

president will focus on American national interest, therefore, he will be pursuing a realist rather than idealist approach to foreign policy, concentrating on big countries, for instance, China and Russia. It seems that improving American military strength will play a key role in the foreign and defense policies of the new administration. So, legacies and findings by people like Morgenthau, Kennan, Kissinger will be on the rise.

2. Another factor determining foreign policy powers of presidency is organisational strength. The fragmentation of Congress tends to lessen its impact on foreign policy. The strength of the presidency varies depending on how skilled an administrator the president and his chief subordinates are.

3. The political standing of the president and Congress also helps determine the respective influence of the two contestants in the struggle for power. The public's esteem of Congress is normally quite low, which harms that institution. The public standing of the president varies greatly depending on how the public perceives the president personally and what it thinks of the president's policies.

4. Situations and issues also have an impact on the relative power of the two institutions. Crises, status quo, and pure international issues are areas in which presidential strength is maximized. Meanwhile, intermestic issues, non-status quo issues and noncrises situations are more likely to evoke congressional activity.

5. Finally, partisanship also influences the relations between the president and Congress /ideology, party identification etc./¹ Summarizing, we would conclude that American presidents tend to focus on foreign policy, meanwhile, members of Congress are more apt to focus on domestic policy, without underestimating the roles of the Congress, which approves the foreign affairs budget, international treaties and confirms the presidential appointees. To our mind, such a situation will prevail in years to come.

SUPPORT OF THE CLINTON ADMINISTRATION FOR MONGOLIA'S DEMOCRACY AND RENEWAL

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The United States of America is the cradle of democracy. It can be said that independence and democracy were born at the same time. Namely the emergence of democracy and the values of democracy have opened up the perspectives of development and progress of nations of the world. Today the USA is still leading the development of democracy and progress.

On the 20th of January of 1993 at his oath taking ceremony President Bill Clinton said "Our hopes, our hearts, and our hands, are with those on every continent who are building democracy and freedom. Their cause is America's cause." He further said "I think the millions of men and women whose steadfastness and sacrifice triumphed over depression, fascism, and communism." These were the words of gratitude addressed to the peoples of eastern Europe, the former USSR, and the states that separated from it as well as the people of Mongolia who buried the totalitarian regime. One conclusion may be drawn from this. It is the idea saying that our matters concern the USA and the matters of the USA concern us. This idea has found reflection in the policy and activities of the last American President of the 20th century Bill Clinton and his administration. I would like to bring to your attention some facts and examples. First, from the very beginning the democratic processes were accomplished in Mongolia in a comparatively peaceful way and the values and the basis principles of democracy are being implemented normally. All kinds of support provided and evaluation given is a proof of all this. It is the main achievement that such kind of support and assessment come from the great powers that determine the world's policy, in part from the USA. We, the Mongolian people are proud of this. Bill Clinton after being elected the US President for the second term said "Everywhere the people strive to preserve their prestige, to freely express their opinions and elect their leader. We see that this striving became reality in the democratic coun-

tries of the Asia Pacific region starting from Japan to Korea, Thailand and Mongolia". After that he noted "In the recent years democracy is gaining momentum throughout the world and it moved from Hungary to Haiti, from South Africa to Cambodia and Mongolia. The people of Cambodia and Mongolia proved that changes might be accomplished in the extremely difficult conditions". In 1997 while paying a visit to Australia and Thailand Bill Clinton mentioned Mongolia as an example of democracy in Asia. It should be mentioned here that all these words was an important political support which helped make Mongolia known to the world and open the world to Mongolia. On the other hand it was a "bridge" linking Mongolia to many democratic countries of the world and develop relations with them. **Second**, the Clinton administration made it clear that the main interest of the United States in Mongolia was to see it a democratic and flourishing country. It has been conducting an active policy towards this end. We can make a review of this in the following way:

1. It has been a priority trend to help Mongolia solve the problems of the transitional period of shifting from one model economic structure over to the market relations. It should be noted here that in this regard Mongolian-American relations and cooperation have been developing very successfully. The economic and social development is as important as the political freedoms. It is true that democracy that is not supported by economy is abstract and economy, which is not based on democracy, produces risks. Therefore, the USA and the Clinton administration has been providing all round support for and assistance in stabilizing Mongolia's economy and in positively handling the transition to the market economy without any serious risks. We all know well that this aid and support cannot be measures by millions of dollars. But in sense the US support and aid is of extensive and profound significance. This aid covers many branches and is supplied in many different forms starting from gain to modern technology, training and improvement of educational level.

2. Great is the support for ensuring and safeguarding Mongolia's security, strengthening its position in the international arena and increasing its involvement in international affairs. For instance, particular attention has been given to enhancing and making more effective Mongolia's role in East and Northeast Asia regional security and politi-

cal affairs.

In the July of 1998 Mongolia got the full right to participate in the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) with the US supports. The UN GA has issued a declaration recognizing Mongolia's status of an independent and nuclear-free country. Furthermore in 2000 the 5 permanent members of the UN Security Council issued a joint statement which states to honor Mongolia's nuclear-free status and they unanimously signed the manifesto declaring to bring to Mongolia the aid of the international community in case of threat.

The US Secretary of State Mrs. Madlin Albright paid a high-ranking visit to Mongolia and during that visit a joint declaration of the two countries was signed. It was a big achievement in the history of Mongolia-America relations, which raised the bilateral relations to a new higher level. I would also like to underline here that the First Lady of America Mrs. Hillary Clinton as well as many other high-ranking people of America visited Mongolia and discussed the issues of bilateral relations. As a result, definite measures and practical moves were taken to support Mongolia's democracy and renewal.

Apart from this many Mongolian people were on a business trip to the USA through Parliament and the government.

3. Dozens of projects on expanding US business and investment in Mongolia are being implemented.

4. Enormous help is being provided to strengthening and promoting the transition of the Mongolian armed forces to a democratic system.

5. The USA has always been extending humanitarian assistance through many different channels. If to measure this assistance not in figurative meaning but to measure by the qualitative changes made in the general political, economic, cultural, scientific, educational, health, agricultural and environmental branches we can see an impressive picture. All this is only a brief review of the support and assistance provided to Mongolia in the last eight years or in the years of the rule of the administration of Bill Clinton, the last US President of the 20th century.

"Provided our own vital interests and values require and if much depends on us America should work. America must be in the lead" said Bill Clinton. These words prove that this policy is the firm policy of

the USA and its firm interest. The father of the school of realistic theory of foreign policy and international relations, famous American scholar Hans Morgentow said "The foreign policy of the USA has one God. It is the national interests of the USA". These teachings of him are being implemented into life today.

II. ОЛОН УЛСЫН ХАРИЛЦААНЫ ТҮҮХ

**МОНГОЛ-Хятадын ХАРИЛЦАА БА
ФРАНКСИЙН Д.РУЗВЕЛЫТ**

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XX зууны эхэн үед эзэн Чингисийн удмын монголчууд ялангуяа эзэн Чингисийн мэндэлсэн, улс байгуулсан унаган нутгийн гал голомтыг сахиж буй ар монголчуудад түүхийн нэн хариуцлагатай үе тулгарч, бас зовлон зүдүүрч нүүрлэсэн байв. Монголчуудын сэтгэл санаа, зориг хүслийг огтхон ч ойлгодоггүй гадны зарим хүмүүс монголчуудыг бараг л сөнөсөн мэтээр ойлгож, бичиж байсан үе юм. Гэвч монголчууд сөнөөгүй. Монголчууд тусгаар тогтнолоо хамгаалан тэмцэж байсан. Тэр тэмцэлдээ тусалж чадах гадны хүч эрч хайж байсан. Түүний нэг нь алс холын Америк ч байсан байх гэж бодном. Тийм эгзэгтэй цаг мөчид монголчууд бидний хувьд улаан, цагаанаар ялгах нь гол биш угсаа үндсээ сэргээх нь амин чухал болсон цаг мөч байлаа. Ингээд л 1921 оны хувьсгал хийж туурга тусгай улс болж 1924 онд Бүгд Найрамдах улсыг тунхагласан. Яг тийм үед өмнөд их хөрш Гоминданы хятад монголын эсрэг зүйл бүрийн ил далд ажиллагаа явуулж Монголыг өөрийн хэсэг гэж үзээд түүнийгээ дэлхий дахинд баталгаажуулах гэж тэмцэж байв.

Энэ л тухайн үеийн Монгол Хятадын харилцааны эгзэгтэй, ээдрээтэй асуудал болж байсан юм.

Тухайн үед БНМАУ-ын эргэн тойронд Хятадаас тусгаарлах гэсэн тэмцэл их болсон байв. 30-аад оны эхээр Өвөр Монголд үндэсний эрх чөлөөний хөдөлгөөн өрнөж түр засгийн газраа ч байгуулж байв. Шинжаанд дорнод Туркстаны улс байгуулагдаж сүүлдээ дарагдав. Төвдөд ч тусгаарлах хөдөлгөөн өрнөв. Яг ийм нөхцөлд монголын тусгаар тогтнолын асуудал аяндаа дэлхий дахины шинж чанартай болж ирсэн юм.

Дундад иргэн улс ч мөчөөгөө өгөхгүй монголын тусгаар