CHAPTER – I

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1.1 INTRODUCTION

Mongolia is the first country in Asia to have adopted communism and the first to abandon it. Compared to many other countries of the world which are still struggling to be on democratic path, Mongolia is seen as a relatively successful state among former Communist countries and the newly independent countries, which came into existence after the disintegration of U.S.S.R for simultaneously and enthusiastically transitioning to democratic governance and free market economy. Mongolia has forged new international alliances with "third neighbors". At the same time, development remains hampered by corruption, a lack of infrastructure, and the turbulences associated with transition to a market-economy. Some of the achievements of social development under state socialism are eroding with declining funding levels for education, rapid urbanization and increasing social inequalities. The study will analyze the Mongolian transition from an authoritarian one-party system to an open and competitive democratic political system. By critically assessing Mongolian history and political circumstances, it will provide an analysis of the critical period of transition between these two political systems. The study will provide an idea about the process of transition in the areas of politics, international relations, education, health, ecosystems, mining and economic development including religion.

The topography of Mongolia is such that it is a strategically placed Eurasian nation located between two colossal giants China to the South and Russia on the North. The geographical location of country at the cross junction of Central Asia, North East China and Russia, signifies the strategic
importance of Mongolia. The current population of Mongolia is 2.6 million, of whom 893,400 live in Ulaanbaatar, the capital city.\footnote{Sharad K.Soni, *Mongolia Russia Relations: Kiakhta to Vladivostok*, Delhi: Shipra,2002, p.1} Mongolia is the seventh largest country in Asia in terms of its territory but population wise it is one of the smallest.\footnote{Ibid, p.1.} Its significance, however, lies in the territory rather than in population. Mongolia is divided into 21 provinces, and there are three principal cities. The capital city, Ulaanbaatar, is located in the north central part of the country and represents 36 percent of the total population, while the rural population accounts for 42 percent of the total population. Another two big cities were established in the 1960s by Russians closer to the former Soviet border. Darkhan is the second largest city and, the third largest, Erdenet, is primarily a mining city centered on the molybdenum industry. Ethnic Mongols account for about 85% of the population and consist of Khalkha and other groups, all distinguished primarily by dialects of the Mongol language. The Khalkha make up 90% of the ethnic Mongol population. Turkic people constitute 7% of Mongolia's population, and the rest are Chinese, and Russians. Most, but not all, Russians left the country following the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1991. Agriculture is the main sector of the economy besides industry and manufacturing. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization Statistics data for 2004, it is estimated that 80 percent of the total land area is suitable for agriculture in the broadest sense, but only 1.5 percent of this is used for crops and one percent is used for hay, while 97 percent is reserved for pasture. Mongolia remains a largely pastoral society with animal husbandry the main economic activity. Though agriculture is most important, the economy developed a significant industrial sector during the period of central planning before 1990. Industries such as leather, shoes, cashmere wool, as well as milk and bread are dependant on the agricultural sector in that it provides the raw materials for manufacturing. Thus, the two sectors of economy are highly correlated.
Animal products, especially sheep and goat hides, are important exports. Mongolia is rich in natural resources, including copper, coal, molybdenum, fluorite, gold, iron ore, lead, phosphate, tin, oil and oil shale and uranium. Mongolia has large deposits of graphite as well as construction and industrial materials such as marble, gypsum, limestone, granite, and quartz sands. A Mongolian-Russian joint venture copper company, Erdenet, produces copper concentrate for export. Gold exports have significantly increased and foreign mining companies have also increased investments. The official language of Mongolia is Khalkha Mongolian which uses the Cyrillic alphabet, and is spoken by 90% of the population. A variety of different dialects are spoken across the country. In the west, the Kazakh and Tuvan languages, among others, are also spoken. The Russian language is the most frequently spoken foreign language in Mongolia, followed by English, though English has been gradually replacing Russian as the second language. According to the CIA World Fact book and the U.S. Department of State, 50% of Mongolia's population follows the Tibetan Buddhism, 40% are listed as having no religion, 6% are Shamanist and Christian, and 4% are Muslim. In terms of its history, the establishment of the Mongol Empire reaches back seven centuries to the thirteenth century. In 1203 A.D Chingis Khan united all Mongolian nomadic tribes and conquered the Central Europe and Southeast Asia, relying on his unique military leadership and tactics using fast-moving cavalry. Following the unification of Mongolian tribes, Kublai Khan, grandson of Chingis Khan, conquered China and established his Yang Dynasty (1271-1368 A.D). By the end of the 17th century Mongolia lost its political independence to the Manchu Empire, (1644-1911). Mongolia suffered more than two centuries under the

oppression of the Manchu feudal state. In addition, Manchus divided Mongolia into Outer and Inner region separated by the Gobi desert. In 1911, when the Manchu dynasty fell in China due to the anti-Manchurian national liberation movement, Mongolia regained its independence and established the Bogd Khan (religious leader) monarchy (1911-1919). However, Mongolians did not fully realize at this time that independence was threatened by both the Republic of China and the Soviet Union. Although Mongolia was the first Asian country to adopt Soviet style communism it was also the first to reject communism and Soviet domination.

Mongolian independence, established in 1911, was not destined to last long. In 1921, with the support of Bolshevik Soviet troops, Mongolian nationalists in Ulaanbaatar defeated the Chinese troops who had been sent in 1919. On November 26th, 1924 (Independence Day), the Mongolians established the world’s second communist regime - the Mongolian Peoples Republic. This new regime remained relatively autonomous from Moscow until the late 1920s, when Stalin consolidated his power. Mongolia then adopted a Soviet-style political structure-and-command economy. Because, Mongolia had always been supported by the Soviet Union, it maintained strong economic and political ties with the country. In fact these ties were so strong that Mongolia was sometimes called the 16th unofficial republic of the Soviet Union. Despite these long-standing ties to the Soviet Union, in 1989 Mongolia cast off communism and Soviet domination through the processes of a democratic movement. This transition spawned by the Mongolian democratic movement extends from the late 1980s to the present. The beginning of this period was marked by the Soviet Unions introduction of perestroika and glasnost which eventually contributed to the Soviet Unions collapse and led to reforms in

Mongolia. Furthermore, these events influenced intellectual leaders in Mongolia and contributed to the general liberalizing atmosphere. The initial reforms began at the state level in 1986 with restructuring economic policies and reforming the state bureaucracy and inefficiency: In July 1990 general elections were held after seven decades of Communist rule, which opened the door for all peace loving parties to express the opinion and to contest the election. The country’s official name was changed from the Mongolian People’s Republic to Mongolia and the Communist gold star was removed from the national flag. Constitutionally, Mongolia is a parliamentary country.\textsuperscript{11}

This geographical and historical overview of Mongolia sets up the background for this thesis. The basic structure of the thesis is as follows:

**Chapter I** deals with the review of the related literature. This section examines various works and approaches pertaining to Post Soviet transition of Mongolia.

**Chapter II** is devoted to the early historical developments pertaining to Chinese rule of Mongolia and later on the Proclamation of Mongolian Peoples Republic in an effort to define its impact on Mongolia’s politics, society and economy. The circumstances of their relationship and the political, ideological and other different aspects are reviewed.

**Chapter III** surveys the Mongolia’s historical settings before the formal transition began in the 1990s. It will present the 15 years period of transition in order to understand the forces that contributed it to its dramatic conclusion. It will examine the nature of the changes that have resulted from the implementation of new foreign policy. The chapter will also cover the transition of the economy, the new

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\textsuperscript{11} Tray Mc Grath, “Mongolia’s Bumpy Ride to Capitalism”, *Transitions*, December 1997, p. 47.
constitution, the introduction of new laws, and the establishment of new political institutions.

Chapter IV examines the electoral process and the elections that have taken place in Mongolia since 1990. This chapter will focus on challenges Mongolia has faced in state-building during the transition from a Soviet style political system to a democratic system.

Chapter V It has been attempted to show how some of the achievements of social development under state socialism are eroding with declining funding levels for education, health care and increasing poverty and social inequalities.

Chapter VI An attempt has been made to analyze how development remains hampered by lack of infrastructure, foreign investment, and the turbulences associated with transition to a market-economy. It is concerned primarily with the factors contributing to the eventual poverty and inequality among the people on the basis of the previous analysis. The decision making process of government is again examined. Lastly, Chapter VII will highlight broad based conclusion about analysis, illuminative study and the findings vis-à-vis observations about the study.
1.2 LITERATURE SURVEY

A large number of scholars have written extensively on Mongolian history, polity, economy and other issues like foreign policy priorities and security concerns. All these works hold tremendous significance in their own place. These publications cover almost every facet of Mongolia. However, these publications offer a general account of the whole region. Some works are exclusively drawn to debating the issues pertaining to cold war socio-economic issues. There is obviously a dearth of relevant research material about the post cold war transition in particular and the present work is a modest attempt in that direction. This is not the last work or the final word on the subject but it is hoped that this will indeed be a humble contribution to the political and social aspect of transition in post cold war era. But the given limitation should no way underplay the significance of the work done by a good number of scholars. Their work provides a good deal of information about different aspects of Mongolian society, politics, economy, and culture from early times. Out of these valuable works a few of them are reviewed in relation to the present research problem as under.

One of the pioneer works is that of Morris Rossabi’s *Modern Mongolia: From Khans to Commissars to Capitalists*, Cambridge, 2002. This work gives thorough account of the political economy of Mongolia during the past decade. In it, Rossabi, explores the effects of the withdrawal of Soviet assistance, the role of the financial agencies in supporting a pure market economy and the ways that economic policies have led to greater political freedom but also to unemployment, poverty, increasing inequality on distribution of income and deteriorations in the education and health standards of Mongolian society.

Rossabi writes that the agencies providing grant and loan insisted on Mongolia’s adherence to a set of policies that did not take into account the country’s unique heritage and society. The sale of state assets, minimalist government, privatization, and a balanced budget were supposed to yield market economic growth. Mongolia the world’s 5th largest per capita
recipient of foreign aid did not recover as expected. As the author details this painful transition from a collective to a capitalist economy, he analyzes the cultural effects of the sudden opening of Mongolia to democracy.

Batbayar Babar’s *Twentieth Century Mongolia*, Cambridge, 1996, is the first history of Mongolia available in English which gives the fascinated history of Mongolia with the archival data that only became available with the collapse of the Socialist regime in 1990. In doing so, it highlights the role of international politics involving Russia / the Soviet Union, China and Japan in the shaping of Mongolia’s history. The volume is composed of three parts. The first one gives a survey of the history of Mongolia up to the 1911 revolution. The second part looks at the political situation in the late 19th and 20th centuries until the early Socialist period (the early 1920’s). While drawing heavily upon western sources, it also incorporates some available materials from the period. The last part is in many ways the most interesting, for it makes extensive use of archival material that has been made newly available with the collapse of the socialist regime. In doing so, it offers a vivid picture and fuller understanding of the events of the 1920’s and 1930’s in Mongolia—a key period in the country’s history. This part of the book, which concludes with the official recognition of Mongolia’s independence by China in 1946, also examines the destruction of the Buddhist Church and nobility by the Communists.

*Mongolia between China and U.S.S.R.*, Ram Rahul, New Delhi, 1989, studies Mongolia in the context of its strategic position between China and the Soviet Union since 1949. The author has tried to elaborate upon issues like how China remained overshadow by Mongols for many centuries and dominated Russia for hundreds of years. Mongolia’s emergence as an independent state in 1921 due to Sino-Soviet rivalry for domination and historical influence. It was so at the time of the establishment of diplomatic relations between the Republic of China and the former Soviet Russia in 1924, as well as at the time of the conclusion of the alliance between the
USSR and the Peoples Republic of China in 1950. The book explains the above mentioned developments as well as its implications.

Atwood Christopher’s *Encyclopedia of Mongolia and the Mongol Empire*, New York, 2004, is an invaluable reference tool. The emphasis is more on Mongol Empire, but it covers wide range of topics. It gives an idea of almost whatever topic we want to look up from here.

Ravindra Sharma’s *China from Marxism to Modernization*, (New Delhi, 2002), the work includes all political reports of the congress held in the Post Revolution China. The author in this book argues that the Communist Revolution eventually failed to build a “genuine Socialist society”. All the gigantic endeavors of Mao-Tse-Tung went in vain, so went the efforts of Hua Yu Bang. Objectively, Deng Shio Peng succeeded in building a “Non-Socialist Society”. The author has finally concluded that western powers cannot take China for granted because in the last 150 years China has produced a series of patriotic leaders from Liang Chiochai to the Hu Jintao. The given work is fairly useful for it represents the politics of China from 1902 to 2002, a genuine survey of the 20th Century China and a complete documentation of the Post-Revolution Congress of the Communist Party of China.

The book of Sharad K. Soni *Mongolia Russia Relation Kiakhta to Vladivostok*, New Delhi, 2002, furnishes a detailed account of historical roots of Mongolia Russia relations and the Tsarist as well as Soviet policy towards the Mongols. It has deliberated upon the question of Pan-Mongolism and Russia/ Soviet responses. Buryat’s role in this movement and Soviet take over of Tannu Tuva is well researched and makes a vivid reading. The author makes an objective investigation of the way in which Mongolia found itself dependent on the former Soviet Union for conducting its domestic as well as foreign policies. The author while not ignoring the post-cold war realities also presents the current scenario of Mongolia Russia relations which began to witness a marked shift from what remained during the period from Kiakhta to Vladivostok.
The author concludes that Mongolia of today is no more dependent on its former ally. The post-cold war era has witnessed changes in Mongolia geopolitical environment and its national security concerns. With the adoption of market economy and ensuring democratic reforms Mongolia has opened itself to the outside world by strengthening its bilateral ties and engaging more actively in various multilateral processes.

The book, *Russia, China And Multilateralism in Central Asia* by Anita Sengupta, Kolkata, 2005, is a significant academic contribution of par excellence and is based upon the inter disciplinary approach.

*Contemporary China* written by Alan Hunter, and John Sexton (New York, 1999), highlights history, geography and politics of modern China. Further the author discusses China’s international relations, which are an integral part of its development strategy and, of course, of the utmost importance to the rest of the world. Further the book mentions China’s reemergence as the preponderant power in Asia, and the likely consequences of its new status in International scenario.


Part-II mentions that peaceful methods will only bring solution to the vexed problem of Tibet. The peaceful negotiations are required if we are to reach a lasting solution to our conflict with China. In Tibet, as elsewhere, violence will not bring about peace. Besides he discusses Dalai Lama’s unshakable belief in non-violence against the Chinese would be suicidal. Since the conflict involves ethnic emotions which cannot be quantified, the need is to identity the points of rapprochement.

Michal Biran’s book *Qaidu and the rise of Independent Mongolian state in Central Asia*, (Richmond, 1997), analyses some aspects of the internal administration of the independent Mongol state in Central Asia.
Sharad K. Soni, *Mongolia-China Relations. Modern and Contemporary Times*. New Delhi: Pentagon Press, 2006 Himalayan Research and Cultural Foundation. Soni presents a well-balanced and rational analysis of Chinese, Russian and Japanese interests in Mongolia in the early 20th century. In the chapter on the Cold War era, Soni addresses Sino-Mongolian rapprochement in the 1950s and the easing of tensions during Détente. Benefiting from the Sino-Soviet ‘great friendship’, Mongolia pursued closer ties with both the USSR and China (although the Chinese provided far less aid than the Soviets). Internationally, as the author correctly states, Mongolia remained ‘in the shadow’ of the Sino-Soviet rivalry, particularly during the 1960s and 1970s. Soni’s analysis of the competition among socialist states, communist parties and their leaders in the world communist movement inter-party struggle and changes in power in the USSR and the MPR Recent research on politics within the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party has uncovered evidence that Mongolia’s role in Cold War geopolitics was not solely passive. In the last chapter Soni discusses Sino-Mongolian relations in the post-Cold War era, starting with the power vacuum left by the USSR’s dissolution. While the economic vacuum was filled by Chinese business, the political arena in Mongolia was and still is not dominated by any single player. Mongolia’s foreign policy of neutrality mandatory for a small state clenched between two great powers is reflected in Mongolia’s willingness to achieve membership in various regional organizations such as the Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation, the ASEAN Regional Forum, the Pacific Economic Cooperation Council and the Shanghai Cooperation Organisation. Nevertheless, Soni argues that Mongolia identifies itself predominantly with Northeast Asia, ‘which is the only sub-region having no organisational structure of its own. The author doesn’t rule out the possibility of Mongolia falling prey to a security threat at the hands of its direct neighbors. Referring to other scholars, such as Guudain Tumurchuluun, Soni expresses concern about the possible growth of China’s geopolitical interests in Mongolia against the background of a retreating Russia. At the same time, he mentions
the improvement of Russia-Mongolia cooperation after 2000 and China’s preference for a stable northern neighbour able to contribute to its ‘peaceful rise’.

The book *China’s Nuclear and Political Strategy* by S.K Ghosh and Sridhar, (New Delhi, 1984), highlights China’s nuclear weapon’s programme and the strategy. This book attempts to review and assess the progress made so far by China in the field of nuclear weapon’s technology including the development of delivery system, as well as a survey of the evolution of China’s nuclear strategy since the days of Hiroshima. This book also examines a “new look” foreign policy laying stress on “consultation” rather than “confrontation”.


N.N. Popee in his book *The Mongolian Peoples Republic*, (London, 1982), depicts the nationalist and revolutionary history of Outer Mongolia with reference to Inner Mongolia. Professor Pope distinguishes the four stages as:

1) Mongolia as a Chinese dependency until 1911;
2) Independence movement beginning in 1911;
3) Formation of the Mongolian People’s Republic;
4) Mongolia as a Soviet satellite.

“The State Of Asia”, In Lawrence K. Rosinger (Ed.) R.R Sharma’s *Soviet Central Asia: A Marxist Model of Social Change*, (New Delhi, 1979), is yet another important source that provides a comprehensive account of the region and deals with different aspects of economy and society.

Rosemary Foot in his article entitled, “China’s Foreign Policy Post-1989 Era”, in China in the 1990’s, Robert Benewick and Paul Wingrove, (Ed.), London, 1995, states that China’s approach to its foreign relations became less ideological and more pragmatic as it brought friendly relations with all states on the basis of the five principles of peaceful coexistence. He argues
that in the mid 1980’s, China described its foreign policy objectives as maintaining world peace, developing friendly relations with all countries regardless of social systems and promoting common economic prosperity and mutual understanding. The author finally concludes that through a series of bilateral and multilateral diplomatic activities, the country firmly seizes the initiative in dealing with the complicated international situation and the complexities of international affairs.

“Unlocking Mongolia’s Potential”, Foreign Affairs, New York, 2005, the main focus is Mongolia’s commitment to democracy and free market economy. The article reveals that Mongolia is a country which for long underwent Chinese and Russian suppression. For years it has struggled against isolation and domination. Against this backdrop Mongolia is trying to project herself as an emerging democracy as well as building the foundation for free market economy. This article holds significance for containing valuable information on geo-political importance of Mongolia. Besides, the details about rethinking relations with the U.S are fairly exhaustive in the article. It concludes that the country could be a platform for companies seeking access into the lucrative Russian and Chinese market.

“Mongolia 1990- A New Dawn” written by Professor Alan J.K, Asian Survey, U.K, January, 1991. The author has set out to review some aspects of change in Mongolian foreign policy of the late communist and early post communist periods. It also covers the broader issues like foreign trade and aid which are important features of economic development. This article though comprehensive in many respects appears at times both subjective and objective. The ideological foundation of Mongolia’s foreign policy has received considerable attention in this paper. After the collapse of U.S.S.R, Mongolia was left in an ideological, political and economic vacuum which enabled Mongolia to formulate a multipillar foreign policy. The foremost objective of Mongolian foreign policy is to have friendly relations with Russia and China without favoring one or the other.
P. Stobdan in his article entitled “Mongolia in Strategic Vacuum”, in Warikoo & Norbu (Ed.) Ethnicity and Politics in Central Asia, New Delhi, 1992 states that until 1986, no Mongol had ever speculated, that the Communism will be on the verge of collapse. Unlike in the past, when Mongolia’s fate was shaped by the course of the Sino-Soviet relations, the American and Japanese interests in Mongolia have grown considerably in the Perestroika period. Disintegration of its tutelage (the Soviet Union) has left Mongolia in a security dilemma. How the country will tread its path without a security umbrella has become a point of intense national debate. The author states that until very recently the U.S, Japan, South Korea were ideological adversaries of the Mongols but today they are becoming the major contributors in the economic development of the Mongols.

The author reveals that Mongols have drawn lessons from the Gulf war. Given the historical claim of Mongols by China, it could easily become another Kuwait. It becomes more difficult for Mongolia when both of its neighbors are permanent members of the Security Council. The idea of a neutral policy is currently mooted by Mongolian think-tank.

The author concluded that the emergence of newly independent Central Asian States will have direct implication for Mongolia. Even though rich nations are showing keen interest in helping Mongolia’s transition to a free market economy and the democratization, they may not be able to substitute Soviet Union in Mongolia in the long run without annoying China.

G. Tumurchulumn in his article entitled, “Mongolia, Russia and China the Geopolitical Perspective”, Himalayan and Central Asian Studies, (New Delhi, Vol.4, March 2001), deals with geo-political perspective which has played a decisive role in Mongolian history. This article estimates distinctive features of Mongolia’s security environment. The other part of the article focus on the issues related to Russia, Chinese strategic partnership. It also examines the changing balance in Mongolia’s foreign policy Besides the other factors which have received adequate treatment in the article are
regional geo-politics, the security environment in North East Asia and in search of a multi-pillared and open door policies.

“Mongolia’s National Security and Nuclear Free Policy” by Ariunsane Tunjin in *The Korean Journal of Defense Analyses*, (Korea, Vol. XV. No.1 Spring 2003), is a wonderful article and its reading may prompt many to agree with Tunjin. This article including the lucid introduction such as, the setting, Geography, population, economy, foreign policy, national security policy, bilateral treaties with Russia and China in 1993-1994, nuclear non-proliferation policy and highly illuminating bibliography and references. A perusal of these notes is a must not only to update our reading list but also because they express the diverse and rich theoretical underpinnings of the article.

Part-I describes the geographical setting, population, economy and administration, foreign relation links and structures of international system.

Part-II of the article deals with the core elements of Mongolia’s national security namely Sovereignty Independence, Territorial integrity, inviolability of state frontiers, relative economic independence.

Part-III and IV deals with foreign policy of Mongolia. It outlines four priority areas of Mongolia’s foreign relations: political, economic, scientific, cultural and humanitarian.

The author has highlighted the interests of China and Russia in entering into bilateral treaties with Mongolia. The concluding of these treaties was thus considered a major diplomatic effort towards developing fruitful relations and the strengthening of national security by political means as they became the corner-stone to strengthen relations and cooperation with China and Russia in the 1990’s and into the 21st century.

The author has nicely dealt with the nuclear non-proliferation issue with an objective to highlight Mongolia’s role in disarmament and her contribution in achieving the desired goals. It also surveys the economic changes from the centralized economy to market economy.
“Mongolia- Russia- China in the new Millennium”, Professor Dr. Bayasakh Mongolica, (Ulaanbaatar, Vol.9, 1999) is another article which provides insight into the inter and intra-regional relations. It deals mainly with the trilateral relationship between Mongolia-China and Russia in post-cold war era. Besides, it discusses in detail the Mongols with regard to Pan Mongolia feelings.

L.Dondog in his article “The present socio-economic situation in Mongolia”, Asian Survey, (U.K, Vol.14, March 2001), provides a systematic analysis of the political and socio-economic situation in Mongolia. It analyses in detail the process of transition to a market economy which is being carried out under extremely hard conditions and path of democratization of the political system of the country. This article covers the economic crisis which started in 1990 and reached its peak in 1991 and 1992.

David Murphy in his article “Chinese Foreign relations-softening at edges”, Far Eastern Economic Review, Hong Kong, November 4, 2004 has focused on China’s softening attitude with her neighbouring countries to secure environment for her economic development.

The author concludes that Mongolia’s closeness to the Russia and China on most foreign policy issues arise from coincidence of interest rather than from pressure or influence.

D. Chulundorj in his article “Mongolia: No alternative to Drastic Changes and Reforms” in R.C Sharma (Ed.) Mongolia, Culture, Economy and Politics, New Delhi, 1992 provides a lot of information about how the wind of change sweeping in many parts of the world has also deeply touched upon Mongolia, a landlocked nation and sandwiched between the two great countries Russia and China. The process of renewal and restructuring started in the country at the end of 1989 and it has eventually brought about momentous changes in all levels of Mongolian society.

Besides, the other factors which have received adequate treatment in the article is that the emergence of Commonwealth of Independent States (CIS) in place of former Soviet Union.
“Between the Bear and the Dragon”-Mongolia’s relations with China and Russia” by Morris Rossabi, www.fathom.com/features. The paper is a comprehensive and constructive, probably the standard work for the history of Mongolia. The paper acclaims to be most thorough account to date of the political changes of Mongolia. The author explores the effects of the Soviet Union collapse, the role of international agencies, the new government policies and its results. This includes a good look at issues like privatization, democracy etc in post Socialist Mongolia.

“China and Mongolia”, http\countrystudies.US/ Mongolia has analyzed bilateral relations. This article furnishes a lot of information about bilateral economic and trade relations between Mongolia and China. The other issues related to the agreement on border areas, emigration control points and regular flights between Ulaanbaatar and Beijing also finds a sufficient space in the article.

Besides, some websites a good number of national and international journals on Central Asian geo-politics, geo-economics and geo-strategy are published. The most reputed are Foreign Affairs (New York), Asian Survey (UK), Eurasian Studies (Harvard), Contemporary Central Asia (New Delhi), Himalayan and Central Asian studies (New Delhi), Central Asiatic Journal (Germany), International Relation (Germany), Inner Asia (U.K) Strategic Analysis (New Delhi), Strategic Digest (New Delhi), Religion and Politics (USA), IIAS(Netherlands), International Relations (JNU). All of the journals give ideal coverage of some live and delicate issues concerning foreign relations, peace and economic development in the Asian continent particularly in Central Asia.

None of the works mentioned above however goes into the depth of the transition after Mongolia underwent democratic reforms and pursues independent foreign policy. This work is a humble attempt to fill the gaps in the existing knowledge in the post Soviet Transition in Mongolia and an effort has been made to utilize and scrutinize the literature and the sources whatever is available and within reach.