

# **POLITICAL GEOGRAPHY OF MONGOLIA**

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## INTRODUCTION

Political Geography studies the basic geographical infrastructure of a nation state, that too, within the spatio-temporal framework, it studies national and international boundaries, the processes and problems of its external behaviour. The nature and development of these aspects of a nation state are conditioned by the relationships which exist between the physical environment and its human inhabitants.<sup>1</sup> It follows therefore, that the state does not consist of the territory and people alone, but is a much more complex organisation in which the territory, the people and their inter-relationships are welded together to form an entity which possesses an individuality and uniqueness, which may be analysed, described and mapped with considerable accuracy.

From a purely geographical point of view it becomes all the more interesting when the study is made of a nation-state which has the disadvantageous spatial location of being land-locked. Maps of world's least developed countries show pattern that they happen to be land-locked countries. Although land-locked countries make up no more than 20 per cent of all states, they account for 50 per cent of the

1. Hartshorne, R., "Political Geography" in James, P.E., and Jones, C.F., (eds.) American Geography :Inventory and Prospects (New York, 1964) p.64 Prescott J.R.V., Political Geography (London, 1972), Van Valkenburg S., Elements of Political Geography (New York, 1939) see also Whittelsey, D., The earth and the state (New York, 1939).



poorest countries.<sup>2</sup> It is primarily due to their relative inaccessibility that the land-locked countries have more limited possibilities for economic development. The greatest problem faced by the land-locked countries is due to their dependence on their neighbouring states for an access to sea. Therefore the distance factor, resulting in high cost of transportation, discourages and slows down industrial development and scares off potential foreign investors. As a consequence, land-locked countries tend to perform 'hinterland economies', supplying rather cheap agricultural raw material to more industrially developed coastal states, and depend on them for manufactured goods.<sup>3</sup>

Because of their unfavourable geopolitical position, the land-locked countries find themselves at times in a weak and vulnerable position, when restrictions are imposed on them for using foreign ports. The coastal states often put

2. According, to the most recent UN definition of 'least developed, there are 31 countries that qualify 15 of these countries are land-locked, i.e. Botswana, Burundi, Central African Republic, Chad, Lesotho, Malawi, Mali, Niger, Rwanda, Uganda and Upper Volta in Africa, and Afghanistan, Bhutan, Laos and Nepal in Asia.
3. As per the UN definition of 'least developed' represents a country having extremely low per capita GNP of (Less than 125 US dollars), a very high illiteracy rate (over 80 per cent) a very low industrialisation (less than 10 per cent share of GNP), low productivity Lack of economic diversity and few employment opportunities outside agriculture.

considerable political pressure by closing the border, blackmail and take economic advantage of the land-locked countries. They also become the innocent victims of actions by a third party against the transit state on which they depend for access to the sea.<sup>4</sup> Under these circumstances the land-locked states do nothing but maintain the best possible relations with the transit country.

In the case of Mongolia, which being the biggest land-locked country in the world, falls in the largest chain of frontiers between the Soviet Union and China as the only independent country. It's geographical compulsions of being land-locked has affected its political geography, intimately.

Although Mongolian People's Republic suffers a high degree of unfavourable geopolitical position, it does not unlike many other land-locked countries in Asia and Africa,

4. Some of the important works are:

Barton, T.H., Outlet to the Sea for the Land-locked Laos. *Journal of Geography*, 59 (May, 1950), pp.206-20;  
Hatshrone, R., The Polish Corridor, *The Journal of Geography* 5 (May, 1937), pp.161-76; Helin, R.A., Finland Regains an Outlet to the Sea The Saimaa Canal, *The Geographical Review*, 58, 2 (April 1968) pp.167-94;  
Cervanka, Z., The limitation imposed on African land-locked countries, in Z. Cervanka (eds.) Land-locked countries of Africa (Scandinavian Institute of African Studies, Uppsala, 1973), pp.17-33; Hveen, H., Relationship of underdevelopment of African Land-locked countries with the general problem of economic development in Z. Cervanka (ed.) Land-locked countries, pp.278-87; Pederson, O.K & Leys, R., 'A Theoretical Approach to the problems of Land-locked States, in *Ibid.*, pp.288-92; Szentes, T., 'The economic problems of Land-Locked countries in *Ibid.*, pp.273-77; and Martin Ira Glassner, Access to the sea for Developing land-locked state (The Hague, 1970).

fall in the group of least developed states.<sup>5</sup>

Two factors, in this regards are important to Mongolia. Firstly, the Mongols recognized the limitation imposed on them by their geographic position and their population, therefore, maintained their closest relations with the USSR. Secondly, unlike other land-locked countries in Africa and South America, Mongolian People's Republic has been surrounded by developed and developing countries providing a dense and integrated networks of transportation lines and high-quality infrastructure facilities.

The primary objective of this study is to analyse and understand the distinctive elements of Mongolia's Political Geography in relation to its land-locked location. The study deals with the evolution of Mongolia as a nation state and its present boundaries with the neighbours in historical perspective. Taking note of the importance given to political factors in the determination of the boundaries of Mongolia, the thesis examines to what extent its political boundaries are based on geographical realities. Attempts have been made to identify environmental conditions and constraints, which have decisively affected the political development in modern times. Apart from these basic issues, other aspects such as the spatial pattern of economic development, political

5. The per capita GNP of the Mongolian People's Republic was (more than 700 US dollars) in 1978, a very high literacy rate (over 95 per cent) in 1981 and a high industrialisation (more than 29.3 per cent share of GNP) in 1981. See Lexicon Universal Encyclopedia 13th (New York, 1984) p.528 and also National Economy of the MPR (Ulaan Batar, 1981) p.115.

integration, distribution system and administrative Organization form important components in the study of the Political Geography of Mongolia.

The analysis of the strategic location of Mongolia forms the most important component in the study of Political Geography of Mongolia, for it indicates the role of neighbouring states upon the state's political decisions and actions. Mongolia has been a region of prime strategic importance, both to the Chinese empire and the Russian empire. It had from the beginning served as of considerable importance in Russo-Chinese relations. It was its strategic importance which had made Mongolia the highway of conquest for the powers of the either side. The description of events with suitable cartographic representation had been made to explain the operation of various centripetal and centrifugal forces.

#### Source Material

The study has been made on the basis of secondary sources. Statistical informations published by the Central Statistical Board of the Mongolian People's Republic at various period of time are the main source material for the study of Political Geography of Mongolia. The information about the political history and evolution of its boundaries has been gathered by studying the various books and articles pertaining to the subject and the relevant documents, specially the boundary treaties. In addition, the information from newspaper has been used to highlight the contemporary

political development in the country.

Arrangement of the Subject matter

The first Chapter deals with the geographical framework of the state. Analysis of the implication of its location, size of the state and degree of its isolation, description of the facts of physical geography in assessing the part they play in the internal relationships of the state form the major part of the first Chapter.

The second Chapter deals with the evolution of Mongolia as a nation state. The study involves a detailed analysis of the historical and political functions in the Central Asia. Attempt has been made to examine the role of historical processes of integration and disintegration of the state. Emphasis has been given to examine the causes of socialist revolution, process of political transformation and its political stability.

The third Chapter includes the evolution of frontier and boundaries of Mongolia. Keeping in view that the present boundaries have been imposed according to the success or failure of neighbouring states in their expansionist activities. Most of its boundaries are political rather than geographical, which do not mark the edges of territories inhabited by Mongolia. The Chapter deals with the boundary negotiation resulting into boundary delimitations and demarcations.

The fourth Chapter examines the extent to which environmental opportunities are realized and utilized and to assess the success and stability of the economic techniques and

political forms of Mongolia. It analyses the socio-economic changes which have taken place so far as well as its future trends.

The fifth Chapter deals with the Geography of Administration. Beside developing the schemes of regionalization of Mongolia on different dimension, it has dealt with hierarchy of administrative organization in the country. Keeping in view the land-locked location of Mongolia, the sixth Chapter includes the analysis of the nature of external relations and formulation of its foreign policy. Main focus has been given to identify the extent to which the geographical compulsions are responsible for shaping the nature of foreign relations and formulation of foreign policy.

## CHAPTER - 1

### GEOGRAPHICAL FRAMEWORK

The Mongolian people's Republic occupies an area of (1,566,500 sq. kms) is the biggest land-locked state in the world. It extend over 2,405 kilometres east to west and over 1,263 kilometres north to south. It is located in this middle of Central Asia, extend from 41°5' to 52°2' N latitude and from 87°5' E to 120°E longitude. It is bounded on the north by the USSR and on the south by the people's Republic of China.

Mongolia's interior location in the heart of Asia has been the singlemost factor which has determined the nature and course of its history. It was its strategic location that facilitated Mongols to extend their empire in the whole of Asia in 12th and 13th Century. It was again its location which had made Mongolia alongwith lother frontier regions of Central Asia, a zone of recurrent political conflict between Russia and China in their territorial expansion from the seventeenth century onward. Mongolia lost much of its traditionally Mongol inhabited areas during the expansionist activities of both Russia and China. The boundary adjustment between Mongolia and its neighbouring powers reflected the strategic and economic conveniences of negotiating powers.

Mongolia's locational disadvantage is also reflected in its failure to incorporate Inner Mongolia into its own territory in the nineteenth century which has acted as a important element in the making of Mongolia's foreign policy and external relations.

MONGOLIA: Its relations in space

Mongolia's spatial location in the heart of Asian continent have played an important role in determining the nature of interrection of the Mongols with those of the surrounding regions in Far East, South east, South west, South Asia and Europe. It's geographical location kept it isolated from its adjacent territories on the one hand as a land bridge between east and west, it occupied in the past an important position in the over-land transport network of ancient and medieval Asia, linking eastern, western, southern and central Asia with one another. However, at other times the vast desert plateau of Mongolia have acted as barrier to human interaction. Mongolia's geographical position and its link role is seen in the cultural influences of Mongols getting diffused into the distant land to the west east and south. It is also reflected in the assimilation of cultural elements coming from other civilization into Monglian Society. On the other hand, its location in the frontiers of major civilizations of Asia and Europe have promoted a certain degree of isolation, which fostered Mongolia to maintain its individuality which finds its expression in its religion, language, polity and way of life.

The level of interaction with the neighbouring regions are a function of the natural constraints which get expressed in the form of highly rugged mountain terrain and other geographical features surrounding it. In the case of Mongolia two geographical features, the Gobi desert and Altai mountain,



played a great part in orienting the development of space, relations of Mongolia with the surrounding territories.

The development of early caravan routes reflects that they followed the general orographical features of the country. The great sweep of the main Gobi running from north-west to north-east direction has always created a gulf between the marches of Great Wall front and the steppes of Mongolia. On the northerly side of the main Gobi are the eastern Altai and the Khangai. They provide a climatic range. The whole range of mountain has good pastures, forests lakes and rivers draining towards Siberia. Such a good pasture land with sure of water gave the nomads and the trading caravans to follow directions of march parallel to the Altai. Thus the evolution of early caravan routes have taken place along the corridors north and south of the Altai. The route running along w the southerly and westerly side of the Altai, leads to Tarbagatai country and the Russian steppes. On the northerly and easterly side a similar line can be followed which would lead to northern regions of Mongolia and then to Siberia. Another direction of march is offered by the Khangain ranges that links the central steppes of Mongolia with the Altai.

Owen Lattimore while discussing the geographic distribution of trade routes, distinguishes the two main classes of trade routes. One class comprises the routes which lie in channels created by migration by the movement of whole people, and other includes the routes of normal kind, such as for transportation and individuals and parties of men have travelled

for political, personal, commercial and religious reasons etc.<sup>1</sup>

Mongols were traditionally semi-nomadic moving ordinarily to pastures in the summer and low sheltered regions in the winter. They migrated to greater distances depending on the availability of pastures. At various point of time there has been huge displacement of population from this plateau. According to Professor Ellsworth Huntington, the fluctuation of climatic conditions was the main cause for their displacement and huge migrations.<sup>2</sup> The first migration from Mongolia of tidal proportion was that of the Hun tribes, who settled themselves in China and the Russian steppes. The historical phenomenon of the Great Wall of China emerged due to the inroads of different Hun tribes which at that time threatened China from Mongolia. This kind of threat must evidently have been developing for an appreciable period and history of relations between the Chinese and the nomad tribes like, Huns, Turkish and Mongol shown that they broke in successive waves against China.

The second type of routes into Mongolia are the routes used for commercial and military expeditions. The Great

1. Lattimore, Owen, Studies in the frontier history,  
Collected Papers 1925-1958  
(La Haye, 1962), p.45
2. Huntington, E., The Pulse of Asia (1908)  
The book contains authors famous theories of cyclic climatic change, See also, Mainsprings of Asiatic migration in limits of land settlement, ed., by Bowman, I., (New York, 1937), pp.119-35.

"Mongolian Road" which links East and West begins from North China through the central, northern and western territories of Mongolia. In the west, it offers a choice of directions, one lies through Kobdo which approaches to Siberia and other runs southward to Dzungaria or north-Chinese Turkistan.<sup>3</sup>

Mongolia's space relations with its surrounding territories has changed greatly in the modern times. Important routes passed through the country which connects Mongolia with its two neighbours. These routes have political cultural and commercial significance to Mongolia as well as to its neighbours. In the past these routes had played major role in shaping the country's political and economic history and will continue to play significant role in determining the nature of interrelation of the land-locked Mongolia with her neighbours and political integration within the country.

There are five important routes that connects Mongolian People's Republic with the USSR.

1. The route from Ulan-Batar in Central Mongolia runs northward through the selenge valley to Ulan-Ude in the Buryat

3. Some of the important books are:

Shattuck, G.C., Caravan travel in Mongolia, in Hand Book of travel, (Boston, 1935), pp 63-76

Weigert, H.W., and Stefansson, V., Inland crossroads of Asia, in Compass of the world (New York, 1944), pp 374-94.

Youngusband, F., The Heart of a Continent (London: Murry, 1937)

Douglas Carruthers, Unknown Mongolia, (London, Hutchinsons, 1913)

Langdon Warner, The Long Old Road in China (New York, Doubleday, Page, 1926)

Autonomous Republic of the USSR. Two cities are linked with the Trans-Siberian Railroad. It is one of the most important trade route and provides easy and short connection from the Mongolian capital.

2. The route from Choibalsan in Eastern Mongolis runs northward about 250 kilometers to Borzuya, in eastern Siberia. It is also connected with the Trans-Siberian Railroad.

3. The third important and easy route runs from Lake Khoevsgoel in Northwestern Mongolia to Irkutsk in eastern Siberia. The distance of this route is about 350 kilometers.<sup>4</sup>

4. The fourth route that links Mongolia with the USSR is the route starts from the areas west of lake Khoevsgoel runs north from Uliastai to Kyzyl in Tannu Tuva, which is a distance of about 400 kilometers.

5. The fifth and last important route is the ancient route which runs from Babdo in western Mongolia through north or Altai to Kosh Agach on the Russian border and on to Biisk and Barnaul in Western Siberia.

These routes are of a great importance, since they control most of trade and military movements between the two country.

Mongolia's space relations with the People's Republic of China in modern times are through four major routes. These

4. Rupen, R.A., The Mongolian People's Republic  
Hoover Institution Studies; 12 (Stanford University,  
1966) p.15

routes are ancient and carry historical importance, in the relations between the Mongols and Chinese. Whether, it was the Mongols who ruled China or the Chinese who ruled Mongolia, these land routes played major role in determining the inter-reaction between the two.

1. The first important route is the road starts from Ulaan Batar runs southward across the Gobi desert to Kalgan and Baijing, traversed by rail between the two capital, is Mongolia's most important trade route to China.

2. From the east a road starts from Choibalsan, runs eastward some 350 kilometers to Hailer in Manchuria.

3. Another important route to China is from Uliastai and Kobdo in western Mongolia runs southward to Urumchi in Chinese Turkistan. It is one of the ancient route used by various Mongol military expedition.

4. The fourth one is the Tibet route which is of great length, links Mongolia with Lhasa. It had significance in linking Mongolia with major Buddhist centres of Tibet in the medieval times.

### Geology

Geological study of Mongolia reveals that Central Mongolia was continental mass standing above sea level during the lower and middle Palaeozoic that had submerged during the Carboniferous and Permian period<sup>5</sup> since then a succession of

5. Barkey and Morris, Geology of Mongolia  
(Bull American Musium Natural History, 51 1924),  
pp.103-27

continental deposit has been laid down on the surface of ~~con~~ the plateau and in the basin. The large-scale earth movements which led to the formation of fold mountains in the Cretaceous and Tertiary times, has not only divided the country but also determined the distribution of mineral resources of Mongolia.

In the absence of adequate geological maps in the case of Mongolia, it is difficult to discuss the spatial distribution of mineral wealth of the country, however brief account is made of known mineral resources which have exploited so far in the country in order to highlight the role they played in shaping Mongolia into a strong political system and viable economic state;

A number of Geological expeditions carried out after the People's Revolution has showed that, more than 500 deposit of mineral resources and ore occurrence have been discovered.<sup>6</sup> Most of the mineral deposit are found in the Central and Eastern parts of the country. The mineral resources are absent in the predominantly desert regions of southern and south eastern regions of Mongolia.

The significance of this uneven distribution of mineral resource is evident from the heavy emphasis in the 1940s on the setting up of mining industry and development of railway lines in the Central and eastern parts of the country.

The first ore mining was started in 1942 with the opening of the tungsten and molybdenum mine in Chonogol. As a result

6. Mongolian People's Republic (Ulaan Batar, 1981), p.89

of large scale geological research carried out with the help of Soviet geologists, some non-ferrous metal deposit like, tin-tungsten and fluorspar in the northern regions of Mongolia.

Some of the important mineral resource regions are - Copper and Molybdenum in Erdenetin - Ovoo, gold in the Iro basin, tin in Dshanchivlin and building materials in Bosgyn-togoo and Khueren-Bulac. Other areas where abundant mineral resources are found; tin deposits in Modoto, fluorspar in Chulunt-tsaagan-del, tungsten in Salas and poly metal in Toemoertin-Ovoo.

Beside these minerals, Mongolia has large deposits of Coal, gypsum Kaolin, oil and various precious stones. In the region around Lake Khoevsgoel, a belt of alkali metals and presence of tantalum, niobium, zirconium, alumina and rare-earth elements have discovered.<sup>7</sup>

The spatial pattern of economic activities in Mongolia reflects that the country has vast resources concentrated in the central, northern and eastern parts of the country, though its resources provided a incentive for industrial development, environmental factors and its geographical position of being land-locked has hamper the Mongols attempt to build its own industrial plants. Almost all the minerals are exported to the USSR and the CMEA countries, which alone accounts for nearly half of the exports products of the country.

7. The 60th Anniversary of People's Mongolia, op. cit., p.55

## Relief

The Mongolian People's Republic is a dry plateau country, with its average elevation 1580 metres above sea level. The surface features of the MPR are very varied. They range from the highly mountains types in north and west to the flat lowland in the south. In between are troughs, basins, river, valleys, valleys of lakes, lakes depressions, plateau and uplands.

Mongolia's topography can be<sup>e</sup> divided roughly into three divisions.

- I - The Mountain system
- II - The Grass Lands
- III - The Gobi Desert

The northern and western mountain system and its off-shoots are of immense significance in Mongolian history. Three main mountain ranges can be distinguished. The Altai Range the Khangai Range, and the Khentei Range. The Altai range, stretching along the southwestern border of the country extends over more than 1000 kilometres in a south eastern direction and fades off into the desert under the name of Gobi Altai. It is the biggest mountain system of Mongolia, rise upto 4000 metres above sea level. The Moenkh-Khayrkhau 4362 metres is the highest peak in the country. Because of its latitude, it receive fairly heavy precipitation throughout the year specially in the western slopes. It is a wild desolate mountain region characterized by faulted and deeply dissected relief. Terrain



is rugged and settlement is sparse and scattered. In the extreme western part of the Altai rise several of the head-water tributaries of the Ob, such as the Kamun, the Chuya, and the Biya. Eastward the Altai give way to the Sayan system.<sup>8</sup>

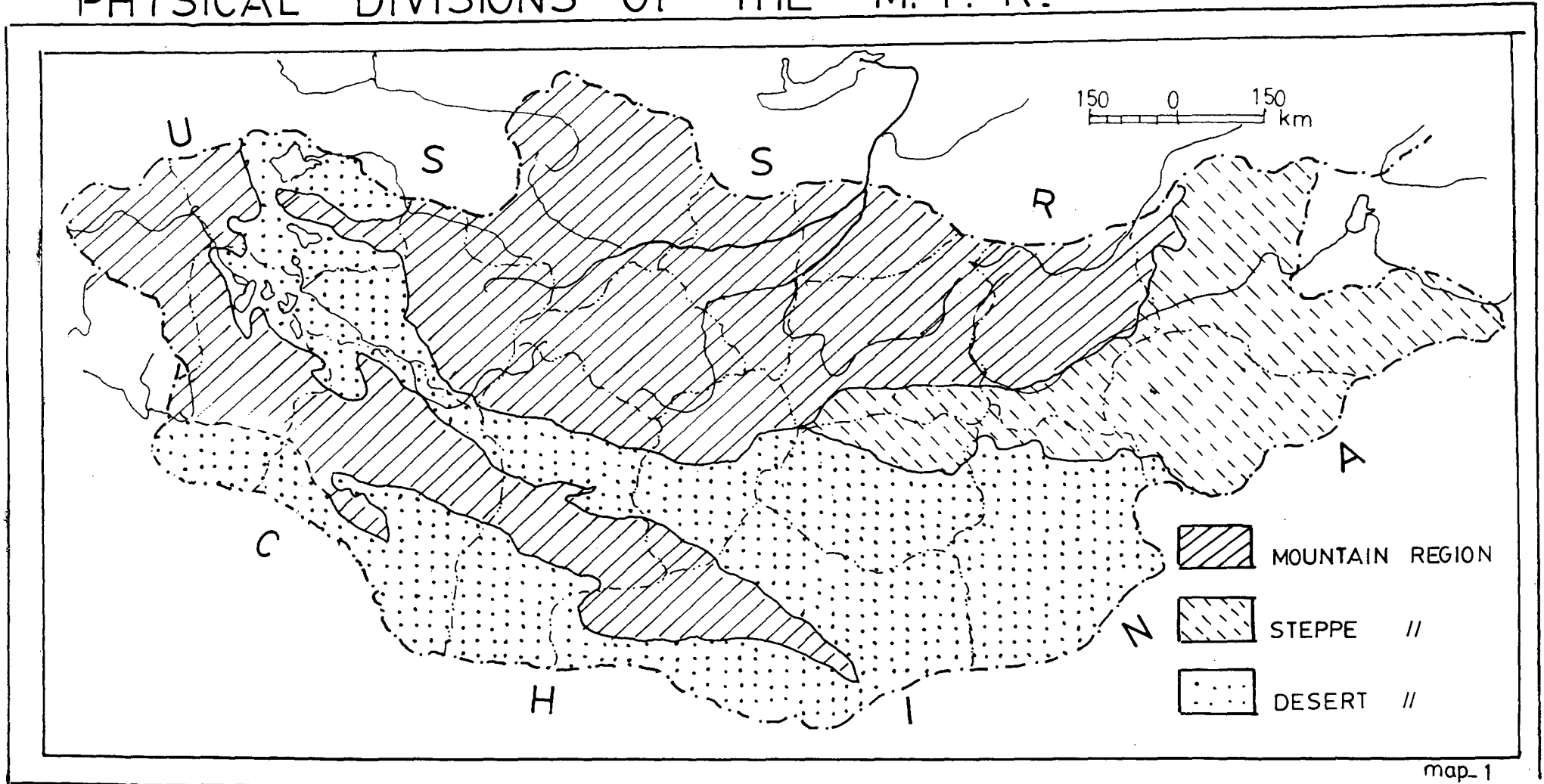
The Khangai runs roughly parallel to and northeast of the Altai range is the second largest mountain system in Mongolia. The Otgon-tenger with 3905 metres, is the highest peak in the Khangai. Unlike the Altai range, it is covered by snow and ice. Smooth and gentle slopes are characteristic of this mountain range. In northern direction, it gives rise to Khuevsgoel mountain.

The Khenti<sup>e</sup> range that runs in a north easterly direction from the capital City, Ulaan Batar towards the northern border, is the only mountain range in the eastern part of the country. As compared to the Mongolian Altai, it has lesser altitude, as well as less physiographic complexity. Asralt khayrkhan with 2,800 metres is the highest peak in this range.<sup>9</sup>

The Khangai and the Khenti<sup>e</sup> linked together by lower hills, forms a continuous arce that cuts northern Mongolia off from the southern desert plateau with their inland drainage. The two mountain range form a region of higher rainfall draining northward to lake Baikal by the Selenge and Orkhon system.

8. Mongolian Atlas published from Ulaan Batar in 1966 and 1981, has been used in interpreting the physical relief of the Mongolian People's Republic.
9. Mongolian People's Republic, op. cit., p.11

# PHYSICAL DIVISIONS OF THE M. P. R.



The other draining southward, peter out eventually in the steppe. This region can also be termed as taiga regions, with forest of larch, birch, cedar and pine trees. (Map-1)

The extensive grassland cover the area north of the Khangai and the Khentāi mountains, consists of fertile prairie with many rivers and large lakes belonging to the system of the selenge, which flows into lake Baikal, and of the Shilka and the Argun, which joins to form the Amur. The region represents the landscape of the pastoral steppe. The pastures can support million of livestock. Besides these pastures, the Mongols grow valuable fodder on the chestnut and black earth-like soil.<sup>10</sup>

The great Gobi desert plateau extends from near the south of Khangai and Khentāi mountain to the foothills of the great Khigan to encompass the part of southern Mongolia and the whole of eastern Mongolia. With a general elevation of 1000-1600 metres, the plateau make an arce shape like a narrow tongue stretching from the Tannu Ola mountain in the north-west between the corridor of Khangai and the Altai to meet the eastern Mongolian plateau. This plateau regions comprise of steppeland and lakes and many other features which are characteristic of Central Asia-extreme aridity, the absense of external drainage, poor quality pasturland, short contrast of seasonal and day temperature and extreme variability of annual rainfall.<sup>11</sup>

10. The 60th Anniversary of People's Mongolia, op.cit., p.9

11. Huntington E., The Pulse of Asia (1908)

The glaciers of the three mountain ranges, the Altai, Khangai and the Khentëi are the source of the Mongolian rivers. There are about 400 rivers in the Mongolian People's Republic, covering a total length of 67000 kilometres.<sup>12</sup> It has already been mentioned that the two mountain ranges, the Khangai and the Khentëi form the main watershed in the centre of the Mongolian territory. Major rivers of these mountain ranges such as the selenge, Orkhon, Kherulen etc. draining north and eastward, other draining west and southward. These rivers belong to three main catchment area. The rivers flowing north ward belong mainly to the catchment area of the Arctic Ocean. They include the selenge system, flow into the Baikal-lake on the territory of the Soviet Union. The Selenge drains over 282,000 square kilometres, covers 10% of the whole territory of the country. It is the largest river in the region which flow for 593 kilometres on the territory of the country.<sup>13</sup> Important tributaries of the Selenge are, the Orkhon, the Egin, the Kanui etc. The rivers draining eastward into the catchment area of the Pacific are the Onon, the Uldz, the Kherulen and the Khalkhin-Gol. The Onon originates in the east Khentëi flows for 296 kilometres in the north-eastern part of the country in the north easterly direction to join the Amur river. The kherulen also rises in the Khentëi flows eastward for a

12. Mongolian People's Republic, op. cit., p.11

13. Ibid., p.11

distance of 1090 kilometres through eastern desert to finally empty itself in Dalai-nuur in Manchuria. The Uldz, rising in the Khentéi aimak flows eastward for 420 kilometres more or less parallel to the Kherulen. The extreme north eastern flank of the Gobi plateau is drained by the Khalkhin-Gol. The Khalkhin-Gol rises in the Khingan Range in Manchuria and flows westward for a distance of 233 kilometres in the country's territory to finally empty itself in the Buir Nuur.

Among the rivers belonging to the inland basin of Central Asia are the rivers of western and southern parts of the Mongolian People's Republic. The main rivers include, the Dzabkhan, the Kobdo, the Tes, Khungui, Balgan, Bogon, Balgrag and others. The Dzabkhan rises in the Khangai mountain and flows for 808 kilometres through Bayan-Khongor part of Gobi-Altai and part of Dzabkhan aimak and finally to Urs aimak to empty itself in the Khoevsgoel lake. The Tes rising in the Bylaan range flows eastward and falls into the Uvs nuur. The Kobdo, rises in the westernmost part of Altai mountains, flows eastward through deep gorges and large valley for 516 kilometres and drains into the Khar-Us lake. The other rivers draining southward from the Khangai and the Altai peter out eventually in the steppe. They include, Ong, Taam and Balgrag draining from the Khangai and Balgan, Yench, and Bodong draining from the Altai.

In the extreme western part of the Altai rise several of the head water tributaries of the river Ob, such as the

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TH-1900

5.4191





kamun, the Chuya and the Biya. The Altai also gives rise to the Kara-Irtish and the Urungu, they flow westward through Dzungaria desert and finally fall into the internal drainage area of Soviet Central Asia and Chinese Turikistan. NUUR is the Mongolian term of lake. There are 1200 large and small natural lakes on the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic, concentrated in the western and northern part of the country. Many of them are saline lakes. The two largest are the Uvs-nuur and the Khoevsgoel-nuur covering an area of 3350 and 2,620 sq kilometres respectively. The Khoevsgoel-nuur is the deepest known lake in Central Asia. It is 250 metres deep and 40 kilometres wide is the only lake with navigation. It has sweet water and supports a small fishing industry. Numerous big and small river flow into the Uvs-nuur. Other important lakes in this region are the Khyorges (1,360 sq kms) the Khar-us (1,760 sq. kms.) Sanjingn Dalaj (165 sq. kms.) Telmen (194 sq kms) and Acit (297 sq kms).

The climate is one of the most important element in the physical environment of the state. In the case of the Mongolian People's Republic, almost all aspect of life are dominated by the climate. Its location in the heart of the continent, distant from the Ocean, temperate latitude and its altitude combine to produce very distinct climate. Principally it experiences dry continental climate with a low degree of climatic uniformity. The climate is exceedingly dry and shows great variation between summer heat and winter

cold. Aridity and its environmental influences are the only unifying factors.<sup>14</sup>

The whole country can be divided into two broad climatic regions. The northern part of the country experiences steppe climate and southern part experience cold desert climate. Summers are very warm over  $40^{\circ}\text{C}$  in Choibalsan for June, 03 illustrated in Figure and  $50^{\circ}\text{C}$  in Ulaangom for January. In the annual temperature march, maximum is registered in the month of June and July. Average temperature in this two months changes from  $+12^{\circ}\text{C}$  upto  $+20^{\circ}\text{C}$  on the largest part of the territory, but it can rise upto  $+25^{\circ}\text{C}$  in the south of the country. Absolute maximum of temperature reaches  $+35^{\circ}\text{C}$  in the northern regions and  $+40^{\circ}\text{C}$  in the southern regions. Winters are severe, freezing lakes and rivers, and strong winds blow all the time.<sup>15</sup> Absolute minimum of temperature is recorded in January. It's mean range from  $-15^{\circ}\text{C}$  to  $-20^{\circ}\text{C}$  in the largest part of the country. The average annual minimum temperature is  $-49^{\circ}\text{C}$  at Ulaan Batar. Temperature fall can be upto  $-45^{\circ}\text{C}$  to  $-50^{\circ}\text{C}$  in some parts of the country. (See Map-2)

Precipitation characterise of low amount, irregularity and undependability are common in all parts of the Mongolian People's Republic. This is primarily because the country lie

14. Huntington. E., op. cit., also Younghusband, F., op. cit.,

15. Stamp, Dudley L., Asia A regional and economic geography  
(London, Methuen & Co. Ltd. 1956)  
p.591



hundreds of miles from the sea and are sheltered by the high mountain all around them. As a result they are cut off from the rainbearing winds. Precipitation is concentrated chiefly in the summer, specially in the month of July and August. The summer rains are generally convectional storms, accompanied by thunder and lightning. In winter when depressions are formed in Central Asia, Mongolia experiences the world's highest atmospheric pressure. Because of the presence of high pressure air masses there is snow fall in the northern mountainous regions of the country. But winter snow fall accounts for only 8 to 10 per cent of the total precipitation. The average rainfall may be taken as about 200 to 250 millimetres, but again varies according to location, i.e. the north of the country receives 250 to 350 millimetres and the southern parts receives only 100 to 150 millimetres. On an average, the number of rainy days in the country is 15 to 20 days, but their number is about 50 days in the north. Winters are so cold that the northern parts are snow covered for several months. The number of snow covered days in Chanjajn and Chentejn are more than 100 days, on the other hand snow remains only for 35 to 45 days in the southern regions and in some regions only for 10 days.

It is rightly said that, History without geography is like a picture without a frame. Geography is the framework within which history takes place. It is more true in the case of Mongol history which has been determined rigidly by its

environment.

The physical environmental conditioned have affected the historical, political and economic development of the State. This resulted in the emergence of distinct physical cultural and economic regions within Mongolia. The existing physical relief have played an important role in shaping the nature of state activities of Mongolia. While writing of the geography and history of Mongolia Owen Lattimore says, "The geographical relation between the various zones (desert, semi desert, steppe, basins of lakes and rivers) is one in which they do cleave apart on lines of strict division, but merge into one another. Most important of all, the mountain ranges in general are at the centres of their zones, so that historically they have served not as dividing barriers but as strongholds and rallying points. The zones, taken all barriers, have such geographical unity that historical causes felt in one zone have had immediate repercussions throughout the others."<sup>16</sup>

The prevalence of desert and semi desert compelled the southern and eastern part of this country to adopt a nomadic way of life. The tribes inhabiting these regions are controlled by the availability of water and pasture land.

The great sweep of the main Gobi have always played a major role in the evolution of Mongolia's boundaries. Running

16. Lattimore, Owen, op. cit., p.64

from south-west to north-east, it has served as a defensive system. The terrain itself was too difficult for the Chinese to effectively colonize Mongolia. Historically also, it created a gulf between the marches, or the Great Wall front, and the steppes of northern Mongolia which served as the most favourable assembly ground for great nomadic hordes. But on the other hand it must be noted that the Gobi has also acted as a barrier that has weakened the links between Outer Mongolia and Inner Mongolia, which resulted in the failure of the Mongols to unite themselves and form one nation. The present boundaries of the Mongolian People's Republic reflect that they do not mark the edges of territories inhabited by the Mongols.

#### Ethnic groups

The peopling of Mongolia will be discussed along with the early history of the Mongol land in the subsequent Chapter, emphasis here is made to highlight the distribution of various ethnic groups in the Mongolian People's Republic. This will help us in understanding, how the different cultural and ethnic groups combine to form an effective political unit.

According to the census conducted in 1979, 1,594,800 people live on the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic.<sup>17</sup> The majority of the population belong to the ethnic group of Mongols. The Khalkha Mongols accounts for 12,35,800 people or 77.5 per cent of the total population of the country.

17. Mongolian People's Republic, op. cit., p.13

# ETHNIC COMPOSITION OF MONGOLIA

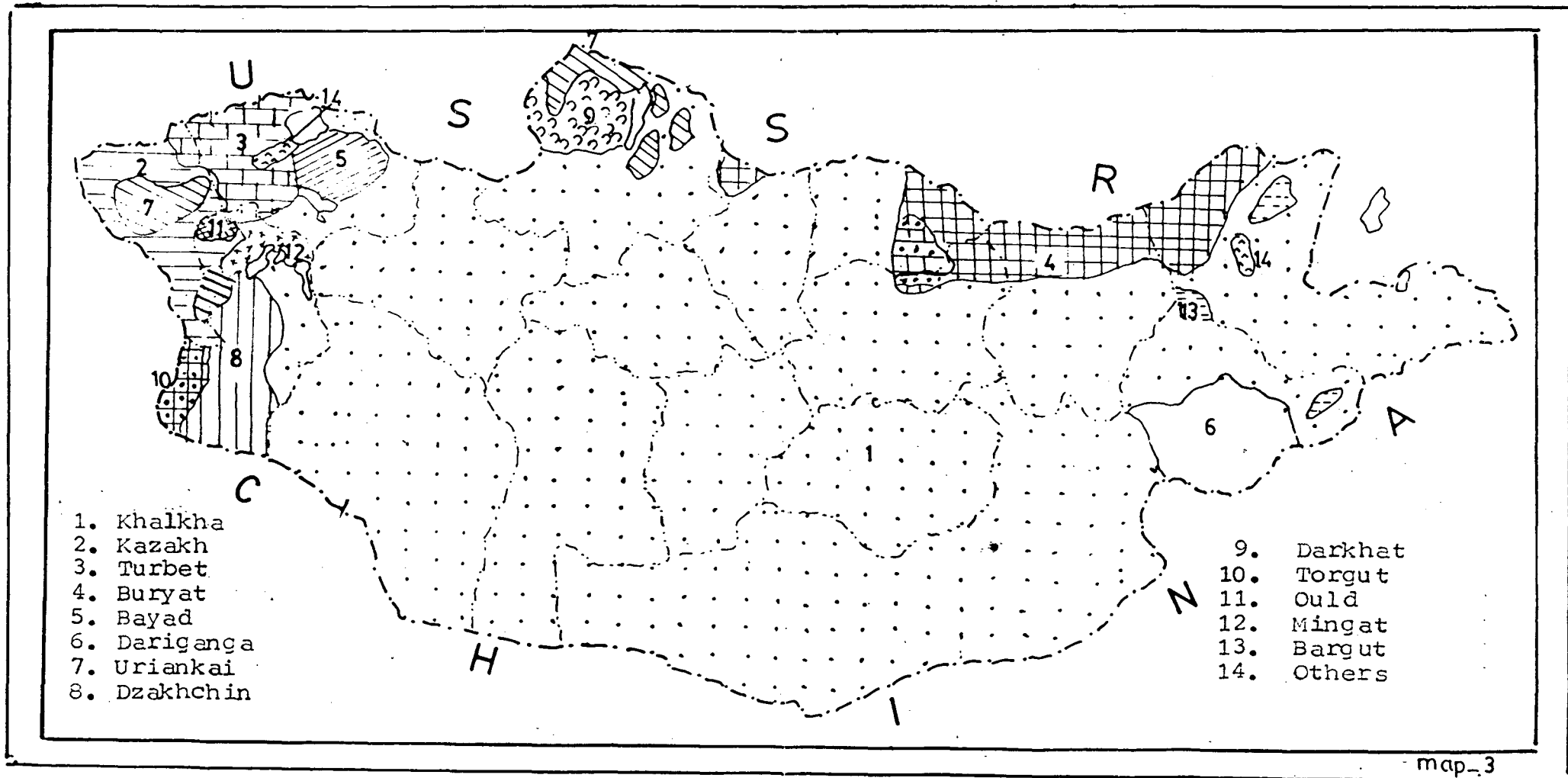


Table below shows the national composition of population,  
for 1956 and 1979.

Name	Persons 1956 (in thousand)	Percentage to total	Persons 1979 (in thousand)	Percentage to total
Khalkha	639.1	75.67	1235.8	77.5
Kazakh	36.7	4.3	84.3	5.3
Durbet	25.7	3.6	45.0	2.8
Buryat	24.6	2.9	29.8	2.5
Bayad	15.9	1.9	31.1	2.1
Dariganga	16.9	2.0	24.6	1.7
Uriankhai	-	-	19.0	1.3
Dzakhchin	10.8	1.3	19.5	1.3
Torgut	4.7	0.5	8.6	0.6
Olud	4.9	0.6	8.8	0.6
Others	20.8	2.5	87.0	5.0
Chinese	16.2	1.9	-	-
Russian	13.4	1.6	-	-

Sources: (1956) Statistical hand book 1958, table given  
in Robert A. Rupen's Mongol of the Twentieth  
Century Part I (Indiana University Publication,  
Uralic and Altaic series, Vol. 37 Part 1, 1964),  
p.438.

(1979) - Statistical hand book of the National  
Economy of the MPR for 60 years (1924-1984)  
(Central statistical Board of the MPR, Ulaan  
Batar, 1984), p.25

The spatial pattern of the distribution of ethnic groups in Mongolia shows that the Khalkha Mongol deminate most of the part of Mongolia. Out of 16 aimaks in the country 13 aimaks are populated by Khalkha Mongol. They cover the entire central, southern, part of eastern and northern part of Mongolia. (See Map 3).

The Buryats covers the second largest area, but constitute only 1.9 per cent of the total population of the country. The Buryats are mainly concentrated in the northern and eastern part of the country, which include, north eastern part of Uver Khangai, part of north Selenge aimak, north of Khental and north western part of Dornod aimak. Due to the mountainous topography, the area is sparsely populated. Another district tribe of Mongolia is Dariganga which are only confine to Sukhe-Batar aimak, constitute for 1.5 per cent of the country's population.

The western part of Mongolia gives a diverse ethnic composition. Some of them are Mongol origin and others Turk origin. They include the tribes, Kazaks, Durbet, Bayad, Dzakhchin, Olud, Tuvans or Uriankhai, Torgut, Darkhat, Mingat and khontons. These groups are concentrated in western aimaks of Mongolia, such a Bayan-ulegei, Uvs-Nuur, Kobdo, Khoevsgoel aimak. They are often designated as west Mongols. Together the West Mongols constitute for 15 per cent of the country's population. Among these, the Kazaks, Tuvans and Khontons are turk people mostly inhabited in Bayan Ulegei and Uvs-Nuur

aimak (extreme west) together comprise 7 per cent of total population.<sup>18</sup> There are also Chinese and Russian inhabiting mostly in the Urban areas, though their per centage is very insignificant.

In the early stage of the revolutionary transition of Mongolia, small groups of minority nationalities in western Mongolia mostly in the Kobdo aimak, were strongly separatist and opposed to being dominated by the Khalkhas.<sup>19</sup> The Revolutionary Government had taken series of measures to demoralize and weaken the separatist movement in the early 1930s. By 1939, the whole area and the non-Khalkha people were integrated into the nation effectively. The reorganization of administrative units, centralization, unification and education revolution has helped in integrating even the remotest part of the country, and its ethnic minorities into one political system. Mongol today has a strong sense of nationalism and will continue to grow because of the high growth rate of its economic development.

18. Mongolian People's Republic, *Op. cit.*, p.13.

19. Rupen, Robert A., The Mongolian People's Republic (Stanford University, 1966) p.13

## CHAPTER - 2

### EVOLUTION OF MONGOLIA AS A NATION STATE

Semple correctly states that "The location of a country is the supreme geographical fact in history", and this is specially correct in the case of Mongolia.

Mongolia was characteristically and geographically a negative region, functioning broadly as a frontier of both separation and penetration between Europe and Asia. Both History and Geography combine to place Mongolia between two powerful neighbours - Russia and China. Originally, Mongolia had been the home of nomad for Centuries. The history of nomadism is therefore of crucial importance for a understanding the early political history of Mongolia. The whole region suffered through a cycle of power and decline, integration and disintegration.

Mongolia's political development from 17th Centuries onwards has been decisively affected by its position between the two great neighbours. The study of the evolution of Mongolia as a nation state involves therefore a detailed analysis of the historical and political functions in Central Asia.

In order to facilitate a proper analysis, the Mongol history has been divided into:

#### I - The Rise of Mongols (1279-1368)

In physical geography, the present territory of the Mongolian People's Republic is discussed, together with Inner Mongolia, Sinkiang and Tibet, under the heading "High Asia", one of the six major division of the continent.



- II - Mongolia, Ming China and Russia (1368-1644)
- III - Mongolia under Manchu Domination (1644-1911)
- IV - The Mongolian Revolution of 1921.

I. The Rise of Mongols

In antiquity, the people inhabiting the present territory of Mongolia including Inner Mongolia were known as the Hsiung-Nu or the early Huns (from the third and second centuries B.C., to the first Century A.D.) The tribe inhabiting west of them were the Yueh-Chih, an Indo-European speaking people. On the east side of the Hsiung-Nu, were the Tung-Hu. It is still not known whether the Hsiung-Nu were 'proto-Turks' and the Tung-Hu 'proto-Mongols, or perhaps 'proto-Tungus'.<sup>1</sup> The Chinese used 'Hu' as a term for northern pastoral nomads who fought on horseback. Tung-Hu means eastern Hu and for them Hsiung-Nu were also Hu.

In the same period, China was under the Han dynasty, which succeeded the Chin late in the third century B.C. had confronted with the nomad confederacy or empire of the Hsiung-Nu. The Hsiung-Nu set a tradition in Mongolia which was followed by many nomad power such as the sien pei, the Juan-Juan, and the Turkish Toba.<sup>2</sup>

When China was under the Tang dynasty (618-906), Mongolia was ruled by Turks but east of the Turkish realm,

1. Owen, Lattimore, the Geographical Journal  
Vol XXIX, Part I, March, 1963 p-1
2. Phillips, E.D., The Mongolia  
(London, Thames and Hudson, 1969), p-23

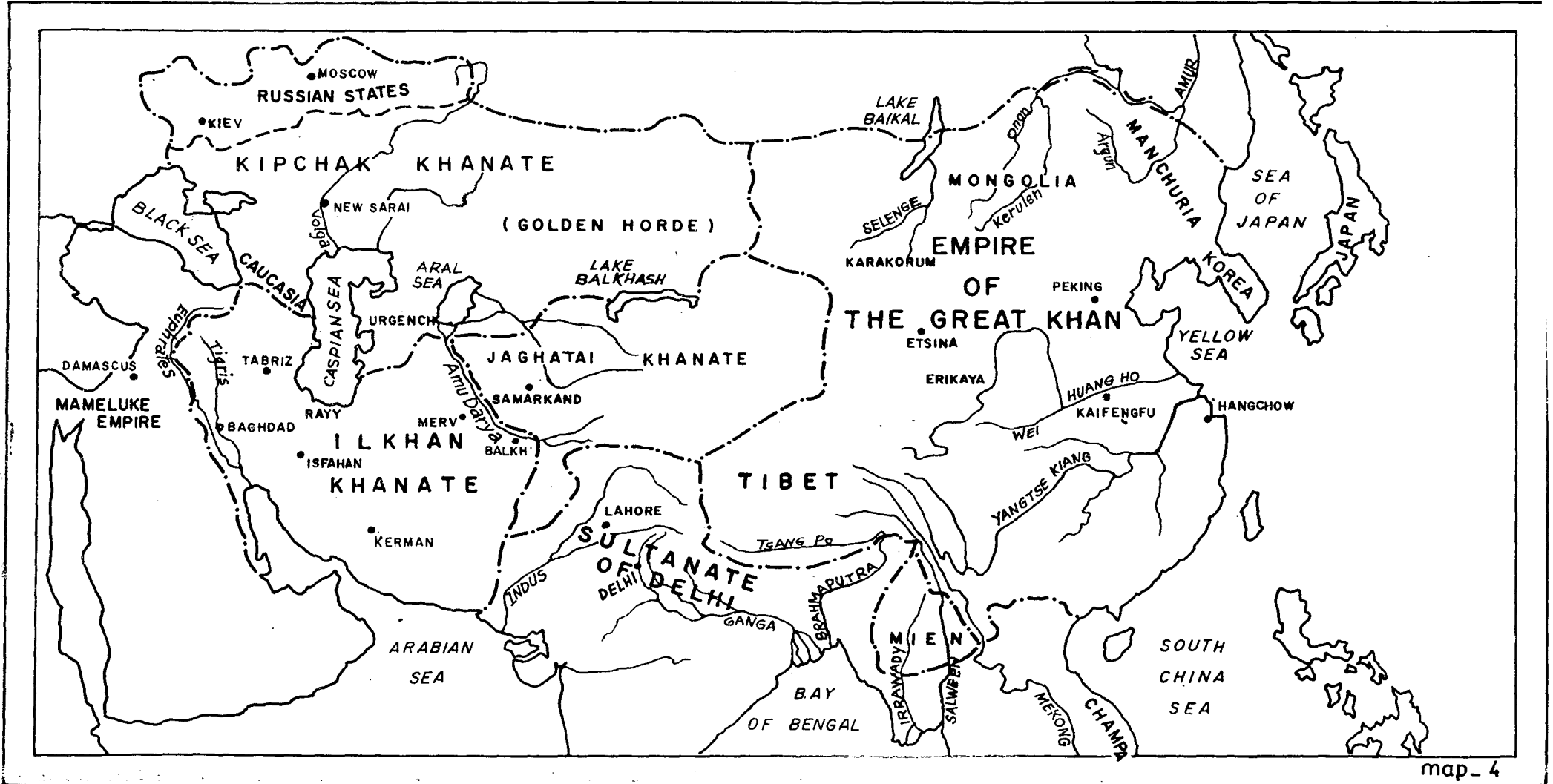
a minor group of tribal people 'Mongol' already appeared. Turks were driven away from Mongolia by the Uigurs tribe. The nomad living in the eastern Mongolia known as the Khitan, gradually emerge into Chinese history to establish the Liao dynasty (947-1125) ruled most of Mongolia and Manchuria along with North-China. The Khitan drove into Mongolia from the east rather than from the south, enjoyed better agricultural and urban resources than the steppe economy of the Turks.

Mongol tribal auxiliaries also accompanied the khitan in their campaign, with the result, Mongolia now began to be transformed from a Turkish homeland into a Mongol homeland. Thus the khitan or Liao period contributed to the formation of a Mongol people, distinct from Turks on the west, Tungus on the east and Chinese on the South. They continued to occupy the same geographical area and by the twelfth Century they become a conquering nation.

Unlike earlier traditional Chinese invaders, who had always adopted a policy of defensive walls and the use of auxiliary frontier tribe, by building long walls north of the main Great Wall, creating pastoral zones, where they could associate with the auxiliary tribes for trade, the khitan went far beyond the system of defensive walls and established fortified outposts.

The khitan were overthrown by a Manchurian tribe of Jurchid, to form the Chin dynasty in 1135. Jurchid

# MONGOL EMPIRE IN 13th.&14th. CENTURY



were ethnically, tribally and in language the ancestors of the Manchus. In China, Jurchid moved further to the South than the khitan, but they withdrew from the advanced position held by the khitan in Mongolia to the traditional Chinese defensive wall, and adopted the same frontier policy as the earlier Chinese practised. Meanwhile when the khitan garrisons from Mongolia had been withdrawn, the power shifted to the tribes which were most mobile and had the largest herd. The Mongol tribe under the leadership of Chingis Khan, pushed away the Manchu ruler eastward and finally conquered the whole of China in the beginning of the thirteenth Century. (See Map-4)

Chingis Khan died in 1227 but he made his geographical concept of empire clear. His successors took the task of

Chingis Khan was born in the north-east corner of Mongolia, where the good pasture produced the best of the Mongol horses. It was an area that was least effected by the agricultural economy of the Turks and the Khitan out posts. He was genius for organization, strategy and command, integrated all the Mongol tribes under his authority. He conquered northern China first, than moved towards west to conquer the Turkish land. He invaded Bokhara in 1219, smarkand in 1220 and then captured khwarezm and Merv. His troops defeated the Russians in 1223 in the battle of the Kalka River (3) (present day Kalchik). Thus he become the greatest conqueror of all times. His empire stretched from China sea to the bank of Denieper.

3. Tang, Peter S.H., Russia and Soviet Policy in Manchuria and Outer Mongolia (1911-1931)  
(Durham, N.C., 1959) p.273

building world empire. Mongol Kuriltai (clan Assembly) decided to complete the conquest of Korea and Sung China, whole of Central Asia, and Europe beyond the Volga River.

The Mongols overthrew Chin dynasty in China, invaded Korea in 1231 and the Southern Sung dynasty in 1233-34. By 1237, Mongols crossed the Volga, stormed Kiev in 1240. In 1241 they defeated the Hungarian King of Bela, and then invaded Poland.

Chingis Khan before his death, had transmitted his empire among a grandson and three sons, who ruled different parts of his empire. There was a series of internal conflict among the rulers between 1246-1259, until 1260, when Kubilai, grandson of Chingis Khan, declared himself supreme Khan. He shifted his capital from Karakoram to Peking and founded Yuan dynasty in China and was able to reunite the Mongol empire. After the death of Kubilai Khan in 1294 the Mongols were unable to hold the conquered territories, and the authority had been delegated to many Khans.

By 1368, the Mongols lost their control over China, and the Ming Chinese succeeded to power in China. Last Mongol emperor of China was Tughon Temur Ukhaghtu Khan or known as Shun-Ti.<sup>4</sup> At this time, Russia was ruled by the Golden Horde, Gradually the Golden Horde also began to break into

4. Sheel, Ram Rahul, Mongolia in International Perspective (International Studies, New Delhi, Sage publication, 1985) p.215

small rules and established separate Khanates. In 1480, Grand Duke Ivan III the great ceased to pay tribute to the Golden Horde and finally won independence of Mongol rule.

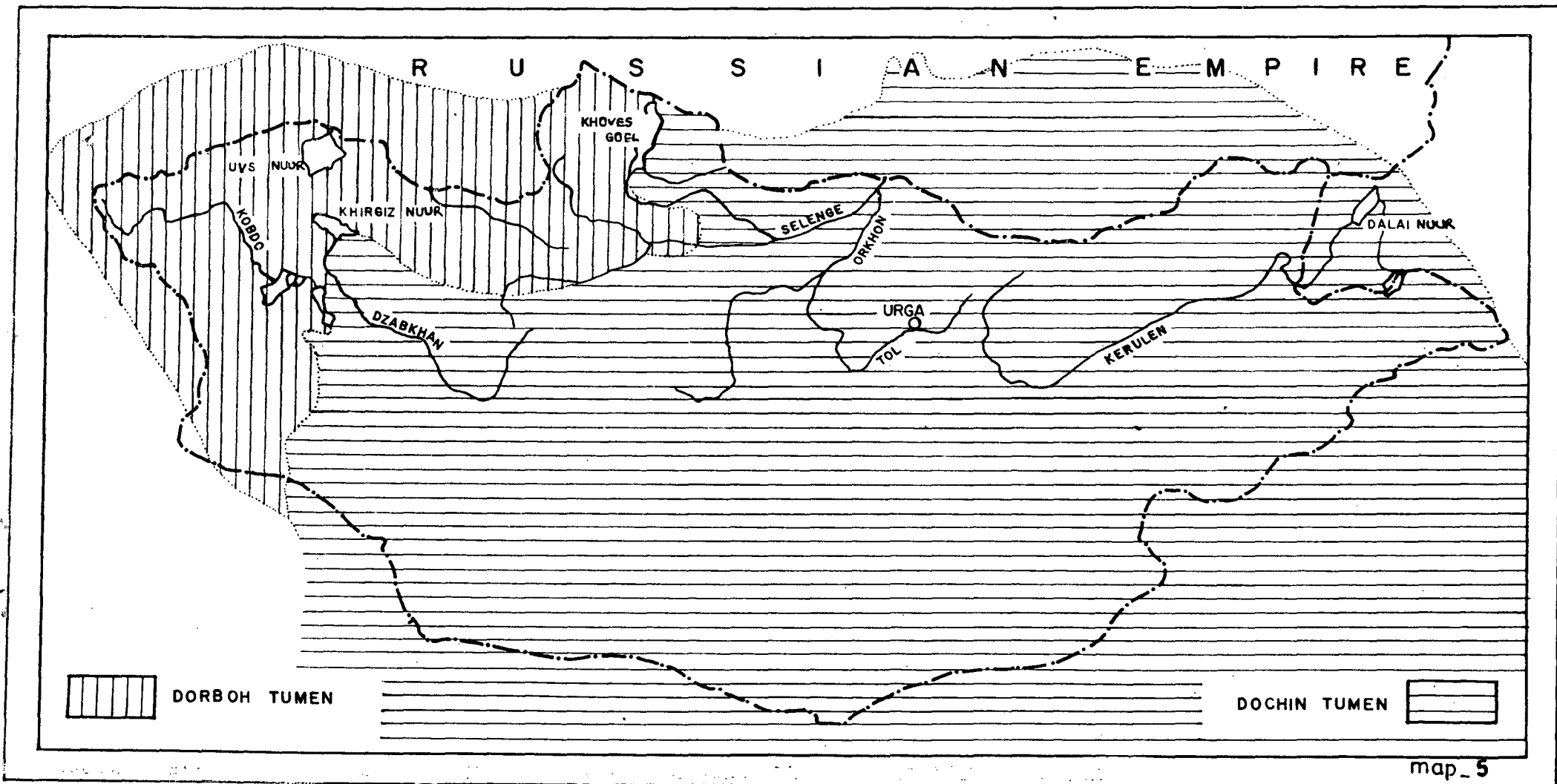
The territorial extent of the Mongol empire by the end of 13 century stretched from Central Russia and Lake Baikal in the north to the Ganges River of India and Persian Gulf in the South, and from the bank of the Dniester in the west to the Chinese and Korean shores in the east.

## II. Mongolia, Ming China and Russia (1368-1644)

During the Chinese Ming dynasty (1368-1644) the Mongols exercised dominant power in their homeland but they were divided into several independent foudal principalities and experienced constant internecine strife. They were divided into two groups eastern, which include, Khalkhas, Buryats, Chahars and Tumets, and western include, Derbets, Oriats and Oluds.<sup>5</sup> However the Oriats or western Mongols, played dominant role in Mongolian political development between 1423 and 1530. They defeated the eastern Mongols and seized control of all Mongolia. When Oriat Khan Esen succeeded the throne in 1449, attempts were made to unite the Mongol tribes once again and to re-establish Mongol rule over China. Esen, defeated the Ming Chinese near the great wall and pushed them inside the great wall. Since then the Mongols control continued the area north of great wall.

5. Tang, op. cit., p.276

# MONGOL EMPIRE IN 14th. & 15th. CENTURY



The Mongols frequently clashed with the Mings. By 1500, the Chinese had adopted the same traditional defensive policy, which was used in China as early as the second century B.C. They also secured their traditional border and had economic relation with the Mongols. After the death of Esen, disunity and inter-tribal warfare among the Oriats (Western Mongol) began and the disintegrated power did not pose a threat to the Chinese until the early Seventeenth Century. (See Map 5).

Meantime, the rulers of Eastern China had become stronger. Infact between 1433-1644, they were the ruling power in Mongolia. The Eastern Mongols made several attacks during the remainder of the Ming period. Their ruler Dayan Khan (1470-1543), enabled to unify the Mongols once again. It was the last time that the Mongols were unified. Dayan Khan, like Esen demanded more favourable trade condition and right to offer tribute<sup>7</sup> but the Ming Chinese repeatedly denied it, and it resulted into continuous border raid into Chinese border settlements.

Mongols became more stronger under Batu's grandson Altan Khan. He managed to gain trade privileges. When

6. Morris Rossabi, China and Russia from 1368 to the present day (London, Thame and Hudson, 1975) p.44

7. Ibid., p.45



China cancelled the Mongols trading privileges after few months, Altan Khan retaliated by forces and the war between them continued for two decades<sup>8</sup>. Both the Chinese and the Mongols suffered in this war, finally reached to an agreement in 1570. The agreement aimed to ensure peace along the border and to promote Sino-Mongol trade. As a result, the Mongols obtained much material good, such as tea, grain, silk, carpet, drugs, paper, cosmetics etc., from China. The Chinese settlement in southern Mongolia provided invaluable to the Mongols, for their expertise knowledge. The Mongols recognised their economic and cultural values.

Buddhism reached Mongolia in this period. Altan Khan himself got converted to Buddhism. He tried to promote Buddhism to make it the national religion and achieve political unity through it. The Ming court feared that consequent political unification of the Mongols might pose a threat to Chinese. Buddhism however did not receive wide popularity among the Mongols and the Mongols had not achieved unity by the end of the Ming dynasty.

Although the Mongols remained disunited between fourteenth and seventeenth centuries but they managed to maintain its political independence. They continued to hold a vast territory of Mongol land. In the east they pushed the Chinese inside the great wall and retained the whole area

8. Henry Surrays, Four Documents Relating to the Sino-Mongol Peace of 1570-71 (Monumenta Serica, XIX, 1960), p. 2

north of great wall. In the west, the Oriat power extended as far as the Emba and the neighbourhood of Astrakhan. They also raided frequently the territory of Khiva in Transoxiana and established friendly relations with the Russians.

### III. Mongolia under Manchu Domination (1644-1911)

While the Mongol Empire was disintegrated into small independent tribal states, Manchus had achieved unity under the leadership of Nurharch in 1618.<sup>9</sup> One of the Oriat princes, Batur Khan, attempted to unite the Oriat tribes, who called a conference of the Oriat prince in 1640, but no real unity was achieved. His son Galdan (Boshoktur Khan) the ruler of the Dzungaria, instead seized Eastern Turkestan in 1679. The (Chahar) Southern Mongols was alliance with the Manchus. According to Owen Lattimore, it was the alliance between the Manchus and the neighbouring southern Mongols, that had made the Manchus conquest of China possible in 1644. "The Manchus-Mongol alliance, built up a frontier power in Inner Mongolia, which protected the Manchu conquests in China and it was only later, by using their position in Inner Mongolia as a fulcrum, that the Manchus extended their power into Outer Mongolia."<sup>10</sup>

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, Russia was also expanding its empire into and across Siberia. In

9. Tang, op. cit., p.278

10. Lattimore, Owen, The Mongols of Manchuria  
(New York, 1934), p.16

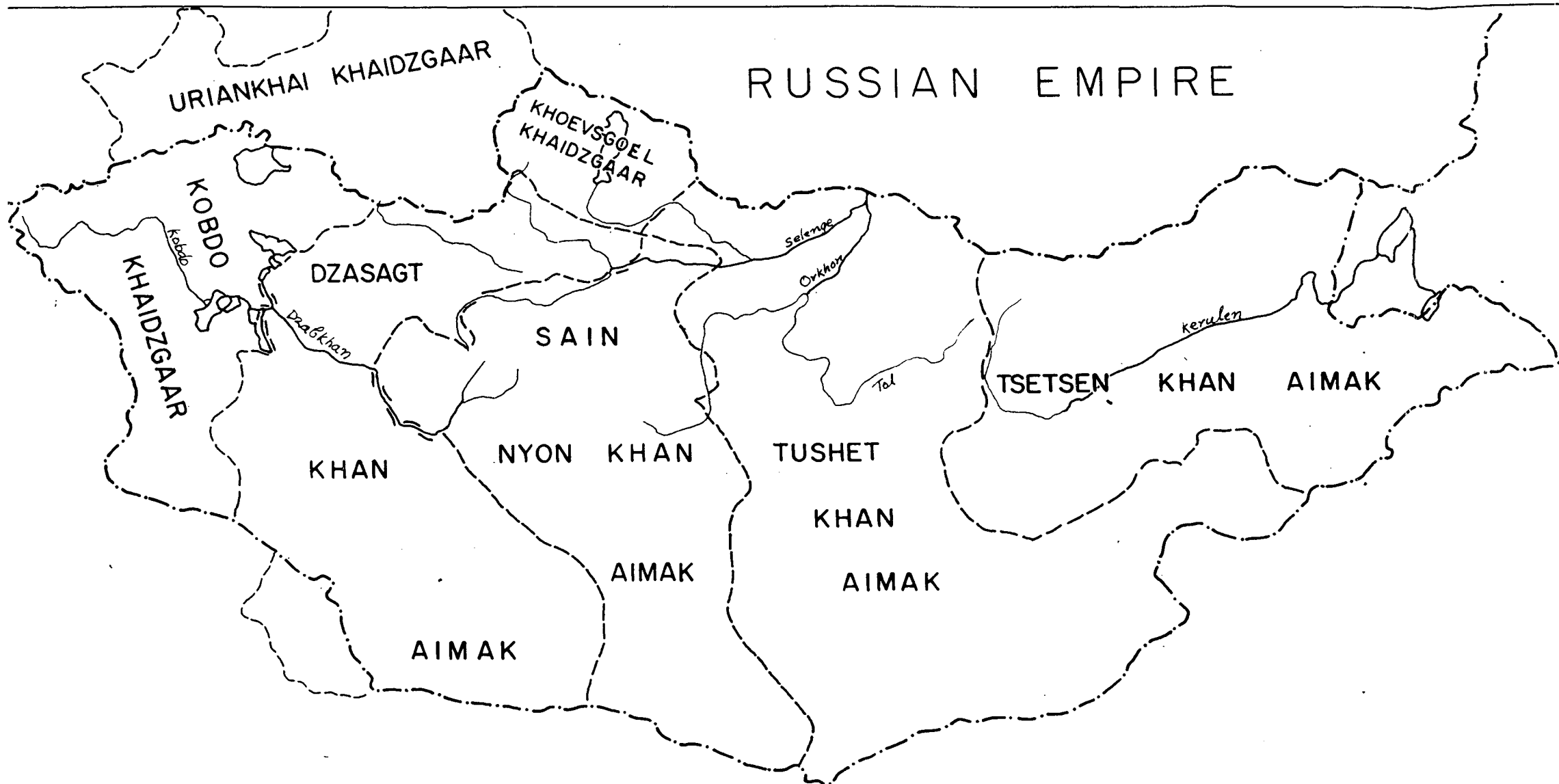
1616, Russia sent its first mission to Altyn Khan, prince of the western part of khalka, who had his capital near the upper Yenisei, to persuade him to acknowledge allegiance to the Tsar. In 1634 Altyn Khan formally acknowledged himself as a subject of the Tsar.<sup>11</sup> The Russian advanced into Baikal and established a post at Irkutsk in 1661, which created the possibility of serious Russo-Chinese rivalry in Mongolia.

In 1688, after the Manchu conquest of China and established the Ching dynasty there, that the Khalkha prince of northern or Outer Mongolia were defeated by Galdan, the Oriat ruler of Dzungaria. They retreated to the border of southern Mongolia, where they applied to the Manchu government of China for help. The great Manchu Emperor Kang Hsi 1662-1722 then went to the defence of the Khalkhas, who later succeeded in bringing under Manchu control the tribes of northern and western Mongolia. In 1691, an assembly of the Mongols princes at Dolon Nor in Inner Mongolia was called, where the Khalkha Mongol princes placed themselves under the protection of the Manchu Emperor Kang Hsi. The Manchu defeated Galdan Khan in 1696 at Urga present day Ulaan Batar subsequently established power in KukuNor 1720's Tibet 1721-51 and Sinkiang 1755.<sup>12</sup> China prevented the Russian from penetrating into Mongolia. The Russo-Chinese Treaty of Nerchinsk on 27 August 1689 and the treaty of Kiakhta on 12 October 1727, marked the boundary

11. Tang, op. cit., p.280

12. Kao, po-yen Mongolia and China  
(Peiping, 1936), p.72

# MONGOLIA UNDER MANCHU DOMINATION (1644-1911)



between the Russian and Manchu Empires. Russian recognized Chinese sovereignty in Mongolia in the treaty of Kiakhta. (See Map-5).

Emperor K'ang Hsi choosed Lobsang Tenpai Gyaltshan Ondor Gegen (1635-1723), the first Jebdzanamba of Mongolia, adherent of the Gelugpa (Yellow sect) Buddhism as the head of Mongolian Buddhism and gave him the title of Khutagt. He was permitted the rule the Khalkha Mongols and paid in return to the Manchu Ch'ing Empire an annual tribute of "nine whites" Chiu-pai, or eight white horses and one white camel.<sup>13</sup>

The Manchu Ch'ine dynasty had organized the Mongols into "Banners", each under a hereditary chieftain. These banners formed leagues, each with a captain - general and a deputy captain general, whose selection had to be approved by the Imperial Government. In Inner Mongolia leagues were directly under Li-Fan-Yuan in Peking, while those of Outer Mongolia were responsible to the Chiang-Chun or military governor of Uliastai in Uriankhai.<sup>14</sup> According to Peter S.H. Tang, the Manchu policy towards Mongolia had consisted of few principles, namely, division of Mongols into separate small units, segregation of the Mongols from the Chinese, favouritism toward the Mongol princes and encouragement of Lamaism. The internal administration was in the hands of the Mongols and the number of princes were increased, in order to

13. Tang, op. cit., p.281

14. Ibid, p.283

weaken Khutagt. However, this policy of Emperor K'ang Hsi had facilitated the maintenance of Manchu rule in Mongolia.

By 18th century whole geopolitical reality of the continent underwent major changes. Both China and Russia found necessary to deal with Mongolia. Following the Opium war (1840-42), which demonstrated Ch'ing weakness Russian pressure on the Amur increased. In 1850, the Russians violated the Treaty of Nerchinsk and a Russian post was established at Nikolayeusk. The Chinese could not prevent the Russians from moving into Mongolia. For the Russian the geopolitical importance of Mongolia became clear. Looking from this angle, Siberian Governor General Muraviev in a memorandum of 1854 had written that in the event the Manchu dynasty were overturned, "it ought not to be permitted that a new Chinese Government should extend its authority over Mongolia, which in such circumstances must be under our protection."<sup>15</sup>

Russian's primary interest in Mongolia was limited to economic matters. In 1860, the Russians established a trading firm in Urga. Thereafter, a number of Trade Agreements were signed between Russia and China. China allowed Russian merchants to trade in Mongolia free of duty in the Peking Trade Agreement of February 1862. More comprehensive Commercial Treaty was signed at St. Petersburg between China and Russia in 1881, which had been renewed twice, first in 1891, and second in 1901, and its third renewal was due in

15. Clubb, O.E., China and Russia "The great game"  
(New York, 1971) p.151

August, 1911. Towards the end of 19th Century, Russia begun to seek special railway rights in Manchuria and Mongolia. After the Russo-Japanese war in 1905, Japan emerged as a new force in the Far East. Earlier the activities of the Russians were concentrated in Manchuria, now they turned the greater part of their attention to Mongolia. Russia set up its first consulate at Uliastai in 1905, and at Kobdo in 1911. Russia's economic and commercial activities in Mongolia then increased in proportion to her political interest in the region.

With the increasing Russia's interest in Outer Mongolia, China which for almost two centuries had followed a buffer state policy with regards to Outer Mongolia, now adopted a new policy to prevent the loss of the Outer Mongolia to Russia. The new policy adopted by the Manchu Government was that of promoting Chinese colonization in Mongolia. In 1906 a bureau for the colonization of Mongolia was created in Peking to encourage Chinese emigration to Mongolia. The flow of Chinese settlers increased at the rate of about four miles a year into the Inner Mongolia and the large scale systematic assimilation of the Mongolian begun in Outer Mongolia.<sup>16</sup> It opened a colonization bureau in 1911 and increased garrison stationed at Urga. China also conducted political reforms in Outer Mongolia, the purpose was to abolish the autonomy of the Mongol princes in order to reduce Mongolia to the status of a chinese province

16. Ken Shen Weigh, Russo-Chinese Diplomacy 1689-1924  
Russian series/volume 3,  
(University Prints + Reprints,  
Bangor, Maine, 1928). p.155

and prevent Russian encroachments along the Mongolian frontier.<sup>17</sup>

The Mongols resented the new, aggressive policy of the Manchu Government. An assembly of Mongol Lamas and princes convened by the Jebdzandamba Khutagt in July 1911 decided to send a mission to St. Petersburg requesting that Outer Mongolia be made Russian protectorate. Although Russia acted with restraint, it did express its concern to Peking regarding the Manchu policies. Peking replied in effect that the reforms were for the good of the Mongols.

In October 1911, large number of Russian troops entered into Outer Mongolia under the pretext of protecting the Russian consulate at Urga. Although the help that Jedzandamba sought was Russian diplomatic protection rather than armed intervention. But Russia had a design of its own, it preferred to take a direct hand in Mongolian "Independence movement."<sup>19</sup>

1911 Revolution of China came soon after, it had an immediate effect on independence movement in Outer Mongolia. Mongols took the occasion to announce their separation from China in November, they formally proclaimed independence,

17. Tang, op. cit., o.295

18. Friters, Gerasd M., Outer Mongolia and its International Position  
(Baltimore, 1949) pp.56-60

19. Tang, op. at, p.298



declaring that:

"At the present time in the South, in the provinces of Manchuria and China, a seditions uprising is under way mencing the structure of the Manchu dynasty. Our Mongolia in its original founding was an individual state and for the reason of ancient right, Mongolia proclaims itself an independent state under a new government, endowed with authority to manage its affairs independently of others. In view of what has been stated above, let it be known that from now on we mongols shall obey neither Manchu nor Chinese officials, whose administrative authority is being complete abolished and who, as a consequence, should be sent to home.<sup>20</sup>

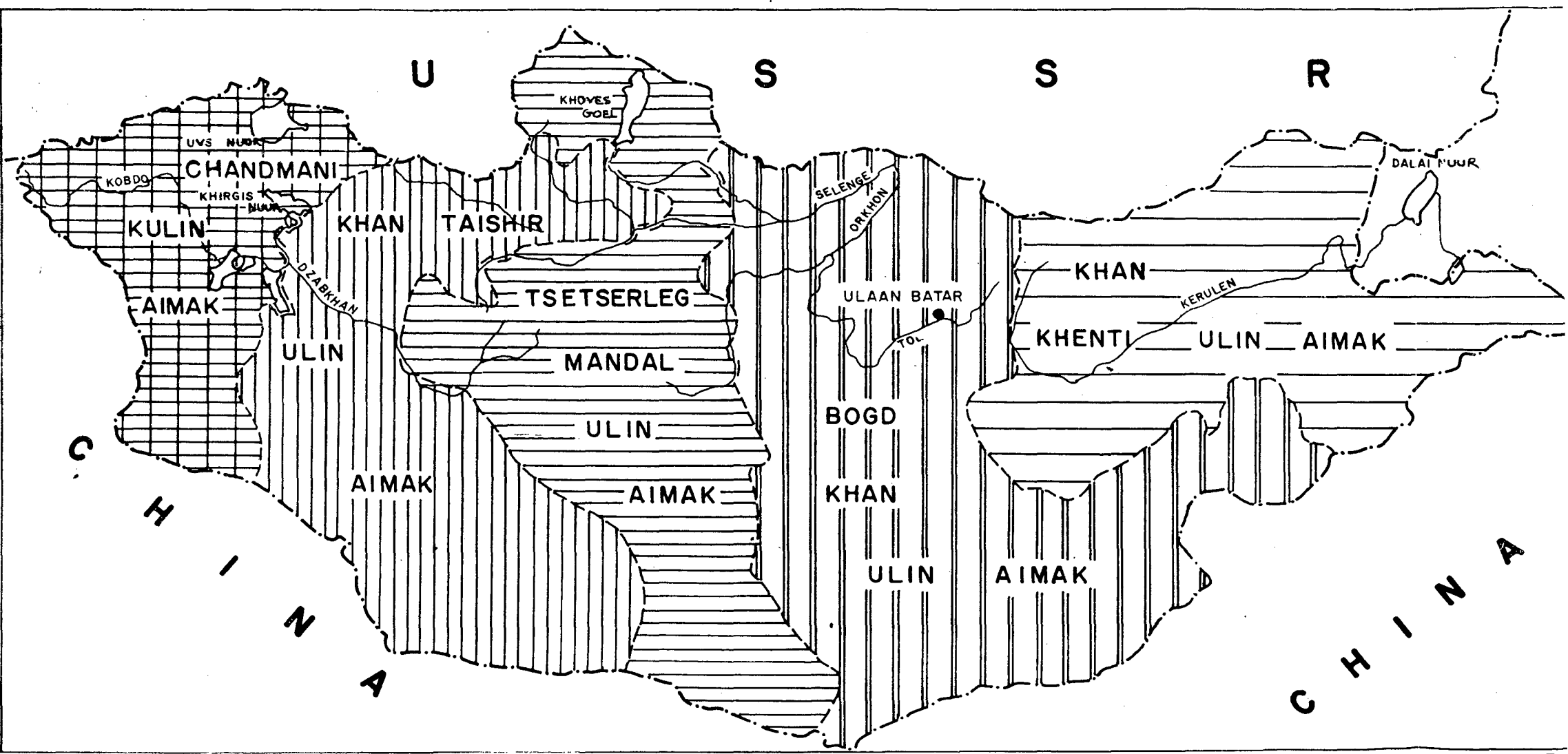
### III. The Mongolian Revolution of 1921

The Mongols desired Russian support for their aim of integrating Inner Mongolia into independent Mongolia. But the Chinese colonization had further enhanced the difference that existed between the two areas in their economic character.

The Declaration of 1911, resulted into the foundation of the Mongolia theocratic feudal state created condition for the emergence of the left wing, which had led the Mongolian Revolution of 11 July 1921. Newly born theocratic state, faced a crucial decade.

20. Ibid., pp.299-300

# MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC (1924)



On 3 November 1912, Russia and Outer Mongolia signed a bilateral agreement, according to which Russia would help in maintaining the autonomous regime. China on the other hand negotiated with Russia to get cancellation of the autonomy provided in the 1912 agreement. China was unsuccessful in this. But in a joint Sino-Russian declaration of 5 November, 1913, Russian recognized China's suzerainty over Outer Mongolia, China recognized Outer Mongolia's autonomous status. Two years later, a Sino-Russian Mongolia treaty concluded as a result of a tripartite conference was signed at Kiakhta on 7 June, 1915, established the autonomy of Outer Mongolia under the suzerainty of China. According to this agreement, Autonomous Mongolia had no right to conclude treaties of a political or territorial character with foreign power, but could have agreement concerning commercial and industrial nature. By virtue of this agreement Russia secured the right of free trade in the territory. The ruler of Outer Mongolia retained the title of "Bogd Jebdzandamba Khutagt Khan", meaning Great Venerable Sacred Reincarnated ruler, conferred upon him by the President of the Chinese Republic.<sup>21</sup>

By 1914 Russia and China clearly defined the territory to be included in Autonomous Mongolia. The November 1913 Russo-Chinese Agreement provided the inclusion of the Kabdo district in Mongolia. But Russia did not favour the inclusion of Inner Mongolia and Barga into Autonomous Mongolia. The Altai district of Sinkiang was also excluded. Russia agreed

to the occupation of Dariganga, on the South eastern Outer Mongolia border by Chinese troops. Russia also detached Uriankhai (Tannu Tuva) from Mongolia to include in the USSR. Thus the geographical extent of the new Mongolia included:

1. Dorbodín Togs Kalog dalai Khan aimak
2. Dorbodín Unen Zorigt Khan aimak
3. Kobdo Khaidzgaar
4. Dzasgt Khan aimak
5. Sain-noyon Khan aimak
6. Tushet Khan aimak
7. Dariganga
8. Tsetsen Khan aimak
9. Khoevsgoel Khaidzgaar

In 1917, the Tsarist Government of Russia was overthrown by a Bolshevik revolution, China, taking advantage of it, cancelled the autonomy of Outer Mongolia in November 1919. Eighteen months later the Chinese invaders were defeated by a small force Mongols led by White Russian-Ungern-Sternberg and Grigori M. Semenov, who had been thrown out of Russia by the Revolution of 1917. They became instrument of Japanese policy for the creation of a greater Mongolian state that would include Inner Mongolia, the Burga region of

The Treaty was drawn up in triplicate in the Chinese, Russian, Mongolian and French Languages. In case of dispute in interpretation of the Language the french text would be authoritative (22).

22. Mac Murray, J.V.A., Treaties and Agreements with and concerning China, 1894-1919, Vol.II  
p.1239
23. Clubb, op. cit., pp.175-76

Manchuria, Outer Mongolia, Uriankhai and Buryat Mongolia<sup>23</sup>

In 1918 a People Revolutionary Party was formed in Mongolia and in March 1921 a provisional Government was proclaimed at Kiakhta beyond the border of the country. On 10 April, the Provisional Government asked Moscow for military aid to fight the White Guard forces in Mongolia. The Soviet Government issued order for the deployment of Red Army, than engaged in a civil war in Siberia, against the Russian White Guard forces in Mongolia. A joint force of the Red Army and the Mongolian People's Party later the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party headed by Sukhe Batar, defeated the White Guard forces and also ended the Chinese occupation. The formation of an independent people's Government of Mongolia on 10 July, 1921, marked the victory of the Mongolian People's Revolution. The Jebdzandamba Khutagt became the first head of state. The Russian Soviet Federation of Soviet Republics recognized the Mongolian People's Republic on 5 November 1921.

#### 1921-1945

Soviet influence grew in Mongolia after she helped to make her independent. The Mongoles decided to follow on the Soviet's lines. Two side signed an agreement on an equal basis in Moscow on 5 November 1921. China protested the Soviet recognition of Mongolia. After a prolonged negotiations, in the Sino-Soviet treaty signed in Beijing on 31 May 1924

23. Clubb, Op. cit., pp.175-176

the USSR recognized Mongolia as an integral part of the Republic of China and acknowledged Chinese Sovereignty over Mongolia on paper.<sup>24</sup> This status of Mongolia continued until the Mongolian plebiscite of 20 October 1945.

After the Jebdzandamba's death the People's Government abolished the monarchy and disallowed the search for his reincarnation. The first People's great Assembly (Khural) accepted the national constitution on 26 November 1924 and proclaimed itself the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) in which all power belong to the people. The name of the capital was changed from Urga to Ulaan Batar 'Red Hero'.

By 1925, Mongolian had fully gravitated towards the USSR and the presence of Soviet troops was no longer necessary, a fact which was made clear by Georgi Vessilievich Chicherin Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs in his report on the international situation to the third session of the Central Executive Committee at Tiflies on 3 March, 1925, when he said "our contact with the Mongolian Republic is much closer. We recognize the Republic as part of the Chinese Republic, but we also recognize its autonomy, which is so broad that not only does Mongolia not permit any interference in its internal life on the part of China but also pursues its own independent foreign policy."<sup>25</sup>

24. Louis Nenzler "The status of Outer Mongolia in International Law" (American Journal of international, law, No.33, 1939) pp.442-464

25. Ken Shen, op. cit., pp.215-216

The Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) adopted Soviet policy and drafted a constitution on the pattern of Soviet constitution. Several important agreements signed between the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic. The Agreement of 1934 and the mutual assistance pact of 1936, between the two countries was signed for protection against Japanese aggression. On 11 May 1939 the Japanese troops attacked the Mongol guards in the vicinity of Nomonhan, a small hillock east of Buir Nuur and near the Khalkin Gol River. On 30 August 1939, the joint Soviet-Mongol forces defeated the Japanese military forces.

Mongolia did not participate in the European war of 1939-45. But she joined Soviet Union in 1945 in fighting against Japan. When the U.S. military strategists sought the Soviet participation into the Pacific war against Japan, President Franklin D. Roosevelt made a deal with J.V. Stalin at Yalta on 11 February 1945. According to the agreement, in return for the Soviet participation in the war against Japan, he agreed to preserve the status quo of Mongolia. After the defeat of Japan in 1945, China was left as a power in the Far East. On the same day Japan surrendered, the Sino-Soviet Treaty of Friendship was signed under the terms of the treaty, the USSR agreed to recognize and to support the Nationalist Government and to respect China's sovereignty over Manchuria and Sinkiang. The treaty was aimed at Japan, as the common enemy in the Far East in the near future. In return for Soviet promises, Chiang Kai-Shek pledged recognition of the

independence of the Mongolian People's Republic in her existing borders if the Mongols themselves expressed such a desire in a plebiscite. The plebiscite was held on 20 October 1945 and the Mongols voted unanimously in favour of independence. On 5 January 1946 the KMT Government formally recognized the independence of the Mongolian People's Party and quickly established diplomatic, cultural and Economic relation with it.

The Mongolian People's Republic recognized the communist Chinese People's Republic in October 1949, and Communist China specifically acknowledged the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic in the Sino-Soviet treaty of 14 February 1950. Following this the status of the Mongolian People's Republic began to change greatly. Mongolian People's Republic had already developed relation with the East European countries in the late 1940s. Following the emergence of new independent countries in Asia and Africa, Mongolia received a change to extent her contact in different direction. After its entry into the United Nations on 27 October 1961, the Mongolian People's Republic further consolidated her world status by exchanging diplomatic recognition with non-communist countries such as Britain, France and other West European countries.

The Mongolian People's Republic joined the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) of the Warsaw Pact powers on 7 June 1962 and became the first Asian nation to join the CMEA.

China tried to regain her lost position in Mongolia



in midfifties. Agreement relating to trade and cultural relation between the PRC and the Mongolian People's Republic was signed in Beijing on 4 October 1952. The PRC and the MPR also signed a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance in Ulaan Batar on 31 May, 1960.

After long negotiations the two countries signed a treaty to delimit their 4673 kilometer boundary in Beijing on 26 December, 1962, which has long been shown as under-terminated on Chinese map. The 1962 treaty between Beijing and Ulaan Batar strengthened the Mongolian legal position to territories it has claimed in the western sector where the two countries had clashed in 1947. It took year-long negotiation to conclude this treaty. The Chinese described its conclusion as "a major task of historic significance."<sup>26</sup> It is difficult to believe that Chinese claims upon Mongolia have been finally abandoned. It has accepted the Mongolia People's Republic reluctantly. Privately they still consider Mongolia as a lost territory which is legitimate part of the Greater China. The Chinese map published in 1964 has shown the whole of China's boundaries with the MPR as "undertermined"<sup>27</sup> the settlement of which has been announced on 26 December 1962. Relations between the CPR and the Mongolian People's Republic suffered greatly during the Cultural Revolution (1966-76).

26. Ram Rahul, Struggle for Central Asia (New Delhi, 1982) p.47

27. Watson, Francis, The Frontiers of China (New York, Praeger, 1966) p.102

The thirty-years treaty of friendship, alliance and mutual assistance concluded by Moscow and Beijing on 14 February 1950, which had also included the status of the Mongolian People's Republic also expired in 1979. It remains to be seen how the Chinese will move next on 15 January 1966 the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic signed a twenty years Treaty of Friendship and Mutual Assistance to replace the expiring 1946 agreement. Article 5 of the treaty guaranteed Mongolian's defence, security, independence, and territorial integrity in the event of interference by any third country. The treaty is certainly not favourable to Chinese interest in Mongolia.

## CHAPTER - 3

### The Evolution of Mongolia's International Boundaries

Mongolia's maximum space relation was in a geographical stratification from north-south. The Mongols contact with Chinese have been long and direct. The Chinese always used defensive frontier policy in the north to prevent the Mongols. A standard Chinese practice was to build long walls north of the main Great Wall, thus creating a frontier zone or pastoral zone, represented in recent centuries by Inner Mongolia a zone of maximum aridity which we call 'Gobi Desert'. The Chinese used the tribes of this zone for trade purposes. This traditional frontier policy was also practiced by the Ming Dynasty (1368-1644) who was compelled to retreat to within the Great Wall.<sup>1</sup> This kind of frontier policy accentuated the concept of "inner" and "outer" Mongolia.

The Manchus or Ching Dynasty in the 17th century carried its banners far beyond this system of defensive walls and established fortified outposts.

#### Mongolia-Russia Boundaries:

From the beginning of the seventeenth century, Russia was also expanding its empire into across Siberia. The coming together of Russians and Chinese in Asia therefore created great tension.

1. Owen, Lattimore, The Geographical Journal Vol. XXIX, Part I, March 1963, p.3

After conquering the whole of Siberia in the sixteenth century, Russia moved south ward to capture the land of the Kazakh, Kirghiz, and Western Mongolia. Although the Russians encountered difficulties in subduing the powerful tribal groups, they overcome the Buryat Mongols in 1640s. In 1651 they constructed the town of Irkutsk and reached Lake Baikal. The Russian justified their imperialist expansion by citing the need for defence against another possible invasion by the Mongols. Secondly the Russians had economic interest, as they were aware of the vast mineral resources of Siberia.<sup>2</sup> The third motive of the Russian according to the historians was Russian desire for direct relation with China.

The Russian advanced into Baikalia created the possibility of serious Russo-Chinese rivalry in Mongolia. The tribes of Western Mongolia had developed good relations with the Russians in Siberia, part of them later known as Kalmyk, had integrated freely to the volga. Altyn Khan prince of the western part of Khalkha infact acknowledged himself as a subject of the Tsar.<sup>3</sup>

While the southern Mongols were alliance with the Manchus. When the Khalka or northern Mongols were defeated by the Oriat ruler of Dzungaria, they applied to the Manchu

3. Morris Rossabi, China and Inner Asia  
From 1368 to the present day, (London, 1975), p.96.

4. Tang, Peter S.H., Russian and Soviet Policy in Manchuria and Outer Mongolia 1911-1931  
(Durham, N.C., 1959), p.280

Government of China for help, finally they placed themselves under the protection of the Manchu emperor K'ang Hsi in 1691.

After a period of attack and counter attack between Russian and Chinese forces, the Chinese were able to prevent the Russians from navigating the Amur by the treaty of Nerchinsk. The Treaty signed on 24 August 1689, was the first written Sino-Russian accord and, in fact, China's first such agreement with any European power. The crux of the problem was around Albazin a bone of contention for over twenty years. Russia finally sacrificed Albazin in attempt to end the border conflict. The boundary between the two empires was drawn along the Argun River and the Stanovoi Mountains. The treaty left the frontier west of the Argun River undemarcated.

Russia continued to claim certain areas in Outer Mongolia, west of Argun River. China, on the other hand was anxious to confirm its influence in Mongolia and eager to settle the Russo-Mongolian border.<sup>4</sup> By early 18th century, the Ching court had extended control over Mongolia and deployed its troops there. Russian caravans in this area was banned. The Ch'ing wanted to separate Mongolia from the Russian land east of Baikal, and eager to have Russian recognition of the Ching Empire's new frontier. By the end of the 1720s, the two governments set out to establish the frontier which had formed

4. Sladkovsky, M.I., The long Road: Sino-Russian Economic contacts from Ancient Times to 1917, (Moscow, progress Publishers, 1974), p.108

defacto as the frontier people and lands on either side were slowly incorporated by the two states.

The two years of negotiation first in Peking in 1726, then on the frontier resulted in the Treaty of the Bura on 20 August 1727, which settled the frontier near Kakhtha. The Kakhtha Treaty on 21 October 1727, also defined Sino-Russian political and commercial relations. The copies of the Treaty were exchanged in Russian Camp in Kakhtha on 14 June 1728.<sup>5</sup> This agreement marked the frontier eastward from Kakhtha to the Argun River, and westward from the same point to Shabina Debeg, a pass in the Sanyan Mountains. Russia recognized Chinese Sovereignty in Mongolia in the Treaty of Kakhtha. The Treaty however permitted Russia traders to cross Mongolia. The situation changed in 18th century when the whole geopolitical reality of the continent began to change. When the Ch'ing dynasty became weak because of the opium war (1840-42), the Russians violated the Treaty of Nerchinsk and a Russian post was established at Nikolayevsk. The Chinese could not prevent them from entering into Mongolia. Russia was expanding her empire on the expense of China. As Geogge Kennen pointed out, once established in Asia, Russia was compelled from "sheer geopolitical necessity" to protect from foreign penetration and domination those areas which lie adjacent to Russian borders, namely, Manchuria, Outer Mongolia, and Sinkiang.

Russia established its first trading firm at Urga in 1860. Thereafter, a number of Trade Agreements between China and Russia was signed on a official basis. Russia also wanted

special railway rights in Manchuria and Mongolia.

Japanese on the other hand, also wanted to expand her area of influence on Chinese territory watched the Russian advance in Manchuria carefully.<sup>6</sup> Russians were defeated by Japanese forces in 1905. Both Russia and Japan went on to define their respective spheres of influence in Inner Mongolia. Russia recognized Japan's influence in Inner Mongolia. In return, Russia's influence in northern Manchuria, outer Mongolia, and Sinkiang was recognized by Japan.

Russians concentration on Outer Mongolia increased after she was defeated by Japan. The first Russian consuls was set up at Uliastai in 1905 and at Kobdo of the Uriankhai district of Mongolia in 1911.<sup>7</sup> Russia's economic activities finally gave birth to Russia's political interest in the region. Thus the status (established by the Treaty of Kiakhta) maintained for nearly two centuries finally come to an end.

The Ch'ing dynasty began to practice a new policy of Chinese colonization of Mongolia in order to prevent Russian encroachments along the Mongolian frontier.<sup>8</sup> The Mongols were against the new aggressive policy of the Manchu. However, the Anti-Manchu risings in China proper had encouraged Outer Mongolia to declare her independence from Ching dynasty of China and restore her statehood. The Mongols were helped by the Russians in throwing off the Chinese Yoke. The Mongolia's

6. Jackson, W.A.D., Russo-Chinese Borderland (New York, 1962), p.41

7. Ram Rahul, Struggle for Central Asia. (New Delhi, 1982), p.11

8. Tang, op. cit., p.295

theory of independence was based upon the fact that "with the establishment of the Chinese Republic their allegiance to China had come an end, because it was to the Manchu Dynasty that they pledged their loyalty. Now with the overthrow of the Manchu the tie was, according to them, automatically severed".<sup>9</sup>

The Tsarist government quickly recognized the autonomy of Outer Mongolia by the agreement signed in Urga on 21 October 1912. The Chinese repudiated this agreement. However, joint Sino-Russian declaration of 5 November, 1913, recognized China's suzerainty over Outer Mongolia. This time both Russia and China by force reduced Outer Mongolia sovereignty to mere autonomy under the suzerainty of China.

The status of Outer Mongolia became more clear after two years, when a Sino-Russian Mongolian treaty, concluded as a result of a tripartite conference held in accordance with the Russo-Mongol agreement of 1912 and the Sino-Russian Agreement of 1913 at Kiakhta on 25 May 1915, split Mongolia into two parts. Inner Mongolia was made a part of China, and Outer Mongolia, an Autonomous state under the suzerainty of China. Russia secured the right of free trade in the territory. The treaty also confirmed for a formal delimitation of the boundary between China and Mongolia by a joint Sino-Russian-Mongolian Commission within two years from the date of that agreement.<sup>10</sup>

9. Ken, Shen, op. cit., p.160

10. Ram Rahul, op. cit., p.23



Thus, we have seen that the evolution of Mongllia-Russia boundaries, begun in the early 18th century. Much of it as delimited by a treaty between Russian and China. Specially in the treaty of Kiakhta, concluded in October 1727. The only recent modification occurred in 1944 when the USSR annexed Uriankhai or Tannu Tuva. Uriankhai formed the north-west part of Outer Mongolia, was occupied by Russian forces when they came in 1911, in support of the Outer Mongolia's autonomy. In 1914, it was detached as a Russian protectorate.

After the Russian revolution, Chinese troops returned to Outer Mongolia in 1919, it was briefly recovered. The Russians were back again in 1922. This time Uriankhai became the Tuvinian People's Republic and then the Republic of Tannu Tuva, which in 1926 entered into mutual recognition of independence with the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR). In 1944 Tannu Tuva was incorporated into Soviet Union as an Autonomous Republic. According to the 1864 Treaty of Chugachak, between Russia and China, Uriankhai referred to Northern Frontier of Mongolia as dividing the Chinese Empire from the Russian Empire.

The Soviet-Mongolian boundary 3,005 kilometres, which runs through a most difficult terrain, which is sparsely populated. It begins from the Altai Mountains in the extreme west and ends in the plateau and ranges of Trans-Baikalia in the east. The whole borderland consists of mountain ranges, thickly forested on the north but relatively dry and bare on the south.

The Altai forms the border between two countries in the extreme west. The Altai rise upto 4000 metres above sea level, receive heavy precipitation through out two year. It forms the watershed between the rivers flowing north award to the catchment area of the Arctic ocean and rivers flowing southward into the basins of Central Asia. The rivers flowing north wards are the Chuya, the Kamun and the Biya, which later join the Ob river.

East of Altai is the Sayan system which acts as a natural boundary between the USSR and the Mongolian People Republic. Republic of Tannu Tuvā, an enclosed upland basis, divided from the MPR by Tannu Ola Range. The Soviet-Mongolian boundary, after this point is formed by the Eastern Sayan. It is followed by a broad upland valley, on the north of Khoevsgoel lake, becomes a important routes connecting the north and central Mongolia with the cities of eastern Siberia, such as Irkutsk situated near Lake Baikal. The distance between the lake Khoevsgoel and Irkutsk city is approximately 350 kilometers. The boundary after this point runs along the Dzhedinsk Range upto the Selenge valley. The Selenge is the largest river of the Mongolian People Republic drains northward into Lake Baikal, creating a natural route between the Mongolian Peoples Republic and the Buryat Autonomous Republic of the USSR. It is Mongolia's most important trade route and provides an easy direct, and short, some 400 kilometer from Ulaan Batar to Ulan Ude.

East of the Selenga, the Soviet-Mongolian boundary rises into and across a series of mountains upto the Onon River. Many rivers rising in the Khentel flow northward to Siberia, cut across these mountain ranges. Compare to the Altai, the mountains here get low precipitation. The Onon River here drain northward to join Shilka River in the eastern Siberia. From the east of the Onon, the mountain give way to an extensive undulating plateau, an extention of Gobi desert. An important route from Choibalsan, in eastern Mongolia runs northward about 250 kilometers to Borzya town in eastern Siberia, passes through this plateau. It is relatively a dry area, consists of many small lakes. River Uldz rising in the Khentel dries up in this region. Little away on the east of this route the boundaries of the USSR, the MPR and the CPR meet. It forms trigunction on the west of Manchouli. From this point the Sino-Soviet boundary follows the Argun northward to Amur on the west of Khingan mountains.

#### Mongolia-China Boundaries:

The nature of Mongolia's boundaries has been related to the status of the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR). Until very recently the Mongolian People's Republic has been more than a setellite of the USSR and its southern boundary was de facto boundary between the USSR and the CPR.

The tripartite Treaty of 1915, signed by China, Russia and Outer Mongolia, which confirmed Outer Mongolia's autonomy and China's suzerainty, made a provision for a formal delimitation by a tripartite boundary Commission. Under Article

10 of the Agreement the territory of Autonomous Outer Mongolia was provisionally indicated. It comprise the regions which were under the jurisdiction of the Chinese Amban at Urga, the Tartar General at Uliastai, and of the Chinese Amban at Kabdo.<sup>10</sup> It connected with the boundary of China by the limits of the banners of the four aimaks or districts of Khalka and of the district of Kabdo, bounded by the district of Houlunboui (i.e. Hailar) on the east, by the province of Sinkiang on the South west and by the district of Altai on the west.<sup>11</sup> The Altai and Uriankhai regions were not involved in the struggle, over Outer Mongolia independence, because of the loyalty to China of the Chinese governor there - and also because Russia preferred the Mongolian Altai ranges as the western boundary of the autonomous state, the Chinese government in 1919 ordered the incorporation of the Altai district into Sinkiang province. Uriankhai was already detached by Russia in 1911, later made it one of its protectorates in 1914.<sup>12</sup> The formal delimitation of the boundary between China and Mongolia by joint Sino-Russian-Mongolian Commission was to be carried out within two years<sup>13</sup> from the date of that agreement, but the First World War and the Russian Revolution

10. Mac Murray, J.V.A., Treaties with and concerning China 1894-1914 Vol. II (New York, 1921), p.1067

11. Jackson, op.cit., p.114-115

12. Watson, Francis, The Frontiers of China (New York, praeger, 1966), p.45

13. Ram Rahul, op.cit., p.23

interrupted the process of fixing the boundary. Soviet map, however, indicated as fixed international boundary but the Chinese communist map had shown as undetermined.

The Russian Revolution of 1917, offered China an opportunity to reassert its control over Outer Mongolia. It cancelled the autonomy of Outer Mongolia on 22 November 1919.

The Japanese also, on the other hand, attempted to profit from trouble in Russia during the Civil War. They encouraged anti-communist leader of Siberia to prevent the Communist government into the region. In Mongolia, they helped White Russian Ungern-Sternberg and Grigori M. Semenov anti Soviet leaders in the Russian Civil war to create a Pan-Mongol state.<sup>14</sup> The White Russians with the help of Mongols defeated the Chinese invaders. The Chinese lost last chance in the 20th century to bring Outer Mongolia back into the Chinese sphere.

The activities of the White Russian Guards provided the Soviet Union enough justification for their interference in the Mongolian revolutionary movement. With Soviet help, Mongol radical leaders created communist Mongolian People's Republic in 1921. The Soviet Union effectively detached the Mongolian People's Republic from Chinese control and strated to have greater influence on the republic. The Japanese objective was also to replace Chinese domination in Inner Mongolia. Japan and China were the main foreign countries involved in Mongol politics from this time onwards.

14. Clubb, O.E., China and Russia "The Great Game"  
(New York, 1971) pp.175-76

In early 1930, confrontation between Japan and the Soviet Union in China's border lands has been building up. The Japanese occupation of Jehol in 1933, and Japanese inspired action in Chahar, in 1934 were taken by the Soviet and the Mongol alike to be the development of a threat, against the Mongolian People's Republic. The Japanese demanded revision of the common boundary in the vicinity of Buir Nuur to the benefit of Manchoukuo, which laid claim to MPR's territory south of the lake. In November 1934, Moscow and Ulaan Batar entered into an understanding of joint defense. In late January 1935, there was a serious clash between the Manchoukuo and Mongolian forces along the Khalkhin River near Buir Nuur. The issue focussed on the exact location of the boundary, and the two countries held a conference at Manchouli for the purpose of resolving the border problem. The conference failed as the Mongolia People's Republic rejected the Japanese demand of admitting the Japanese Military observers and establishing military telegraph line on its territory for better communication with Japan and Manchoukuo. It was announced through the Manchoukuo press that:

Manchoukuo does not consider Mongolia an ordinary normal state, and therefore Manchoukuo now claim (sic proclaims?) that, viewing Outer Mongolia as an incomprehensible and dangerous country, it intends to regulate all issues and settle all dispute by force of the arms as it sees fit.<sup>15</sup>

15. Ibid., p.296

There was another armed clash at Bulan Dersu in the Buir Nuur sector in mid December, 1935. The Soviet Union proposed the establishment of a mixed commission to investigate such border incidents. But Japanese preferred to have the situation remain fluid. A more serious military clash occurred in the same vicinity between the two powers in February 1936. Stalin, in a interview on 1st March 1936 with the American Journalist Roy Howard, had stated, "If Japan should venture to attack the Mongolian People's Republic and encroach upon its independence, we will have to help.....we will help the MPR just as we helped it in 1921."<sup>16</sup>

On 12 March 1936 the Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic signed a protocol of Mutual assistance including military aid, in the event of an attack upon either of the contracting parties. Meanwhile Japanese preferred to attack the MPR. On 11 May 1939 the Japanese troops suddenly attacked the Mongol guards in the vicinity of Nomonhan, a small hillock east of Buir Nuur and near the Khalkhin Gol River. On 31 May 1939 V.M. Molotov the Soviet Comissar for Foreign Affairs, referred to the mutual assistance pact of 1936 between the two countries and announced that the Soviet Union would defend the borders of the Mongolian People's Republic. Moscow assigned General Zhukov to command the Joint Soviet-Mongol operation. The Japanese had organized their main strength into a special Sixth Army. The Japanese attacked on 7 August, General Zhukov launched a counter offensive on 20

16. Rupen, Rebert, Mongols of the Twentieth Century (The Hgne, 1964), Vol. I, p.226

August. On 30 August, the joint Soviet Mongol forces destroyed the Japanese forces, Japan lost about 55,000 men of whom 25000 were killed.<sup>17</sup> On 16 September, Japan and the USSR concluded an agreement to terminate hostilities on the Mongol-Manchukuo border as of that date, with each side to remain in occupation of their position as at 1.00 p.m., Moscow time on 15 September.<sup>18</sup> They also agreed on the setting up of a joint boundary commission to demarcate a precise boundary between the MPR and Manchukuo in the area of conflict. The Commission which met in Chitta in the USSR and in Harbin in Manchoukuo respectively reached an agreement in May 1942.<sup>19</sup> The Mongolian People's Republic first boundary negotiations were with Japan, both shared 1700 kilometers long common border.

The tripartite Treaty of 1915 noted that because there were no detailed maps of the borderlands, and because some boundaries were uncertain, the boundaries would be settled at a later date. The Russian Revolution and new political development in Outer Mongolia interrupted the process of fixing the boundary. Since then the first step to final agreement of the Sino-Mongolian boundary was taken on 14 August 1945, when China agreed with the USSR to recognize the Independence of the Mongolian People's Republic in her existing border if the Mongoles themselves expressed such a desire in

17. Coox, Alvin.D., "Changkufeng and the Japanese" Threat to Vladivostok 1938 (Journal of Asia History, 5, No.2, 1971) pp.119-39

18. Clubb. op. cit., p.318

19. Ram Rahul, politics of Central (New Delhi, 1973) p.24





a plebiscite. In the plebiscite on 20 October 1945 the Mongols voted in favour of Independence which China recognized on 5 January 1946.

A comparison of the location of the boundary claimed by each side before December 1962 revealed some discrepancies. Due to the absence of precise alignment in the western Ch<sup>n</sup> section of the Sino-MPR, a clash had occurred between China and the MPR. China protested to the USSR and the MPR for entering deep into the vicinity of Peitashan. The MPR claimed Peitashan to be within its territory. The Mongols were thus left in possession of the territory they claimed. (See Map 4 ).

Following the communists revolution in China, the new Chinese regime agreed to Mongolian independence and established a diplomatic mission at Ulaan Batar.

Article 55 of the common program of the Chinese People's Political Consultative Conference of 29 September 1947<sup>20</sup> had declared that the Central People's Government of the PRC shall study the treaties and agreements concluded between the Kuomintang and foreign governments and shall recognize, abrogate, revise or renegotiate with them according to their respective contents. The MPR was a product of Kuomintang diplomacy. In the Sino-Soviet diplomatic discussion of 1949, the bone of contention turned out to be Mongolia. Soviet sources revealed that Mao Zedong confronted the Soviet leadership with the problem of merging the MPR with China. However, the Soviet Union and the PRC, in an exchange of notes

20. Ginsburgs, George and Pinkele, Carl F.,  
- The Sino-Soviet Territorial Dispute (1949-64)

of 14 February 1950 arrived at a fresh understanding in which both countries formally acknowledged that "the Independent Status of the Mongolian People's Republic is fully guaranteed as a result of the referendum held in Outer Mongolia in 1945, which attested to its desire for independence and as a result of the Chinese People's Republic's establishment of diplomatic relation with it." The Soviets thus got the communist Chinese to sanction, the juridical consequences of the 1945 correspondence pertaining to Mongolia. In the beginning of 1960s, the CPR modified its frontier policy and pointed out that the PRC and each of its neighbours would work out a mutually more satisfactory and precise graph of their joint periphery through peaceful negotiations between their governments. The boundary pact with Burma, Nepal and Afghanistan was concluded in Beijing on 1 October 1960, 5 October 1961 and 22 November 1962 respectively. The Sino-MPR boundary stretching for 4673 km (2902 miles) was then defined for the first time in Beijing on 26 December 1962, which has long been shown as undetermined on Chinese map. The description of the demarcation was published on 30 June 1964, but it has not been officially translated and published by either government.

The Sino-MPR boundary traces mostly through the inaccessible Gobi desert marked by 678 cement and rock markers located at 639 turning points.<sup>21</sup> The lack of geographical

21. Prescott J.R.V., Collier, H.J., Prescott, D.R.,  
Frontier of Asia and South East Asia  
(Melbourne University Press, 1977) p.14

features in the desert have posed difficulties in delimiting the boundary. The boundaries in the extreme east and extreme west are marked purely based on the fluvial and topographic features, since the two regions consist of several mountain ranges, rivers and lakes. Except for few roads, no other cultural features were used while fixing up the boundary. In the absence of physical and cultural features, the MPR's southern boundary is drawn in through desert.

Although the details of the terms have not been known yet, it had dealt with number of territorial discrepancies. China abandoned its most of claims in favour of the MPR. China was however able to get concession in two areas which was shown on Mongolian map as lying within Mongolia. One in Dzamin Uvd and another in Khalkin-Gol area.

It is difficult to believe that Chinese claims upon Mongolia have been finally abandoned. The C.P.R Government still consider Mongolia as a lost territory. The Chinese map published in 1964 has shown the whole of China's boundaries with the Mongolian People's Republic as "Undetermined" the settlement of which has been announced on December 26, 1962.

## CHAPTER - 4

### ECONOMIC TRANSFORMATION AND POLITICAL INTEGRATION

The Mongolian People's Revolution was a watershed in the history of modern Mongolia. The Mongolia People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) formed in March 1921, took the task of integrating Mongolia into the communist system. The party modeled its institution closely on those of the USSR. The first Mongolian constitution adopted the path of non-capitalist development. In the last sixty years, the country successfully transformed its society from feudalism and backwardness to socialist society. The growing nationalism and sense of responsibility of the individual Mongol has, however been the main factor in the formation of the nation state. The transformation of Mongolian society took place in two stage. The Democratic stage (1921-1940) and Socialist stage (1940-1960).

The Mongolia People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) consolidated the people democracy in the form of arat Khurals, both in the centre and locally. The dictatorship of working class was able to accomplish the tasks of the general democratic stage of the revolution. In the first democratic stage of revolution, the party systematically attacked and destroyed the Church, which was the major integrating force in Mongolian Society,<sup>1</sup> and developed its own substitute. By a series of legal measures in the 1930s, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) and the formal government undermined

1. Shirendyb, By-passing capitalisation  
(Ulan Bator, MPR state Publication, 1968)p.52

the power of the Church and brought about the end of religious sector. Though the revolutionary party faced counter-revolutionary forces in many parts of the country especially in the Kobdo district in Western Outer Mongolia<sup>2</sup> in 1920's and 1930's.

By 1939 the Mongolian People's Republic had been effectively integrated with the communist system of stage. The VIII the People's Khural held in 1940 discussed the period of democratic revolution and described the MPR as "State of the working people (the arates who go in for stock-farming, the workers and intelligensia)", a sovereign, independent state ensuring the non-capitalist way of development.<sup>3</sup>

After the completion of the democratic stage of revolution, the party resumed the construction of socialism in the Mongolian People's Republic. The process of socialism consisted in consolidation of the socialist sectors, intensive and extensive industrialization, the strengthening of the socialist enterprises in agricultural on the basis of long term planning. The 8th great People's Khural in 1940 adopted new constitution of the Mongolian People's Republic. The first five-year plan begun in 1948. Thereafter the socio-economic structure of the Mongolian People's Republic changed rapidly. In 1941, a joint resolution of the Council of the MPRP announced the introduction of the cyrillic alphabet to replace

2. Rupen, Robert A., The Mongolian People's Republic (California, Stangord University, 1966) p.33

3. The Mongolian People's Republic (Ulan Bator Union of Mongolian Journalists, 1981), p.31

the traditional script. During this stage of revolution, the Mongolian People's Republic received large assistance from the Soviet Union. The constitution issued in 1960 discussed the results of the revolutionary transition of Mongolia from feudalism to socialism. "The Mongolian People's Republic is a socialist State of workers, Cooperative farmers (the arates which go in for stock-farming and the peasants of arable farming) and the working intelligentsia, basing on the alliance of the working class with the Cooperative farmers."<sup>4</sup>

In the sixties, the socialist stage entered into a new period - the period of consummation of socialist construction. The XVth party congress in June 1966, defined the goal of this period" to develop the productive forces of the socialist society on the basis of the result achieved by scientific technical progress in our time to a highest possible degree to ensure a high growth rate of the economic potential of the country and the rise of socialist structure, to complete the socialist social conditions, to intensify the communist education of the working people and to come on this basis to a further rise of the material and cultural living standard of the people."

The Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) has successfully carried out the five year plan and the country has become a socialist agrarian-industrial state. The Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party described the (MPR) Mongolian People's Republic in the XVII the party congress held

4. Ibid., p.32

in 1976. "Our homeland, the Mongolian People's Republic has made a further big step in the realization of the programmatic goals of the party directed to creating the material technical basis of socialism".<sup>5</sup>

Today the communist party of the Mongolian People's Republic is firmly in control in Mongolia and the influence of the Soviet Union is dominant in the country. The Mongolian People's Republic reached to this stage with the help of Soviet Union, indeed all new economic enterprises and activities depend on Soviet initiative and Soviet equipment. The Mongolian People's Republic is an active member of the socialist state community. Membership in the United Nation and diplomatic relation with various communist and non-communist countries has surely encouraged Mongolian nationalism and it has further strengthened recently because of the growth of Centralization, unification, and education. But the Mongols are aware of the limitations imposed on them by their geographic position.

#### Patterns of Economic Development:

The economic processes have always been linked with the political processes that have developed over the time in Mongolian People's Republic. Without the steady economic development, the country would not have been able to achieve the stage of development, which the Mongols enjoy now. The process of development involved proper realization and utilization and its environmental opportunities, intensive and

5. Ibid., p.33



extensive Industrialization and agriculture. The level of economic development and the distribution system of its materials to all the parts of country has become the major integrating force in Mongolian Society.

Mongolia being a land-locked country, faced many problems regarding its transportation infrastructure which has directly and indirectly influenced both the economic and political aspect of the development of the state. Attempt have been made in this Chapter to analyse the factors of transportation and population in the process of economic development and political integration of the state.

The role of transport facilities:

Transportational developments, particularly the construction of both road and railway network, have held the key to the economic development of the Mongolian People's Republic in the post revolution period. The countries old means of transport such as horses, camels, and yaks have been replaced by all types of modern transport. Over the last 60 years, the Mongolian People's Republic has completely modernized its communications network.

The first state traffic enterprise in Mongolia was opened in 1925. Introducing the mechanized transportation system for the first time only seven motor vehicles carried 4000 tons of goods a year<sup>6</sup> with the soviet assistance, the Mongolian People's Republic introduced for the first air transport and shipping transport in 1926. The first narrow-

6. Mongolian People's Republic, op. cit., p.109

gauge railway line of the country between Ulaan Batar and the coal mine "Nalaykh" with a length of 43 kilometers was started in 1938. Soon after, in 1939, a new railway line with a length of 237 kilometers was started in the eastern part of Mongolia between Choibalsan and the Soviet Union. In 1940's Ulaan Batar was further linked with other cities of Siberia such as Ulan-Ude and Naushki.

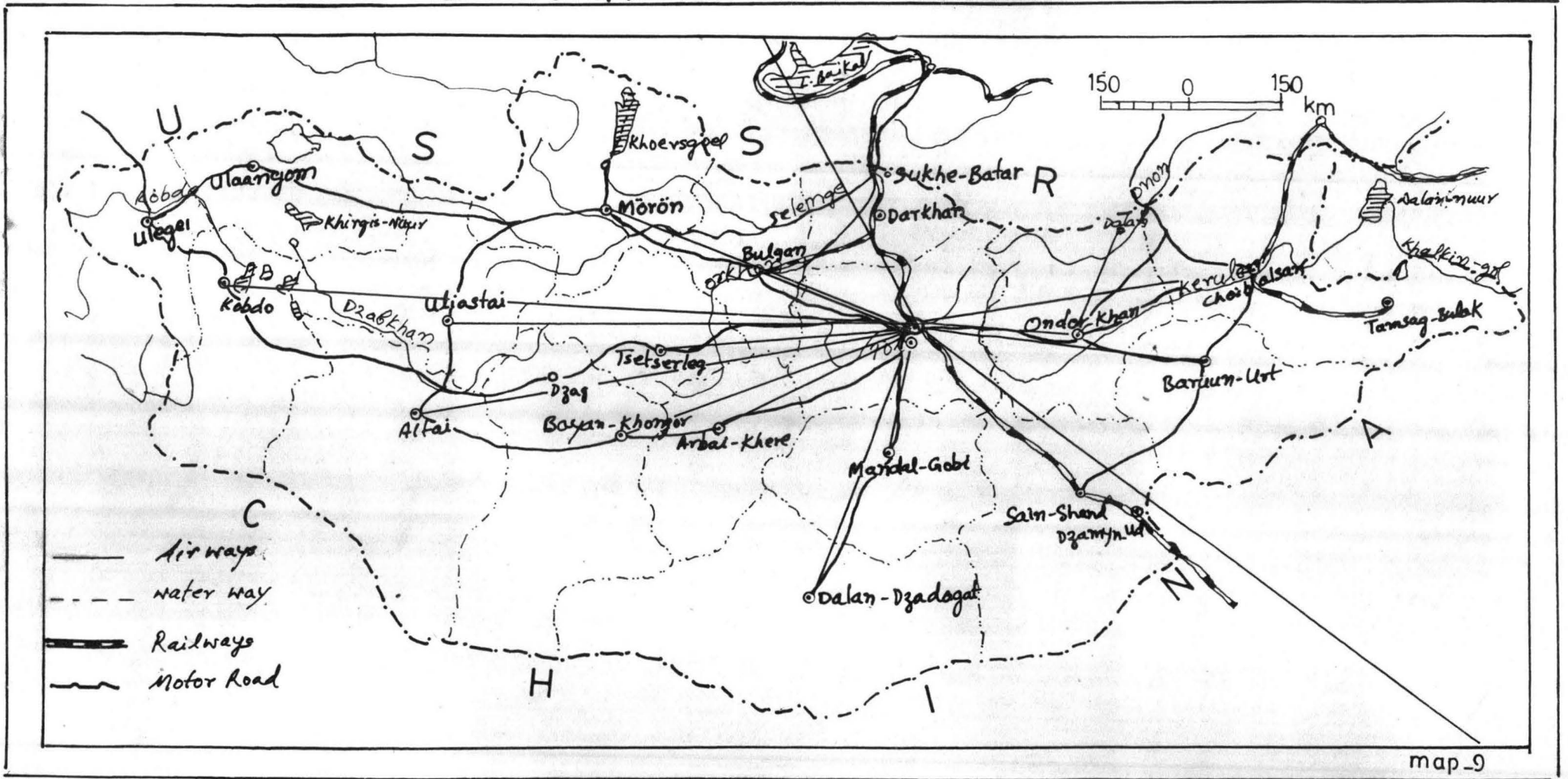
The Mongolian-Soviet limited company "Ulaan Batar-Railway" was founded in 1947. Further extension of railway lines were started in following years. By 1955, another 700 kilometers lines were laid in south-eastern part of the country.<sup>7</sup> The development of Industrial activities in Darkhan, led to the construction of a new railway line between Darkhan and Sharyn-Gol coal mine with a length of 75 kilometers.

Today the total length of the railway line comes to 1,500 kilometers and covers, 70 percent of the goods transportation in the country. The Trans-Mongolian Railway is well connected with many industrial towns of the USSR and People's Republic of China.

After the 2nd world war, Mongolia made a rapid development in her transportation system. This was necessary, for rapid economic transformation and political integration of the country. All efforts were made to develop circumferential transportational network connecting the various regional economic centre with the capital of the state, for the distribution of industrial as well as agricultural raw materials and

7. Ibid., p.110

# TRANSPORT NETWORK IN THE M.P.R.



finished market products.

Almost in all the five-year plans the development of road was given a high priority. Road transport is the most popular and widespread transport system in the Mongolian People's Republic, which account for 60 percent of goods and 98.5 percent of passenger traffic. (See Table 1a) Road transport accounts for 30.6 percent of total freight turnover in the country (See Table 1b).

The Mongolian People's Republic's civil aviation has made rapid progress during the last two decades. The regular air services between Ulaan Batar and Moscow started in 1945. Air routes link the capital with all aimak centres, and 70 percent of the goman centres<sup>8</sup> with a total length of 33,600 kilometre airway, air transport accounts for 0.1 percent of total freight turnover in the country. It also make regular flights on several international routes. (See Map 9)

Apart from these means of transportation, there exist 1000 kilometre long inland water transport, which plays a significant role in the transport of domestic traffic.

#### Population:

According to the census taken in 1981, the population of the Mongolian People's Republic was 1,685,400 of which 70 percent is Khalkhas. With the annual rate of population growth more than 2.5 percent (See table 3 and 4). The population of the country has increased phenomenonly after

8. The 60th Anniversary of People's Mongolia  
Op.cit., p.68

TABLE - 1a

PASSENGERS CARRIED BY TYPES OF TRANSPORT

(as percentage of total)

Transport	1940	1950	1960	1965	1970	1975	1976	1977	1978	1970	1980
Railway	-	-	233	1.5	1.4	1.2	1.2	1.44	1.3	1.2	1.1
Road	100	100	97.4	98.0	98.2	98.4	98.4	98.2	98.3	98.4	98.5
Air	-	-	0.3	0.5	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4	0.4

TABLE -1b

FREIGHT TURNOVER BY TYPES OF TRANSPORT

(as percentage of total)

Transport	1940	1950	1960	1965	1970	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980
Railway	-	37.4	93.1	67.9	70.8	69.1	71.8	68.0	67.7	69.8	69.2
Road	100	62.6	6.8	31.8	28.9	30.6	28.0	31.8	32.1	30.0	30.6
Air	-	-	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1
Water	-	-	0.1	0.2	0.2	0.2	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1	0.1

Source: National Economy of the MPR (Ulaan Batar, 1981) p.373 & p.362

TABLE - 3POPULATION OF THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

(in thousand)

	1918	1940	1950	1960	1970	1981
Total Population	647.5	738.6	758.7	936.9	1230.5	1685.4
Male	330.2	360.5	372.7	467.6	613.8	844.0
Female	317.3	378.1	386.0	469.3	616.7	841.4
	1956	1963	1969	1979	1980	1981
I. Rural Population	662.5	608.3	670.2	778.0	800.6	824.0
II. Urban Population	183.0	408.8	552.7	817.0	839.1	861.4
III. Ulaan Batar	118.4	223.7	267.4	402.3	418.7	435.4

Source: National Economy of the MPR, (Ulaan Batar, 1981),  
pp.80 and 85.

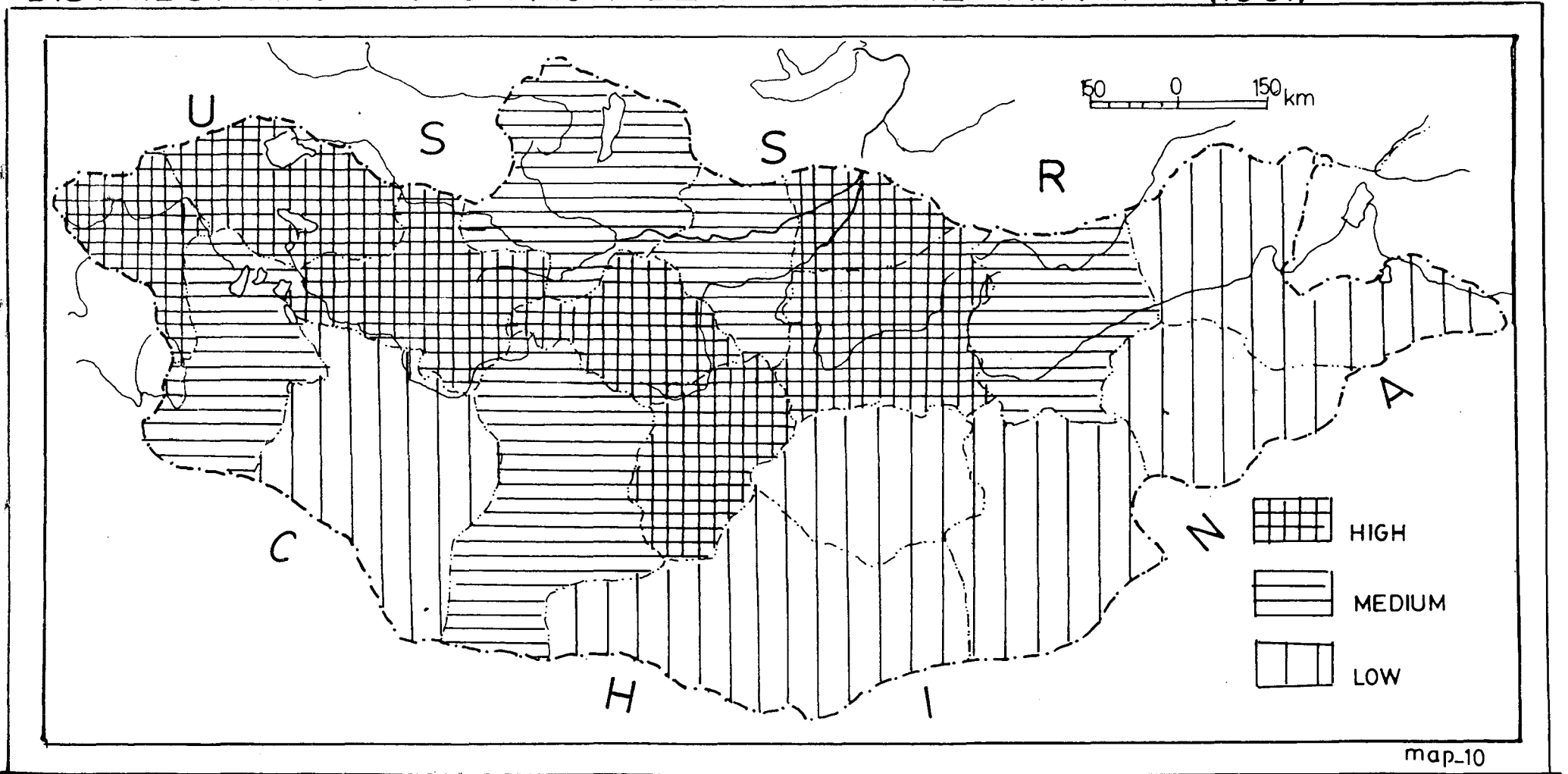
TABLE - 4POPULATION GROWTH RATE

Year	Population in thousand	Percentage rate of increase
1918	647.5	-
1925	651.7	0.64
1940	738.6	11.76
1950	758.7	2.64
1960	936.9	19.02
1965	1076.0	12.92
1970	1230.5	12.55
1975	1424.4	13.61
1976	1466.9	2.89
1977	1512.4	3.00
1978	1553.6	2.60
1979	1595.0	2.59
1980	1639.7	2.72
1981	1685.4	2.71

Source: National Economy of the MPR,  
(Ulaan Batar, 1981), p.75



# DISTRIBUTION OF POPULATION DENSITY IN THE M. P. R. (1981)



1960.

The present pattern of population distribution can be correlated with the pattern of economic activities in Mongolia. It is interesting to note that more than half of the population of the country is Urban population. On the other hand the spatial variations in the relative intensity is attributed to the contrasting physical environmental conditions prevailing in the country. The population map of the Mongolian People's Republic shows an uneven distribution of its population.

Among the factors for the uneven distribution of the country's population are -

- (1) The existence of favourable climate for agricultural production in the northern and western part of Mongolia.
- (2) Most of the country's rivers are concentrated in the northern and western part of the country.
- (3) Rapid growth of Industrialization and Urbanization has further accentuated the growth of population in the selected nodes of the country.

Although the national average for the density of population is 1.6 person per square kilometre, there are acute regional variation which tend the southern and eastern regions of the country to be isolated from the densely populated areas of western, northern and central regions of the country.

Table 5 shows the relationship between the area and size of the population as well as the regional variation (See Map 10).

TABLE 5

RELATIONSHIPS BETWEEN AREA AND POPULATION (1981)

Name of Aimaks	Total area thousand Km	percen- tage*	Total Popu- lation	percen- tage**	Density per Km.	Populati on of capital cities
<u>Arakhangai</u>						
Arakhangai	55	3.51	79.3	4.68	1.44	14.9
Bayan Ulegei	46	2.93	74.5	4.42	1.62	18.8
Bayan-Khongor	116	7.40	65.3	3.87	0.56	15.5
Bulgan	49	3.12	43.5	2.58	0.89	11.4
Gobi-Altai	142	9.06	58.0	3.44	0.41	13.8
Dornod Gobi	111	7.08	44.9	2.66	0.40	11.3
Dornod	123.5	7.88	61.9	3.67	0.50	28.6
Dund Gobi	78	4.97	40.8	2.42	0.52	10.4
Dzabkhan	82	5.23	81.7	4.84	1.00	16.3
Uver Khangai	63	4.02	86.0	5.10	1.37	12.4
Omnd Gobi	165	10.53	34.1	2.02	0.21	10.1
Sukhe Batar	82	5.23	44.6	2.64	0.54	11.6
Selenge	42.8	2.73	69.9	4.14	1.63	14.4
Tov	81	5.17	84.4	5.00	1.04	10.0
Uvs Nuur	69	4.40	74.8	4.43	1.08	17.9
Kobdo	76	4.85	64.5	3.82	0.85	17.6
Khoevsgoel	101	6.44	91.1	5.40	0.90	16.5
Khentei	82	5.23	55.6	3.29	0.68	
<u>Cities</u>						
Ulaan Batar	2	0.12	435.4	25.83	217.7	
Darkhan	0.2	0.01	56.4	3.34	282.0	
Erdenet	-	-	38.7	2.29	-	
The M.P.R.	1566.5	100.00	1685.4	100.00	1.88	

\* Area percentage of aimaks and cities in relation to the total area of the country.

\*\* percentage of aimaks and cities in relation to the total population of the country.

Following are main factors responsible for the variation in distribution of population.

- (a) A belt of relatively high population density striking north, northwest and central regions along the selenge and Orkhon river valley include the aimakes such as, selenge, Tov, Uver Khangai, Arakhangai, Dzabkhan, Uvs-Nuur, Khoevsgoel and Bayan-Ulegei. The pattern like this can be correlated with the general reduction in aridity from south to north and east to west. The whole region is extremely favourable for livestock breeding and crop farming.
- (b) Medium density are seen in the mountainous regions of Altai, Khangai and Khentei. The aimaks such as, Bulgan, Bayan-Khongor, Kabdo in Altai mountains, and Khentei in Khentei mountain have medium concentration of population. This is primarily due to large concentration of agricultural activities along the foot hills and alluvial fans, where brown and dark soil produce the best fodder crops.
- (c) the low density region runs in east west direction covering the entire Gobi desert:  
This region is characterised by extreme physical environmental conditions. It includes the aimaks such as Gobi-Altai, Domo-Gobi, Dornod, Dund-Gobi, Omno Gobi and Sukhe-Batar aimak. Omno or soth Gobi aimak has the lowest density of population with only 0.21 person per sq. km.

Unlike many other Asian countries, Mongolian People's Republic has high percentage of Urban population. According to census taken in 1981, the urban population constitutes 51.1 per cent of total population. Since the time government had formulated and implemented its economic development plan, the growth of urban areas has been very high. Although there are three major developed cities, Ulaan Batar alone shares 50.5 per cent of total urban population and 25.8 percent of total national population. Ulaan Batar has become not only major administrative and commercial centres, but also a centre of intense agricultural and industrial activities.

Darkhan is the second largest urban populated city. Other important urban areas are, Erdenet, Choibalsan, Sukhe-Batar, Kobdo, Moron, Uliastai and Baga-Nur.

#### Agriculture:

Agriculture is the basis of Mongolia's economy. Live stock breeding is the dominant branch, shares 80.8 percent of total agricultural output, contributing 15.4 percent of the national income. More than 40 per cent of its total population is engaged directly in agriculture, which make up 80 per cent of Mongolia's exports.<sup>9</sup> (Table 6)

Mongolia's vast area is dominated by a hilly plateau broken by the Mongolian Altai, Khengai and Khentei mountains systems. The entire northern part of the country is grass land,

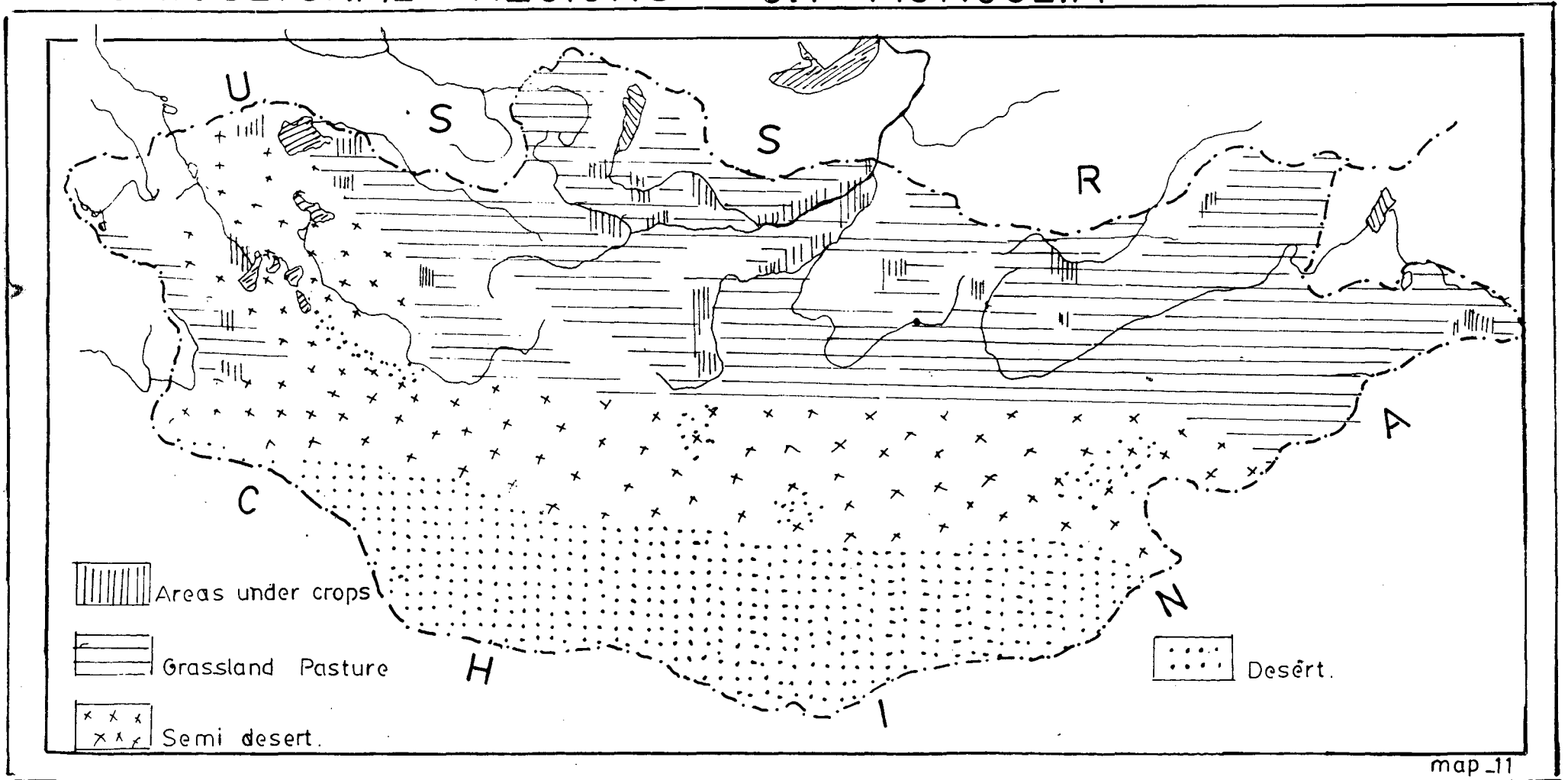
9. Maksakovsky V.P., The Economic Geography of the World  
(Moscow, Progress Publishers, 1979)  
p.136

TABLE 6

GROSS AGRICULTURAL OUT PUT (in present)

	<u>1940</u>	<u>1960</u>	<u>1970</u>	<u>1980</u>
Livestock	99.6	71.8	81.6	80.8
Crops	0.4	28.2	18.4	19.2
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>

# AGRICULTURAL REGIONS OF MONGOLIA



followed by semi desert and desert in the south. Dark brown and brown soils, combined with black and whitish predominate in the steppes and semi-deserts. Dry autumn and winter and with little snow combine to provide favourable conditions for livestock breeding. The following Table indicates the major categories of land utilization in the country in thousand hectares. (See Table 7)

The total agricultural area estimated to be 124,587,000 hectares of which 123,405,000 hectares or 99.0% of the total agricultural area is meadows and pastures. Both arable and plough-land form only 1% of the total agricultural area, confined to a large tracts of alluvial soil in the river valleys of Mongolia. The bulk of waste land lies in East and South Mongolia which are extensive areas of Gobi desert that lie beyond the range of river waters. The vast pasturlands provide grazing grounds for millions of livestock (See Table 8) (Also See Map 11).

The Mongolian People's Republic has the highest per capita livestock member in the world. The government of the Mongolian People's Republic since 1940 has introduced complex mechanization, new technology and new labour organization in order to increase the efficiency of cattle breeding. Traditionally, the livestock breeding faced many hazards like lack of winter and spring fodder, local shortage of water for the stock and the unpredictable variation of seasonal weather. However, these problems being overcome with Soviet help. In 1980, the



TABLE 7MONGOLIA : AGRICULTURAL AREAS

(Thousand hectares)

Category	1960	1970	1980
Arable Land	532	744	1182
Plough Land	447	650	1021
Meadows and Pastures	140151	139939	123405
Total Agricultural Area	140683	140683	124587

source: National Economy of the MPR (1921-1981) Handbook published by Central Statistical Board under the Council of Ministers of the MPR Ulaan Batar, 1981, p.223

TABLE 8

NUMBER OF LIVESTOCK IN THE M.P.R.

(Thousand of head)

Year	Livestock Total	Camels	Horses	Cattle	Sheep	Goats
1950	22702.2	884.2	2317.0	1987.6	12574.6	4978.6
1960	23000.5	859.1	2502.7	1905.5	12101.9	5631.3
1970	22574.9	633.5	2317.9	2107.8	13311.7	4204.0
1980	23771.4	591.5	1985.4	2397.1	14230.7	4566.7

the country harvested 1125400 tons of hay, the bulk of which is reaped in Khangai region alone.<sup>10</sup>

Thousands of artesian wells have been dug where the stock can be watered and enclosures and shelters put up to protect them from the severe icy weather special breeding stations and veterinary centres has been set up. (Table-9).

The bulk of livestock products comes from sheeps and goats sheeping breeding is the leading branch of stock farming, which comprise 60 percent of the total livestock population. Sheeping breeding is highly concentrated in the highlands of Altai and Khangai. Goat breeding is the second leading branch of stock farming in Mongolia. They are grazed in the mountains of Altai and Khangai ranges. Camel breeding make up 2.3 percent of the total livestock of the country, is the most important part of the life in semi-desert and desert regions of the people's Republic Mongolia. Horse breeding includes 8.5 percent of the total livestock, produce 16.5 percent of total meat yield in the country.<sup>11</sup>

In the recent years government has increased the investment for the development and strengthening of the cattle-breeding and fodder production. Although agricultural plays such an important role in the country economy, only 1 percent of total agricultural area is used for cropping which is

10. National economy of the MPR (1921-1981)  
(Ulaan Batar, 1981) p.235

11. Mongolian People's Republic  
(Union of Mongolian Journalists Ulaan Batar 1981), p.96

TABLE 9OUT PUT OF STAPLE LIVESTOCK PRODUCTS

(Thousand tons)

	1950	1960	1970	1980	percentage change 1950 to 1980
Meat and Fat (Slaughter Neight)	157.3	184.5	179.8	228.7	+ 31.21
Beef	48.7	62.3	51.7	72.6	+ 32.92
Pork	0.0	0.2	0.3	0.9	+ 77.7*
Mutton and goat	76.4	96.2	99.9	115.0	+ 33.56
Milk	240.8	227.7	220.6	246.9	+ 2.47
Sheep wool (greasy)	15.0	15.2	19.0	20.2	+ 25.74

\*Base Year - 1960

Source - op. cit., p.222

mainly used for the cultivation of fodder crops, crop farming shares 19.2 percent of total agricultural output.

Most part of the potential cultivable lands are located in North Mongolia, where the vast area of alluvial and other fertile soils along the Selenge and the orkhon river valleys provide favourable crop farming. With limited and unreliable precipitation, the need for irrigation and management of water resources became the basic prerequisite for crop farming. Mongolia's irrigation potential is also low because of the nature and irregular flow of the rivers.

The present total sown area is 704,000 hectares mostly along the river valleys in the north. The main cereal crops, covering 557,500 hectares or 79.2 percent of the total sown area, are wheat, Oats, Millet and Barley. It is followed by fodder crops, covering 136,700 hectares or 19.4 percent of the total sown areas. (See Table - 10)

The cereal crop was 258,500 tons in 1980, of which 206,900 tons or 80 percent is shared by wheat alone (See Table 11). Barley is second main cereal constitute 12.2 percent of the total cereal produced. Although vegetables and potatoes cover only 1.4 percent of the total sown area, its share in agricultural is more than 15 percent. Similarly, fodder crops covering 19.4 percent of the total sown area, produce 14.1 percent of the total agricultural output. Since mid sixties crop farming had been getting greater importance. The XVII the party Congress of the MRPP in 1976 called for the

TABLE 10

SOWN AREAS OF CROPS IN ALL FARM CATEGORIES

Crops	Area in thousand hectares	Percentage
Cereals	557.5	79.2
Potatoes	7.4	1.1
Vegetables	2.4	0.3
Fodder crops	136.7	19.4
Total sown area	704.0	100

TABLE 11GROSS HARVEST OF AGRICULTURAL CROPS

(Thousand tons)

Crops	1960	1970	1980	Percentage change 1960 to 1980
6				
Cereals	227.4	284.8	258.5	+ 12.03
Wheat	195.4	250.2	206.9	+ 5.55
Oats	25.9	23.9	17.6	- 89.62
Barley	3.3	9.0	31.8	+ 89.62
Other Cereals	2.8	1.7	2.2	- 21.42
Potatoes	18.5	20.8	39.3	+ 52.92
Vegetables	6.8	12.7	26.0	+ 73.84
Fodder Crops	37.4	34.7	102.8	+ 63.61

Source : Op. cit., p.229

Sown areas by farm sectors, % <sup>state</sup> state sector - 78.5  
 Co-operative - 21.2  
 Sector

intensification of arable farming and reclamation of new land. About 260,000 hectares of land were additionally reclaimed in the period 1976 to 1978.<sup>12</sup> During the period 1958 to 1961, 30.5 million tugrik were invested for the development of arable farming and reclamation of land. These investments were increased 3.1 times in the fifth five year and 3.3 times in the sixth five year plan.

The traditional individual livestock breeder were replaced by the agricultural co-operatives, state farms and fodder supply farms. At present the socialized farms as inter-farms and inter-agricultural Co-operative enterprises are set up. Reorganization of Co-operatives into state farms have taken place in the recent year and of the total sown area 78.5 percent is managed by state farm sector and only 21.2 percent is shared by Co-operative sector.<sup>13</sup>

With technical assistance rendered by the Soviet Union and other CMEA member, the level of mechanization of land cultivation in Crop farming and livestock breeding has increased. Share of mechanical engines increased from 47 percent in 1960 to 76 percent in 1979.<sup>14</sup>

#### Industrial Development:

Industry has become one of the most important branches of Mongolia's economy with about 15.5 percent of its population

12. Ibid., p.98

13. National Economy of the MPR, op. cit., p.225

14. Ibid., p.248



directly engaged in this sector, it produces 29.3 percent of the national income (See Table 12).

The industrial sector provides 42.1 percent of the funds of fixed industrial assets. Most of Mongolia's industry is dominated by light and food processing, is mostly concentrated in Ulaan Batar and Darkhan. The projects built with assistance of the USSR produce 50 percent of the gross industrial out put (1980). According to Michael Kaser, the USSR had undertaken to build 621 enterprises in Mongolia, and of these 389 were already being exploited by 1st January 1980.<sup>15</sup>

Light Industry:

Nearly 35 percent of total Industrial workers are engaged in light industry which covers nearly 30 percent of the total industrial gross production and 20 percent of total export of the country. Most of its production based on livestock raw material and supplies for domestic market and foreign market with industrial goods, such as leather goods, wollen fabrics sheep's skin products and furs, felt and felt boots, ready made clothing, shoes, glasswares, carpets. The share of leather and shoe factories, wool processing and manufacturing of ready made clothing is the heighest inthe branch of light industry. Within the last two decades, the production volume of light industry has been increased by more than 430 percent.<sup>16</sup>

15. Michael Kaser, The industrial revolution in Mongolia,  
The World Today, January 1982

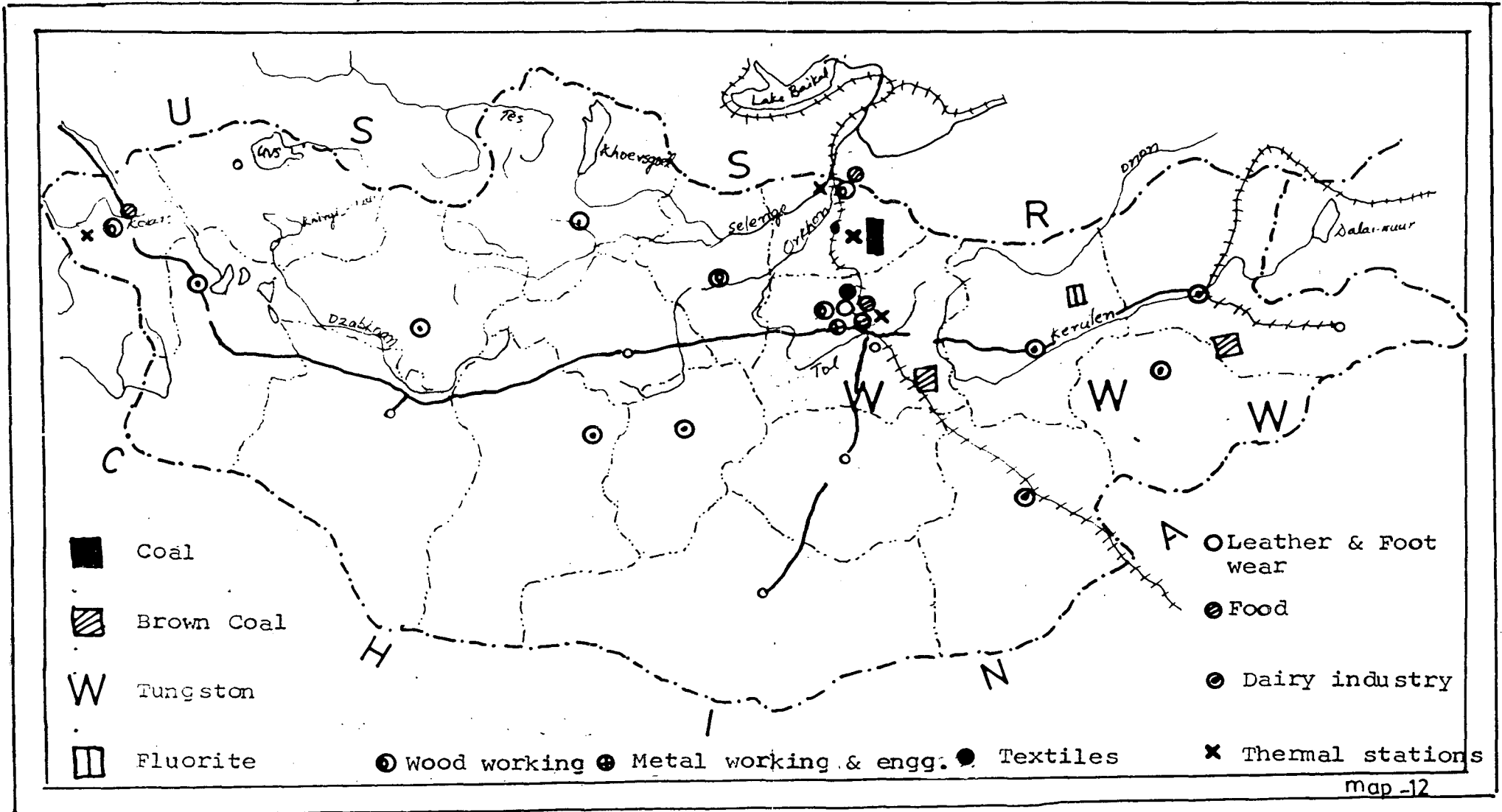
16. Mongolian People's Republic, (Union of Mongolian  
Journalists Ulaan Batar 1981), p.91

TABLE - 12SECTORAL ORIGIN OF NATIONAL INCOME PRODUCED(in prices of corresponding years, as  
percentage of total)

Sector	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Agriculture	61.0	59.4	22.9	25.3	15.4
Industry	8.5	9.8	14.6	22.6	29.3
Construction	0.8	1.3	6.7	5.8	6.0
Transport and Communication	0.6	6.5	9.1	7.5	10.8
Trade material technical supplies and procurement	9.1	11.0	44.2	36.5	36.5
Other branches	20.0	12.0	2.5	2.3	2.0
Total	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: National Economy of the MPR  
(Ulaan Batar, 1981) pp.115-116

# MINERALS & INDUSTRIAL CENTRES.



Ulaan-Batar has largest member of light industry enterprises followed by Darkhan, Choibalsan and Ulegei (See Map 12)

Food Industry:

Based on agricultural raw material, especially on livestock, food industry produces 18.8 percent of total industrial gross output. A rapidly growing economic sector, with technical assistance rendered by the USSR, the food industry includes enterprises of meat, dairy, milk, granary, bakery goods, sweets brewery and spirits industry.

Meat industry is the leading branch in food industry, producing 56.8 tons covering 43.5 percent of total gross production of food industry. It is highly developed industry in the country. Mongolia exports large quantity of most meat products. Ulaan Batar is biggest centre of meat based food industry.

Dairy industry is another developed industrial branch contributing 6.0 percent of total gross production of food food industry. Both small and large scale dairy farms are developed both in rural and urban areas. The dairy farms in Ulaan Batar, Darkhan and Choibalsan produce high quality of dairy products such as, cheese, cream, fresh butter, dried milk protein etc.

Besides these enterprises, there are other food processing industry, such as mill and granary industry, covering the entire flour requirement of the country, shares 22.0 percent of total gross output of food industry. There are several mechanized baker's ware and sweets industry fulfilling the

entire need of bakery goods in the country. The production capacities of this branch are constantly expanding.

Development of Power Resources:

For the last two decades fuel and power industry has been getting much greater importance. This is being done to meet the growing requirements of industrialization. Today fuel and power industry has become the leading and technically most advanced industrial branch of the Mongolia's economy. For the last 20 years power generation has increased by 11.5 times.

Coal mining is the principal branch of extractive industry. Its total production was 4,376,100 tons in 1980 as compared to 174,100 tons and 618,800 tons in 1940 and 1960 respectively.<sup>17</sup> (See Table 13). The total electricity generated from coal is more than 1.15 billion KWH in 1978.<sup>18</sup> There are more than 160 coal deposits already discovered in Mongolia, the total coal deposits already discovered in Mongolia, the total coal reserved of which is estimated at approximately 16.5 billion tons.

Sharyn-Gol near the city of Darkhan and Nalaykh are among the biggest coal mining centres, with a yearly out put of 1,500,000 tons and 800,000 tons, respectively. They cover the coal requirement of the entire central economic regions of Mongolia. Other important coal mines are at Adunchulun and Baganur. There are many other small and medium sized open-cost mines, which are evenly distributed over the whole country.

Since 1976, Mongolia's power system is connected with

17. National Economy of the MPR, op. cit., p.272

18. Mongolian People's Republic, op.cit., p.86

TABLE - 13

INDUSTRIAL PRODUCTION IN THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC  
1940-1980

Production	Measure- ment	1940	1960	1970	1980	% variation 1940 to 1980
<b>1. FUEL</b>						
Electricity	Mil KWH	11.5	106.4	548.3	1634.7	+ 99.29
Coal	Thou tons	174.1	618.8	1999.3	4376.1	+ 96.02
<b>2. Construction material</b>						
Flour spar	Thou tons	-	40.3	76.9	603.5	+ 93.32*
Bricks	Millions	2.1	77.5	64.4	110.1	+ 98.09
Cement	Thou tons	-	-	96.2	117.9	+ 18.40**
Lime	Thou tons	1.7	17.3	30.0	63.8	+ 97.33
Sawn Timber	Thou Cub mtr	-	151.7	421.1	559.4	+ 73.00*
<b>3. Light Industry</b>						
Scoured wool	Thou tons	1.7	5.6	9.8	11.8	+ 85.59
Felt	Thou metres	135.9	295.2	550.2	614.6	+ 77.88
Felt boots	Thou pairs	84.1	76.7	399.2	465.8	+ 81.94
Wollen fabrics	Thou mtrs	46.7	229.1	623.7	963.5	+ 95.15
Coat	Thousands	-	15.2	64.9	190.6	+ 91.65*
Suits	Thousands	-	32.0	47.5	179.2	+ 82.14*
Hides, Large	Thou tons	0.6	0.6	1.3	1.4	+ 57.14*
Hide, small	Thou skins	288.2	846.4	2614.3	2802.4	+ 89.71
Leather footwear	Thou pairs	163.3	904.3	1621.5	2104.9	+ 92.24
Leather Coat	Thousands	-	11.0	47.9	53.3	+ 79.36*
Sheep skin Coat	Thousands	-	-	-	83.0	-
Household Soap	Thou tons	0.4	2.1	3.2	3.9	+ 89.7
Matches	Mil boxes	-	32.7	35.0	21.4	- 34.55*
publication	Mil signa- tures	19.2	115.2	253.0	299.2	+ 93.58

contd., 100

TABLE 13 contd...

Production	Measurement	1940	1960	1970	1980	% variation 1940 to 1980
<u>4. Food processing Industries</u>						
Meat	Thousand	4.8	12.8	34.9	56.8	+ 91.54
Sausages	Tons	388.0	659.0	683.5	2966.1	+ 86.91
Flour	Thou tons	-	26.3	83.2	83.4	+ 68.46*
Bakery goods	Thou tons	2.7	9.9	28.0	47.2	+ 94.27
Confectionary	Thou tons	-	32.7	35.0	21.4	- 34.55*

\* Base Year 1960.

\*\* Base Year 1970.

Source: Op. cit., pp.272-277

the unified power grid system of Siberia (USSR). Mongolia is yet to exploit its large hydro electric power potential.

### Mining:

In order to meet the growing requirements of industrialisation, the people's Government had directed its efforts towards the extraction and development of local resources. In this effort, Mongolia received large member of foreign assistance and technical co-operation, especially from the USSR.

In the early stage of building of the socialist system, Mongolia began to explore numerous deposits and various types of natural resources, mostly in the central and eastern parts of the country. The first ore mining began at Chonogol in 1942, when large deposit of tugsten and Molybdenum discovered. There seems to be high degree of co-operation from the CMEA countries to Mongolia. The Mongolian-Soviet incorporated company 'Sovmongometal' started in 1943, played an significant role in the development of geological research and mining. They had successfully discovered some non-ferrous metal deposits.

As far as other CMEA countries are concerned, the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic helped Mongolia in exploring copper and molybdenum, tin and tugsten. German Democratic Republic searched for gold and poly metals, geologists from the People's Republic of Bulgaria for Coal, gypsum and kaolin. The Hungarian People's Republic helped in developing tugsten, molybdenum and tin.<sup>19</sup> Within last forty years hundreds of

19. Ibid., p.89



deposits of various metal have been discovered in the territory of Mongolia. The important one among them are the deposits of copper and molybdenum in Erdentin - Ovoo, flourspar in Berkha, Boro-Undur, and Dzun-Tsagan-Dels, coal in Tavan-Tolgoi, Sharyngol, Nalaykh and Baganur, gold in Khentei region, tin in Modotin and Dshanchivlin, phosphorite in Khoevsgoel, zinc in Salkhit and building material in Bosgyn-togoo and Khueren-Bulac.<sup>20</sup>

Since 1921, more than 500 deposits of mineral resources had been explored. Ore mining is today one of the leading sector of Mongolian national economy. As compare to 1978, the share of ore mining in the total output of industrial production has been increased by 850 percent in 1985. It will cover nearly half of the export products of the country.

Erdenet Complex:

Asia's largest copper-Molybdenum ore dressing complex "Erdenet" located in the north west of Ulaan Batar, near the famous Erdenetin-Ovoo or (Treasure mountain), The Complex was built with Soviet assistance, became operational at full capacity in 1981. The annual output of Erdenet is more than 16 million tones of ore and by its capacity, ranks among the world famous industrial complexes of this kind. Completion of Erdenet was a significant change in the industrial development of the Mongolian People's Republic. It has helped to double the country's foreign trade turnover.

Apart from these developments; education, communication

20. The 60th Anniversary of People's Mongolia  
(Novosti Press Agency Publishing House, Moscow 1981)p.61

and civil aviation are highly developed in the People's Republic of Mongolia. The advancement made in field of education and communication played major role in the process of modernization and socio-economic transformation in Mongolia. The whole history of the development of education and communication in Mongolia is directly linked with the aid of the USSR.

Table 14 gives figures for the production of several industrial goods for the period 1940-1980, and it will be seen that the gross production as well as the rate of growth have been impressive in all industrial sectors.

Construction Material:

In view of the intensive development of national economy and culture and rapidly growing urban centres the production of building materials has been developed to a higher degree. For the last two decades, Government had given adequate encouragement. More than 20 percent of national income and nearly 60 percent of all investment are made in construction. Nearly 20 percent of total worker in the country is engaged in construction.

production of flour spar, Bricks, cement, lime and sawn timber are major construction material combinely constitudas 6.3 percent of total gross industrial output, and shares 6.0 percent of the national income produced. Beside above given material, Mongolia has recently set up dozens of enterprises for the production of prefabricated slabs and other building materials.

TABLE - 14

GROSS INDUSTRIAL OUT PUT

(As percentage to total)

	1940	1950	1960	1970	1980
Electrical power and thermal energy generation	3.8	3.0	3.5	8.8	10.2
Fuel Industry	5.7	4.6	9.1	4.7	4.5
Engineering and Metal working Industry	1.3	1.3	2.3	3.3	3.6
Construction Materials	1.0	1.1	7.7	5.8	6.3
Timber and wood working Industry	3.3	10.8	16.0	16.6	13.9
Textile Industry	23.6	20.3	10.9	9.2	8.0
Clothing Industry	7.1	6.1	4.4	6.5	8.3
Leather, fur and shoe industry	23.0	18.8	13.0	14.5	10.3
Printing Industry	1.4	1.6	1.5	1.2	1.1
Food industry	27.7	31.0	26.9	25.0	18.8

Source: Ibid., pp.270-271

Internal Trade:

Trade occupies 29,000 people or 6.8 percent of total work force in the country. Together with foreign trade it produce 36.5 percent of the national income of the People's Republic (See Table 15).

The development of national trade were laid since the formation of people's Republic in 1921. With the setting up of a Central Consumer Co-operative Society with the help of the Soviet Union in 1921, internal trade had become a major sector in national economy. In 1924, the industrial and commercial bank was set up, a short after, national monetary tokens were put in circulation.

The foundation of the Mongolian Soviet trading company "Stomong" in 1927, played a major role in pushing away the foreign trade capital from the home market in 1930. There are more than 4,000 retail trade facilities in Mongolia. Due to increase in the purchasing power and real income of the local population, growth in Mongolia's retail trade turnover is steadily increasing. The total retail turnover in 1980 was 3176.7 million tugriks, from which 52.8 percent was from non-food commodities 47.2 percent was from food stuffs. As compare to 1924 and 1960 retail trade turnover in 1980 has been increased 318 times and 3.4 times respectively. With the improvement in transportation and communication facilities, the regional trading centres of Ulaan Batar, Darkhan and other capital cities of all aimak are well connected with their hinterland. This increased the volume of domestic trade. The national capital

TABLE - 15

CHANGING PATTERN OF WORK FORCE IN VARIOUS INDUSTRIAL CATEGORIES  
IN MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC

(as percentage of total)

Sector	1960	1970	1980
<b>IN MATERIAL PRODUCTION SECTOR</b>	<b>87.0</b>	<b>80.6</b>	<b>75.8</b>
1. Agriculture	80.6	80.6	45.2
2. Industry	12.1	15.5	15.2
3. Construction	6.9	5.8	6.3
4. Transport and communications	3.7	5.4	6.9
5. Forestry	-	0.3	0.2
6. Trade material technical supplies and procurement	3.5	6.5	6.8
<b>IN NON-PRODUCTIVE SECTOR</b>	<b>13.0</b>	<b>19.4</b>	<b>24.2</b>
1. Housing and domestic services	0.6	2.1	3.3
2. Science and Scientific services	0.4	1.0	1.8
3. Education Culture and Art	3.7	77.8	9.4
4. public health, Social Security physical culture and tourism	2.8	5.2	6.1
5. Finance, Credit insurance	0.1	0.3	0.3
6. Administration	4.6	2.1	2.4
<b>TOTAL</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>	<b>100.00</b>

Source: National Economy of the MPR,  
(Ulaan Batar, 1981) pp.140-143

city Ulaan Batar was leading with 1264.2 million tugriks in retail trade turnover in 1980, followed by Tov aimak and selenge aimak with turnover of 132.0 and 129.7 million bigriks respectively.

The Pattern of Foreign Trade:

Foreign trade has become an important source of Mongolia's economic development. The Mongolian People's Republic depend for most of its consumer and producer goods on imports, its exports potential is increasing at high rate, which has been directly responsible for attracting foreign aid and assistance for its economic development. The pattern and direction of Mongolia's trade has been directly influenced by its geographical position.

The USSR is Mongolia's major trade partner. The USSR accounts for over 80 percent of Mongolia's total foreign trade. Imports from the USSR meet over 90 percent of its domestic requirements for machinery and equipment; 100 percent of natural oil products and 50 percent of food stuffs and industrial consumer goods.<sup>21</sup> The USSR provided over 11 percent of Mongolian GNP in 1976-79. After the People's revolution of 11 July 1921, Mongolia signed her first trade agreement with the Soviet Union in 1923. The Soviet help Mongolia in establishing monetary system in the country. In December 1925 the Tugrik, the first national currency in Mongolia, was put into circulation by a joint Mongolian-Soviet central bank. During the two decades after the formation of People's government,

**21c** Jondonglyn Ochir, 'Mongolia-USSR' 60 years of cooperation, Foreign trade (Moscow), July, 1981

the Mongolian People's Republic maintained trade relations with Chinese, American, German, Dutch British and other private firms. In 1924, the level of trade with these countries was as high as 86.4 percent of the total trade turnover.<sup>22</sup> But with the introduction of a State monopoly of trade in 1930, the USSR became its sole trading partner and thereby Mongolia broke its trade relations with other countries.<sup>23</sup> From 1930 to 1951, the USSR was the only trade partner of the Mongolian People's Republic. In 1946, both countries signed an agreement on economic and cultural co-operation together with a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance. The first long-term trade agreement was signed in 1949 to cover Mongolia's first five year plan period (1950-51). In 1954 and 1957 the two states signed their second and third long-term trade agreements, each covering a three-year period (1955-57, 1958-60). These were followed by long-term agreements covering five-year periods (1961-65, 1966-70, 1971-75, 1976-80, 1981-85). The most recent was signed in October 1980 in Moscow".<sup>24</sup> See Table 16 for Soviet trade with Mongolia 1970-81 (millions of US dollars). After the end of second world war, Mongolia expanded commercial and economic relations with the other countries of the

22. The 60th Anniversary of people's Mongolia,  
Op. cit., p.63

23. Jondongyin Ochir, Fifty-five years of the first  
Mongolian-Soviet trade agreement  
Foreign Trade (Moscow), December 1978

24. Gerald Segal, The Soviet Union in east Asia  
(Heinenann, London, 1983), p.120

TABLE - 16

SOVIET TRADE WITH MONGOLIA 1970-81

(Mill US) Dollars

Year	1970	1971	1972	1973	1974	1975	1976	1977	1978	1979	1980	1981
Turnover	256.5	261.4	346.4	459.8	534.3	665.9	815.2	918.4	1087.5	1177.5	1359.8	1438.8
Export	198.1	182.0	253.6	340.4	376.9	492.2	629.8	747.2	872.7	907.3	1040.8	1093.5
Import	58.4	79.4	92.8	119.4	157.4	173.7	185.4	171.0	215.0	270.0	319.0	345.0

Source: UN Year Book of International Trade Statistics, Vol. I



socialists community. In 1956, Mongolia began its trade relations with Czechoslovakia the GDR and Bulgaria, since 1957 with Poland and Hungary, since 1958 with Rumania and Yugoslavia and since 1960 with Cuba.

The admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations UN in 1961 and to the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance CMEA in 1962, gave Mongolia a greater chance for further development and consolidation of her foreign trade relations. At present the Mongolian People's Republic maintains trade relations with nearly 30 countries.

The socialist countries are the main trading partners of the Mongolian People's Republic. The CMEA countries make up 96.5 percent of the export and 96.8 percent of the import of the country. Mongolia also maintain economic relations with developed countries such as France, Switzerland, Netherlands, Italy and the USA. The volume of trade with these countries still remains insignificant. (See Tables 17 and 18).

The Mongolian people's Republic exports to socialist countries are mainly her traditional goods, but since 1980 onwards, exports of non-ferrous metals and natural minerals are increasing at high rate. Table below shows the growth rate in export production of ore mining.

1970	-	100.0
1977	-	130.0
1979	-	390.0
1980	-	620.0

TABLE - 17PERCENTAGE OF EXPORTS FROM THE MONGOLIAN PEOPLES REPUBLIC1960-1980

Countries	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
To Socialist countries	99.7	99.2	98.2	93.3	98.4
Out of which to CMEA members	94.0	92.7	93.5	96.4	96.5
Other socialist countries	5.7	6.5	4.7	2.9	1.9
To non-socialist countries	0.3	0.8	1.8	0.7	1.6
Total exports	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00	100.00

Source: National Economy of the MPR, Ulaan Batar 1981, p.408

TABLE - 18

PERCENTAGE OF IMPORTS OF THE MONGOLIAN  
PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC 1960-1980

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Countries	1960	1965	1970	1975	1980
From Socialist countries	99.8	99.2	99.2	98.5	98.5
Out of which from CMEA members	75.9	94.4	96.9	96.0	96.8
From other socialist countries	23.9	4.8	2.3	2.5	1.7
From non-capitalist countries	0.2	0.8	0.8	1.5	1.5

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Source: National Economy of the MPR, Ulaan Batar, 1981, p.409

The MPR exports mainly wool of all kinds, leather, leather goods, meat and meat goods, skins, grain, furs, shoes, woolen materials, carpets and non-ferrous metals. The MPR imports from the socialist countries are -

From the USSR	Modern machines and equipments, motor vehicles, airoplanes, railway material, raw material for Industry, agricultural machines, foodstuffs and Industrial consumer goods.
Czechoslovak Socialist Republic	Medical equipments, medicaments motor buses, equipments for food stuff, Leather and shoe industry.
German Democratic Republic	Wireless installations, textile and poly graphic industry, engineering products, knitted goods and ready made clothing.
Polish people's Republic	Agricultural machines, clothing and electrical household appliances.
Hungarian People's Republic	Power Plants and equipments of energy technics, medical appliances, knitwear and shoes.
People's Republic of Bulgaria	Furnitures, products of wood processing and chemical Industry.
Republic of Romania	Basic consumer goods.
Cuba	Sugar.

(Also See Tables 19 and 20)

It is evidence from the figures that there has been a continuous growth in volume of trade, which is further evidence of Mongolian People's economic development. The total foreign trade turnover of the Mongolian People's Republic has increased from 63.5 million rubles in 1950 to 66.5 million rubles in 1980. From the figures it is evident that the pattern of trade has been all time high. Both Mongolia's exports and imports

TABLE - 19

COMMODITY BREAKDOWN FOR EXPORTS AND IMPORTS IN THE PERIOD  
1965-1980

(as percentage of total)

Commodity	<u>Exports</u>				<u>Imports</u>			
	1965	1970	1975	1980	1965	1970	1975	1980
Machine and equipments	-	0.2	0.3	0.3	23.7	25.9	35.8	33.1
Fuel, mineral raw material metals	0.6	5.4	6.5	26.4	10.1	12.8	10.3	24.1
Chemicals fertilizers, rubbers	0.1	0.0	0.1	-	4.3	5.1	5.2	6.3
Construction Materials & structural elements	-	0.9	0.3	0.4	2.6	1.7	2.5	1.9
Raw materials of plant & animal origin	56.5	34.9	34.9	30.9	1.7	2.0	1.5	2.4
Raw material for food stuff production	34.3	19.5	27.2	13.4	2.4	0.3	3.0	2.9
Food stuffs	5.5	9.6	21.6	19.0	16.6	12.7	7.3	8.4
Industrial consumer good	2.6	5.9	9.1	9.6	36.2	36.3	33.4	20.9

Source: National Economy of the MPR 1921-1981  
(Ulaan Batar, 1981) pp.405-407

TABLE - 20GROWTH OF MANGOLIA'S TOTAL FOREIGN TRADE

(in million rubles)

Years	Export	Imports	Total	Balance
1950	32.8	30.7	63.5	+ 2.1
1960	65.2	87.1	152.3	- 21.8
1965	72.9	88.6	161.5	- 15.7
1970	75.9	108.7	184.6	- 32.8
1975	157.5	191.9	349.4	- 34.4
1976	174.6	226.8	401.4	- 52.2
1977	171.0	276.3	447.3	- 105.3
1978	191.6	285.2	476.8	- 193.6
1979	224.6	326.3	550.9	- 101.7
1980	269.9	367.0	636.9	- 97.1

Source: National Economy of the MPR 1921-1981,  
(Ulaan Batar 1981), p.402

had registered an appreciable increase. The continual efforts of the government had led to an increase of over 87 percent between 1950 and 1980, i.e. from 32.8 million rubles to 269.9 million rubles in 1980. This rise was mainly due to export of raw material of plant and animal. The share of raw materials and their processing products as well as raw material for the production of food stuff in the total Mongolian export amounted to 56.5 percent. The share of building material, such as cement, bricks and wood is also increasing. The volume of export of traditional items such as animal products, meat wool and leather has always remained high.

As far as imports are concerned, it has increased from 30.7 million rubles in 1950 to 367.0 million rubles in 1980, which is primarily due to the government's effort to build up the basic economic infrastructure of the state. The share of machines and equipment in the Mongolia import is 33.2 percent, the share of raw materials, 26.4 percent and the share of food-stuffs and industrial goods is 32.5 percent.

The analysis of the balance of trade indicates that the commercial imports had maintained an appreciable increase over the domestic exports, which is mainly due to heavy purchase of modern machines as well as agricultural and industrial equipments.

## CHAPTER - 5

### GEOGRAPHY OF ADMINISTRATION

The pattern of present administrative areas in Mongolian People's Republic clearly indicates the political and ideological objectives that had inspired such a reforms. There is a low degree of correlation between the present administrative divisions and the historical, economic and physical affinities of medieval and pre-revolution Mongolia.

The geographical factors had always played a dominant role in the social and political history of Mongolia. The life in the Steppe was determined by the natural climate and natural climatic variations. The previous Mongol nomads have been pushed off the steppe due to increase aridity and frequently attacked a settled country in such a calamity. According to some historians the aridity in Central Asia in the thirteenth century, led to the Mongol unrest out of which Chingis Khan arose. As Ralph Fox said in his book Genqhis Khan, "in historic times there has been no great desiccation of middle and high Asia, and to explain the great invasions we must look for the cause in the life of these people itself in that history which is supposed not to exist."<sup>1</sup>

The main economy of the Mongol was extensive pastoralism. Although there were other forms of economy in the north Outer Mongolia. They lived in a fairly large groups, which varied according to the richness of the pasture land and the kind of

1. Ralph Fox, Genqhis Khan (New York, 1936), p.37



livestock they breded. Therefore, the sense of tribal cohesion and political grouping among them depended on the degree of extensiveness of their economic form. Inter-tribal conflict for pasturland and raids were the characteristics of the Mongols.

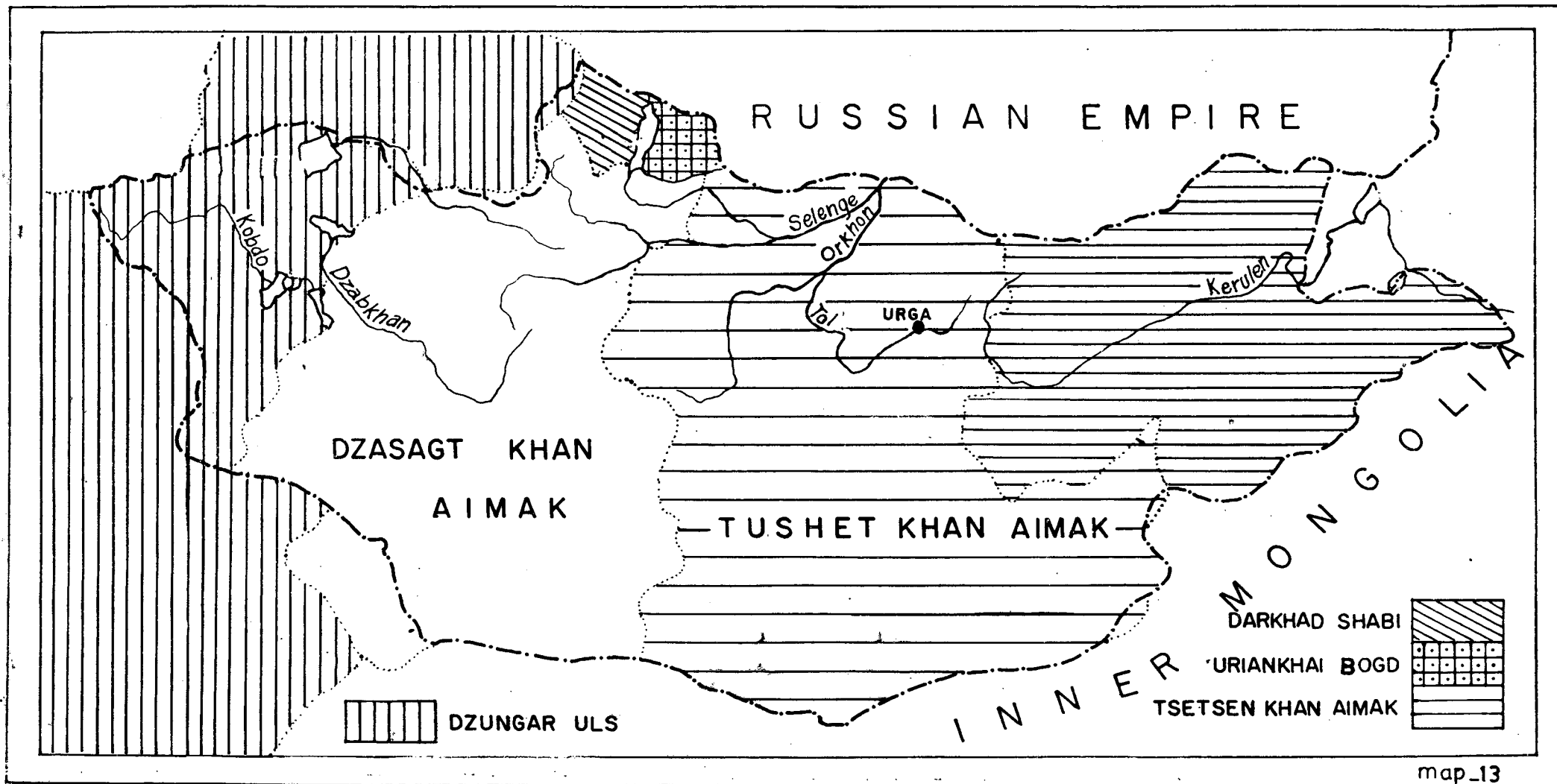
The first unifications of the Mongol tribes seen after Temugin conquest of Mongolia in 1206, when he proclaimed himself the Chingis Khan or "universal ruler" of the Mongol Ulus or Mongol State.

Chingis Khan was able to organize the Central authority and administration over the various steppe tribal areas on feudal lines under himself and his kin. His administrative structure was based on the organization of the army as a single and permanent system both for peace and for war. The noyon general title for a feudal lord, was the immediate ruler in peace and for war in an inju or a steppe region of his empire. Kuriltai was the supreme executive organ to which noyon were the members. The yasa, his system of laws for the Mongols contained the rules for taxation, conscription and the courier service. It also provided moral precepts, laws for criminal and public order.

The successive Mongol rulers followed a similar kind of administration. In 1271, when the Yuan Dynasty was proclaimed, Kubilai Khan<sup>2</sup> set up a new order called 'tiao kuo'. He had strictly centralized administrative structure with the central Chancellery posted in the eleven great provinces. The Council of war and the censor's office was directly under the supervision of the Khan.

After the death of Kubilai Khan in 1294, the Mongols were

# ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF MONGOLIA (1691-1724)



unable to hold the conquered territories, and the authority had been delegated to many Khans. They remained disunited until they were fully subjugated by the Manchus in the early seventeenth century. However, during the four hundred years of the Mongol rule, through the insertion of diverse, complex forces, Mongolia was able to work up by slow degree a social and political system which, by its nature was to shape the character and pattern of future civilization. Significant changes occurred among tribes, and social groups in their way of life by building complex political structures in which were included the trade, tribute, and military power of hunting people, steppe nomads, oasis people and the agricultural communities. During this period, Mongolia also received much of Chinese and Tibetan philosophy, religion and culture.

In the seventeenth century, the political instability and the expansion of Russia and China, had serious repercussions on the territorial content of Outer Mongolia. However, a settlement reached by the Treaty of Kiakhta in 1727, according to which Outer Mongolia was recognized as Chinese territory.

Under the Manchu domination there was a complete change in the administrative set-up. For the first time, territorial division of Mongolia for the administrative convenience was started. During this period the Mongol also began to have permanent form of settlement. In the period (1691-1724), the Manchu dynasty had divided Outer Mongolia into a major princes.<sup>3</sup>

3. Rinchen, B., (ed.) Atlas of ethnic and Linguistics of Mongolian People's Republic Vol. I-II (Ulaan Batar, 1981) p.16

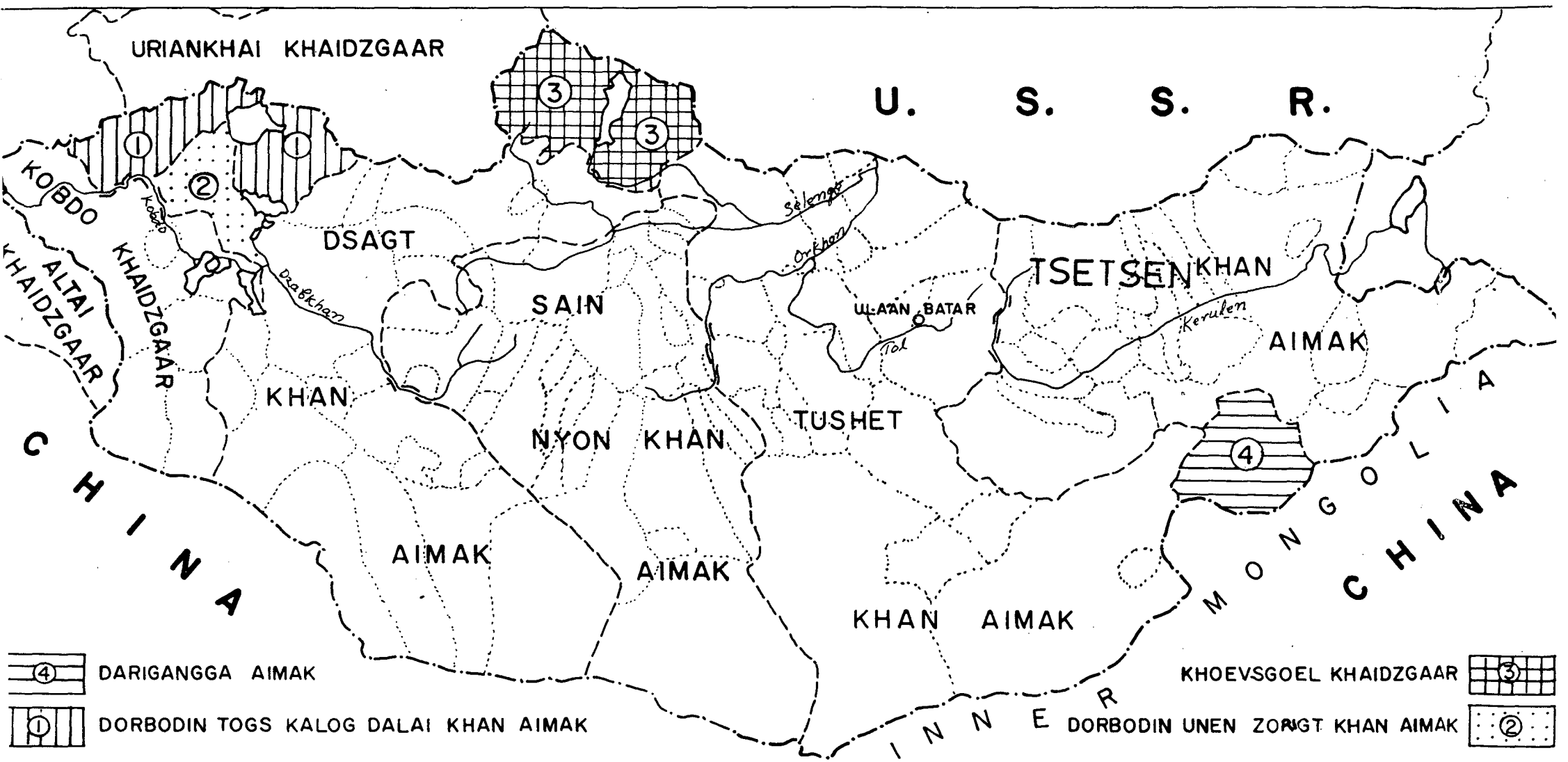
Dzungar uls  
 Tushet Khan aimak  
 Tsetsen Khan aimak  
 Darkhad Shabi  
 Uriankhai Bogd  
 Dzasagt Khan aimak

The provinces were controlled through the Li-fan Yuan, or Board of Administration of the Dependencies. The highest authority was the Chinese Military Governor, who had his office at Uliastai and his two subordinates at Kobdo and Urga town.

During the remaining period (1760-1911), the Manchus made some changes in the administrative organization of the provinces. Two provinces, Darkhad and Uriankhai Bogd was combined to make one province Khoevsgoel Khaizgaar, where the religious prince Khutugt exerted power. All together, there were 6 divisions, 4 aimak and a special provinces. The new reform also brought changes in the provincial system. The hoshu system or subdivision of the aimak was introduced.

<u>province/Aimak</u>	<u>Number of Hoshu</u>
Kobdo province	8
Dzasagt Khan aimak	23
Sain-noyon khan aimak	33
Tushet Khan aimak	22
Tsetsen Khan aimak	25
Khoevsgoel Khidzgaar province	<u>4</u>
	<u>115</u>

# ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF MONGOLIA (1911-1919)



Each aimak was ruled by a Chutgan darga or governor general, and each hoshu was headed by a dzasag Noyon, a state prince. There were other princes, who did not own any state, called as dzasag bus noyon. Every dzasag noyon also had deputy noyon and other officers, who were known as thushimits such as tuslagch, dzahirageh, merent and dzangi. Albat nar were the workers, who paid taxes to the noyon. Besides these aimaks these were other provinces who came under the religious prince Khutagt, who had his own system of administration, known as Shabi system. This system remained in force until the Ching dynasty fell in 1911.

During the period of Autonomy (1911-1919), the head of the Government Khutagt also followed same pattern of administration. Urga became the centre of the administration and the Autonomous Government tended to unify and centralize control over Outer Mongolia. The Jebdzandamba Khutagt headed the Government, with a Council of five Ministers. The great Khural parliament was set up. It was divided into two houses in 1914, deed-Khural an upper, and dood-khural a lower house. The five ministers, those of the home affairs, war, external affairs, finance and

There was no class distinction in the Social stratification of the Mongols. The ruling princes noyon nar and non-ruling princes taijnar claimed to trace their descent from Chingis Khan. The commoners were the albat nar or workers. These workers fell into groups. The first Shabi nar or those who paid albat or a series taxes to the Khutagt and the second khamjlaca nar, those who paid albat to the noyon or taij. The dark had were the third group, who were the officers of the Khutagt. They were also commoners, but freed from tax and other duties in return for distinguished services to the community.



justice, deputy ministers, Chutgan darga of the four aimak and the noyon of all hoshu comprised the upper house. Local officials and the noyon who did not had hoshu or state, made up the membership of the lower house. (See Map 14).

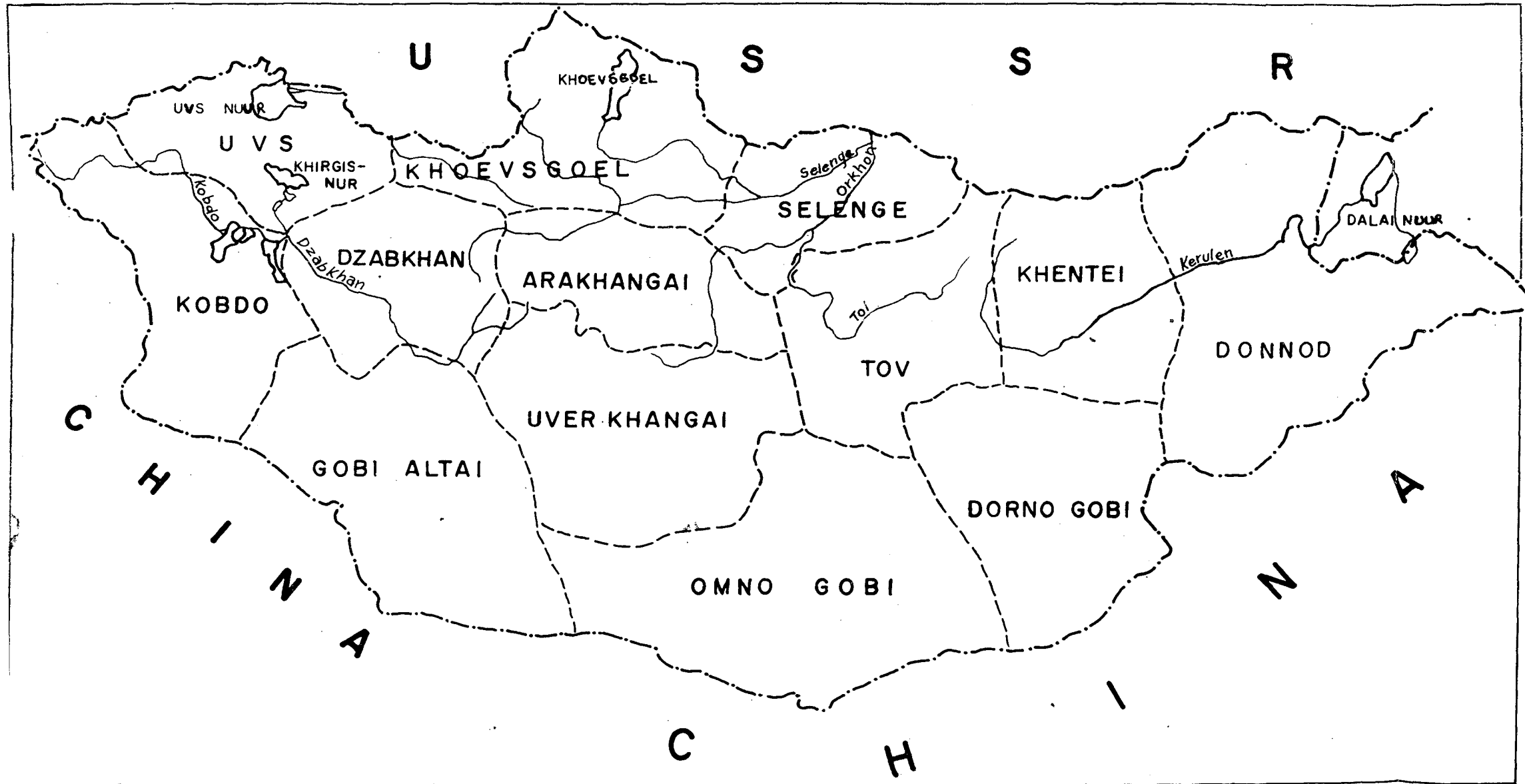
The local government area was divided into 9 aimak or major provinces and subdivision, hoshud. Out of these 9 provinces, 2 of them were special provinces, where the Khutagt exerted religious authority through Shabi system. The Autonomous Government did not last long. A people's Revolutionary Government of Mongolia was soon formed in 1921, and a major administrative reform was taken up.

The objective of the Communist oriented Revolutionary Government was to speed up social and economic change in the country. The whole religious institutions of the country was abolished after the death of Jebdzahdamba Khutagt in 1924. The new government systematically attacked and destroyed the religious institutions and its Shabi system. The new government renamed the capital city Urga as Ulaan-Batar or (red hero). The supreme executive organ Khural became effective on 5 January 1923. Delegates to the Khural are elected by the Khural of the aimakud. For the local government, the country was divided into major provinces aimakud sub provinces hoshud, district sumud and village Bagud.

The new government re-organized the aimakud on the geographical lines. Instead of 9 aimakud, new government had only 5 aimakud.<sup>4</sup> The new aimakud were named after the natural zones and the uls or the mountains of the country.

4. Ibid. p.

# ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF THE M.P.R (1931-1939)





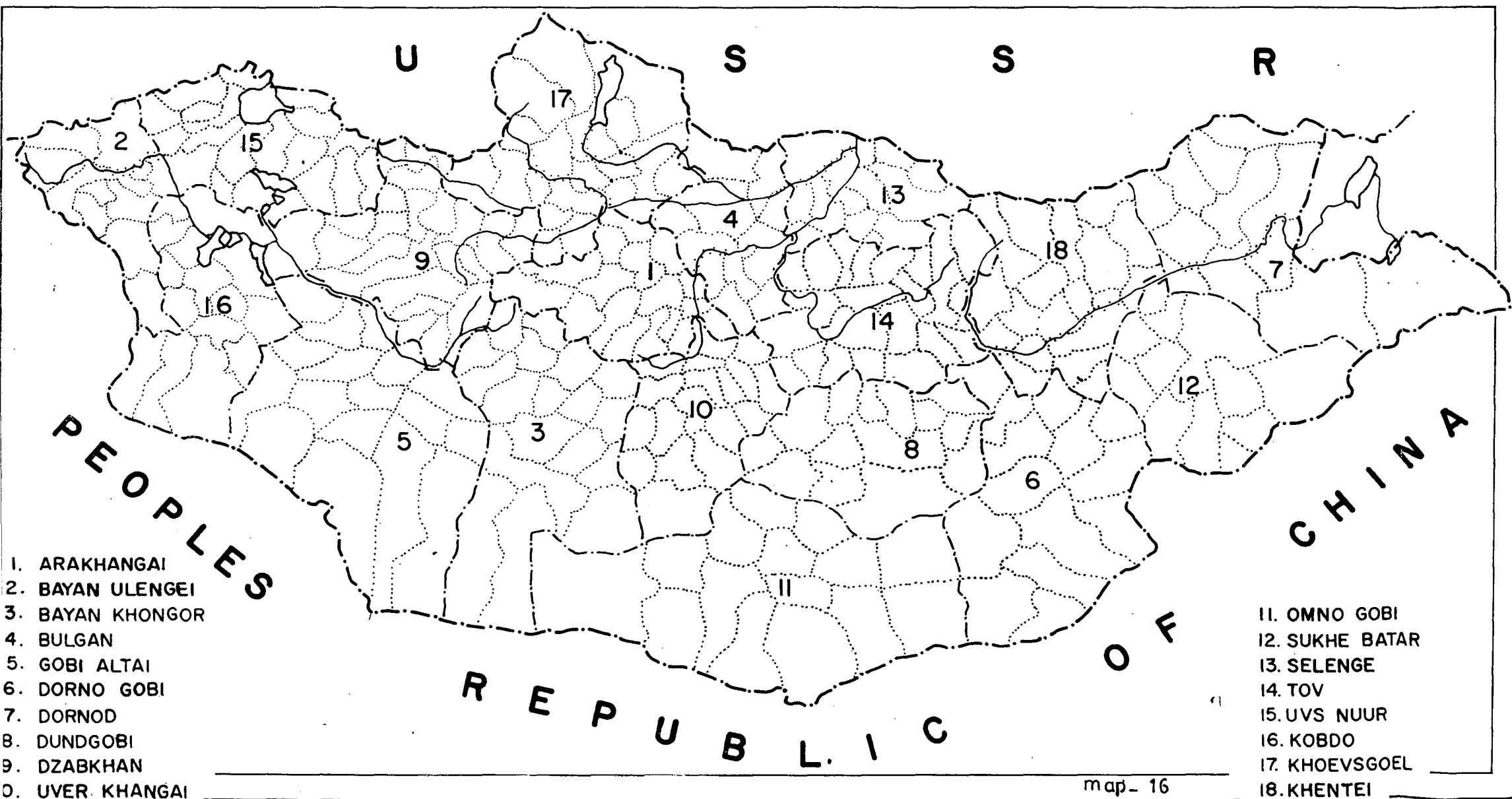
4	<u>New Aimakud</u>	<u>Number of Hoshud</u>
	Chandmani Ulus aimak	7
	Khan taishir ulus aimak	11
	Tsetserleg mandal ulus aimak	21
	Bogd Khan ulus aimak	16
	Khan Khentei ulus aimak	18

All the aimakud were divided into many hoshud. All together these were 73 hoshud. Tsetserleg mandal ulin aimak had the maximum hoshud 21, followed by khan khentei 18, and chandinani had only 7 hoshud. The people's Government replaced the noyon and other officials of the Khutagt's government by new and suitable members of the party. This administrative hierarchy was retained till 1931, when a major modification was made. Under the new modification the hoshu system was abolished, but number of aimakud were increased from five to thirteen. Several hoshud were combined to make one aimak. Thus the second level of local administration was formed by sumud and the third by bagud. See Map 15).

By 1939 the Mongolian People's Republic had been effectively integrated with the Communist system of state. Several Soviet models of political organisations were applied to replace the old political structure of Mongolia.

The successive administrative reforms that were carried out was aimed at more decentralization. Such reforms were necessary to minimize the difficulties created by geographically negative areas, which were not easily accessible. Most of these regions are sparsly populated and to cover them under a effective

# ADMINISTRATIVE DIVISIONS OF THE M.P.R. (1973)



administration was a difficult task.

At present the country is divided into 18 aimakud and 3 major cities. (See Map 16)

Administrative Units of the M.P.R.

Aimak (province)	Hot (Town)
Sum (District)	Raion (Division)
Brigad (Community)	Horoolol (Sub-division)
	Horoo (Block)

All the aimakud are organized and demarcated on the basis of, partly historical, but primarily geographical criterion. The physiography of the country, its inhabitants and the nature of their economic activities have significantly determined the present administrative regions. There is close relationship between the variety of physical environment and the variety of administrative division. The administrative map of the Mongolian People's Republic shows that the concentration of provinces in the northern part is more than the southern part. It also shows that size and shape of the aimakud also vary according to the physical uniformity. The aimakud of northern, eastern and central regions are more minutely partitioned than the aimakud of the Gobi desert. Likewise, the subdivisions of aimakud also follow the same pattern.

The present administrative units seems to be more favourable latitude for planning and development.

Within these geographical units, today, the Mongol<sup>y</sup>society<sup>o</sup> gradually established themselves and made the land their own by sustained efforts in cultivating soils, parturing of livestock and taking appropriate use of its vast natural resources. This relationship of close ties with the ancient soil and a common way of life, gave rise to the Mongols a strong sense of nationalism, which has been a decisive factor in the formation of Mongolia a nation state.

## CHAPTER - 6

### EXTERNAL BEHAVIOUR AND FOREIGN POLICY FORMULATION

According to Owen Lattimore, 'America based its vote against the admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to the United Nations on the statement that they knew too little about the country or its government.'<sup>1</sup> Gerard M. Friters, who gathered materials on the history of international relations of Mongolia since the Mongol and Chinese Revolutions against the Manchu Dynasty in 1911, remarked that "he had searched the files of international diplomacy, he has been able to find far less in the way of statements of fact and expressions of opinion by Mongol participants in the events of Mongol politics than by the representatives of the great powers interested in Mongolia."

Much of the political change in Mongolia was linked with general process of change in its neighbouring countries and in

1. Owen, Lattimore, Studies in frontier history  
(Paris, Mouton & Co. 1959) p.270

Ibid., p.272, The Mongolia of today is a variable equation in which the "Old" Mongol factor is dwindling and the "New" Mongol factor is growing, but at a jerky, changeable rate of speed and at different rates of speed in different part of Mongolia. The rate of speed is no longer affected solely by "Russia" and "China" regarded as constants. Neither Russia nor China is a constant, both are themselves variables, and the rate of mutation in Mongolia is effected by the rate of mutation in China and mutation in Mongolia is affected by the rate of mutation in China and Russia. It is also affected by the immensely increased importance of America as a power factor in Asia.

the world as a whole. When the Mongols threw off China's yoke and declared independence in 1911, it had no other options but to lean towards Russia not only for diplomatic, but also economic and military support. The Mongols not only had to adjust themselves to Russia but also event in Russia that Russia became eventually the primary external factor in the process of internal change in Mongolia.

The Tsarist policy gave importance to an autonomous Mongolia, under Russia's protection, to Siberia's military security. Its policy, as Friters shows, was not to annex or absorb Mongolia, but to maintain Mongolia as a buffer.

From the Mongols point of view, the main factor of their alliance with the Soviet Union was their anxiety over Chinese intentions towards Mongolia. The Mongols resented China's policy of promoting Chinese colonization in Mongolia. The colonization was not that of subjection, but displacement, not the fate of India but the fate of American Indians. The geographical perspective has remained one of the constant variable influencing the power and ability of Mongolia to survive as an independent state in the Soviet dominated heartland.<sup>2</sup> Apart from the fear of China, which underscores the overall conduct of Mongolia's foreign policy, the country's international relations are determined by three other considerations: its strategic location between two powerful neighbours, the USSR and the Chinese People's

2. Sir Halford J. Mackinder, Democratic Ideal and reality: A study in the politics of Reconstruction, (New York, Henry Holt & Co. 1919), p.219. A.T. Mahan The problems of Asia (Boston, 1900), pp.22-25.

Hans W. Weigart principles of Political Geography (New York, 1957), p.23

Republic, its long political connexion with the USSR and its role as a member of the socialist community.

All these factors are linked to each other. The most important factor of all is the nature and course of the relationship with the USSR which determined the foreign, relations of the Mongolian People's Republic. As most of the points with regards to the basis of Mongolia's foreign Policy are discussed in the earlier chapters, emphasis is made here to highlight the nature of the Mongolian People's Republic's relations with the USSR since 1921 and with China since 1946, It's international political association and finally its relations with India.

#### Relations with the USSR:

After the Mongolian Revolution of 1921, the USSR, recognized the Independence of Mongolia by the agreement signed in Moscow on 5 November 1921. The agreement included for "a sincere desire to promote free concord and cooperation between their two peoples". The agreement provided for mutual recognition between the two governments without mentioning China. The Chinese Foreign Minister sent a note of protest of the Government of Soviet Russia on 1 May 1922, saying:

Now the Soviet Government has suddenly gone back on its own word and, secretly and without any right, concluded a treaty with Mongolia. Such action on the part of the Soviet-Government is similar to the policy the former Imperial Russian Government assumed towards China.

It must be observed that Mongolia is a part of Chinese territory and as such had long been recognized by all countries. In secretly concluding a treaty with Mongolia, the Soviet Government has not only

broken faith with its previous declarations but also violates all principles of justice.<sup>3</sup>

The Soviet Russia at the same time wanted to have friendly relations with China, in view of the growing potential, threat from Japan, <sup>to</sup> Soviet Russia's eastern flank. But Moscow was determined not to return Mongolia to China until China herself should turn pro-soviet. It was stated in the First session of the Revolutionary Organizations of the Far East in 1922:

...a definitive solution of the Mongolian question will not become possible until the Chinese shall liberate themselves from the Yoke of their oppressors, until they drive from their borders the soldiers of foreign imperialist nations, until the revolution shall be victorious in their country.<sup>4</sup>

The Mongolian question remained the major obstacles in relations between the two countries for three years. A Treaty was finally concluded between China and the USSR, on 31 May 1924, Article 5 of this treaty specifically stated "The Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republic recognizes that Outer Mongolia is an integral part of the Republic of China and respects China's sovereignty therein. Thus the USSR was able to restore its diplomatic ties with China.

After the death of the Jebtsundamba Khutugt on 20 May, 1924, Mongolia proclaimed itself the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) on 26 November 1924. A constitution was drafted on the Soviet line empowered the government of the Mongolian People's Republic to represent the Republic in international relations,

4. Ibid., p. 380



and conduct political commercial and other treaties with the powers.

The Sino-Soviet Agreement of 1924, which included the status of Mongolia, remained in force until 1946. During this period the Soviet's influence in Mongolia greatly increased. Several important agreements relating political economic and military relation between the USSR and the Mongolian People's Republic was signed. Among them the most important treaties are such as - the telegraphic Agreement of 3 October 1926, the railroad agreement of 1926, the agreements regarding navigation on Mongolian rivers by Soviet vessels of July 1926, and the protocol regarding the prologation of the telegraphic agreement of 22 February 1927.<sup>5</sup>

Politically, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) was closely affiliated with the Russian Communist Party. It's constitutions modeled on the soviet lines, dominated both internal and external affairs. The MPRP led the country on the road of non-capitalist development, guided by Lanin.

In the field of military relations, the Soviet had firm control in all Mongolian military affairs: organization, training, occupation, commitment, mobilization, and militarization.<sup>6</sup> The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army, created in the 1920s was expanded considerably in 1930s. It was renamed as the Red Army.

5. Ibid., p.383

6. Ibid., p.359

On 12 March 1936, the Mongolian People's Republic and the USSR signed the Protocol on Mutual Assistance, which specifically provided for military aid in the event of an attack on the MPR or the USSR by a third country. The pact was signed for protection against Japanese aggression. When the Japanese military force attacked the Mongolian border guards at Nomonkhan, on 11 May 1939, the soviet forces entered Mongolia to protect the Mongolian border. The joint Mongolian-Soviet forces defeated the Japanese in 1939. The agreement of 1936 was again tested when Mongolia fully supported the USSR in the Second World War. The declaration adopted by the MPRP Central Committee and the Mongolian government on 22 June 1941 read. "All the people of our freedom-loving and sovereign republic, who are linked with the Soviet people by an inviolable friendship, whole-heartedly condemn this act of treachery on the part of Nazi Germany. They will respond to it by strengthening in every possible way the friendship between the Soviet and Mongolian people and will be true to the pledges they have made, in accordance with the agreement on mutual aid signed by the MPR and the USSR on 12 March, 1936."<sup>7</sup>

The Mongolian people rendered all possible help to the USSR during the war. After the Yalta conference on 9 August 1945, the Soviet Union declared war on Japan. The Mongolian Red Army joined the soviet Red Army in rooting out the Japanese

7. Dugersuren, M., The Mongolian People's Republic and International Relations (Montsame, Ulaan-Batar, 1981) p.19

forces in the forest. After the Second World-War the Soviet Union was not only able remove Mongolia from the Chinese sphere of influence but brought it more strongly within the Soviet sphere of influence. The USSR has joint military units in Mongolia, which was introduced in 1966.<sup>8</sup>

The Economic relationship between the Mongolian People's Republic and the USSR dates back to the early 1920s. The first trade agreement signed in 1923, provided all types of economic co-operation between the two countries. Since then the USSR has been deeply involved in the economic development of Mongolia. By 1982, about 50 per cent of the total volume of Mongolia's industrial output had come from the enterprises built in the country with Soviet technical and economic assistance. The USSR helped Mongolia in establishing monetary system in the country. The tugrik, the first national currency was put into circulation by joint Mongolian-Soviet Central Bank. By 1930, the USSR became Mongolia's sole trading partner. The two Government concluded a new agreement on economic and cultural cooperation together with a 20 year treaty of mutual assistance in Moscow on 27 February 1946. The Mongolian-Soviet Treaty of 1946 reproduced the text of the Mongolian-Soviet Pack of 1936. The Mongolian Government introduced the Soviet model for its first Five Year Plan in 1948. In 1949 the first long-term trade agreements was signed following Mongolia's introduction

8. Ram Rahul Sheel, Mongolia in International Perspective International Studies 22 (Sage publication, New Delhi, 1985) p.231

of its first five-year plan (1948-52). In 1954 and 1957 the two states signed their second and third long-term trade agreement. These are followed by long-term agreements covering five-year period (1961-5, 1966-70, 1971-5, 1976-80, 1981-5).<sup>9</sup>

The USSR account for over 80 per cent of Mongolia's total foreign trade. More than 90 percent of it's domestic requirements for machinery and equipments are imported from the USSR. The MPR also imports 100 per cent of its oil and 50 per cent of consumer goods from the Soviet Union. The two state have established 'direct business.Cooperation' between ministries of the two Governments. According to Sanders, there is direct contact between 13 ministries and departments in Mongolia and 20 in the USSR, and that 40 Mongolian research institutes had (business) contact with over 80 Soviet Scientific establishments.<sup>10</sup>

The joint project for a copper and molybdenum mining and concentrating complex at Erdenet, is the example of direct contact and cooperation between the two states. The Soviet Union and the Mongolian People's Republic signed a twenty-year treaty of friendship, Co-operation and mutual assistance in Ulaan Batar on 15 January 1966. The treaty guaranteed Mongolia's defence, security, independence, and territorial integrity in the event of interference by any third country. This treaty is as important as the treaty of 1936 and 1946, which laid the

9. Gerald Segal, The Soviet Union in East Asia (London, Heinemann, 1983), p.120

10. Sanders Alan J.K., Mongolia 1975. "One crew in battle, One brigade in Labour" with the USSR, Foreign Trade 12 (Moscow, 1978), p.68

basis of Soviet Mongolian ties. The first secretary of the Central Committee of the CPSU, L.T. Brezhnev said in Ulaan Batar in 1966.

As is known, China has not renounced its claim towards its northern neighbours and this is sufficient for both the Soviet Union and Mongolia to be vigilant.. Basic sense of the Russia-Mongolia treaty lies in the fact that it recognizes the real possibility that the independence of a Socialist country can be endangered by another Socialist country.<sup>11</sup>

Unlike the earlier treaties which were directed against Japan, Treaty of 1966 was directed against China. At present, the relations between the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR), and the USSR are on a higher stage. Both countries maintain strong political, ideological, military, economic and cultural relations with each other.

#### Relations with China:

In its declaration of Independence the Mongolian government expressed its sincere intention to normalise relations with China in the interest of the Mongolian and Chinese peoples, and of peace in the Far East. For the Mongols friendly relations with China was important since it shared 4,673 kilometres border with China, and China being her big neighbour, it's policy inevitably affected Mongolia's international position. But China persisted in its obstinate refusal to recognize Mongolia's

11. Ram Rahul Struggle for Central Asia  
(Vikas, New Delhi, 1982), p.51

sovereignty until 1946, when it was forced in Yalta conference held in 1945 to recognise Mongolia's independence.

Though China established diplomatic relations with Mongolia on 13 February 1946, the Kuomintang Government however had not abandoned it's policy of annexing Mongolia as a province.<sup>12</sup> China continually provoked border incidents in the South West frontier. It also prevented Mongolia from being accepted into the United Nations.

The Mongolian People's Republic hailed the revolution in China and the proclamation and the establishment of the People's Republic of China (PRC) on 1 October 1949. It opened up prospects for the development of friendly relations between Mongolia and China. The Cpr and the USSR together confirmed and guaranteed Mongolian independence in the Treaty of Friendship and Alliance signed by them in Moscow on 14 February 1950. China and Mongolia signed a 10 years agreement of economic and cultural Co-operation in Beijing on 4 October 1952. Article 2 of the agreement stated that:

"On the basis of the present Agreement and with the aim of implementing it, concrete agreements will be signed seperately between agencies of the People's Republic of China and the Mongolian People's Republic concerned with questions of economic, trade, culture, and education.<sup>13</sup>

Under the agreement China helped Mongolia in constructing a dam to supply electric power and to divert water for irrigation purposes in the surrounding area of Karakoram. China

12. Dugersuren, M., Op.cit. p:46

13. Text given in Ram Rahul, Struggle for Central Asia Op. cit., p.46

also supplied labour to Mongolia for construction purposes.

On 31 May 1960, the People's Republic of China and Mongolian People's Republic signed a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance in Ulaan Batar. China granted Mongolia a loan of 200,000 roubles for the establishment of industrial enterprises, irrigation project, etc., China also agreed to assist Mongolia in the implementation of the 1961-65 Five Year Plan. The two countries signed a treaty to delimit their common boundary on 16 December 1962.

Throughout the first two decades of the new state's existence, normal interstate relation developed between China and Mongolia. Considerable trade took place between China and Mongolia. China rendered all kinds of economic and technical help to Mongolia. The growing abrasiveness in relation between China and the USSR in the late sixties, had directly influenced Mongolia's relations with China. Mongolia took the side of the USSR in the ideological controversies between China and the USSR.

Relations between China and Mongolia started deteriorating since then. Mongolia protested in 1963, that the Chinese workers in Ulaan Batar created incidents by handling out book and newspapers containing the views of the Chinese leaders on current problems. Mongolia also protested in 1964, the Chinese policy of racial discrimination towards those Mongols who inhabited territories on the Chinese of the Sino-Mongolian frontier.<sup>14</sup>

14. Mark Mancall, China at the Centre: 300 years of FOREIGN POLICY (New York, Free Press, 1984), p.496

The Cultural Revolution marked the lowest ebb in the relations between China and Mongolia when in 1967, a Mongolian diplomat was manhandled by cultural Revolution mobs, and ambassadors had been withdrawn until 1971. In September 1973, a Mongolian newspaper condemned the Chinese for cartographic aggression. Between 1965 and 1978 Chinese troops violated the Mongolian border more than 400 times.<sup>15</sup> More than 250 Chinese military manoeuvres have been held since 1965.

The Mongol still feel that China's policies toward their country is "dictated by the arch-reactionary idea of Sino-Centrism which meant the transformation of China into the hub of a Maoist super empire".<sup>16</sup> This fear of the Mongols could be made from the speech made by First Secretary of the Mongolian People's Republic Party and Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic, Yu. Tsedenbal at the 6th Plenary session of the Central Committee of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in 1979.

As far as Mongolian-Chinese relations are concerned, we are invariably for normalization of the inter governmental relation with China for restoring cooperation and good neighbourliness. Peking however, counters this good will on our part by its great-power hegemonist course of enmity and expansion.

Following this policy in regard of our country the ruling circles in China made unfounded demands of withdrawing Soviet Military units from the territory of Mongolia which are stationed in this

15. Moncane, 29 July 1981 also quoted by Gahrana, G.K., China, Asia and World (New Delhi Publications Pvt Ltd. New Delhi, 1984), p.60

16. Mark Mancall, Op. cit., p.496



country on the strength of an agreement between the two governments. The position of the MPR Government of this score has been all too clearly formulated in a number of our Official statements.

It should be stated plainly that a threat to sovereignty and independence of the MPR from the Chinese authorities is a reality. Naturally, until this threat has not been eliminated we shall continue to be in need of effective assistance from the Soviet Union in protecting independence and security of our socialist homeland.<sup>17</sup>

China has lost its position in Mongolia now. Beside, the Mongol fear of annexation by the People's Republic of China any normalization of relations between the People's Republic of China and the Mongolian People's Republic is dependent on China's relations with the USSR. After two decades of strains caused by deep ideological and strategic difference, China and the Soviet Union began moving towards closer relations in 1982. It is also interesting to note that on 6 June, 1986 both countries have formally agreed to maintain consulates in each other's country for the first time since their feud erupted in 1960. It remains to be seen, how it will effect the positions of Mongolia, specially its relations with China.<sup>18</sup>

#### Mongolia's Political Association:

Until 1946, Mongolia had diplomatic relations only with the USSR. Following China's formal recognition of Mongolia in 1946 the status of Mongolian People's Republic in international relations begun to change. The Sovietization of Eastern Europe

17. Text of the speech given in The Maoist falsification of the history of the Mongolian People's Republic and the Historical Truth (Ulaan Batar, State Publishing House, 1981), pp.45-46

18. The Times of India, June 7, 1986.

in late 1940s gave Mongolia a chance to extend her contact in another direction. Emergence of new independent countries in Asia and Africa provided her with third direction in which to assert her independence existence. Today the Mongolian People's Republic maintains diplomatic relations with about 190 states.<sup>18</sup>

Mongolia has always designed its foreign policy which helped it develop towards democracy and socialist construction.

The basic aims of Mongolia's foreign policy are:

"an all round strengthening of the alliance, friendship and close cooperation with the Soviet Union and other socialist countries and the consolidation of their unity and cohesion, consistent support for the people's national liberation movement and active cooperation with young sovereign states, maintenance of normal relations with states having different social system on the principle of peaceful co-existence active contribution to the people's struggle for peace, against imperialist aggression and war, and for positive settlements of international issues."<sup>19</sup>

The emergence of the world socialist system shortly after the Second World War created favourable condition to strengthen Mongolia's position in the international sphere.<sup>20</sup> After establishing diplomatic relation with the socialist countries, Mongolia began to develop close bilateral and multilateral co-

18. Dugersuren, M., The Mongolian People's Republic and International Relations (Montsame-Ulaan Batar, 1981), p.11

19. Ibid., p.14

20. Mangalyn Dugersuren, Mongolia in the struggle for peace and socialism international Affairs (Moscow, 1981), p.12

operation with them.

In 1962 Mongolia joined the council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and entered into a new stage of cooperation with the socialist countries. The CMEA countries have systematically carried out measures to speed up the efficiency of the Mongolian economy. All possible help was rendered to intensify livestock farming and industrial production. It also gave non-refundable aid for building a number of research projects in Mongolia. As noted by Y. Tsedenbal, First Secretary of the MPRP Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural "The economic integration and cooperation of the MPR with the USSR and other fraternal socialist countries are the key external factor in the country's socio-economic development, and in the realisation of the Party's strategic objectives in the endeavour to complete the construction of socialism."<sup>21</sup>

The Mongolian People's Republic joined the United Nations in 1961. It has further consolidated her world status by exchanging diplomatic recognition with non-communist countries such as Britain, France and other West European countries.

The Mongolian People's Republic has made all efforts to participate actively in all the activities of the international organizations. The MPR became a member of specialized agencies of the UN, such as UNESCO, World Health Organization, Universal Postal Union, World Meteorological Organisation, International

21. The 60th Anniversary of People's Mongolia  
(Unen, Ulaan Batar, 1981), p.147

Telecommunication Union, International Labour Organization Nutrition and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, International Atomic Energy Organization, Organization of Industrial Development of the United Nations World Organization for Intellectual Property as well as the Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific.

The MPR actively supported in the UN, to the struggle of newly liberated countries against all types of neo-colonialism, economic suppression and for full economic independence.<sup>22</sup> Along with the other fraternal socialist countries, the Mongolian People's Republic attaches exceptional importance to the UN resolutions concerning major issues in the struggle against imperialism Colonialism for peace, international security and disarmament.

#### Relations with India:

Mongolia had a very old and direct relations with India from ancient times. To quote Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru who in his speech at the UN in 1960, said, India has special sentiment, with regards to Mongolia because our relations go back into distant past more than 1500 years.

Their early contacts which took place three to five millenniums ago in different parts of Asia gave origin to a mixed Indo-Mongoloid race. This process of intermingling of racial groups continued for centuries. The Mongoloid racial stock in India is mainly concentrated in the Himalayan border-

22. Mangalyn Dugersuren, Op. cit., p.13

land. On the other hand, the Himalayas and the river Ganges are often used in the Mongolian folklore. Mahabarata, Ramayana the well known Indian epics are popularly known and mentioned in the Mongolian literature, like Mongolian talk epic Gesar Khan known to Indian.

The second phase of Indo-Mongolian relations begun when Buddhism reached the land of the Mongols. Mongolia received much of India's philosophy religion as a general mass of Buddhist literature through Tibet. The Mongols have done a great deal of work in the field of Indology. In this period XIII-XIV centuries, a mass of Sanskrit text, were translated into Mongolian language. Among those are the translation of the Buddhist encyclopaedia Kanjur and Tanjur into Mongolian, which contain work by Indian and Tibetan authorities dealing with various aspect of human knowledge as philosophy, logic, poetry, grammer, art medicine and astrology. Among the other achievement of the medieval Mongolian Indological studies are the translations of the Grammers by Panini, Kalapa, Chandra, Anubhutisrarapa, Tonmisambhota etc; the poetries like 'Kavya-darsa' by Dandin, the 'Chandraratnakara' by Ratnakarasanti, the 'Meghaduta' by Kalidasa, the medical works on the pattern of Susrutasamhita and the works on philosophy by Nagarjuna, vasubandhu, Asanga, Dharmakirti etc.

Indo-Mongolian relations entered a new phase when the Mongolian People's Republic was formed in 1924. The Indological studies was further encouraged by the People's government. A considerable amount of work has been carried on since then.

Among the contemporary Mongolian scholars, who contributed to Indological studies in Mongolia are, Ts. Damdinsuren, Sh. Bird, Ch. Attangerel, Dr. B. Shirendyb, H. Gaddan and B. Rinchen etc. A large number of works of the contemporary Mongolian scholars are devoted to the history of cultural relations of Mongolia with India.

In the recent time, there has been growing interest among Indian scholars in the Mongolian studies. The pioneers of Mongolian studies in India are, D.S. Radha Krishanan, Raghuvira, Dr. Lokesh Chandra and many other scholar, who developed Mongolian studies in India. Publication on the heritage of the Mongolian people have been brought out by Dr. Lokesh Chandra. There are number of research work and projects are being carried out in the various Universities in India.

Independent India was among the first nation to establish diplomatic relations with Mongolia. In the 30 years of diplomatic relations, the two centuries have successfully expanded and consolidated the age old cultural ties.

Political and economic co-operation between India and Mongolia has expanded considerably during the last two decades. Both countries shared a common outlook and foreign policy. Like India, the Mongolian People's Republic always supported the national liberation movement and many other problems the mankind facing in the world today. Jawaharlal Nehru, while supporting the question of admission of Mongolia to the membership to the United Nations, in the UN General Assembly on 3

October 1960, said:-

"In this connection, I should like to mention another country Mongolia when we are rightly admitting so many countries to the UN, why should Mongolia be left out? What wrong has it done, what violation of the charter? Here are a quiet and peaceful people working for their progress, and it seems to me utterly wrong from any point of principle to exclude them from this great organization."

Mongolian president Tsedenbal's visit to India was a special significance to both the countries.

On many other international issues the Mongolian people's Republic strongly supported India. Mongolia always emphasised the importance of making Indian ocean as a zone of peace. Both countries also committed to the complete disarmament, against imperialism, colonialism, neo-colonialism and apartheid. The people of Mongolia appreciated the non-alignment policy of India and the role it plays in preserving peace and security in Asia and the world over.

Economic co-operation between the two countries have been strengthened during the last two decades. In February 1978, both countries agreed that trade between the two countries would be switched over in freely convertible currency. Two protocols were signed in August 1982, one in the field of agricultural education and research and other in health service. Trade between the two countries have increased considerably.

## CONCLUSION

Mongolian People's Republic is among the developing land-locked state in the world which has overcome the inherent disadvantages of its spatial location by having itself integrated into the Soviet's transportational network.

The analysis of the various elements of Mongolia's Political Geography suggests that, its geographical location has strongly determined the nature and pattern of its socio-political development. Firstly its geographical location kept it isolated from its adjacent territories, on the other hand as a land bridge between east and west, it occupied with the past an important position in the context of overland transport network of ancient, and medieval Asia. Mongolia's level of interaction with the surrounding territories was shaped by its geography both within and in the vicinity. The whole history of Mongolia has been the history of nomadism. The prevalence of desert and semi-desert environment in most part of the country had compelled the Mongols to adopt a nomadic way of life. The availability of water and pasture land had therefore controlled the activities of the Mongols. The whole country is comprise of mountains, steppeland, desert and semi desert with lakes and many other features. The extreme aridity, the absence of external drainage, poor quality pasturland, extreme contrast of seasonal and day temperature and extreme variability of annual rainfall are the main geographical characteristics of the country. All these physical environmental conditions have combined to affect the historical, political and economic development of the state. Its physical environment had also played the role of unifying factor



in the evolution of Mongolia as a nation state.

The analysis of the evolution of Mongolia as a nation state reflects that, beside its enclosed location, the historical and political functions in Central Asia has decisively effected the formation of Mongol Empire in the 12th and 13th century and the development of Mongolia a nation state in the 19th century. In the early period the present territory of Mongolia was ruled by Turks, Uigurs, Tungus and Mongol tribes. By 12th century the Mongol became the great power in Asia and Europe under the leadership of Chingis Khan. However the Mongols were unable to hold the conquered territories which stretched from China sea to the bank of Denieper in Europe. By 1368, the Mongols lost their control over China and the Mongol Empire was disintegrated into small independent states.

Although the Mongols remained disunited between fourteenth and seventeenth centuries, they continued to hold a vast territory of Mongol land and maintain its political independence. Mongolia's political development from 17th centuries onwards was decisively affected by its position between the two great neighbours. The coming together of Russians and Chinese in the Central Asia has affected the political independence of Mongolia. The Manchu or Ching Dynasty of China was successful in bringing the tribes of Mongolia under its empire by 1644.

Mongolia proclaimed its independence from the Manchu Ching Dynasty in the wake of the Chinese Revolution of 1911. A sino-Mongolian-Russian Treaty of June 1915 forced the Mongols to recognize Chinese suzerainty. The status, which Mongolia

held until 1946, meanwhile Mongolia entered the Communist Party state system as a result of the civil war in Siberia and the October 1917 Revolution of Russia. After the People's Revolution in 1921, the Mongols decided to align their country with the revolutionary Russia. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) a consciously Leninist and Moscow inspired Organization carried out the task of transforming the society from feudalism and backwardness to socialism. It took almost twenty years for the revolutionary party to liquidate the traditional social, political and economic institutions, which were dominated by the Buddhist Lamas.

A series of measures and steps were taken by party to integrate the Mongol society. Among those are the elimination of Buddhist Lamas and feudal lords, the collectivization of herdmen and the educational revolution. Mongolia entered the second stage of revolution in 1940, when the government introduced radical socialist changes in the country's economic and socio-political life.

The analysis of the evolution Mongolia's boundaries shows that its boundaries have evolved in the success or failure of neighbouring states in their expansionist activities in the 17th and 18th century. Mongolia's boundary with Russia was defined in the Kiakhta Treaty of 21 October 1727 between Russia and Manchu China. The only recent modification occurred in 1944, when the USSR annexed Uriankhai district, which formed the north-west part of Mongolia. Present territory of Mongolian People's Republic comprise the regions which were under the

jurisdiction of the Chinese Amban at Urga the Tartar General at Uliastai and of the Chinese Amban at Kobdo. The nature of Mongolia's boundary with China was related to the status of Mongolia. Until recently it had formed de facto boundary between Russia and China. China however agreed to recognize the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic in her existing border if the Mongols themselves expressed such a desire in a plebiscite. China's formal recognition of the Mongolia People's Republic (MPR) in 1946 has resulted into the demarcation of 4673 kilometres long Sino-Mongolian boundary on 26 December 1962, which has long been shown as undetermined on Chinese map.

The morphology of Mongolia's state area clearly suggests the concentration of economic activities in the western, northern and central regions which are favourable of agricultural development. The economic processes have always been linked with the political processes that have developed over the time in Mongolia's People's Republic. The introduction of cooperative movement in agriculture especially in the field of animal husbandary has made the country self-sufficient in food. After the Second World War, the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) stepped up Socialist construction, increased industrialization and agricultural development. The party has successfully transformed the Mongol Society from feudalism to socialism by 1960, and it had turned into an agrarian - industrial country.

The changes in the administrative set up and reorganisation of the provinces was a major step towards consolidation of the

state and strengthening of the Mongolian nationalism. The present administrative units seem to be more favourable latitude for planning and development. Though the livestock-herding nomads still constitute the bulk of its population, its urban population is also growing rapidly. Today, even the most remote parts of the country is effectively integrated into the communist system through collectivization and close party supervision.

The Mongolian People's Republic maintains extremely close relations in the Soviet Union. Soviet influence in Mongolia covers all aspects of Mongolia's state activities. All its industrial development and economic activities depend on Soviet initiative and equipment. There are also direct links between the ministries, departments, agencies and party organization of the two countries.

China accepted the independence of Mongolian People's Republic reluctantly in 1946. Privately, the Chinese believe Mongolia is a legitimate part of Greater China. Mongolia's relations with China from the beginning have been related to the relations between China and the USSR. The status of Mongolia in international relations has begun to change after she joined the United Nations in 1961. Presently, it maintains diplomatic relations with about 90 states.

Mongolian's case is notable example of loosening grip of geographical determination and over-all success story of man beyond the so called limits to development set by the geography.

## APPENDICES

### APPENDIX-I

#### NOVEMBER, 1913 NOTE TO THE CHINESE MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, ON THE QUESTION OF OUTER MONGOLIAN AUTONOMY

The Russian minister at Peking argued that Autonomous Outer Mongolia should comprise the regions which have been under the jurisdiction of the Chinese Amban of Urga, of the Tartar General of Uliastai, and of the Chinese Amban of Kobdo. In as much as there were no detailed maps of Mongolia, and as the boundaries of administrative divisions of the country were uncertain, he agreed that the exact boundaries of Outer Mongolia, as well the boundary between the district of Altai, should be the subject of the subsequent conferences provided for, in Article 5 of the Russo-Chinese Declaration of November 5, 1913.

### APPENDIX-II

#### JUNE, 1915 RUSSO-CHINESE-MONGOLIAN TRIPARTITE AGREEMENT

Under Article 10 of the Agreement, the territory of Autonomous Outer Mongolia was said to comprise the regions which were under the jurisdiction of the Chinese Amban at Urga, of the Tartar-General at Uliastai, and of the Chinese Amban at Kobdo. It connected with the boundary of China by the limits of the banners of the four aimaks of Khalka and of the district of Kobdo, bounded by the district of Houlunbouir (i.e., Hailar) on the east, by Inner Mongolia on the south, by the Provinces of Sinkiang on the south east, and by the district of Alta's on the west.

The formal delimitation between China and Autonomous Outer Mongolia was to be carried out by a special commission

of delegates of China, Russia and Autonomous Outer Mongolia, which would commence its work within a period of two years.

APPENDIX-III

1921, USSR-MONGOLIA FRIENDSHIP PACT.

ARTICLE-I

The Russian Soviet and the Revolutionary Mongol Governments mutually recognize each other as the only governments in the territory of Russia and Mongolia.

ARTICLE-2

Both Governments agree mutually to respect each other and not to allow on their territory the formation of groups, or the recruiting of troops, hostile to one of the Contracting Parties, as also not to allow the transportation of arms and the transit of troops, hostile to one of the Contracting Parties, through their territory.

ARTICLE-3

Both Governments will establish, at their discretion, consulates in necessary places.

ARTICLE-4

The question of frontier delimitation must be decided immediately by a mixed Russo-Mongol commission.

ARTICLE-5

The citizens of Russia and Mongolia, residing on the territory of the other Contracting Party, must be judged, both in civil and criminal cases, according to the laws of their own country.

ARTICLE 6

Taxes on imports and exports will also be fixed by a mixed commission.

ARTICLE-7

The Soviet Government undertake to establish in Mongolia free of charge, postal and telegraphic communications, and will supply the necessary materials for this purpose, whereupon a special postal and telegraphic convention will be signed.

ARTICLE-8

The Mongolian Government recognizes the right of property on land within its territory, and agrees to give the ground-space necessary for buildings of divers kinds, and for railways built with Russian capital.

ARTICLE-9

The present Pact comes into force from the day of the signature by the representatives of the Contracting Parties. Moscow, 5 November 1921.

APPENDIX-IV

1936, PROTOCOL OF MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN MONGOLIA AND THE USSR

ARTICLE-1

In the event of the threat of an attack on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and Mongolian People's Republic by a third party, the Government of the USSR and the MPR undertake to confer immediately regarding the situation and to take all measures that may be necessary for the protection and security of their territories.

ARTICLE-2

The Government of the USSR and the MPR undertake, in the event of a military attack on one of the Contracting parties, to render each other every assistance, including military assistance.

ARTICLE-3

The Government of the USSR and the MPR are in full understanding that the troops of either country will be sent into the territory of the other in accordance with a mutual agreement and in accordance with Articles 1 and 2 of the protocol, and will immediately be withdrawn from that territory as soon as the period of necessity is over, as was the case in 1925 when Soviet troops retired from the territory of the Mongolian People's Republic.

ARTICLE-4

The present protocol is drawn up in two copies, in the Russian and Mongolian languages, and both texts are equally valid. The protocol enters into force as from the moment of its signature and will remain in force for ten years thereafter.

Ulaan Batar, 12 March 1936.

APPENDIX-V

1946, TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN  
MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND THE USSR

ARTICLE-1

In the event of the threat of an attack on the territory of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics or of the Mongolian Peoples Republic by a third party, the Government of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and of the Mongolian people's Republic undertake to confer immediately regarding the situation and take



all such measures as may be necessary for the protection and security of their territories.

ARTICLE-2

The Government of the USSR and the MPR undertake, in the event of a military attack on one of the Contracting Parties, to render each other every assistance, including military assistance.

ARTICLE-3

The Government of the USSR and of the MPR deem it self-understood that the troops of one of the parties stationed by mutual agreement on the territory of the other party in fulfillment of understanding under Article 1 or 2 of this protocol, will be withdrawn from the territory in question without delay when the necessity for this is over, as was the case in 1925 with regard to the withdrawal of Soviet troops from the territory of the MPR.

The present Treaty comes into force from the moment of its ratification, which must be effected within as short a time as possible. The exchange of ratification instruments will take place in Ulaan Batar. Unless one of the High Contracting parties one year prior to expiration of the term of the present Treaty gives notice of its desire to denounce the Treaty, it will remain valid for the next ten years.

Drawn up in Moscow on 27 February 1946, which corresponds to the twenty-seventh day of the second moon of the thirty sixth year of the Mongolian calendar in two copies in the Russian and Mongolian languages, both texts being equally valid.

On authorization of the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics, V. Molotov.

On authorization of the presidium of the Small Khural of the Mongolian People's Republic-Choibalsan,

APPENDIX-VI

1966, TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP, CO-OPERATION AND MUTUAL ALLIANCE BETWEEN MONGOLIAN PEOPLE'S REPUBLIC AND THE USSR

ARTICLE-1

The High Contracting Parties shall continue to strengthen the unshakable traditional friendship of the peoples of the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the Mongolian People's Republic and to develop and round co-operation and fraternal mutual assistance between the two countries on the basis of the principles of socialist internationalism.

ARTICLE-2

The High Contracting Parties shall continue to develop and intensify economic, scientific and technical co-operation between the two countries in accordance with the principles of friendly mutual assistance and mutual benefit both on a bilateral basis and within the framework of the multilateral co-operation of the socialist countries, including the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance.

ARTICLE-3

The High Contracting Parties shall steadily develop the cultural ties between the two countries through the further expansion of co-operation in the spheres of education, health, science, literature, art, the press, radio and television, and physical culture and sports.

ARTICLE-4

On the basis of and pursuant to this Treaty, separate treaties and agreements shall be concluded between the Governments and between the appropriate institutions and organizations of the two Parties.

ARTICLE-5

The High Contracting Parties shall assist each other in ensuring the defensive capacity of the two countries in accordance with the tasks involved in steadily strengthening the defensive power of the socialist community. The High Contracting Parties shall consult together on all major international problems affecting the interests of the two countries or the interests of peace and international co-operation and, acting in the spirit of their finest traditions and of the Charter of the United Nations, they shall jointly take all necessary measures, including military measures, with a view to ensuring the security, independence and territorial integrity of the two countries.

ARTICLE-6

The High Contracting Parties shall continue their efforts aimed at the preservation and strengthening of international peace and the security of people, at the achievement of general and complete disarmament and at the complete elimination of colonialism in all its forms and manifestations. The High Contracting Parties confirm their readiness to participate, in a spirit of sincere co-operation, in all international action designed to achieve these lofty aims

ARTICLE-7

The High Contracting Parties shall consistently pursue a policy of maintaining and strengthening friendly relations and co-operation among States in Asia and shall act jointly to prevent and remove any threat of imperialist aggression in that part of the world.

ARTICLE-8

This Treaty shall not affect obligations assumed by the parties under existing bilateral and multilateral agreements.

ARTICLE-9

This Treaty is subject to ratification and shall enter into force on the date of the exchange of the instruments of rectification, which shall take place in Moscow as soon as possible.

ARTICLE-10

This Treaty is concluded for a term of twenty years and shall be automatically extended for successive ten-year terms if neither of the High Contracting parties gives notice of its desire to terminate it twelve months before the expiry of the current term.

Done at Ulaan Batar on 15 January 1966 in duplicate in the Russian and Mongolian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

APPENDIX-VII

1960, TREATY OF FRIENDSHIP AND MUTUAL ASSISTANCE BETWEEN CHINA AND MONGOLIA

ARTICLE-1

The Contracting Parties will make every effort to safeguard Asian and world peace and the security of all peoples.

ARTICLE-2

The Contracting Parties will consult with each other on all important international questions of common interest to the People's Republic of China and the Mongolian People's Republic.

ARTICLE-3

The Contracting parties will render each other every possible economic and technical aid in the cause of peaceful construction of the two countries.

ARTICLE-4

The Contracting parties reiterate that they will continue to consolidate and develop economic, cultural and scientific and technological co-operation between the two countries in accordance with the Agreement on Economic and Cultural Co-operation signed by the People's Republic of China and the Mongolian People's Republic on 4 October 1952.

ARTICLE-5

The present Treaty is subject to ratification and shall come into force on the day of exchange of instruments of ratification which will take place in Peking.

The present Treaty will remain in force until the Contracting Parties agree to amend or terminate it.

Done in Ulaan Batar on 31 May 1960 in duplicate in the Chinese and Mongolian languages, both texts being equally authentic.

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