

ISSN 0971-9318

HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

(JOURNAL OF HIMALAYAN RESEARCH AND CULTURAL FOUNDATION)
NGO in Consultative Status-Category II with ECOSOC, United Nations
Vol. 5 No. 1 January - March 2001

MONGOLIA SPECIAL

Buddhism in Mongolia

Lokesh Chandra

Connections between Indian, Tibetan and Sanskrit Scripts

G. Tsend Ayush

Mongolia-India Relations: Some Perspectives

O. Nyamdavaa

Mongolia, Russia and China: The Geopolitical Perspective

G. Tumurchuluun

Post-Communist Transition in Mongolia

Baabar Batbayar

Mongolia's Foreign Policy Priorities

Sharad K. Soni

Mongolia, New Central Asia and India

Ts. Batbayar

Mongolia and its third Neighbours

D. Bayarkhuu

HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

Editor : K. WARIKOO

Guest Editor : SHARAD K. SONI

Copyright©Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation, New Delhi.

- * All rights reserved. No part of this publication may be reproduced, stored in a retrieval system, or transmitted by any means, electrical, mechanical or otherwise without first seeking the written permission of the publisher or due acknowledgement.
- * The views expressed in this Journal are those of the authors and do not necessarily represent the opinions or policies of the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation.

SUBSCRIPTION

IN INDIA		
Single Copy	:	Rs. 100.00
Annual (Individual)	:	Rs. 300.00
Institutions	:	Rs. 500.00
& Libraries (Annual)		
OVERSEAS (AIRMAIL)		
Single Copy	:	US \$ 7.00
		UK £ 5.00
Annual (Individual)	:	US \$ 30.00
		UK £ 20.00
Institutions	:	US \$ 50.00
& Libraries (Annual)		UK £ 35.00

Subscriptions should be sent by crossed cheque or bank draft in favour of HIMALAYAN RESEARCH AND CULTURAL FOUNDATION, Post Box : 10541, Jawaharlal Nehru University Post Office, New Delhi - 110067 (India).

Printed and published by Prof. K. Warikoo on behalf of the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation, BA/1G, D.D.A. Flats, Munirka, New Delhi-110067. Printed at Print India, A-38/2, Mayapuri-I, New Delhi-64 and published at New Delhi.

EDITORIAL ADVISORY BOARD

Dr. T.N. Khoshoo

Distinguished Fellow
TERI, Habitat Centre
Lodhi Road
New Delhi (India)

Prof. Harish Kapur

Professor Emeritus
Graduate Institute of
International Studies
Geneva (Switzerland)

Mr. Alexander Veigl

Secretary General
IOV
Vienna (Austria)

Lt. General (Rtd.) Hridaya Kaul

New Delhi (India)

Prof. A.A. Aidaraliev

President
International University
of Kyrgyzstan,
Bishkek (Kyrgyzstan)

Prof. Devendra Kaushik

Chairman, Executive Council
Maulana Abul Kalam Azad
Institute of Asian Studies
Calcutta (India)

Prof. M.L. Sondhi

Chairman
Indian Council of Social
Science Research
New Delhi (India)

Prof. B.R. Grover

Chairman
Indian Council of
Historical Research
New Delhi (India)

Prof. Jayanta Kumar Ray

University of Calcutta
Calcutta (India)

Prof. B.K. Roy Burman

Centre for Study of
Development Studies
Delhi (India)

Prof. R.R. Sharma

Vice Chancellor
University of Jammu
Jammu (India)

Prof. Kalim Bahadur

School of International Studies
Jawaharlal Nehru University
New Delhi (India)

Prof. K.N. Pandita

Jammu (India)

Dr. R.P. Khatana

Gurgaon (India)

CONTRIBUTORS

Dr. Lokesh Chandra is a leading Indologist.

Ms. G. Tsend Ayush, formerly Research Fellow, Institute of Folk Medicine, Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Ulaanbaatar is presently working in Chicago, USA.

O. Nyamdavaa is Ambassador of Mongolia in India.

Dr. G. Tumurchuluun is Senior Counsellor, Policy Planning and Monitoring Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mongolia.

B. Batbayar, formerly the Finance Minister of Mongolia is an eminent politician and writer.

Dr. Sharad K. Soni is Project Fellow, Maulana Abul Kalam Azad Institute of Asian Studies, Calcutta.

Dr. Ts. Batbayar formerly Director, Institute of Oriental and International Studies of the Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Ulaanbaatar is Deputy Director General, Policy Planning and Monitoring Department, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Mongolia.

D. Bayarkhuu, formerly Professor of International Relations, School of Foreign Service, National University of Mongolia is currently Counsellor, Embassy of Mongolia in New Delhi (India).

HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES

Vol. 5 No. 1

January - March 2001

CONTENTS

Editor's Page		1-3
Buddhism in Mongolia	<i>Lokesh Chandra</i>	4-14
Connections between Indian, Tibetan and Sanskrit Scripts	<i>G. Tsend Ayush</i>	15-18
Mongolia-India Relations: Some Perspectives	<i>O. Nyamdavaa</i>	19-32
Mongolia, Russia and China: The Geopolitical Perspective	<i>G. Tumurchuluun</i>	33-44
Post-Communist Transition in Mongolia	<i>Baabar Batbayar</i>	45-54
Mongolia's Foreign Policy Priorities	<i>Sharad K. Soni</i>	55-66
Mongolia, New Central Asia and India	<i>Ts. Batbayar</i>	67-79
Mongolia and its third Neighbours	<i>D. Bayarkhuu</i>	80-90
Documents		91-101
<i>India-Mongolia Joint Declaration</i>		
<i>Speech by the President of Mongolia</i>		
<i>Speech by the President of India</i>		

Editor's Page

Mongolia is a land locked country with vast but sparsely populated territory covering 1,565,000 sq. kms. Bordered by Russia to the north, Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region of China to the south, Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region of China to the west and rest of China to the east, Mongolia is sandwiched between its two giant neighbours- Russia and China. After centuries of being cut off from the international mainstream first because of its remote location and then by Chinese and Russian domination, Mongolia has now awakened to maintain its own identity.

Mongolia of today is no more dependent on its former ally. The post-cold war era has witnessed changes in Mongolia's geopolitical environment and its national security concerns. With the adoption of market economy and ensuing democratic reforms, Mongolia has opened itself to the outside world by strengthening its bilateral ties and engaging more actively in various multilateral processes. At the turn of the 21st century, Mongolia's "multi-pillared" foreign policy aims at developing bilateral ties with such countries which play a key role in terms of economic and trade relations besides having a significant impact on Mongolia's security environment. Mongolia now attaches importance to maintain a balanced and good neighbourly relations with its immediate neighbours, Russia and China as well as to forge close cooperation with USA, Europe, Central Asia, Japan and other countries of the Asia Pacific region.

India and Mongolia have maintained close historico-cultural ties since ancient times, notwithstanding the physical barriers. Commonality of traditions, culture and customs have brought

both the countries closer thereby reinvigorating the process of bilateral cooperation. In the post-cold-war era, Mongolia's emergence as a democratic and market economy oriented country has lent a new dimension to Indo-Mongolian relationship. Recently on December 24, 2000, the two countries celebrated 45th anniversary of the establishment of their diplomatic relations. Mongolia has always appreciated India's desire for peace and security in the region. While during the Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 and India-Pakistan war of 1965, Mongolia adopted a neutral stand, in the case of India-Pakistan war of 1971 it showed a positive tilt in its stand towards India. India's restraint during the Pak intrusion in Kargil (May-July 1999) was welcomed by Mongolia which also expressed support for India's stress on bilateral negotiations with Pakistan in the spirit of Shimla Agreement and Lahore Declaration to resolve the Kashmir issue. Mongolia has lately pledged support to India's bid for permanent membership of the UN Security Council.

On its part India has been extending its support to Mongolia on its nuclear-weapon-free status as well as in its developmental efforts in diverse sectors. In this regard Mongolian President N. Bagabandi's visit to India in January 2001 is significant as it marked the signing of new agreements in areas such as Information Technology, Defence and Legal matters. In a joint declaration issued on 3 January 2001 at the conclusion of Mongolian President's visit to India, both Mongolia and India recognising the serious threats posed to nation states and international peace and security by rise of international terrorism and religious fundamentalism, condemned terrorism in all its forms, irrespective of political, philosophical, ideological, religious, ethnic, racial or any other consideration that may be invoked to justify them. They also condemned states that aid,

abet and directly support cross-border and international terrorism. India also extended humanitarian assistance worth 10 million rupees to help Mongolia to overcome the sufferings of its people affected by harsh winter.

It is against this backdrop that this Mongolia Special Issue of *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies* is being brought out. Eminent academics and diplomats from both Mongolia and India have contributed their valued papers for this Special Issue. Dr. Lokesh Chandra provides important insights into influence of Indian Buddhism and philosophy over society and culture in Mongolia. G. Tsend Ayush highlights the connections between Indian, Tibetan and Sanskrit scripts. While O. Nyamdavaa discusses the extent and pattern of Mongolia-India relations, Dr. G. Tumurchuluun sheds light on the geopolitical perspectives of Mongolia's relations with Russia and China. Baabar Batbayar details the achievements of democratic transition in post-communist Mongolia. While Dr. Sharad K. Soni seeks to analyse the peculiarities of Mongolia's foreign policy priorities in the current scenario, the importance of India and Central Asia in Mongolia's foreign relations has been the main focus of Dr. Ts. Batbayar's paper. Lastly, D. Bayarkhuu draws attention to Mongolia's quest for having a third neighbour as a guarantee of its independent existence.

Sharad K. Soni

BUDDHISM IN MONGOLIA

Lokesh Chandra

Mongolian Buddhism is a highly developed system of philosophy, with a complex ritual. Herein are some glimpses of Buddhism in Mongolia, without going into philosophic intricacies.

The Buddhist custom of Mongolia demands a *mangalacarana* or salutary beginning. After taking refuge in the Lord, the Order and the Doctrine, i.e. Lord Buddha, the venerable Saṅgha, and the precious Dharma, the Buddhist scholars of Mongolia express their salutations to eminent dharmadharas or pillars of the Doctrine in elegant language. To follow in their footsteps, I translate such a passage: "My obeisance to the Lord of infinite compassion, He who holds the pure lotus of supreme kindness, He who sustains the holy banner of Dharma of Tsoṅkhapa, the exalted Lord of beings who reside in this Northern Land of Mongolia. He who delivers men from the constant cycle of wanderings in various existences, may He in the form of Mahakala, dispel the hindrances which mar the way to peace and happiness."

In the winter of 1956 our country celebrated one of the most momentous events of history, 2500th anniversary of the Mahāparinirvāna of Lord Buddha. It was unique in many respects on which we need not dwell here. It brought to our minds once again the message of compassion and peace as preached by Lord Buddha - a message most needed today when the entire human race stands face to face with total annihilation. Moreover, this *jayanti* gave us the singular privilege of having amidst us supreme men like Their Exalted Holiness' the Dalai and Panchen Lamas, representatives of the Buddhists of far flung Siberia, and the delegates of Mongolia. The distant land of Mongolia, whose history and religion were till yesterday inaccessible to us, became a living reality. I had the rare privilege of meeting two eminent Mongols, one a man of pristine wisdom, and the other a man of modern learning. Having read about Mongolian Buddhism for years, it was a fascination to see and talk to

BUDDHISM IN MONGOLIA

these two representatives of an ancient land with centuries of glory trailing behind. Venerable Lama Gombodo was the Grand Gesui or the Grand Ceremony Master of the great monastery of Gandang. His companion Prof. Lubsang Vandan, a philologist by profession, acted as his interpreter. As one heard Ven. Gombodo describing the holy monastery of Gandang, one could hardly resist the temptation of being there. One of the exciting things the Venerable related was that, over four hundred years ago the holy water of Ganga had been taken to his monastery, and it was still there in its microcosmic form. As he related this historic fact of friendship and love between our two ancient countries his eyes gleamed with joy and an indescribable hope of his being the first Venerable of this century to take back with him the holy water. He went on saying that this water still existed. But how could it exist through so many centuries. The pious Buddhist monks had used the first quantity of this holy water in their tea, over four hundred years ago. From that tea they kept a portion for the next day which was poured into the tea for that day. From the next day again a portion was preserved for the day to come, and so on for this long expanse of time. The ever-increasing microscopicality of water did not detract from its potency. The potency rather increased. Tea is a part of the religious ceremonial in Mongolian Buddhism. The old Takhure (i.e. modern Ulaanbaatar) was famous throughout the Lamaist world for its huge and historic cauldrons in which tea could be prepared for ten thousand monks at a time.

The Venerable Gombodo could not resist asking us if it would be possible to take the holy Ganga water with him. My father, Prof. Raghu Vira, at once agreed to help him to procure it. The next day they went to Rishikesh and Ven. Gombodo was proud that he would again take the Holy Water to the Gandang Monastery.

After a few months of our exciting conversation with these first Mongolians in India, I, my wife and sister (Dr. (Mrs.) S. Singhal) were afforded the honour of visiting Mongolia. After a brief sojourn in Moscow, we took a plane to Ulaanbaatar, our hearts eager to be there at the earliest opportunity. We flew over various cities of Siberia.

We crossed lake Baikal, the northernmost limit of Mongolian Buddhism. After a flight of over 30 hours we landed in Ulaanbaatar, with the mountain Badgo-ol flanking the airfield. It was the realisation of a dream. We were greeted by the Venerable Gombodo, Dampadarje (Śāsana-
vardhana), representatives of the Ministry of Culture, Madame Ratna, the wife of the foremost Mongol scholar Prof. Rinchen, Prof. Lobsang Vandan, interpreters, and various other friends. We were soon in the Altai Hotel, a grand building, where all the foreign guests stay.

The next day we were invited by the monastery of Gandang. The full name of Gandang is Gandangthechenling. On one of its halls, its name is also inscribed in Sanskrit as *Tusitah mähāyanadvipa*. The entrance to the precincts of the monastery is flanked by two lions in stone, guarding the doctrine of Śākyasimha, or the Lion of the Śākyas, i.e. Lord Buddha. The lions are the mighty guardians of evil against the monastery. Standing near these two lions in stone, we are faced with five porcelain-roofed halls of Gandang. Multicoloured holy banners on high poles are erected in all directions along the wooden boundary wall. On top of the entrance gate is the dharmacakra with deer on both sides—symbolising *dharmacakra-pravartana* or setting the wheel of Law into motion i.e. the first sermon of Lord Buddha in the Deer Park (modern Sarnath). On entering the gate is a wooden platform which was used to proclaim to the Sangha the ordination of new bhiksus.

The five halls are: (1) the Prayer Hall, (2) the Vajradhara Hall, (3) the Candanjovo Hall, (4) the Library, and (5) the Administration Hall. We were first taken to the Prayer Hall, which was resounding with the voice of over fifty monks reciting dhāranis, accompanied by gongs, drums, cymbals and Mongolian trumpets. The effect of the entire atmosphere was profound and ennobling. The holy music had the power of lifting us from this earth to superhuman heights. It could make us divine. The deep impression it left on us is beyond words. Every object inspired piety even in unbelieving hearts. The entire hall was full of artistic statues which had been consecrated by the hands of the faithful. The musical instruments bore beautiful nāga designs. Hundreds of silk paintings hung on the walls. One of them was in appliqué, an exquisite

BUDDHISM IN MONGOLIA

piece of Mongolian craftsmanship. It was over 30 feet long. As we came out, we noticed tiny bells hanging from the sloping roofs. At every ripple of breeze, their musical tinkling contrasts with the pensive calm of the monastic precincts during the prayer-hours.

In the second hall the main image is of Dorjechan or Vajradhara. This hall is opposite the main entrance. In front of this hall stands an incensoir, i.e. a receptacle for dhūpa/incense. It is higher than myself, somewhere between 8 to 10 feet. It was presented by one of the emperors of China. This hall has a collection of over a thousand Buddhist works collectively known as the *Kanjur* or the words of Lord Buddha. The most interesting object in this hall is the daṇḍa or staff of an Indian teacher who went to Mongolia during the time of His Supreme Holiness the first Jibcundampa. Like His Holiness the Dalai Lama in Tibet, there was His Holiness the Jibcundampa in Mongolia.

The life of Jibcundampa I is recorded in Mongolian chojuṅs or monastic chronicles. There are three famous chojuṅs. They are fundamental sources for the history of Buddhism in Mongolia. One of these chronicles relate the life of Jibcundampa I in ornate language as follows: "He who illuminated the Law in the heart of this northern land of Mongolia as the sun illumines this earth, the supreme person or puruṣottama, the refuge of creatures, the first Jibcundampa, Svayambhū-jñānavajra Sumatisaśāna-śridhvaja incarnated in the 9th Wood-Pig year of the 11th rabjuṅ or sexagenary cycle, as the son of Thus'ethu king Gombodorje in the Hangkaikhan district in the village Usun-cuile. His birth was preceded and followed by miracles. Before this birth appeared an Indian ācārya wearing a pan-zhwa (or paṇḍita-cap) and riding an elephant. He said, "I am going to King Thus'ethu," and disappeared. In the royal gardens grew lovely flowers in the winter season when His Holiness (H.H.) was born. At the age of three, H.H. recited books which he had never seen, e.g. the *Nāmasaṅgiti*. At this age, H.H. got his initiation from Byams-pa-gliṅ-nomun-qan, and the name Jñānavajra. The Mongolians pronounce it Zanabazar and term him Ündür Gegen in respect. H.H. came to know the language of ācāryas (i.e. Sanskrit) by himself. H.H. began to speak Tibetan

instinctively. At the very tender age of four years, H.H. composed two verses. H.H. performed many miracles. The people saw in H.H. the incarnation of a great personage. Thereupon several emissaries were sent to Their Holiness' Panchen Lama, the Dalai Lama and the Choijun or State Oracle of Lhasa to enquire about H.H. All unanimously proclaimed H.H. as the incarnation of the great saint and scholar Taranatha. At the age of five, H.H. was enthroned at Sherethuchagennor as the supreme spiritual refuge of the Mongolian people." Thus a chronicle goes on to detail the life of this eminent spiritual preceptor of the Mongols. It describes his pilgrimages, the construction of monasteries, the numerous honours showered on him, the caves where he sat in meditation, invention of the Soyambo script, efforts to create peace among warring Mongol tribes, audience with the Emperor of China, his skills as an icon-maker, and his numerous acts for the welfare of the Mongolian people. The life of H.H. was singular in that two Indian ācāryas came and resided in his personal *yurt*. They talked to H.H. in Sanskrit. One of them was a yogācārya. The elder ācārya was called Dosorcan or one having a stone finger. He presented to H.H. the stories of King Bhoja, Vikramaditya and Krsna. This trilogy was rendered into the Mongolian language. Till today these stories can be heard in the remote tents of Mongolia. The staff of this Indian ācārya is preserved at the Gandang monastery. The masks of these two ācāryas were incorporated in the Mongolian Buddhist Cham dance. Some of these masks are still preserved in the Choijinlaminsum. H.H. created a new script for the Mongolian language on the basis of the Nagari script which he called Svayambhū-jyoti or Soyambo in short. It meant the light of freedom. This script was used for communication among the freedom fighters against the tyranny of Manchus. Even today it can be seen in inscriptions engraved on the nine stupas at Erdenidzu erected in 1958 for "Peace throughout the Planet of ours."

Let us come to the second hall of the Gandang monastery. It contains an image of Avalokiteśvara of the seventh century. This image was brought from Nepal. On the walls of this hall, you can find Sanskrit dhāraṇīs. One of them reads: *Om namo bhagavate bhaiṣajyaguru-*

BUDDHISM IN MONGOLIA

vaiḍūrya-prabha-rājāya tathāgatāya arhate samyaksambuddhāya,
etc.

The third is the hall of Candanjovo. It contains the replica of a sandalwood statue of Lord Buddha. The original sandalwood statue is in the Siberian republic of Buryat Mongolia. The original is reputed to have been made during the lifetime of Lord Buddha himself. This hall has over 30 Buddhist images which were made in Poland at the beginning of this century. It is hardly known that Poland was a centre for the making of Buddhist images. Mongolia purchased a hundred thousand Buddhist statues from Poland in about 1912.

The fourth hall in the Gandang monastery contains a rich collection of ancient Buddhist manuscripts and xylographs. The name of the library is written on the door-top in four languages, one of which is Sanskrit. The Sanskrit name is *Tuṣitaḥ mahāyāna-dvipasya pustikagañja*. It is a unique treasury for scholars who wish to investigate the rich Buddhist heritage of the Mongolian people. Everything that one sees here is hallowed by time. Even the table-cloth has a historic design. It has the navaratnas: *swastika, 'srivatsa, mina, 'sānkha, padma, maṅgala-kalaśa,* etc.

In the Gandang monastery we met two learned lamas who knew Sanskrit. They had a passion for learning the divine language Sanskrit. One of them was Tanzinodser whose name in Sanskrit is Śāsanadharaprabha, and the other was Yishithabkhai or Jñānopāyakusala. Both of them were studying the Sārasvata Sanskrit grammar when we were there. Ven. Tanzinodser was a talented Buddhist scholar, a gifted painter and well-versed in making Buddhist statues. He told us that one of the Indian teachers who had come to Mongolia during the days of Jibcundampa I had taught the monks of that time to cook some Indian preparations. One of them was *batash* or *patashas*. The monks prepare special saline cakes called *gabcuin dugui* or the *upādhyāya-cakra*. These are given to special guests as a mark of honour. The traditional Mongolian custom of welcoming a guest is akin to the *madhuparka* of India. A hostess will treat her guest with milk products like cream, curds and cheese in a silver vessel, with a wooden ladle.

In the capital of Mongolia Ulaanbaatar is situated the State Library, housed in the building of the Academy of Sciences. This library has an astoundingly immense collection of Buddhist works in the Mongolian and Tibetan languages. It has now become world's richest collection of Mongolian and Tibetan xylographs and manuscripts, many of which are unique. Mongolian literature is rich in Buddhist and other works akin in spirit to that of India. The "pearls of their literature" are the 108 volumes of the *Kanjur* and 226 volumes of the *Tanjur*, now preserved in the Library of the Academy of Sciences. The 108 volumes of the Mongolian *Kanjur* are conserved here in boxes darkened by the passing of time. These 108 volumes embody the most sacred Buddhist literature which sprang from the mouth of the Enlightened One himself. The translation of this vast collection of about 1200 works extending over more than 80,000 pages was started by the Mongols in the 12th century and finished in the 17th century. The pride of the library are 226 volumes of the Mongolian *Tanjur*, whose printing was completed in the 18th century. The *Tanjur* contains the translation of works of the Buddhist master minds of India on such diverse subjects as philosophy, logic, medicine, grammar, art, literature, rhetorics, ritual, architecture and a host of other disciplines. It even contains the famous lyric poem of Kālidāsa, the *Meghadūta*, that enjoyed in ancient Mongolia no less popularity than the philosophic poem of Śhāntideva, the *Bodhicāryavatāra*.

Thousands of Mongolian manuscripts and chronicles of the 16th, 17th and 18th centuries are lying on shelves awaiting their turn for research work. Dozens of specialists in Mongolian philology, history and literature could devote their entire lives to study all that is preserved in this great depository, the State Library.

Among ancient manuscripts occupying the foremost place in this library, is an 11th century Sanskrit manuscript of the *Aṣṭasāhasrikā Prajñāpāramitā*, with multi-coloured miniatures. It is written on palm leaves. It has the autographs of its former owners of the 14th century. Among them was Khedup Chorje, the leading disciple of Tsonkhapa, the founder of the Yellow Sect of Lamaism.

BUDDHISM IN MONGOLIA

The total number of Mongolian and Tibetan Buddhist manuscripts and xylographed works in this library runs upto a lakh. This testifies to the astonishingly prolific literary activity of the Mongolian Buddhist writers from the 13th century to the 19th century. I had the rare privilege of peeping into riches of the library. The rare and unique works in this library are covered in the three volumes of my *Materials for a History of Tibetan Literature*.

Now let us go 450 kms. away from Ulaanbaatar to the ancient capital of Mongolia. When the Mongolians were at the height of their glory, emperor Chinggis Khan had his capital in Karakorum pitched in gers, the traditional tent-dwellings of the Mongolians. Now only a few remnants of the city wall can be seen at the site. A giant tortoise in stone, which must have decorated one of the entrance gates to the tent-city remains. On the environs of this vanished capital stands the first Mongolian monastery of the Gelukpas. It is called Erdenidzu. Erdeni is the corrupt form of the Sanskrit word *ratna*. Here it would be necessary to give a general idea of the beginnings of Buddhism in Mongolia to understand the important place occupied by Erdenidzu in Mongolian history. In Mongolia the earliest Buddhist remains date from 6th to 8th centuries. The early Buddhist teachers alluded to in the chronicles were the Sogdians. They were followed by the Uighurs, a Turkish tribe. The Uighurs were ardent Buddhists and recited dhāranis in Sanskrit. The Uighur translation of the famous Buddhist works *Suvarṇaprabhāsa* is preserved in Leningrad in the Oriental Institute of the Academy of Sciences of the former USSR. The Uighur translations of Buddhist texts found their way into Mongolia. Their script became the national script of Mongolia. The introduction of this script gave rise to Mongolian Buddhist literature. In the times of the first Chinese emperor of the Sui dynasty, north Indian Pandits Śakyavamśa and Narendrayaśas came to Mongolia and actively worked for the spiritual welfare of the Mongolian people. Mongolian scholars are recorded to have visited India over the centuries for study and pilgrimage. Later on, the great masters of Tibet began to have more and more active contacts with Mongolia. This led to the introduction of the Red Sect of Lamaism. Till the 16th century

Mongolian Buddhism was solely represented by the Red Sect. The famous Mongol patriot Cogtu taiji, whose flag is the flag of modern Mongolia, belonged to the Red Sect. This prince is famous for the Mongolian translation of the life of Milarepa, the most popular yogin of Tibet and Mongolia. It was Tumengkhan, a son of the Khalka prince Unugu, who first took to the Yellow Sect. His brother Abatai Khan went on a pilgrimage to Lhasa and had audience with H.H. the Dalai Lama, the head of the Yellow Sect. He was deeply impressed by the splendour and power of the Yellow Sect. H.H. the Dalai Lama proclaimed him a hutuktu or incarnation. After his return from Lhasa, Abatai Khan erected the first Mongolian monastery in 1586 A.D. on the banks of the river Orkhon at the site of Karakorum. This is the present Erdeni-dzu monastery. Erdeni-dzu was the jewel of Buddhism. It became the centre whence the Yellow Sect spread among Mongolians. The Erdeni-dzu is 450 kms. from the modern capital. There is no metalled road. It is about 12 hours drive in a car. The car goes over mountain tops and across ditches. Even in a heavy and comfortable cushioned car you feel as if galloping on a horse. The entire body gets a shaking. On reaching the historic monastery, you have the joyous feeling of having completed a pilgrimage. Till recently one thousand Lamas dwelt within its precincts. Today it is a museum full of historic statues, manuscripts and Buddhist objects of art. The surviving Erdeni-dzu has three main temples. The central temple has a huge image of the Lord. Its gate has a fine image of Caṇḍamahāroṣaṇa form of Acala encircled by a circle of flames, who is the protector of this temple. On its first floor is a Bodhi tree with tiny images of the Thousand Buddhas. These Thousand Buddhas create a deep impression of the artistic talent of the Mongols. On the left of the central temple is yet another temple with huge images of Dipaṅkara, Śākyamuni and Maitreya, Buddhas of the past, the present, and the future. The entire wall is embellished with superb silk-paintings. On the right side of the central temple is the third temple of Tsoṅkhapa where his statue towers over the visitor. This temple has a rich collection of Buddhist books heaped on the ground. Two huge caityas stand in the foreground of these three temples. Around them I collected some votive stupas of the 13th and 14th centuries. There are remains of several other structures

BUDDHISM IN MONGOLIA

within the enclosed precincts of this great monastery. The base of a great yurt still survives. Here once existed a yurt erected by the mighty Abatai Khan whose diameter was over 100 ft. - one of the largest yurts in the whole of Mongolia.

The enclosure wall running around the entire ensemble of structures had 108 stupas from which the monastery can be located from a distance of several kilometres. In short, this monastery is a splendid monument of Mongolian Buddhist architecture, painting and iconography.

After this cursory survey, let us once again go back to Ulaanbaatar, where the Central State Museum, the Sukhebator Museum and the Chojinlamin Sume are of interest for a student of Buddhism, besides the grand monastery of Gandang, the biggest living monastery of Mongolia today.

In Ulaanbaatar lived one of the greatest scholars of Mongolia, Prof. Dr. Rinchen. He was an anthropologist, folklorist, translator, linguist, poet, novelist, but above all a historian. It was enlightening to talk to him on the glorious history of his country. He was ready to tell you of the tremendous influence Buddhism has on the mind of his dear people. It was a pleasure to hear him recount, for example: "if you happen to stop in any yurt, the first one falling on your way in the vast steppes, where the night may overtake you, before the fire of a hearth you will hear from the mouth of an old shepherd the philosophical poem *Bodhicaryāvatāra* composed by the famous Indian poet and thinker, Śhāntideva, well known to Europeans through the beautiful translation by Finot and translated into the Mongolian language already in the 13th century. You will not be surprised if the old shepherd sitting thoughtfully on the hillock near the grazing herds, having come to know you to be a philologist, will enter into animated conversation with you regarding the Sanskrit grammar of Panini which was translated into the Mongolian language already in the 17th century the level of which was achieved by European linguists only during the last century."

The centuries old cultural relations of the Mongolian people with India are reflected in their National Flag which has a golden five-pointed

Lokesh Chandra

star with the golden Soyombo emblem. Soyombo means becoming of the self, expression of one's innate being, that is freedom. The Soyombo is Sanskrit *svayambhū* with the lunar semicircle, circle and *nāda* the soaring sonance of the sacred syllable OM. The former President of Mongolia was His Excellency J. Sambu, which is Sanskrit Sambhu. Nearly eighty years ago Sukhebaator, creator of socialist Mongolia, blew a conch or *sāṅkha* summoning his countrymen to the epic of socialist deeds, to the crowning action of their lives for the emergence of revolutionary freedom. This symbolises the clarion call of the pancajanya conch of Lord Kṛṣṇa in the Bhagavad Gita.

The cultural relations of the Indian and Mongolian peoples go back into centuries. The Hunas of Sanskrit literature are a Mongoloid people whose name is cognate to the Mongolian word *khumun* 'man' in the sense of a hero. It refers to their heroic exploits. In the sixth century two Indian Ācāryas Śākyavamsā and Narendrayasās visited Mongolia and actively worked for the welfare of the people. Ever since Mongolian scholars are recorded to have visited India over the centuries for study and pilgrimage, thus creating cordial relations between our two peoples. The translations of the vast collection of the *Kanjur* and the *Tanjur* are yet another example of close cultural relations between Mongolia and India. The *Tanjur* contain the translation of Indian texts ranging from profane literature like grammar and prosody to the knowledge centred in the exploration of the Self. One may find here the Kālacakra expressing the inexhaustible wealth of the tantric vision in its last phases in India. We may read the time-honoured Sanskrit grammars in their Mongolian translations besides special treatises on Sanskrit prefixes and declensions. The Mongolian translations of Amarakośa the lexicon, Kāvyaadarśa on literary art, the Chando-ratnākara on metrics have influenced the course of Mongolia's literary tradition. The Mongolian Meghadūta takes Kālidāsa to the snowy North. A number of Ayurvedic medical and alchemical texts are a part of this encyclopaedic corpus of Mongolia.

CONNECTIONS BETWEEN INDIAN, TIBETAN AND SANSKRIT SCRIPTS

G. Tsend Ayush

India, homeland of the Asian civilization exerted notable cultural influences on its neighbouring countries. In the 7th century A.D. Sranzongamba, the king of Tibet sent his state official Tornisambada to India to learn about Indian culture. He invented Tibetan script based on the Lanza writing of the Sanskrit language and this permeated Tibetan culture.

According to B. Ya Vladimirtsov, a Russian scholar who wrote on the subject of Mongolian historic literature, Mongolia had an international alphabet corresponding to the script of other nations. Consequently, the square script of the 13th century Mongols accurately reflected the specific features of Sanskrit, Tibetan, Chinese, and Turkish languages.

The Mongolian Khans, for example, Khubilai Khan who was elevated to the position of Khan of the Yuan Dynasty combined the Confucian and Buddhist teachings. Pagba Lama Lodoijalsan (1234 A.D.-1298 A.D.) was promoted as the head of Buddhism by the decree of Khubilai Khan. Pagba Lama then invented the Mongolian square script to be used in the Mongolian language which had become the official language of the Empire at that time. The square script was based on the Tibetan writing and until 1368 A.D., it served as the main script of all Mongolian people. The script had 44 letters and could be used to write in Sanskrit, Tibetan and Turkish languages. This square script was used for writing on coins, decrees, seals, paper money and monuments of the time.

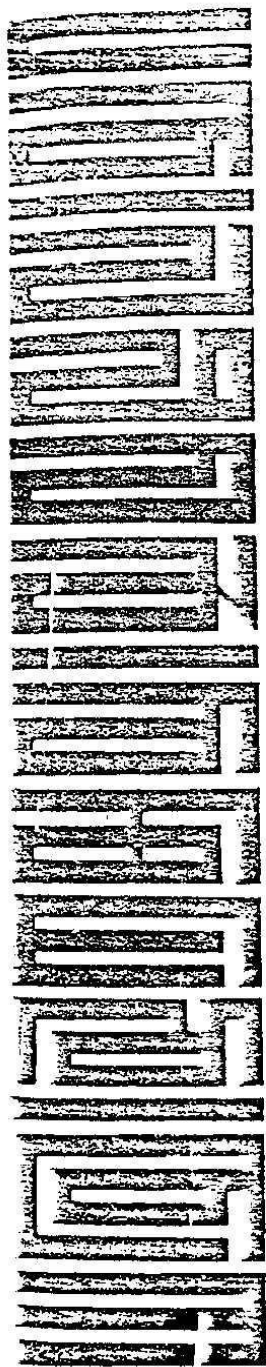
Mongols deeply respected the Indian civilization and this is testified by various kinds of cultural connections. Undur Geegen, Zanabazar (1635 A.D.-1723 A.D.) invented the Soyombo script on the basis of the Lanza Sanskrit script. According to the ancient Indian sutra language,

G. Tsend Ayush

Soyombo signifies “self originated holy letter.” The script has about 90 letters and like the Mongolian script could be used for writing Sanskrit and Tibetan languages. It is written from left to right. It can also be written from the top of the page downwards when taking notes of symbols.

Soyombo is the symbol of national independence. The first letter of the Soyombo script has been put on the national flag of Ligden Khan of Mongolia since the 17th century and it represents the symbol of independence of the country. Since the 13th century, Buddhist sutras and doctrines began to spread in Mongolia along with ancient Indian and Tibetan culture. As a result of cross cultural relations many Mongolian words have also been borrowed by other languages.

However, there are many words that have been adopted by the Mongolian language from Sanskrit and Tibetan. A number of words borrowed from Sanskrit into Mongolian could be cited, for example. These facts demonstrate the inter-relations between the Tibetan and Indian languages.



Square Script



Lanza Script



Uighur Script



Chinese Russian Script

Da

Na

Pa

Pa

Ma

Ma

Za

Ca


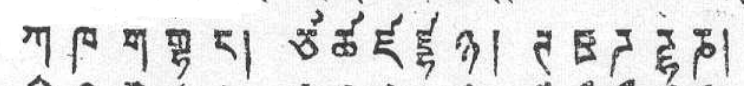
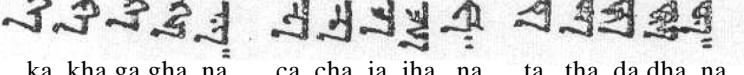
Za


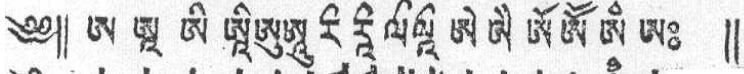

Ca


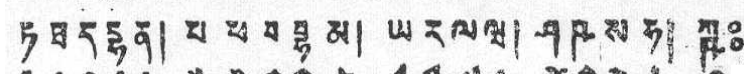

Ya

Ca

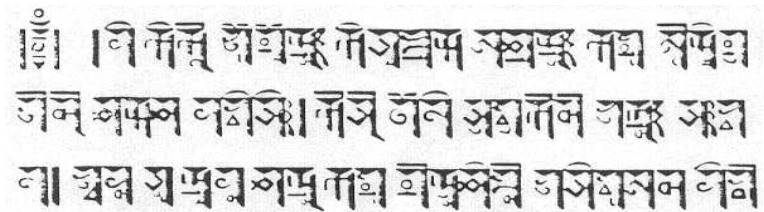
Comparison of the Lanza and Tibetan alphabets

Lanza 
Tibetan 
Mongolian 
ka kha ga gha na ca cha ja jha na ta tha da dha na

Lanza 
Tibetan 
Mongolian 
a a i i u u r i r i l r i l r i e e o o m a h

Lanza 
Tibetan 
Mongolian 
ta tha da dha na pa pha ba bha ma ya ra la va sa sha sa ha ksha

The Alphabet of the Soyombo Letters



MONGOLIA-INDIA RELATIONS

Some Perspectives

O. Nyamdavaa

With democratic changes in the society and introduction of market economy in Mongolia in the nineties there has been a major shift in the country's foreign policy. There is rethinking of priorities which are deep rooted in the latest Constitution of Mongolia (1992), in the Foreign Policy Concept of Mongolia (1994) and in the Concept of National Security of Mongolia (1994).

The latest Constitution of Mongolia provides a formal framework answering many conceptual questions articulated during the initial years of transition. Mongolia has been proclaimed a parliamentary democracy where human rights and freedom are constitutionally guaranteed. On foreign policy matters the Constitution states: "Mongolia shall adhere to the universally recognised norms and principles of international law and pursue a peaceful foreign policy." In practical terms, Mongolia opted for an open foreign policy, free of ideological constraints of the kind it had known in the past.

The Concept of Foreign Policy, adopted by the Parliament of Mongolia in 1994, outlines the principal foreign policy orientation by identifying four, rather traditional, priority areas: political, economic, science and technology, and culture and humanitarian. It also identifies its directions. Besides, the Concept of National Security of Mongolia is identified as encompassing several components ranging from the security of Mongolia to environmental security. The security of Mongolia is certainly the most traditional aspect of security which has been ensured by foreign policy activities.

Mongolia at present is pursuing a multi-pillar foreign policy due to the positive impact of democratization and expansion of relations with industrialised countries as well as growing regional and international

O. Nyamdavaa

interdependence and globalisation. Multi-pillar foreign policy, however, came into being as a response to the lessons Mongolia learnt from its past experience of being damaged by over-reliance on one foreign country, i.e. the former USSR and an over emphasis on only one area, i.e. political ideology. Now Mongolia gives equal priority to both of its neighbours - Russia and China - and maintains balanced and good neighbourly relations with them as it shares its borders with these two countries which are major players in the world politics.

The Government of Mongolia has declared in its programme of action that it would be pursuing a policy aimed at striking a balance between the countries having economic interests in Mongolia and those nations which are of strategic importance for Mongolia. India is one of the strategically important countries for Mongolia.

Earlier in 1992 Mongolia declared its territory a Nuclear Weapon-Free-Zone, a status which was supported by all the declared nuclear powers. In December 1998 the UN General Assembly too adopted a resolution entitled "Mongolia's International Security and Nuclear Weapon Free Status." This was welcomed by the participants at the ARF Ministerial meeting held in July 1999. At the 55th session of the UN General Assembly (2000), a joint statement was issued by the nuclear weapon states (P5), providing security assurances to Mongolia in connection with its Nuclear Weapon Free status, which would represent an important step towards institutionalising that status at the international level.

We are also thankful to the government of India for its support to the Nuclear Weapon Free Status of Mongolia. This was clearly mentioned in the Joint Declaration issued during the recent visit of the President of Mongolia to India from 1-5 January 2001. The Joint Declaration states:

The Mongolian side expressed its appreciation to India for the support of the efforts of Mongolia in institutionalizing its Nuclear Weapon Free Status at both national and international levels. India confirmed its support to the recent P5 Joint Statement on Mongolia's international security assurances and reaffirmed its readiness to cooperate with Mongolia in implementing the UN General Assembly resolution 55/33S.

MONGOLIA-INDIA RELATIONS

In the context of an increasingly interdependent world, changing international economic and security environment and evolving global and regional realities Mongolia recognises the importance of pursuing nation's development and security goal for achieving maximum benefit offered by international and regional multilateral cooperation. Hence Mongolia's active work at the UN as well as fresh membership in various organizations such as international financial institutions, the WTO and the ARF would really prove to be beneficial. Mongolia also expressed its desire to join the APEC.

In the 1990s the Asia-Pacific region emerged as a new and important area of Mongolia's foreign policy concerns. In that region Mongolia's foreign policy goal aims at enhancing mutual understanding through exchanges of visits, promotion of political dialogue and cultural exchange. Besides, it also provides for developing trade and economic ties with the region by creating opportunities for increased bilateral trade and encouraging links between private sector and foreign direct investment; seeking aid in major areas of reform; engaging with APEC process; activating action in PECC; and supporting multilateral economic cooperation in North-East Asia, where Mongolia has been participating in the Tumen River Project. After becoming a member of NAM in 1991, Mongolia followed the policy of coming closer to the developing countries in the Asia Pacific, Africa and Latin America.

Mongolia also supports the view that expansion of Security Council in both permanent and non-permanent membership should provide equitable regional representation, and that the Council's activities should be democratized and made more transparent. In the current situation, international developments once again highlight the fragility of peace and stability in certain parts of the world. There is a need for concerted actions and increased cooperation among States to prevent the outbreak of new conflicts, besides seeking viable solutions to the existing disputes and further promoting mutual understanding and trust among nations. The Government of Mongolia stresses the importance of holding the summit meeting of the two Koreas and its future continuity for peace and stability on the Korean peninsula. It also expresses deep concern

O. Nyamdavaa

over tensions in South Asia and adds its voice to that of the international community calling upon India and Pakistan to resume political dialogue and continue search for a peaceful solution of their disputes.

As regards Mongolia-India relations, historical and cultural ties between them have been very significant throughout the total span of the history of the two countries and they provide essential bedrock for further development of relationship in the contemporary phase. The ancient ties between Mongolia and India go back to more than 2700 years beginning from the Hungnu state of Mongolia, which is mentioned in the Indian historical books as “White Huna.” Spread of Buddhism from India to Mongolia, visits of Mongolian monks for study to the Nalanda University and later on Mongol invasion of northern India vividly tell the history of ties between the two countries.

The habitation of the Mongolian racial stock in the Himalayan borderlands and references of Indian epics like *Mahabharata* and *Ramayana* in the folklore of Mongols, are other instances of their common heritage. During the 13th and 14th centuries a mass of Sanskrit texts was translated into Mongolian language. Some of them have gone extinct in India. The Mongolian Indologists have studied and translated the grammar by Panini and Anubhutarapa as well as philosophical works of Nagarjuna, Dharmakirit, etc. In the contemporary period, the works of Rabindranath Tagore, Prem Chand, Mulk Raj Anand, Krishan Chandra, etc. are being translated into Mongolia thus continuing ancient tradition of the Mongolian-Indian cultural links.

POLITICAL RELATIONS

At the beginning of this century, both Mongolia and India were under colonial rule. Whereas Mongolia gained its independence from Manchu rule in 1911, India freed itself from British colonial rule in 1947. Just before India got her independence, India established its first political contact with Mongolia when the first Asian Relations Conference was held in New Delhi from 23 March to 2 April 1947, where the Mongolian delegation came to participate after enduring the weeks long difficult journey through the Central Asian countries. They were welcomed by



Indian Vice-President Krishan Kant calls on the President of Mongolia N. Bagabandi in Ulaanbaatar (September 1999).



President of Mongolia, N. Bagabandi with President and Prime Minister of India at Delhi (January 2001).

O. Nyamdavaa

Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru at the Conference and were introduced by him to other delegations.

Diplomatic relations were formally established between Mongolia and India on 24 December 1955, thus reviving the historical relationship between the two nations. Commonality of tradition, culture and customs and also the similarity of political and economic structure have brought both countries closer and reinvigorated the process of multilateral co-operation.

That Mongolia attaches great importance to develop relations with India is enshrined in the Concept of Mongolia's Foreign Policy, which states, "The Government of Mongolia will also pursue a policy aimed at promoting friendly relations with such countries as India, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Turkey, Denmark, Finland, Austria, Sweden, Netherlands, Switzerland and at creating and bringing to an appropriate level their economic and other interests in Mongolia." On its part, India has always regarded Mongolia as a valued friend. To quote Krishan Kant, the Vice-President of India, who stated during his visit to Mongolia in 1999 "... Our relations are time-tested. They are constantly growing in strength. Our age-old relationship is now imbued with modern content. Mongolia's emergence as a democratic country has added a new dimension to our relationship."

The year 1973 was a landmark in these relations as both countries signed a Joint Declaration which elucidated the fundamental principles that would guide Mongolia and India in their bilateral and international relations. Visits of Indian President (1988), Vice-President (1996 and 1999), External Affairs Minister (1976) to Mongolia as well as the visits of the Mongolian Premier and Chairman of the Great Ikh Khural and President of Mongolia to India in 1973, 1989 and 1994 constituted new milestones in the development of political relations between the two countries at the highest level.

As regards India's regional disputes such as Sino-Indian conflict of 1962 and Indo-Pakistan conflict of 1965, Mongolia adopted a neutral stand laying stress on peaceful negotiations between the parties

MONGOLIA-INDIA RELATIONS

concerned. But in the case of Indo-Pakistan war of 1971, Mongolia showed a positive tilt in her stand towards India. It is unfortunate that the Kargil war occurred soon after the Indian Prime Minister's visit to Pakistan as well as the signing of the Lahore Declaration (1999). The Mongolian side appreciated that during the Kargil war India had demonstrated an example of patience and tolerance in repulsing infiltrators by strictly observing the Line of Control. We hope that the Kargil war should be the last one between the two countries and they would resume negotiations to solve their bilateral problems in the spirit of the Shimla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration.

During the past 45 years, after the establishment of diplomatic relations, Mongolia and India have signed important Treaties and Agreements which provide a legal frame work to promote bilateral relations. The most important one is the Treaty of Friendly Relations and Co-operation between Mongolia and India signed in February 1994 during the visit of the then President of Mongolia P. Ochirbat to India. This Treaty serves as the basic legal instrument guiding the bilateral relations in the next century. As the Treaty says, "The Contracting Parties shall make efforts to develop equal and mutually beneficial cooperation in political, economic, trade, scientific spheres and in the field of science and technology, health, agriculture, ecology, culture, education, transport, sports, communications, humanitarian affairs, tourism and exchange of informations. The contracting parties, where necessary, shall conclude separate agreements on co-operation in these spheres by mutual consent." In this Treaty both Mongolia and India have expressed their willingness to develop relations on the principles such as mutual respect for each other's territorial integrity and sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference in each other's internal affairs, equality and mutual benefit.

The visit of the Vice-President of India, Krishan Kant in August 1999 to Mongolia has given an opportunity to the two countries to exchange their views on developing relations in the coming century. Both sides have agreed and emphasized on cooperation in new fields like information technology, space, software, etc. This is a new framework for the relations between Mongolia and India in the new century.

O. Nyamdavaa

Introduction of the market economy and democratisation since 1990s in Mongolia gives more opportunity to develop bilateral relations between the two countries. Further, the recent visit of the President of Mongolia Natsagiin Bagabandi from 1-5 January 2001 has opened new areas of co-operation in the new millennium. The two sides signed six agreements on various areas and issued a Joint Declaration to that effect. During this visit the Mongolian side also expressed its support for India's efforts of becoming a permanent member of the UN Security Council, in the following words:

The Republic of India is one of the most populous countries with significant economic and political weight, scientific and technological potential that is able to make a tangible contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security and as a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement, has a legitimate right to aspire for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council. Mongolia, as a nation located in the same region and enjoys centuries- old friendly ties with India, will fully support her endeavours to become a Permanent Member as the expansion of the Security Council takes place.

ECONOMIC AND TRADE RELATIONS

For the smooth sailing of economic and trade relations Mongolia and India needed a legal framework. However, it has been codified in the "Treaty of friendly relations and cooperation between Mongolia and the Republic of India", "Agreement between the Government of Mongolia and the Government of the Republic of India for the establishment of a joint committee on co-operation", "Agreement between the Government of Mongolia and the Government of the Republic of India for the avoidance of double taxation and the prevention of fiscal evasion with respect to taxes on income and on capital", "Agreement on tourism co-operation between the Government of Mongolia and the Government of the Republic of India" and "Agreement between the Government of Mongolia and the Government of India relating to air services." These Agreements not only provide the legal framework for economic co-operation between the two countries but

MONGOLIA-INDIA RELATIONS

also form the basis of co-operation between the two countries in the 21st century.

Foreign Investment Law of Mongolia gives very favourable opportunity to foreign investors including the Indians to set up joint ventures in different fields of industry and agriculture. According to the Foreign Investment Law of Mongolia the following concessions are given:

- a) Power generation and transmission, highways, railway, air cargo, engineering constructions and basic networks of telecommunications shall enjoy 10 years of tax exemption and 50 per cent tax relief in the immediately following 5-year period;
- b) Mining and processing of mineral resources (except precious metals), oil and coal, metallurgy, metal processing, chemical production, machinery, and electronics shall enjoy 5 years of tax exemption and 50 per cent tax relief in the immediately following 5-year period; and
- c) Should a business entity with foreign investment, not referred to above, export more than 50 per cent of its output, it shall be entitled to an income tax exemption for 3 years and 50 per cent tax relief in the immediately following 3-year period.

Animal husbandry is a very vast sector of the Mongolian economy. Mongolia's animal population - horses, camels, sheep, goats, yaks - is around 33 million. Mongolia is the second largest producer of cashmere wool in the world accounting for almost 30 per cent of the production. It also produces sheep wool and camel wool, besides manufacturing ready-made cashmere garments and exporting them to Japan, USA, UK, EU and other countries. Mongolia also exports tops and dehaired cashmere and woollen carpets and camel wool blankets to foreign countries. However, there is a need of foreign participants in sheep wool processing, cashmere wool and camel wool products manufacturing industries.

Milk processing and dairy products sector in Mongolia awaits modern manufacturing/processing techniques. According to the Minister for Agriculture and Industry, the White Revolution National Project was

O. Nyamdavaa

approved by the Government of Mongolia on 30 June 1999. The White Revolution Project is aimed at the restoration of the traditional dairy production, development of small-size industry and a marketing system with a view to increase income of herdsman, create more work places and reduce imports. Based on the system of traditional dairy production, small and medium size farms and factories producing milk powder, condensed milk and different kinds of dried cheese will be developed. Private production units specializing in dairy products will also be promoted by the government. The White Revolution Project was targeted to be implemented in two phases – from 1999 to 2000 and 2001 to 2004.

Mongolia's meat-processing and meat products manufacturing units also need latest technology and similar is the case with packaging industry as well. Over 50 per cent of the territory of Mongolia has brown chestnut soil. The soil of Mongolia in general has low moisture but it has high biological capacity to absorb sediments. Therefore, small and medium size industries with modern technology for Mongolian agricultural raw materials can be developed in the near future. There is also a vast scope for foreign collaboration in the area of farming in wheat, vegetables and different types of cold-resistant fruits. This will be a new area of co-operation between Mongolia and India. There are 21 provinces in Mongolia and 20 out of these have already expressed their readiness to welcome Indian farmers. Some farmers from Indian provinces of Punjab and Haryana are going to visit Mongolia soon.

Another area of co-operation between the two countries is mineral resources. Mongolia has substantial deposits of copper, molybdenum, gold, uranium, lead, zinc, zeolites, rare earth minerals, ferrous metals, fluorspar, phosphate, precious and semi-precious stones. Gold production in Mongolia has reached up to 14 tonnes in 2001. But new foreign investments are still required to increase the production of gold. Many foreign companies are competing with each other including the Mongolian ones in an effort to speed up the application of technologies and improve the efficiency of gold mining sector. Mongolia is also rich in coal, the current production of which is 5 million tonnes per annum.

MONGOLIA-INDIA RELATIONS

The country is estimated to have potential reserves of 100 billion tonnes of coal. Tavan/Tawang/Tolgoi deposit in the South Gobi contains over 5000 million tonnes of high quality coal. Coking coal reserves also exist in Mongolia but this industry needs more investment.

There is also a need of foreign investment for the hydro power plants to be built on different rivers of Mongolia. The Egiin Gol hydro power plant alone needs US\$300 million for its completion. In the field of civil aviation there is possibility to start joint charter flights between New Delhi and Ulaanbaatar. Already negotiations are proceeding to obtain landing rights for Mongolian airlines (MIAT) at Hong Kong. From there MIAT can extend its flights to New Delhi or pickup Indian passengers bound for Mongolia at Hong Kong with special arrangement and vice versa. Tourism is the most investment oriented new field of cooperation, where the two countries can set up joint ventures and begin exchanging inter-country as well as third country tourists. In this connection the two sides can start Japan-Mongolia-India tourism route.

The fact that Indian businessmen are interested in developing trade and mutually beneficial economic co-operation is further revealed by their active participation in the different bids announced by Mongolia in collaboration with the ADB, World Bank and oilier international donor organizations. According to the Minister for External Relations of Mongolia, at present 1087 companies from 58 countries have made US\$240 million investment in Mongolia of which 25% has been made by China, 13% by Japan, 9% by Russia, 7% by the republic of Korea and 5% each by the USA and Hong Kong. In the first five months of 1999, 26 countries had invested about US\$ 28.5 million. Twenty-one per cent of the overall investment has been made into exploration and mining, 12% in the light industry and 11% in the processing industry of raw materials of livestock origin. Out of these joint ventures, 3,000 are with Chinese and 200 with Russian collaboration, but India has only 2 to 3 such joint ventures. Is it satisfactory for India, a country which has a big potential? I would say no. Let us catch the train, otherwise we will miss it forever.

TRADE PATTERN

Prior to 1990, 95 per cent of Mongolia's foreign trade was conducted with the former socialist bloc countries, 80 per cent out of it was with the former USSR alone. Since trading with the "capitalist countries" was limited up to only 5 per cent, Mongolia remained isolated and so could not acquire more modern techniques and technology. The situation has now completely changed, and presently we decide ourselves as to how and with whom to trade. The Government of Mongolia now attaches great importance to promoting economic and trade relations with the countries of Asia and the Pacific.

Trade turnover of Mongolia in 1998 was US\$ 789.2 million. Value of exports exceeded a little more than imports. The main export of Mongolia is mineral resources - 59.4 per cent (copper concentrate - 4.4 million tonnes, molybdenum concentrate - 5.2 thousand tonnes, tin and fluorspar concentrates - 114 thousand tonnes); all kinds of wool and cashmere - 2000 tonnes; and hides, skins, furs - 4.5 per cent; consumer goods, leather, sheep skins and fur garments, carpets, and cashmere and camel wool knitwear, woollen and cashmere blankets accounted for 15 per cent. Mongolia's main import is oil and petroleum products - 29 per cent; machinery, electrical equipment, mechanical appliances - 22 per cent; vehicles, aircraft, vessels, transportation items - 14 per cent; and textile and textile articles - 7 per cent. Mongolia's main trading partners in 1998 were China, Japan - 45 per cent, USA and EU - 20 per cent. Russia, South Korea, UK, Italy, Switzerland were the other main trading partners of Mongolia. Trade with India remained only US\$ 1.48 million. Mongolia's trade turnover for the first quarter of 1999 was US\$ 141.5 million of which China's share was 30 per cent, Russian - 27 per cent, USA - 11 per cent, Japan - 6 per cent, South Korea - 3 per cent and France - 3 per cent. Though Mongolia's trade with India has been increasing, its turnover touched the mark of only US\$ 2.3 million in 1999.

**OPPORTUNITIES FOR INDIAN BUSINESSMEN IN
MONGOLIA**

From 1991 to 1994 a voucher privatization programme in Mongolia transferred part of 4,500 state-owned enterprises and property to the private ownership. So far 33 million animal husbandry and almost 30 state farms have been privatized. Small and medium size industries and service oriented enterprises were also privatized. The next stage of privatization is the “Big Privatization”, an effort by which most of the bigger industries are supposed to be privatized in the coming years. It would be a great opportunity for Indian businessmen to participate in this process and thereby own production bases in Mongolia. Some of the big industries/concerns to be privatised are as follows:

- a) The ERDENET copper mining corporation in collaboration with Russia is world’s tenth largest industry. It annually produces over 1,50,000 tonnes of copper concentrates and cathodes and almost 2000 tonnes of molybdenum. The Government of Mongolia owns 51 per cent of the corporation and plans to privatize its holding. The company accounts for almost 50 per cent of national industrial output and 20 per cent of Mongolia’s GDP.
- b) Monrostsvevtrnet concern (MRTsM) was established in 1973 by an inter-government agreement between the Mongolian People’s Republic and the former USSR. The Mongolian side has 51 per cent share in the company. The company is one of the biggest economic entities in Mongolia engaged in exploration and mining of fluorspar, gold, coal, silver and other minerals.
- c) MIAT (Mongolian Airlines), a fully state-owned enterprise is the national carrier of Mongolia and accounts for almost 90 per cent of the Mongolian market. According to 1998 figures, MIAT had annual revenues of over US\$ 36 million and net profit of US\$ 2 million. The company has regular and charter flights to 17 domestic and 9 international destinations.
- d) Neft (petroleum import concern) is the main distributor of gasoline, diesel fuel, jet fuel, lubricants, and other petroleum products in

O. Nyamdavaa

Mongolia. Its main activities include import, storage, transportation and sale of these products. This company controls 80 per cent of petroleum market in Mongolia.

- e) The Mongolian Telecommunications Company (MTC) is the national telecommunications company of Mongolia. It provides all domestic and international telephone call services in the country.
- f) The Trade and Development Bank is so far the best commercial bank in Mongolia.
- g) The State Departmental Store located in the heart of Ulaanbaatar city, is the largest and most prominent shopping centre in the country. It is spread over 8000 sq.metres of retail space on four floors, plus over 3000 sq.metres of heated storage space and administrative offices within the building. The seven story structure has over 2700 sq. meters of prime space on the busiest street in Ulaanbaatar.

In order to encash these ideas as also to work out mutually beneficial proposals between Mongolia and India there is a need to know each other better. To overcome these information deficiencies more and more businessmen, tourists, scientists, engineers and entrepreneurs should pay exchange visits so that the existing information gap between the two countries is abridged.

Let us shed our complexes and have more exchanges of delegations. And in view of the commonality of interest in the domain of agriculture, animal husbandry as well as farming, it may commence with the visit to Mongolia of farmers from Punjab and Haryana which, I am sure, will open up new vistas of cooperation between our two ancient, friendly countries. Besides, information technology is the most important field in the 21st Century for cooperation between the two countries. I appeal to our Indian friends to come to Mongolia and set up joint ventures in the software sector which will be mutually beneficial for both the countries.

MONGOLIA, RUSSIA AND CHINA

The Geopolitical Perspective

G. Tumurchuluun

Geopolitics has always played a decisive role in Mongolian history. Nearly seven decades after the establishment of an independent Mongol state, modern Mongolia experienced its second great transformation in 1990 with the end of the one party system and the launching of political and economic liberalization. As in 1921, the forces mandating drastic changes originated far from Ulaanbaatar, and followed the collapse of an empire. The immediate cause of the second transformation was the collapse of the Communist regimes in Eastern Europe, resembling the collapse of the Manchu empire in 1911. In fact, under the influence of the Soviet leader Gorbachev, Mongolia's leaders experimented with restructuring and openness in the late 1980s. Having been long isolated from the world affairs, Mongolia sought to broaden its contacts with the outside world beyond its two immediate neighbours, Russia and China, which had directly influenced much of Mongolia's history.

In the new era of globalization the role of foreign factor will increase, given the fact that Mongolia has made three revolutions simultaneously, namely, an economic revolution aimed at market economy, a political revolution aimed at democracy and a generation revolution aimed at a new third generation of younger people leading the destiny of the country. It is quite challenging to try to define security concept today in the era of globalization and on the eve of new millennium. This job represents a double challenge to countries like Mongolia which has a unique geopolitical environment facing two neighbours, both of them being huge, nuclear armed, permanent members of the UN Security Council; and being landlocked with a tiny population of only 2.3 million in a practically empty land.

**MONGOLIA'S SECURITY ENVIRONMENT:
RUSSIA AND CHINA**

In many respects, Mongolia's national security depends on the domestic situation in both Russia and China, their bilateral relations, Mongolia's own policies as well as on regional security situation and beyond.

Russia

In the eyes of many researchers Russia is a badly weakened state in which the chief threats are internal economic chaos, ethnic and regional strains, and social polarisation of Russian society. In economic terms Russia's economic woes are the shrinking industrial production; falling investment and innovation; lagging behind developed countries in high technology; growing dependence on imports; brain drain from science and skilled fields; falling living standards; agricultural stagnation; widespread use of barter instead of money; collapse of public finances; and the prevalence of crime and corruption. Russia is threatened by an economic model in which it relies only on raw material exports while importing its food, consumer goods and equipment.

Russia, a multinational federation of 89 regions, faces "centrifugal aspirations" among them that could tear the country apart. Some regions have already dissented against the Russian constitution and federal laws, and the new Russian President, Putin is highly concerned about the rise of nationalism and ethno-religious separatism, Chechnya war being one of the examples. President Putin believes that "there is no alternative" to market democracy, and he has acknowledged Russia's economic weaknesses. But he has also expressed enthusiasm for reasserting the role of a strong state. He has said that the Russian economy has become "criminalised," hinting that he would tackle the powerful tycoons who lord over it. Putin has vowed that Russia will not revert to totalitarianism, but he has not demonstrated much skill working with Russia's fledgling, competitive political system.

China

Meanwhile, compared to Russia, we find a relatively stable China. The PRC is firmly committed to economic reform and opening itself to the outside world. The Chinese economy has passed the US \$1 trillion mark for the first time ever, making it the world's seventh largest economy. But China's growth rate has been slowing down due to demand and competition from other Asian countries. On the other hand, consumers are particularly worried about becoming unemployed as China attempts to modernise its ageing state-run industries under the spur of world competition.

However, the Chinese leadership has identified reform of state industries as a government priority. Government strategy for achieving that goal includes large scale privatization of unprofitable state-owned enterprises. On the other side, we witness a huge difference in development between the regions. The leadership has also downsized the government bureaucracy. The issue of corruption was specially stressed during the recent session of all Chinese Assembly of People's Representatives.

It must be said that both Russia and China are looking inward. Both of them need a peaceful environment to carry out domestic economic and political reforms. In general terms the current state of bilateral relations, which reminds us the period of 1950s, provides Mongolia favourable conditions to develop external relations and to carry out domestic reforms.

RUSSIAN-CHINESE STRATEGIC PARTNERSHIP

Russia and China claim to have established a 'strategic partnership'. This paper argues that there is little in their relationship that can be seen as 'partnership', and even less than that is 'strategic'. In reality, this relationship merely overlays a diplomatic agenda established by Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev in the late 1980s. China's pragmatic and limited approach, coupled with Russia's domestic economic and political difficulties, have meant that the Sino-Russian strategic partnership is

G. Tumurchuluun

unwieldy and imprecise, and complicates the still incomplete normalisation process. Let us just consider three areas of mutual concern – bilateral relations, newly independent Central Asian Republics, and the situation in Asia and beyond.

- a) Russia's attempts to improve bilateral relations have been hampered by opposition in the Russian Far East, logistic problems stemming from demilitarisation plans and volatile trade relations. Despite declarations from Beijing and Moscow to the contrary, the basis for stable bilateral ties has yet to be laid down. The repeated statements made by Evgeny Nazradatenko, the Governor of Maritime province on the border issue are one example. Among the Russian political elite there is no consensus on how to deal with China. One example of that is the historical dispute between the "Atlantists" and the "Euroasians". Among the Russian military people there still exists a perception to consider China as a potential enemy. Former Russian Defense Minister Igor Rodionov, while he was in office, included China in the list of potential enemies.
- b) The two countries are continuing to pursue a great power strategy towards the new states of Central Asia and Mongolia. While the Russians are trying at least to conserve their old influence in the region, the increasingly powerful China is trying to fill the power vacuum left by Russia in Central Asia and Mongolia.
- c) By seeking a strategic partnership with China in Asia and beyond, Russia aims to reinforce the influence it retains, regain its standing in the UN Security Council (UNSC) and create a balance to its often fractious relations with the West. In key areas – Taiwan, the Korean Peninsula and the UNSC – China has little interest in helping Russia to achieve these aims.

Russia and China have different dreams, while sleeping in the same bed. Both Russia and China have different, some times contradicting, strategic interests in the region, which is normal and their perceptions on the "strategic partnership" are quite different.

MONGOLIA'S POLICY: A CHANGING BALANCE

The 1994 Foreign Policy Concept, adopted by the Mongolian Parliament stipulates that maintaining friendly relations with the Russian Federation and People's Republic of China shall be a priority direction of Mongolia's foreign policy activity. According to the document, it shall not adopt the line of either country but shall maintain in principle "a balanced" relationship with both of them and shall promote all-round good neighbourly cooperation. During the past years this has been Mongolia's basic foreign policy line towards Russia and China. In 1999, 70% of Mongolia's export, 47.6% of import and 57% of the total trade turnover went to Russia and China. Russia's share in that amounted to 33, 13 and 23 % and that of Chinese share remained 57, 13 and 33.5 % respectively. These figures clearly show the key role that both Russia and China have been playing in the external relations of Mongolia.

Russia continues to be the main supplier of combustibles and electricity. Mongolian basic industrial and economic enterprises were built with the technical and technological assistance of the former Soviet Union. Mongolia's economic dependence on Russia is still heavy. Mongolia has 3485 kms. of common border with the Russian Federation. All these factors constitute the basis of Mongolian interest in dealing with the Russian Federation.

As far as China is concerned, the end of "cold war", the withdrawal of Soviet troops stationed in Mongolia and the normalisation of Sino-Russian relations laid down the foundations of normalising the Mongolian-Chinese relations. This is another example demonstrating as to what extent Mongolia's national security depends on relations between Russia and China. During the past several years Mongolia's strategy towards China was focussed on setting up the legal basis of her relations with China. This was the right policy at right time. The widely shared view is that the strong relies on power, the weaker on principle. Pursuing this policy, Mongolia managed to settle the entire border issue and in 1994 signed a treaty of friendly relations and cooperation with China.

The notion of a policy of “balancing” may well exist among the political circles. That is, to say, a will. But in the real life things are going in a different way. The policy of balance is becoming more unrealistic by the passage of time. It depends, firstly, on the economic development in both countries. Secondly, in an era of globalization trade, economic, financial as well as investment interactions do not depend on the will of political leaders. Thirdly, an underdeveloped and small country has no resources to confront this tremendous wave of globalisation. In one word, Mongolia is facing the challenge resulting from the consequences of an increasingly powerful China and crises-prone Russia. Today the Chinese dominance in Mongolia is very clear at least in three areas, namely: trade, investment and the number of summit meetings held during the past years.

REGIONAL GEOPOLITICS: THE SECURITY ENVIRONMENT IN NORTH EAST ASIA

The geopolitical environment of Mongolia, which is Northeast Asia remains a dangerous place beset by suspicion and hostility, is home to divided countries and cold war tensions, has many unresolved problems related to territorial disputes and the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, and is bereft of multilateral institutions and successful regional projects. North East Asia (NEA) is a region where peoples and states merely interact, often in hostile ways. Consideration of alternative forms of security orders in NEA is an underdeveloped art form. Two options are almost never raised: political integration – including the creation of supranational organizations and political convergence – the idea that peace can be built on the emergence of democratic regimes throughout the region. Some believe, in a cold war vein, that the stage is set for the resurgence of two blocs in the form of US led NATO like arrangement in opposition to a new alliance centered on China and Russia. At the other end of the spectrum are advocates of a collective security regime to be built on multilateral dialogue, diplomacy and arms reduction.

The “track one” and the “track two” debates recognize that the future security order in NEA is likely to be “multilayered”, involving elements of unilateral military preparedness, alliance structures, bilateral diplomatic instruments, and new multilateral institutions ranging from devices for dialogue and consultation to regional organizations for promoting economic interaction and management of concrete security problems. The multilateralism in NEA is in a very embryonic stage. So far, dialogues are slowly creating shared understanding of basic concepts as well as promoting the habit and customs of consultation, on the one side. And on the other hand, discussions have tended to focus on threat perceptions and confidence building measures – the example being the ARF meetings –rather than on the management of concrete problems. So, at the policy level there is no multilateral alternative; bilateralism, though flawed and imperfect, is the only feasible option.

IN SEARCH OF A MULTI-PILLARED AND OPEN DOOR POLICIES

The new domestic and international environment demanded new policies concerning national security and foreign policy. Under these circumstances, Mongolia’s response was a conduct of a multi-pillar and open door policy, endorsed by the Mongolian Parliament in 1994 and in 1998 respectively through the adoption of the three landmark documents: the National Security Concept, the Foreign Policy Concept and the Military Doctrine. The quintessence of this new policy lies in having relations with as many countries beyond its two neighbours as possible. These relations have been established in diplomatic, economic, cultural, educational, health, environmental, human rights and military areas. In statistical terms, it means the maintenance of diplomatic relations with 140 countries, commercial ties with more than 80 nations, and membership in 48 inter-governmental organisations and joining the 132 multilateral treaties.

Presently, consensus exists among Mongolian society and the political parties on multi-pillared and open door policies. The basic foreign policy goal was to expand relations with the West and Asia,

G. Tumurchuluun

implement non-aligned nuclear free policy and prohibit stationing of foreign troops on Mongolian soil. This has been translated into a six-point foreign policy programme while top priority is placed on maintaining good relations with Russia and China; and other priorities include expanding relations with developed countries from East and West, Asian countries, international organizations, former allies of Mongolia in Eastern Europe, and the developing nations. Indeed the adoption of “open door” policies helped recapturing the nationalist ground, changing the country’s “satellite state” image and enormously enhancing Mongolia’s status as an independent nation in an era of international uncertainty. Indeed, the history of Mongolia’s post – 1990 reforms reflects the primacy of foreign policy in influencing domestic politics. The foreign policy has provided access to a rich source of ideas for restructuring Mongolian society. A central example is the process of drafting the new Constitution. In substance, the Constitution was a victory of modernist international transformation. The Drafting Committee, which included representatives from all political parties, looked at the drafts of over 100 different Constitutions while preparing the final version.

As regards Mongolia’s political system, it is modelled partially on Fifth French Republic and includes a delicate scheme of separation of powers. A thoroughly modern set of institutions have been given traditional Mongol names. There is an extensive set of human rights provisions based on the extensive and effective input from the United Nations Human Rights Centre, Amnesty International and international academics before the draft was finalised. Many of the rights included are drawn from the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights. The balance of power scheme combines aspects of French and German traditions with unicameral Parliament. The Constitution and the political reform particularly since 1990, represent the Mongolian political developments depicting sign of Mongolia’s new latitude.

OTHER ELEMENTS OF MONGOLIA’S SECURITY

During the past years there were talks about the so called Mongolia’s “third neighbour,” whether it might be USA or Japan. To address this problem a broad approach is needed. I expressed some ideas on this a

MONGOLIA, RUSSIA AND CHINA

year ago during the UN Regional meeting on Disarmament and Security issues, held in Ulaanbaatar. Firstly, I would like to underline the role of international law. Small states like Mongolia are not able to dominate in international affairs, an area that is primarily influenced by great powers and their mutual relations. In peace time small states are able to exercise influence through international institutions in order to create and enforce rules and regulations. Usually, the international institutions are the best friends of small states, although economic and political integration in an era of globalization keeps small states and their economies connected to the mainstream, thus reducing their autonomy and sovereignty. Small states are more exposed to risks of war than larger states and they, therefore, have a greater interest in developing international law, the establishment of international courts and the promotion of institutions of peaceful change. The international law is one of the elements of Mongolia's security. The UN General Assembly Resolution on Mongolia's international security and no nuclear status is an example of that.

Other elements of Mongolia's national security would be the lobbying groups and interests groups abroad, including political, economic as well as cultural and civilizational aspects of the issue. The creation of pro-Mongolian lobbying groups in countries like Russia, China, USA, Japan, Germany is highly important for Mongolia's development. The public relations may become an important channel in carrying out that goal. Besides carrying out bilateral and multilateral cooperation and assistance, a special group of donor countries was also created. In the proceedings of the last 7th meeting held in Ulaanbaatar in 1999 of the donor countries, 36 countries and international organizations took part. They discussed *inter alia* the micro economic situation in Mongolia, social development, infrastructure, management and coordination of the official assistance. The Ulaanbaatar meeting decided to offer Mongolia over a period of 18 months a total of US \$320 million. There is a sort of division of labour concerning the international donor assistance to Mongolia:

G. Tumurchuluun

- a) Trade, finance and investment as agreed upon with the IMF include restructuring in the banking system, reduction of budget deficit, privatization of commercial banks, support of export capacity and setting up private economic structure;
- b) Japan is engaged in developing the Mongolian infrastructure programme, renovating the fourth electric station in Ulaanbaatar, development of small and medium size enterprises, training of Mongolian specialists;
- c) The ADB is responsible in agricultural and social spheres, improving the financing of central and local government agencies and supporting the educational and health structure;
- d) The South Koreans are engaged in improving the communication sector;
- e) In dealing with literacy, health and drugs programmes the Tasic, DANIDA, UNDP, UN Children Fund, JICA, KOICA are very active. In 1998 foreign assistance in the above mentioned fields constituted 3.6 per cent of Mongolia's GDP and 10.9 per cent of official budget of the Mongolian Government in the sphere of education. A number of pressing environmental issues were also raised by the international community as well as natural disaster relief, the most important example of which has been the ongoing efforts to deal with the natural disaster-zud-that affected Mongolia this winter.

However, all of them are additional elements of national security. The foreign factor will play even more important role in almost all spheres of contemporary Mongolian society. There is no single branch of Mongolian economy that could be developed without foreign assistance. There is also no single sphere of Mongolian social life that could be developed without foreign support. Perhaps the most important in this regard is knowledge, the search for knowing more i.e. learning. The present Mongolian generation has more opportunities as well as more challenges. At their disposal now are the modern telecommunication means such as Internet, cable TV, e-mail, something that the old Mongolian

MONGOLIA, RUSSIA AND CHINA

generation had been lacking. In the new information era having only one or two neighbours does not seem to be a universal source of weakness. Unlike its counterparts in other Asian socialist regimes, Mongolia's original revolutionary generation has long since gone. Politics now occur between members of the second and basically, third generation born after the revolution. The future generation would be better prepared in dealing with domestic development, and would be more cosmopolitan than this generation.

Furthermore, Mongolia's lack of access to the sea, often cited as one of its geopolitical Achilles Heels, is in fact even less problematic than its paucity of neighbours. Nevertheless, it is undeniable that Mongolia's landlocked position subjects its trade to sharply higher costs, constituting around 20 per cent of her total export income in terms of transit and insurance. Much of the Mongolia's traditional as well as newly emerging security threats may be handled by introducing modern information technologies and telecommunication systems. Today, the strongest one is that who is more informed rather than who has more tanks. Once Stalin asked his assistants 'How many combat divisions has the Vatican State?' But today he could have asked "How many computers the Holy Sea has?"

CONCLUSION

In Mongolia's current development the foreign factor is playing a key role as it had played in the past. Both China and Russia are looking inward. Both of them need a peaceful environment to carry out the domestic political and economic goals. In their bilateral relations they search for "Strategic Partnership", which means normal level of interstate relations. The "Strategic Partnership" does not mean something special in Sino-Russian relations or an alliance relationship. In that case what we witness is the different perception on the "Strategic Partnership" on the Russian and Chinese sides.

The normalization of Sino-Russian relations creates very favourable conditions for Mongolia. In the years to come the Chinese economic dominance over Mongolia will be very clear and Mongolia will face the

G. Tumurchuluun

Chinese challenge. It must be said that Mongolia has found itself, on the one side, a powerful China and on the other side, a weak Russia. A weak nation like Mongolia does not have political, economic and financial resources to command its international relations.

Although the regional multilateralism is one of the factors of Mongolia's national security, this process is very embryonic. In such circumstances it is important to combine both bilateral and multilateral dialogues. In that connection it must be said that there are no resources for conducting active policies in particular towards ARF, PECC. Mongolia participates only partly in the activities of these mechanisms because of lack of resources. It is to be noted here that the important goals of Mongolian diplomacy in the years ahead will be to respect the international law, create lobbying and interest groups abroad and also to keep the confidence of members of donor movement.

The main problem of Mongolia's national security today is not of external character but internal or domestic one. Mongolia would, while maintaining good relations with both China and Russia and pursuing the open door policies, pay more attention to its domestic development issues and re-orient the international assistance towards this end. Underdevelopment, poverty, dependence on foreign trade, and the need of a better education, especially providing training to new generation of future leaders of the country: all of them need foreign assistance.

The negative geographical factors as landlockedness; scarcely populated vast territory; an immediate geopolitical environment represented by two great powers, can be solved by introducing modern information and telecommunication systems, setting up economic infrastructure and improving the education of young people. Foreign assistance is more important in this transition period than it was during the Soviet period, given the fact that there is a change in economic, social and political system of the country, which cannot be survived and developed without the foreign factor in an era of interdependence and globalization.

POST-COMMUNIST TRANSITION IN MONGOLIA

Baabar Batbayar

The creation and establishment of new states, their evolution as nation states, the processes of democratization and tendencies towards globalisation have taken place at a dramatic and rapid pace in the twentieth century. Even though democracy in a society is a relatively recent phenomenon compared to the history of humankind and civilization, yet it has historically proven its legitimacy and advantages with concomitant results whereby many countries and nations have made a transition to this system in the past 10 to 20 years. These include the underdeveloped countries of Africa, the Latin American countries under the control of the military, the Asian countries that suffered immense reparations for many years, and the post-Communist Asian and European countries. The collapse of the former Soviet Union in the 1990s and the dismantling of apartheid in South Africa served as a catalyst for a democracy to become a truly global phenomenon. As of now, there are over 100 countries worldwide, which are making a transition from a politically oppressive regime to a democratic state establishment. The transition toward social reforms that these countries are making has been rather stable, especially for the past ten years. One of the common features of the societies' current transition toward democracy is that it is being undertaken by peaceful means.

Looking at the countries that are currently making democratic reforms by general statistics they are making a peaceful and stable transition, however, if taken under a case-by-case scrutiny, the level of success for each country varies. In this case, the success factor, above all, depends upon the human factors viz., the people's education level of the country concerned, their mentality and their preparedness to embrace democratic values. The next deciding factor is the economic capacity and level of development of these countries.

Mongolia, along with making a transition from the totalitarian regime to a political and social democracy for the past ten years, is a country that has dismantled the old centrally planned economy under which everything was state owned and has now embarked on the path to market relations. It is due to this fact that unpleasant start-up condition and various external and internal factors have made Mongolia's concurrent transition a most tough one. It is not because Mongolia chose this particularly difficult type of transition on purpose, but rather, there was no other choice left for her. Taking into account the Mongols' peculiarity, level of education and character as well as the relations with the outside world and issues concerning Mongolia's national security, one can assume safely that it was impossible for the country to follow the economic reforms with no change in ideology a la China. Besides, Mongolia's starting level and assets were peculiarly worse and far from the standard of other Communist countries, which altogether made it imperative that it undertakes a complete and comprehensive reform. Mongolia was a country with its state budget composed largely of foreign investment (its share was as high as 70%) usually being made as a favour for showing ideological solidarity, with the lowest GDP per capita in the Communist world, and with the biggest foreign debt in the world if compared to its population. Law strictly restricted private ownership. Legal acts governing the regulation of economy were almost non-existent and all its regulatory matters were handled by few people and at the discretion of the nomenclature. Since all the properties were state-owned, there was no idea of management whatsoever and no wonder that the co-efficiency of capital utilization was remarkably low. In this country which was isolated from the outside world for the better half of this century, nobody knew of the basic principles of market economy. In addition, the emigration rate of the Mongols equalled to zero. There was practically no person who was educated in the countries of the free world. Nor were there fixed assets placed abroad. Trade with hard currency that constituted a one to two per cent of the GDP was not conducted in accordance with the applicable international rules and norms. In short, Mongolia was an isolated and surrealist world on its own.

POST-COMMUNIST TRANSITION IN MONGOLIA

Yet, Mongolia's transition made in the socio-economic sector is one of the most successful cases. Though the transitions in Hungary, Poland and Czech Republic are indeed very successful, yet their higher starting level and various external and internal factors cannot be compared to that of Mongolia. In general, however, this breathtaking success has not been without its mistakes and failures. This can be attributed both to the lack of experience and the relations between the interest groups.

PROCESS OF TRANSITION

Going back to the past when Mongolia with its borders touching Russia and China on the high plateau of Central Asia declared its independence first in 1911 after the long sought break from China, there had been many ups and downs. However, since 1924 it had been reformed into a Soviet-type of society. Mongolia was the south-eastern tip of the large Soviet empire which had the centre in Moscow. In the Cold War period when the Soviet Union and China were embroiled into an intensive tension during 1966-1986, Mongolia used to serve as a deployment station for Soviet troops. But this tension in the relationship between Moscow and Beijing provided Mongolia an opportunity to attract a great amount of capital investments. As a result, Mongolia was transformed into a civilised society, specifically education and healthcare reached the world standards. The late 1980s saw Mongolia being driven by the democratic revolution. Following the democratic revolution in 1992, a new Constitution of Mongolia was adopted which recognised and guaranteed the principles of market economy and democratic political system. Today, Mongolia is a parliamentary republic.

Another major change took place in the country's domestic politics when in the summer of 1996, the third democratic elections for the Parliament were held. The majority of voters had preferred the opposition over the Communists who had won the previous two elections held soon after the democratic changes in 1990 and in 1992. Therefore, the democrats were able to take the power for the first time in the history by acquiring two thirds of the votes. The reform process which was initiated in 1990 gained its momentum. These elections demonstrated that

Baabar Batbayar

Mongolia was undergoing democratic changes, not only for the sake of politics, but also for the entire society. However, the Communists who recognised the results of the 1996 elections and transferred the power to the opposition peacefully, once again witnessed a landslide victory in the fourth general elections which took place on 2 July 2000. In this election 20 different political parties participated either independently or jointly. While the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) won 72 seats out of 76 parliamentary seats, one seat each was won by the Civil Will Party aligned with Green Party, the Mongolian National Democratic Party with the Religious Party, the Mongolian Democratic New Socialist Party and Independent. Among them seven MPs are female, 20 engineers, 11 teachers, 3 agronomists, 3 journalists, 10 lawyers, 10 economists and 9 medical doctors. The oldest MP is 67 years old and the youngest one is 32 years old. The Communists belonging to the MPRP are now reformed ones and are committed to democratise the country in every field.

However, beginning since 1990 the process of transition from the totalitarianism to democracy and from the centrally planned to the market economy was not smooth for Mongolia. This process had already been launched in a large area between the Berlin Wall and the Great Chinese Wall. People in both the Western and former Communist countries naively perceived that the breakdown of the totalitarianism would be an end of all social evils and there would be a perfect society. After the fall of Communism, process of transition began to take shape.

In the post-Communist countries, transition has its unique experience and ways in each and every country. It was different in Hungary, Poland or Mongolia where the government had a relatively democratic structure. Another case was the countries with dictatorial regime, like former Yugoslavia, Turkmenistan. The third case was noticed in countries like Russia, Tadjikistan and former Yugoslavia, where ethnic wars were the major outcome. The process of transition was also different in the countries with more stable economy such as former East Germany, Czech Republic, Slovenia. It was just opposite in the countries like Russia and some Central Asian Republics where there was persistent rise in inflation.

POST-COMMUNIST TRANSITION IN MONGOLIA

Mongolia had several specifics at the moment when the process of transition started:

1. Mongolia was the second country after the Soviet Union to adopt Communism. Three generations of Mongolians spent their life under the Communist regime.
2. The area was highly militarised because of the conflict between the former Soviet Union and China.
3. The country had the lowest rate of population density in the world.
4. There was no ethnic friction in Mongolia due to the homogeneity of the population.
5. The movement that had started in 1989-90 was for break from Soviet control rather than for democracy as it was in Eastern Europe. Mongolia's economy was dependant upon the Soviet Union and the countries of the CMEA (Council of Mutual Economic Assistance) for 98% of its foreign trade.
6. The economy was trapped by the loans. The Soviet Union alone borne 75% of the total investment in Mongolia.
7. Mongolia was, probably, a leading country with high foreign debt per capita in the world. The total amount of the loans from the Soviet Union during the period of 1970-1990 was about US\$ 17 billion. It is a heavy burden on 2.4 million Mongolian population.

Let me briefly describe the process of transition in various areas during the last ten years in Mongolia.

Politics

In early 1990s, the democratic forces in Mongolia began to form political parties and soon held a hunger strike to demand resignation of Communists from the government. First of all they demanded the entire Politburo, the highest authority of the Communist party to resign. In March 1990, the political struggle reached its peak and the social climate in the country became so tense that the Communist leaders had to make a decision to resign. They realised that the historical changes occurred in the world were reality and the reforms would come to

Baabar Batbayar

Mongolia sooner or later. Soon, a few temporary amendments were made to the Constitution which put an end to one-party monopoly. After the long negotiations, the political parties reached an agreement to hold the elections for the first democratic Parliament in the summer of 1990. Until the new Constitution was adopted six political parties took part in the elections and four of them won seats including the Communists who won 60% of the total votes. The Communist party then abandoned Marxism and was registered at the Supreme Court. The other political parties did the same. The Communist Party of Mongolia, which ruled the country since 1921 was now replaced by new democratic party. This former Communist Party could have formed a government by itself, but instead, it was flexible enough to invite smaller parties to form a coalition government. The coalition government of three political parties ruled the country from 1990 to 1992 during which they made many important decisions towards democracy and market economy.

In January 1992, Mongolia adopted its new Constitution and declared itself a Parliamentary Republic. Interestingly only Hungary and Mongolia out of the former Communist countries opted for this type of the government. A one house Parliament which consists of 76 members appoints the Cabinet. However, the biggest mistake committed by the democratic forces was that they chose not a proportional but the majority system of elections to the Parliament. That is why the opposition that had gained almost half of the votes ended up by controlling only 7% of seats in the Parliament, while the rest went to the former Communists. This situation made it impossible to strike an appropriate power balance within the Parliament. Therefore, the situation was exploited by the former Communists, many of them justified Communism and there was even a tendency of justifying and trying to rebuild the totalitarian regime once again. Many discussions and debates were held on whether democracy would fit the Asian countries, particularly Mongolia. They also quoted few examples by highlighting experiences of development in countries such as Korea, Taiwan, Malaysia, Indonesia. On the other hand, due to unfair power balance between the majority and the opposition, corruption prospered in the society.

POST-COMMUNIST TRANSITION IN MONGOLIA

Communists were too proud of themselves about the 1996 elections. According to them, Mongolians were not showing preference to democracy and the Communists were the only force to build better society. On the other hand, the opposition learnt a lesson from the past election experience during which although each party campaigned, they were absorbed by the biggest one in the majority system of elections. The result of the 1996 elections was fantastic; the democratic parties won 66% of the seats in the Parliament. While Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP) gained 46% and the Social Democratic Party (MSDP) 20%, the former Communists won just 33% seats in the Parliament. Thus the coalition government of MSDP and MNDP began to rule the country. But the latest elections held in 2000 again saw the coming of former Communists into power. However, it does not mean that the reform process in the country will take a back seat.

Economy

Mongolia faced numerous difficulties at the economic front after the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the Communist system. Earlier, Mongolian economy had been sustaining artificially through massive subsidies, including 75% of the investment from other countries. That lifeline now ceased to exist. However, little supplies that used to exist during the Communist economy stopped and the groceries in the stores and black marketing disappeared at once. The factories with no proper accounting system were also closed. As a result people's living standard came down to its very bottom. The new Government, however, started not just reforms in the banking system, but also liberalised foreign trade and started the process of privatisation. It has been quite a different story while privatisation began in a country where almost 100% of all the property was previously owned by the State and private production was absolutely restricted. In my view we made a big mistake by taking a decision to privatise some of the State owned property by vouchers that were not for resale. A nation without an understanding of stocks and experiences related to them not just only misunderstood it, but also closed down all the factories that were formally

Baabar Batbayar

privatised. The investment that used to be sustained by loans only, further ceased to exist completely. The production from the factories went down, making only 30% in 1991 of what it used to be in 1989. People's living condition became even worse. Former Communists taking advantage of the situation blamed their colleagues from other parties in the Government and they themselves came out clean. In the election campaigns of 1992 they had to promise a lot on the privatisation front and also a commitment to correct errors committed in the past. By 1996, 75% of all property in the country still remained in the hands of the Government. It is really a difficult task to build an economy with its regular functions, especially in a landlocked country which has high living costs and poor infrastructure. The Government of Mongolia believes that the most possible resources for development would be geology and mining, particularly the use of resources that do not require much infrastructure, such as, gold, other fine minerals and oil. Foreign investment is perceived as another possibility of economic development. However, the extreme decline in the economy that resulted from the collapse of old system, has now stopped and the process of recovery has begun. Mongolians are, thus, optimistic about today's changes in the economy.

Foreign Policy and Security

In the pre-cold war period although Mongolia was not a member of the Warsaw Pact, all its policies and security had been determined by the CMEA. After the atmosphere between the Soviet Union and China turned out to be cold, Mongolia ensured her security by bordering with these two great powers and supporting one of them. But in the long run, it was gaining more enemies. In 1986, in his speech in Vladivostok, former Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev announced the removal of the Russian troops stationed in Mongolia. This decision brought about significant changes in Mongolia's foreign affairs. After the breakdown of the Communist system, Mongolia became a truly independent country and joined the "Group of 77." The fact that Mongolia belongs not to the North Asian, neither Pacific region causes her many difficulties. These

POST-COMMUNIST TRANSITION IN MONGOLIA

difficulties are not related to military, but to the economy. Because of its experience in the past few years, Mongolia now is trying to hold a neutral position on international affairs. Since Mongolia declared in the Constitution that it shall neither place foreign military, nor nuclear weapons on its territory, it has received words of appreciation from countries having nuclear weapons. On the foreign policy front Mongolia is trying to carry out its relations on the basis of mutual benefits and on equal conditions, especially with ASEAN, APEC, Russia, China, Japan, Europe, and the US. In particular, it wants to be a close partner of its two great neighbours-Russia and China.

Social Psychology

Mongolia was the only country where Marxism was treated as a religion with all its rituals: people would believe it without any proper knowledge of it. During 1930s Joseph Stalin's great purge also influenced Mongolia which resulted in destroying Buddhism by force, murdering 30,000 adults and all of intelligentsia, who were then constituting 5% of the population. Marxism also replaced Mongolia's traditions, heritage and religion which were soon forgotten by the people. Later on, all the achievements in the field of science and technology were attributed to the name of Communism and very soon Mongolians learned its manipulative methods, doctrines and overall mentality.

The revolution in Mongolia at its beginning in the early 1990 had a nationalistic motivation rather than a democratic one. A strong tendency to correct the mistakes committed by the Communists in the past history of the country was the dominant factor. People saw an unexpected fall of a society built by hard liners and when it started turning into ruins, they found themselves in a desperate situation with alcoholism and crime rates having increased. Nationalism in the social mentality went far beyond the sober mentality and people began expecting that certain supernatural factors will deliver them something positive out of this situation. Just as the nations of Europe had a state of social schizophreny for a while directly after the World War II, the same process was repeated in Mongolia during this period. A nation like Mongolia that was directed

Baabar Batbayar

by the Marxist principle of “everything that is not permitted is prohibited” could not get adjusted to “everything that is not prohibited is permitted.”

There was a strong desire among the people to go back to the old socialist society without freedom but with the logical order, without luxury but with the guarantee of minimum living standard. However, Mongolia with its ethnic peace due to being one nation on one hand, and with the nomadic type of thinking that allows it to adjust to any condition on the other hand, recognised quickly the merits of democracy and the market economy. At a conference of sociologists held in 1996 in Ulaanbaatar, it was unanimously concluded that the social psychology of the Mongolians is sobering, compared to the past.

Mongolia has, thus, achieved great results in adjusting to the democratic structure of the society and the market economy, as compared to other post-Communist countries, especially Russia. In my opinion, one of the major factors for stabilisation of democratisation lies in the social psychology of the people. Also the fact that Mongolia has undergone the Asian crisis with the least loss owes to the bold and insightful economic steps that it undertook in 1996-97. This fact has been acknowledged even by the International Monetary Fund. The rationale behind this is that if we don't lose our precious time, we will gain money, and if we gain money, then we will save our country.

MONGOLIA'S FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES

Sharad K. Soni

It's now more than a decade since Mongolia,¹ formerly known as the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR), opted for a painful transition from a Soviet style of totalitarian regime to a political and social democracy. In the process the country also dismantled the centrally planned or controlled economy and adopted the principles of market economy. However, initially it was not an easy task especially for a country which remained isolated from the outside world except the Soviet Union for almost 70 years.

Situated in the very heart of Inner Asia and surrounded by the two giant neighbours- Russia and China, Mongolia happens to be one of the land-locked and remote countries of the world. Populationwise it is the smallest country in Asia but geographically it is counted among the biggest countries of the world. Moreover, the geographical location at the cross junction of Central Asia, North-East Asia, Far East, China and Russia signifies the strategic importance of Mongolia, which is now regarded as one of the significant developing countries in Asia. At present, Mongolia seeks to enhance its status on the world map by strengthening its solidarity and cooperation with both the developed as well as developing countries including the neighbouring ones at the international fora. This endeavour of Mongolia is a result of its comprehensive foreign policy formulated on quite a new basis under the existent circumstances arisen out of the impact of political and economic reforms in the country.

IMPACT OF REFORM PROCESS

The post-1921 revolution era witnessed Mongolia depending on the former Soviet Union in its internal and external policies thereby affecting its sovereign and independence status. This in turn also affected

its cultural and political identity as an Asian nation. But Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev's policy of *glasnost* and *perestroika* and the ensuing process of reforms and restructuring in Soviet domestic and foreign policy has had inevitable impact over Mongolia. The process of Soviet-style reforms and restructuring through *Il tod* and *Orchilan baigalalt* began in Mongolia in 1988, which permitted the government in particular and the people in general to have more open discussion on the ongoing problems and past mistakes. The rapidity of change brought out in Mongolia was largely due to the willingness and a welcoming acceptance of the reforms urgently required for the prosperity of the Mongolian people not only in the domestic political, social and economic fields but also in the foreign affairs. It was more so due to the collapse of the former Soviet Union in 1991 and the end of the cold war which also altered the geopolitical environment of Mongolia and left it in a great power vacuum.

However, that vacuum-political, economic and ideological-enabled Mongolia to achieve three major much desired results.² Firstly, for the first time in nearly seven decades it allowed Mongolia to open itself to the outside world and pursue an independent multi-pillared foreign policy. Secondly, Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) admitted Mongolia as a full-fledged member, something that could not have been possible during the Soviet time as it would have eroded the solidarity of the Socialist bloc. And thirdly, Mongolia declared to engage itself in the broad perspectives of maintaining a balance in its relations with Russia and China, rather than giving importance to only one of them. In general, the emergence of new situation under the impact of political reforms and economic restructuring especially during 1990-1992 brought Mongolia at a cross-road where it had to consider its future development and security issues in the framework of new geopolitical realities. A critical reappraisal of Mongolia's own policy could help the country change many of the existing policies which were thought to have held back development. In the process, in 1990 Mongolia went to its first democratic multi-party election to the Parliament, which unlike the pre-cold war era opened the door for new democratic forces in the country as well to enter into the government.

MONGOLIA'S FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES

In 1992, a new Constitution was adopted replacing the 1960 Constitution, which made considerable changes to Mongolia's political system.³ The key elements in the new Constitution emphasised the "establishment of democracy" contrary to the previous Constitutions which had stressed "building the State through socialism." The most notable change made in this Constitution was the replacement of the two-chamber Parliament known as the *Great* and *Small Khurals* with that of a single chamber which came to be known as the *State Great Khural* comprising 76 Deputies. Besides, the President's post became more powerful as much of the power is vested in the President who can veto all or part of a law adopted by the Parliament, propose the dissolution of Parliament and declare a state of emergency. The same year also witnessed Mongolia declaring itself a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

As part of the reform process Mongolia also conducted a major review of its foreign and security policy. It is to be noted here that national security of Mongolia is a part of the international security or in other words international guarantees of national security which may well be secured "through a combination of unilateral, bilateral and multilateral measures".⁴ Therefore, in order to understand the nature of Mongolia's foreign policy it is vital to examine the challenges to its national security as well. In that sense Mongolia's foreign policy and national security concerns are interlinked like any other country of the world. The basic objectives of the former are to safeguard the country's national interests both internal as well as external in order to ensure overall advancement of its people. In June 1994 due to the severity of its national security challenges three basic documents – National Security and Foreign Policy Concepts as well as the Military Doctrine were adopted and endorsed by the Mongolian Parliament. The key elements in these documents clearly defined national goals combined with the perceived threats from specific internal and external situations. Besides, the new policies also marked the beginning of a radical shift from previously made commitments to strengthen international Communist order to that of the pursuit of fundamental national interests now referred to as pragmatic realism.

MONGOLIA'S SECURITY CONCERNS

In the post-cold war period Mongolia's security concerns are aimed at achieving favourable internal and external conditions for ensuring national interests. Therefore, the adoption of the National Security Concept marked a fundamental change in Mongolia's post-Communist security thinking as well. According to the provisions laid down in this concept, "the vital national interests of Mongolia consist in the existence of the Mongolian people and their civilization, in the country's independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of State frontiers, relative economic independence, sustainable ecological development and national unity."⁵

A comprehensive approach to Mongolia's national security further encompasses a number of components such as security of the existence of Mongolia, security of the social order and state system, security of citizens' rights and freedoms, economic security, scientific and technological security, security of information, security of Mongolian civilization, security of the population and its gene pool, and ecological security. The document stipulates that in its foreign relations Mongolia shall exercise "political realism and consistently principled approach, accord top priority to vital national interests and other national considerations, seek to secure many partners in its international relations and promote a non-aligned policy so long as it does not threaten the country's vital interests."⁶ By pursuing an open foreign policy Mongolia is committed to "promote the policy of consultation with influential countries on issues of strengthening world peace and security, of developing international cooperation, of enhancing the country's strategic significance and fostering strategic interests of major powers in Mongolia." Further, in its relations with developing and land locked countries Mongolia follows the line of jointly defending and promoting the shared interests on the international arena.

One of the major national security concerns is to promote an atmosphere conducive to understanding and supporting Mongolia in other

MONGOLIA'S FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES

countries, especially in neighbouring and influential countries through the wide use of the policy of “people’s diplomacy.” As stipulated in its National Security Concept, Mongolia may ensure the security of its existence by strictly observing the policy of not allowing the use of the country’s territory against other States; ensuring its Nuclear-Weapons-Free Status at the international level and making it an important element of strengthening the country’s security by political means. However, the newly adorned status of Mongolia of being a Nuclear-Weapons-Free Zone was not only targetted to ensure its own security by political means but also to make a contribution to regional stability and predictability. As such the declaration included provisions of banning the deployment and transit of foreign troops, of nuclear weapons and of other weapon of mass destruction on its territory. Later on, it also became a party to the Nuclear non-Proliferation Treaty (NPT) and other relevant international conventions and treaties including Conventions on Destruction of Chemical and Bacteriological Weapons and the Comprehensive Nuclear Weapons Test Ban Treaty (CTBT).

On 4 December 1998, the 53rd session of the United Nations General Assembly adopted a resolution 53/77D, entitled “Mongolia’s International Security and Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status.” Pursuant to paragraph 3 of the resolution, Member States, including the five nuclear-weapon states (P5), were invited to “cooperate with Mongolia in taking the necessary measures to consolidate and strengthen Mongolia’s independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity, the inviolability of its borders, its economic security, its ecological balance and its nuclear-weapon-free status as well as its independent foreign policy.”⁷ This shows that Mongolia’s security concerns have already been recognised by the world community. Last year, on 3 February 2000, a National Law defining and regulating Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status of Mongolia was adopted and passed by the Mongolian Parliament thereby taking a concrete step towards promoting the aims and objectives of nuclear non-proliferation. As a contribution to implementing the UN resolution 53/77D, on 5 October 2000, a joint statement was issued by the P5 countries providing security assurances to Mongolia, which was further

transmitted to the UN Security Council. At present, Mongolia continues to receive assistance and support to promote its international security and nuclear-weapon-free status from various quarters including the relevant UN bodies, the five nuclear-weapon states (P5), the Non Aligned Movement, various regional disarmament meetings etc.⁸ Further, on 20 November 2000, the 55th session of the United Nations General Assembly in its another resolution 55/33S on “Mongolia’s International Security and Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status” appealed to “the Member States of the Asia and Pacific region to support Mongolia’s efforts to join the relevant regional security and economic arrangements.”⁹

It is also important to keep in mind that being a land-locked country any future external threat to Mongolia’s security by whatever means it is, could be related directly or indirectly with either or both of its two neighbours-Russia and China. However, a tripartite border agreement signed in Beijing by Russia, China and Mongolia in 1996 which defined the western and eastern borders of Mongolia somehow alleviated its concerns about territorial integrity. It was for the first time in the history of relations among the three countries that meeting points of the border lines were demarcated and ratified.¹⁰ Moreover, the Sino-Soviet rapprochement process resulting from Soviet President Mikhail Gorbachev’s proposals during his seminal speech at Vladivostok in July 1986 also witnessed a significant improvement of Mongolia-China relations especially in the 1990s. It is further evidenced by the signing of a new treaty of friendship and cooperation between Mongolia and China during Chinese Premier Li Peng’s visit to Mongolia in 1994. The 1986 Vladivostok initiative further paved the way for the withdrawal of Soviet/Russian military forces stationed on the territory of Mongolia, which began in 1987 and finally completed on schedule in September 1992. This led to the beginning of a new era in Mongolia’s security environment which was hitherto affected by the Sino-Soviet confrontation. However, recently in November 2000, during Russian President Vladimir Putin’s visit to Mongolia a military pact committing to a peaceful future,¹¹ was concluded between the two sides. This, among other things, also signifies impending closer security relationship between Ulaanbaatar and

MONGOLIA'S FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES

Moscow. Earlier in January 1993, the two sides signed a new 20-year friendship and cooperation treaty when the then Mongolian President P. Ochirbat visited Moscow.

It is likely that Russia would now seek to restore its position in Mongolia on quite a new basis as most favoured neighbour due to President Putin's visit, the first by a Russian or Soviet leader since Leonid Brezhnev arrived there in 1974. The significance of this visit lies into the fact that it resulted in the signing of the Ulaanbaatar Declaration, a document which determines the principles and directions of extending and developing Mongolia-Russia relations in the 21st century. On the other side, China too has raised its profile in Mongolia in the past decade. In this regard, in July 1999 the visit of Chinese President Jiang Zemin to Mongolia was an important event. Unlike the cold war era China now respects Mongolia's independence and sovereignty besides carrying out mutually beneficial cooperation. Therefore, Mongolia's aim is to establish in its immediate surroundings a power equation most attuned to its immediate national interests and so relations with the two neighbours constitute the cornerstone of Mongolia's security policy as well as foreign policy objectives.

FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES

Like the national security concerns Mongolia's foreign policy too revolve around its national interests. It has been clearly mentioned in the Foreign Policy Concept that "the priority of Mongolia's foreign policy shall be safeguarding of its security and vital national interests by political and diplomatic means, and creating a favourable external environment for its economic, scientific and technological development."¹² While trying to achieve this objective Mongolia's approach has been to secure maximum benefits offered by international and regional multilateral cooperation. By adopting what is termed as a multi-pillar foreign policy Mongolia not only discarded the lopsided attitude of the cold war period but also opted for a non-aligned policy in order to make its presence in the world felt as a developing country. It has now broadened its diplomatic outlook and the scope of its international activities by adhering

Sharad K. Soni

to the principle of flexible priorities in foreign policy implementation with due consideration given to the changes occurring in the international environment as a result of globalization.¹³

Since one of the main characteristics of Mongolia's foreign policy is its pragmatism, it relies on ongoing international political reality as well as on the international legal system besides following the trends of international economic development. However, the key issue involving Mongolia's foreign policy priorities is to ensure the security and prosperity of the country both internally and externally by "forming with influential countries in the region and in the world a network of relationships based on the interdependence of political, economic and other interests."¹⁴ Therefore, within the framework of its multi-pillared and multi-dimensional foreign policy Mongolia has already opened itself to forge new relationship with global and regional powers, and is trying to have their support especially in speeding up economic rebuilding of the country. While maintaining 'complete equality' in its relations with Russia and China, Mongolia also focussed its attention towards developing political and economic cooperation with the United States, Japan, European Union especially Germany, Britain, France as well as Australia, Canada and other western countries. At the same time in order to strengthen its position in Asia, Mongolia attaches great importance towards expanding its relations with India, the Republic of Korea, Turkey, Thailand, Singapore and other ASEAN member countries.

It is to be pointed out that Mongolia now identifies itself more as a North East Asian country and, therefore, it can not escape from the developments taking place on the Korean peninsula. It is where Mongolia can play a role towards contributing to the consolidation of peace and stability as it enjoys stable and good neighbourly relations with both the North and South Korea. Although North East Asia is the only sub-region having no organisational structure of its own, the countries belonging to this area meet time and again on an informal basis and exchange views on the current situation as well as on ways and means of forging regional cooperation in various fields.¹⁵ As part of this effort some large scale 21st century oriented projects have been undertaken,

MONGOLIA'S FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES

particularly the construction of main gas and oil pipelines as well as power lines. The Tuman River Area Development Project (TRADP), in which a number of North East Asian countries including Mongolia are participating, is yet another example of promoting wider regional cooperation. This is an ambitious project aims at creating a free-trade zone by transforming the Tumen River area into the transportation and trading hub for North East Asia. It will help the region's trade to prosper besides attracting investment from outside.

The past decade witnessed the Asia-Pacific region as one of the key areas of Mongolia's foreign policy priorities. It is evident from the fact that Mongolia learnt a lot from the economic dynamism of the Asia Pacific region, which is still required to be followed at the domestic front. In order to find a place in this vast region, in 1993 Mongolia formally joined the Asia Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) and in 1998 the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) as a full member. Moreover, Mongolia's desire of promoting cooperation among the countries of North East Asia stems from giving due importance to the region as "a key component of the broader Asia-Pacific economic structure and a pivot of the world power equation with the increasing interaction of China, Japan, Russia and the United States."¹⁶ During the past few years encouraging signs have emerged in Mongolia's international relations as a result of pursuing a policy of active participation in regional cooperation especially with North East Asia, Asia Pacific and Central Asia as well as involving itself into global economic-political integration. So far as Mongolia's relations with the Central Asian States are concerned, the importance lies into the fact that the latter can serve as the new land bridge to promote Mongolia's overland trade besides being partners in its economic rebuilding.¹⁷ Even the Mongolian government action plan of 1996 and 2000 reiterated the need of developing cooperation and expanding relations with Central Asia and the Near East. Further, developing ties with international and regional organisations constitutes one of the basic tenants of Mongolia's foreign policy priorities. The fact that Mongolia acquired membership of the IMF, the World Bank, the ADB and the WTO testifies Mongolia's endeavour to strike a right balance between its politics and economy.

As regards India, it has always been in Mongolia's foreign policy priority list due to their close historical and cultural ties. Since the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1955 between the two countries they have come a long way, no matter Mongolia was previously a Communist country and now a democratic one. That Mongolia attaches great importance to develop relations with India, is enshrined in the very Concept of Mongolia's Foreign Policy, which states, "The Government of Mongolia will also pursue a policy aimed at promoting friendly relations with such countries as India, the Republic of Korea, Singapore, Turkey, Denmark, the Netherlands, Finland, Austria, Sweden, Switzerland and at creating and bringing to an appropriate level their economic and other interests in Mongolia."¹⁸ On its part, India regards Mongolia as a valued friend. Although, the geographical barriers pose obstacles in the process of close and active economic cooperation between Mongolia and India, the former can visualize the future Indo-Mongolian economic cooperation, particularly in the agricultural, industrial and IT sectors. They can also plan mutual cooperation in joint mining of uranium and other mineral and energy resources in Mongolia. Besides, Indo-Mongolian ventures in agro-processing, woollen, cement and other such sectors can also be explored. In this regard the recent visit of the President of Mongolia N. Bagbandi to India in January 2001 is significant. The visit not only provided a further boost to Indo-Mongolian ties but also concretised various programmes of collaboration. During his visit while India expressed its support to Mongolia's Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status, Mongolia on its part supported India's endeavour to its inclusion in the UN Security Council. Both sides also reiterated the importance of continuing relevance of the 1994 Indo-Mongolia Treaty of friendly relations and cooperation which serves as a solid foundation for the further developments of bilateral relations and cooperation between the two countries. The two sides also signed a number of agreements including cooperation in defence matters as well as in information technology. Both sides are committed to carry out close interaction within the frame work of the Asia-Pacific Regional Cooperation (ARC) in order to ensure peace and security in the region.

MONGOLIA'S FOREIGN POLICY PRIORITIES

To conclude, Mongolia's efforts to readjust with the new geopolitical situation having arisen out of the collapse of the former Soviet Union and the end of the cold war are a continuing process. Therefore, its foreign policy priorities particularly in the political and economic fields depend on how they serve the purpose of its immediate national interests as well as security concerns. There is no doubt that in the past decade Mongolia has broadened its presence in the world by strengthening its bilateral and multilateral ties. But still there is much to be done both at the domestic as well as external levels. It is vital for Mongolia to be updated with developments taking place in regional and global affairs and accordingly try to influence as many countries as it can to be partners on mutually advantageous basis. However, due to the lacuna of its land locked geographical situation, Mongolia will have to rely much on its diplomatic initiatives to ensure its "omnidirectional" foreign policy work for maintaining the country's sovereignty and territorial integrity, besides achieving economic security. In the current scenario, although Mongolia is an independent democratic country free from any inhibitions, we have yet to see a politically stable and economically strong Mongolia which could contribute to global and regional peace and security.

REFERENCES

1. In order to distance itself from its Communist past, the country changed its new name to Mongolia as of 12 February 1992 under the new constitution which was adopted on 13 January 1992. See, *Summary of World Broadcasts*, FE/1303, 13 February 1992.
2. G. Tumurchuluun, "Mongolia's Foreign Policy Revisited: Its Relations with Russia and China in the 1990s," *The Mongolian Journal of International Affairs* (Ulaanbaatar), no. 2, 1995, pp. 48-49.
3. For the full text of the new Constitution, see *The Constitution of Mongolia* (Taipei: Mongolia and Tibetan Foundation, 1992), pp. 1-31.

4. See, *Mongolian Defence White Paper, 1997-1998*, Ministry of Defence of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, 1998, p.29.
5. See, Concept of National Security of Mongolia, *Strategic Digest* (New Delhi), vol. 26, no. 2, February 1996, p. 173.
6. *Ibid*, p. 177.
7. See, *Report of the Secretary-General on Mongolia's International Security and Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status*, United Nations General Assembly, 55th Session, A/55/166 dated 20 July 2000.
8. *Ibid*.
9. See, *Resolution 55/33S of the United Nations General Assembly*, 55th Session, 69th Plenary Meeting, A/RES/55/33 dated 12 January 2001.
10. See, *Mongolian Foreign Policy Blue Book*, Ministry of External Relations of Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, 2000, p.18.
11. *Independent* (Dhaka), 15 November 2000.
12. See, Concept of Mongolia's Foreign Policy, *Strategic Digest* (New Delhi), vol. 26, no.2, February 1996, p. 188.
13. M. Durgersuren, "Changing Mongolia in a New Environment," *The Mongolian Journal of International Affairs* (Ulaanbaatar), no.1, 1994, p.20.
14. Concept of Mongolia's Foreign Policy, *opcit*.
15. D. Bayarkhuu, "A New World Order in the Asia-Pacific Region: A Mongolian Perspective," *World Affairs* (New Delhi), vol.3, no.4, Oct-Dec. 1999, p. 101.
16. *Ibid*.
17. Sharad K. Soni, "Perspectives on Mongolia-Central Asia Relations," *Jadavpur Journal of International Relations* (Calcutta), vol.2, 1996, p. 178.
18. Concept of Mongolia's Foreign Policy, *opcit.*, p. 189.

MONGOLIA, NEW CENTRAL ASIA AND INDIA

Ts. Batbayar

The collapse of the USSR has transformed the entire geopolitical map of Inner or Central Asia. From Mongolia's point of view the disintegration of former Soviet empire has brought both the challenges and opportunities for Mongolia and the former Soviet Central Asia.

(1) Due to the collapse of the Soviet patronage, Mongolia has acquired its de facto independence and other Central Asian states have acquired their de jure independence. It was so sudden and unexpected, and even in some cases there had been undesirable turn of events that it will require a certain amount of time for Central Asian states to adjust fully to the new circumstances.

(2) The most challenging task facing the Central Asian states seems to be rediscovering their national identities and nation building. In history the process of nation building always had its ups and downs, conflicts and even wars like what is happening now in some part of this newly born sub-region.

(3) With the Soviet strategic retreat the hitherto peaceful environment of Mongolia and former Soviet Central Asia has been transformed into a state of active strategic dynamism. The key question is whether this geo-strategic vacuum will be filled and if so, by whom and how. Although Russia is trying to reassert its control in the region, the possibility of other would be regional players competing for influence in the new Central Asia has already become a reality.

(4) With the Soviet withdrawal we have witnessed the danger of more ethnic conflicts, resurgent nationalism and religious fundamentalism. Except Mongolia, all five newly born Central Asian nations are pre-dominated by Muslims. During the Soviet period, republics were created along the ethnic lines and nationalistic feelings were suppressed

Ts. Batbayar

by common ideology. Now-a-days ethnic mixture has resurfaced and Islam is reviving everywhere.

THE HISTORICAL LINKS

Huge landmass stretching from the Chinese Great Wall up to the Caspian Sea has been an arena of historical interplay of nomadic nations and massive population movements. This area has been dominated by three subsequent nomadic waves until the sixteenth century. The first were Turks, who rapidly gained control of a vast territory, including part of the route of the “Silk Road”. Then Uighur came to replace them as rulers of Inner Asia who survived until early thirteenth century. The last nomad invasion of Inner or Central Asia was that of the Mongols in the early thirteenth century. Tamerlane, the fourteenth century potentate (1336 A.D.-1405 A.D.), who subdued Transoxiana, Transcaucasia, Khorasan and a large part of northern India, made Samarkand his capital and built it with superb buildings and gardens, encouraged science and arts. After his death, his empire gradually disintegrated into even smaller units, ruled over by local Khans.

By the seventeenth century, Inner Asia became an arena of intense rivalry between the Manchus, the Oirats (Jungarians), and the Russians. The Oirats, who reached the zenith of their power in the first half of the eighteenth century were defeated by the Manchus in 1755-1758, and some parts of the Central Asia were incorporated into the Qing Dynasty. The Russians who came to Central Asia in the mid sixteenth century, made expansion into Southern Siberia and mountainous Altai and Kazakh lands in the first half of eighteenth century. The Manchus established Xinjiang as “New Frontier” province in 1760 A.D. in order to strengthen its foothold in Central Asia and to hinder Russian expansion into Central Asia. During eighteenth century the Russians began to extend their power south of the Urals; the Kazakh Hordes eventually came over more firmly under Russian domination. In the second half of nineteenth century Russian troops moved southwards, to capture Tashkent in 1865 A.D., Samarkand in 1868 A.D., and Bukhara, Khiva and others shortly afterwards.

THE COMMON SOVIET LEGACY

Soviet rule was basically established in Central Asia between 1918 and 1922. In order to separate the Turkic portions of the former Russian empire from the rest of Central Asia, the term *Srednyaya Aziya* was coined and applied to the Soviet part of Central Asia. The Soviet Central Asia included Uzbekistan, Turkmenistan (both granted Union Republic status in 1924), Tajikistan (1929), and Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan (both elevated to Union Republic status in 1936).

Economy

The main sectors of the Central Asian Republics are agriculture, the extractive industries (mainly oil, gas, coal and minerals) and energy. There are some heavy engineering (especially in Uzbekistan), some metallurgical (including the processing of aluminium and uranium in Tajikistan) and several large petrochemical plants. There are also a number of military-industrial complexes, including the nuclear testing site at Semipalatinsk and the Baikonur space centre (both in Kazakhstan). Most of the larger enterprises, and all the military complexes, were under the direct control of Moscow until recently.

External economic relations of Central Asian Republics were dependent in average 85 per cent on the intra-Union exchange of goods. For instance, in case of Kazakhstan, most of its trade was carried out with other republics of the former Soviet Union, only 9% of export and 12% of import were conducted with the outside world in the late 1980's. According to an IMF report, a particularly serious mutual dependence in the energy sector existed among Kazakhstan and other Soviet constituent republics. Preceding the decision to build an oil pipeline through the Caspian Sea, the republic's oil going westward, amounting to three fourths of its total output, had to pass an oil pipe of Russia. The republic's coal had to be transported from its Pavlodar to Siberia and the region west of the Ural, where processing factories using that coal had been built.¹

The same is true for Kyrgyzstan. In the early 1990's, its value of imports from and exports to the former Soviet Union made up 96% and

Ts. Batbayar

88% of its total trade, only 4% and 12% came from business with outside world. Its biggest trade partners, in order of scope of transactions, include Russia, Kazakhstan, Uzbekistan, Ukraine. It is not self-sufficient economically as 70% of its industrial consumer goods are imported. It gets oil products from Uzbekistan, steel and other equipments from Ukraine, and most technologies and manufactures from Russia. Among the five Central Asian countries having broken away from the former Soviet Union, Kyrgyzstan, apart from the war-torn Tajikistan, is the most inflicted by the sudden termination of the original economic ties. The 1993 IMF report on that country says: The highly specialized division of labour practised under the central command of the former Soviet Union has resulted in Kyrgyzstan's serious reliance on the trade with the other republics.²

The same situation prevails in all the Central Asian countries. Uzbekistan has to import 46% of the industrial consumer goods, while over 90% of the cotton it yields, it can not process itself. Tajikistan buys half of its consumption of manufactures and industrial raw materials from other countries. Turkmenistan purchases industrial consumer commodities from abroad to the extent of 66% of the total it needs. The impact of the disintegration of the Soviet Union is perhaps heavier and more protracted on this region than anywhere else.

Cultural Vacuum

As one Russian analyst observed, official Communist ideology in the former Soviet Central Asia had been embraced only by the transparent, superficial layers in social structures; traditional institutions, having had a predominant influence on the local way of life, remained in fact untouched. Soviet power was urged only to adjust itself to reality. Its gradual decline since the mid-1980s, parallel to a growing social openness, generated popular appeals to return to historical, cultural and religious "roots."

The same author warns that the emergence of Islamic parties in Central Asia, such as the *Islamic Renaissance Party* in Tajikistan, which are strongly bolstered by the growing influence of "non-official" Mullahs

MONGOLIA, NEW CENTRAL ASIA AND INDIA

among both rural and urban populations, indicates that Islam is on the political agenda of Central Asia. He acknowledges that the official clergy, with the exception of those in Tajikistan, emphasize that the time for this has not yet come, and that the main objective today is “to let Islam reemerge as a belief.” However, he believes that inevitably, due to the nature of the situation in Central Asia during the many years of Soviet power, a next step after such a re-emergence would be an increased Islamic involvement in the realpolitik of the region.³

It is true that everywhere in Central Asia one can see a more accommodating attitude towards Islam. New mosques were opened and informal religious classes were set up in many areas. Islam provided one of ready replacements for Soviet ideology. If in urban areas Islam was accorded a more modest place in the cultural and ceremonial spheres of life, in rural areas, especially in the Fergana valley, a more extremist form of Islam is reputed to be taking hold.

However, the tendency of some Western observers to equate being a Muslim with being an Islamic “fundamentalist” demonstrates only the observer’s confusion. For example, Tajikistan’s most powerful religious figure, its *Qazi*, Akbar Turajonzoda, in an interview with a German newspaper, contended that Iran could not possibly be a paradigm for Tajikistan:

The conditions are completely different. In Iran there was never a Communist Party in power. The 70-year predominance of atheism has had an effect on our country... Today the people are afraid of an Islamic regime, and why should one make the people afraid?... The people understand religion in their way: they do not want the woman to wear the *chador* [veil] again and to sit at the hearth, they reject polygamy, and they are afraid that human rights will be restricted if Islam comes to power. This is at least what they have been taught. Psychologically, they are not ready to support an Islamic state.⁴

Another highly politicized issue was the question of scripts: whether or not to retain the Cyrillic, and, if it is to be abandoned, whether to adopt the Latin or the Arabic script instead. Initially the

Ts. Batbayar

importance of the Arabic script was stressed because it will clearly represent the break with the Soviet past. However, they realized very soon that the adoption of the Arabic script would send misleading signals to the West, implying an Islam, and hence fundamentalist orientation. There has accordingly been a campaign in favour of the Latin script. For instance, in Tajikistan the 1989 language law called for a return to the use of the Arabic alphabet. Three years after the enactment of the new language law, it was estimated that only one per cent of Tajikistan's population became literate in it. The vast majority of Tajik language publications are still in the Cyrillic alphabet.

The fights over language law are potentially extraordinarily divisive issues in societies with large Russian minorities, like Kyrgyzstan and Kazakhstan. As Martha Brill Olcott points out: "Both Nazarbaev and Akaev are more sensitive than the other leaders to the fact that they rule multi-national societies, and that they must strike a balance between the aspirations of local nationalists with the sensibilities of Russians and other minority populations. One problem is that neither community views the situation wholly rationally.... Kazakhs demand that their language be recognized as the sole official language; Russians demand that both languages have identical legal status."⁵

The Economist reported in 1995 that the countries of Central Asia are rediscovering their old heroes like Kazakhstan celebrated the 150th anniversary of the birth of Abai, the father of Kazakh literature, and Kyrgyzstan celebrated 1,000 presumed years of an epic poem about a warrior called Manas. Next year Uzbekistan toasts the 660th anniversary of the birth of Timur, better known as the Mongol conqueror Tamerlane. The same magazine wrote that in Uzbekistan, the country which has kept most completely the Soviet Union's authoritarian style of government, Tamerlane has become an official hero, promoted by the state much as Lenin and Marx once were. He was portrayed as a mere barbarian warlord on Soviet days. Barbaric he certainly was, but he also made his capital, Samarkand, a town fabled throughout Asia for its beauty.⁶

Ethnic Problems

Each Central Asian state, apart from its titular nationality, contains literally dozens of other nationalities including Russians, other Central Asians, and nationalities from other parts of the former Soviet Union especially from the Caucasus. For example, only 73 per cent of population of Uzbekistan is Uzbek, and in Kazakhstan only 40 per cent of the total population is Kazakh. The presence of large numbers of Russians in each republic is the most provocative element of the nationalities problem. There are presently 3.2 million Russians in Central Asia (excluding the special case of Kazakhstan, where another 6.3 million live). These Russians are concentrated mainly in urban areas; indeed, in Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan they comprise over half the urban population. But Russians now find their jobs less secure as the language of the titular nationality becomes the official tongue. In Tashkent, for example, less than 6 per cent of the Russians speak Uzbek fluently, while 69 per cent can not speak Uzbek at all.

Kazakhstan: The Kazakhs have been exposed to European influences more than any other Central Asian people, and they constitute only one third of Kazakhstan's population with Russians and other nationalities accounting for 60 per cent. The Kazakhs were deeply anguished by their position as a minority in their own republic. They felt they lacked basic control over the industrial, agricultural and market forces of the state, which were in the hands of the Russians, Koreans and other Muslim nationalities - although their political control over the state has grown considerably.

At the same time the Kazakhs confront another geopolitical reality: the fact that vast portions of northern Kazakhstan, and great portions of its industrial and other resources, are in areas populated overwhelmingly by Russians. As Prof. N. Masanov of Kazakh State University writes, the territory of Kazakhstan geopolitically can be divided into five autonomous parts: western, northern, southern, south-eastern, and eastern. Each part is isolated geographically from each other, populated unevenly, developed unequally, and northern and western parts are heavily

Ts. Batbayar

inclined towards Russia. In his opinion, in case of extreme ethnic conflict, Kazakhstan with its very weak underdeveloped centre can be easily disintegrated into five parts.⁷

Uzbekistan: When the question of conflict between Uzbekistan and its neighbours arises, it is most likely with Tajikistan. Given the large number of Tajiks (20.5 per cent of Tajiks in the former Soviet Union live in Uzbekistan), who perhaps even constitute a majority in the city of Samarkand, there are increasing demands from the Tajiks for greater autonomy. Equally significant is the large Uzbek population in Tajikistan (1.5 million according to Uzbeks and 7 percent of the overall Uzbek population), mainly concentrated in the northern part of the republic, who exert considerable influence on the Tajik government. As pointed out by Martha Brill Olcott, "Potentially the most contentious dispute is between the Uzbeks and the Tajiks. Central Asia's two main Persian speaking cities, Samarkand and Bukhara, were included in Uzbekistan, leaving the Tajiks with the backwater town of dushanbe as their republic capital. For their part, the Uzbeks have periodically staked a claim to all of the Ferghana valley, which includes Kyrgyzstan's Osh oblast, and the part of the Khojent (formerly Leninabad) oblast in Tajikistan. The Uzbeks also argue that parts of southern Kazakhstan and eastern Turkmenistan (formerly of the pre-revolutionary Turkestan region) rightfully belong to them as well. The republics of Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan disagree not only about where their border should be but even about where it is, and briefly came to blow over this question in 1989."⁸

Tajikistan: The Tajiks make up about 60 per cent of the population in this most unstable country in Central Asia. Despite having a majority, the Tajiks are torn apart by a protracted conflict between southern and northern tribes that has escalated into a full-scale civil war. The Tajiks are the only non-Turkic nation in former Soviet Central Asia. Being part of the Persian world, they have historical, cultural and traditional ties more with Iran and Afghanistan. On the other hand, many Tajiks, especially the better educated ones, oppose any close relations with these two countries who are presently in the grip of Islamic fundamentalists. It

MONGOLIA, NEW CENTRAL ASIA AND INDIA

is the moderates' conviction that only Russia can offer protection against the fundamentalists designs on Tajikistan and at the same time serve as a stabilizing force within the country.

Kyrgyzstan: Despite its good fortune in possessing the only democratic regime in Central Asia, Kyrgyzstan is heavily mountainous and somewhat isolated, with limited economic prospects. At present, Kyrgyzs constitute more than half of Kyrgyzstan's population and the Uzbeks another 15 per cent, while Russians and Ukrainians account for most of the remaining 35 per cent. It has already had one serious ethnic clash with Uzbekistan in 1990 in the oblast of Osh in the Ferghana valley and expresses fear of "Uzbek expansionism." As said earlier, a considerable Uzbek minority exists in Kyrgyzstan.

Turkmenistan: In Central Asia, two million Turkmen in Turkmenistan are separated from a total of about one million in Afghanistan, Iran, Turkey and Iraq. Turkmenistan itself is physically isolated from the other Central Asian republics by a vast desert expanse. It is one of the most underdeveloped republics and it has the lowest population density in Central Asia. It is also well aware that geographically it is in a dominant position, astride the sole land corridor leading into Iran and on to the Persian Gulf and Turkey. It is in a position to exploit this geopolitical advantage in future bargaining.

MONGOLIA'S RELATIONS WITH CENTRAL ASIA AND INDIA

Mongolia and Central Asia

Mongolia established diplomatic relations with Kazakhstan on 22 January 1992, with Uzbekistan on 25 January 1992 and with Kyrgyzstan on 22 April 1992. Priority was attached to Kazakhstan which is the biggest country in Central Asia and which became actually a third neighbour for land-locked Mongolia although they still do not border each other directly. Another important factor was rather a large Kazakh community living in north-western Mongolia (over 150 thousand or 7.5 per cent of overall population of Mongolia) who accepted very enthusiastically the emergence of sovereign Kazakhstan next to their door.

Ts. Batbayar

Kazakhstan is also important for Mongolia's economy. Crude copper ore which is extracted in northern Mongolia by Mongol-Russian joint venture "Erdenet" and which is one of most important export items bringing more than half of Mongolia's hard currency earnings, continues to be shipped to Kazakhstan and processed in "Balkhashmed" refinery. For instance, in 1994 alone, about 40 thousand ton copper ore was processed in Kazakhstan.

The Treaty of Friendly Relations and Cooperation between Mongolia and Kazakhstan was signed in Ulaanbaatar in October 1993 when Kazakh President N. Nazarbaev visited Mongolia. The same Treaty between Mongolia and Kyrgyzstan was concluded in July 1993 when President of Kyrgyzstan A. Akaev visited Ulaanbaatar. High level delegations of Mongolia reciprocated visits to Central Asian capitals. In September 1993 N. Bagabandi, the then Chairman of Mongolian Parliament and now the President of Mongolia paid a visit to Kazakhstan and established relations between two Parliaments. In late November- early December of 1994, the Prime Minister of Mongolia P. Jasrai visited Kazakhstan. During his visit P. Jasrai could be able to settle the issue of those citizens of Mongolia who voluntarily went to Kazakhstan. It is to be noted that the legal status of over 50 thousand Mongolian Kazakhs (12.3 thousand left in 1991, 26.9 thousand - in 1992, 14.7 thousand - in 1993) who left Mongolia for Kazakhstan remained unsettled until the visit of P. Jasrai. Both sides concluded the Agreement about the regulation of issues of voluntary immigration and job assignments by contract.

Trade volume between Mongolia and Central Asian states is much less than expected. Kazakhstan is the fourth major trade partner of Mongolia because Mongolia's main export item - crude copper - is processed in Kazakhstan. Economic cooperation between Mongolia and Central Asia is still in initial stage. A number of projects including the construction of a high way between Bayan-Ulgii (the capital of Mongolia's province populated by Kazakhs) and Almaty and the construction of a modern airport in Bayan-Ulgii has been discussed between the governments of Mongolia and Kazakhstan. Mongolian side is also very much interested in buying oil and oil products from

MONGOLIA, NEW CENTRAL ASIA AND INDIA

Kazakhstan in order to supply the western part of Mongolia which now consumes very expensive oil transported all over Mongolia from Russian Siberia.

Table 1

Mongolia's Trade with Central Asia				
Unit=US\$ 1000				
Country	1993		1994	
	Export	Import	Export	Import
Kazakhstan	54353.5	394.4	40729.0	147.2
Uzbekistan	1434.0	52.2	520.0	385.4
Kyrgyzstan	54.4	32.8	N.A.	175.6

Source: State Statistical Office, The Government of Mongolia.

Mongolia and India

Relations between Mongolia and India have entered into a new stage since the beginning of 1990s when Mongolia embarked the uneasy road of multi-party democracy and a market oriented economy. India was the first country among the non-socialist world to establish diplomatic relations with Mongolia in 1955 and opened its Embassy in Ulaanbaatar in 1970. The 1992 visit of India's Vice-President Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma to Mongolia can be considered as an Indian support of Mongolia's firm commitment to chose a democracy and a market-oriented economy. The Vice-President of India pledged to increase technical assistance to Mongolia, i.e. training of Mongol technicians through Indian program of ITEC.

On 21-24 February 1994 the then President of Mongolia P. Ochirbat paid an official visit to India. The highlight of the visit was the signing of the Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation between Mongolia and India. Besides, a number of agreements including an agreement on avoidance of double taxation and an inter-governmental agreement about the creation of the bilateral committee on cooperation were also concluded. More recently, the President of Mongolia N. Bagabandi paid a state visit to India on 1-5 January 2001.

Ts. Batbayar

During his visit both sides noted the relevance of the 1994 treaty of friendly relations and cooperation and also signed a number of agreements. The new agreements will certainly lay down a solid basis for further development of bilateral relations between the two countries.

Mongolia attaches great importance to trade and economic relations with India. The government of India decided to render Mongolia for the first time a soft loan of 50 million Rupees (US\$ 1.7 million) to be used for financing the construction of a factory of vegetable oil with a capacity of 550 tonnes per year and a cement plant with a capacity of 5 to 6 thousand tonnes per year. New loans from India would be used to finance a small scale hydro energy projects in the western part of Mongolia. Indian Commerce Minister visited Mongolia in September 1994 and signed a number of Protocols to create inter-governmental subcommittee on Commerce and to establish working relations between two state planning organizations. In June 1995 more than 20-member delegation of Indo-Mongolian Chamber of Commerce set up in Bombay came to Mongolia to meet Mongolian businessmen and to explore ways of developing trade and investment. Mongolian side expressed interest in import of Indian drugs, tea, coffee, and industrial equipments. Indian side is interested in coking coal, fluorspar, copper, uranium, and other minerals. At this stage transportation of goods becomes a major obstacle for trade promotion. One way to overcome this natural barrier is to establish regular flights between Mongolia and India.

CONCLUSION

As one can see from this, Asia, or to be more exact, India and Central Asia, are very important spheres of Mongolia's foreign relations. Mongolia and Central Asian states have lived together throughout the centuries. The similarity of their histories, traditions and cultures is well known to the world. So far some progress has been made in developing bilateral ties with Central Asian nations. For instance, a number of projects were discussed during the visits to Mongolia by the Presidents of Kazakhstan and Kyrgyzstan, and drafts on mutual investment agreements were exchanged. The principal agreement was reached with Kazakhstan on the question of members of Mongolia's Kazakh community who already left or who still wish to leave the country.

MONGOLIA, NEW CENTRAL ASIA AND INDIA

However, obstacles with objective nature are impeding the development of these ties. First of all, Mongolia is making transition from centrally planned economy to a market economy. It is well known that how difficult this task is. In addition, there is almost no physical infrastructure between Mongolia and Central Asia. Nevertheless, we think there are many fields in which we can and must cooperate. Since Mongolia has already declared itself a nuclear-free zone it would contribute enormously to the world and regional peace. We could also effectively cooperate in the United Nations and other international organizations. Protection of Central Asian environment would be a good sphere for cooperation. Central Asians could think on creating their own regional, Central Asian organizations to deal with their own sub-regional problems. There are many possibilities to be engaged in mutually beneficial cooperation.

REFERENCES

1. *IMF, Economic Reviews*, “Kazakhstan”, 1993.
2. *IMF, Economic Reviews*, “Kyrgyz Republic”, 1993.
3. M. Konarovsky, “Russia and the Emerging Geopolitical Order in Central Asia,” in *The New Geopolitics of Central Asia and its Borderlands*, edited by Ali Banauzizi and Myron Weiner, (Indiana Univ. Press, 1994). p.240.
4. *Komsomol'skaya pravda*, 4 October 1991.
5. Martha Brill Olcott, “Emerging Political Elites,” in *The New Geopolitics of Central Asia and its Borderlands*, Ali Banuazizi and Myrone Weiner (eds.), Indiana Univ. Press, 1994, p.58-59.
6. *The Economist*, 23 September 1995.
7. N. Masanov, “Natsional'no-gosudarstvennoe stroitel'stvo v Kazakhstan: analiz I prognoz,” *Vestnik Evrazii* (Moscow), no.1, 1995, pp. 124-127.
8. Martha Brill Olcott, “Central Asia's Post-Empire Politics”, *Orbis*, Spring 1992, p.256.

MONGOLIA AND ITS THIRD NEIGHBOURS

D. Bayarkhuu

The so called recognition of the status quo of Mongolian People's Republic was raised during the Yalta conference in February 1945, when the leaders of the three allied powers known as "Big Three" met. This issue was raised as one of the preconditions for drawing the Soviet Union into the war against Japan. The word status quo that found its due place in the vocabulary of the Mongolian language has since then stood for "condition." It is a term in the international law used for a situation of legal and realistic existence. So, the USSR, the USA and Great Britain recognized the actual status of Mongolia by 1945. Starting from 1921 until that moment Mongolia had, literally, been de jure a part of China and defacto an independent state which in fact was a buffer state of the Soviet Union.

However, the recognition meant only the acknowledgement of that situation as China recognized Mongolia's independence only in early 1946. China made such a decision only after the exchange of notes on Chinese recognition of the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic when the USSR and Kuomintang China signed a Treaty of Friendship and Alliance on 14 August 1945, and also after the outcome of the popular referendum held in Mongolia in the same autumn. Stalin forced Chiang Kai Shek to abandon Chinese claims to sovereignty over Mongolia. Chinese Communist rulers too, were unable to win back what nationalist ones conceded. Fearing Chinese dominance, Mongolia opted for being a pro-Soviet entity or a Soviet satellite rather than a non-aligned or neutral buffer state. The People's Republic of China (PRC) which replaced the Kuomintang China, exchanged a note with the USSR during the signing of a Friendship, Alliance and Mutual Assistance Treaty on 14 January 1950, recognizing the independence of the Mongolian People's Republic. According to the Westphalian

MONGOLIA AND ITS THIRD NEIGHBOURS

Principles, the date on which Mongolia won international recognition could either be “1945”, “1946” or “1950”.

A major factor that decides the status quo and sovereignty of any country is not its military and political might or economic development, nor the will of its people. Rather it is the simultaneous recognition by neighbouring nations. In such cases, it is a bitter fact that a neighbour of any country has an important role to play due to its being nearly a decisive force for the very existence of that country. On the other hand, for any small country geopolitics is the key factor which defines its independence and sovereignty. Therefore, when Mongolia attained its first statehood, the issue of its neighbour too emerged. There was a time when the question of being a neighbour did not matter at all. That was the time of the Great Empire during which no country remained dependent on their neighbours. But when the country faced the extinction of the Great Empire a question of “who should be a neighbour?”, “who is better than the other?” probably cropped up. During the Manchu Ching rule, there was a vacuum in the north because the Russian monarch had not yet extended its boundary. The same was the case in the west too. Therefore, there was no barrier for the future Kalmyk in the west, the Buryat in the north and Tuva (republics in Russia) in the west to separate themselves.

Until 1911, Mongolia had, in effect, no neighbours as there was no need of a neighbour’s shield and influence. It was only in 1911 when leading aristocrats of Mongolia declared their independence that a real need of a neighbour arose. After the formation of the Republic of China the situation in the south became much more worse than the Manchu-Ching dynasty. At that time the problem was that who would recognize Outer Mongolia (its international name) which had just declared its independence? However, in 1912, Mongolia concluded with Russia a treaty on “Recognizing the Autonomy of Mongolia.” Further, in 1913, in Beijing, Russia and China recognized the autonomous status of Outer Mongolia in a Joint Declaration. Russia and Japan too agreed upon their sphere of influence in Outer and Inner Mongolia respectively, in the Convention of 1912. This decided the status quo of Mongolia under His Holiness Bogd Khan. Thus, Mongolia ended up with three neighbours - Russia, bordering in the northern part, Japan which was

D. Bayarkhuu

interested in Inner Mongolia, and Republic of China which acknowledged the autonomous status of Mongolia.

However, in 1917, soon after the Bolsheviks won the revolution, the situation underwent a change and Soviet Russia refused to recognize the status quo of Mongolia. There had also been talks between Soviet Russia and China in 1918 which meant a liquidation of previous agreements concluded between Czarist Russia and China including the Tripartite Agreement of Kyakhta concluded in 1915. In 1919 as China intervened militarily into Mongolia, a new opportunity emerged to eliminate the independence of Mongolia, the foundation of which was laid in 1911. Thus Mongolia was left with only one neighbour i.e. Russia in the north which was experiencing a civil war. As the civil war of Russia expanded and crossed over the boundary of Mongolia, the latter's status quo was bound to change. Soon after the Chinese were expelled Mongolia became a battlefield of the Red and White Russians one defeating the other and ultimately driving them out. The Mongols, who had been working hard to gain their independence back, found Mongolia to be turned into a mere buffer zone to protect Far East and Siberia from Japan. In Beijing (1924), the Soviet Union and China reached an agreement on the basic principles to be applied for regulating the affairs between the two sides. In its fifth provision both parties pointed out that Mongolia was an inseparable part of China. Although the provision remained in effect until 1945, the civil war that started in 1927 in China somehow halted the effect of the provision.

Mongolia, at least being de facto, later found itself to be bordering with many neighbours. In addition to the newly independent Tuva which was recognized by none other than Mongolia, these neighbours also included Russian Buryats, Irkutsk and Chita provinces, Manchukuo in the east, and Eastern Turkestan in the west, all of which were under the zone of Russian sphere of influence. In a sense, it proved to be advantageous for Mongolia as the number of neighbouring countries reached upto five. Fortunately, the country did not have any ties with China. Thus, a realistic outside condition came about for Mongolia to become a Central Asian "Switzerland". However, as Sino-Soviet relationship started improving in the late 1930s, it exerted a negative

MONGOLIA AND ITS THIRD NEIGHBOURS

influence on Mongolia. But in the Soviet-Japan Non Aggression Treaty concluded in 1941, Japan recognized the status quo of Outer Mongolia, while the Soviet Union recognized that of Manchukuo and Inner Mongolia. It was a gainful event for Mongolia because it provided a security guarantee from outside aggression. However, by 1945, the number of neighbours shrank down. With Japan leaving the arena, Manchukuo was wiped out and Inner Mongolia was given back to China. In Eastern Turkestan, the Kuomintang confronted with Communists and there was a hint of the emergence of Pan-Turanism. By 1949, Mongolia was left with only two neighbours.

All these facts point out that Mongolia did have some experience of having more than two neighbours and that was the period between 1920s and 1930s. It is so tragic that all those personalities who sought after the third neighbour were wiped out in 1937, and so was the will to have a third partner.

WHETHER NEIGHBOUR IS A GEOGRAPHICAL CONCEPT?

The Mongols are found today not only in Mongolia and Inner Mongolia in China, but also in Kazakhstan, the Buryat, Tuva, Altai and Kalmyk Republics in Russia, the Xinjiang Uighur Autonomous Region, Qinghai and Gansu Provinces of China.

Since the first half of the twentieth century Mongolia, where a large proportion of the Mongols lives, has experienced many changes, beginning with its breakaway from its suzerain China, followed by a period of Soviet control, then in 1992 after the collapse of the Soviet Union, it abandoned Communism and changed its official name from the People's Republic of Mongolia to simply Mongolia, and adopted a democracy and market economy. These momentous changes have naturally a positive impact on the geo-strategic and civilizational location of Mongolia in particular and the Mongols in general.

From the geographical and civilizational points of view, Mongolia is the meeting point of three major cultures in the world: Chinese confucianism, orthodox Russian Christianity and Islam. This makes it the only country of its kind. At some point of time the region was of

D. Bayarkhuu

geopolitical interest for Russia and Great Britain, and afterwards for Japan. After the World War II, for a brief period of time the Americans too tried to break into the country. Today it is a huge arena where Russia and China are implementing strategic partnership. One may say that the region is a crusade for making international relations multi-pillared. The Islamic world too is geographically dragging closer from the west along the Mongolian border. Xinjiang, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Uzbekistan and Tajikistan, almost all of them situated at the western frontier are a new geopolitical area of Central Asia. Further to the east beyond China, the USA has a geopolitical interest in the Korean peninsula and Okinawa islands. But due to their remoteness they are unlikely to be Mongolia's neighbours. However, on the western front direct ties between Kazakhstan and Bayan-Ulgii and the re-settlement of Mongolian Kazakhs there are not a mere expression of ordinary diplomatic relations. Therefore, the emergence of five new republics on the Central Asian plateau could be called Mongolia's western neighbours. Even there are many instances when Mongolia has been referred to as located in Central Middle Asia. But this remains a matter of debate..

So geography aside, which zone or area did Mongolia really belong to? In other words, where were we dragged about? Located in Central Asia, with the status of Eastern Europe, it was a devoted member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) and an eastern wing of the socialist community. This has always been a difficult point to clarify. But nothing remains today of the past. Mongolia could be portrayed as a lonely child whose interest is cornered around the Northern East Asia with no visible course to undergo. The country has a multi-pillared foreign policy, and is looking forward to Asia Pacific. The main tool to supplement this policy is the third neighbour. But how?

There are two ways to look at the issue of neighbour: in a geographical concept it should be the western side, and in a geo-political term it should be the east. The official policy of Mongolia has already been declared of making the USA as one of its major neighbours. Germany has shown how a country with no common border can be a good neighbour. The ties with the member of the EU countries not excluding the organization itself is Mongolia's foreign policy priority. The

MONGOLIA AND ITS THIRD NEIGHBOURS

ongoing relationship with Japan too confirms that a geographical remoteness is not a barrier at all. On the other hand, the stagnated relationship between Mongolia and Russia, although they share the common border, is telling something else. The PRC preserves the name of being a good neighbour and a partner. It raises hue and cry if one chooses a neighbour. The interpretation that a neighbour is not to be chosen since a country can not move out taking its land, is now losing its meaning. Whether Mongolia can choose its neighbour and be chosen as a neighbour largely depends on how wise and sound its foreign policy is. In order to carry out a multi-pillared policy there should be a favourable environment in Mongolia for foreign interests, which will depend much on our smartness and dexterity. This comprises in itself many aspects such as the speeding up of reform, privatisation and investment. An attractive environment for investment and a wise consumption of foreign aid are the preconditions for further development. For Mongolia, which following the common world trend has joined the common path of civilization, its democracy and market oriented foundation would clarify and categorize its neighbours.

Although the USA is a country that borders with only two countries- Canada and Mexico, many countries in the international community are now committed to make the United States their neighbour (as a partner). It further proves that geography does not matter anyway while deciding to choose a neighbour. After the World War II, the United States acquired many new neighbours. Among them were the West European countries where American investment and loans flew under the “Marshall Plan”. However, the cold war multiplied that number to include South Korea, Japan, Turkey and South East Asian countries, which also obtained the same status. And all of them followed the same pattern and picked up same values, never doubting the rightfulness of their choice. Today the countries of Eastern Europe and the Baltic states are following the same path. Since Mongolia has experienced this common destiny, it is rightful to think freely without confining itself within the geographical boundaries. As to the possible geographic and geopolitical clashes, the argument goes whether it would come from the east or the west. If it is geographic, we should think of the Islamic world and be prepared for that.

WILL PAN-ISLAM BE A THIRD NEIGHBOUR?

One may find many similarities and dissimilarities among the five Central Asian countries. An example is Iranian concept of three Moslem circles (rings) of the world, and it is the goal of *jihad* (the holy war) to create them. As they are publicly known today the first ring comprises the countries of Near East and Central Asia, the second includes the northern part of Africa, and under the third ring come the countries of South East Asia and all the rest of the Islamic countries. The new five Central Asian countries, enlisted as Mongolia's potential neighbours which are also members of the Commonwealth of Independent States, belong to the very first ring as the priority countries.

The most influential Islamic countries in Central Asia are Turkey and Iran. And the slow penetration of Turkish culture into Mongolia is not an ordinary symbol of cooperation. Many elements make it distinct from the usual type of relationship it holds with other nations. This is one side of the typical policy Mongolia's western neighbours conduct and it could be viewed as the first branch growing out of the world's one of the most gigantic cultural and influential tree. The shadows of the policies of Turkey and Iran are also clearly visible in Kazakhstan and the countries beyond it. Moreover, the transition process into the old nationalism and renaissance of the 19th century, which is taking place in those countries, is shaping their socio-political policy. The movement for independence, which came into light at the end of the 19th century and again revived in the 1990's paved the way to choose their own path of development, leaving behind what they followed during the Soviet time. That was the first and most important accomplishment. Yet, there came about negative outcomes because democracy was rejected as the main social force and taken over by authoritarian and totalitarian regimes. The people, however, did not care whether such a regime was good or bad, because it brought stability. On the other side, although there is no direct impact of such a regime on Mongolia's western frontier, Uzbekistan makes itself distinct from others.

Historically, Uzbekistan has a favourable soil for the spread of Islam. The Muslims from Bukhara and Khiva are known for their being highly

MONGOLIA AND ITS THIRD NEIGHBOURS

privileged and conservative. The economic potential and the suitable geopolitical position make Uzbekistan a unique country. The social rank based on religious clans is still the determining force in its social life and psychology, as it has always been under the Soviet era. The clan system is intact behind all the social functions, which is quite similar to a tribal chauvinism. It is shaping the face of that country. Similar picture can be seen in other four Central Asian countries as well. In Xinjiang too same process is blossoming but only in a hidden state. The border is being opened and the ties are extending, and it is beginning to get hooked to Central Asia. But in these two environments with one part having been under the orthodox Christian and Russian influence for long, where still there is Russian geo-political interest and the other part i.e. southern part of the region which is claimed as an inseparable part of the PRC, their unification is disputable. This makes one to think that an unpredictable new situation seems to be taking shape on the Mongolian western border. This process may bring an eventual confrontation between Russia and China. This is a serious factor which requires to be reflected. Beyond it is emerging Iran, which might negate these two simultaneously.

WHAT IS MORE RELEVANT : COMMONSENSE OR VALUE?

The argument made above about the new gigantic Islamic neighbour is a mere prediction for the future and the matter should be dealt with a great respect for Mongolia's Kazakh population. Islam is unarguably the second of Mongolia's two official religions. So if we are talking about any danger it is relatively secondary in character.

A big ring seems to be circling around Mongolia for negating or ignoring its chosen path (democracy and free market economy) and the will of the Mongolians to join the world family. This is a more serious factor than the issue of Islamic neighbours. That ring stands against having a third neighbour. That is in fact the strategic partnership between Russia and China who are declaring to be "friendly neighbours for generations".

After Yeltsin's visit to China in 1992, 1996, 1997 and Putin's visit in 2000 and the reciprocal visit by President Ziang Zemin to Russia in

D. Bayarkhuu

1994 and 1997, the two sides pledged to be “friendly neighbours for generations.” However, there started a phenomenon that could trigger a dispute in the future between Russia and China. Along the Russian border 8 million Russians are living strewn and most of whom fled to the European part, while in its south in Manchuria there are 120 million Chinese living crowded and some of them are penetrating into Russia illegally. The fact that the Far East belonged to the Chinese dynasty in the 18th century, which is something that contemporary Russians have now started acknowledging. They even accepted their share of guilt in the border incident of Daman in 1969. But there are many Russians who are issuing warnings about the potential danger of turning Siberia into a mere raw material source for increasing Chinese industrialization. The Chinese are becoming an active player along Mongolia’s eastern frontier who happen to export MIG-31, SU-29, and SU-34 fighter jets and T-80 tanks, missile mine transporters from Russia in great numbers. The five nations that surround Mongolia namely, Russia, China, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan and Tajikistan have joined a Treaty of army reduction along their borderlines of 7500 kms, within a width of 100 kms until the year 2020 (Shanghai Five). Russia and China signed a “Joint Declaration of Establishing a Multi Polar World and New International Order” and set up a “Commission for Peace and Development”. These two neighbours of Mongolia want to change the post cold war international relations according to their own will and desire. But what will be the effect of the confronting attitude of Russia towards the USA on the issue of Mongolia?

While visiting Mongolia in 1995, the Deputy Chairman of Russian Duma, Vengerovski, who titled himself as the leading geo-politician of the Russian Parliament, expressed the Russian policy lying in between the official and unofficial standing. He directly said: “If the Mongolian market is invaded by a foreign nation it will remind us the tale of free of charge beef lying in a mouse track. We would not like to see Mongolia to be a nation of propagating the leading American ideology. By God may Mongolia not turn into a place for their army and arsenals deployment.” By referring to “leading American ideology” he meant the values of democracy and human rights. This is in an utter contrast to the process now under going in Mongolia. Hence our imagination of a third

MONGOLIA AND ITS THIRD NEIGHBOURS

neighbour seems to be unacceptable for the official Russian policy. After all Vengerovski and Mitrofanov are the representatives of influential faction in the Russian Duma.

Taking into consideration the above stated Russian opinion, we could oppose it with our own position in order to view the relationship of Mongolia, Russia and China triangle from the position of regional cooperation and the possibility of Mongolia to be a bridge between Sino-Russian cooperation. However, keeping in mind the facts that the relationship between Mongolia and Russia lowered a lot from the Mongolian-Soviet time, Russia gained an alienated attitude towards Mongolia, no progress has been made in the cultural and humanitarian fields and the negotiation to this effect failed, there is little chance of substantially developing the Mongolian-Russian relations.

Whereas the relationship with the two immediate neighbours of Mongolia- Russia and China remains to be a top priority in Mongolia's foreign policy, from the country's development and national security perspective the expansion of relations with highly developed countries from the East and West is also a top priority agenda. The fact that Mongolia is sandwiched between its two big neighbours, there is more probability of relations to be halted if they show an alienated attitude. Moreover, the "friendship" is strengthening between the two neighbours opposing the USA and Western Europe which is a realistic factor that can have adverse effect on Mongolia's quest to have a third neighbour.

However, a statement issued by the President of the United States during his visit to Australia and Thailand in 1996, portrayed Mongolia as an example of democracy in Asia. On the other hand there was not a single word of its sort uttered either from Russia or China. There have been a substantial improvement in Mongolia's relationship with the USA, Japan, European Union, and Western Europe. They all pledged to "support Mongolia in the coming years". There are many practical and common similarities existing between Mongolia and the USA, which is being chosen as the third neighbour. The latest development, however, is the resolution passed by the US Senate approving Mongolia to be

D. Bayarkhuu

included in the NATO's "Partnership for Peace". This particular relationship is quoted here to show that by all standards Mongolia is an open country that has succeeded in entering the world network.

But the main channel to get on to the world stage and carry out an active relationship lies more through our two neighbours' land than by air. This might be the issue that should be concerned first. After all, the notion of having a neighbour is a creation of human mind in this science and information age rather than a geographical and geopolitical concept. The preparation for stepping into the 21st century should have a space for the notion of having a third neighbour. The factor in the human mind is much more important than geopolitical factor and status quo. There is evidence of forming an appropriate ground for this, since we have chosen democracy and free market economy without turning back. The relationship with the donor countries and their political and humanitarian aid provided in the last 10 years since 1990, might eventually have upper hand over the old value of "Unshakable Friendship between Mongolia and the Soviet Union" about which our next generations will only read in the books. But this is for the future generations to worry. However, it is us who should lay a ground today to have a third neighbour, so that we will have many more in the years to come. It is more so because that will be our guarantee of existence. And when the mission is accomplished it will be a gain no less than the gains of the People's Revolution.

BIBLIOGRAPHY

1. *Foreign Policy Blue Book*, Ministry of External Relations, Mongolia, Ulaanbaatar, 2000.
2. Owen Lattimore. *Nomads and Commissars*, New York, Oxford University Press, 1962.
3. Baabar B. Batbayar. *Twentieth Century Mongolia*, University of Cambridge, White Horse Press, 1999.
4. Ts. Batbayar. *Mongolia and Japan in the first half of the XX century*, Ulaanbaatar, 1998.
5. Kiyon J. Bor. *Mongolian Diplomatic History*, Ulaanbaatar, 1997.

INDIA-MONGOLIA JOINT DECLARATION

New Delhi, 3 January 2001

1. At the invitation of the President of the Republic of India, the President of Mongolia, H.E. Mr. Natsagiin Bagabandi, accompanied by his wife, paid a state visit to India from 01-05 January, 2001. During his stay, he visited Bangalore where he was briefed on India's space programmes and India's capabilities in the Information Technology sector.
2. The President of Mongolia was accorded a ceremonial welcome at Rashtrapati Bhavan on 3 January 2001. He called on the President of the Republic of India. Their discussion covered a review of bilateral relations and recent regional and international developments of mutual interest. An official banquet was hosted in honour of H.E. President Bagabandi.
3. The Vice President of the Republic of India, Deputy Chairperson Rajya Sabha and the Minister of External Affairs called on the President of Mongolia.
4. Delegation level discussions were held with the Prime Minister of the Republic of India. There was an extensive exchange of views on the further development of bilateral relations, a review of relations with neighbouring countries, the problem of international terrorism, UN reform and other international issues of mutual interest.
5. Following their discussions, both sides reiterated the importance that they attached to and the continuing relevance of the Treaty of Friendly Relations and Co-operation between the Republic of India and Mongolia of 1994. The Treaty had served both countries well and provided a solid foundation for the further development of bilateral relations and co-operation on regional and international relations in the years ahead.
6. The following new agreements were signed:
 - (i) Extradition Treaty;

DOCUMENT

- (ii) Treaty on Mutual Legal Assistance in Criminal Matters;
- (iii) Treaty on Legal Assistance and Legal Relations Concerning Civil and Commercial Matters;
- (iv) Agreement on Co-operation in Defence Matters;
- (v) Agreement for the Promotion and Protection of Investments;
- (vi) MOU on Co-operation in Information Technology.

The new agreements will serve to further diversify and strengthen bilateral relations and co-operation.

7. His Excellency, the President of Mongolia conveyed to the Prime Minister of the Republic of India that the Republic of India was one of the most populous countries in the world with, significant economic and political weight, scientific and technological potential and was able to make a tangible contribution to the maintenance of international peace and security. As a founding member of the Non-Aligned Movement India had a legitimate right to aspire for a permanent seat in the United Nations Security Council. Mongolia as a nation located in the same region as India and enjoying centuries old friendly ties with India, would fully support India's endeavours to become a permanent member as the expansion of the UN Security Council takes place. The Prime Minister of the Republic of India conveyed, on behalf of the Government of India, gratitude for this expression of support.
8. The Prime Minister of the Republic of India noted that the suffering of the friendly people of Mongolia on account of the harsh winter last year and the anticipated harsh winter this year, had given rise to great concern in India. As a gesture of India's concern and friendship, the Prime Minister conveyed to the President of Mongolia that India would provide a grant of Rs. 10 million as humanitarian assistance for supply of necessary relief items from India such as medicines, blankets, baby food and foodstuff. The President of Mongolia thanked the Prime Minister of the Republic of India for this friendly gesture.

9. The President of Mongolia conveyed to the Prime Minister of the Republic of India that the programmes of education and training that were being undertaken with Indian assistance were found both relevant and useful. The Prime Minister of the Republic of India took the opportunity to announce that India would be happy to enhance the positions reserved for Mongolia under its ITEC programme and also to expand the facilities and faculty of the Rajiv Gandhi Vocational Training Centre in Ulaanbaatar to meet additionally identified vocational training requirements of the Mongolian side. The Prime Minister also took the opportunity to reiterate that India had in the past and would continue in the future to share its modest developmental achievements with friendly developing countries as Mongolia.
10. Following their discussion on regional and international issues, the Prime Minister of the Republic of India reiterated India's support at the United Nations for Mongolia's International Security and Nuclear Weapon Free Status.
11. Both sides reiterated their readiness to enhance their co-operation on issues related to peace, stability and development in the world at large and in the Asia-Pacific region in particular, through intensifying their interaction and exchange of views in multilateral fora, including the United Nations.
12. India and Mongolia, as fellow members of the Non- Aligned Movement and the Group of 77, reiterated the importance of increasing the role of the Movement and the Group in developing more action oriented South-South co-operation and meaningful North-South partnership with a view to creating a more just and equitable world, free from fear and free from want.
13. The Mongolian side reaffirmed its support for India's efforts to normalise its relations with Pakistan on the basis of the 1972 Simla Agreement. It appreciated the position of India on the resumption of the composite dialogue with Pakistan based on the Simla Agreement and the Lahore Declaration.

DOCUMENT

14. Both India and Mongolia recognised the serious threats posed to nation states and international peace and security by the growing threat of international terrorism which had acquired an even more menacing dimension following the growth of and linkage with religious fundamentalism and extremism. Both countries condemned terrorism in, all its forms, irrespective of political, philosophical, ideological, religious, ethnic, racial or any other consideration that may be invoked to justify them. They also condemned states that aid, abet and directly support cross border and international terrorism. They reiterated their resolve to work to strengthen the international consensus and legal regimes against terrorism, including early finalisation of a comprehensive convention on International Terrorism.
15. The Prime Minister of the Republic of India and the President of Mongolia recalled with satisfaction that the two countries had recently marked the 45th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations on 24 December, 2000. The visit of the President of Mongolia to India, soon thereafter, was the first state visit to India in the new millennium. This befitted the civilisational and traditionally warm relationship between the two countries.
16. The Prime Minister of the Republic of India expressed the conviction that the visit of the President of Mongolia had strengthened the traditionally friendly and co-operative relations between India and Mongolia and would provide an important route map for the further development of bilateral relations in the 21st century.
17. The President of Mongolia thanked the Prime Minister of the Republic of India for the warm hospitality extended to his delegation and himself. He invited the President and the Prime Minister of the Republic of India to pay official visits to Mongolia. The invitations were accepted with gratitude. Dates would be settled through diplomatic channels.

(Issued at New Delhi on 03 January 2001 in Hindi, Mongolian and English languages, all texts being equally authentic. In case of any divergence of interpretation, the English text shall prevail.)

**Speech by the President of Mongolia, Mr. N. Bagabandi
at the Banquet hosted by H.E. Shri K.R. Narayanan,
President of the Republic of India**

New Delhi, 3 January 2001

Your Excellency Mr. President,
Your Excellency Madame Usha Narayanan,
Dear Indian friends,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

May I extend to Your Excellency Mr. President and through you to the friendly people of India the warm and sincere greetings of a new century and of a new millennium from the people of Mongolia.

On behalf of my wife, Mrs. A. Oyunbileg and the members of the delegation in my own name I would like to convey our deep gratitude for the kind invitation given to the President of Mongolia to visit your beautiful country and for the enormous respects and warm hospitality bestowed on us.

On the threshold of the new century we are delighted to be honoured to visit the great country of Bharat- an admirable mine of the splendid history and rich oriental culture and to get personally acquainted with the ancient wonders as well as the contemporary achievements of arts, culture and sciences accomplished by the great people of India and with the rapid successes of development obtained particularly in the recent ten years.

The Republic of India was one of the first few powers, those recognised the Mongolia's regained sovereignty and established the formal diplomatic relations with it. We, in Mongolia, are always cherish in our heart and mind the remarkable support given by Pandit Jawaharlal Nehru, the first Prime Minister of the Republic of India at a time of Mongolia's admission to the United Nations.

DOCUMENT

The Government and people of India from the very beginning have rendered their valuable supports to the democratic reform process, which is still continuing on throughout the last 10 years in Mongolia.

My country has put forward a priority of the foreign policy to broaden and diversify its co-operation with the countries in Asia and has actively been exerting its endeavour to this end. I wish to note that the further deepening and developing of our multifaceted relations and co-operation with the Republic of India is indeed an inseparable part of the aforementioned foreign policy.

I deem it a honour and privilege to meet with H.E. Mr. President, Vice President, Prime Minister and other high dignitaries of the Republic of India and have an exchange of views with them on the wide range of issues during my visit. I am pleased for having such warm friendly and fruitful meetings and discussions.

The ancient friendly relations between Mongolia and India had intensively grown up with success and got enriched with new contents and forms in the previous millennium. The scope and volume of the India's technical assistance toward Mongolia expanded and the number of students, scholars, and trainees studying at civilian and religious institutes under the GOI's stipend had been constantly increased. Tens and tens of experts who studied in India are successfully working today in Mongolia on their respective profession. I would like to say that should the GOI offers a soft loan and aids we shall accept them with a gratitude and strive to ensure their viable efficiency.

We find it rather encouraging development that an interaction between Mongolia and India have started in the judiciary, defence and information technology related fields in recent years. We are interested to interact with India in the information technology in general and software fields in particular and are prepared to engage jointly with software productions in order to export the products to the third market, training and re-training our specialists in India. We think it is also necessary to

give a due attention for further deepening our bilateral relations in the field of education, culture, science, tourism and humane exchanges as well. Each and every opportunity or possibility need to be searched for and utilised on either sides in order to further intensifying the co-operation in the field of agriculture. In this regard it would be appropriate to conclude an Agreement on the regime for veterinary hygienes between the two country.

We have been interacting with India and reciprocally supporting one another within the UN and other international fora. we are standing for further enhancing and broadening these traditions in future. With an enormous potentiality of human, economic, science and technical resources and capacity for making a weighty contribution in safeguarding the international peace and security and being the founder of the Non-Aligned Movement the Republic of India has full legitimacy for seeking the Permanent membership of the UN Security Council. Thus, I am pleased to assure you that being in the same region and enjoying centuries old friendly relations with India when as the UN Security Council be expanded Mongolia will fully support your endeavour for becoming its Permanent member.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

A process of globalisation is becoming a prime trend of today's international affairs. The role of trade and economic activities has turned into increasingly important one in the international relations and economic interdependence among the countries becoming more prominent. It has contained a number of positive features such as dissemination and adoption of the sophisticated communication, information technology and increase of human contacts. Apart from them one can not afford to deny its negative feature of potential new economic difficulties in regard to smaller and financially weaker, less developed countries. I think, if we all remember Mahatma Gandhi, who was one of world's outstanding personalities and great philosopher, politician of India's famous word

DOCUMENT

“The sources and origin of my all activities constituted in my endless love and affection for the humankind” and upheld it as a core principle then the world leaders will definitely be able to make a positive resolution of the issue.

Alike numerous branches of strong and durable banyan tree which nourished with the ray of the sun and the water of the monsoon rain of years after years, may the friendship and co-operation between our two countries be further broadened and enhanced.

May I propose this toast to the

- Good health of Your Excellencies Mr. President and Madame Usha Narayanan,
- Continued progress of the friendly relations and co-operation between Mongolia and India,
- Good health of all those present here.

Thank you.

**Speech by the President of India, Shri K.R. Narayanan
at the Banquet in honour of the President of Mongolia,
H. E. Mr. Natsagiin Bagabandi and Madame A. Oyunbileg**

New Delhi, Wednesday, 3 January 2001

Your Excellency President Bagabandi,
Madame Oyunbileg,
Excellencies and distinguished guests,

On behalf of the Government and people of India, my wife and I extend a warm welcome to you, to Madame Oyunbileg and to the members of your delegation. Your visit is an auspicious occasion for us. You are the first Head of State visiting India in the New Year. We recall

with fondness your visit to India as Chairman of the State Great Hural of Mongolia in 1996. We also recall Madam Oyunbileg's visit to India at the beginning of last year. I have fond memories of my visit to Mongolia in 1996. I have personally experienced the friendship and regard that the Mongolian people have for India. The people of India reciprocate these sentiments.

The mighty past of Mongolia fascinated people all around the world and shaped the course of history in large parts of the Asian and European continents. The cultural and spiritual contacts between India and Mongolia are deep rooted and can be traced to the ancient times. The message of Buddha was carried to your country and adopted with reverence. Buddhism acquired a unique Mongolian identity and continues to provide a living link between our two cultures. We find among vast sections of our population, a Mongolian element which has enriched our composite society and culture. As we forge ahead in the new millennium, this enduring cultural relationship provides us an anchor for economic, scientific and technological co-operation between our two countries.

Democracy and freedom of the human spirit are ingrained in the Indian ethos and tradition. It is at the basis of our pluralistic society and our secular way of life. We appreciate and welcome the evolution of democratic system in Mongolia. Our ancient culture, our spiritual and humanistic traditions and the indigenous local institutions have enabled us successfully to operate the democratic system of governance. We would like to further broaden and deepen our people to people contacts especially at the level of the parliamentarians, scholars, artists, scientists and businessmen of our two countries.

Within the framework of democracy, both India and Mongolia are undergoing rapid economic and technological development and basic social transformation. In this new atmosphere both our countries are engaged in mutually beneficial economic, political and cultural co-operation. I recall that in 1988 when I had the opportunity of visiting

DOCUMENT

Mongolia for the first time, accompanying the then President of India, Shri R. Venkataraman, I had the privilege of signing a science and technology co-operation agreement with your country. In 1996 when I again had the privilege of visiting your country as the Vice President of India, three important agreements – for trade and economic co-operation, for co-operation in the field of agriculture, and agreement for the development of geological resources of Mongolia – were signed. I had then the honour of inaugurating the vocational training centre set up under the Indian technical and economic co-operation programme, which was graciously named after late Prime Minister Shri Rajiv Gandhi. During the recent visit of our Vice President Shri Krishan Kant, an agreement was signed to expand the Rajiv Gandhi Technological Centre to include two new faculties. Indian business and industrial houses have shown keen interest in Mongolia and have come forward to invest their resources in Mongolia. The Joint Commission, the India-Mongolia Joint Business Council and India-Mongolia Chamber of Commerce, provide institutional framework for our bilateral economic co-operation.

Excellency, India is today among the fastest growing economies in the world. we are currently pursuing the second stage of reforms and are hopeful of forging ahead with an annual growth rate of 7 to 8%. We are committed to eradicate the scourge of poverty from our country. Few months back the First Ladies of India and Mongolia had the opportunity to participate in the meeting of the First Ladies of Asia-Pacific Region in Malaysia on the theme “Advancement of Rural and Island Women: Poverty and Empowerment.” Our effort is to harness science and technology, in particular Information Technology, to empower people, especially women, in order to improve the socio-economic conditions of the common people. We are happy to share our achievements in this field with our friends in the developing world.

Excellency, you would find India a willing, constructive and helpful partner in Mongolia’s quest to transform its economy and to fulfil the aspirations of its people. The treaty of friendly relations and co-operation

between our two countries signed in February 1994 was a landmark in the development of bilateral relations. Excellency, during your visit a number of agreements have been signed between our two countries which would further strengthen and broaden our friendly co-operation.

Excellency, we sincerely aspire to make the 21st century, the century of Asia. India and Mongolia share common views on international peace, security and development. We are both against the new menace of fundamentalism and international terrorism that is afflicting our region. We are committed to co-operating to build a just and peaceful world order and for that purpose, to restructure the United Nations in order to reflect the interests and aspirations of the developing countries. We believe that India as an old civilisation, the largest democracy and a developing economic power has the right to be represented in a reformed Security Council of the United Nations. Excellency, we look forward to co-operating with Mongolia for the benefit of our two countries and for the resurgence of our old continent, Asia.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, I invite you now to join me in a toast:

- to the good health of His Excellency the President of Mongolia, Mr. Natsagiin Bagabandi and Madame Oyunbileg;
- to the strengthening of co-operation between the Governments of India and Mongolia; and
- to everlasting friendship between the peoples of India and Mongolia.

Thank you.



**INDIAN COUNCIL OF SOCIAL SCIENCE RESEARCH
(ICSSR)**

Indian Council of Social Science Research (ICSSR) was established as an autonomous organization in the year 1969 to promote research in social sciences in the country. The Council consists of a Chairman, 18 social scientists, 6 representatives of the Government of India and a Member-Secretary. The Council was meant to:

- Review the progress of social science research and give advice to its users;
- Sponsor social science research programmes and projects and administer grants to institutions and individuals for research in social sciences;
- Institute and administer scholarships and fellowships for research in social sciences;
- Indicate areas in which social science research is to be promoted and adopt special measures for development of research in neglected or new areas;
- Give financial support to institutions, associations, and journals engaged in social science research;
- Arrange for technical training in research methodology and to provide guidance for research;
- Coordinate research activities and encourage programmes of interdisciplinary research;
- Develop and support centres for documentation services and supply of data;
- Organize, sponsor, and finance seminars, workshops, and study groups;
- Undertake publication and assist publication of journals and books in social sciences;
- Take such measures generally as may be necessary from time to time to promote social science research and its utilization.

The Council in collaboration with respective host institutions has set up six regional centres in Calcutta, Shillong, New Delhi, Chandigarh, Hyderabad and Mumbai as part of its programme of decentralizing admin-

istration and broadbasing social science research.

ICSSR is the nodal agency in India for participating in the activities of UNESCO's Programme, namely, MOST. ICSSR is also a member of the International Social Science Council (ISSC) and the Asian Association of Social Science Research Councils (AASSREC). The ICSSR has a programme of publications and has already published, in addition to a number of journals, over 300 books, pamphlets and monographs. The publications result from the different programmes of the Council, such as (1) Surveys of research in social sciences; (2) Studies on alternatives in development; (3) Research projects, sponsored programmes and fellowships; (4) Conferences and seminars, and (5) International Collaboration. The ICSSR publishes five journals of abstracts and reviews in the fields of Economics, Geography, Political Science, Psychology, and Sociology and Social Anthropology.

ICSSR PERIODICALS

Indian Social Science Review (Half Yearly)

ICSSR Journal of Abstracts and Reviews: Economics (Half-Yearly)

ICSSR Journal of Abstracts and Reviews: Geography (Half-Yearly)

ICSSR Journal of Abstracts and Reviews: Political Science (Half-Yearly)

Indian Psychological Abstracts & Reviews (Half-Yearly) (New Series)

ICSSR Journal of Abstracts and Reviews: Sociology and Social Anthropology (Half-Yearly)

RECENT ICSSR PUBLICATIONS

1. Antiquity to Modernity in Tribal India (4 Volume; 1998); Inter-India Publications, D-17, Raja Garden, New Delhi - 110015.
 - 1.1. Continuity and Change among Indian Tribes (Vol. I); S.C. Dubey (ed.); pp. xvii+358; 500.00.
 - 1.2. Tribal Self-Management in North-East India (Vol. II); Bhupinder Singh (ed.); pp.xx+348; Rs. 425.00.
 - 1.3. Ownership and Control of Resources among Indian Tribes (Vol. III); S.N. Mishra (ed.); pp. xii+230; Rs. 320.00.
 - 1.4. Tribal Movement in India (Vol. IV); K.S. Singh (ed.); pp. xiv + 357; Rs. 450.00.

2. Terrorism and Political Violence: A Source Book; Editor M.L. Sondhi; 2000; pp.158; Rs. 250.00; Har-Anand Publications, New Delhi.
3. Reforming Administration in India; Editor Vinod K. Mehta; 2000; pp. 460; Rs. 495.00; Har-Anand Publications, New Delhi.
4. New Economic Policy for a New India; Editor Surjit S. Bhalla; 2000; pp. 279; Rs. 395.00; Har-Anand Publications, New Delhi.
5. Democratic Peace & Its implications; Editor M.L. Sondhi; 2000; pp. 184; Rs. 250.00, Har-Anand Publications, New Delhi.
6. Inequality, Mobility and Urbanisation: China & India; Editor Amitabh Kundu; 2000; pp. xii+376; Rs. 600.00; Manak Pub, New Delhi.
7. Third Survey of Research in Sociology and Social Anthropology (2 Vol.); Editor M.S. Gore; 2000; pp.xxiii+381, xix+339; Rs. 1000.00 (for both Vols.); Manak Publications, New Delhi.
8. Nuclear Weapons and India's National Security; Editor M.L. Sondhi; Har-Anand Publications, New Delhi.
9. Towards A New Era: Economic, Social and Political Reforms, Editor M.L. Sondhi; 2001, pp. 688, Rs. 695.00; Har-Anand, New Delhi.
10. India's Socio-Economic Database-Survey of Selected Areas: Editor C.P. Chandrasekhar; Tulika, New Delhi.
11. Directory of Social Science Libraries and Information Centres in India (in press).
12. Union Catalogue of CD-ROM Data Base in Social Science Libraries in India (in press).

For Subscription and trade inquiries please write to:

Section Officer (Sales)

Indian Council of Social Science Research

**Syama Prasad Mookherjee Information Gateway of
Social Sciences (SPMIGSS)**

35, Ferozeshah Road, New Delhi-110001

Phone: 3385959, 3383091

Fax: 91-3381571

e-mail: nassdocigss@hotmail.com

website: www.icsr.org.

HIMALAYAN AND CENTRAL ASIAN STUDIES is a quarterly Journal published by the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation, which is a non-governmental, non-profit research, cultural and development facilitative organisation. The Journal is devoted to the study of various issues pertaining to the Himalayan and trans-Himalayan region in South and Central Asia or parts thereof, connected with its environment, resources, history, art and culture, language and literature, demography, social structures, communication, tourism, regional development, governance, human rights, geopolitics etc.

While the principal concern of the Journal will be on its focal area, i.e. from Afghanistan to Myanmar including the Central Asian states of Uzbekistan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Tajikistan, Turkmenistan, China, Mongolia, Nepal, Bhutan and the Indian Himalayan states of Jammu and Kashmir, Himachal Pradesh, Sikkim, Uttarakhand and North East states; papers with a broad sweep addressing environmental, social, cultural, economic, geopolitical and human rights issues are also welcomed.

The objective is to make a scientific appraisal of the issues confronting the Himalayan and adjoining region in South and Central Asia or parts thereof, and to make specific policy oriented studies and need based recommendations as the means to promote the human, educational and economic advancement of the peoples of the region besides preserving and enriching their ethno-cultural, literary and historical heritage. Promotion of human rights, social justice, peace, harmony and national integration are the other key areas in which the Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation has been active.

**CONTRIBUTIONS FOR PUBLICATION AND ANY ENQUIRIES
SHOULD BE ADDRESSED TO :**

Prof. K. WARIKOO

Editor and Secretary General,

Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation,

Post Box- 10541,

Jawaharlal Nehru University Post Office,

New Delhi - 110067

Tele : 0091-11-616 2763, 0091-11-617 9408

Fax : 0091-11-610 6643

Books for review should be sent to the same address.

Registered with the Registrar of Newspapers R.No. 67256/97

HRCF PUBLICATIONS

AFGHANISTAN FACTOR IN CENTRAL AND SOUTH ASIAN POLITICS

Edited by K. Warikoo

New Delhi, Trans-Asia Informatics, 1994. 73 pp.

SOCIETY AND CULTURE IN THE HIMALAYAS

Edited by K. Warikoo

New Delhi, Har-Anand Publications, 1995. 316 pp.

CENTRAL ASIA : EMERGING NEW ORDER

Edited by K. Warikoo

New Delhi, Har-Anand Publications, 1995. 352 pp.

JAMMU, KASHMIR AND LADAKH : LINGUISTIC PREDICAMENT

Edited by P. N. Pushp and K. Warikoo

New Delhi, Har-Anand Publications, 1996. 224 pp.

ARTISAN OF THE PARADISE : A STUDY OF ART AND ARTISANS OF KASHMIR

By D.N. Dhar

New Delhi, Bhavana Books & Prints, 1999. 230pp.



HIMALAYAN RESEARCH AND CULTURAL FOUNDATION

Post Box-10541, Jawaharlal Nehru University Post Office,
New Delhi-110067 (India). BA/1G, D.D.A. Flats, Munirka, New Delhi-110067.

Tele : 0091-11-616 2763, 0091-11-617 9408

Fax : 0091-11-610 6643
