%20US%20Relations.pdf)

three per cent of nominal GDP). Businesses have been a part of Mongolia's economic expansion. There was a significant increase in US exports to Mongolia from just over \$40 million in 2009 to over \$650 million in 2012, though a decline was encountered in 2013 to \$285 million due to the conditions, which were previously mentioned".<sup>35</sup> The major export commodities include passenger cars, excavating equipment, trucks and buses, industrial machinery, civilian aircraft and parts, telecommunications equipment, meat and poultry, and also some consumer items such as household appliances, pharmaceuticals, cosmetics, apparel, music, and films. U.S. imports from Mongolia include steelmaking and Ferro alloying materials, sulphur, non-metallic minerals, art and antiques, knit apparel, and jewellery. The United States and Mongolia have consented to a Bilateral Transparency Arrangement, which still can't seem to be sanctioned by the Mongolian Parliament, Bilateral Investment Treaty, and Trade and Investment Framework Agreement.<sup>36</sup>

A series of discussions were held between the senior U.S. and Mongolian government representatives on 18<sup>th</sup> May 2015 in order to reaffirm the mutual commitment for the expansion of trade and economic cooperation between the United States and Mongolia. "On May 18, 2015 Ambassador Robert W. Holleyman II, Deputy United States Trade Representative, served as the U.S. side's chair for the U.S.-Mongolia Trade and Investment Framework Agreement (TIFA) meeting. On the next day On May 19, 2015 Principal Deputy Assistant Secretary Kurt Tong of the U.S. State Department's Economic Bureau led the U.S. delegation to the inaugural U.S.-Mongolia Economic Policy Dialogue (EPD). The TIFA meeting was the first one held by the United States and Mongolia since the two sides began negotiating Agreement on Transparency in Matters Related to International Trade and Investment in 2009. The United States welcomed the December 2014 ratification of the bilateral Transparency Agreement by Mongolia's Parliament, and the two sides also explored various ways in which to advance trade and investment relations between the United States and Mongolia".<sup>37</sup>

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<sup>35</sup> U.S. Department of State Fact Sheet, (3 September 2014), Bureau Of East Asian And Pacific Affairs [Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2779.htm>

<sup>36</sup> U.S. Department of State Fact Sheet, (3 September 2014), Bureau Of East Asian And Pacific Affairs [Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015, <http://www.state.gov/r/pa/ei/bgn/2779.htm>

<sup>37</sup> The Embassy of US in Ulaanbaatar (20 May 2015), Press release. [Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015, [http://mongolia.usembassy.gov/pr\\_052015a.html](http://mongolia.usembassy.gov/pr_052015a.html)



While on the other hand Soni (2006) argues that interests of the US in Mongolia focuses considerably on the following aspects:<sup>38</sup> “(a) Mongolia’s strategic location which could prove to be of vital importance for moderating Asian politics; (b) Mongolia provides a significant though fragile example of democratic reforms and economic restructuring in a potentially unstable part of the world; and (c) Mongolia consistently lends its strong support to the US stand on several international issues including those concerning ongoing war on terrorism.<sup>39</sup> So relations with the United States have had significant impact on Mongolia’s foreign policy that can be seen through the adoption of a new independent concept of in the field of foreign affairs”.<sup>40</sup> So relations with the United States have had significant impact on Mongolia’s foreign policy that can be seen through the adoption of a new independent concept of in the field of foreign affairs.

#### **4.9: Mongolia- India Relations**

Buddhism is a way of life. Buddhism had played a significant role between Asian continents. Cultural interaction between India and Mongolia from ancient to modern time showed in various field like Buddhist literature, folklore etc. “India and Mongolia have interacted through the medium of Buddhism since a period of 2600 years. Consequentially the emergence of Mongolia as a modern nation state in the 20th century, the two countries have continued to build relations based on shared historical and cultural legacy”.

Relations between Mongolia and India have entered into a new Phase since the beginning of 1990s. Mongolia reached the uneasy road of multi-party democracy and a market oriented economy after huge demonstration. In the year of 1995 India was the first country among the non-socialist world to establish diplomatic relations with Mongolia and opened its Embassy in Ulaanbaatar in the year of 1970. India’s Vice-President Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma in the year of 1992 paid to visit Mongolia. It can be reflected as an Indian support of Mongolia’s firm commitment to choose a pro-democracy and a market-oriented economy. The Vice-President of India promised to

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<sup>38</sup>[Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015  
[www.usaid.gov/regions/ane/newpages/one\\_pagers/mong01a.htm](http://www.usaid.gov/regions/ane/newpages/one_pagers/mong01a.htm)

<sup>39</sup>Sharad K.Soni (2006), “Mongolia’s Security Thinking and Outside World: A Reappraisal”, *Bimonthly Journal of Mongolian and Tibetan Current Situation*, 15 (6): 27-39.

<sup>40</sup>Sharad K. Soni (2006), “Mongolia’s Security Thinking and Outside World: A Reappraisal”, *Bimonthly Journal of Mongolian and Tibetan Current Situation*, 15 (6): 27-39.

expand specialized help to Mongolia, in the field of preparing Mongolian experts through Indian projects (Batbayar 2001: 77).

In the year of 1994 from 21-24 February the President of Mongolia P. Ochirbat paid a visit to India. The visit was concluded with the signing of the Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation between Mongolia and India. Besides, a number of agreements including an agreement on avoidance of double taxation and an inter-governmental agreement about the creation of the bilateral cooperation were formalized. In recent time, the “President of Mongolia N. Bagabandi paid a state visit to India on 1-5 January in the year of 2001. Following his visit both sides highlights the relevance of the 1994 treaty of friendly relations and cooperation and also signed a several types of agreements. The future of those agreements formed a concrete foundation for further development of bilateral relations between the India and Mongolia” (Nyamdava 2003: 66-71).

Mongolia attributes great significance to trade and economic relations with India for the future prospective. New Delhi in the year of 2001 decided to provide financial assistance to Mongolia for the first time as a soft loan of 50 million Rupees (US \$1.7 million) for the purpose of financing the construction of a factory of vegetable oil with a capacity of 5 to 6 thousand tons per year (Soni 2001: 4-5). Another financial assistance like the new loan from India, which was to be used for financing a small-scale hydro energy, projects in the western part of Mongolia. Indian Commerce Minister visited to Mongolia in the month of September 1994 and signed a number of Protocols to create inter-governmental subcommittee on Commerce and to establish functioning relations between India and Mongolia for planning organisations. A delegation more than 20 members consisted of Indo-Mongolian Chamber of commerce in Bombay came from Mongolia to meet Mongolian businessmen and to explore the possibilities of developing trade and various investment in June 1995. As a result, the Mongolian government greatly showed their interest in the import of Indian drugs, tea, coffee, and industrial equipment. On the other hand Indian side was interested in cooking coal, fluorspar, copper, uranium, and other minerals. Due to the geographical location of Mongolia transportation of goods becomes a main problem for bilateral trade. Therefore, to solve this problem we have to establish regular flights between Mongolia and India (Foreign Policy Blue Book, 2000: 31-32).

### 4.9.1: Historical Linkages

“Babur hailed from the Barlas tribe, which was of Mongol origin and had embraced Turkic and Persian culture. They had also converted to Islam centuries earlier and resided in Turkestan and Khorasan”. The Mughals have a tenuous connection at best to the Mongolians, especially if we go all the way back to Genghis. The Mughal line starts with Timur. Timur also had a very tenuous link to the Mongols. Timur’s father was a noble in a group of peoples known as the “Barlas”. The Barlas had originally been a Mongolian tribe that may have had connections to several other Mongolian tribes, including Genghis Khan’s. Timur had four sons, his third son Miran Shah ibn Timur is the First Mughal Emperor's Great Grandfather. Thus Timur is the Great, Great, and Grandfather of the First Mughal Emperor Zahir-ud-din Muhammad Babur. The Mughals would often play up this connection and the Mughal official records and any court histories would make sure to play up the connection between Barbur and Timur (Kumar 2003: 199).

Barbur’s mother, Qutlugh Nigar Khanum was a distant ancestor of Genghis Khan’s. While Barbur and the Mughals did like to play up the connection for prestige purposes, the actual connection was pretty much nonexistent. Before they invaded India and became the “Mughal Dynasty” Barbur and his Central Asian kingdom claimed they were descendants of Chaghta, son of Genghis (ibid).

As far as Genghis Khan is concerned, Babur’s mother had descended from Chagatai Khan, son of Genghis Khan. But it is more complicated than that and we need to understand the son-in-law system of the Mongols. Mongol word for son-in-law is *guregen* (written with various spellings: kuragan, gurgan, etc). Mongols had a sort of captive son-in-law system (the Hindi word ghar jamai comes to mind) where ambitious men from outside the family were married to Khanums (feminine of Khans, descendants of Genghis) and they began working for their fathers-in-law. Only the descendant of Genghis Khan could be a Khan or Khanum. Khanums were strong powerful figures with a great deal of positive influence on the Mongol order.

In Timur’s time, the power of the Khans had waned but their prestige remained. So, Timur who was not a Khan, married multiple Chagatai and Jochi queens to increase his legitimacy and get a career boost. He called himself *gurgeniya* - son-in-law of

Genghis Khan's family without the need to feel any shame. But this did not end with Timur. Timur's children, grand children, great grand children continue to marry Khanums as did Umar Sheik Mirza, Babur's father who married Qutlugh Khanum, his mother (Kumar 2003: 199).

Thus Babur has Genghis Khan's blood not just from his mother side, but from his Timurid father's side as well because his paternal ancestors began marrying Genghis Khan's descendants from the time of Timur.

In the Mughal era in India, Timur's line was emphasized while Genghis Khan line was not. *Silsilanamas* started with Timur with no mention of Genghis. Court biographers proclaimed that Timur's achievements were on par with or exceeded Genghis Khan. Mughal emperors called themselves *gurgeniya* or Sahib Qiran like Timur and sent money for the upkeep of his mausoleum in Samarkand (ibid).

In the year of 1526, Babur, from Fergana valley,<sup>41</sup> swept across the Khyber Pass and established the Mughal Empire, which now covers modern day of Afghanistan and India. However, the Afghan warrior Sher Shah Suri defeated his son Humayun in the year of 1540, and there after Humayun was forced to shelter to Kabul.<sup>42</sup> After the death of Sher Shah's, his son Islam Shah Suri and the Hindu king Samrat Hem Chandra Vikramaditya, who had won 22 battles against Afghan rebels and forces of Akbar, from Punjab to Bengal and had established a secular Hindu rule in North India from Delhi till 1556. It was Akbar and his forces who defeated and killed Hemu in the second battle of Panipat on November 6, 1556 (Kumar 2003: 199).

By 1600 the Indian subcontinent was ruled majorly by the Mughal dynasty, though it went into a slow decline after 1707. A severe blow was suffered by the Mughals due to the frequent attacks from Marathas and Afghans in result of this the Mughal dynasty was reduced to puppet rulers by 1757. The fragments of the Mughal dynasty were finally defeated during the Indian Rebellion of 1857, also called the 1857 War of Independence. But this period manifested an immense social transformation in the subcontinent as the Mughal emperor ruled over the Hindu majorities and most of these Mughal rulers showed religious tolerance, and also liberally patronized the culture practiced by Hindu. Akbar, the grandson of Babar who was also a great

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<sup>41</sup> Fergana Valley situated in modern day in Uzbekistan

<sup>42</sup> See more The Islamic World to 1600: Rise of the Great Islamic Empires (The Mughal Empire)

emperor tried to ascertain a good association with the Hindus. However, emperors such as Aurangzeb in the later centuries tried to establish complete Muslim dominance, and as a result of this several historical temples were demolished during this period and non-Muslims were taxed as well. When the Mughal Empire was on the verge of decline various smaller states rose in order to fill the power vacuum and they themselves were causative reasons to the decline. In 1739, a huge Battle of Karnal took place in which Nader Shah, emperor of Iran, defeated the Mughal army. This resulted in Nader capturing and plundering Delhi, also carrying away many treasures, including the Peacock Throne.<sup>43</sup>

“The Mughals in Indian subcontinents were perhaps the single dynasty to have ever existed. During the Mughal era, the dominant political forces consisted of the Mughal Empire and its tributaries and, later on, the rising successor states including the Maratha Empire, which fought an increasingly weak Mughal dynasty. The Mughals, while often employing brutal tactics to subjugate their empire, had a policy of integration with Indian culture, which is what made them successful where the short-lived Sultanates of Delhi had failed. Akbar the Great was particularly famed for this. Akbar declared “Amari” or non-killing of animals in the holy days of Jainism. He rolled back the *jizya* tax for non-Muslims. The Mughal emperors married local royalty, allied themselves with local *maharajas*, and attempted to fuse their Turko-Persian culture with ancient Indian styles, creating a unique Indo-Saracenic architecture. It was the erosion of this tradition coupled with increased brutality and centralization that played a large part in the dynasty’s downfall after Aurangzeb, who unlike previous emperors, imposed relatively non-pluralistic policies on the general population, which often inflamed the majority Hindu population” (Meyler 2011).

#### **4.9.2: Cultural Linkages**

According to the Nya culture is a soft power and its play more important role than the hard power. Buddhism in the new world order, which originated from India 2500 years ago and onwards still, holds relevance. It has once again become the hope of survival of humankind in the ongoing world scenario when it is witnessing both the threats and challenges to the very existence of human civilization (Stobdan 2011:11-12). “It is more so because the universal relevance of Buddhism as an organised form

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<sup>43</sup>The Princeton Encyclopedia of Islamic Political Thought: page 340

of knowledge and spiritual force that has the proven record of peaceful co-existence with all religions and the people around the world” (Soni 2012). Buddhism is defined as a religion, which teaches people to “live and let live”. If one looks at the history Buddhism has never damaged or nor had any conflict with the other religion in any part of the world in order to preach own religion. It also never envisaged the existence of any other religion as a hindrance to worldly progress and peace (V.K.S. Dhammananda 2013).<sup>44</sup> India once upon a time was the land of Buddhism. It has not only witnessed several activities which led to the revival of Buddhism on its land from where it was once routed out but also providing a common platform for a united voice of Buddhists worldwide. In order to exemplify this the first international Buddhist Gathering took place in New Delhi on 27-30 November 2011 which saw participation of more than 900 delegates which included heads and representatives from Buddhist Sanghas, national Buddhist federations, organisations and institutions from 46 countries. They also decide to set up a new international Buddhist organization in India, which will be called the “International Buddhist Confederation” (ibid).

As for Buddhism is concerned, it not only reformulated and revived the Mongolian national identity but also carrying them close to the Indians people. Whereas, due to its close historical links based on Buddhism India would always like to see Mongolia prosper through strengthening bilateral and multilateral relations in every field with the notion of wide-ranging partnership and friendship. The Buddhist linkages between the two nations are captivating, extraordinary and indistinguishable; rising above all human exercises from language, writing, religion, medication, old stories, culture and customs. “This truly sets a case pertinent to different areas of the world with respect to how Buddhism in present scenario turns into a main consideration in keeping the obligation of trust between the at least two nations alive and what ought to further be done to maintain the same”. The Austral-Asian locale also can be found in that point of view. Furthermore, in this juncture the requirement for setting up close connections between different Buddhist conventions and groups as well as scholastics who could share and trade learning and knowledge so as to add to further advancement of Buddhism in any area of the world. What is striking to note here is that Buddhism can

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<sup>44</sup> V.K.S. Dhammananda, (2013), “The Buddhist Attitude towards other Religions” [Online: web] Accessed 25 November 2015, <http://www.knowbuddhism.info/2009/03/buddhist-attitude-towards-religions.html>

likewise be utilized as geopolitical apparatus in territorial and global viewpoints to meet the fluctuated challenges confronting the world in the 21st century.<sup>45</sup>

### **4.9.3: Political linkages**

On 24 December 1955 India and Mongolia established their diplomatic relationship, which was started for mutual understanding and friendship. Outside the purview of the Soviet bloc, India was the first country that established diplomatic relations with Mongolia. India was the supporter of Mongolia in obtaining UN and NAM memberships. In 2010, Mongolia celebrated 55th Anniversary of the establishment of bilateral diplomatic relations. “Exchange of High Level Visits: Mongolia was visited by Presidents Mrs. Pratibha Devisingh Patil (2011) and President R. Venkataraman (1988); Vice-Presidents Dr. S. Radha krishnan (1957), Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma (1992), Mr. KR Narayanan (1996), and Krishan Kant (1999) and Lok Sabha Speakers Dr. G.S. Dhillon (1974), Dr. Balram Jhakar (1985), Mr. Shivraj Patil (1995), Mr. P.A. Sangma (1997) Mr. GMC Balayogi (2001) and Mrs. Meira Kumar (2010). The important visits from Mongolia to India were the Chairmen of the Presidium U. Tsendenbal (1959) and Mr. Bathmunkh (1989); Presidents P. Ochirbaat (1994), President N. Bagabandi (2001) and President T. S. Elbegdorj (2009); Chairmen of the State Great Hural Mr. N. Bagabandi (1996), Mr. R. Gonchigdorj (1998), Mr. S. Tumur- Ochir (2003) and Mr. D.Demberel (2010); Prime Ministers Mr. Tsendenbal (1973 and earlier in 1959 as Chairman of the Presidium), N. Enkhbayar (2004 and earlier as the then Leader of Opposition in 1999)”.<sup>46</sup>

“President of India paid a State Visit to Mongolia from 27-30 July 2011. She was joined by an official appointment, including Cabinet Minister and Members of Parliament, and a composite business designation. India affirmed giving a credit extension of US \$ 20 million for India-Mongolia Joint Information Technology Education and Outsourcing Center to be set up in Ulaanbaatar. India additionally consented to redesign and modernize Rajiv Gandhi Arts and Production School and the Atal Bihari Vajpayee Center for Excellence in Information and Communication Technology Education and to work with Mongolian experts on Joint India-Mongolia

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<sup>45</sup> ibid

<sup>46</sup>[Online: web] Accessed 27 March 2016

[http://www.aseanindia.com/wp,content/uploads/2013/51/India\\_Mongolia\\_Brief\\_Updated\\_In\\_January\\_2013\\_For\\_Xp\\_Division.pdf](http://www.aseanindia.com/wp,content/uploads/2013/51/India_Mongolia_Brief_Updated_In_January_2013_For_Xp_Division.pdf)

School to be set up at Ulaanbaatar. Amid the visit respective Defense collaboration understanding, a MOU on media trades and a MOU on participation between Planning Commission of India and National Development and Innovation Committee (NDIC) were agreed upon. There were discourses on participation in serene employments of radioactive minerals and atomic vitality and enhancing air availability between the two nations. Leader of India congratulated President Elbegdorj on Mongolia accepting the Chair of ‘Group of Democracies’. Mongolia repeated its support to India in turning into a lasting individual from a change and extended UNSC”.<sup>47</sup>

An India-Mongolian Joint Declaration was issued taking after the visit of Premier Yu. Tsendenbal in February 1973. “The Declaration incorporates general standards to control respective relations. In February 1994, a Treaty of Friendly Relations and Co-operation was marked amid the visit of President Ochirbat to India. Amid the state visit of Mongolian President Natsagiin Bagabandi in 2001, a Joint Declaration was issued sketching out the future course of respective relations. Six Agreements were additionally marked amid the visit identifying with Extradition, Defense collaboration, Co-operation in Information Technology, Investment Promotion and Protection, Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters and Mutual Legal Assistance concerning Civil and Commercial Matters”.<sup>48</sup>

#### **4.9.4: Trade linkages**

“In the year of 1994 during the visit of the Minister for Commerce Mr. Pranab Mukherjee, two MOUs were sign to pertaining for the establishment of a Joint Trade Sub-Committee and Cooperation between the Planning Commission of India and the National Development Board of Mongolia were signed. An agreement for co-operation in the field of geology and mineral resources was signed in September 1996. In 1996 during the visit of the then Vice President, Mr. K.R. Narayanan to Mongolia, an Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation between India and Mongolia was signed. The Agreement provides for MFN status to each other in respect of customs duties and all other taxes on imports and exports. During the visit of President Bagabandi in 2001, both sides signed an Investment Promotion and

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<sup>47</sup> ibid

<sup>48</sup> ibid



Protection Agreement. The main items of exports to Mongolia include medicines, mining machinery and auto parts, etc. Imports from Mongolia include raw wool”(Raja Mohan 2009).

India must look past its most recent distraction with uranium diplomacy. As far as the location is concerned only a few countries are strategic as Mongolia. And very few of them share any spiritual linkage with India. In respect to all that, “Mongolia is critical for a rising India’s Asian strategy. After its liberation from three-and-a-half decades of international isolation, the Department of Atomic Energy has embarked on an ambitious expansion of India’s nuclear power programme”. Given the limited Uranium resources at home, the DAE needs to have reliable agreements on importing the stuff. The Foreign Office is now on a mission mode to secure Uranium deals. The estimated Uranium reserves to be around some 62,000 tonnes, which puts Mongolia in worlds, top 15 countries having Uranium. Though the country is not having any nuclear power plants with a population of just over 3 million makes it every incentive to export uranium. The only one element in Mongolia vast riches is uranium. Therefore the capital Ulan Bator is building up a sovereign wealth fund in order to manage its flourishing mining sector. In one the Mongolia’s presidential elections, distribution of the mineral wealth distribution has been a main political question. “As India’s own demand for imported natural resources multiplies, Mongolia is a natural and long-term economic partner (ibid)”. “It is the geopolitical location, however, that makes Mongolia very special for India’s Asian strategy”. Since the end of the Cold War, Mongolia’s inborn strategic brilliance has reaffirmed the situation in making a dynamic foreign policy. “By denoting America as its ‘third neighbour’, Mongolia has skillfully played a balance of power game between Beijing, Moscow and Washington. With President Elbegdorj choosing India for his first foreign destination, Delhi has the rare opportunity to emerge as Mongolia’s ‘fourth neighbour’. All it needs is to match the strategic imagination of Ulan Bator and reciprocate the special warmth that Mongolia reserves for India (ibid)”.

#### **4.9.5: India-Mongolia Strategic Partnership**

On May 29, 2006, a website story entitled “*Mongolia to become Strategic Military Location*” emphasized on the growing Chinese concerns over setting up of a foreign military base in Mongolia, which pointed to India as a prospective country to do

that.<sup>49</sup> This particular story was derived from the reports by the Chinese governmental papers as saying that “India is trying to expand its military resources to establish a potential base in Mongolia”.<sup>50</sup> Henceforth the issue came into forefront when Delhi decided to participate in the multilateral peace keeping exercise in Mongolia popularly known as “Khan Quest 2006”.<sup>51</sup> “There are reports which had even denoted that India’s traditional security thrust in South East Asia is now being stretched to East Asia and the Pacific and is being supplemented by a Push North effort in Central Asia” (Soni 2009 190-199). “Obviously, Mongolia figured prominently in so-called India’s scheme of extending its influence in East Asia, particularly if it goes beyond to include North East Asia” (Soni 2009: 50-65). It is undoubtedly fact that Mongolia figured noticeably in claimed India’s strategy of augmenting its impact in East Asia, especially in the event that it goes past to incorporate North East Asia.

“As per China’s geopolitical concerns in that region it make crucial voice against any countries setting up military operations in Mongolia, Khan Quest was a totally different kind of affairs”. Hence, China becomes suspicious against Indian movement in Mongolia. Though this would be completely unfair if we look into the part of china for being suspicious of this planned peace keeping exercise. “Especially when the fact remains that it was not only India which was participating in that event but there were several others also including Bangladesh, Fiji, Mongolia, Thailand, Tonga and the USA whose platoons did such exercises in order to get certified to assist in UN peacekeeping missions around the world” (Soni 2009: 190-199). Beginning from 2001 until five years ahead only the Mongolian and US troops participated but in 2006 it was expanded in order to include other countries as well when the Khaan Quest was held on 11-25 August at the Five Hills Training Center located about 60 kilometers, West of Ulaanbaatar. China expressed its apprehensions that the exercise was to be a disguise for practicing counter terrorism or even full-fledged combat operations near their border with Mongolia. These types of concerns were raised when an article was published on 25 March 2006 in Qingnian Cankao, a Chinese

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<sup>49</sup> “Mongolia to become Strategic Military location?,” (2006), [Online: web] Accessed 15 June 2015  
<http://mongolia.neweurasia.net/?p=226>

<sup>50</sup> *ibid*

<sup>51</sup> Khaan Quest is being organized in Mongolia since 2001 by the General Staff of the Mongolian armed Forces with the support of the US Pacific Command, see Lt. Col. G. Nyamdorj, “Canada goes to Khan Quest”, *The Maple Leaf*, 17 May 2006, p. 15.

government-controlled newspaper.<sup>52</sup> But later in the year 2007 when Khaan Quest took place on 1-16 August, China came forward along with Russia, Malaysia and Japan to participate as observer states in this annual military training exercise which was surprising for the world.<sup>53</sup> “Though it is difficult to predict if Chinese notion has really come to an end as another report which appeared in the online edition of an Indian newspaper, The Tribune which said that “India is quietly expanding its defence and security links with Mongolia in a bid to monitor China’s space and military activities in the region”(Rahul Bedi 2007).<sup>54</sup> It shows like a kind of cooperative partnership is tried to be developed by the two countries on the basis on analysis being done in the regard of its defence and security links. Apparently, in December 2005, both the countries agreed to upgrade the defence cooperation in training and discover cooperation in other areas of mutual interests and advantage.<sup>55</sup> Proceeding with that very viewpoint both the countries came up with India-Mongolia Joint Working Group in order to work out the details of cooperation in the field of defence, which also included holding of regular joint exercises. “These guarantees lie in to fact that India and Mongolia are two ancient civilizations whose spiritual and cultural bonds go back into history, and that Mongolia wants to learn from Indian expertise to modernize its defence” (Soni 2009: 50-65).

There is an enhanced improvement since 2001 in regard to the defence ties between India and Mongolia as well as in the fields of training, bilateral visits and joint military exercises. India also provides training facilities to Mongolian defence personnel in English language, peace keeping and military operations. In the year November 2003 and then in December 2005 Mongolian Defence Minister paid a visit to India while India’s Minister of State for Defence visited Mongolia in May 2006 in the regard to bilateral visits. Both the countries initiated the first joint military exercise in Mongolia in October 2004, and the second one in December 2005 at the

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<sup>52</sup> “Mongolia to become Strategic Military location?”, (29 May 2006) [Online: web] Accessed 2 November 2015 <http://mongolia.neweurasia.net/?p=226>

<sup>53</sup> “Khaan Quest 2007: Multi-national Military Exercise Starts in Mongolia,” (Basically Khan Quest 2007 was a multi-national military exercise, a joint Mongolian-U.S. 4<sup>th</sup> annual military training exercise will be conducted on August 1-16 at the Tavan Tolgoi (Five Hills) Training Camp, 60 Kilometers west of Ulaanbaatar). [Online: web] Accessed 7 December 2015 <http://ubpost.blogspot.Com/2007/07/khan-quest-2007-multi-national-military.html>.

<sup>54</sup> Bedi, Rahul (2007), “Defence ties with Mongolia Expanded: Bid to Monitor China's Military Activities”, 10 August 2007, [Online: web] Accessed 15 July 2015 <http://www.tribuneindia.com/2007/20070810/main5.htm>

<sup>55</sup> “India, Mongolia to set up Joint Working Group on Defence”, [Online: web] Accessed 15 January 2015 <http://www.india-defence.com/reports/986>

Counter-Insurgency Jungle Warfare School (CIJWS) at Vairangte, in India's North Eastern state of Mizoram bordering Myanmar.<sup>56</sup> The third took place in Mongolia after Khan Quest in 2007 and this joint military exercise was called "Nomadic Elephant".<sup>57</sup> It is also noteworthy that the very first meeting of the India-Mongolia Joint Working Group on Defence Cooperation also took place in Ulaanbaatar on March /April 2006.<sup>58</sup> From that very time both the countries have set off various initiatives, which includes consistent dialogue between the National Security Councils in order to exchange ideas that concern the bilateral and international aspect (Soni 2009: 50-65).

However, India is aware of the fact that Mongolia is a sensitive issue as far as external international strategic interest is concerned in this tiny populated (just 2.6 million) but strategically important country in the post-cold war geo-strategic set up. As far as India is concerned it would not allow itself to engage in any controversy, particularly at a time when it is being acclaimed in entire Asia by both big and small nations, for its efforts regarding establishment of regional peace and security (ibid). "What is relevant at this point is that India's participation in multilateral military exercises on the Mongolian soil must be viewed in a broad perspective of India's new role in East Asia that could give New Delhi a boost for its involvement in regional cooperation/integration process in which Mongolia could also be a participant".<sup>59</sup> Therefore one can only view India's strategic relations with Mongolia in respect of mutual partnership that the two distant neighbours can have, without endangering the relations with the third country. On 6 June 2008, while delivering a speech at Peking University, Beijing, India's External Affairs Minister Pranab Mukherjee revealed, "Friendship between India and any one strategic partner is not at the expense of relations with any third country or another strategic partner".<sup>60</sup> He, though, emphasized, that "Our ties are not a product of strategic expediency, but of a long term vision".<sup>61</sup>

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<sup>56</sup> ibid

<sup>57</sup> "Khaan Quest 2007: Multi-national Military Exercise Starts in Mongolia", [Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015 <http://ubpost.blogspot.com/2007/07/khan-quest-2007-multi-national-military.html>

<sup>58</sup> See Government of India, Ministry of Defence, Annual Report: 2006-2007, p.156.

<sup>59</sup> For more on Mongolia's efforts for regional cooperation, see Ts. Munkh-Orgil, "Regional Integration Processes and Mongolia", *The Mongolian Journal of International Affairs*, no.12, 2005, pp. 3-7.

<sup>60</sup> See External Affairs Minister's Speech on "India's Foreign Policy Today" at Peking University in Beijing, China on 6 June 2008, at <http://www.meaindia.nic.in>

<sup>61</sup> ibid

On July 27, 2011 President *Pratibha Devisingh Patil* visited Mongolia; Ms. Patil was the first Indian President to visit Mongolia in 23 years and said

“India will explore new avenues to impart more dynamism into its relations with mineral-rich Mongolia especially in coal, steel and infrastructure sectors. India will focus on the ways and means to impart more economic content to our relationship and to see how India can play a more dynamic role in the core strengths of the Mongolian economy for example in coal and steel. In a more contemporary context, we seek to connect with Mongolia through what I call the 3 Enterprise, Economics and Education. You are the vehicle, the via-media to take the relationship forward, to provide the relationship content, substance and meaning, My visit seeks to strengthen our relationship, building upon the momentum generated by the visit of President Elbegdorj to India in September 2009, when our ties were expanded to a comprehensive partnership. Further, we have agreed to work together on a joint India-Mongolia School, Mongolia is spread in an area of 1.565 million square kilometer and has a population of about 2.7 million. About 92 per cent of its population follows Buddhism and the country shares its border with China and Russia. India and Mongolia are good trading partners. India exports pharma products, veterinary medicines, automobiles and their parts to this country and the bilateral trade has touched \$16.9 million. India has also decided to increase the number of slots available to Mongolia under the Indian Technical Education Cooperation (ITEC) Programme to 150. The number of Indian Council of Cultural Relations (ICCR) scholarships available to Mongolia will be increased to 50. India will assist in human resource development and capacity building efforts of Mongolia” (Ulaanbaatar, July 27, 2011).<sup>62</sup>

Though one is aware of the fact that India and Mongolia are geographically far apart, but despite the fact there is no stoppage in continuation of their civilizational links spreading over the period of 2,700 years. These connections are fascinating, tremendous and indivisible, growing above all human exercises from language, literature, religion, medicine, and folklore to culture and traditions. India is not only respected in Mongolia for being the homeland of Buddha but besides as a country to which the Mongolian people attribute all that have been considered the highest attainments of wisdom and learning. The spiritual connections between both the countries therefore, make it essential for them to collaborate with each other in regional integration procedures in addition to the mutual benefits. The policy of Look East in addition to its constant role in East Asia might have far reaching effects to the degree of promoting Mongolia as far as regional cooperation is concerned. Obviously, Mongolia could seek India’s support and certainly in view of the recent developments

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<sup>62</sup>President Pratibha *Devisingh Patil* address members of the Indian community based in Mongolia, during a reception hosted at the India Embassy in Ulaanbaatar on July 27

in India-Mongolia ties it seems possible to a large extent.<sup>63</sup> “It would certainly benefit Mongolia economically. Being geographically apart will no longer be seen as a hindrance in order to conduct smooth bilateral economic and trade ties, and also engagements in various regional cooperative initiatives. As far as India is concerned in the view of occupying a significant position in Mongolia’s foreign and security policies in order to become the fourth neighbour, one can anticipate to watch the two sides attaining maximum benefits with a way of cooperative partnership in all areas of mutual interest”.<sup>64</sup>

“In the year of 17 May 2015, monetary package of \$1 billion to Mongolia was provided by India in the field of expansion of its economic competence and infrastructure. A decision was also taken by both the countries to upgrade their relationship from comprehensive to strategic partnership Narendra Modi, becoming the first Indian Prime Minister to visit Mongolia, held wide ranging talks with his counterpart Chimed Saikhanbileg here resulting in inking of 14 agreements covering defence, cyber security, agriculture, renewable energy and health sector”.

Prime Minister Modi said at a joint press interaction with Saikhanbileg in Mongolia that

“I am pleased to announce that India will provide a Line of Credit of \$one billion to support expansion of Mongolia's economic capacity and infrastructure. We can work together to help advance peace, stability and prosperity in this region. In a reflection of our commitment to further deepen our relationship, we have decided to upgrade our comprehensive partnership to 'strategic partnership .The agreements that we have just signed speak to the depth of the relationship. These cover economic relations, development partnership, defence and security, and people-to-people contacts," the Prime Minister added”.<sup>65</sup>

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<sup>63</sup>Soni, Sharad K. (2009), “India-Mongolia Relations in Regional Perspective”.

<sup>64</sup> Ibid

<sup>65</sup> The Times Of India News Paper (17 May 2015), PM Narendra Modi announces \$1 billion line of credit for Mongolia, New Delhi.[Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015,<http://timesofindia.indiatimes.com/india/PM-Narendra-Modi-announces-1-billion-line-of-credit-for-Mongolia/articleshow/47314853.cms>

#### **4.10: Mongolia –Canada Relations**

Canada assumes a vital part in multilateral discourse processes on Asia Pacific security and economic cooperation and both the countries have similar views on various regional issues. Mongolian democratic reforms had been supported by Canada from the very beginning and it began to collaborate in framework of multilateral organisations such as the IMF, World Bank and Asian Development Bank. Mongolia is keen on progressing two-sided relations, executing regular exchange of views on regional security issues and in addition participating in the peacekeeping areas. Mongolia will give careful consideration to growing advancement participation with Canada inside the structure of multilateral co-operation. In the areas such as trade, agriculture and mining more attention will be put in order to expand the ventures. “Training of Mongolian professionals, exchanges between institutions of higher education and expansion of contacts between NGO’s of the two countries will be pursued in the humanitarian field”.<sup>66</sup>

Mining is the major commercial interest for investment in Mongolia for Canada. It is also the second-largest source of foreign investment in Mongolia after China. Endeavors are in progress to grow bilateral trade into new sectors such as agriculture, and construction In support of these endeavors, Agriculture and Agri-Food Canada, the Standards Council of Canada and the Canadian Commercial Corporation have signed bilateral cooperation memoranda of understanding with Mongolian agencies. Negotiations are additionally in progress to conclude a Foreign Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement (FIPA). There has been increase in the efforts by both the countries to promote educational ties and associations between the two nations. There is an increase in the number of Mongolian students for choosing Canada as their study destination and also new institutional partnerships are being signed between Canadian and Mongolian universities. As part of the study programme, Canadian students conduct their research projects in Mongolia. In October 2013, the first ever Study in Canada Fair was held in Ulaanbaatar, drawing in a record number of guests for this sort of occasion.<sup>67</sup>

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<sup>66</sup> Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book (2006), Ulaanbaatar

<sup>67</sup> Embassy of Canada to Mongolia, [Online: web] Accessed 16 November 2015, [http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/mongolia,mongolie/bilateral\\_relations\\_bilaterales/index.aspx?lang=eng](http://www.canadainternational.gc.ca/mongolia,mongolie/bilateral_relations_bilaterales/index.aspx?lang=eng)

#### **4.11: Mongolia –Australia Relations**

In the year 1972 Australia and Mongolia developed diplomatic relations. The bilateral engagement enhanced relations, which was the result of the democratic and free-market reforms in Mongolia in the early 1990s. The important aspects on which relations of both the countries were based are development assistance and commercial activities in Mongolia's resources sector. But not only this there has been strong people-to-people linkages and development of political engagement. Mongolian embassy was opened in Canberra in the year 2008. Australia was one of the first countries to have supported Mongolia democratic reforms and from its very inception had provided political and economic assistance. Different programs corresponding to general administration, education, water supply improvement, and advancement of mining management including the training of Mongolian specialists. These things are being realized as agreed by both sides in 1993.<sup>68</sup>

Respective exchange amongst both the countries is modest, with the total amount of trade \$24 million in 2013 of two-way merchandise, which came down from earlier of \$45 million in 2011. The Australian Government provided an estimated \$10.3 million in total ODA to Mongolia in 2015-16. This also incorporated an estimated \$5.9 million in bilateral funding to Mongolia managed by DFAT. All this mostly comprised Australian exports of equipment of civil engineering, parts and machinery, pumps for liquids, and other equipment and tools, which are required in Mongolia's mining industry. Mongolia exported to Australia items such as telecom hardware and parts, and medicinal electro-diagnostic devices. Both the countries have also collaborated on the territorial and international issues, which incorporates both defence and security. Global peacekeeping and security has been an exclusive attention of their participation. Both the countries have also engaged in various UN peacekeeping operations such as in South Sudan, where the deployment of Mongolian personnel over eight hundred. There has been deployment of troops in alliance processes in Iraq and Afghanistan and also in peacekeeping operations of Kosovo and Sierra Leone. The annual participation of Australia is also seen in Khan Quest hosted by Mongolia. The volunteer presence by Australia has been long. As Federal office of Berlin states, "Australia has long had a volunteer nearness in

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<sup>68</sup> *ibid*



Mongolia. Since 2002, more than 220 Australian volunteers have added to Mongolia's improvement. Business is further developing the connections amongst Australia and Mongolia. More than 650 Australians live in Mongolia with a further 1000 Australians going to Mongolia on here and now assignments whenever. 50 Australian organisations have a nearness in Mongolia, including a few huge Australian organisations working in the mining sector”.<sup>69</sup>

#### **4.12: Mongolia – Germany Relations**

From the historical perspective it can be said that the closer engagements between Germany and Mongolia stem to a great extent from the extraordinary relationship that existed between the GDR and the Mongolian Peoples Republic. “Today, the Mongolian government considered to Germany as its leading partner in the European Union. Germany was the first official port of call on the first visit to Europe by President Ochirb at the first democratically elected president of Mongolia, in September 1995”. The year 2014, marked the 40th anniversary of diplomatic relations between the countries and the Federal Foreign Minister Stein Meier also visited Mongolia in July 2014, which emphasized the positive state of bilateral relations.<sup>70</sup>

German imports from Mongolia declined by 15.7 per cent, and Mongolian imports from Germany by 31 per cent. Though the volume of bilateral trade is modest, Germany records a clear structural export surplus. Germany is Mongolia’s second principal trading partner after the United Kingdom in the European Union. “A downfall of trade occur in the year of 2014, which had seen strong growth in the previous years and reached a record high of EUR 171.5 million in 2013 to EUR 126.3 million. More specifically, in the year 2014 German imports from Mongolia were around EUR 9.3 million whereas exports from Germany were worth EUR 117 million. In the 2014 the comparison of trade shows that the total foreign trade of Mongolia with EU countries was worth EUR 407.6 million, whereas the goods which

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<sup>69</sup> Australian Government, Department of Foreign Affairs and trade, *Mongolia country brief*, [Online: web] Accessed 17 November 2015, <http://dfat.gov.au/geo/mongolia/pages/mongolia-country-brief.aspx>

<sup>70</sup> Federal Foreign Office Berlin, [Online: web] Accessed 17 November 2015, [http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/01-Nodes/Mongolei\\_node.html](http://www.auswaertiges-amt.de/EN/Aussenpolitik/Laender/Laenderinfos/01-Nodes/Mongolei_node.html)

EU imported from Mongolia totalled to EUR 76.5 million and EU exported goods amounted to Mongolia EUR 331.1 million”.<sup>71</sup>

“Germany is supporting Mongolia not only through bilateral relations but also within the framework of multilateral institutions specifically within the European Union, UN Development Program, G-8, international monetary and financial institutions. It pursued a policy of including Mongolia in major projects implemented by these institutions and supported Mongolia within the donor community”.<sup>72</sup>

#### **4.13: Mongolia-France Relations**

Both the countries established diplomatic relations between in the year 1965. The year 2015 marked the golden year for France and Mongolia, indeed, a number of events took place to mark and celebrate the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of diplomatic relation between the two countries. Though much before establishing diplomatic relations, historically more than 800 years ago the exchange of letters took place between the monarchs of Mongolia and France. Copies of such historical documents were exposed at the reception. In the recent scenario, Mongolian-French relations are positive and cooperation is developed in various fields such as political, energy, agricultural, cultural and defence.<sup>73</sup>

From the Mongolian perspective France is an important ally and development of relation is important because of France possessing a permanent member status in the UN Security Council, as well as a powerful country in the European Union that conducts an active policy on the world arena. France is not only one of the consistent supporters of Mongolia’s democratic reforms since 1990 but also is one of the donor countries for Mongolia. While until the 1990s the two nations had kept up for the most part between parliamentary relations, beginning from 1990, the Prime Minister of Mongolia, Chairman of State Great Hural and in addition Government ministers have visited France. The Cultural Agreement which was agreed between Mongolia-France in the year 1968 marked engagements in areas of culture, science and innovation and it has been significantly emerging and persistently extending. There

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<sup>71</sup> *ibid*

<sup>72</sup> Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book (2006), Ulaanbaatar

<sup>73</sup> French Mongolian Chamber of Commerce (23 July 2015), 50th anniversary of diplomatic relation between France and Mongolia, [Online: web] Accessed 5 January 2015, <http://www.ccifrance-mongolie.org/single-news/n/61834/50th-anniversary-of-diplomatic-relation/>

are cooperation between them in areas of communication, energy, geology, mining, health and tourism. There are opportunities for continued development of cooperation in other areas.<sup>74</sup>

#### **4.14: Mongolia- Japan Relations**

Relations amongst Mongolia and Japan initiated during the period of 13th century, however the two nations had no formal, diplomatic interactions until the late 20th century. Japan a powerful Asian country plays an important role in Mongolia foreign policy for the country being one of the highly advanced economies and having significant impact in world affairs. In May 1998 the president of Mongolia, Mr. Natsagyn Bagabandi visited Japan and concluded The Joint Declaration on Friendly Relations and Cooperation, hereby developing towards bilateral relations that come up to the level of comprehensive partnership. The Declaration considered principles of economical progress of long-term relations between Mongolia and Japan in every field and was of a great implication in strengthening of the mutual understanding between the peoples of the two nations. There was a reliable progress between the two countries' since the establishment of diplomatic relations in the year of 1992 until the early 1990s. The end of the Cold War, brought significant transformations in the world most prominently the democratic changes in Mongolia, the bilateral relations accomplished new statures making constructive situations for their expansion in all areas.<sup>75</sup>

Japan is intensely reliant on imported minerals. As the world's second largest economy, therefore in order to compensate for its lack of natural resources need Japan has been actively seeking cooperation, and has set its eyes on Mongolia. Therefore in order to support Mongolia during the time of economic difficulties and its transition towards democracy Japan provided various forms of economic aid. Which amounted to 128.28 billion (around USD 1.2billion) between 1991 and 2004. This particular amount was equal to seventy percent of foreign loans in Mongolia. A non-reimbursable aid of USD 30-35 million and more than 10million in the field of science and technology every year as well as favorable credit of around USD 45-50 million was also provided by Japan. In order to provide for the economic aid on a

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<sup>74</sup>Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book (2006), Ulaanbaatar

<sup>75</sup>Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book (2006), Ulaanbaatar, pp24

regular basis to Mongolia, Japan also organizes international organisations and donor countries in order to provide the support (Nalin 2006:34-60).

Overall, the two major reasons can be located for these two nations relationship. Firstly, Japan needs to extend its political Mongolia's urgent need for foreign investments influence keeping in mind the end goal to assume a more dynamic role in Asia. Secondly, the urgent need for foreign investments is also seen as a factor of engagement with Mongolia. This particular aspect is also giving the opportunity to Japan to exercise better impact on Mongolia's politics and economy. In this way it plays an active role in Mongolia and making the country ready for mass exploitation of Mongolia's natural resources (ibid).

#### **4.15: Mongolia –South Korea and North Korea Relations**

Mongolia strives to maintain a balanced relationship with Korean peninsula. South Korea (also known as the Republic of Korea, or ROK) North Korea (or the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, or DPRK) and South Korea (also known as the Republic of Korea, or ROK). The year of 1990 marked the beginning of diplomatic relations between Mongolia and the Republic of Korea, since that very time there is positive increase in political, economic, social, educational and humanitarian fields.

The "Third Neighbour" foreign policy of Mongolia balancing the possibility of subjugation, either symbolically or literally by powerful neighbours China and Russia. Thus the policy proved to befitting to both Mongolia, and North Korea, thereby permitting it to alleviate its isolation and at the same time serving broader regional security imperatives. Indeed, since the fall of communism in Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar has pursued as described by scholars such as Rodionov, Badmatsyrenov and Shurkhoo "equidistance"<sup>76</sup> from great regional powers in order to maintain its relations with other countries. "This supposed equidistance in an entirely political sense,

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<sup>76</sup> Rodionov V.A. et al. (2006) "Return" of Russia to Mongolia: The problem of choice of strategy, *Ecumene Regional studies research* [Online: web] Accessed 18 November 2015, [http://ojkum.ru/arc/2012\\_04/2012\\_04\\_14.html](http://ojkum.ru/arc/2012_04/2012_04_14.html)

particularly implies that China, Russia and different nations, balance each other in the process of a competitive struggle for influence over Mongolia”.<sup>77</sup>

While taking into consideration this particular bilateral relationship there are two key things; the first essential point is that Mongolia’s democratic and economic path does not reflect an overt pro-Western orientation. Second, Mongolia’s transition from communist rule offers a potential system, or at least insights, for such a transition to take place in North Korea. Though the reality of North Korea presently is quite different from that of Mongolia, however a shared historical background could help in initiating the transformation of North Korea.<sup>78</sup>

There was a short-term period of stagnation between the Mongolia and North Korea in the beginning of 1990s. Since the mid-1990s, there has been a tendency for a retrieval of long standing relations and cooperation amongst Mongolia and the North Korea. “During the last three years the Prime Minister, Minister of External Relations and State Secretary of the Ministry of External Relations of Mongolia have visited the North Korea. Members of Mongolian Parliament, representatives of political parties visited the North Korea to commemorate the 50<sup>th</sup> Anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries. Regular meetings and exchange of views between the two sides contributed to stability in the bilateral relations and strengthening of peace and security in North East Asia” (Rodinov V.A. et al. 2006).<sup>79</sup>

Mongolia and the South Korea economic relations are developing at a rapid step. Export and import between these two countries has essentially extended. Though South Korea becoming one of Mongolia’s major trading partners. In the recent years there is an increase in the number of high-level bilateral exchanges, and as the two nations get ready for a state visit to South Korea by President Elbegdorj in the year 2015, which henceforth marks the 25th commemoration of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the two states this gesture will further play a major role in strengthening relations further (ibid).

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<sup>77</sup> Anthony Rinna (2015), Ulan Bator’s Small Country Diplomacy: The Case of North Korea, Sono NK, [Online: web] Accessed 18 November 2015,

<sup>78</sup> ibid

<sup>79</sup> Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book (2006), Ulaanbaatar, pp26

#### **4.16: Mongolia -European Union**

As stated about the visits, “Political relations amongst Mongolia and the European Union (EU) were built up on 1 August 1989. The Prime Minister of Mongolia visited the EU in 1992 as well as Speaker of the Mongolian Parliament visited the European Parliament in 1993. In 1995 the high level visits by the President of Mongolia to European Union and in 1996 by the EU Commissioner to Mongolia took place. These bilateral visits therefore played an important role in promoting the relations between the two countries.”<sup>80</sup>

The initiation of collaboration between EU-Mongolia started with the Trade and Cooperation Agreement in the year of 1993. Though originally it was decided for the period of five years but later, recently renewed every year. Both the parties rendered each other’s exports most-favoured nation treatment and engaged themselves to look for suitable measures to promote trade and economic relations. The Agreement additionally incorporates a guarantee to protect human rights. High-level Joint Committee meetings in Ulaanbaatar and Brussels were agreed and have regularly taken place since then (ibid).

The EU has turned into Mongolia’s third biggest trading partner, and Mongolian products as of now enter the EU showcase basically duty free under the current Generalized System of Preferences. The EU has budgeted €15m for advancement in collaboration with Mongolia for 2011-13. Today more than 10 percent of the aggregate outside exchange of Mongolia goes to the EU. From the period of 1991 onwards, EU included Mongolia in General Trade Preference System and also in the list of EU’s partner countries entitled to receive investment from the Union and loans from the European Investment Bank.<sup>81</sup> In the year of 1993 Mongolia has been included in the TACIS Program, a technical assistance program designed for the Central and Eastern Europe as well as the Commonwealth of Independent States. During the period of 1992-1996 EU financial assistance amounted 36 million Euros and implementation over 60 projects. Whereas the total trade turnover between the two sides for 1993 was \$US 46.8 million, but in the year of 1999 it almost doubled reaching \$US 83.5 million.

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<sup>80</sup> Delegations of the European Union to the Mongolia, [Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015, [http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/mongolia/eu\\_mongolia/political\\_relations/index\\_en.htm](http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/mongolia/eu_mongolia/political_relations/index_en.htm)

<sup>81</sup> Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book (2006), Ulaanbaatar

The EU-Mongolia relationship has been strengthened over the years and is set to progress further in the future likewise as a result of the broadening of the Union toward the East. A few of the new Member States generally keep up close relations with Mongolia and are represented in Ulaanbaatar.

“As of now five EU Member States have embassies in Ulaanbaatar. Also, the Netherlands and Poland have resident representatives in Mongolia. Mongolia itself has its embassies in nine EU Member States. The inclusion of Mongolia as a country of operation for the EBRD (European Bank for Reconstruction and Development) and the opening of the EBRD office in Ulaanbaatar in 2006 has additionally expanded Europe-Mongolia collaboration”. An opportunity came to Mongolia in the year of 2006 to join the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM) process, which henceforth marked a significant change the EU-Mongolia relations. Therefore the involvement in the ASEM brings Mongolia into the Asia-Europe political and economic cooperation framework and thus promote reinforces their association.<sup>82</sup>

To conclude Mongolia's primary national interests amid the time of this review concentrated on sovereignty and economic independence. Being a sovereign nation in her own right, and because of the membership as well as participation in multilateral organisations for example the UN, Mongolia has been able to make fully independent foreign policy decisions (Telford 2004: 14).

In addition, relations with the Soviet Union/Russia, China and the US gave truly necessary ramparts to changes in the existing foreign policy and therefore adopt a new one by taking into consideration the new geopolitical environment encompassing Mongolia and its national security interest.

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<sup>82</sup> Delegations of the European Union to the Mongolia, [Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015, [http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/mongolia/eu\\_mongolia/political\\_relations/index\\_en.htm](http://www.eeas.europa.eu/delegations/mongolia/eu_mongolia/political_relations/index_en.htm)

## ***CHAPTER FIVE***

# ***PARTICIPATION IN MULTILATERAL ORGANISATIONS***



## Chapter Five

### **Participation in Multilateral Organisations**

As discussed in previous chapters Mongolia's foreign policy has been non-aligned in its nature and hence it is trying to play proactive role in regional and global forum. Mongolia is also looking for dynamic supporters and companions and hoping to play a more dynamic part in the United Nations and other International Organisations. Since the advancement of political pluralism, democratization process and market economy, Mongolia pursues peaceful, open, independent and multi-pillared foreign policy. As a result, its diplomatic relations have increased with other countries and currently, it maintains diplomatic relations with 163 nation-states.

#### **5.1: Mongolia's Membership in International Organisations**

International organisations play very important role in the international peace and security. These international organisations are institutions where are the states discuss the problem and solve the problem. Mongolia has participated a number of international organisations, including the World Bank (WB), International Monetary Fund (IMF), United Nations (UN), World Trade Organisation (WTO), ASEAN etc. Mongolia also is a taking an intrigue state in the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and is also NATO partner Nation. From 2011 to 2013, Mongolia was the pioneer of the Community of Democracies, a group of democratic nations focused on strengthening democratic institutions globally. S. Oyun, Minister of Environment and Green Development, has been elected chair of the UN Environmental Assembly. In 2010, Mongolia became a member of the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) and a participating state in the OSCE in 2012. Mongolia continues its efforts to overcome challenges and problems of ecological changes. For instance, in December 2009, the President of Mongolia attended the UN Climate Change Conference in order to acceded to the Copenhagen Accord. Government of the Mongolia is to build up and also facilitate free trade agreement with its major trading partners. As, being a member of regional trade agreements and participating multilateral trade negotiations having conducted

within the framework of WTO by safeguarding and protecting of its national interests in order to create favourable condition for promoting foreign trade and to increase the access of local products to the international markets. Mongolia is currently seeking to become a member of the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC).<sup>1</sup> Which is also initiating factor behind its open trade and practical economic cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region that would allow Mongolia to have open trade with more nations in foreseeable future.<sup>2</sup>

It is evident to note that Mongolian diplomacy worked on filling the political vacuum created by the demise of the Soviet Union during 1990s, Mongolia's sole creditor and overwhelming trading partner. By a few gauges, the USSR provided economic assistance annually equal to about 30% of Mongolia's GDP (Batbayar 2003: 51). Breaking the past seclusion, and establishing and maintaining all-round cooperation with the USA, Japan, and Western Europe looked for tremendously required helps in terms of economic assistance. Mongolia's admission to the International Monetary Fund (IMF), the World Bank, and the Asian Development Bank (ADB) in February 1992 was an important step toward promoting ties with the international community and the country's further integration with the world economy (ibid).

Further, on the request of President Bush (senior) the US Congress granted Mongolia most-favored nation status and in March the Congress passed its first resolution for Mongolia's support of the movement for majority rule i.e. democracy in January 1991 (ibid).

Toshiki Kaifu, who is the then Prime Minister of Japan visited Mongolia in 1991. It was the first visit to Mongolia by a leader of driving industrialized democracies. Further, Japanese government's has given a strong commitment to Mongolia's recently born democracy and its market transition in order to facilitate its economic and political transition (Batbayar 2003:51). In September 1991, Japan co-chaired with the World Bank the first Mongolia support group meeting in Tokyo, which has also facilitated engagement among IMF, World Bank, ADB, and 14 countries. The

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<sup>1</sup>Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) is a forum for 21 Pacific Rim member economies that promotes free trade throughout the Asia-Pacific region.

<sup>2</sup>Embassy of Mongolia in Singapore, Foreign Policy of Mongolia, [Online: web] Accessed 5 October 2015, <http://mongolianembassy.sg/about-mongolia/foreign-relations-of-mongolia/#.Vk282TCqqkp>

participating financial institutions and states allotted a total of about US\$150 million, of which Japan's share alone equaled US\$55 million (Batbayar 1996: 19–21).

The IMF pledged about US\$30 million, half of it devoted to stabilizing Mongolia's balance of payments. This measure allayed some concerns about the country's economic viability and quickly elicited the interest of other donor institutions and individual countries (Batbayar 2003: 52). The IMF, ADB and the World Bank have worked firmly together to bolster the Mongolian Government's macroeconomic adjustment and reform program since 199 (Batbayar 2003: 55).

Mongolia's worldwide accomplices met with the representatives of the MPRP Government in to discuss Mongolia have restored endeavors to strengthen the foundations for growth and poverty reduction. Benefactors complimented the new government's commitment to push ahead on a far-reaching comprehensive agenda for further macroeconomic stabilization, deepening of structural and sectorial reforms, and strategies to reduce poverty.<sup>3</sup>

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<sup>3</sup> Mongolia Consultative Group Meeting, 'Development partners affirm support for poverty reduction', [Online: web] Accessed 18 November 2015, <http://www.worldbank.org>.

**Table 4.5****Mongolia's Membership in International Intergovernmental Organisations**

<b>№</b>	<b>International organizations</b>	<b>Abbr</b>	<b>Year of affiliation</b>
1.	Afro-Asian Legal Consultative Committee	AALCO	1980
2	Agency for International Trade Information and Cooperation	AITIC	2004
3	Animal Production and Health Commission for Asia and Pacific countries	APHCA	
4	ASEAN Regional forum	ARF	1998
5	Asia Cooperation Dialogue	ACD	2004
6	Asia Europe Meeting	ASEM	2006
7	Asian Development Bank	ADB	1991
8	Asian Election Monitoring Organizations	AEMO	
9	Asian Organization of Supreme Audit Institutions	AOSAI	1996
10	Asian Productivity Organization	APO	1992
11	Asian Regional Center for Natural Disaster Reduction	ADRC	1998
12	Asian Student Sport Union	ASSU	1993
13	Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation	APEC	
14	Asia-Pacific Laboratory Accreditation Cooperation	APLAC	2004
15	Asia-Pacific Legal Metrology Forum	APLMF	2005
16	Asia-Pacific Parliamentary Forum	APPF	1994
17	Asia-Pacific Telecommunity	APT	1991
18	Asia-Pacific Space Cooperation Organization	APSCO	2005
19	Association of World Buddhists		1961
20	Association of Parliamentary Librarians of Asia and the Pacific	APLAP	
21	Association of Secretaries General of Parliaments	ASGP	
22	Center for Space Science & Technology Education in Asia and the Pacific	CSSTEAP	1995
23	Colombo Plan Staff College for Technician Education for Human Resources Development in Asia and the Pacific Region	CPSC	
24	Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty Organization	CTBTO	1997
25	Economic and Social Council for Asia and Pacific	ESCAP	1962
26	Energy Charter Treaty	ECT	1999
27	European Bank for Reconstruction and Development	EBRD	2000
28	Food and Agriculture Organization	FAO	1973
29	Global Environment Facility	GEF	1994
30	Group of seventy-seven	G-77	1989
31	INCOSM	INCOSM	1996
32	International Agency for Research on Cancer	IARC	
33	International Atomic Energy Agency	IAEA	1973
34	International Association of Insurance Supervisors	IAIS	
35	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development	IBRD	1991

<b>№</b>	<b>International organizations</b>	<b>Abbr</b>	<b>Year of affiliation</b>
36	International Bureau of Exposition	IBE	1997
37	International Centre for the study of the Preservation and Restoration of Cultural Property		2003
38	International Centre for Scientific and Technical Information	ICSTI	
39	International Civil Aviation Organization	ICAO	1989
40	International Civil Defense Organization	ICDO	2002
41	International Criminal Court	ICC	
42	International Dance Sports Federation		2003
43	International Development Association	IDA	
44	International Drama/Theatre and Education Association	IDEA	
45	International Exhibition Bureau	BIE	1997
46	International Federation of Library Associations	IFLA	
47	International Finance Corporation	IFC	1991
48	International Fund for Agricultural Development	IFAD	1994
49	International Labor Organization	ILO	1968
50	International Laboratory Accreditation Cooperation	ILAC	2007
51	International Maritime Organization	IMO	1996
52	International Meteor Organization	IMO	
53	International Monetary Fund	IMF	1991
54	International Olympic Committee	IOC	1962
55	International Organization for Migration	IOM	2008
56	International Organization for Standardization	ISO	1979
57	International Organization of Journalists		1950
58	International Organization of Legal Metrology	OIML	1996
59	International Organization of Securities Commissions	IOSCO	
60	International Organization of Supreme Audit Institutions	INTOSAI	2006
61	International Parliamentary Union	IPU	1962
62	International Police Organization	INTERPOL	1991
63	International Radio and Television Organization	OIRT	1952
64	International Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement	ICRM	1939
65	International Renewable Energy Agency	IRENA	2009

<b>№</b>	<b>International organizations</b>	<b>Abbr</b>	<b>Year of affiliation</b>
66	International Research Institute of Nomadic Civilization		1998
67	International Statistics Institute	ISI	1991
68	International Telecommunications Satellite Organization	ITSO	
69	International Telecommunications Union	ITU	1964
70	International Trade Union Confederation	ITUC	
71	International Tribunal for the Law of the Sea	ITLOS	1996
72	International Union for conservation of Nature and Natural Resources	IUCNNR	1994
73	International Union of Mongolists	IUM	1969
74	International Union of Students	IUS	1946
75	International Vaccine Institute	IVI	1994
76	International Whaling Commission	IWC	2002
77	International Wool Textile Organization	IWTO	2010
78	Joint Institute for Nuclear Research in Dubna	JINR	1956
79	Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency	MIGA	1998
80	National Olympic Committees	NOC	1979
81	Non-Aligned Movement	NAM	1991
82	Office International Des Epizooties	OIE	1989
83	Olympic Council of Asia	OCA	1982
84	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (member)	OSCE	2012
	Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (partner)	OSCE	2004
85	Organization for the Prohibition of Chemical Weapons	OPCW	1997
86	Pacific Accreditation Cooperation	PAC	2004
87	Regional Integrated Multi-Hazard Early Warning System for Africa and Asia	RIMES	2009
88	Rehabilitation International	RI	
89	Resident Representative Expenditure of United Nations Development Program in Mongolia	RRUNDP	1963
90	Shanghai Cooperation Organization (observer)	SCO	2004
91	Statistical Institute for Asia and the Pacific	SIAP	1992
92	The Singapore Treaty on the Law of Trade Marks (“the Singapore Treaty”)	Singapore Treaty	2010
93	The United Nations	UN	1961

<b>№</b>	<b>International organizations</b>	<b>Abbr</b>	<b>Year of affiliation</b>
94	UN Children's Fund	UNICEF	1963
95	UN Conference on Disarmament	UNCD	1969
96	UN Conference on Trade and Development	UNCTAD	1964
97	UN Development Program	UNDP	1963
98	UN Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization	UNESCO	1962
99	UN Environment Program	UNEP	1973
100	UN Food and Agriculture Organization	FAO	1973
101	UN Fund for Population Activities	UNFPA	1978
102	UN Industrial Development Organization	UNIDO	1967
103	UN World Tourism Organization	UNWTO	1990
104	Universal Postal Union	UPU	1963
105	World Anti-Doping Agency	WADA	
106	World Bank	WB	1991
107	World Customs Organization	WCO	1992
108	World Federation of Trade Unions	WFTU	
109	World Health Organization	WHO	1962
110	World Heritage Committee	WHC	
111	World Intellectual Property Organization	WIPO	1979
112	World Meteorological Organization	WMO	1962
113	World Trade Organization	WTO	1997

Source: <http://www.infomongolia.com>

## **5.2: Mongolia's Membership in International Intergovernmental Organisations**

### **5.2.1: Mongolia and United Nations**

United Nation organisation is largest organisation of the world and its play a wide role in making of relationship among the states and sustains the international peace and security. Actively, effectively and constantly, Mongolia has been collaborating with the United Nations, its specialized agencies and other international financial, trade and economic institutions. Since its admission to the United Nations, Mongolia has started and guaranteed adoption of over 80 resolutions, including 11 dated to 2007-2012. Since 2002, Mongolia has deployed more than 5,600 peacekeepers to the United Nations peacekeeping in Iraq, Afghanistan, Kosovo, Sierra Leone, Chad,

Sudan, West Sahara, Congo, Ethiopia and Georgia. At present, several military eyewitnesses are working in Congo, West Sahara and South Sudan.<sup>4</sup>

### **5.2.2: Mongolia and United Nations Population Fund (UNFPA)**

Since the late 1970s, UNFPA began offering support to the Mongolian government. Support to Maternal and Child Health (MCH) began in the early 1980s and comprised of training for medical work force and provision of small amounts of contraceptives. Consequently, in 1998 the UNFPA country office was built in Ulaanbaatar and in a regional sub office (RSO) was opened in Khovd in 2002. The RSO's essential concentration is on increasing community outreach and to encourage the conveyance of technical and programme support to selected aimags (provinces) in the western region. Currently, UNFPA keeps on supporting the general population of Mongolia in confronting the difficulties of the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs).<sup>5</sup>

### **5.2.3: Mongolia and UNICEF**

There are several projects, which have been ongoing process. In the meantime, UNICEF in Mongolia is also working towards for the betterment of Mongolian people. In this regards, “UNICEF lunch a program to Improving menstrual hygiene management (MHM) in schools”. The significant objectives of this venture is to investigate MHM encounters of Mongolian schoolgirls with a specific end goal to highlight great MHM hones and furthermore distinguish the difficulties and boundaries young ladies confront. Moreover, an objective was to build up regular topics emerging for schoolgirls all through the nation and furthermore to thoroughly analyse the relative difficulties and obstructions experienced by schoolgirls from altogether different settings. The venture included both urban territories and rustic live-in schools where a few offspring of semi-traveling crowding families remain for up to nine months in residences. A few quarters have open-air toilets, which joined with to a great degree icy winter temperatures, which can make rehearsing legitimate sanitation and cleanliness troublesome at times. Various normal obstructions exist for all schoolgirls in Mongolia, including an absence of sufficient access to tasteful

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<sup>4</sup>Embassy of Mongolia in Singapore, Foreign Policy of Mongolia, [Online: web] Accessed 15 November 2015, <http://mongolianembassy.sg/about-mongolia/foreign-relations-of-mongolia/#.Vk282TCqqkp>

<sup>5</sup> UNFPA in Mongolia, [Online: web] Accessed 18 November 2015, [http://countryoffice.unfpa.org/mongolia/2009/02/12/535/unfpa\\_in\\_mongolia/](http://countryoffice.unfpa.org/mongolia/2009/02/12/535/unfpa_in_mongolia/)



WASH offices and an absence of information and instruction on MHM. In any case, these obstructions have all the earmarks of being more noteworthy for rustic and residence schoolgirls who may need access to normal gives and face troubles in utilizing toilets during the evening due an absence of lights and the way that a few schools bolt the quarters entryway. “These rustic and residence school young ladies likewise appear to experience more critical hindrances as far as access to MHM Materials once in a while because of an absence of cash and they may likewise need customary emotionally supportive networks from family because of their more detached living conditions”.<sup>6</sup>

Although, UNICEF also gathers evidence on the situation of children and women in Mongolia with the help of National Statistical Office of Mongolia, through Multiple Indicator Cluster Surveys (MICS), an international household survey programme. It is also imperative to note that MICS has become integral part of national statistical system recognized by national law for measuring indicators for women and children in Mongolia since its first implementation in 1995 (ibid).

So far as **Disaster Risk Reduction is concerned**, UNICEF realises that women and children are the most defenceless amid various kinds of risks. A study conducted by Faculty of Medicine, Tattori University, Japan, highlighted that the newborn child death rate was significantly related with declining rate in numbers of livestock (due to natural disasters such as dzud) and a decrease in milk products consumption. Different effects on kids because of environmental change are mortality and injury from extreme weather events, increased risk of water scarcity, transmission of waterborne and food-borne diseases, declining livelihoods as noted earlier, disruptions in school attendance, heightened risk of food insecurity and child malnutrition (ibid).

UNICEF is attempting to guarantee that there is a reaction system set up inside the association to bolster the administration in light of such occasions. UNICEF additionally bolsters National Emergency Management Authority (NEMA), government services and different partners in a debacle chance diminishment projects and tasks. At present we are in earliest stages phase of our World Wide Initiative of

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<sup>6</sup>Unisefmongolia.com [Online: web] Accessed 18 November 2015, <http://unicefmongolia.blogspot.in/2015/11/improving-menstrual-hygiene-management.html#more>

Safe School (WISS) extend where we are working together with Government, NEMA and different NGOs to dispatch a pilot in school, which will be supported to be actualized on a more extensive scale.<sup>7</sup>

#### **5.2.4: UNICEF Support for education**

Throughout the most recent four years, UNICEF Mongolia has been giving relentless support to the Unit to create and print educational program, learning materials and educator guides. These incorporate Kazakh and Tuva dialects essential instruction educational programs, rules for Mongolian dialect instructors in Bayan-Ulgii region, an essential level Mongolian dialect course reading for Kazakh understudies comprising of an educator guide, an understudy book and a sound CD, and 20 non-formal training preparing modules. The books were created, with UNICEF bolster, by the Education Research Unit for Ethnic Minority Children, part of the Institute of Education. The instructors from the neighbourhood school, the main Tuvan Schoolin the whole nation, composed the course readings. UNICEF Mongolia is prepared to bolster the Education Research Unit for Ethnic Minority Children in interpretation and printing the course books and pushing for more precise and practical support for the instruction of ethnic minority youngsters, including the Tuvan children. At the same time it is also important to note that the funding provided by the Swedish National Committee for UNICEF and other donors will be instrumental in these efforts.<sup>8</sup>

#### **5.2.5: Human Rights and Civil Society: UN Role**

Mongolia adheres to the provisions of its Constitution, internationally recognized principles of human rights, the Universal Declaration of Human Rights, International Pact on Economic, social and cultural rights as well as International Pact on Civil and Political Rights, 1993 Vienna Declaration and the Program of Action. Mongolia regularly submits its national reports on the implementation of its commitments under

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<sup>7</sup>Nisarg Kalaiya, Disaster Risk Reduction Officer, UNICEF Mongolia, [Online: web] Accessed 19 November 2015, <http://unicefmongolia.blogspot.in/2015/10/disaster-risk-reduction-working-towards.html#more>

<sup>8</sup>Odgerel Myagmar is Communication for Development Officer at UNICEF Mongolia, [Online: web] Accessed 19 November 2015,

these international human rights instruments to the relevant committees for their consideration.<sup>9</sup>

Currently, Mongolia's national security concept rose as a rational and logical response to the, new geopolitical, economic and social realities of the post-Cold War period, for a country situated between the major power of Russia and China, Mongolia's national security priority has been and still is extreme national survival, the dangers to which could take many forms. From the traditionalists' perspective, Mongolia's national security concerns ought to be with conceivable military mediation or risk of it from both of its neighbours. Though, it is also important to note that Mongolia does not have any territorial or political problems with its neighbours and it has in general good-neighbourly relations with its two neighbours, as reflected in the treaties of friendly relations and cooperation with them.<sup>10</sup>

However, both the absence of traditional threats to its security from the Neighbours and also the support by Russia and China of its foreign policy of balanced relationship with respect to them have allowed Mongolia to focus on other, the so-called non-traditional, threats to the security of its people (Enkhsaikhan 2000: 32).

Provision of human rights became one of the indicators for identifying the prestige of certain country at the international level. In the human rights area, Mongolia is guided by the principles of its Constitution and international human rights instruments, in particular Human Rights Declaration, Political and Civil Rights Pact, Economic, Social and Cultural Rights Pact, and other multilateral treaties and agreements. Besides, Mongolia fruitfully cooperates with the relevant UN agencies through receiving professional advice and technical assistance in optimizing its national legislation in compliance with the international treaties and conventions, preparing human resource for the courts, police and other law enforcement agencies and building national capacity to truly guarantee human rights. In maintaining cooperation with the relevant UN programmes and funds in the area of human rights, Mongolia gives a high priority to the issues of children and child rights protection, and population development. Within the frame of the current programme of cooperation

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<sup>9</sup> Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book (2006), Ulaanbaatar

<sup>10</sup> Mongolia concluded treaties of friendly relations and cooperation with Russia in 1993 and with China in 1994.

(2002-2006) between the Government of Mongolia and UNICEF our country is receiving technical and professional assistance equivalent to 11.3 million USD.<sup>11</sup>

Article 14 of the Mongolian Constitution says that “all the citizens of Mongolia are equal before the law and the court, and no person shall be discriminated against on the basis of ethnic origin, language, race, age, sex, social origin and status, property, occupation and post, religion, opinion or education”.<sup>12</sup> Article 16 says that “the citizens of Mongolia shall be guaranteed to right to life. Deprivation of human life shall be strictly prohibited unless capital punishment is imposed by due judgment of the court for the most serious crimes, constructed by Mongolian Penal Law”. The Constitution also provides for right to healthy and safe environment and to be protected against environmental pollution and ecological imbalance, in addition to right to the protection of health and medical care. According to the Constitution, men and women have equal rights in political, economic, social, cultural fields and in family affairs. Article 19 clearly defines that “the State shall be responsible to the citizens for the creation of economic, social, legal and other guarantees for ensuring human rights and freedoms, and to fight against violation of human rights and freedoms” (Constitution of Mongolia 1992).<sup>13</sup>

The humanitarian aid organisation, Action against Hunger ACF International, which has been working in Mongolia since October 2001, is aiming to reduce the nutritional impact of poverty in Ulaanbaatar and providing cattle-breeders in the far western province of the country with resources to enable them to cope with the risk of extreme climate conditions and natural disaster in order to halt the rural exodus.<sup>14</sup>

Mongolia’s foreign policy formulations have always given priority to expand its trade and economic cooperation with all countries. On 29 January 1997, Mongolia became 134<sup>th</sup> member country of WTO. Hence, the goods and services produced by Mongolia got market access on non-discriminatory premises. This organisation exchange advancement that turned into a predominant worldwide inclination and approach. In the quest for the arrangement of exchange progression Mongolia, while

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<sup>11</sup> Mongolia and United Nations, [Online: web] Accessed 28 November 2015, <https://www.un.int/mongolia/mongolia/mongolia-and-united-nations-0>

<sup>12</sup> Constitution of Mongolia (1992), [Online: web] Accessed 7 December 2015,

<sup>13</sup> *ibid*

<sup>14</sup> Action Against Hunger warns of poor food security in Mongolia.

considering particular prerequisites of the national improvement, looks to appreciate completely unique and differential treatment conceded to creating country as per the WTO choices and multilateral trade agreements .The Government in using the fare advancing components, for example, credit ensures, delicate advances, assess occasions and diminishes, government obtainment and other monetary support, should contemplate the lawful tenets and controls of the WTO governing the subsidies (Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book 2006).

Moreover, the Mongolian Government has been seeking to realize the rights provided under the WTO legal system and support its export, guarantee access of its goods and services to markets of member states on an equivalent non-discriminatory footing and without unmerited hindrances. By doing such exercises at the worldwide associations level Mongolia additionally will take part in territorial exchange, financial participation components and will keep on protecting its own particular monetary interests through these instruments legitimate settings. The respective arrangements of China and Russia on the WTO promotion with the part states are giving Mongolia a chance to profit by their concessions concurred accordingly of increase transactions. To additionally investigate and grow these open doors the legislature of Mongolia will keep on working inside lawful structure of the WTO. So as to grow markets for the Mongolian merchandise and advance import of cutting edge advances and astounding items Mongolia won't constrain its endeavors to multilateral participation as it were. Inside the structure of reciprocal participation Mongolia will try to secure its exchange advantages and will endeavor endeavors to combine the outcomes accomplished inside the multilateral collaboration with a specific end goal to expand its exchange turnover for its foreseeable future.<sup>15</sup>

In 1997, Mongolia became member of the WTO. In this realm, it has chosen the path of multilateral trading system. Then, this plat form of WTO facilitates the engine for growth and development for Mongolia. For instance, Mongolian foreign trade turnover got increased 92.3% to compare with GDP in 2013. At the same time, it is also evident to note that the country's economy is still heavily depending upon external trade. Therefore, it is required for the country like Mongolia landlocked engulf-between the two giant states, to correctly identify and accurately implement

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<sup>15</sup>Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book (2006), Ulaanbaatar

trade policy. It has also been observed that the path of liberal trade policy of Mongolia has had positive reflection on the economy of the country. As a result, in 2013, the total trade turnover of the country accounted for US\$10,627. This reflects 4.7 times increase turnover compared to that of 2005. Although, the total trade turnover has gradually been increasing, trade remains in deficit for the whole period except for 2006. For instance, in 2007, trade has been accounted for US\$221 million, in 2013 US\$2,082 million. This data can be compared to the 2007 increased by 9.4 times. The reasons lying behind the increase of trade deficit over years, on the one hand trade dependency on few export commodities, high percentage of raw materials in exports, heavy dependency of these raw materials on world market prices caused the trade deficit, on the other hand due to investment, there are significant increase of importation of equipment and machinery and mechanism.<sup>16</sup>

### **5.2.6: Mongolia ADB Partnership Strategy**

In 1991, “Mongolia became a member of the Asian Development Bank (ADB). Then, the ADB went into a Poverty Partnership Agreement (PPA) with the Government of Mongolia. The ADB itemized its new Country Operational Strategy (COS)”. The new COS is away to encourage monetary improvement and fight desperation by trading the essential instrument for advancement period from open fragment interests in establishment to business creating wanders ran for interfacing with the private part. In like way, the ADB at present focuses its operations on the five focus fragments, to be particular, back, open division, social range, cultivating, and urban headway.<sup>17</sup>

The nation operations strategy for success, 2015 for Mongolia condenses the concurrence with the administration in regards to Asian Development Bank help with 2015. “The 2015 loaning program gives solid support to the two extra center areas of the interval nation organisation technique 2014–2016: horticulture, normal assets, and country advancement; and back. The non-lending program for 2015 accentuates extend preliminary and related TA to bolster extended loaning in urban foundation, wellbeing, and transport, including generous approach and consultative TA to bolster execution of three loaning ventures. Since 1991, Mongolia has gotten \$1.6 billion in all out assets, comprising of 56 Asian Development Fund (ADF) and standard capital

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<sup>16</sup> World Trade Organisation (15<sup>th</sup> April 2014), Trade Policy Review Body, [Online: web] Accessed 20<sup>th</sup> November 2015,

<sup>17</sup> Mongolia and ADB: [Online: web] Accessed 20 December 2015, <http://www.adb.org>.

assets (OCR) sovereign advances totalling \$1.2 billion, 4 non-sovereign advances for \$94.5 million, 12 ADF and 24 gifts from the Japan Fund for Poverty Reduction and different hotspots for \$218.4 million, and 184 specialized help ventures for \$110.9 million. The present portfolio, starting at 31 December 2014, comprises of 18 advances (\$544 million), 9 ADF gifts (\$129 million), and 30 specialized help ventures” (\$25 million).<sup>18</sup>

### **ADB Supports Mongolia’s Drive to Boost Food Safety Exports**

The Asian Development Bank (ADB) has approved a \$15 million loan to support Mongolia’s efforts to continue enhancing its food safety and animal and plant health standards to realize the country’s vast potential by increasing agri-food exports to neighbouring countries. At the same time, it is also evident to note that “Mongolia has an estimated 52 million head of livestock, which are a key source of employment and income for the rural population”, said Cristina Lozano, an ADB Regional Cooperation Specialist. “But gaps in sanitary and phytosanitary standards have limited the country’s ability to take advantage of demand for meat, milk, and other animal products from neighbouring countries in Central Asia, as well as the People’s Republic of China and the Russian Federation”.<sup>19</sup>

Moreover, the Mongolian government has significantly enhanced its sanitary and phytosanitary framework over the previous decade however challenges remain. Testing research centers need advanced offices, gear and talented work force, and data innovation is not generally utilized. Subsequently, nourishment security and creature and plant wellbeing measures are not all around fit with universal guidelines, hampering Mongolia’s fare potential. Support will likewise be given to adjust testing and examining approaches with World Trade Organisation-compliant international standards to reduce inspection and testing-related delays, and to gain international acceptance (ibid).

The ADB project has actualized through comprehensive improvements to the water supply and sanitation systems in urban territories that are home to more than 293,000 people in seven of Mongolia’s 21 provinces. According to Robert Schoellhammer, ADB’s country director for Mongolia “this project is about bringing clean water

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<sup>18</sup> ibid

<sup>19</sup> ibid

directly to the people and making cities like Bayankhongor places that people want to live and want to stay” says.<sup>20</sup>

## **ADB lending to Mongolia**

In February 1991, Mongolia joined World Bank Group, that offered a program of bolster that concentrated on fast dispensing parity of installments help and specialized help for financial administration (Batbayar 2003: 53). The IDA’s portfolio has since created to include operations supporting neediness lightening; recovery of foundation, and auxiliary changes principally in the money related and venture segments. The IDA has submitted an aggregate of US\$272 million to date for different tasks. The yearly loaning program has found the middle value of US\$25–30 million equivalent.<sup>21</sup>

Moreover, the World Bank sent its Vice President Jemal-ud-din Kassum to Mongolia and he gave assurance for strong support to the development of the country by facilitating the liberal market economic transition (Batbayar 2003: 54). On different issues, Jemal-ud-noise Kassum urged the Government to keep connecting with the common society, including the media, non-administrative associations, different givers to assemble contrasting perspectives and construct agreement on imperative arrangement choices. The World Bank office in Mongolia in collaboration with the Parliament of Mongolia and IFC composed the first round table talk on Private Sector Development in Ulaanbaatar (Batbayar 2003: 54).<sup>22</sup>

Consequently, the Asian Development Bank (ADB) has sanctioned a \$150 million loan to support reforms needed in order to improve the management of social welfare services in Mongolia, such as food stamps or cash transfers, to ensure they deliver maximum impact for the poor, during the period of economic difficulties. “Social welfare programs account for a large share of the poor’s income in Mongolia, and have significantly contributed to poverty reduction in recent years”, said Yolanda Fernandez Lommen, an ADB Principal Economist. However, “there are some weaknesses in the current programs, including limited beneficiary targeting and programs’ fragmentation, that need to be addressed. This assistance will give the

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<sup>20</sup> *ibid*

<sup>21</sup> Brief Overview of the IDA funded Projects: [Online: web] Accessed 18 December 2015 <http://www.worldbank.org>.

<sup>22</sup> Joint Mongolian Parliament, WB and IFC discussions on Private Sector Development in Mongolia, 11 September 2001: [Online: web] Accessed 19 November 2015, <http://www.worldbank.org>.



government the fiscal space it needs to sustain the needed support for the poor and to carry out necessary reforms”.<sup>23</sup>

**Table 4.6: ADB lending to Mongolia<sup>24</sup>**

<i>Sector</i>	<i>Number of loans</i>	<i>Loan amount (US\$ million)</i>	<i>Percent</i>
<b>Transport and communications</b>	5	134.5	28.7
<b>Energy</b>	4	93.8	20.0
<b>Agriculture and natural resources</b>	5	64.9	13.8
<b>Industry and non-fuel minerals</b>	2	60.0	12.8
<b>Finance</b>	3	53.0	11.3
<b>Social infrastructure</b>	5	38.2	8.1
<b>Others</b>	1	25.0	5.3
<b>Total</b>	25	469.4	100.0

*Source: A fact sheet (2015-16) Mongolia and ADB [http:// www.adb.org](http://www.adb.org)*

### **5.2.7: Mongolia and Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO)**

The Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) is often considered as the flagship of the new regional dynamics in Asia in general and Inner Asia in particular. Mongolia has had observer status in the SCO since 2004. At the point when the Shanghai Five was established in 1996, Ulaanbaatar did not join any of its exercises since the greater part of the significant issues, which concerned the author individuals outskirts delimitation and disarmament, and battling against non-customary dangers were not important for the nation: the Sino-Mongolian fringe was outlined in 1962; respective relations with China were standardized in 1989; the Soviet military pulled back totally by 1992,<sup>25</sup> and the so-called “three evils” (terrorism, extremism, and separatism), as coined by the Shanghai Five members, did not exist in Mongolia. Even when the SCO began to focus on wider regional issues, Mongolia responded cautiously, with

<sup>23</sup> Mongolia and ADB: [Online: web] Accessed 18 November 2015,

<http://www.adb.org/news/mongolia-s-social-welfare-programs-be-supported-ADB-150-million-loan>

<sup>24</sup>[Online: web] Accessed 25 December 2015, [http:// www.adb.org](http://www.adb.org)

<sup>25</sup>Shakti Madhok, (2005), *Sino-Mongolian Relations 1949-2004*, New Delhi: Reliance Publishing House, p. 99. also see Alan Sanders (1996), “Foreign Relations and Foreign Policy,” in Ole Bruun and Ole Odgaard (eds.), *Mongolia in Transition: Old Patterns, New Challenges*, Routledge, London:, p. 219;

selective participation in SCO political, economic, and cultural events, but took a reluctant stance towards security-oriented activities (Jargalsaikhan 2012).

Mongolia sends consistent signals about its commitment to maintaining its SCO non-membership status. At the same time, this positioning could become difficult in the years to come, depending on regional developments. In the realm of futuristic aspect, whatever the SCO's status will be in the years to come, Mongolia will continue to endorse its Northeast Asian identity more than its Central Asian one, and its non-membership strategy toward the organisation. However, Mongolia economic development does not need to be further integrated with Russia and China, and Mongolia's political regime and foreign policy's independence will be better preserved outside the SCO framework than inside it. Moreover, the unknown impact of post-2014 on Central Asia and Afghanistan, with a potential revival of security concerns, does not constitute a push factor for Ulaanbaatar to integrate into the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation.<sup>26</sup> Though, Chinese Foreign Minister *Wang Yi* (a prominent member of SCO) hoped that Mongolia may become a full member of the SCO in foreseeable time period, comprising states in Eurasia and East Asia, He stated that, "We have great prospects for the development of the SCO".<sup>27</sup> Wang Yi told a reception in Beijing on the occasion of the 13th anniversary of the organisation's foundation. "There are currently five observers and three dialogue partners in the organisation". "We have received a message from the Mongolian prime minister on the occasion. Although we have not scrutinized the contents of this message yet, we regard it as a good signal", he added. "Ten years have passed, and it is time to consider preparations for granting Mongolia a status of a full-fledged member of the SCO".<sup>28</sup>

### **5.2.8: Mongolia and the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN)**

In 1998, Mongolia became a full-fledged member of ASEAN Regional Forum and also has been participating regular basis in its major working mechanisms such as

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<sup>26</sup> Shakti Madhok, (2005), *Sino-Mongolian Relations 1949-2004*, New Delhi: Reliance Publishing House, p. 99. also see Alan Sanders (1996), "Foreign Relations and Foreign Policy," in Ole Bruun and Ole Odgaard (eds.), *Mongolia in Transition: Old Patterns, New Challenges*, Routledge, London, p. 219;

<sup>27</sup> *Wang Yi (11 July 2014)*, Chinese Foreign Minister, China's FM, Beijing

<sup>28</sup> *ibid*

Ministerial meeting; senior officials meeting and Inter-sessional group meetings. During the last decade, external environment has impacted Mongolia's economic spheres as Mongolia has been found to be extensively dependent on the countries of Asia-Pacific region including Northeast Asia than it was before. Amid the period from 1991 to 2004 the global contributors focused on Mongolia over \$2.3 billion making Mongolia one of the greatest beneficiaries of help regarding per capita. In 2004 Mongolia's exchange with APEC nations represented over 70% of Mongolia's general exchange. All nations of the locale, in particular, China, Japan, South Korea, USA and Russia have turned out to be driving remote financial specialists of Mongolia. This move is ascribed to Mongolia's new arrangement introduction toward this area. The finish of ideologically determined approaches opened new prospects for Mongolian policymakers to be more sober minded, concentrating on its security and monetary improvement in light of national interests. Mongolia made the Northeast Asia one of its needs. All local vital forces, incorporating Mongolia's neighbours are in this district. In a totally new key environment, a critical security issue for Mongolia has turned into the issue how to correct its relations with them in general territorial adjust of force. In quest for this objective we append awesome significance to the multilateral participation in the locale and to the incorporation of the nation's economy into provincial monetary process. To this impact, it is required for Mongolia to continue its efforts to promote trade and economic cooperation with North East and Southeast Asian countries (Tumurchuluun 2005: 21-2).<sup>29</sup>

Mongolia expressed its solid enthusiasm for strengthening relations with ASEAN. The Foreign Minister of Mongolia, H.E. Lundeg Puresuven, passed on this message amid his meeting (21 April 2015) with Secretary-General of "ASEAN, H.E. Le Luong Minh" at the ASEAN Secretariat. The 21st century is the era of Asia; Minister Puresuven said Mongolia considers ASEAN to be a key provincial instrument for participation in Asia. Inside this structure, Mongolia might want to connect with and work with ASEAN to seek after peace, strength and advancement of the area. He underscored that Mongolia will proceed with its dynamic engagement in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) handle, which the nation participated in July 1999. S.G. Minh prompted Mongolia to investigate with ASEAN roads and chances to upgrade down

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<sup>29</sup>Tumurchuluun, G. (2005), Asian Regional Forum workshop on "Evolving Changes in the Security Perceptions of the ARF countries" Ulaanbaatar, June 21-22. 2005 Northeast Asia from Mongolia's perspective.

to earth collaboration in regions of shared premium. He urged Mongolia to expand its collaboration with ASEAN and to keep up its dynamic investment in ARF exercises. As per him, such collaboration exercises could be helpful and critical appearances of the nearby connections amongst ASEAN and Mongolia. SG Minh likewise watched that Mongolia had close ties with all ASEAN Members States. Serve Puresuvan informed SG Minh on Mongolia's fabulous festival in July 2015 to celebrate the 25th commemoration of the foundation of majority rules system in the nation, and its arrangements to have the eleventh Asia-Europe (ASEM) Summit in July 2016 in Ulaanbaatar. Taking note of that ASEM would likewise be celebrating its twentieth commemoration one year from now, SG Minh wished Mongolia incredible accomplishment in facilitating this imperative occasion.<sup>30</sup>

At the same time, Mongolia pro-actively try to strengthen its diplomatic tool and position in the Asian region through various mechanism such as heightening bilateral relationships with other regional countries, engaging to a dialogue on political, security and economic cooperation of the region and also participating in the regional integration processes. As expanding its traditional relations with Asian partnership states, Mongolia has reinforced friendly atmosphere and cooperation with ASEAN member countries and thus increased frequency of high-level visits. “Within the regional cooperation frameworks, Mongolia connects with, through its specific allotted status, in vital provincial coordination occasions and components, including the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council (PECC), the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO), the Asian Cooperation Dialog (ACD), the Asia-Europe Meeting (ASEM), the Conference on Interaction and Confidence Building Measures in Asia (CICA) and the Forum for East Asia-Latin America Cooperation (FEALAC) and the Bali Democracy Forum (BDF)”. Mongolia’s exchange strategy destinations are gone for building up an outward-arranged exchange administration taking after the standards of the “World Trade Organisation” (WTO) carrying the objective of expanding abroad in sense of access

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<sup>30</sup>ASEAN Secretariat News (Tuesday, 21 April 2015) ASEAN, Mongolia to Strengthen Relations, [Online: web] Accessed 18 December 2015, <http://www.asean.org/news/asean-secretariat-news/item/asean-mongolia-to-strengthen-relations>.

regarding market for Mongolian items through more prominent joining into the economy of World.<sup>31</sup>

### **5.2.9: Multilateral Relations and Processes**

Regarding multilateral relations and process, the articulation of *Ganbold*, who was then Ambassador of Mongolia to the Republic of Korea, gives impetus to understand the government policy. He emphasized the country vision about the government policy for multilateral engagement in his lecture on June 18, 2013, He stated that:

“Mongolia firmly believes that through both bilateral efforts and multilateral negotiations we can make our own contribution to insuring the stability in the region. In doing so Mongolia will strive towards extensive utilization of the first and second track dialogue mechanisms, actively support projects aimed at creation of transport, communications and energy networks, actively participate in regional cooperation on defusing the effects of world climate changes and prevention of environmental pollution. Contributing to the strengthening and implementation of international arms control regime will remain a strategic goal of Mongolia. Mongolia is a party to the Nuclear non-Proliferation Treaty, the Conventions on Destruction of Chemical and Bacteriological Weapons, the Comprehensive Nuclear Weapons Test Ban Treaty and a firm supporter of the non- proliferation regime. Therefore, Mongolia holds the view that the consistent implementation of these important Treaties will play a significant role in safeguarding of regional peace and stability. As the scope of the third neighbour policy expanded, it began to include more bilateral and multilateral political partnerships. Mongolia became a member of the World Trade Organisation (WTO) in 1997; the ASEAN Regional Forum in 1998; and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) in 2012. “Mongolia’s military is very small, but it’s transformed very well with the help of U.S. and U.N. institution to become an active member of international peacekeeping campaigns”. Further, he also said that, “This helped to increase Mongolia’s international profile and is also part of our efforts to implement this third neighbour policy” (Baasanjav Ganbold June 18, 2013).<sup>32</sup>

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<sup>31</sup>Embassy of Mongolia in Singapore, Foreign Policy of Mongolia, [Online: web] Accessed 20 November 2015, <http://mongolianembassy.sg/about-mongolia/foreign-relations-of-mongolia/#.Vk282TCqkqk>

<sup>32</sup>Baasanjav Ganbold, H.E. (June 18, 2013), Ambassador of Mongolia to the Republic of Korea, gave a lecture called *Mongolia's "Third Neighbor" Foreign Policy: The Concept and Evolution*. Asia Society Korea Center's Seoul.

### 5.2.10: Mongolia and NATO

On the issue of Mongolia-NATO partnership, Mongolia's justification for partnering with NATO has been clearly guided by its Third Neighbour Policy, proving to Moscow and Beijing that the Mongolians are esteemed Global Partners of the Alliance. Mongolian policy analysts who pushed for the partnership with NATO as a ahead of schedule as the 1990s considered this progression as a way to bolster Mongolia's freedom and power from Russia and China through diversification in the defence sector.<sup>33</sup>

Further, the engagement with NATO has also given the Mongolian forces the chance to become internationally renowned for their peacekeeping endeavors, showing Mongolia's fearlessness as a solid and gutsy country. Mongolians take pride in their country's contribution to international security. Notwithstanding acknowledgment for this, Mongolia's participation in NATO-led missions has enhanced the Mongolian forces capacity for peacekeeping, counterterrorism, humanitarian and disaster relief, as well as their ability to keep up combat readiness in peacetime. Obviously, Mongolia's partnership with NATO is a two-way street. For NATO, Mongolia fills in as a model partner that has not been a customary NATO or US ally. As a former Soviet satellite state that has undergone tremendous reforms and developed into a model democracy or regional standards (with the exception of corruption) in its region, NATO has a characteristic enthusiasm for setting up relations as a result of the Alliance's democratic nature and because non-Western partners add legitimacy to NATO's missions.<sup>34</sup>

NATO's most tangible gains from the partnership with Mongolia have been troop contributions, numbering 72 to the 2005-2007 Kosovo Force (KFOR) and 120 to the Resolute Support Mission in Afghanistan (from 2003 to 2014, Mongolia contributed a total of 1,108 troops and 351 trainers through nine rotations in Afghanistan, which includes its contribution to the US-led mission Operation Enduring Freedom OEF).<sup>35</sup>

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<sup>33</sup> Assessment based on interview with the official in Ulaanbaatar, May 2014.

<sup>34</sup> Robert Helbig (2015), NATO-Mongolia relations: limited in scope, but with room to grow, Research Paper, *Research division, NATO Defence college* Rome, No 116

<sup>35</sup> Lawrence, pg. 12; NATO. "International Security Assistance Force (ISAF): Key Facts and Figures", ISAF September 3, 2014 [Online: web] Accessed 25 October 2015, [www.isaf.nato.int/images/media/PDFs/140904placemat.pdf](http://www.isaf.nato.int/images/media/PDFs/140904placemat.pdf). NATO, "Resolute Support Mission." May 2015, [Online: web] Accessed

It is also considerable that Ulaanbaatar does not only send an impressive number of personnel in relation to its very small population (less than 3 million) and GDP (\$11.5 billion, less than 1 percent of the GDP generated by New York City); but also the Mongolian Armed Forces execute very demanding tasks, such as protecting bases and conducting patrols in dangerous terrain.<sup>36</sup>

Therefore, Mongolia is generally considered a net contributor to international security, making the country interesting for NATO, which is seeking such capabilities through partners. As regards development of the NATO partnership, after the end of Cold war era, Mongolia has had expressed its interest in partnering with the Alliance through the Partnership for Peace (PFP) programme.<sup>37</sup>

However, in 1990s, there was some member state of NATO, who was expressing their opposition to give Mongolia's membership due to its distant geographic location. The US, for instance, would have favored Mongolia to integrate into the Northeast Asian rather than Central Asian security structure, which is the reason Mongolia was placed within the domain of the US Pacific Command, falling outside the scope of the PFP programme. Additionally, the NATO states were concerned about irritating Russia and China by reaching too far into their conventional range of influence immediately after the demise of the Cold War.<sup>38</sup>

Although, Mongolia contributed troops to NATO-led combat, training and capacity-building operations in Kosovo and Afghanistan did the Alliance recognize the value of cooperating with Ulaanbaatar. In 2001 Mongolia turned into a NATO Contact Country and, in 2010, it was recognized as a troop-contributing country.<sup>39</sup>

At the point, when NATO delineated its new partnership policy in 2011, the Mongolian Embassy in Brussels was effectively entrusted to set up Mongolia as a "Partner across the Globe" as a result, in 2012. Brussels and Ulaanbaatar signed the

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30 October 2015, [http://www.nato.int/nato\\_static\\_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf\\_2015\\_05/20150508\\_1505-RSM-Placemat.pdf](http://www.nato.int/nato_static_fl2014/assets/pdf/pdf_2015_05/20150508_1505-RSM-Placemat.pdf).

<sup>36</sup>Robert Helbig (2015), NATO-Mongolia relations: limited in scope, but with room to grow, Research Paper, *Research division, NATO Defence college* Rome, No 116

<sup>37</sup> Mendee Jargalsaikhan, (2012), "Finally A New Era in NATO-Mongolia Relations," The George

<sup>38</sup> Mashbat Otgonbayar Sarlagtay, "Mongolia's Immediate Security Challenges: Implication to Defense Sector and The Regional Cooperation," p. 111.

<sup>39</sup> Mendee Jargalsaikhan, (2012), "Finally A New Era in NATO-Mongolia Relations," The George Washington University, *Voices From Central Asia*, No. 1 June 2012 [Online: web] Accessed 19 November 2015, [http://037eabf.netsolhost.com/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Voices\\_from\\_CA\\_1\\_June\\_2012.pdf](http://037eabf.netsolhost.com/wordpress/wp-content/uploads/2013/10/Voices_from_CA_1_June_2012.pdf) (accessed 30 September 2014), p. 4

Individual Partnership and Cooperation Programme in order to strengthen their security apparatus.

In the meantime, those who were skeptical and upset of NATO's engagement with Mongolia claimed that this was a geopolitical strategy to counter Russia and China, the Alliance had really been reluctant to enter into a partnership with Mongolia because of its delicate geopolitical position. This shows that NATO's partnership policy is often more cautious than is claimed by outsiders country, such as Russia. Since in 2012, Mongolia entered into a partnership with NATO, the Alliance has given Russia and China no genuine reason to fear that it will use Mongolia as a strategic partner for stationing forces in the region.<sup>40</sup>

Defence cooperation between NATO and Mongolia can thus be seen at lower level. However, as part of the military-to-military engagement, Mongolia takes part in NATO's Defence Education Enhancement Programme (DEEP), which incorporates dialect language, curriculum, and faculty training. Mongolia has also adjusted its "Five Hills" Peace Support Operations Training Centre to NATO standards, to become NATO's 29th PTEC, and the first among the Alliance's Global Partners.

On the civilian side, NATO is trying to execute two Science for Peace and Security (SPS) projects in Mongolia. Where, one is centered on the restoration of former Soviet military bases; while, the other is aimed at helping to upgrade government IT infrastructure.<sup>41</sup> By doing so, NATO's civilian arm also seeks to have a positive impact on Mongolia's security.

In addition, NATO and Mongolia also cooperate and coordinate through political consultations. As, Mongolia sent a high-level delegation to NATO Headquarters to discuss Mongolia's foreign policy in February 2014 in order to established relations with NATO members and strengthen its emergency management. As a result, political consultations occur regularly on a 28+1 basis (NATO's 28 member states and Mongolia) with Mongolia's Defence Attaché in Brussels, and during NATO summits for example, most recently in Wales, when Mongolia was represented at ministerial

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<sup>40</sup> As Mongolia's constitution forbids Ulaanbaatar to enter into a military alliance and to station foreign troops on its territory, the possibility of a NATO base was ruled out even before the parties started dealing with each other.

<sup>41</sup> NATO, (2013), "Launch of Two SPS Projects in Mongolia," *News*, 13 March 2013, [Online: web] Accessed 19 November 2015, [www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news\\_99089.htm? Selected Locale=en](http://www.nato.int/cps/en/natohq/news_99089.htm? Selected Locale=en) .



level (Helbig 2015).<sup>42</sup>As indicated by Mongolian and NATO officials, both sides are satisfied and happy with their coordination and intend to remain active in shaping it. Mongolia has connected mostly through its Ministry of Defence, especially Vice Minister and former Ambassador to Brussels Avirmed Battur. However, NATO also wishes to develop the partnership on the civilian side because of the Alliance's political character.<sup>43</sup>

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<sup>42</sup>Robert Helbig (2015), NATO-Mongolia relations: limited in scope, but with room to grow, Research Paper, *Research division, NATO Defence college* Rome, No 116

<sup>43</sup> *ibid*

## ***CHAPTER SIX***

## ***CONCLUSION***

## *Chapter Six*

### **Conclusion**

The foreign policy of a country is the sum total of the principles, interests and objectives which it seeks to promote through its relations with other countries. The making of foreign policy is a complex and dynamic process because it is influenced by the changes in the domestic as well as international environment. Not only does it influence and change the behaviour of other states but also try to adjust its own activities to the international environment. Therefore, “the conduct and formulation of foreign policy is governed by the interplay of numerous determinants, institutions, processes and personalities”. This is relevant in the case of Mongolia as well because the policy makers have taken all these factors into consideration while formulating the country’s foreign policy.

However, Mongolia’s foreign policy has been facing a crisis of multiple dimensions. This is so because on the one hand, Mongolia is relatively weaker economically and politically and on the other, a few countries and regions are posing challenges in different ways. At the same time, there are more and more crises with which Mongolia has to contend: within nations, between nations, within and between various cultures or geographic areas such as Asia, the Western world as well as neighbouring countries, and on a global basis with climate change, environmental degradation, natural disasters, acid rain, and so on. There appears to be a seemingly growing inability and also unwillingness on the part of the global players to try to solve all these problems, which have affected Mongolia also. Even though Mongolia’s foreign policy and its approach towards the outside world has brought about positive results to the benefit of this small country in the long run.

During the period of this Doctoral research study, i.e. from 1991 to 2013, it has been discovered that the formulation of Mongolian foreign policy has been marked by a considerable degree of value consensus after the Soviet disintegration in 1991 as it has been a subject to a substantial amount of value shift from a “Unipolar” world to a “Multipolar” one in terms of its changing dynamics. After the Soviet disintegration,

the new leadership of Mongolia turned their attention to the world community, expanding their search for new world partners and donors for economic assistance in order to replace the former patron, i.e., the Soviet Union. It, therefore, required a viable foreign policy in the interest of the nation.

There were many causes, which were enforced on Mongolia to adopt its own independent foreign policy to safeguard the national interest. In the process, Mongolia started focusing on a number of domestic and socio-economic issues. However, it had no option but to take such measures that could help the country progress both at the domestic as well as foreign affairs levels at a time when globalisation was becoming the order of the day. In that sense, introduction of democracy and market economy brought about significant changes in Mongolia's domestic policy, which ultimately influenced the country's foreign policy as well.

From 1990 to 1992, Mongolia initiated political reforms to eliminate the 'leading role' of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) in the state's domestic and foreign affairs. In the year of 1992, Mongolia's first democratic constitution came into existence. The adoption of the new constitution in January of that year provided Mongolia a much-needed tool to strengthen its newly embarked democracy and market economy, thus started the very foundation of Mongolia's foreign policy formulations. During this research work this researcher confronted with different approaches of theoretical and methodological perspectives in order to apply them to Mongolian foreign policy. The first and foremost task was to understand the foreign policy theory and develop a point of view as to how different theories of foreign policy are applicable to Mongolia during the period of this study.

After examining the relevant theories on foreign policy it has been revealed that the theory of "realism" seems to be most appropriate in Mongolia's case. This is more so because Mongolia's foreign policy adopted in the year of 1994 is based on pragmatism, i.e., Mongolia follows pragmatic approach in the conduct of its foreign policy in the prevailing international order. This has been quite a different approach of foreign policy from the one which was there in Mongolia in the pre-1986 period when Mongolia was under Communist rule. It was only after the changes began in Soviet Asia policy that Mongolia started reforms in its domestic and foreign affairs on the pattern of Gorbachev's policy of "glasnost" and "perestroika". At the same time, one

finds that various political institutions and multilateral engagements became increasingly competitive in seeking to promote their values and beliefs in foreign policy making. This thesis has, thus, highlighted the Mongolian leadership initiatives towards revamping the existing foreign policy to suit national interests through bilateral and multilateral engagements.

However, other related policies such as “Third Neighbour policy” and policies on bilateral treaties with different countries have been found to be going well with Mongolia’s external diplomacy. Mongolia’s foreign policy for engaging itself with both of its two geographic neighbours-Russia and China as well as third neighbours like USA, Japan, Korea, EU countries, Australia, Canada and India in political, economic, cultural, and humanitarian areas demonstrates a significant departure from its Soviet era foreign policy. Its foreign policy now is no more dependent on a big brother like the former Soviet Union rather it is an open and multi-pillared foreign policy.

This thesis has also drawn attention to the impact of foreign policy on Mongolia’s multilateral engagements by discussing the central role-played by Mongolia in various international organisations. Mongolia has participated in a number of such organisations, including the United Nations, ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF), International Monetary Fund (IMF), World Bank, World Trade Organisation (WTO), Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) and NATO where Mongolia is a partner nation. From 2011 to 2013, Mongolia was the pioneer of the Community of Democracies, a group of democratic nations focused on strengthening democratic institutions globally. Its participation in the two key organisations, i.e., Shanghai Cooperation Organisation (SCO) and Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) has been important so far as the security implications of Mongolia’s foreign policy in the context of multilateral engagement is concerned. The overall benefits Mongolia has been witnessing through its participation in the multilateral forums have given a boost to country’s development in political, economic, social and security fields.

So far as hypotheses are concerned, this thesis confirms the first hypothesis that “economic compulsions have propelled Mongolia to adopt a balanced foreign policy both towards regional as well as international actors”. This is so because the ‘third

neighbour' countries are selected according to their potential contribution to Mongolia's economic development and common values. Mongolia has complemented and sustained its political interests with economic ones by attracting investment and establishing economic interests in those countries because of larger prospective of global economic interest. The second hypothesis that "multilateral engagement with 'third neighbours' is a geostrategic need of Mongolia to avoid dominance from either of its two geographic neighbours" has been also tested. Mongolia's active roles in international organisations as well as its bilateral and multilateral engagements with 'third neighbours' are fulfilling its foreign policy objectives. It has also in fact resulted in balancing the influence of the two neighbours - Russia and China, which are still considered as a potential security threat, both economic as well as strategic.

Working along with organisations such as the United Nations, the European Union and the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE) is perceived as being part and parcel of Mongolia's third neighbour policy. Mongolia has essentially moved on from its own contribution to the common goals and efforts of these organisations. In the last two decades, Mongolia has actively contributed to peacekeeping operations, and is now one of the highest per-capita contributors to peacekeeping operations around the world. Likewise, it is an active member of the group of landlocked developing countries and often raises different issues specific to this group of countries at various international forums. This thesis underlines that Mongolian foreign policy depicts national interest on the ground of pursuing multi-bases foreign policy and avoiding confrontation with any other countries.

According to the American scholar John Chay (1986), "a small power must be neutral and independent in order to play the role of a genuine buffer in a great power rivalry". Hence, Mongolia has also established its foreign policy to maintain a strategic balance to preserve peace in such a geographical area where it has a buffer role in the potential rivalry between two great powers - Russia and China. Since Mongolia is a small state, which lies between these two powerful states, it looks like a weak power between the two stronger neighbours but it has created an atmosphere of reducing conflict between them in the post-1991 period. Mongolia's foreign policy has undoubtedly been successful in balancing the two neighbours through bilateral and trilateral relations so as to enjoy a peaceful co-existence.

On the economic foreign policy, in the current circumstances, Mongolian government has focused on increasing its exports of value-added goods to develop production of import-substituting goods, to introduce and localize new technologies and to increase foreign investment. The Mongolian government has set its priorities to reform and diversify the present economic structure dependent on natural resources and raw materials. It has become necessary to maintain direct foreign political relations and diplomatic activities for generating increased income for citizens, creating more jobs and ensuring sustainable development of Mongolia by means of increasing the economic value of foreign relations. However, Mongolia need to create an opportunity for rationalizing and developing concrete economic relations with other countries taking into consideration political and economic benefits from such relations as well as doing away with potential negative impact on the national security, in particular the economic security.

As regards the prospects of Mongolia's foreign policy, for quite some times now, Mongolia has been thinking to adopt a neutrality policy. While Mongolian neutrality will be a boon for the country's "third neighbour" policy, it will also pose challenges to Mongolia in simultaneously balancing its strategic interests. The skill with which Mongolia has managed its post-communist foreign policy has largely removed the difficulty of whether or not Mongolia would have to choose to align politically and militarily with China, Russia or the West. Nevertheless, the President of Mongolia Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj has emphasized that Mongolia has essentially been neutral in all but name.

The issue of neutrality has been hotly debated and discussed during the years when Mongolians fought for restoration of their freedom and independence, and during the tense days of democratic revolution too. But Mongolia has never declared itself as a "permanently neutral state". Yet, the Mongolian President stressed that, "in substance, form and action the foreign policy is fully coherent with the principles of neutral foreign policy". More specifically, Mongolia's neutrality is delicately reflected in the very letter and spirit of the agreements and treaties concluded with neighbouring states. In spite of such thinking and reality on the ground, it remains to be seen if Mongolia adopts a firm neutrality policy to suit its external diplomacy.

Last year, Mongolian government also commenced its Action Program for 2016-2020 in order to improve its foreign policy objectives. The program stipulates that the government will implement Mongolia's peaceful, open, independent and multi-pillar foreign policy, ensure its integrity and continuity, promote further friendly relations and cooperation in political, trade, economic, cultural and other areas with other countries, strengthen the country's standing in the international community, participate effectively in regional cooperation, consistently uphold the interests of Mongolian citizens and economic entities abroad, improve the conditions for citizens to travel abroad and intensify the work on projecting Mongolia in the world.

The ongoing Action Program also states that the Mongolian government will promote the traditional relations and cooperation with the third neighbours, including the USA, Japan, European Union, India, the Republic of Korea and Turkey as well as with other countries and give top priority to the development of trade and economic relations. It will also continue active cooperation with the United Nations, and its system and specialized agencies, as well as with other international and regional organisations. In addition, it will work to create favourable conditions for foreign investors in terms of policy, cooperation and legal stability, improve the implementation of international treaties and national legislation related to their interests and pursue a consistent policy to attract foreign investors into infrastructure, mining, energy, agriculture, tourism and other sectors.

On the whole, it can be summed up that Mongolia's foreign policy objectives reside in ensuring its independence and sovereignty by following the trends of human society's advancement, maintaining friendly relations with all countries, strengthening its position in the international community and forming with influential countries in the region and in the world a network of relationships based on the interdependence of political, economic and other interests. Ulaanbaatar essentially pursues an open and non-aligned policy of creating realistic interest of the developed countries in Mongolia, while at the same time seeking to avoid becoming overly reliant or dependent on any particular country. The chief objective of this study, therefore, has been to generate enthusiasm for an in-depth research into the Mongolian foreign policy in the new world order after the disintegration of the Soviet Union in 1991. Due to its geostrategic location and accessibility of natural resources Mongolia is



getting importance day by day by attracting international players, which provides immense opportunities for further study and research on various other dimensions of Mongolia's foreign policy.

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# ***APPENDICES***

## **FIELD TRIP REPORT**

I had visited Mongolia for the Ph. D thesis work and data collection from 14<sup>th</sup> to 29<sup>th</sup> September 2015, which was granted by Indian council of social Science research, New Delhi and supported by Mongolian embassy in New Delhi as well as Indian embassy in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.

I started my study by visiting some universities which are situated in Ulaanbaatar as well as other academic institutions such as Institute of strategic National Security council of Mongolia, School of foreign Service, National University of Mongolia, Institute Strategic Studies, Ministry of education and sciences, National Council for Mongolian Studies, Government of Mongolia, Business school, National University of Mongolia, Natsagdorj Library of Ulaanbaatar City, Department of International Relations and Cooperation, The International School of Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia International University.

I paid a visit to national museum of Mongolia for gathering information about Mongolian culture and history. Besides this I also visited Indian embassy in Ulaanbaatar as well as parliament of Mongolia. I met Mr. Somnath Ghosh Indian Ambassador in Mongolia. He supported me for getting information regarding my research work.

I also met different professors, scholars and academicians to know their views and gathered valuable information regarding Mongolia's current and future prospects of foreign policy. I also tried to understand the democratic development in Mongolia after 1991, and the ground reality of foreign policy in existing scenario.

During my visit, I got the opportunity to visit some of the historical places city side in Ulaanbaatar to know about their societies and culture. I had consulted many books written in Mongolian with the help of translator. However, I also got some articles in English. I took some help from students and translator. A round of discussions with the students from School of foreign Service, National University of Mongolia was also fruitful for my research work. This discussion helped me a lot in terms of

understanding the general perception of the regional dynamics as well as the engagement of external powers in the region. The perception of Mongolia about the role of India in regional security architecture discussed in the light of “geo-culturalism” aspects. I paid a visit to the villages of Mongolia, where I had a discussion with the local people of Mongolia. They told me that they feel the emotional bond with the Indian culture as well.

In additions, many experts from Mongolia also pointed out that, India is a trustworthy partner needed to be proactive in Mongolia. They also argued that India’s foreign policy articulations needed to be implemented in Mongolia. Most of the scholars supported their multi-vector foreign policy approach in terms of engagement with the external powers. They still consider China as a political and economical influential factor to Mongolia. At the same time, most of the scholars have been cautious about China’s long-term motive in the region. Historically, the perception of China has been a “sleeping kind of threat” to the region. However, they perceive China is the best economic investor in the region as compared to other external powers. It is often said that, where India spends millions, but China spends billions. As a consequence, it is argued that there is no big role of India in terms of engagement in Mongolia. But, many of the observers/analyst support India’s engagement in the region as a soft power.

The most of the scholars also address a very highlighted issue with reference to Mongolia i.e. the geopolitical importance, availability of abundant energy resources.

I have also asked some questions to the new generations about the involvement of major powers in the Mongolia. I got different perceptions about engagement of external player in the scene of Mongolia by the new generations. The old generations build close affinity with Russia because of its historical legacy. Whereas, new generations are keen to support multi-vector foreign policy in the region. Realistically, some of the students also pointed out the involvement of major powers are serving their own interest in the region. The establishment of NGOs is the tool for “information gathering” for the major powers. At the same time, people of Mongolia keep quite on this matter and providing information to them by getting job because of the unavailability of employment by the government of Mongolia.

Some of the scholars also pointed out that People prefer private job because of low salary given by the government. In this field trip I also interacted with the local people during the visit of historical places.

Altantsetseg Noosgoi, of School of Foreign Service, National University of Mongolia had told me that the Comprehensive issue came in focus. China proved free visa to Mongolian for One Month. Drug Trafficking, Prostitutions and human trafficking are also Human security issues there. India is a Spiritual Third Neighbour. Third Neighbour policy is very important to balance the Mongolia foreign policy.

Finally after the discussion with Experts and scholars I come to the conclusion that Today Mongolia's foreign policy is dominated by a need to secure sovereignty and economic independence. It will assess Mongolia's security challenges following the Soviet collapse when it began moving away from Russia towards an uncertain future where the great concern was China. The factor that Mongolia advocates is the development of such a multilateral institution that could supplement the bilateral relations and ensure the security of the region both economic as well as strategic. The post-Soviet period in the history of Mongolia formed new loyalties and transformed the old ones. Having built up an independent, multi-pillared, open foreign policy; Mongolia has been able to gain more and more overseas friends and partners apart from advancing its position regionally and internationally. Today, Mongolia maintains diplomatic relations with 143 countries and adheres to 178 international multilateral treaties. Furthermore, Mongolia is a member of 49 international and intergovernmental organisations.

Therefore, my visit to Mongolia was successful and fruitful for my thesis work. I collected a lot of material from primary sources as well as secondary sources, which helped me to enrich my knowledge while writing the thesis.



Researcher with Mr. Somnath Ghosh Indian Ambassador in Mongolia during field visit.



Researcher with Prof. Altantsetseg Noosgoi School of International Relations and Public Administration, National University of Mongolia.



Researcher interaction with a research scholar of The Institute for Strategic Studies, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia.





Researcher with Prof. Enkhbayar Byambanorov, School of International Relations and Public Administration, Ulaanbaatar, National University of Mongolia.



Researcher with Students of National University of Mongolia



Traditional house of Mongolia called Ger.





Researcher with Soyombo; Luvsanjav, University of Language and Civilisation at Ulaanbaatar in Mongolia. She has presented Mongolian tradition before the researcher and gifted photo frame written as Subhash in Mongolian script.



Researcher after Interaction with Buddhist Research Scholar.





Researcher in the main building of the Mongolian Parliament.

State and nongovernmental organizations which emerged first from the Mongolian Democratic Association and participated in the Democratic Revolution:

- |  |                   |
|--|-------------------|
| 1. Mongolian Democratic Association                      | December 10, 1989 |
| 2. Democratic Socialist Movement                         | December 28, 1989 |
| 3. New Progressive Union                                 | February 18, 1990 |
| 4. Mongolian Student's Union                             | 1945              |
| 5. Mongolian Believers Union                             | July 1, 1990      |
| 6. Mongolian Union of Owners of Private Small Business   | September 1, 1990 |
| 7. Mongolian Green Movement                              | October 10, 1990  |
| 8. Mongolian Youth's Union                               | January 18, 1991  |
| 9. Movement to Protect Rights of Unemployed People       | January 15, 1991  |
| 10. Mongolian Union of Free Laborers                     | March 10, 1991    |
| 11. Mongolian Union of People's Farmers                  | June 27, 1991     |
| 12. Mongolian Association of Free Democratic Journalists | December 28, 1991 |
| 13. Intellectual Foundation of Liberal Women             | October 10, 1992  |
| 14. Women's Movement for Social Progress                 | December 12, 1992 |
| 15. Mongolian Movement of Voters                         | February 23, 1994 |
| 16. Mongolian Society to Fight Poverty                   | August, 1994      |
| 17. Women's for Democracy Movement                       | March 17, 1996    |
| <b>Political Parties:</b>                                |                   |
| 1. Mongolian Democratic Party                            | February 18, 1990 |
| 2. Mongolian Green Party                                 | March 09, 1990    |
| 3. Mongolian National Progressive Party                  | March 11, 1990    |
| 4. Mongolian Party of Free Labor                         | March 21, 1990    |
| 5. Mongolian Social Democratic Party                     | March 21, 1990    |
| 6. Mongolian Republican Party                            | September, 1991   |
| 7. Mongolian Renaissance Party                           | November 30, 1991 |
| 8. Mongolian United Party                                | March, 1992       |
| 9. Mongolian People's Party                              | April 03, 1992    |
| 10. Mongolian Religious Democratic Party                 | May 26, 1992      |
| 11. Mongolian National Democratic Party                  | October 25, 1992  |

State and non-governmental organizations, which emerged first the Mongolian Democratic Association and participated in the Democratic Revolution.





Attendees of the political first hunger strike during democratic revolution  
 Source: Researcher has taken this photo during field trip at National Museum of Mongolia.



Front side of Mongolian Parliament.

Дайны жилүүдэд Монголын ард түмэн "Бүхнийг фронтод", "Бүхнийг ялалтын төлөө" гэсэн уриан дор ажиллаж Зөвлөлтийн улаан армид бэлэг цуглуулах хөдөлгөөн өрнүүлэв. Энэ бэлэгт нэхий дээл, эсгий гутал, бээлий, оймс, дулаан хувцас зэрэг зүйлүүд ордог байв. Мөн 32 мянган агт морь бэлэглэснээс гадна 54 танк бүхий "Хувьсгалт Монгол", 12 нисэх онгоц бүхий "Монгол ард" хэмээх эскадрилийг монголын ард түмний хөрөнгөөр үйлдвэрлүүлж бэлэглэсэн бөгөөд 104 мянган агт морьдоо фронтын хэрэгцээнд зориулж худалджээ.



Фронтод бэлэг илгээх ажлыг зохион байгуулах комиссын хуралдаан



"Хувьсгалт монгол" танкийн бригад

### World War II and Mongolia

The Government of Mongolia declared that Mongolia would take a strong stand and support the Soviet Union when it was attacked by Nazi Germany on June 22nd, 1941.

Although Mongolia was not directly involved, her people worked under the motto "all for the front, all for victory" and thus organized the collection of useful items such as animal hide, felt boots, gloves, socks, and other warm clothes for the Red Army.

As a result 32,000 horses, 54 tanks from the "Revolutionist Mongolia" tank brigade, and 12 planes from the "Mongolian people" plane brigade were donated. Also 10,000 horses were sold to the armies fighting at the Front.



Фронтод илгээх бэлгийг балгаж байгаа нь

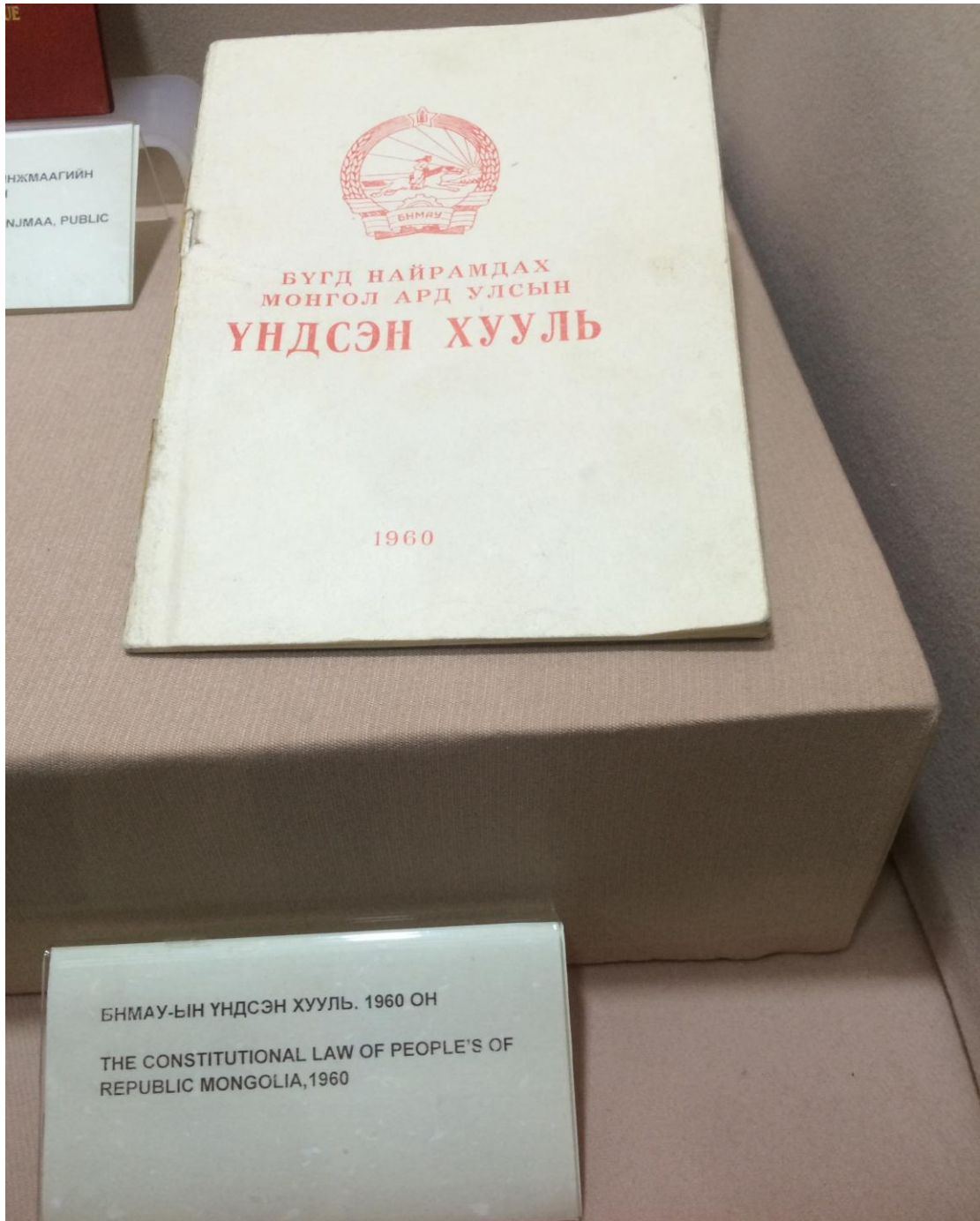


Фронтод бэлэг хүргэсэн төлөөлөгчид

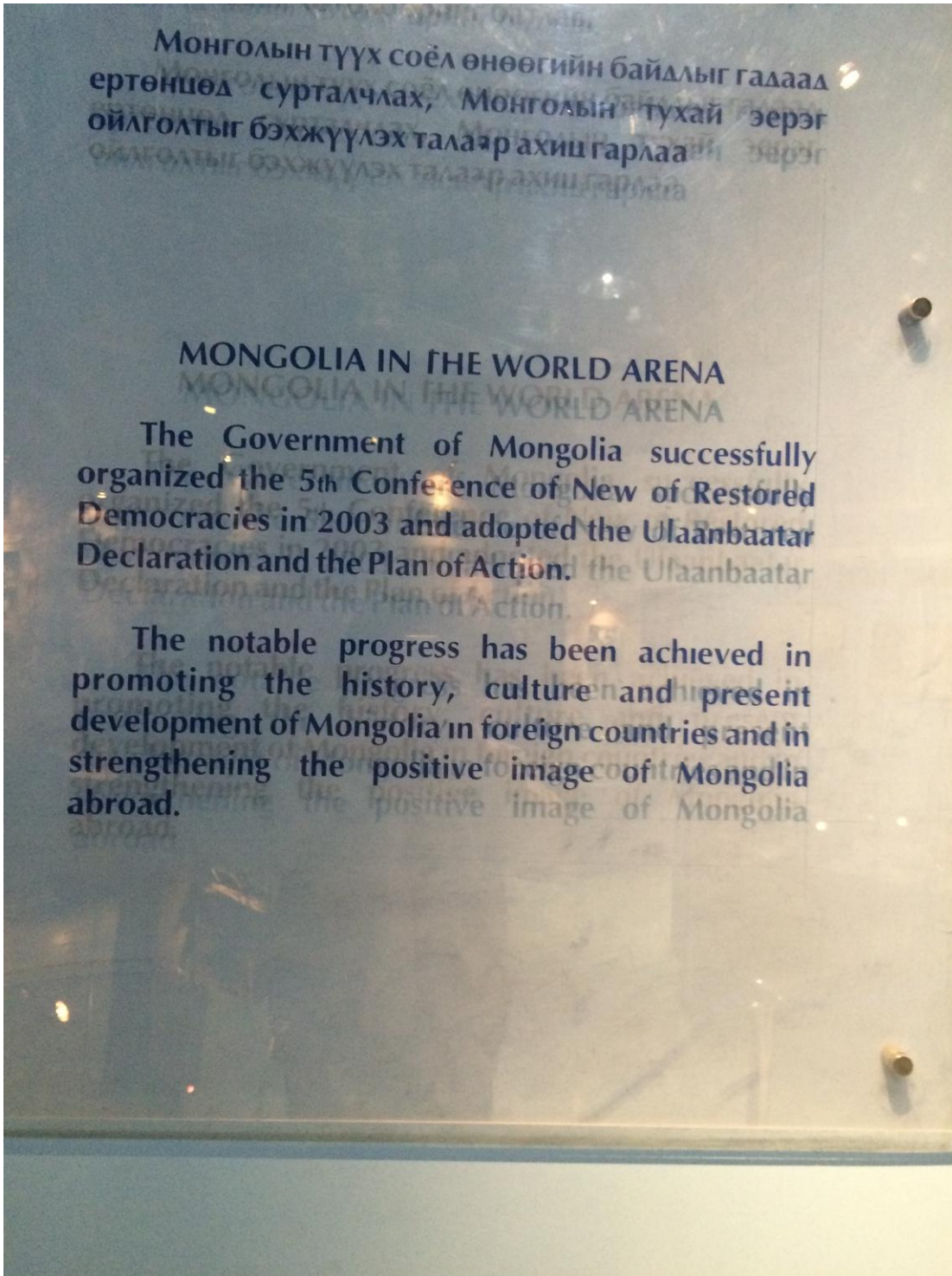
### World War II and Mongolia

Source: Researcher has taken this photo during field trip at National Museum of Mongolia.



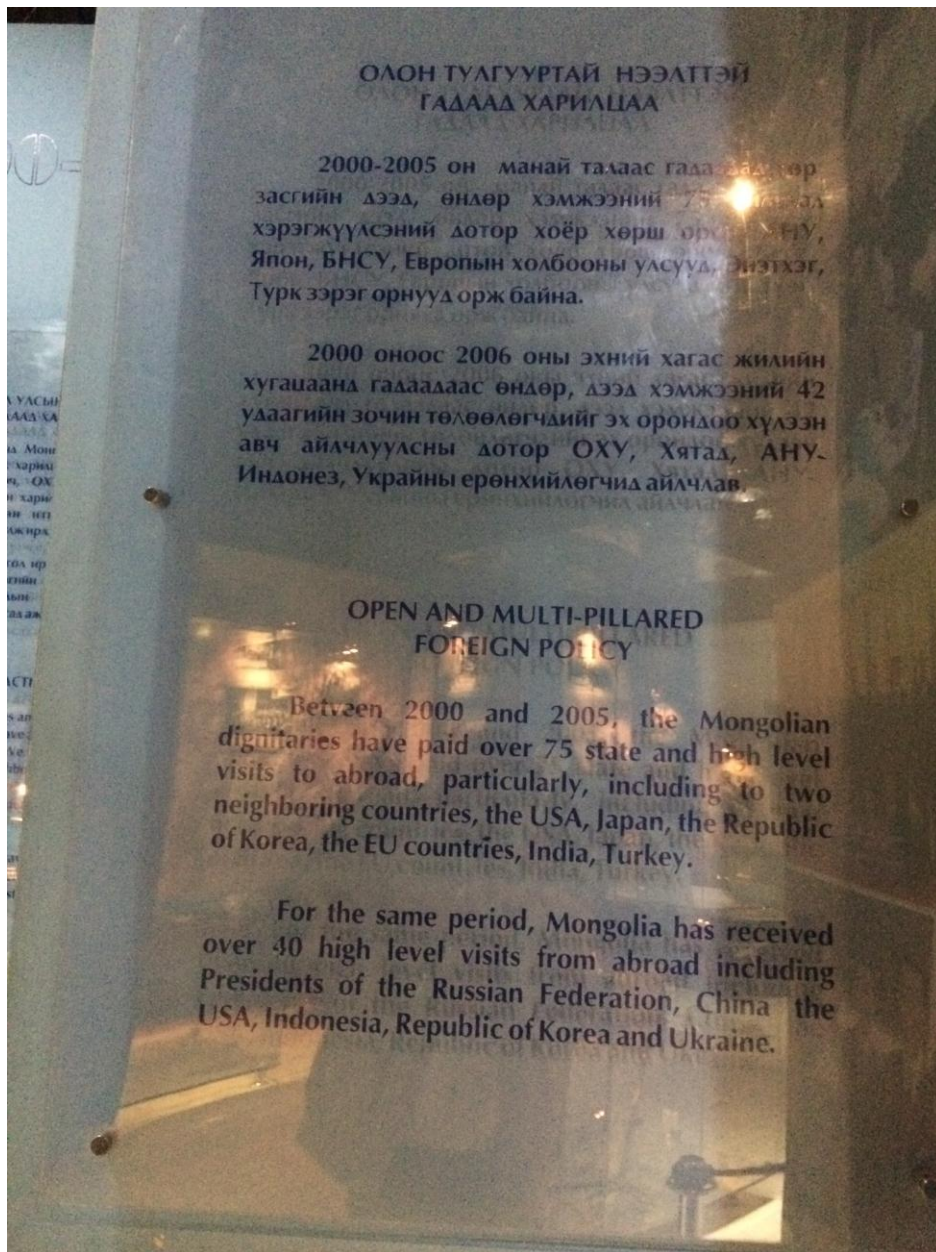


The Original Constitutional Law of People's of Mongolia republic Mongoli, 1960  
*Source: Researcher has taken this photo during field trip at National Museum of Mongolia.*



A picture has taken from national Museum of Mongolia.





A picture has taken from national Museum of Mongolia of Open And Multi-pillared foreign policy declaration.



Researcher visited during field trip in the premises of Mongolian Parliament.





National Museum of Mongolia





Encounter of lovers Statue

## **THE CONSTITUTION OF MONGOLIA**

**13 January 1992**

**We, the people of Mongolia:**

- Strengthening the independence and sovereignty of the state,**
- Cherishing human rights and freedoms, justice and national unity,**
- Inheriting the traditions of national statehood, history and culture,**
- Respecting the accomplishments of human civilization,**
- And aspiring toward the supreme objective of building a human, civil and democratic society in our homeland**

**Hereby proclaim the Constitution of Mongolia.**

### **CHAPTER ONE**

#### **Sovereignty of the Mongolian State**

##### **Article One**

1. Mongolia is an independent, sovereign republic.
2. The fundamental principles of the activities of the State shall be securing democracy, justice, freedom, equality, national unity and rule of law.

##### **Article Two**

1. By its state organisation, Mongolia shall be a unitary State.
2. The territory of Mongolia shall be divided into administrative units only.

### **Article Three**

1. In Mongolia state power shall be vested in the people of Mongolia. The Mongolian people shall exercise it through their direct participation in state affairs as well as through the representative bodies of the State authority elected by them.
2. Illegal seizure of State power or any attempt to do so shall be prohibited.

### **Article Four**

1. The territorial integrity and frontiers of Mongolia shall be inviolable.
2. The frontiers of Mongolia shall be fixed by law.
3. Stationing of foreign troops in the territory of Mongolia, allowing them to cross the state frontier for the purpose of passing through the country's territory shall be prohibited unless appropriate law is adopted.

### **Article Five**

1. Mongolia shall have an economy based on different forms of property consistent to universal trends of world economic development and own country's specifics.
2. The State recognizes all forms of public and private property and shall protect the rights of the owner by law.
3. The owner's rights shall be limited exclusively by grounds specified in the law.
4. The State shall regulate the economy with a view to ensure the nation's economic security, the development of all forms of property and social development of the population.
5. Livestock are national wealth and shall be protected by the State.

### **Article Six**

1. In Mongolia the land, its subsoil, forests, water, fauna and flora and other natural resources shall be subject to people's power and State protection.

2. The land, except that given to the citizens of Mongolia for private ownership, as well as the subsoil with its mineral resources, forests, water resources and wildfowl shall be the property of the State.

3. The State may give for private ownership plots of land, except pasturage and land under public utilization and special use, only to the citizens of Mongolia. This provision shall not apply to the ownership of the subsoil thereof. Citizens shall be prohibited to transfer the land in their ownership to foreign citizens and stateless persons by way of selling, bartering, donating or pledging as well as from transferring it to others for their possession and use without permission from competent State authorities.

4. The State shall have the right to hold landowners responsible for the land, to exchange or take it over with compensation on the grounds of special public need, or confiscate the land if it is used in a manner adverse to the health of the population, the interests of environmental protection or national security.

5. The State may allow foreign citizens, legal persons and stateless persons to lease land for a specified period of time under conditions and procedures as provided for by law.

#### **Article Seven**

1. The historical, cultural, scientific and intellectual heritage of the Mongolian people shall be under State protection.

2. Intellectual values produced by citizens are the property of their authors and the national wealth of Mongolia.

#### **Article Eight**

1. The Mongolian language is the official language of the State.

2. Paragraph 1 of this Article shall not affect the right of national minorities of other tongues to use their native languages in education and communication and in the pursuit of cultural, artistic and scientific activities.

### **Article Nine**

1. The State shall respect the religions and the religions shall honor the State.
2. State institutions shall not engage in religious activities and the Church shall not carryout political activities.
3. The relationship between the State and the Church shall be regulated by law.

### **Article Ten**

1. Mongolia shall adhere to the universally recognized norms and principles of international law and pursue a peaceful foreign policy.
2. Mongolia shall fulfill in good faith its obligations under international treaties to which it is a Party.
3. The international treaties to which Mongolia is a Party shall become effective as domestic legislation upon the entry into force of the laws on their ratification or accession.
4. Mongolia shall not abide by any international treaty or other instruments in compatible with its Constitution.

### **Article Eleven**

1. The duty of the State is to secure the country's independence, ensure national security and public order.
2. Mongolia shall have armed forces for self-defense. The structure and organisation of the armed forces and rules of military service shall be determined by law.

### **Article Twelve**

1. The symbols of the independence and sovereignty of Mongolia are the State Emblem, Banner, Flag, Seal and Anthem.
2. The State Emblem, Banner, Flag and Anthem shall express the historical tradition, aspiration, unity, justice and the spirit of the people of Mongolia.



3. The State Emblem shall be of circular shape with the white lotus serving as its base and the "Never-ending Tumen Nasan" pattern forming its outer frame. The main background is of blue colour signifying the eternal blue sky, the Mongols' traditional sanctity. In the Centre of the Emblem a combination of the Precious Steed and the Golden Symbol sign is depicted as an expression of the independence, sovereignty and spirit of Mongolia. In the upper part of the Emblem the Chandmani (Wish-granting Jewel) sign symbolizes the past, the present and the future. In the lower part of the Emblem the sign of the Wheel entwined with the silk scarf Khadag in an expression of reverence and respect, symbolizing continued prosperity. It is placed against the background of a "hill" pattern conveying the notion of "Mother Earth".

4. The traditional Great White Banner of the unified Mongolian State is a state ceremonial attribute.

5. The State Flag shall be a rectangle divided vertically into three equal parts colored red, blue and red. The blue color of the center of the flag, symbolizes "the eternal blue sky" and the red color on both sides symbolizes progress and prosperity. The Golden Symbol sign shall be depicted on the red stripe nearest to the flag pole. The ratio of the width and length of the Flag shall be 1:2.

6. The State Seal having a lion-shaped handle shall be of a square form with the state Emblem in the center and the words "Mongol Uls" (Mongolia) inscribed on both sides. The President shall be the holder of the State Seal.

7. The procedure for the ceremonial use of the State symbols and the text and melody of the State Anthem shall be fixed by law.

### **Article Thirteen**

1. The capital of the State shall be the city in which the State Supreme bodies permanently sit. The capital city of Mongolia is the city of Ulaanbaatar.

2. The legal status of the capital city shall be determined by law.

## CHAPTER TWO

### Human Rights and Freedoms

#### Article Fourteen

1. All persons lawfully residing within Mongolia are equal before the law and the Court.
2. No person shall be discriminated against on the basis of ethnic origin, language, race, age, sex, social origin and status, property, occupation and position, religion, opinion and education. Every one shall be a person before the law.

#### Article Fifteen

1. The grounds and procedure for Mongolian nationality, acquisition or loss of citizenship shall be determined only by law.
2. Deprivation of Mongolian citizenship, exile and extradition of citizens of Mongolia shall be prohibited.

#### Article Sixteen

The citizens of Mongolia are guaranteed to enjoy the following rights and freedoms:

1. The right to life. Deprivation of human life shall be strictly prohibited unless capital punishment is imposed by due judgment of the Court for the most serious crimes, pursuant to Mongolian Criminal law.
2. The right to a healthy and safe environment, and to be protected against environmental pollution and ecological imbalance.
3. The right to fair acquisition, possession, ownership and inheritance of movable and immovable property. Illegal confiscation and requisitioning of the private property of citizens shall be prohibited. If the State and its bodies appropriate private property on the basis of exclusive public need, they shall do so with due compensation and payment.
4. The right to free choice of employment, favorable conditions of work, remuneration, rest and private farming. No one shall be subjected to forced labor.

5. The right to material and financial assistance in old age, disability, childbirth and childcare and in other circumstances as provided by law.
6. The right to the protection of health and medical care. The procedure and conditions of free medical aid shall be determined by law.
7. The right to education. The state shall provide basic general education free of charge; Citizens may establish and operate private schools if these meet the requirements of the State.
8. The right to engage in creative work in cultural, artistic and scientific fields and to benefit thereof. Copyrights and patents shall be protected by law.
9. The right to take part in the conduct of State affairs directly or through representative bodies. The right to elect and to be elected to State bodies. The right to elect shall be enjoyed from the age of eighteen years and the age of eligibility for being elected shall be determined by law according to the requirements in respect of the bodies or positions concerned.
10. The right to form a party or other mass organisation and freedom of association to these organisations on the basis of social and personal interests and opinion. All political parties and other mass organisations shall uphold public order and state security, and abide by law. Discrimination and persecution of a person for joining a political party or other mass organisation or for being their member shall be prohibited. Party membership of some categories of state employees may be suspended.
11. Men and women shall enjoy equal rights in political, economic, social, cultural fields and in family relationship. Marriage shall be based on the equality and mutual consent of the spouses who have reached the age determined by law. The State shall protect the interests of the family, motherhood and the child.
12. The right to submit a petition or a complaint to State bodies and officials. The State bodies and officials shall be obliged to respond to the petitions or complaints of citizens in conformity with law.
13. The right to personal liberty and safety. No one shall be searched, arrested, detained, persecuted or restricted of liberty except in accordance with procedures and grounds determined by law. No person shall be subjected to torture, inhumane, cruel or degrading treatment. Where a person is arrested his/her family and counsel shall be notified within a period of time established

by law of the reasons for and grounds of the arrest. The privacy of citizens, their families, correspondence and homes shall be protected by law.

14. The right to appeal to the court to protect his/her rights if he/she considers that the rights or freedoms as spelt out by the Mongolian law or an international treaty have been violated; to be compensated for the damage illegally caused by others; not to testify against himself/herself, his/her family, or parents and children; to self-defense; to receive legal assistance; to have evidence examined; to fair trial; to be tried in his/her presence; to appeal against a court decision, to seek pardon. Compelling to testify against himself/ herself shall be prohibited. Every person shall be presumed innocent until proved guilty by a court by due process of law. The penalties imposed on the convicted shall not be applicable to his/her family members and relatives.
15. Freedom of conscience and religion.
16. Freedom of thought, opinion and expression, speech, press, peaceful assembly. Procedures for organizing demonstrations and other assemblies shall be determined by law.
17. The right to seek and receive information except that which the state and its bodies are legally bound to protect as secret. In order to protect human rights, dignity and reputation of persons and to ensure State defense, national security and public order secrets of the State, organisation or individuals, which are not subject to disclosure shall be determined and protected by law.
18. 18) The right to freedom of movement and residence within the country, right to travel and reside abroad and to return to their home country. The right to travel and reside abroad may be limited exclusively by law in order to ensure national security and the security of the population and protect public order.

### **Article Seventeen**

1. Citizens of Mongolia, while upholding justice and humanity, shall fulfill in good faith the following basic duties:

- (1) To respect and abide by the Constitution and other laws;
- (2) To respect dignity, reputation, rights and legitimate interests of others;
- (3) To pay taxes levied by law;

(4) To defend the motherland and to perform military service according to law.

2. It is a sacred duty for every citizen to work, protect his/her health, bring up and educate his/her children and to protect nature and the environment.

### **Article Eighteen**

1. The rights and duties of foreign citizens residing in Mongolia shall be regulated by Mongolian law and by the treaties concluded with the State of the person concerned.

2. Mongolia shall adhere to the principle of reciprocity in determining the rights and duties of foreign citizens in an international treaty being concluded with the country concerned.

3. The rights and duties of stateless persons within the territory of Mongolia shall be determined by Mongolian law.

4. Foreign citizens or stateless persons persecuted for their beliefs, political or other activities pursuing justice may be granted asylum in Mongolia on the basis of their well-founded requests.

5. In allowing foreign citizens and stateless persons under the jurisdiction of Mongolia to exercise the basic rights and freedoms provided for in Article 16 of this Constitution, the State may establish by law relevant restrictions upon the rights other than the inalienable rights spelt out in international instruments to which Mongolia is a Party, out of the consideration of ensuring national security, the security of the population and public order.

### **Article Nineteen**

1. The State shall be responsible to the citizens for the creation of economic, social, legal and other guarantees ensuring human rights and freedoms, to fight against violations of human rights and freedoms and to restore infringed rights.

2. In case of announcement of a state of emergency or martial law, the human rights and freedoms as determined by the Constitution and other laws shall be subject to limitation only by a law. Such a law shall not affect the right to life, the freedom of thought, conscience and religion, as well as the right not to be subjected to torture, inhuman and cruel treatment.

3. In exercising his/her rights and freedoms one shall not infringe the national security, rights and freedoms of others or violate public order.

## **CHAPTER THREE**

### **State system of Mongolia**

#### **One. The State Ikh Khural**

##### **Article Twenty**

The State Ikh Khural of Mongolia is the highest organ of State power and the legislative power shall be vested solely in the State Ikh Khural.

##### **Article Twenty-one**

1. The State Ikh Khural shall have one chamber and consist of 76 members.
2. The members of the State Ikh Khural shall be elected by citizens eligible for election, on the basis of universal, free, direct suffrage by secret ballot for a term of four years.
3. Citizens of Mongolia who have reached the age of twenty-five years and are eligible for elections shall be elected to the State Ikh Khural.
4. The procedure of the election of members of the State Ikh Khural shall be determined by law.

##### **Article Twenty two**

1. If extraordinary circumstances arising from sudden calamities occur in the whole or apart of the country, the imposition of martial law or the outbreak of public disorder prevent the holding of regular election the State Ikh Khural shall retain its mandate until the extraordinary circumstances cease to exist and the newly elected members of the State Ikh Khural are sworn in.
2. The State Ikh Khural may decide on its dissolution if not less than two thirds of its members consider that the State Ikh Khural is unable to carry out its mandate, or if the President, in consultation with the Chairman of the State Ikh Khural, proposes to do

so forth same reason. In case of such a decision, the State Ikh Khural shall exercise its mandate till the newly elected members of the State Ikh Khural are sworn in. Unless otherwise specified in the Constitution, the State Ikh Khural shall decide on its dissolution or the President shall issue a decree on the dissolution of the State Ikh Khural if the State Ikh Khural fails to appoint a Prime Minister within 45 days from the submission of the proposal of his/her appointment to the Ikh Khural. */amendments from 24 December 1999 and 14 December 2000/*

### **Article Twenty three**

1. A member of the State Ikh Khural shall be an envoy of the people and shall represent and uphold the interests of all the citizens and the State.
2. The mandate of a member of the State Ikh Khural shall begin with an oath taken before the State Emblem and expire when newly elected members of the State Ikh Khural are sworn in.

### **Article Twenty four**

1. Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the State Ikh Khural shall be nominated and elected from among the members of the State Ikh Khural by open ballot. Each party and coalition group formed as a result of election shall elect the Vice-Chairman of the State Ikh Khural.

*/amendments from 24 December 1999 and 14 December 2000/*

2. The term of office of the Chairman and Vice-Chairman of the State Ikh Khural shall be four years. They can be relieved of or removed from their posts before the expiry of their terms on grounds specified by law.

### **Article Twenty five**

1. The State Ikh Khural may consider on its initiative any issue pertaining to domestic and foreign policies of the State, and shall keep within its exclusive power the following issues and decide thereon:

- 1) To enact laws, make amendments to them;
- 2) To define the basis of the domestic and foreign policies of the State;

- 3) To set and announce the date of elections of the President and the State Ikh Khural and its members;
- 4) To determine and change the structure and composition of the Standing Committees of the State Ikh Khural, the Government and other bodies directly accountable to it according to the law;
- 5) To pass a law recognizing the full mandate of the President after his/her election and to relieve or remove the President;
- 6) To appoint, replace or remove the Prime Minister, members of the Government another bodies responsible and accountable to the State Ikh Khural as provided for by law;
- 7) To define the State's financial, credit, tax and monetary policies; to lay down the guidelines for the country's economic and social development; to approve the Government's program of action, the State budget and the report on its execution;
- 8) To supervise the implementation of laws and other decisions of the State Ikh Khural;
- 9) To fix the State frontier;
- 10) To set the structure, composition and power of the National Security Council;
- 11) To approve and change the administrative and territorial division of Mongolia on the Government submission;
- 12) To determine the legal basis of the system, organisation and activities of local self governing and administrative bodies;
- 13) To institute State titles, orders, medals and higher military ranks, to determine the table of ranks in some special fields of State service;
- 14) To issue acts of amnesty;
- 15) To ratify and denounce international treaties to which Mongolia is a Party, to establish and sever diplomatic relations with foreign States on the Government submission;



16) To hold national referenda. To verify the validity of a referendum in which the majority of citizens eligible for election has taken parts, and to abide by and give effect to the decision which has obtained a majority of votes;

17) To declare a martial law in case the sovereignty and independence of the State are threatened by armed actions on the part of a foreign State, and to rescind it;

18) To declare a state of emergency or martial law in the whole or part of the country in special circumstances described in Paragraph 2 and 3 of this Article and to approve or nullify the President's decree to that effect.

2. Under the following extraordinary circumstances the State Ikh Khural may declare a state of emergency to eliminate the consequences thereof and to restore the life of the population and society to normalcy:

1) Natural disasters or other unforeseen dangers which threaten or may threaten directly the life, health, well-being and security of the population in the whole or a part of the country's territory;

2) If State authorities are not able within legal limits to cope with public disorders caused by organized, violent, illegal actions of an organisation or a group of people threatening the Constitutional order and the existence of the legitimate social system.

3. The State Ikh Khural may declare martial law if public disorder in the whole or a part of the country's territory result in armed conflict or create a real threat of armed conflict, or if there is armed aggression or a real threat of such aggression from a foreign state.

4. The other power, organisation and the procedures of the State Ikh Khural shall be determined by law.

### **Article Twenty six**

1. The President, members of the State Ikh Khural and the Government shall exercise the right to initiative laws.

2. Citizens and other organisations shall forward their suggestions on draft laws to those entitled to initiate a law.

3. National laws shall be subject to official promulgation by the State Ikh Khural through publication and, unless law provides otherwise, shall enter into force 10 days after the date of publication.

#### **Article Twenty seven**

1. The State Ikh Khural shall exercise its power through its sessions and other organisational forms.

2. Regular sessions of the State Ikh Khural shall be convened once every half year and last but not less than 50 working days. */amendments from 24 December 1999 and 14 December 2000/*

3. Extraordinary sessions may be convened at the demand of more than one third of the members of the State Ikh Khural or at the initiative of the President and the Chairman of the State Ikh Khural.

4. The President shall convoke the first sessions of the State Ikh Khural within 30 days of an election. Other sessions shall be convoked by the Chairman of the State Ikh Khural.

5. In case of the proclamation by the President of a state of emergency or martial law, the State Ikh Khural shall be convened for an extraordinary session within 72 hours without prior announcement.

6. The presence of a majority of members shall be required to consider a session of the State Ikh Khural and Standing Committee valid, and decisions shall be taken by the majority voting of all members present. The Prime Minister's and Government members' appointment and other issues shall be decided by open ballot unless other laws provide otherwise. */amendments from 24 December 1999 and 14 December 2000/*

#### **Article Twenty eight**

1. The State Ikh Khural shall have Standing Committees dealing with specific fields of its activity.

2. The State Ikh Khural shall determine the power, organisation and procedures of the work of Standing Committees.

### **Article Twenty nine**

1. Members of the State Ikh Khural shall be remunerated from the State budget during their term and shall not hold concurrently any posts and employment other than those assigned by law except for the post of Prime Minister and member of Government.  
*/amendments from 24 December 1999 and 14 December 2000/*

2. The legal immunity of members of the State Ikh Khural shall be protected by law.

3. Questions concerning the involvement of a member of the State Ikh Khural in a crime shall be considered by the session of the State Ikh Khural, which shall decide whether to suspend his/her mandate. If a court rules the member in question to be guilty of crime, the State Ikh Khural shall terminate his/her membership in Legislature.

## **Two. The President**

### **Article Thirty**

1. The President shall be the Head of State and embodiment of the unity of the Mongolian people.

2. An indigenous citizen of Mongolia, who has attained the age of forty-five years and has permanently resided as a minimum for the last five years in Mongolia, shall be eligible for election to the post of President for a term of four years.

### **Article Thirty one**

1. Presidential elections shall be conducted in two stages.

2. Political parties which have obtained seats in the State Ikh Khural shall nominate individually or collectively Presidential candidates, one candidate per party or coalition of parties.

3. At the primary stage of the elections citizens eligible for election shall participate in electing the President on the basis of universal, free and direct suffrage by secret ballot.

4. The State Ikh Khural shall consider the candidate who has obtained a majority of all votes cast in the first voting round as elected President and shall pass a law recognizing his/her mandate.

5. If none of the candidates obtains a majority vote in the first round, a second round of voting shall take place involving the two candidates who have obtained the largest number of votes in the first round. The candidate who wins a majority of all votes cast in the second ballot shall be considered as elected President and a law recognizing his/her mandate shall be passed by the State Ikh Khural.

6. If neither of the candidates wins a majority of votes in the second ballot, Presidential elections shall be held anew.

7. The President can be re-elected only once.

8. The President shall not be Prime Minister, a member of the State Ikh Khural or a member of the Government and shall not concurrently hold any other posts and pursue any occupation not relating to his duties assigned by law. If the President holds another office or a post he/she shall be relieved of it from the date on which he/she takes his/her oath.

### **Article Thirty two**

1. The mandate of the President shall become effective with an oath taken by him/her and shall expire with an oath taken by the newly elected President.

2. Within 30 days of the election the President shall take the following oath before the State Ikh Khural: "I swear that I shall guard and defend the independence and sovereignty of Mongolia, the freedom of the people and national unity and I shall uphold and observe the Constitution and faithfully perform the duties of the President".

### **Article Thirty three**

1. The President shall exercise the following power:

(1) to exercise a right to veto against all or part of laws and other decisions adopted by the State Ikh Khural. The laws or decisions shall remain in force if two thirds of the

members of the State Ikh Khural present in the session do not accept the President's veto;

(2) to propose to the State Ikh Khural the candidature for the appointment to the post of Prime Minister nominated from the majority party or coalition in the State Ikh Khural; if none of them has a majority a candidate nominated from the party/coalition which has the largest number of seats in consultation with other parties; if such party fails to propose a candidate on consultation with other parties, the candidate who has received the majority of votes from parties and the coalition which sits in the State Ikh Khural within 5 days/*amendments from 24 December 1999 and 14 December 2000/*

(3) to instruct the Government on issues within his/her power. If the President issues a relevant decree it shall become effective upon signature by the Prime Minister;

(4) to represent the State with full power in foreign relations and, in consultation with the State Ikh Khural, to conclude international treaties on behalf of Mongolia;

(5) to appoint and recall heads of plenipotentiary missions to foreign countries in consultation with the State Ikh Khural;

(6) to receive the Letters of Credence or Recall of Heads of diplomatic missions of foreign states to Mongolia;

(7) to confer state titles and higher military ranks and award orders and medals;

(8) to grant pardons;

(9) to decide matters related to granting and withdrawing Mongolian citizenship and granting asylum;

(10) to head the National Security Council of Mongolia;

(11) to declare general or partial conscription;

(12) to declare a state of emergency or martial law on the whole or a part of the national territory and order the deployment of armed forces when emergency circumstances described in Paragraphs 2 and 3 of the Article 25 of the Constitution arise and the State Ikh Khural concurrently is in recess. The State Ikh Khural within 7 days shall consider the Presidential decree declaring a state of emergency or martial

law and shall approve or disapprove it. If the State Ikh Khural does not make a decision on the matter, the Presidential decree shall be void.

2. The President shall be the Commander-in-Chief of the armed forces of Mongolia.
3. The President may address messages to the State Ikh Khural and/or to the people, he/she may at his/her own discretion attend sessions of the State Ikh Khural, report on and submit proposals concerning vital issues of domestic and foreign policies of the country.
4. Other specific power may be vested in the President only by law.

#### **Article Thirty four**

1. The President within his/her power shall issue decrees in conformity with law.
2. If a Presidential decree is incompatible with law, the President himself/herself or the State Ikh Khural shall invalidate it.

#### **Article Thirty five**

1. The President shall be responsible to the State Ikh Khural.
2. In case of a violation of the Constitution and/or abuse of power in breach of his oath, the President may be removed from his post on the basis of the findings of the Constitutional Court by an overwhelming majority of members of the State Ikh Khural present and voting.

#### **Article Thirty six**

1. The person, residence and transport of the President shall be inviolable.
2. Dignity and immunity of the President shall be protected by law.

#### **Article Thirty seven**

1. In the temporary absence of the President his/her full power shall be exercised by the Chairman of the State Ikh Khural.
2. In the event of the resignation, death or voluntary retirement of the President his/her full power shall be exercised by the Chairman of the State Ikh Khural pending

the inauguration of the newly elected President. In such a case the State Ikh Khural shall announce and hold Presidential elections within four months.

3. The procedure of exercising the duties of President by the Chairman of the State Ikh Khural shall be determined by law.

### **Three. The Government**

#### **Article Thirty eight**

1. The Government is the highest executive body of the State.

2. The Government shall implement the State laws, in accordance with duties to direct economic, social and cultural development, shall exercise the following power:

(1) to organize and ensure nationwide implementation of the Constitution and other laws;

(2) to work out a comprehensive policy on science and technology, guidelines for economic and social development, the State budget, credit and fiscal plans and to submit these to the State Ikh Khural and to execute decisions taken thereon;

(3) to elaborate and implement comprehensive measures on sector, inter sector and regional development;

(4) to undertake measures on the protection of the environment and on the rational use and restoration of natural resources;

(5) to provide efficient leadership of central state administrative bodies and to direct the activities of local administrations;

(6) to strengthen the country's defense capabilities and to ensure national security;

(7) to take measures for the protection of human rights and freedoms, strengthening public order and the prevention of crime;

(8) to implement State foreign policy;

(9) to conclude and implement international treaties in consultation with and, subsequent ratification by the State Ikh Khural, as well as to conclude and abrogate intergovernmental treaties.

3. The specific competences, organisation and procedure of the Government shall be determined by law.

### **Article Thirty nine**

1. The Government shall comprise the Prime Minister and members.

2. The Prime Minister, in consultation with President, shall submit his/her proposals on the structure and composition of the Government and on the changes in these to the State IkhKhural. If the Prime Minister has not reached consensus with the President within 7 days he/she shall submit proposals to the State Ikh Khural by himself/herself. */amendments from 24 December 1999 and 14 December 2000/*

3. The State Ikh Khural shall consider the candidates proposed by the Prime Minister one by one and take decisions on their appointment.

### **Article Forty**

1. The term of the mandate of the Government shall be four years.

2. The terms of office of the Government shall start from the date of the appointment of the Prime Minister by the State Ikh Khural and terminate upon the appointment of a new Prime Minister.

### **Article Forty one**

1. The Prime Minister shall lead the Government and shall be responsible to the State Ikh Khural for the implementation of state laws.

2. The Government shall be accountable for its work to the State Ikh Khural.

### **Article Forty two**

Personal immunity of the Prime Minister and members of the Government shall be protected by law.

### **Article Forty three**

1. The Prime Minister may tender his/her resignation to the State Ikh Khural before the expiry of his/her terms of office if he/she considers that the Government is unable to exercise its power.



2. The Government shall step down in its entirety upon the resignation of the Prime Minister or if half of the members of the Government resign at the same time.

3. The State Ikh Khural shall consider the matter and make a final decision within 15 days after taking the initiative to dissolve the Government or receiving the President's proposal or the Prime Minister's statement on resignation.

4. The State Ikh Khural shall consider and take a decision on the dissolution of the Government if not less than one quarter of the members of the State Ikh Khural formally propose the dissolution of the Government.

#### **Article Forty four**

If the Government submits a draft resolution requesting a vote of confidence, the State Ikh Khural shall proceed with the matter in accordance with paragraph 3 of Article 43.

#### **Article Forty five**

1. The Government in conformity with legislation and within its power shall issue resolutions and ordinances which shall be signed by the Prime Minister and the Minister responsible for its application.

2. If these resolutions and ordinances are incompatible with legislation, the Government itself or the State Ikh Khural shall invalidate them.

#### **Article Forty six**

1. Ministries and other government offices shall be constituted in accordance with law.

2. Genuine civil servants shall be Mongolian citizens. They shall strictly abide by the Constitution and other laws and work for the benefit of the people and in the interests of the State.

3. The working conditions and social guarantees of civil servants shall be determined by law.

## **Four. The Judiciary**

### **Article Forty seven**

1. In Mongolia the judicial power shall be vested exclusively in courts.
2. The unlawful establishment of a court under any circumstances and exercise of judicial power by any organisation other than court shall be prohibited.
3. Courts shall be established solely under the Constitution and other laws.

### **Article Forty eight**

1. The judicial system shall consist of the Supreme Court, Aimag and capital city courts, Soum, inter-soum and District courts. Specialized courts such as criminal, civil and administrative courts may be formed. The activities and decisions of these specialized courts shall not but be outside the supervision of the Supreme Court.
2. The organisation of courts and the legal basis of their activities shall be determined by law.
3. The courts shall be financed from the State budget. The State shall ensure economic guarantee of the court's activities.

### **Article Forty nine**

1. Judges shall be independent and subject only to law.
2. Neither a private person nor any official including the President, Prime Minister, members of the State Ikh Khural and the Government, officials of political parties or other mass organisations shall interfere with the exercise by the judges of their duties.
3. The General Council of Courts shall function for the purpose of ensuring the independence of the judiciary.
4. The General Council of Courts, without interfering in the activities of courts and judges, shall deal exclusively with the selection of judges from among legal professionals, protection of their rights and other matters pertaining to the ensuring of conditions for guaranteeing the independence of the judiciary.

5. The organisation and procedures of the General Council of Courts shall be determined by law.

### **Article Fifty**

1. The Supreme Court shall be the highest judicial organ and shall exercise the following power:

- (1) To try at first instance criminal cases and legal disputes under its jurisdiction;
- (2) To examine decisions of lower-instance courts through appeal and supervision;
- (3) to examine and take decisions on matters related to the protection of law and human rights and freedoms therein and transferred to it by the Constitutional court and the Prosecutor General;
- (4) To provide official interpretations for correct application of all other laws except for the Constitution;
- (5) To make judgments on all other matters assigned to it by law.

2. The decision made by the Supreme Court shall be a final judiciary decision and shall be binding upon all courts and other persons. If a decision made by the Supreme Court is incompatible with law, the Supreme Court itself shall have to repeal it. If an interpretation made by the Supreme Court is incompatible with a law, the latter shall prevail.

3. The Supreme Court and other courts shall have no right to apply laws that are unconstitutional or have not been promulgated officially.

### **Article Fifty one**

1. The Supreme Court shall comprise the Chief Justice and judges.

2. The President shall appoint the judges of the Supreme Court upon their presentation to the State Ikh Khural by the General Council of Courts, and appoint judges of other courts on the proposal of the General Council of Courts. The President shall appoint the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court for a term of six years on proposal of the Supreme Court from among its members.

3. A Mongolian citizen who has reached thirty-five years of age with a higher education in law and a professional career of not less than 10 years may be appointed as a judge of the Supreme Court. A Mongolian citizen who has reached twenty-five years of age with a higher education in law and a professional career of not less than 3 years may be appointed as a judge of the other courts.

4. Removal of a judge from a court of any instance shall be prohibited except in cases where he/she is relieved at his/her own request or removed on the grounds provided for in the Constitution and/or the Law on the judiciary and by a valid court decision.

#### **Article Fifty two**

1. Courts of all instances shall consider and make judgment on cases and disputes on the basis of collective decision-making.

2. In passing a collective decision on cases and disputes, the courts of first instance shall allow representatives of citizens to participate in the proceedings in accordance with the procedures prescribed by law.

3. A judge alone may decide those cases, which are specifically singled out for such trial by law.

#### **Article Fifty three**

1. Court trials shall be conducted in the Mongolian language.

2. A person who does not know Mongolian shall be acquainted with all the facts of the case through translation and shall have the right to presentation in his/her native language at the trial.

#### **Article Fifty four**

Court trials shall be open to the public except in cases specified by law.

#### **Article Fifty five**

1. The accused shall have a right to defend him/her.

2. The accused shall be accorded legal assistance according to law or at his/her request.

### **Article Fifty six**

1. The Prosecutor shall exercise supervision over the inquiry into an investigation of cases and the execution of punishment, and participate in the court trial on behalf of the State.
2. The President shall appoint the Prosecutor General and his/her deputies in consultation with the State Ikh Khural for a term of six years.
3. The system, organisation and legal basis of the activities of the Prosecutor's organisation shall be determined by law.

## **CHAPTER FOUR**

### **Administrative and Territorial Units of Mongolia and their Governing Bodies**

#### **Article Fifty seven**

1. The territory of Mongolia shall be divided administratively into Aimags and a capital city; Aimags shall be subdivided into Soums; Soums into Baghs; the capital city shall be subdivided into District and Districts into Khoros
2. The legal status of towns and villages within the administrative and territorial units shall be determined by law.
3. Revision of an administrative and territorial unit shall be considered and decided by the State Ikh Khural on the basis of a proposal by a respective local Khural and local citizens, and with account taken of the country's economic structure and the distribution of the population.

#### **Article Fifty eight**

1. Aimag, the capital city, Soum and District are administrative, territorial and socioeconomic complexes with their functions and administrations provided for by law.
2. Borders of Aimags, the capital city, Soums and Districts shall be approved by the State Ikh Khural on the Government submission.

### **Article Fifty nine**

1. Governance of administrative and territorial units of Mongolia shall be organized on the basis of a combination of the principles of both self-governance and central government.
2. The self-governing bodies in Aimag, capital city, Soum and District shall be Khurals of Representatives of the citizens of respective territories; in Bagh and Khoroo they shall be Public Meetings of citizens. In between the sessions of the Khurals and Public Meetings their Presidiums shall assume administrative functions.
3. Khurals of Aimags and the capital city shall be elected for a term of four years. The membership of these Khurals as well as those of Soums and Districts and the procedure of their election shall be determined by law.

### **Article Sixty**

1. State authority shall be exercised on the territories of Aimags, the capital city, Soums, Districts, Baghs and Khoros by their respective Governors.
2. Candidates for Governors are nominated by the Khurals of respective Aimags, the capital city, Soums, Districts, Baghs and Khoros. Governors of Aimags and the capital city are appointed by the Prime Minister; Governors Soum and District by the Governors of Aimags and the capital city; Governors of Baghs and Khoros by the Governors of Soums and Districts respectively for a term of four years.
3. In case the Prime Minister and Governors of higher levels refuse to appoint the gubernatorial candidates, new nominations shall be held in the manner prescribed in Paragraph 2 of this Article. Pending the appointment of a new Governor the previously appointed Governor shall exercise his/her mandate.

### **Article Sixty one**

1. While working for the implementation of the decisions of a respective Khural, a Governor, as a representative of State authority, shall be responsible to the Government and the Governor of higher instance for proper observance of national laws and fulfillment of the decisions of the Government and the respective superior body in his/her territory.

2. The Governor shall have a right to veto decisions of respective Aimag, capital city, Soum, District, Bagh and Khoroo Khurals.

3. If a Khural by a majority vote overrides the veto, the Governor may tender his/her resignation to the respective Khural, Prime Minister or to the Governor of higher instance if he/she considers that he/she is not able to implement the decision concerned.

4. Governors of Aimag, the capital city, Soum and District shall have secretariats (Offices of the Seal). The Government shall determine the structure and staff limit of these offices individually or by a uniform standard.

### **Article Sixty two**

1. Local self-governing bodies besides making independent decisions on matters of socioeconomic life of the respective Aimag, the capital city, Soum, District, Bagh and Khoroo shall organize the participation of the population in solving problems of national scale and that of higher territorial units.

2. Authorities of higher instance shall not take decision on matters coming under the jurisdiction of local self-governing bodies. If law and decisions of respective superior state organs do not specifically deal with definite local matters, local self-governing bodies can decide upon them independently in conformity with the Constitution.

3. If the State Ikh Khural and the Government deem it necessary they may delegate some matters within their power to the Aimag and capital city Khurals and Governors for their resolution.

### **Article Sixty three**

1. Khurals of Aimag, the capital city, Soum, District, Bagh and Khoroo shall adopt resolutions and Governors shall issue ordinances within their power.

2. Resolutions of the Khurals and ordinances of the Governors shall be in conformity with law, Presidential decrees and decisions of the Government and other superior bodies, and shall be binding within their respective territories.

3. Administrative and territorial units, and the power, organisation and procedure of their governing bodies shall be determined by law.

## **CHAPTER FIVE**

### **The Constitutional Court of Mongolia**

#### **Article Sixty four**

1. The Constitutional Court shall be an organ exercising supreme supervision over the implementation of the Constitution, making judgment on the violation of its provisions and resolving constitutional disputes. It shall be the guarantee for the strict observance of the Constitution.
2. The Constitutional court and its members in the execution of their duties shall be subject to the Constitution only and shall be independent of any organisations, officials or any other person.
3. The independence of the members of the Constitutional court shall be ensured by the guarantees set out in the Constitution and other laws.

#### **Article Sixty five**

1. The Constitutional court shall consist of 9 members. Members of the Constitutional court shall be appointed by the State Ikh Khural for a term of six years upon the nomination of three of them by the State Ikh Khural, three by the President and the remaining three by the Supreme Court.
2. A member of the Constitutional court shall be a Mongolian citizen who has reached forty years of age and has a high political and legal qualification.
3. The Chairman of the Constitutional court shall be elected from among 9 members for a term of three years by a majority vote among the members of the Constitutional court. He/she can be re-elected once.
4. If the Chairman or a member of the Constitutional court violates the law, he/she may be withdrawn by the State Ikh Khural based on the decision of the Constitutional court and on the suggestion of the institution that nominated him/her.



5. The President, members of the State Ikh Khural, the Prime Minister, members of the Government and the Supreme Court shall not be members of the Constitutional court.

### **Article Sixty six**

1. The Constitutional court shall examine and settle constitutional disputes on its own initiative on the basis of petitions and information received from citizens or at their quest of the State Ikh Khural, the President, the Prime Minister, the Supreme Court and the Prosecutor General.

2. The Constitutional court, in accordance with Paragraph 1 of this Article, shall make and submit conclusions to the State Ikh Khural on:

(1) The conformity of laws, decrees and other decisions of the State Ikh Khural and the

President, as well as Government decisions and international treaties to which Mongolia is a party with the Constitution;

(2) The conformity of national referenda and decisions of the Central election authority on the elections of the State Ikh Khural and its members as well as on Presidential elections with the Constitution;

(3) Whether the President, Chairman and members of the State Ikh Khural, the Prime Minister, members of the Government, the Chief Justice of the Supreme court and the Prosecutor General have breached the law;

(4) Whether the grounds for the removal of the President, Chairman of the State Ikh Khural and the Prime Minister and for the recall of members of the State Ikh Khural existed.

3. If a conclusion submitted in accordance with sub-paragraph 1 and 2 of Paragraph 2 of this Article is not accepted by the State Ikh Khural, the Constitutional court shall reexamine it and makes a final judgment.

4. If the Constitutional court decides that the laws, decrees and other decisions of the State Ikh Khural and the President as well as Government decisions and international treaties to which Mongolia is a party are inconsistent with the Constitution, the laws,

decrees, instruments of ratification and decisions in question shall be considered invalid.

#### **Article Sixty seven**

Decisions of the Constitutional court shall enter into force immediately.

### **CHAPTER SIX**

#### **Amendment to the Constitution of Mongolia**

#### **Article Sixty eight**

1. Amendments to the Constitution shall be initiated by organisation and officials enjoying the right to legislative initiative and could be submitted by the Constitutional court to the State Ikh Khural.

2. A national referendum on constitutional amendment may be held on the concurrence of not less than two thirds of the members of the State Ikh Khural. The referendum shall be held in accordance with the provisions of sub-paragraph 16 of Paragraph 1, Article 25 of the Constitution.

#### **Article Sixty nine**

1. An amendment to the Constitution shall be adopted by not less than three-quarters of votes of all members of the State Ikh Khural.

2. A draft amendment to the Constitution which has twice failed to win a three-quarters majority of votes of all members of the State Ikh Khural shall not be subject to consideration until the State Ikh Khural sits in a new composition following general elections.

3. The State Ikh Khural shall not undertake amendment of the Constitution within 6 months prior to general elections.

4. Amendments that have been adopted shall carry the same force as the Constitution.

## **Article Seventy**

1. Laws, decrees and other decisions of state bodies, and activities of all other organisations and citizens should be in full conformity with the Constitution.
2. The Constitution of Mongolia shall enter into force at 12.00 hours on the 12th of February of 1992, or at the hour of Horse on the prime and benevolent ninth day of Yellow Horse of the first spring month of Black Tiger of the year of water Monkey of the Seventeenth 60-year Cycle.

## **Learn and Abide**

THE STATE IKH KHURAL OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

**11.35 a.m.**

**13 January 1992, Ulaanbaatar**

**APPENDIX-III**

**Multilateral agreements of Mongolia**

Name of agreement	Date of Adoption MM/DD/YY	Date Entry in to
		force in Mongolia MM/DD/YY
<b>1. International treaties of Mongolia</b>		
Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia	1976	06/27/2005
Treaty of Amity and Cooperation in Southeast Asia	12/09/1994	07/08/2005
Amendments to articles 3 (5) and 9 (8) of the Constitution of the Asia-Pacific Telecommunity	1991	1999
Agreement on the establishment of the international agriculture fund	1976	1994
Agreement on the establishment of the International Vaccine Institute	10/18/1996	1997
Amendments to articles 24 and 25 of the Constitution of the World Health Organisation	1986	1993
Constitution of the Asia-Pacific Telecommunity	03/27/1976	1991
Charter of the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development /World bank/	1946	1991
Charter of the International Monetary Fund	1945	1991
Charter of the International Civil Aviation Organisation	1944	1989
Charter of the International Telegraph Union	12/1992	07/08/1994
Constitution of the United Nations Industrial	04/08/1979	1985

Development Organisation		
Constitution of the World Intellectual Property Organisation [WIPO]	1967	1979
Amendments to articles 24 and 25 of the Constitution of the World Health Organisation	1976	1981
Amendments to articles 34 and 55 of the Constitution of the World Health Organisation	1973	1977
Charter of the United National Food and Agriculture Organisation	1973	1974
Amendment to Article 61 of the Charter of the United Nations, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in resolution 2847 (XXVI) of 20 December 1971	1971	1973
Constitution of the Universal Postal Union	06/10/1964	1973
Charter of International Atomic Energy Agency	1956	1973
Amendments to articles 24 and 25 of the Constitution of the World Health Organisation	05/16/1998	1971
Amendment to article 7 of the Constitution of the World Health Organisation	1965	1971
Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the Specialized Agencies	11/21/1947	1970
Amendment to Article 109 of the Charter of the United Nations, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in resolution 2101 (XX)	1965	1969
Charter of International Labour organisation	1919	1968
Convention on the Activities in the territory of	1965	1965

Mongolia from the UN's children foundation		
World Health Organisation Constitution	07/22/1946	1962
Convention on the Privileges and Immunities of the United Nations	02/13/1946	
World Meteorological Organisation Convention	10/11/1947	1963
Amendments to Articles 23, 27 and 61 of the Charter of the United Nations, adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations in resolutions 1991 A and B (XVIII)	1963	1965
Charter of the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation	11/26/1945	1962
Charter of United Nations and Statute of the International Court of Justice	06/26/1945	10/27/1961
Postal Financial Services Agreement	2004	06/09/2006
7th optional protocol to constitution of Universal Postal Union	2004	06/09/2006
<b>2. Diplomatic and Consular relations</b>		
Vienna Convention on Diplomatic Relations	04/18/1961	11/24/1966
Vienna Convention on the Representation of States in their Relations with International Organisations of a Universal Character	03/14/1975	06/20/1988
Vienna Convention on Consular Relations	04/24/1963	06/20/1988
<b>3. International law of treaties</b>		
Vienna Convention on the Law of Treaties	05/23/1969	04/11/1988

4. Human rights		
Universal Declaration of Human Rights	12/10/1948	
Convention Against Discrimination in Education	12/14/1960	09/22/1964
Convention on the Political Rights of Women	12/20/1952	07/21/1965
Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of the Crime of Genocide	12/09/1948	11/24/1966
C.59 Minimum Age (Industry) Convention (Revised	06/22/1937	05/10/1969
Freedom of Association and Protection of the Right to Organize Convention, 1948 (No. 87)	07/09/1948	05/10/1969
Right to Organize and Collective Bargaining Convention, 1949 (No. 98)	07/01/1949	05/10/1969
Equal Remuneration Convention, 1951 (No. 100)	06/29/1951	05/10/1969
Maternity Protection Convention	1951	1969
Maternity Protection Convention (Revised)	06/28/1952	05/10/1969
International Convention no. 111 concerning discrimination (employment and occupation)	06/25/1958	05/10/1969
International Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Racial Discrimination	12/21/1965	03/31/1969
Convention on the non-applicability of statutory limitations to war crimes and crimes against humanity	11/26/1968	5/21/1969
International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	12/16/1966	11/18/1974
International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights	12/16/1966	11/18/1974
International Convention on the Suppression and Punishment of the Crime of Apartheid	12/30/1973	05/31/1975

C. 122 Employment Policy Convention	07/09/1964	11/24/1976
Minimum Age (Underground Work) Convention	06/22/1965	12/03/1981
Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	12/18/1979	07/20/1981
International Convention against Apartheid in Sports	12/10/1985	12/16/1987
Convention 135 on Workers' Representatives	06/23/1971	05/29/1995
Convention on the Rights of the Child	11/20/1989	07/05/1990
Convention on Consent to Marriage, Minimum Age for Marriage and Registration of Marriages	11/07/1962	04/15/1991
Optional Protocol to the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights	12/16/1966	01/14/1991
The Tripartite Consultation (International Labour Standards) Convention, 1976 (No. 144)	06/22/1976	08/10/1998
Convention 155, Occupational Health and Safety	07/22/1981	02/03/1998
Convention 159, Vocational Rehabilitation and Employment of Disabled Persons	06/20/1983	02/03/1998
Amendment on article 20 (1) to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	12/22/1995	10/03/1997
Amendment to article 43(2) of the Convention on the rights on the child	12/12/1995	10/03/1997
Convention 182 and Recommendation 190, Worst forms of Child Labour, 1999	06/17/1999	10/05/2000
Convention Against Torture and Other Cruel, Inhuman or Degrading Treatment or Punishment	12/10/1984	11/02/2000



The Convention on protection of children and co-operation in respect of inter country adoption	05/29/1993	01/16/1998
Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Elimination of All Forms of Discrimination against Women	12/10/1999	12/14/2001
Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Involvement of Children in Armed Conflict	05/25/2000	11/12/2001 Credentials 05/15/2003
Optional Protocol to the Convention on the Rights of the Child on the Sale of Children, Child Prostitution and Child Pornography	05/25/2000	10/11/2002 Credentials 05/15/2003
Minimum Age Convention, 1973 No. 138	06/26/1973	10/31/2002
Framework convention on tobacco control	06/22/2003	2004
ILO convention Concerning Forced or Compulsory Labour 29	06/28/1930	02/24/2005
ILO convention on abolition of forced labour 105	07/25/1957	02/24/2005
Copenhagen declaration on Anti-Doping in sports	10/19/2005	08/16/2007
<b>5. International security</b>		
Moscow Agreement on banned testing in the atmosphere, in outer space, and underwater	1963	1963
Geneva protocol to ban use of chemical and biological weapons and the Prohibition Of The Use In War Of Asphyxiating, Poisonous or Other Gases, And Of Bacteriological Methods Of Warfare	06/17/1925	09/18/1972
Moscow Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons	06/01/1968	1969
Treaty on the Prohibition of the Emplacement of the	02/11/1971	1971

Nuclear Weapons and Other Weapons of Mass Destruction on the Sea Bed and the Ocean Floor and in the Subsoil thereof, London, Moscow, Washington		
The agreement between IAA and Government of Republic People of Mongolia on methods under the Treaty on the non-proliferation of nuclear weapons /its Protocol/	1972	1972
Convention on prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological and toxin weapons and on their destruction, Washington, Moscow, London	04/10/1972	
Convention on prohibition of the development, production and stockpiling of bacteriological and toxin weapons and on their destruction	03/26/1975	09/14/1975
Protocols additional /I/ of 1977 to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts	06/08/1977	12/12/1977
Protocols additional /II/ of 1977 to the Geneva Conventions of 1949.08.12 to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts	06/08/1977	12/12/1977
Convention on the prohibition of military or any other hostile use of environmental modification techniques	12/10/1976	05/19/1978
Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons which may be deemed to be Excessively Injurious or to have Indiscriminate Effects (with Protocols I, II and III)	10/10/1980	04/10/1981
Non-detectable fragments (Protocols I)	10/10/1983	06/08/1982
Prohibitions or Restrictions on use of mines, body-traps	10/10/1980	06/08/1982

and other devices (Protocols II)		
Prohibitions or Restrictions on the use of incendiary weapon (Protocols III)	10/10/1980	06/08/1982
Convention on the Physical Protection of Nuclear Material	10/26/1979	05/28/1986
Convention on the Prohibition of the Development, Production, Stockpiling and Use of Chemical Weapons and on their Destruction	01/13/1993	11/17/1994 Credentials 01/17/1995
Comprehensive Nuclear-Test-Ban Treaty	09/10/1996	08/08/1997
Additional Protocol to the Convention on Prohibitions or Restrictions on the Use of Certain Conventional Weapons which may be deemed to be Excessively Injurious or to have Indiscriminate Effects (Protocol IV, entitled Protocol on Blinding Laser Weapons)	10/13/1995	11/16/1998
Convention on psychotropic substances	02/21/1971	12/15/1999
Rotterdam Convention on the Prior Informed Consent Procedure for Certain Hazardous Chemicals and Pesticides in International Trade	09/10/1998	2000
International Convention for the Suppression of Terrorist Bombings	01/12/1998	08/31/2000
International Convention for the Suppression of act of nuclear terrorism	04/13/2005	07/06/2006
<b>6. International humanitarian law</b>		
Geneva Convention relative to the Protection of Civilian Persons in Time of War	08/12/1949	11/05/1958
Geneva Convention relative to the Treatment of Prisoners of War	08/12/1949	11/05/1958

Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of Wounded, Sick and Shipwrecked Members of Armed Forces at Sea	08/12/1949	11/05/1958
Geneva Convention for the Amelioration of the Condition of the Wounded and Sick in Armed Forces in the Field	08/12/1949	11/05/1958
Convention on Protection of Cultural Property During Armed Conflict	05/14/1954	11/04/1964
Protocols additional /I, II/ of 1977 to the Geneva Conventions of 1949 to the Protection of Victims of Non-International Armed Conflicts	06/08/1977 /2/	
<b>7. Treaties against crime</b>		
Supplementary Convention on the Abolition of Slavery, the Slave Trade, and Institutions and Practices Similar to Slavery	09/07/1956	10/31/1968
Slavery Convention, signed at Geneva on 25 September 1926 and amended by the Protocol	09/25/1926 Amendments 12/07/1953	10/31/1968
Slavery Convention, signed at Geneva on 25 September 1926 and amended by the Protocol done at the Headquarters of the United Nations, New York, on 7 December 1953	09/07/1956	10/31/1968
Convention on the Non-Applicability of Statutory Limitations to War Crimes and Crimes Against Humanity. Adopted by the General Assembly of the United Nations on 26 November 1968	11/26/1968	10/08/1971
Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Seizure of Aircraft	12/16/1970	10/08/1971

Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation	09/23/1971	09/14/1972
Convention on the Prevention and Punishment of Crimes Against Internationally Protected Persons	12/14/1973	08/08/1975
Convention on Offences and Certain Other Acts Committed on Board Aircraft	09/14/1963	10/22/1990
Convention for the Protection of Cultural and Natural Heritage	11/06/1972	
The convention on Narcotic Drugs	03/25/1961	12/06/1990
Protocol amending the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1961	03/25/1972	12/06/1990
Protocol amending the Single Convention on Narcotic Drugs, 1972	03/25/1972	12/06/1990
Convention on the Means of Prohibiting and preventing the Illicit Import, Export and Transfer of Ownership of Cultural Property	11/14/1970	01/04/1991
International Convention against the taking of hostages	12/17/1979	06/09/1992
Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts of Violence at Airports Serving International Civil Aviation, Supplementary to the Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts Against the Safety of Civil Aviation, Done at Montreal on 23 September 1971	02/24/1988	10/22/1999
Convention on the Marking of Plastic Explosives for the Purpose of Detection	03/01/1991	09/22/1999
United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances	12/20/1988	01/25/2001

Rome Statute of the International Criminal Court	07/18/1998	04/05/2002
International Convention for the Suppression of the Financing of Terrorism	12/9/1999	12/13/2003
Convention for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Maritime Navigation	03/10/1988	08/04/2005
Protocol for the Suppression of Unlawful Acts against the Safety of Fixed Platforms located on the Continental Shelf	03/10/1988	08/04/2005
UN Convention against corruption	10/31/2003	10/27/2005
<b>8. International trade</b>		
Convention on Transit Trade of Land-locked States	07/08/1965	05/11/1966
Convention on the Limitation Period in the International Sale of Goods	06/12/1974	1974
Regional Convention on the Recognition of Studies, Diplomas and Degrees in Higher Education in Asia and Pacific	12/16/1983	1991
Convention on Technical and Vocational Education	11/10/1989	1991
Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards	06/10/1958	05/26/1994
Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes Between States and Nationals of other States	03/18/1965	05/28/1996
The UN Convention on Contracts for the International Sale of Goods, Vienna	04/11/1980	07/09/1997
Convention on Establishing the Multilateral Investment Guarantee Agency	10/11/1985	07/23/1998
Marrakesh Agreement establishing the World Trade	04/15/1994	12/26/1996

Organisation		
Framework Agreement on Comprehensive Economic Cooperation	12/21/2004	01/05/2005
Convention on civil procedure	03/01/1954	
<b>9. Transportation, Communication and Custom</b>		
The Brussels Convention on Customs Cooperation	1953	1992
Agreement of the Harmonized Commodity Description and Coding System, Brussels	1988	1993
Convention on Road Traffic	11/08/1968	1997
Convention on road signs and signals	1968	1997
Agreement on freeing of special permission and Customs tax for export and import of normative documents, etalon, measure equipments and standardization	1995	1999
Customs Convention on the International Transport of Goods under Cover of TIR Carnets (TIR Convention)	1975	2001
Asian highway network agreement	04/28/2004	04/21/2005
International Convention on the Simplification and Harmonization of Customs Procedures	05/18/1973	05/26/2006
International Convention on the Harmonization of Frontier Controls of goods	10/21/1982	05/04/2007
International Convention on Load Lines, 1966, as modified by the Protocol of 1988	11/11/1988	05/04/2007
Intergovernmental Agreement on the Trans-Asian Railway Network (TAR)		10/18/2007

The Convention on Temporary Admission, Istanbul	06/29/1990	10/18/2007
10. Intellectual Property		
Convention Establishing the World Intellectual Property Organisation	07/14/1967	10/10/1978
Paris Convention for the Protection of Industrial Property	03/20/1883	11/13/1984
Madrid Agreement Concerning the International Registration of Marks of 14 April 1891	04/14/1891	11/13/1984
International Convention concerning the Use of Broadcasting in the Cause of Peace	1936	1985
Patent Cooperation Treaty	06/19/1970	02/27/1991
Berne Convention for the Protection of Literary and Artistic Works	09/09/1886	01/09/1997
Agreement on Trade-Related Aspects of Intellectual Property Rights	1994	01/29/1997
Locarno Agreement on International Industrial Designs		3/12/1997
Madrid protocol concerning the international registration of marks		11/02/2000
Locarno Agreement Establishing an International Classification for Industrial Designs (1968)	10/8/1968	11/02/2000
Strasbourg Agreement concerning the International Patent Classification	03/24/1971	11/02/2000
Nice Agreement concerning the International Classification of Goods and Services for the Purposes of the Registration of Mark	06/15/1957	11/02/2000
WIPO Copyright Treaty	12/26/1996	05/17/2002



World Intellectual Property Organisation Copyright Treaty	12/20/1996	07/25/2002
Treaty on Protection of Performers, Producers of Phonograms and Broadcasting Organisations	12/20/1996	07/25/2002
UNESCO Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage of Humanity	2003	06/02/2005
The Hague Agreement Concerning The International Registration of Industrial Designs		08/02/2007
<b>11. Maritime</b>		
Convention on the High Seas	04/29/1958	10/10/1976
Agreement relating to the implementation of Part XI of the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea of 10 December 1982	07/28/1994	08/13/1996
Amendments and Convention on the International Maritime Organisation	1948	12/11/1996
Convention on Maritime Transport	1958	1996
United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea	11/10/1982	08/13/1996
Convention on Standards of Training, Certification and Watch-keeping for Seafarers	07/17/1978	2001
Convention on the International Regulations for Preventing Collisions at Sea	10/20/1972	2001
International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea	11/01/1974	2001
Convention on Tonnage Measurement of Ships	06/23/1969	2001
International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships	1973	2001

International Convention on Civil Liability for Oil Pollution Damage, revise	11/27/1992	06/09/2006
International Convention for the Prevention of Pollution from Ships, revise	09/26/1997	05/04/2007
Amendments to the Convention on the International Maritime Organisation	11/07/1991	05/04/2007
International Convention for the Safety of Life at Sea, 1974, by the protocol of the 1988	11/11/1988	05/04/2007
<b>12. Civil aviation</b>		
Convention for the Unification of Certain Rules relating to International Carriage by Air	12/12/1929	1962
Convention on International Civil Aviation	12/07/1944	1986
Protocol on the Authentic Four-language Text of the Convention on International Civil Aviation (Chicago, 1944)	1996	1998
Protocol Relating to an Amendment to the Convention on International Civil Aviation [Article 83 bis]	1980	1999
Protocol Relating to an Amendment to the Convention on International Civil Aviation [Article 3 bis]	1984	1999
Protocol Relating to an Amendment to the Convention on International Civil Aviation [Article 50(a)]	1990	1999
Protocol Relating to an Amendment to the Convention on International Civil Aviation	1977	2001
The Hague Protocol Relating to an Amendment to the Warsaw Treaty	1955	1962
Protocol on the Authentic Three-Language Text of the	1968	1999

Convention on International Civil Aviation (Chicago, 1944)		
Convention on International Interests in Mobile Equipment	11/16/2001	12/15/2005 Credentials 02/01/2007
Consolidated Text of the Convention on International Interests in Mobile Equipment and the Protocol to the Convention on International Interests in Mobile Equipment on Matters Specific to Aircraft Equipment.	11/16/2001	12/15/2005 Credentials 02/01/2007
Amendments to the "Multilateral Agreement on the Liberalization of International Air Transportation".		05/04/2007
13. Space		
Treaty on Principles Governing the Activities of States in the Exploration and Use of Outer Space, Including the Moon and Other Celestial Bodies	1967	1967
Agreement on the Rescue of Astronauts, the Return of Astronauts and the Return of Objects Launched into Space	1963	1969
Convention on the International Liability for Damage Caused by Space Objects	1972	1972
Convention on registration of objects launched into outer space	1974	1985
Convention of the Asia Pacific Space Cooperation Organisation (APSCO)	10/28/2005	04/06/2006
14. Environment		
Convention on biological diversity	06/05/1992	09/24/1993
United Nations Framework Convention on Climate	05/09/1992	09/24/1993

Change		
Convention on International Trade in Endangered Species of Wild Fauna and Flora	03/03/1973	05/01/1996
Vienna Convention for the Protection of the Ozone Layer	03/22/1985	03/07/1996
Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer	09/16/1987	03/07/1996
Amendment to the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer	06/29/1990	03/07/1996
Amendment to the Montreal Protocol on Substances that Deplete the Ozone Layer	11/25/1992	03/07/1996
United Nations Convention to Combat Desertification in those Countries Experiencing Serious Drought and/or Desertification,	1994	1996
Ramsar Convention on Wetlands of International Importance especially as waterfowl habitat	1971	1997
The Basel Convention on the Control of Transboundary Movements of Hazardous Wastes and Their Disposal	03/22/1989	04/15/1997
Convention on the Provision of Telecommunication Resources for Disaster Mitigation and Relief Operations	1998	1998
Kyoto Protocol to the United Nations Framework Convention on Climate Change	12/11/1997	10/25/1999
International Convention on the Regulation of Whaling	12/02/1946	2002
Cartagena Protocol on Biosafety to the Convention on Biological Diversity	01/29/2000	07/22/2003
Additional of 9th conference of Montreal Protocol on	09/17/1997	10/18/2007

Substances that deplete the Ozone Layer		
The Beijing amendment (1999) to the Montreal Protocol agreed by the Eleventh Meeting of the Parties	11/29- 12/03/1999	10/18/2007
<b>15. Dispute settlement</b>		
Convention on the Settlement by Arbitration of Civil Law Disputes Arising out of Relations between Countries Engaging in Economic Scientific and Technological Cooperation.	05/26/1975	11/28/1975
Convention on the Recognition and Enforcement of Foreign Arbitral Awards	06/10/1958	10/24/1994
Convention on the Settlement of Investment Disputes Between States and Nationals of Other States, Washington	03/18/1965	05/28/1996
Convention on civil procedure	03/01/1954	1999

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