CONCLUSION
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The sudden demise of the Soviet Union has brought sea changes in the world politics. Mongolia was the second oldest Communist Country, next only to the erstwhile USSR. Mongolia, with an area of over 1.5 million square kilometres and a population of just 2.2 million, is one of the twenty largest countries in the world, with half the land of India and one fourth estimated population of Delhi. However it does have an estimated 26 million live-stocks defined as cattle, sheep, goats, horses and camels. It is also in some way, one of the most isolated countries, sandwitched between China on three sides and Russia on the north, its only access to the oceans being the Chinese port of Tyonjin, 900 kilometers from its borders. Mongols belong to the same stock as Chingis Khan and his descendents who created in the thirteenth Century an empire comprising virtually the whole of continental Asia and a substantial part of Europe. They sowed death and destruction and have been called barbarians, world conquerors, earth shakers, devil horsemen and the like. Their contribution to civilization is questioned widely, and they have received less appreciation and more scorn.

By the end of seventeenth century, Mongolia fell under the Manchu empire of China, mainly due to the internecine struggle which precipitated the disintegration of the nation. It became a terra incognita to much of the world until very recently. It is due to its unique geo-political situation, Mongolia became destined to get deeply involved in the whirlwind of the liberation movement of the twentieth century. In 1911
the two hundred year old Manchu rule was overthrown and an independent monarchy was proclaimed. The gloomiest chapter in Mongolian history was terminated but the militarist, expansionist rulers of China managed with the connivance of Czarist Russia to reduce that hard-won independence to an autonomy by imposing the so called Tripartite Treaty of Kiahta in 1915. Again in 1920, Russia more or less subjugated Mongolia's independence for the sake of Russian ends. After 1924, Mongolia became an independent country, only to become a satellite of Russia. Mongolia fought against Japan during the second world war. Today, more Mongols are living outside Mongolia. China has more Mongols than Mongolia.

Under communist rule over seven decades, Mongolia was ruined, economy was scattered, polity was controlled, Buddhism was suppressed, monasteries were destroyed, and voice of dissent was curbed. Till 1980s, Mongolian economy, polity, and society were influenced by the former USSR. But only after 1989, Mongolia seems to be changing.

Japan though a major economic power, could not show much interest in Mongolia till 1990s, due to the presence of the Soviet influence. During the first and second world wars, Japan tried to establish greater Mongolia. Whatever may be the reasons for creating pan Mongol state, Japan wanted to utilise this utopian pan Mongol concept for its geo-strategic needs. Prior to 1972, Mongolia tried to establish diplomatic relations with Japan. Informal and cultural relations grew between the two nations inspite of strict communist supervision. A limited formal official diplomatic relations were finally established on 24 February 1972, which opened a new era in their long cherished dream. But they remained formal and limited till the democratisation process was initiated in Mongolia, in 1989. After 1989, the relations between Mongolia
and Japan have been rapid and constructive. It is all due to the sweeping radical
democratic changes that have been taking place in Mongolia. General elections were
held to the State Hural (parliament). These are the first ever free, though not fair
elections in Mongolia. Seventy one out of seventy six seats, were bagged by the old but
the changed communists. Today there are more than twenty political parties/groups in
Mongolia who fought in the general elections, and who were not allowed till 1990 in
Mongolia.

The changed democratic milieu has its reflections on Mongolian economy.
Mongolian economy is the only economy in the world which has by passed capitalism
by taking a giant leap forward from the feudal society to socialist economy. This
peculiar character has hampered and severely damaged the post-socialist Mongolia.
However, the economy of Mongolia was liberalised, and its market was opened to
multi nationals, where the law of demand and supply determines the price of a
commodity. The new Democratic Constitution was adopted in 1992, later in 1993,
Foreign Investment Law of Mongolia was passed. By these incentives Japan, came
forward to assist Mongolia. Teachers and students were exchanged under cultural
exchange programmes between the two countries. Mongol-Japanese Study seats have
been opened simultaneously in Tokyo universities in Japan and state university in Ulaan
Baatar.

Japan assisted Mongolia more positively, since 1990. Timely shipment of
medicines from Japan saved many lives in Mongolia. The Gobi-Japanese-Mongol
expedition project, has been a land mark in their improved relations. The Cashmere
wool factory reflects their technical cooperation. Above all Japan is playing a
significant role in ‘Donors’ meetings which are aimed at assisting Mongolia.
The construction of mini steel plant is a milestone in their relationship. Originally the mini steel plant was designed with the assistance and cooperation from the former USSR and the former East European countries. But after democratisation in Mongolia, with the helplessness of the Soviet Block after 1990, Japan came forward to assist. And the plant started functioning since 1993. Japan has provided technical assistance to many projects. Mongolia, with active Japanese technical assistance and know-how can become a major meat exporting country in Central Asia. Japan has also intended to explore more avenues in Mongolia. Japan is interested in Mongolia, because of its vast, un-explored resources.

Japan is also showing interest because, Japan may not go for business transition with the Asian economic tigers like Singapore, Taiwan, Hongkong, South Korea etc.

The world geo-political situation has been changing rapidly. The former Soviet Union, has been disintegrated. The conditional but guaranteed protection to Mongolia by the former Soviet Union is also no more. The Soviet troops were withdrawn completely from Mongolia. All the nuclear installations were shifted from Mongolia thus making it a nuclear free peace zone. Though it is a euphoria the Chinese expansionist phobia threatens Mongolia. At this juncture, by understanding the critical situation, Mongolia has been trying to establish its relations with Japan and the West. That is why the people of Mongolia prefer market oriented, democratic independent polity than dependent totalitarianism and regulated economy. James Backer, the then secretary of state of USA, visited Mongolia twice during 1990-91 and reportedly assured Mongols that the USA would provide security from any foreign aggression, with a pre-condition of continuation of democratic process in Mongolia.
In order to achieve this, Mongolia is striving to improve its relations with other like-minded nations. With the two inevitable neighbours i.e., Russia and China, Mongolia now talks of a 'third neighbour' as the historical experiences indicate that Mongolia cannot rely on these two nuclear neighbours, with one fourth of total global population at her (Mongolia’s) top and bottom. The concept of 'third neighbour' is obviously referred to Japan and to some extent the US. Though there are 24 countries in the Donors Club to assist Mongolia, all the meetings were so far held in Tokyo, besides Ulaan Baatar which demonstrates the significance of Japan for Mongolia.

For Japan, she needs a friend in Inner Asia in particular and Central Asia in general. Japanese relations strained with Russian on territorial disputes since Second World War. With China and South Korea, the issue of 'pleasure camps' provided to Japanese soldiers during the War continues to be an irritation, and North Korea still remain a communist country. Hence, Japan finds a favourable friend in Mongolia. Mongols still fear China, as an expansionist power. To Mongolia pan or greater Mongol state is irrelevant, since this concept has more damaging features to Mongolia. Mongolia cannot ignore her immediate neighbours due to her geographical location. Except air freight, Mongolian goods have to travel 900 kilometres from its borders to reach Chinese Train Transit point at Manchu. Since Mongol rail tracks are broad guage, and Chinese are of metre guage, every time the wheels of the trains should be changed. Japan has demanded for the names of prisoners of war, who were caught by former Soviet Union during second World War. These POWs were later deported to Mongolia out of 15000 odd POWs-half of them died while working for Mongolia. The issue seems to have cooled down with the timely intervention of Mongol leaders recently. By analysing all these, one can say that Mongols need more of Japan.
than vice-versa. That is why these are more of Mongol-Japanese relations than Japanese-Mongol Relations. The overall thesis of this dissertation is that Mongolia considers Japan a vital third neighbour concept, with the end of the Soviet protection. In this sense Japan fulfills not only Mongolia's economic needs but it is also a powerful protector that wards off Chinese threats.

As per the premonitions of some pessimists that the loosing of foothold of the Soviet Union would throttle Mongolia into Chinese ambit proved wrong. Japan's interest in Mongolian is a case in point which is the subject of this study.

Mongol-Japanese relations seem to be more fraternal, viable and lucrative, especially in the present context of Mongol economy being opened up. Th shared value system and cultural underlay the Mongol-Japanese relations on a firm basis. Buddhism which is common for both the countries paves a smooth way in people to people contact. Strategically the Chinese communist factor is a common and immediate threat perception though it afflicts Mongolia moire. The Chinese expansionist greediness has a strong bearing on Mongol security.

Resulting in a strong Communist china vis-a-vis, the capitalist Japan Mongolia is more threatened in this case with the concentration of more Mongol population in the Chinese territory and the Chinese open claim over the Mongolian territories as its own in its maps. In protecting its own sovereignty and secure its nation and state building process with liberal economic policies, Mongolia has no other alternative but to depend on Japan and its allied west. Moreover the geographic location of Mongolia provides Japan as the only alternative Neighbour to retaliate any impositions by either China or Russia.
On the other hand Japan is a country with vast development potentiality, high technical know-how, with enormous investment capabilities but constrained by its limited capabilities but constrained by its limited size and resources.

Mongolia provides lucrative chances to Japan for utilising its territory and enormous natural resources for proper utilisation and development, which is mutually beneficiary. Mongols primitive techniques in certain areas as enunciated in the earlier chapter would make a good match for the Japanese sophisticated technology for optimum utilisation. The completion of mini steel plant at Darkhan with Japanese assistance is a glaring example for their growing relations.

Mongolia is known for live-stock. With Japanese assistance, she may in near future, become major meat exporting country in Central and inner Asia. Further more Mongolia is a peace loving, market oriented plural society., It opened flood gates for foreign investment. The 1993 Foreign Investment Law is another landmark in this regard.

While the global countries go for regional economic alliances like South Asian Preferential Trade Agreement (SAPTA), Association of South East Asian Nations (ASEAN) etc, Japan finds it feasible to explore avenues in Mongolia, which is not a member of any regional organisation. On the other hand there are a few irritants which are likely to appear in their relations. The issue of prisoners of war (POWs), of the second world war was an issue of discussion in the recent past. About 15000 Japanese POWs were sent to Mongolia by the Soviet Union, after the second world war.

Most of them deed while working in Mongolia Japan asked the names of the POWs. In 1991 Mongolia provided a list to the Japanese government. Now it seems,
the issue has more or less come to an end. Eye-brows were raised on the Japanese-Mongol Gobi Expedition Project. The project along with other studies aimed at finding out the Chinghis Khan tomb needed digging of graves, which is a sin according to Mongol traditions. Public protests appeared in the Mongol capital. However the issue was ended by the assurance of the expedition team, which agreed not to dig grave yards further.

Aimag Bagaa Ulgū, is dominated by Khazakh Muslims. There are reports that these Mongol-Muslims want to go to Khazakhstan. It may create a sort of uneasiness in Mongol domestic affairs. The extreme cold conditions with low power supply may also slowdown Japanese investment. Though Japan advocated and tried for pan-Mongolian in the past, the ‘card’ if it uses again, will do more harm than good for Mongolia. Since more Mongols are residing out side Mongolia (in China), the concept is irrelevent and China can encash it by transpopulace of Chinese-Mongols.

Transport system is a major hurdle in their relations. Since Mongolia has no sea-port, it has to depend on rail road and air transport system, which are comparatively expensive. Mongol goods have to travel one thousand kms from its borders to reach any rail or sea port transit points in China for export. Though sixty Japanese companies have shown interest for investing in Mongolia, only about a dozen companies came forward to invest. Except the mini Steel Plant, no substantial Japanese investment can be found in Mongolia. It seems Japan is still testing the waters. Japan is also facing competition from Russia and China in commercial trade activities. Today each Mongol is getting an aid of $3000 US dollars per year. This kind of aid to Mongolia may not continue for long. However, inspite of hurdles Mongol-Japanese Relations have been progressing constructively. Since both the countries found common
objectives, one can see better prospects in their future relations. With its glorious past and inspiring present, one can wish a better future for Mongolia. Mongolia needs Japan more than Japan needs Mongolia. That is why it is Mongol-Japanese Relations and not vice-versa.