

SINO-RUSSIAN RELATIONS AND SECURITY  
OF MONGOLIA

SFS/NUM

D.Naran Ph.D

In common parlance, dependence means a state of being determined or significantly affected by external forces. Interdependence, most simply defined, means mutual dependence. Interdependence in world politics refers to situations characterized by reciprocal effects among countries or many actors in different countries. Geographically, Mongolia stands at the crossroads of the political, economic interests of the regional countries, especially of Russia and China two giant neighbours whose security closely connected with the status of Mongolia. It is natural that Mongolia's security issue has been dependent on the relations of above mentioned two superpowers. The goal of this paper is to analyze of Sino-Russian relations on security policy of Mongolia from 1950 to now. In this time, Sino-Soviet relations have ranged all the way from close alliance in the early 1950s, to fierce antagonism throughout of the 1960s and 1980, to full normalization at the end of the 1980. All these changes have affected Sino-Mongolian relations and national security of Mongolia.

For Moscow strategic considerations led to the control over the outer Mongolia. Soviet military forces were deployed in Mongolia from 1921 to 1925, from 1936 to 1956, and from 1966 to 1990. Up to 1946 the Soviet Union was only protector of Mongolia. Mongolia gained international recognition at the end of World War II. During Yalta conference on post war system Stalin insisted in preservation of its status-quo and its recognition by China as part of conditions to enter into war against Japan. China had recognized Mongolia in January 1946. Establishment in October 1949 the People's republic of China,

a Communist state comprising a quarter of the world's population was a great event in favour of Mongolia's independence and security. Following Moscow, Ulaanbaatar recognized Beijing in October 6 1949. During his two months visit to Russia the new ruler of China Mao Zedong signed on February 14, a thirty year Treaty of Friendship, Alliance, and Mutual Assistance. Then two sides exchanged communique declared the recognition of the independence of Mongolia. Though the triateral relationship based on the principal of socialism and Marxist-Leninist ideology provided more security to each side but for China and Mongolia their partnership with the Soviet Union took the form of Russian economic and diplomatic support in exchange their recognition of Moscow's undisputed authority in the world Communist movement. During this period Mongolia's external environment allowed it to carry out a more balanced police between the two neighbours. Following the signing of Sino-Mongolian economic and cultural cooperation agreement in 1952, Ulaanbaatar could receive large amounts of economic aid from Beijing. Taking into consideration the favourable environment around the country in 1950s Mongolian leadership gradually reduced the number of its military forces till its dismissal. Mongolia also signed a treaty of mutual friendship with PRC in 1960. In 1959 a trade volume between the two country increased by 34.6 times, over 15.5% of foreign trade was conducted with PRC.

Two sides actively used to exchange with high ranking officials. Mongolian state and party leaders headed by Tsedenbal visited China in 1952, 1959, 1962. Parliament delegation lead by Sambuu and Jargalsaikhan visited Beijing in 1954 and 1960. Chinese prime-minister Zhou Enlai, vice president Zhu De, vice premier Ulaankhuu, vice-premier of State Council and minister of Defence Pen Dehuai, vice chairman of NPC Standing Committee Li Boqu also paid official friendly visit to Mongolia during that time. Thus with two giant neighbours showing favourable attitude toward Mongolia and assisting to the building of socialism, Mongolia didn't feel any headaches to ensure its security.

Early 60<sup>th</sup> the Soviet-China relations had deteriorated with alarming speed. The Sino-Soviet quarrell first became public at the Third Congress of the Romanian Communist party Congress in June 1960 when Khrushchev defended the policy of peaceful coexistence and

expressed his implicit criticism of the Maoist claim that the war with the capitalist states was both inevitable and winnable. The further aggravation of Sino-Soviet relations understandably poisoned Sino-Mongolian relations. Mongolia as most of communist bloc countries leapt into Moscow's side and supported its position on issues divided two neighbours, within the international Communist movement China had broken away from the regular Communist parties. The Sino-Soviet split finally led to the military confrontation: the Soviet and Chinese troops were posted against each other. Under these circumstances Mongolia had to reweave its security concepts. For the Soviet Union, control over Mongolia would have guaranteed the security of East Siberia and Far East region. According to the bilateral treaty with Moscow concluded in 1966, the USSR deployed military forces estimated more than 100000 troops, including tactical nuclear weapons along the Mongolian-Chinese border. That time Mongolia's defence policy was aimed to maintain a high level of preparedness of its armed forces against military threats from China and to strengthen its military cooperation with former Soviet Union.

The collapse of socialist world, the end of the Cold War, normalization of Sino-Soviet relations made Mongolia to change its security policy fundamentally. Now the Government of Mongolia taking into account the historical lessons of ideologization, subordination of the national interests to the interests of others, exercises political realism, accords priority to vital national interests, seeks to secure many partners in international relations and promote a non-aligned policy, gives priority to the political and diplomatic means in the defence policy emphasizing the creation of a unified political, economic, social, legal and military system which could ensure defence of the country.

In their China-Russian joint declaration of 12 December 1992 the two sides pledged not to use or threaten to use force in any form against each other, including the use of the territory, territorial water and airspace of third countries that border with any one of them.

The treaty between Mongolia and Russia signed in 1993, unlike the previous treaty with the Soviet Union, does not contain provisions of collective self-defence. The new treaty contains an article which stipulates that the parties will not participate in any treaties and agreements running counter to the interests of sovereignty and

independence of the other party. They have also agreed neither of them would allow the use of their territory by third states for aggressive or other violent acts against the other party. Russia has pledged to respect Mongolia's policy of not stationing on its territory or transit through it of any foreign troops as well nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

The treaty with China concluded in 1994, also stipulates that two sides shall not allow countries to use their territory against state sovereignty and security of the other party. The treaty also includes very important article of mutual respect of each other's independence. Like Russia, China has pledged to respect Mongolia's policy of not stationing on its territory or transit through it of foreign troops as well nuclear and other weapons of mass destruction.

Besides that Mongolia doesn't exclude the possibility of military threats from outside. The new Constitution, adopted in 1993, indicates that Mongolia "shall make every effort to strengthen and upgrade the armed forces for self-defence purposes ...". In cases of military aggression against the country, the Military Doctrine of Mongolia, adopted in 1994, states that any country threatens with or undertakes armed aggression against the independence and sovereignty of Mongolia, and accomplice to such aggression, shall be regarded as its enemy, Mongolia shall wage an armed struggle and just war to defend itself against foreign armed incursion and aggression".

In conclusion I would emphasize that any changes in Sino-Russian relations affected and will further affect the national security of Mongolia.

#### *Bibliography:*

1. Classic Readings of International Relations. Phil Williams, Donald M. Goldstein, Jay M. Shafritz. Harcourt Brace College Publishers, 1994
2. The Twentieth Century World, William R. Keylor, Oxford University Press, 1996
3. "Ардын эрх", 1994, №146 (845)
4. БНХАУ-ын өөрчлөлт шинэчлэл, нээлттэй бодлого, ШУА-ийн Түүхийн хүрээлэнгийн Олон Улсын Судлалын Төв, УБ, 1999
5. The Bases of The State Military Policy of Mongolia, ЦБ, 1999