

南 華 大 學

國際暨大陸事務學系亞太研究所碩士班

碩士論文

蒙古國家安全與外交政策之研究

**A Study on the Mongolian  
National Security and Foreign Policy**

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## 摘要

蒙古國家安全中，地理因素是其最大影響。保持權力平衡是國家安全政策的基本原理。保持權力平衡意味著兩個鄰近國家關係的友善發展與平等合作，而非遵行其中一方或是受到其中一方的影響。權力平衡政策並非侷限於兩國關係，亦成爲尋求第三方的政策基礎。確保國家安全的其中一個方式是，創造可與兩國相互競爭之第三方的利益，使其確保兩個鄰國不會受到其中一方過多的影響。

現在我們試圖利用多種方式以確保國家安全，例如權力平衡關係、主動開放式外交政策、不同盟、非核武區域等，不僅是地理因素，亦包含政治與經濟因素的考量，同時考量國際環境中的國家聲譽。

**關鍵字：**蒙古、國家安全、權利平衡

## **Abstract**

There is a significant big effect of geographical factor in the perception of national security of Mongolia. Preserving balance of power is the fundamental principle of national security policy. Preserving balance of power means to develop friendly and equal cooperation with two neighboring countries, not to follow either side one side, not to get under too much influence zone of either one. Balance of power policy is not limited to the relationship with the two neighboring countries only but it becomes the fundamental for the policy of seeking for the third partner. One of the methods of insuring national security is to create an interest of third partner, which can compete with the two neighbors, in our own country besides guarding from getting under too much influence zone of either one of the two neighboring countries.

Today we are trying to insure our national security by using many methods such as to have a balanced power (relations), open and active foreign policy, to be None participating in alliance and None nuclear region etc considering not only the geographical factor but also political, economic factors as well as the reputation of the country in the world arena.

**Keywords:** Mongolia, National Security, Balance of Power

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## **Chapter 1**

### **1.1 Introduction**

The fundamental of existence of Mongolia is to recognize watchfully the changes of external and internal environment and to pursue a policy consistent to those changes.

Mongolia proclaimed its independence to the world in 1921, its status of independence was confirmed by national referendum in 1946 thus received the recognition of independence by the southern neighbor and in it became the member of Union Nation in 1960. All these are the historic events that categorically changed the external environment of Mongolia in the 21 century. During all these years Mongolia was a member of mutual cooperation community of socialist countries and its national security guarantee was secured by the Mutual Cooperation and Assistance Agreement established between the Soviet Union and Mongolia.

Since 1990 when the socialist system collapsed Mongolia has secured its national security guarantee by itself using independent policy. Today effects of globalization factors and establishment of many regional and international organizations of political and economic cooperation are significantly influencing the external environment of national security. Studying the changes in security environment and reflecting them on our activities are an efficient way of insuring national security. The most important objective of the subject holding the state power is to insure the national security and to develop the country. Preservation and protection of national security are carried out with certain feature of continuity. This diploma work is focused on study of legal environment of national security and giving conclusion on its implementation.

### **1.2 Chapter Summary**

This diploma work consists of 5 Chapters. A separate conclusion is done at the end of each chapter and at the end of the diploma work the integrated conclusion is given respectively. This diploma work is mainly focused on legal issues of national

security, considering the way of insuring national security through the foreign policy as an example.

**Chapter 1.** Direction of study work and brief introduction on how it was studied, also division of chapters and sections and their brief introductions are included in this chapter.

**Chapter 2.** This chapter defined the development issues of national security theory, the peculiarities and similarities of small and poor countries and common way of insuring guarantee of their existence in today's globalization environment. Also a conclusion is done on how the national security of Mongolia is insured and the methods used for this purpose.

**Chapter 3.** The fundamental of insuring the continuity and efficiency of national security is to get it guaranteed by legislation. Since 1990 works have been done to redefine the national security within the renewal of legislation and to get it guaranteed by the legislation. The issues of necessity of adopting the new constitution, national security concept, Law on national security, Law on being nuclear arms free country and other laws related with national security, how they were developed and adopted and how they are reflected in the foreign policy principle are studied here.

**Chapter 4.** In this chapter a study is made the external environmental conditions of national security and a conclusion is done on implementation of foreign policy focused on insuring national security. The fundamental role of foreign policy is to insure national security. Study of the changes in external environment allows the possibility of insuring national security more efficiently.

The activities focused on preserving balance of power of Mongolia, seeking the third partner, creating an interest in our country are studied and a conclusion is made on



international relations processes particularly the cooperation activities with regional and international organizations.

**Chapter 5.** In this chapter the guarantee of national security is assessed and conclusion and proposal on how to carry out activities in consistency with the changes in external and internal environment.

### **1.3 The publications list associated a thesis:**

I study this subject for five years. I had the book and the four scientific articles.

List of publications:

- Jambal A, Davaanyam R. (2006) "Foreign policy change of Mongolia" /Mongol Ulsiin niigem, uls toriin oorchlolt 1999-2005/, /Mon., Social and political changes of Mongolia 1990-2005"/. 7<sup>nd</sup> chapter Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia

- Davaanyam R, Sumyabaatar O (2006) "Globalichilal ba Mongol Uls" /Globalization and Mongolia/. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia,

- Davaanyam R. (2005) "International reflection of guiding principles on foreign policy in laws and documents related to the national security" /Book of Summer school of young mongolists-2005/. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, pp. 114-135.

- Davaanyam R. (2005) "Implementation of The national security concept". /Journal of Politology/. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, pp. 124-143.

- Davaanyam R. (2004) "Legislation issues of Mongolian national security and foreign policy". /Journal of International relation/. Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, pp. 3-17.

## Chapter 2. Understanding about National security

### 2.1 Basis of the National security theory

There is nothing more important than national rights and interests in any nation. National rights and interests consist of four general interests. It includes:

- Vital interests of national security
- Interests of national progress
- Interests of national history and culture and
- Interests of national solidarity.

A fundamental of these interests is the interests of national security and existence. For other word, for any nation, national security is that there are outer and internal factors that may negatively influence on the existence. If there are not outer and internal factors that may negatively influence on the existence of any nation, a condition is created to be in solidarity, keep culture and history and develop in the future.

A general development tendency of national security is not only issues on politics, armament and strategy and it is changed as understanding on socio-economy and cultural environment at all. Scholars have explained national security from different views. In general, it is classified as follows:

1. Conventional approaches to national security theory
2. Unconventional approaches to national security theory<sup>8</sup>

1. Conventional approaches to national security theory: Much of what questionably qualifies as "theory" is "strategy" or more precisely, *grand strategy* (which can be defined as the integration of military, political, and economic means to pursue states' ultimate objectives in the international system - Hart 1954; Kennedy 1991). Each nation usually has an explicit or implicit strategy for how it will deal with the rest of the world<sup>9</sup>, but grand strategy is usually the domain of scholars. Grand strategy usually

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<sup>8</sup> George Santayana, (2006): /Theory helps us to bear our ignorance of facts/. p.3

<sup>9</sup> [National Security Strategy of the United States](http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers/USnss2002.pdf). <<http://merln.ndu.edu/whitepapers/USnss2002.pdf>>

assumes war is too important a business to be left to soldiers; some countries can be manipulated more easily by a carrot than a stick; and that the best policies extend across many years or even multiple generations. Grand strategic thinking is not always theory, but assessment or re-assessment as in Biddle's way of looking at the only two coherent choices in the Global War on Terrorism.

Conventional approaches to national security theory can follow synthesis, and identify six different approaches. It may be helpful to list them at first, and then explain them.

- a. Balance of Power approach
- b. Collective Security approach
- c. World Federalist approach
- e. Functionalist approach
- f. Democratic Peace approach
- g. Incentive approach<sup>10</sup>

a. The balance of power approach has been the most influential and popular approach in the field. The phrase goes back to 1740 when Frederick the Great (1712-1786) first coined it in his book, *Anti-Machiavelli*, but the idea that a balance of power exists when there is "a parity or stability between competing forces" is as old as history.

The theory posits, more or less, a "just equilibrium" doctrine or axiom which is intended to prevent any one nation from becoming sufficiently strong so as to enable it to enforce its will upon the rest. The world is seen as made up of rational state actors who do what comes naturally by uniting in alliances or coalitions with one another to counter a threat<sup>11</sup>.

b. The collective security approach was devised in 1914 during World War I as a substitute for the balance of power approach, although historically the origins of the idea go back to Immanuel Kant (1724-1804) who first proposed an alternative to just

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<sup>10</sup> Theoretical Frameworks on National Security <<http://www.apsu.edu/oconnort/3040/3040lect02.htm>>

<sup>11</sup> Norman J. Vig, Regina S. Axelrod (1998): *The Global Environment*/ pp.204-205

war theory based on an ethical obligation toward mutual disarmament and renunciation of aggression.

Collective security is an approach which sees national security as a side benefit of world order to be managed by some transcendent authority from above. It is the theoretical foundation upon which the organizations known as the League of Nations and the United Nations were built<sup>12</sup>. It rejects the notion that alliances and neutrality can work, and substitutes the idea that "an attack against one is an attack against all." The basic idea is to relieve nations from the burden of having to provide national security by themselves because weaker nations cannot possibly defend themselves, and stronger nations often become involved in never-ending arms races which usually detract from their security over the long term.

c. The world federalist approach advocates a democratic system of coequal provinces, regions, or communities of global citizens to replace nation-states as the predominant form of government in the world. The basic principles of federalism include the ideas that all decisions in society should not be made on a higher level than necessary, and that each and every individual has the right to exercise maximum influence over all matters which concern them<sup>13</sup>.

The words in italics (sovereignty...from individuals...ends of civil polity) best express the belief that the best government is one that deals directly with individuals, not with nation-states (i.e., a purely democratic model). The word "solecism" means mistake or theoretical blunder, and the founding fathers are saying that a federalism model is a good idea (not utopian by any means), but that it has never been perfected in theory nor practice.

e. The functionalist approach, in the field of global politics, aims at establishing a steady, predictable pattern of growth and development in the world by creating a series of necessary and sufficient international organizations which address critical needs or

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<sup>12</sup> Eugen.S Marian.S (2007) /*National Security management through collective security*/ p 74

<sup>13</sup> Peacock, A. A (2007): /*Hamdi, Hamilton and The Federalist on War and National Security*/ <[http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p\\_mla\\_apa\\_research\\_citation/2/0/9/6/1/p209616\\_index.html](http://www.allacademic.com/meta/p_mla_apa_research_citation/2/0/9/6/1/p209616_index.html)>

important tasks which need to be carried out in certain sectors or regions of the world in the name of human welfare. Common needs unite people across boundaries. The approach should not be confused with *regional integration theory* which exists in the field of international economics and is the presumed basis for organizations like the European Union, nor should it be confused with *neo-functionalism* in sociological criminology which is based primarily upon the social system ideas of Talcott Parsons, although the connection between Parsonian sociology and international relations is clearly attributable to the work of the founding father of Integration Studies, Karl Deutsch (1966).

Neo-functionalist sociology can play a role in global neo-functionalist approaches, but the former might be limited to a macro crime control theory for nation-states while the latter is primarily a "civilized state" theory of governance where specialized international organizations (such as humanitarian ones) replace vital functions that the state used to assume responsibility for<sup>14</sup>.

f. The democratic peace approach is a theory of "responsible government" based on the idea that democracies almost never go to war with one another; a statement first expressed by the philosopher Immanuel Kant (1795) in an essay entitled Perpetual Peace. The evidence is overwhelming that democracy enlargement ought to be the long term goal of every nation. It might even make a good basis for foreign policy (helping out transitional democracies), if democracies were good at that sort of thing.

The democratic peace approach is a theory is thinking that democracies are not only good at preventing war, but they are good at achieving various peacetime goals too things such as human rights, economic development, environmental protection, famine avoidance, control of terrorism, corruption avoidance, and ending mass refugee flows.

However, the data showing democracies don't go to war is disputed by some (called neo realists who also often take issue with neoliberals advocating federalist or

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<sup>14</sup> George Santayana (2007): /Theoretical Frameworks on national security/  
<<http://www.apsu.edu/oconnort/3040/3040lect02.htm>> p 8

functionalist approaches), and these neo realists argue over what defines a democracy and what counts as war.

g. The incentive approach theory that the best foreign policy consists of a focus on rule of law (not necessarily free elections, but a certain mix of principles mostly having to do with freedom of expression), bilateral trade agreements, and the wealth of nations (i.e., enhanced economic growth and concomitant environmental standards). Not all non democracies are seen as a threat to peace, but democracies usually go to war as defenders rather than aggressors against the illegal acts perpetrated by dictators in nondemocratic regimes who capitalize on the incentive that democracies provide in not having a tendency to go to war.

The concept of deterrence (as externally supplied incentives against war and terrorism) plays a key role in this theory, at least for the explanation of where, geographically and strategically, democracies go to war. Deterrence alone is never a good idea as the sole basis for an overall foreign policy, however. The basic idea is that there are settings where democracies have failed to deter a potential aggressor, either through sanctions, diplomatic actions, or otherwise<sup>15</sup>.

2. Unconventional approaches to national security theory: One way of addressing the more-or-less "unconventional" or non-traditional theories is to point to a loosely organized set of ideas found in an academic field called "cultural studies" which is a new and increasingly influential area of scholarly inquiry, emerging late in the second half of the twentieth century.

Unconventional approaches to national security theory also can follow synthesis, and identify six (6) different approaches.

a. Chaos Theory - chaos is a concept developed in the mid-1970s on the basis of Mandelbrot's findings in fractal geometry. Pay no attention to dictionary definitions of the term since any mathematician will tell you that chaos systems are actually very

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<sup>15</sup> Center for National Security law. <<http://www.virginia.edu/cnsl/>>

smooth and ordered. Chaos is extremely sensitive to initial conditions, and chaos also refers to the question of whether or not it is possible to make good long-term predictions about how a system will act.

Among international relations scholars who have dabbled in it, and there have been many, the preferred term appears to be "complexity theory" which entails the study of complex systems which have multiple interacting components where the system (like a foreign affairs policy) can be described as learning on its own in places where chaos and order interact and are always on the edge of each other.<sup>16</sup>

b. Game Theory - although strict adherents to game theory would say they are more traditionalist than unconventional, the fact remains that relatively recent developments (and much dissertation research), such as the "theory of moves" (Brams 1994) and n-person, mixed motive games tend to push beyond the standard levels of precision found in pure microeconomic examples such as Prisoner's Dilemma and "Chicken" and critics such as Chamberlin (1989) can probably no longer say that "due to the egoistic nature of actors, political dilemmas cannot easily be solved through the use of game theory"<sup>17</sup>. It is indisputable that game theory has been an essential tool in analyzing national security, international trade, and the global environment since Neumann and Morgenstern introduced it more than 45 years ago. It can at least be said that the game metaphor is (or should be) of interest to cultural studies since there are scholars not only interested in game semantics (logic) but game semiotics (as iconic images, mythologies, or signs).

c. Globalization Theory - Globalization is the process of forming global institutions, and global institutions are those that operate as though the world were a single place. The term became popular in the mid- to late-1990s and has come to describe the co-evolution of global politics and economics in a postmodernist, late capitalism era of information technology, free trade markets, and reign of multi-national

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<sup>16</sup> Complexity, Global Politics, and National Security (2002):  
<<http://www.citeulike.org/user/mattjb/article/2286471>>

<sup>17</sup> [Steven Brams](#), [D. Mark Kilgour](#) (1991): "Game Theory and National Security",  
<<http://as.wiley.com/WileyCDA/WileyTitle/productCd-1557860033.html>>

corporations. There are many definitions of globalization, and there is much debate over whether it is good or bad, but seems to be influential at organizing the scholarly literature, no easy task since there are just as many proponents of the theory trying to reverse the globalization process as there are those who want to encourage it<sup>18</sup>.

The theory posits that with proliferation of the Internet (e.g., in third world countries), there will be a decrease in nationalistic competition and conflict, and that the transparent yet anonymous nature of the Internet will help establish some new age of self-reflexive accountability along with increased "flow" of financial services, images, and culture.

d. Post colonialism theory is the study of the ideological and cultural impact of western colonialism, and in particular its aftermath, which can be either neocolonialism (continuing influence) or the emergence of newly articulated identity politics. As a field of study (in literature mostly), it had its own online journal called which made a good run from 1997 to 2003 despite being opposed to the Internet on principle that binary (computer-based) models of thinking were what was wrong with the world.

The basic idea is multicultural, that by merely describing something (or someone), you are engaging in a (neo) colonialist labeling process. Said's (1978) *Orientalism* book was quite influential in this regard, arguing there's no way to fully get rid of that stereotype that Asians are somehow exotic, devious, and untrustworthy. As a theory of identity politics, it is a theory of doing away with social injustices of all kinds by organizing regional resistance movements that happen to have self-liberation effects.

e. Neo-Marxist Theory - The basic Marxist model has undergone some complex changes, most notably a distancing of itself from class politics and an embracing of Frankfurt School approaches toward the study of fascism and totalitarianism.

Neo-Marxist research tends to not just focus on authority, however, as interventionist policies in the name of national security are often questioned (Robinson

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<sup>18</sup> Lechner & Boli. (2000) <[http://www.univie.ac.at/ksa/html/inh/stud/studmate\\_files/PolRel.pdf](http://www.univie.ac.at/ksa/html/inh/stud/studmate_files/PolRel.pdf)>



1996). Gramscian analysis of hegemony will likely continue to characterize most theoretical developments for years to come since the basic question Gramsci asked - how conventional and dissident impulses could co-exist side-by-side in a conflict-ridden world the masses come to take as normal and "the way things are" -- has never been answered.<sup>19</sup>

f. Feminist Theory - Other than easy critiques of manliness and the glorification of soldiers, serious, modern feminist scholarship concerned with IR theory is usually focused, in the post-positivist sense, with a changing awareness of the many subtleties of identity (of being a woman) and allied affirmations involving overlapping statuses. No better description of "identity politics" is to be found than in feminism, where some descriptive factor is chosen from among many and where one factor does predominate but other factors are possible.

Researcher had make one more different classified. It includes:

1. "Realist" (it is a view that every nation only prefers its rights and interests. Machiavelli, Talleyrand, Bismarck).<sup>20</sup>
2. "Idealist" (it is a view that an establishment of status quota between nations depends on creation of equal social structure not nation's rights and interest. From 14 principles of Vudro Wilson). An understanding on national security is determined as main requirement to keep status quota of a nation's existence. Depending on historical stages, it has been existed in military, political, economic and other factors' effects.<sup>21</sup>

1. As considering from the side of realist theory, key participants in international relations from their national rights and interests are nations and its main goal is to be apart from danger in hostile disorderly environment. Thus, it tries to have enough power to maintain and strengthen national security at first. It reaches then to rely on its power

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<sup>19</sup> Marxist theory of Naciona security

<[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International\\_relations\\_theory#Marxist\\_theory](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_relations_theory#Marxist_theory)>

<sup>20</sup> International relations theory. <[http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International\\_relations\\_theory](http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/International_relations_theory)>

<sup>21</sup> Dashtseveg.B (2002): "Mongol Ulsiin Undesnii Ayulgui Baidal Ba Guravdagch Horsh Ornuud" /Mon., Mongolian national security and Third partner counters/ Ulaanbaatar. p 34

not only others'. According to the theory of "realist", a nation contains itself a nature of competency for power that is a natural instinct of an animal.

Therefore, national rights and interests are put in highest and ideas, ethics status and evaluation are put in second. Such things are in international practice<sup>22</sup>. Accordingly, to communicate to other nations on any issue, a nation puts its rights and interests at first. This realist view being spread everywhere is concluded by a political figure of England Lord Palmerton, "England has not any eternal enemy and eternal friend. It has only eternal rights and interests". A father of American realist schools Hans J. Morgenthau determined the term, "America has only one god of foreign relations. That is the American national rights and interest"<sup>23</sup>.

For other word, as for the Realist schools, nation's independence and sovereignty are the most important and valuable things. Therefore, any economic activities are considered to be under the most important goal to protect nation's independence. It includes protecting domestic market, setting up trade blocs, and increasing tax on imported goods.

2. Idealist schools consider independence as the thing that prefers the economic goal to maintain peoples' well being and living conditions, and improve levels over the political goals. As for liberal /idealist/ economists, understanding on economic independence, sovereignty, and border does not exist.

The idealist theory-which focuses on individual, groups, and communities rather than the state-argues that values predominate over military strength and strategic resources and that human can place higher causes above self-interest, can pursue idealist in the interests of improving the quality of life, and can thus work to avoid conflict. Idealist is support the development of international organizations as a means to bridging differences among states and avoiding destructive competition. Idealist also based on a

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<sup>22</sup> "International Studies" journal (2002): Ulaanbaatar. 1. p 107.

<sup>23</sup> "Zuunii Medee" Newspaper. #17, September 8, 1999.

belief in the notion of globalism, where institutions and ideals other than state attract the loyalty of humans.<sup>24</sup>

For the above two theories, each has its advantages and disadvantages. If Mongolia supports realist theory, it will be lonely in the future and if it goes through idealist /liberal/ theory, there is negative side that it might be under the control of others. Therefore, it is right to deal with the two theories flexibly and to combine them smartly<sup>25</sup>.

In the Cold war time, based on the doctrines and understanding on possible conflicts between nations or in correlation with nations' borders, it was explained by correlating to measures for protecting security on the basis of armament. But, today or in the 21<sup>st</sup> century, such definition, concept and paradigm are being changed<sup>26</sup>. Nowadays, it is defined that it is called to see intentional and unintentional, deliberate and undeliberate influences and dangers and to take preventive actions<sup>27</sup>.

The concept was established in solving security comprehensively in modern time and the world call it as Comprehensive security. On the other hand, the world greatly depends on each other and one nation's security is determined by another nation's security. In connection with it, there is no way in the international policy sector that nations shall defend their national security through joint efforts based on power balance. Comprehensive security is a concept that directed toward one enemy /even though that enemy has not yet appeared/ or is to defend their security by establishing a group and to create power balance in general. Today, the whole world accepted the understanding of

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<sup>24</sup> Norman J.Vig, Regina S. Axelrod. (1998): /The Global Environment/ pp.53  
<<http://www.highbeam.com/doc/1G1-156549770.html>>

<sup>25</sup> Batbayar.T (1995): "1990-eed Onii Olon Ulsii Hariltsaanii Handlaguud, Mongol Uls-Ih Gurnuudiin Hariltsaa" /Mon., International relations tendencies in 1990s, Mongolia-Great Powers relations/ Ulaanbaatar. p 95

<sup>26</sup> Field J.P /So Authors/ National security and CIA (2001)  
<<https://www.cia.gov/library/center-for-the-study-of-intelligence/csi-publications/index-of-declassified-articles/index-of-declassified-book-reviews-by-author.html>> p.2

<sup>27</sup> Dashtseveg.B (2002): "Mongol Ulsiin Undesnii Ayulgui Baidal Ba Guravdagch Horsh Ornuud" /Mon., Mongolian national security and Third partner counters/ Ulaanbaatar. p 35

comprehensive security that considered nations, regional internal and domestic security issues in close correlations and relations, and tend to make it as basic outlines<sup>28</sup>.

A new understanding, which is practically significant for regional security of nation, is being set and they have become urgent issues to be submitted as some package goals to be implemented in international level. It includes human rights, security, well governance, stable economic development and prevention from conflict.

National security is mandatory guarantee of a nation's independence. Generally, this understanding was being talked as modern universal content and standard at the end of 80s in correlation with world process after the cold war and foreign and domestic changes of Mongolia. This came from the above changes, socialist camp nations' political and economic collaboration, dissolution of united defense system, new deal with multilateral issues on national security and mandatory requirement and urgent goals to solve them by own power and independent policy. Nowadays, a role of foreign policy is increasing more to maintain national security in the globalization condition.

The most basic goal of political system is to keep itself. On the other hand, any nation exists under definite negative and positive influences of other country as for being existed in the international system. Since the level and range of influence is different, any action is always done against it.

A nation that has high political and economic capacity and broad foreign policy runs an activity to take others under its control and to make them pass useful decisions. As for the country that is under the control, there are questions how the nation would accustom with less loss and it would react<sup>29</sup>. For other word, an issue to keep and protect independence and national security that is a foundation of nation's existence is the key objective of a nation in the influential region. As for a nation which political and economic development is weak, it becomes a main issue to more guarantee its current

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<sup>28</sup> Sosorbaram (2004): "Mongoliin gadaad orchnii ayulgui baidal, bolzoshgui nohtsoluud" /the external environment in Mongolia, Possible Scenarios/ "International Studies" Journal. 2002 No. 1, p 111

<sup>29</sup> Dashtseveg.B (2002): "Mongol Ulsiin Undesnii Ayulgui Baidal Ba Guravdagch Horsh Ornuud" /Mon., Mongolian national security and Third partner counters/ Ulaanbaatar. p 41

border whereas strong ones always seek for an opportunity on how to expand its influential range in international arena.

Any nation's foreign policies are divided into the following three levels. It includes:

1. Foreign policy of great powers
2. Foreign policy of neutrality
3. Nonaligned foreign policy.

1. Foreign policy of great powers: This policy has been existed since nations were established and it oriented towards dividing, ruling and establishing its control and domination on a certain nation and region according to the world influence.<sup>30</sup> Current great powers' policies on expanding their influences have transferred to use economic tools not military and armament.

2. Foreign policy of neutrality: Foreign policy of neutrality, one of foreign policies, is a policy to be selfish and maintain and protect itself indeed. According to practice, since 1816, Switzerland has first proclaimed such policy. A principal condition of concept of neutrality is international guarantee directed to maintain strong economy and security and to respect enough military power and that policy.<sup>31</sup>

Even though, Mongolia tries to follow the policy of neutrality, the main criteria or its economic power and development are not enough and as well as, it does not have armament capacity to prevent from danger itself. On the other hand, as for being existed between the two powers, Mongolia is impossible to run the policy of neutrality due to its geography. Therefore, a fundamental of Mongolian foreign policy and national security cannot be the policy of neutrality. Let's consider in detail in the next chapter about whether or not there is a possibility to

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<sup>30</sup> [America and The World: \(2008\) Conversations on the Future of American Foreign Policy](http://greatpowerpolitics.com/?tag=us-foreign-policy)  
<<http://greatpowerpolitics.com/?tag=us-foreign-policy>>

<sup>31</sup> Serdamba.D (2008): "Mongoliin tusgaar togtoliin tuuh" /Mon., The History of Mongolia in 20 th century/ <<http://www.mongolia800.mn/24tsag/2008/11/29/14553>>

carry out the policy on certain issues even though it is impossible to implement the policy by 100 percent, and how this issue is reflected in legal acts.

3. Nonaligned foreign policy: The final version of the above three political policies is the non unification policy. A main feature of the policy of neutrality includes elements from either great power or “globalist” and the policy of neutrality. For other word, the non unification foreign policy is the most widely spread in the world that gives broad freedom to foreign policy. Three fourth of UN members or about 110 nations follow this direction. In addition, there is a nation that runs a alien policy even though it proclaims to implement the non unification policy<sup>32</sup>.

Nonaligned policy is becoming a basis for Mongolia to communicate with two neighbors in the transition period. In other word, it gives an opportunity to keep the balance and no to join in any nation and alien.

### **1.2. Ways and features of maintenance of small nations’ security**

Among the political entities with statehood status, there are a number of them that could qualify as “small nation” without any debate: both geographically and demographically. These are the mini-states of Europe, the Persian Gulf and Oceania. Others may qualify exclusively by their small area size or small population. There are many anomalies attached to various classifications. For instance, is Mongolia, equaling to one-fifth of the continental U.S. a small nation, or is Bangladesh with its 100 million citizens? One possible criterion is low population density, but those, such as Canada and Australia, are certainly not to be regarded as “small.” Other categories, such as GDP or GDP per capita, are simply disregarded, since there are a number of unquestionably small nation with high level of economic achievement and living standards, such as Singapore or Kuwait.

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<sup>32</sup> Batbayar.T (1995): "1990-eed Onii Olon Ulsii Hariltsaanii Handlaguud, Mongol Uls-Ih Gurnuudiin Hariltsaa" /Mon., International relations tendencies in 1990s, Mongolia-Great Powers relations/ Ulaanbaatar. p 75

Perhaps the overarching definition would be the combination and/or correlation of all the above-mentioned criteria, with addition of the state's international position and influence. However, for this research, the population is exclusively regarded as the key criteria of a small nation and other calculations are disregarded.

Small state is a nation that is unable to prevent from the revolution and change in its main component parts /status quota/. It is right to mention that the unable and the not to be affected in negative influence are different from each other<sup>33</sup>. There are three columns which define any nation's state sovereignty. These are the nation's bank note, Constitution and security. The basic three tools in a nation to maintain foreign security are proper capacities of developing economy, smart and flexible foreign policy and defense. As for a small nation that has small and poor economy and is unable to protect its security through its military force, there is only way to maintain its security through foreign policy<sup>34</sup> from the above tools.

Small nation have general things. It includes: it is easy to be affected by external influence, economic environment is weak to develop industrial big sectors, there is poor possibility to establish comprehensive economic complex, and possibility is limitless to create national scientific and intellectual and independent technological bases, it highly depends on foreign commerce and its small obstacle is big that is little for great powers<sup>35</sup>. Process of globalization is making more open the correlation of nations. Closer unification of strong transcontinental organizations, corporations, economy and civilization than state of nationality let small and poor nations' security concept is refined.

In the multi-structure, small nations do not make efforts to guarantee their security through promise of "mutual military assistance" with great powers like previous times. On the other hand, in the condition of that nations' correlation deepens and

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<sup>33</sup> Dashtseveg.B (2002): "Mongol Ulsiin Undesnii Ayulgui Baidal Ba Guravdagch Horsh Ornuud" /Mon., Mongolian national security and Third partner counters/ Ulaanbaatar. p 41

<sup>34</sup> Bataa.G, Galsanjamts.S (1999): "Mongol Ulsiin Undesnii Ayulgui Baidal" /Mon., National Security of Mongolia/ Ulaanbaatar. p 23

<sup>35</sup> Dashtseveg.B (2002): "Mongol Ulsiin Undesnii Ayulgui Baidal Ba Guravdagch Horsh Ornuud" /Mon., Mongolian national security and Third partner counters/ Ulaanbaatar. p 44

globalization runs strongly, the permanent and traditional policy on neutrality was ineffective for small nations. One of consequences in international relations is a tendency that small nations will be a “manufacturer” from “consumer” of security. This is related with that small nations are looking for the third gate to maintain their security. In modern time, the role of foreign policy and diplomacy is high to create nations’ security balance and to maintain peace.

Small nation reflect their specific features when defining their national interest. From the three components of interest, irrationality, though present, plays the least role in policymaking. Irrational perception of interest therefore is confined to the civil society rather than in the bureaucracy and/or elected offices.

For most small nation, survival, e.g. the security interest is the key concern for all constituencies. Hence, small states mostly tend to follow Morgenthau’s definition of a “good foreign policy” being a “National foreign policy.”<sup>36</sup> However, possessing insufficient political, military and/or economic power to use as leverage against its opponents, it is natural for small states to eschew pure realism and power balancing politics. Instead, small states see their economic interests as both a top priority and as a necessary intermediary for safeguarding their security interests. Especially if the criterion for labeling a country “small” is the population size (which is used herein), the physical survival of a small state directly connotes the demographical survival and social development, which is the amalgam of national, societal and individual interests<sup>37</sup>.

Rights and interests of small state contain state, social and civil rights and interest. State rights and interests are independence, sovereignty and inviolability whereas the social rights and interests are human rights and freedom. State, social and civil rights and interests do not almost coincide and there are conflicts between them. Small states security policy and activity direct toward coordinate the conflicts and maintain them.

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<sup>36</sup> Morgenthau, Hans J. (1973): "Politics among Nations"/The Struggle for Power and Peace/, Fifth Edition/ p.8

<sup>37</sup> Bold,R (1999): "Undesnii Ayulgui Baidal" /Mon., Security of Mongolia/ Ulaanbaatar p. 36



The above nations have general natures of referring more open policy due to landlocked location, being careful of refining poor but patriotic traditions and comparatively independent.

Thus, if in identity small nation face more challenges of marginalization than great powers, in the Context of interest they are confronted with greater vulnerability, but at the same time enjoy more space to 45 reconcile the interests of their domestic constituencies into a common agenda. The United Nations General Assembly recognized that:

Small nation may be particularly vulnerable to external threats and acts of interference in their internal affairs and may have special needs consonant with the right to sovereignty and territorial integrity.

Hence the disadvantages of small nation in the international arena: risk of identity marginalization leading to international isolation, greater vulnerability and insufficient power and capacity to ensure security. The advantages are: relative ethnic homogeneity, causing the convergence of identity into a strong national and regional one, lack or low profile of irrationality in the pursuit of interest, greater reconciliation of the national, societal and individual interests, thus contributing to the domestic and regional stability. Therefore, the ultimate policy of any small nation is the exploitation of the latter while eschewing the former.

There are some small nations in Asia and Pacific region. One of them is Mongolia. On the other hand, the northeast Asia is the point where rights and interests of four big powers join. According to the above situation, small and poor nations are suitable to make a basis the direction on maintaining power balance to maintain security and carrying out active foreign policy<sup>38</sup>. Therefore, it needs to refine and determine the foremost direction of foreign policy of Mongolia as more pragmatic to actively

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<sup>38</sup> Bataa.G, Galsanjamts.S (1999): "Mongol Ulsiin Undesnii Ayulgui Baidal" /Mon., National Security of Mongolia/ Ulaanbaatar. p 68

participate and mediate an action for creating regional and world multilateral mechanism.

The principal of national security of Mongolia indicates, “Economic security is the fundamental foundation of independence and sovereignty of Mongolia” and the economic security is “creation of economic system that can have economic capacity to carry out replenishment, supply people’s demands by using domestic resource, maintain independence and can support the nation for certain time if required.”<sup>39</sup> There is tendency that researchers consider the term of “Economic security” as economic stability<sup>40</sup>.

### **2.3. National security of Mongolia, factors influencing on it Identity of Mongolian national security**

The Security Condition: With regards to its security, Mongolia is currently trapped in identifying its primary security concern. On the one hand, the interest of survival remains the top priority. However, the amalgamation of national, societal and individual security concerns provides a broader perception of it. In addition, the international context differs much from the Cold War era. State survival is no longer a primary concern for the reason that no direct threat to the nation’s independence and sovereignty is perceived from any of the neighboring or proximate states.

This is facilitated by Mongolia’s amicable relations with the immediate two and the virtual “third” neighbors. But the notion of demographic survival (deriving from a population pressure from neighboring China), coupled with ideas of preserving the cultural individuality, makes the security perception flip. Therefore, the interest of survival is still prevalent within the academic and policymaking community.

On the other hand, because the interest of a small state is amalgamated in nature, the interests of those constituencies - individual and group – include the need for economic well-being, which is an unalienable interest of the state, too. Survival

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<sup>39</sup> Concept of National Security (1994). Ulaanbaatar. 5<sup>th</sup> chapter, 32<sup>nd</sup> article

<sup>40</sup> Also there. 5<sup>th</sup> chapter, 33<sup>rd</sup> article

mentality may drive the policy toward either isolationist or globalist directions, but in neither case will the developmental objectives be properly met. Instead, they might risk being neglected or even sacrificed. This constitutes Mongolia's current security dilemma – between the Scylla of self-preservation (or self<sup>76</sup> conservation) via power balancing and the Charibdes of accelerated development via regional cooperation and acceptance of the dominant position of one of its neighbors. These interests seem mutually exclusive, therefore competing, but a prudent policy of identifying the areas of dissent and reconciling them can turn them into mutually complementary interests.

For this, the identity factor is brought back into our analysis. In the situation with divergent triple identity and competing dual interests, single policy equilibrium is difficult to attain. Identification of overlapping dimensions among the variations of identity and interest is conducted in the next section.

According to international law, there are several general understandings on “national rights and interests”. It is rough version that is not suitable for every nation. National rights and interests are changed according to time. Thus, We Mongolians need to run more pragmatic activity by studying our national features in detail.

“Two neighbors”, “third neighbor” paradigms: There is another aspect of the view of the “two neighbors” vs. the “third neighbor” paradigms. These are often misinterpreted as the competing schools and practice in Mongolia's strategic thinking. My argument is that both paradigms are variations of the real politic: balance-of power vs. bandwagon. Though these options do not necessarily correspond to the two paradigms, historically the attempts to balance power were conducted by “courting” the possible “third neighbor,” and the bandwagon was the usual pattern of Mongolia's sub ordinance to Russia/Soviet Union in its interactions with China. Therefore both trends dramatically deplete from the notion of a “virtual third neighbor” and reflect what can be labeled as the “buffer mentality,” based on the self-assertion of a strategically important country and tightly interconnected to the primordial Asian identity.

Traditionally, Sino-Russian borderlands that served as a natural buffer between the two political entities are divided into the three geographical sectors: Middle, or Central Asia, Mongolia and the Far East.<sup>41</sup> Of these, until the five Central Asian republics obtained independence from the Soviet Union in 1991, only Mongolia used to serve as a political buffer between the two powers, due to its independent status, however nominal it was under the Moscow protectorate. Throughout the 20th century Mongolia was politically dependent on the successive Russian regimes as a counterbalance and territorial buffer to the Chinese state, while receiving Russian/Soviet protection from the former.

However, events of the late 1980s and the 1990s brought enormous changes in these triangular relations. Normalization of Sino-Soviet relations, disintegration of the Soviet Union and the establishment of the current regime of bilateral ties between Russia and China serve as the factors minimizing Mongolia's geopolitical role. This situation is becoming even more complex as Mongolia normalized its own relations with China and embraced an entirely new, independent foreign policy for the first time with "balanced" relations with both of its neighbors. The evolution of triangulating relations between the major powers in the region and Mongolia's current defense and economic capacity potentially excludes the role of buffer either between the two neighbors or between them and the others. Therefore, the understanding of the "third neighbor" paradigm based on power-balancing behavior is not the timely and correct one; instead, its initial connotation of multilateralism must be asserted.

A reason is that if we understand well Mongolian national feature, we can determine national rights and interests. For other word, an issue comes to maintain national security from national rights, interests -national feature.

Mongolia needs to do the following things to maintain its national security at first. It includes:

- Reputation in international community
- National solidarity, density

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<sup>41</sup> William Arthur Douglas Jackson (1962): /Russo-Chinese Borderlands/. D. Van Hostard, p. 3

- Refining system of strengthening political independence
- Creation, protection, maintenance and defense of economic independence and
- Protection and keeping of its unique civilization heritage.

If any nation increases its reputation abroad and in international level, a possibility is created to maintain national security. Nations adhere to 2 main directions in their foreign policy.

1. To be strong for politics, economy, military and armament and to run effective policy on foreign nations,
2. To run more pragmatic activity through foreign policy oriented toward using international law for their security and to make positive political situations in any way.

As for Mongolia, it chooses the second way. For other word, economy, population and resource do not give us an opportunity to be strong as for military and armament and there is no way to maintain independence, freedom and security through diplomatic way<sup>42</sup>.

Mongolia that situates between Russian Federation that is listed in 1<sup>st</sup> by its territory size and the People's Republic of China that is powerful nation and leads in the world by its population is small nation according to all measurements defined for small nation. It is clear that Mongolia still exist between the two big powers. For other word, Mongolia that situates between two big nations as for external surroundings is in a region where a condition for stable and cooperation organizations like Association Of Southeast Asian Nation and European Union has not been yet created.

The condition that world big economic centers are comparatively far and regional organizations for stable and economic cooperation have not been yet established in the highly developed Japan, China and South Korea is influencing on the external environment of Mongolia. A nation's foreign policy and security is

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<sup>42</sup> Bor.J (1996): "Mongoliin Tusgaar Tognoliin Gerel Shuuder" /Mon., Light and Shadow of Mongolian Independence/ Ulaanbaatar. p 78

determined by the condition of location, said Napoleon Bonaparte. It is related more to nations like Mongolia that has small geographical feature<sup>43</sup>.

As of today, if making political objective and direction as criteria, there are two flows in national security policy. It includes:

- The first one is to give more significance to the two neighbors and
- The second one is a policy that is for paying attention to the third one.

It is called as “policy to lean on neighbor”. “Third” partner policies are that keeps friendly relations with two neighbors and rely on another powerful one, which can influence on them. Observation of as many as directions depends on only geopolitics, political external environment and condition. Nowadays, the observers, who observe the third partner concept, are reaching a joint conclusion that the “third partner is not only certain nations but also international commonwealth societies”.

To exist with the two neighbors peacefully and to protect national security and sovereignty depend on us. In the era of globalization, it cannot meet new environment and condition if Mongolia continues its traditional relations only with the two nations. Thus, it is the main method to establish international interests in its nation by not only continuing its traditional relations but also expanding and developing its relations with other nations, participating in international relations in definite position.

One of the main issues on maintaining national security of Mongolia is to study factors to influence on it. In fact, on the basis of detailed calculation of what internal /state, regional, province-capital city, soum /external /world, regional, sub-regional/ objective, subjective, real and possible<sup>44</sup> factors, which influence on the national security of Mongolia are, it is to maintain<sup>45</sup> security thanks to developing international cooperation through social, political organization, economic, diplomatic, military, intelligence and legal ways.

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<sup>43</sup> Dashtseveg.B (2002): "Mongol Ulsiin Undesnii Ayulgui Baidal Ba Guravdagch Horsh Ornuud" /Mon., Mongolian national security and Third partner counters/ Ulaanbaatar. p 13

<sup>44</sup> Concept of National Security.(1994): Ulaanbaatar 2<sup>nd</sup> chapter, 7<sup>th</sup> article

<sup>45</sup> Also there, 3<sup>rd</sup> chapter, 10<sup>th</sup> article

National security is classified as internal and external in general and as for outer form, it is classified as security of existence, social and state organizations' security, civil rights and freedom security, economic security, security of science and technology, information security, Mongolian civilization security and security of population and genetic fund and ecological security<sup>46</sup>.

-Security of existence of Mongolia is the maintenance of Mongolian independence, sovereignty and territorial integrity and state border inviolability<sup>47</sup>. From the external factors that may influence on maintaining security of existence of Mongolia, cases are a lot on changing state border, illegally crossing border and committing border breach.

These are breaches come from the citizens of both two neighbor powers. One of the main issues to be solved between Russia, China and Mongolia is to combat against illegal border crossing and border breaches. As compared the last year with the same period of last half year, between Mongolia and China side's breaches 38,3 percent (18 times 66 person), between Mongolia and Russia side's breach 61,7 percent (29 times, 52 person).<sup>48</sup>

-Social and state organizations security is guarantee of state, social and economic system, main principles of state activity and its human rights and freedom, confirmed by the constitution of Mongolia<sup>49</sup>. From the internal factors that may negatively influence on the maintenance of social and state organizations security, corruption has spread everywhere and crimes are more organized.

In all stages of state, corruption has spread. A lot of activities against corruption are being carried out. The nature of that crimes are well organized is seen

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<sup>46</sup> Also there, 1<sup>st</sup> chapter, 1-9<sup>th</sup> articles

<sup>47</sup> Also there, 2<sup>nd</sup> article

<sup>48</sup> Mongolian border protection organization (2009):

<[http://bpo.gov.mn/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=1012&Itemid=2](http://bpo.gov.mn/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=1012&Itemid=2)>

<sup>49</sup> Concept of National Security,(1994): Ulaanbaatar 3<sup>rd</sup> article

from the latest crimes. As compared the last year with the same period of this year, total crime increased by 3.2 increased percent and 2 crimes decreased as for kinds.<sup>50</sup>

-Civil rights and freedom security is creation of condition to fully dedicate physical and intellectual power and capacity for individuals, native country and people and implementing Mongolian roles on issues of human rights in accordance with international agreement<sup>51</sup>. Even though it cannot say that human rights and freedom are not completely broken, it considers that Mongolia is more comparatively provided with real guarantees of civil rights, freedom, politics, economy, society and others than other small nations.

Of which it is required to pay more attention on the social and economic guarantees in the future. In general, there are a lot of examples that state directly deal with civil rights and freedom security. It becomes a conclusion that the state is the main subject that breaks civil rights and freedom.

Economic security is furnishing of economic structure that can have economic capacity to carry out replenishment by using domestic resources and to strengthen independence for providing people's needs and can support the nation for definite time if required<sup>52</sup>. The most dangerous thing for the national security of Mongolia is to lose economic security. There is no domestic guarantee as for the economy of Mongolia. Mongolia has faced to difficulties when transferring from one system to another system. Because of not providing its economy in domestic, the poverty and national economic fall have spread. Instead of goods and products of Russia, which were occupying a big space in economy of Mongolia, cheap, un-quality products with negative effect to health are being imported from the People's Republic of China.

Today, the economy of Mongolia might be dependent on the southern neighbor and a creation of negative condition in national security is becoming an issue that attracted attention of people.

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<sup>50</sup> Mongolian police (2009):< [www.mgpolice.com](http://www.mgpolice.com). option=com\_content&task=3>

<sup>51</sup> Concept of National Security (1994): Ulaanbaatar. 4<sup>th</sup> article

<sup>52</sup> Also there, 5<sup>th</sup> article



Regarding the maintenance of economic security: As said above, one of the examples of the attention is that the conference titled “Economic development and security” jointly organized by the Parliament and National Security Council in June 2002. Generally, one thing that Mongolians are worried is a possible event might cause in the economic security. At the conference, Mongolian leading scholars, scientists and politicians made their reports and the most efficient one was the “sociological survey among the public regarding economic development and security”.

At the conference, Chairman of Parliament Standing Committee on Budget Bayartsaikhan.N made a report “Urgent issues of economic security of Mongolia”, Chairman of Parliament Standing Committee on Ochirkhuu.T, Minister of Finance and Economy Ulaan.Ch, a member of Parliament Togtokh.T, President of Mongol Bank Purevdorj.L, Director of Institute of Philosophy, Sociology and Law of Mongolian Academy of Sciences and others attended it to discuss reports on sociological survey among the public regarding economic urgent issues and to pass some recommendations. As seeing above, it shows that current economic security of Mongolia became serious until a special policy should be drawn up and implemented in the level of state and government.

- Security of science and technology is a condition that can use technology, information and surveys in its ecological peculiar conditions, increase national capacity of sciences and maintain abilities of intellectual industry competency<sup>53</sup>. Mongolian scientific and technological achievement was inseparably linked with Russia. Technologies, which were used that time, were old. Mongolia needs to have a united policy on science and technology. Previously, 20 percent of GDP was used on it whereas only 3 percent is spent today.

- Information security is provision of condition to evaluate right state’s internal and foreign real situation, to provide state organizations and people with required information to implement their rights offered by the constitution for making appropriate

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<sup>53</sup> Concept of National Security,(1994): Ulaanbaatar. 6<sup>th</sup> article

decisions and to spread foreign information on Mongolia<sup>54</sup>. Because of spread of unreal information abroad, other nations still have hesitation on the independence and territorial integrity of Mongolia. For example, on the world map, made in Taiwan, Mongolian border line was not set and it was like one part of Chinese territory. Besides, other nations' many people do not know about Mongolia. Thus, it is unsatisfactory to publicize Mongolia abroad. Under the pretext of media, different kinds of information and news are broadcasted without any organization and control to spread rumor among people. Therefore, a doctrine on publicizing Mongolia abroad is being designed<sup>55</sup>.

- Civilization security of Mongolia is that language, history, culture and customs, existence and development fundamentals of Mongolian people, Mongolian state are to be kept and a condition is provided that Mongolian people are to live forever<sup>56</sup>. The peculiarity of space and historical time of Mongolian civilization requires to maintain security of national civilization and to furnish international smart guarantee in the globalization era. One of disadvantages of Mongolians is that they take an issue to extreme. This situation may negatively influence on the issue on its safe existence itself. Thus, tendencies have been shown in recent years to exaggerate other nations' civilization more and deny its civilization or to exaggerate its civilization and deny others'.

Existence of every nation shows that they are set in their levels. Whatever they are nomadic or settled, they have their own unique civilization. The word of civilization is originated from the word of agriculture and it is meaningless that settled people engage in agriculture have civilization. Civilization is broad understanding that contains national language, script, history, culture, customs, the certain people's ethics and education<sup>57</sup>.

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<sup>54</sup> Also there, 7<sup>th</sup> article

<sup>55</sup> Lundejantsan.D (2002): "Ayulgui Baidal, Hogjil, Tor Erh Zui" /Mon., Security, Development, State Law/ Ulaanbaatar. p 87

<sup>56</sup> Concept of National Security, (1994): Ulaanbaatar. 8<sup>th</sup> article

<sup>57</sup> Enkhtuvshin.O (2000): "Globalichilaliin Orchin Dahi Hunii Ayulgui Baidal" /Mon., Human Security in the Globalization Era/ Ulaanbaatar. p 226

- Population and genetic fund security is that Mongolian people's health, genetic fund and stable development are kept<sup>58</sup>. There are many highly infectious human and animal diseases, in particularly plague and foot and mouth disease in Mongolia. In recent time, AIDS has come in Mongolia and it has become one of the serious issues to be solved urgently as for Mongolia that has only two million people. Besides, inbreeding is high in Mongolia, in particularly in Desert provinces. Alcoholism is spreading everywhere and it is upsetting. Amount of alcoholic beverage per person of Mongolia is 5-8 liters higher than other nations.

- Ecological security is that a condition was provided to prevent from negative effects, which may cause in human life environment and economy from the loss of ratio of policies on properly using and protecting natural, climate changes and natural resources<sup>59</sup>. As for Mongolia that has kept its untouched land thanks to nomadic civilization, industry, which has more faced to natural resource in recent years, is opening a door for ecological balance loss, air pollution and desertification. Specially, air pollution is extremely high in Ulaanbaatar city and it caused from old cars. In addition, smoke from ger (Mongolian traditional house) areas is playing its role in it. According to an expert of Ministry of Nature and Environment, air pollution of Ulaanbaatar has increased five times. It is required to take a measure urgently to stop them. As seeing the above, many issues have been accumulated to maintain the national security of Mongolia.

Ways of maintaining national security: Tens of scholars and scientists have expressed their opinions about the issue. Therefore, what role Mongolians shall play in maintaining the national security of Mongolia. It needs to mention ideas of some scholars.

An academician Tudev.L considers, "Population health, untouched land and intellectual power and strength is the key guarantee of national security"<sup>60</sup> whereas a

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<sup>58</sup> Concept of National Security, (1994): Ulaanbaatar. 9<sup>th</sup> article

<sup>59</sup> Undesnii ayulgui baidliin zarchim" /Mon., Principles of National Security/. Ulaanbaatar. 10<sup>th</sup> article

<sup>60</sup>.Tudev.L (2002): "Dayarshil ba eh oronch uzliin Diataktic", "Mon., National Diane tic of Globalization and Patriotism". /Strategy studies/ journal Ulaanbaatar. No.1. p 12

doctor Tumurchuluun.G says, “Mongolians, especially future generation shall be educated”<sup>61</sup>. A master Ariunsanaa.T tells, “The key way of maintaining national security of Mongolia in the fast developing world is not to be left behind the universal development.”<sup>62</sup>

An academician Tudev.L made the following conclusions on the basis of submitting the above idea. It includes: to re-refine principle of national security of Mongolia, to guarantee it by constitution, education, health safe, ecological, civil and criminal laws, to start nation’s independence from “family independence” security, to support national industry, to organize a meeting of government heads of nations included in Rio de Janeiro in order to keep Mongolian untouched nature, to publicize “Our Mongolia” journal, to change the words of national anthem, to play it in definite places and during definite measures, to add a chapter of “Mother country” in all kinds of textbooks, to draw up laws on land seriously, to design a national program “Mother country in globalizing era” and to compile a “Book of national proudest”<sup>63</sup>.

To study from other nations’ experiences on maintaining their national security as an example is the most important to maintain its own nation’s security. Thus, I think it would be right to study from the experience of the United State of America and to implement it in life. The United State of America enacted an act of “Document of Education for National Security” in December 1991. The act established a foundation of “Education Program on National Security”, “Education Committee for National Security” and “Trust Fund for Education of National Security” in order to develop national resource for training United State of American citizens in the following things. It includes:

- make them understand foreign culture
- increase United State of American economic capacity
- maintain and strengthen international security and collaboration

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<sup>61</sup> Tumurchuluun.G (2002): "21-r zuunii jijig ulsiin ayulgui baidal", "Mon., Report on 21<sup>st</sup> century small nations security". /Strategy studies/ journal Ulaanbaatar. p 4

<sup>62</sup> Ariunsanaa.T (2002): "Shine Orog, Shine Toglolt Setgelgeeg shaardaj baina" "Mon., New step requires new play and thought". /Strategy studies/ journal Ulaanbaatar. p 105

<sup>63</sup> Tudev.L (2002): "Dayarshil ba eh oronch uzliin Diataktic", "Mon., National Diane tic of Globalization and Patriotism". /Strategy studies/ journal Ulaanbaatar. No.1. p 13

The Education Program of National Security is tied up by the following things.

- To educate United State of American citizens understand nations' culture and language that influence on main issues of national security
- To install promising ideas with knowledge and abilities of international relations that can cooperate with other nations' experts
- To prepare experts, who can solve issues related to national security
- To improve capacity of schools which can train United State of American citizens to meet these goals and to increase their numbers

If making an analysis on them, it is clear that the United State of America makes great efforts to provide its citizens with education on national security. A feature of the United State of America is that there are immigrants from everywhere. So, it could form thought among its citizens to be proud of the citizens of great power in order to maintain the social security for uniting them. It is the main success.

As for Mongolia, it is to run activities directed toward forming thought to be proud of nationality, origin and ancestors. It is right to form thought of "loving and being proud of mother country" for future generations from their childhood not to spend a great amount of money.

When an issue is important that citizens should educate themselves, NGOs are required to carry out activities with joint correlation on the issues of increasing people's patriotism. **As considering the all, a conclusion "a basis of development of Mongolia is a person, who has perfect intellectual and physical development, patriotism, high culture of ethics, hardworking and follows laws"** comes according to the legislations and doctrines of Mongolia<sup>64</sup>. Indeed, it is determining the participation of citizens in maintaining national security of Mongolia. Thus, first of all, Mongolians are becoming individuals, who are proud of their nationality and origin and have patriotism.

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<sup>64</sup> Population policy of Mongolian state. (1996)  
<[http://www.unescap.org/esid/psis/population/database/poplaws/law\\_mongolia/mongoliaindex.htm](http://www.unescap.org/esid/psis/population/database/poplaws/law_mongolia/mongoliaindex.htm)>  
Ulaanbaatar. 1<sup>st</sup> article 1

## 2.4 Conclusion remark

Mongolia has made a transition from a totalitarian regime to democratic society, from centralized economy to free market economy system since 1989. The collapse of the world socialist system and the Soviet Union was the main condition of accelerating this transition.

The democratic changes took place in Mongolia have changed external and internal environment completely. Mongolia has carried out the following activities towards securing guarantee of its national security: Besides securing its national security within the traditional interests of the two neighbors, Mongolia has managed to establish diplomatic relations with 146 countries and trade relations with 114 countries today, which is a great success compared with the fact that it had diplomatic relations with 106 countries during socialist system period about 20 years ago<sup>65</sup>.

Within the policy of seeking for the third partner Mongolia has developed comprehensive cooperation with Union Nation by joining in it's over 120 treaties, proposing and getting approved about 19 Union Nation resolutions, furthermore, it became a member 49 regional organizations as well<sup>66</sup>. Mongolia has participated in world peace keeping activities of Union Nation and United State of America. Mongolia has improved its relationship with two neighboring countries newly establishing 106 inter-governmental bilateral agreements with Russia and 126 bilateral agreements with China respectively within the equal relationship policy.

If the domestic economic growth was 1.1 per cent in 2000 it increased up to 9.9 in 2007 and if the national income per capita was 438.0 US Dollars in 2000 it increased to 1,551 US Dollars in 2007<sup>67</sup>. This kind of economic growth allows improvement of national security as well.

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<sup>65</sup> Foreign Investment and Foreign trade agency <<http://www.investmongolia.com/>>

<sup>66</sup> Mongolian Diplomatic Relations <<http://ucblibraries.colorado.edu/govpubs/for/mongolia.htm>>

<sup>67</sup> Mongolian economic statistic <<http://www.nationmaster.com/country/mg-mongolia/eco-economy>>

Even though many activities have been carried out for preserving national security still many factors that have been influencing negatively, For example, corruption of government officials is wide spread and even though the total number of crimes decreased the crimes related with national security issues and serious crimes increased, demographic policy of the state was poor, ecological pollution increased etc. These factors influencing national security are still existent.

## **Chapter 3. Legislation and Documents on National Security and Foreign Policy and Principles**

In connection with the end of the period until which Mongolia's foreign policy had been in pledge by the strategic policies of its two neighboring powers in Central Asia, it became necessary to revise national security and foreign policy issues in view of trends in both regional and international relations. In this chapter, we made an effort to study legislation on national security, find out how this legislation reflects principles pertaining to foreign policy, and clarify their interrelations.

### **3.1. Contents of Legislation and Documents on National Security**

The security of a country depends on external and internal factors. It is an obligation of the State to create the basis of the existence of the country through the protection of its security. Therefore, national security issues are reflected and affirmed in the constitution with the highest legal force and other legislation enacted in conformity therewith.

In general, the concept of national security involves almost all laws. When grouped in terms of interdependence, these laws make up 47 percent of the laws listed in chronological order by Tuul.A, an expert of the State Great Hural of Mongolia, as of January 24, 2002. That is to say, there were 266 laws, excluding those amended, of which 126 are directly pertinent to the national security.

In addition, it is imperative to find out how many laws and regulations should be reformed according to the State Great Hural Resolution on the Improvement of Mongolian Legislation until 2004.

Therefore, we suggest classifying the domestic laws and documents relating to the national security of Mongolia into the following types and analyzing them:

- The Constitution
- Concepts
- Laws



Judging from this, one can see how many laws relating to the national security of Mongolia exist. I think, therefore, it would be better to consider the key concepts and laws in details and mention other pertinent laws, since it is impossible to study all the laws relating to the national security.

### **3.1.1 The Constitution**

It was required to change the basic laws governing the social relations in connection with the end of the global process of the Post-Cold War era and with the deep and sharp reforms in the external and internal environments of Mongolia, leading to the necessity to lay down a new constitution for Mongolia.

On the other hand, not only does the newly passed Constitution reflect and represent political, economic, and spiritual lives in Mongolian society in the early 1990s, but it also reflects and represents the future needs of Mongolian society.<sup>68</sup>

Many scholars agree that the newly passed Constitution played an important role in bringing up to a new stage the social structure and legal relationship during the period from the beginning of political and economic reforms to the transition to a democracy in Mongolia.

The key criteria for an independent, sovereign state are as follow:

-to have sovereignty; to have inviolable territorial integrity and frontiers; to have nationality and political, social, and legal guarantees ensuring the rights of its citizens; to have a national language, statehood, history, and culture; to have a State emblem, banner, flag, seal, and anthem symbolizing its independence and sovereignty; and to legalize its safe existence. The abovementioned criteria are reflected in the newly passed Constitution of Mongolia.<sup>69</sup>

The nature and social and development directions of the new Constitution are defined in whole by the preamble of the Constitution. In the first place, it is

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<sup>68</sup> Drawbacks (2003): /Defects and Problems of the State Structure of Mongolia and Its Institutes/ New York. p 9

<sup>69</sup> Lundejantsan.D (2000): "Undsen Huuliin Erh Zui" /Mon., Constitutional Law/ Ulaanbaatar. p 125

proclaimed in the Constitution that the people of Mongolia aspire toward the supreme objective of restoring and strengthening their traditional civil society and building a humane and civilized country with a legitimate government through the democratization of the State and society.

On the other hand, the Constitution acknowledged political pluralism and multi-party system and redefined the sovereignty of the State, the principles of its domestic and foreign policy, and social directions. It is defined in the Constitution that the fundamental principles of the activities of the new State is the ensuring of democracy, justice, freedom, equality, and national unity and the respecting of law. It indicates that the new Constitution is entirely different from its previous version. The principle of respect for law emerges from the objective to form a legitimate government in the country.

It is legalized in the Constitution that the ruling party or coalition should acknowledge political pluralism and the activities of opposition forces in the parliament and those parties without seats in the parliament, considering them as the main tools for democratic oversight and regulation of social administration.<sup>70</sup> It should be added that independence issues are reflected not only in Chapter One but also in Chapter Two and Chapter Three in terms of guarantee and its mechanisms, while considering human rights and the form of government.

For instance, when it was discussed what form of government to choose (parliamentary or presidential?), it was taken into consideration which of these forms would be better at the critical moment for independence. This is one of the reasons to become a country with parliamentary government. My understanding is that it may be connected with a notion<sup>71</sup> that a representative or majority government would be more reliable and stronger than a one-man government when external threats occur.

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<sup>70</sup> Also there, p 31

<sup>71</sup> The Concept of the Constitution. (1992): Ulaanbaatar. p 26

The Concept of National Security of Mongolia provides: “The national security of Mongolia represents the status when favorable external and internal conditions are secured to ensure vital national interests of Mongolia.”<sup>72</sup> It is stipulated in the Constitution of Mongolia that the vital national interests of Mongolia consist in the existence of the Mongolian people and their civilization, the country’s independence, sovereignty territorial integrity, inviolability of State frontiers, relative economic independence, sustainable ecological development, and national unity.

In particular, Chapter One “Sovereignty of the State” defines the security issues more clearly. This chapter deals with the supreme objective of Mongolia, state structure, form of ownership, property of the State, resources subject to state protection, land ownership, the relationship between the State and the Church, interrelations between the Constitution of Mongolia and international treaties, Mongolia’s foreign policy, the national security of Mongolia, the symbols of the State, etc.

All these issues are the concepts concerning the national security of Mongolia. Article 2 begins with a sentence: “By its state structure Mongolia is a unitary State.” The previous constitution had not this sentence. It implies that the country should not be divided into separate independent parts, but local units must unite under the State Supreme body to form a single country.<sup>73</sup> The provision that the duty of the State is to secure the country's independence and ensure national security and public order defines the duties and responsibilities of the State, whereas the provision specifying the duties of citizens to respect and abide by the Constitution and other laws defines the relationship between the State and its citizens and the provision that citizens must fulfill the duties to defend motherland and serve in the army according to law<sup>74</sup> determines the ways for citizens to take part in ensuring national security.

The issues of frontiers of Mongolia and their inviolability found clear expression in the main law of the State for the first time. It is formulated that delimitation of

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<sup>72</sup> The Concept of National Security of Mongolia. (1994) Ulaanbaatar. General Provisions. p 25

<sup>73</sup> The Concept of the Constitution. (1992): Ulaanbaatar. p 25

<sup>74</sup> Also there, (1992) Chapter Two, Article 17, Paragraph 1

frontiers, stationing of foreign troops in the territory of Mongolia, or allowing them to cross the state borders for the purpose of passing through the country's territory must be decided only by the highest legislative authority under appropriate laws. It has a deep meaning to ensure national security.<sup>75</sup> In a few words, each provision of the Constitution of Mongolia clarifies relationship with national security. It will take a long time to clarify each relevant provision of the Constitution, and therefore, we have considered the key questions of principle.

### **3.1.2 The Concept of National Security of Mongolia**

The fundamental document of national security of Mongolia is the Concept of national Security of Mongolia. Therefore, we have spent a considerable amount of time studying this document during our research work.

The grounds for the development of this concept are as follow:

-The policy and functions to ensure the security of the country underwent changes in connection with changes in international relations.

-With the collapse of the political and economic community and the integrated defense of socialist countries due to the rapid changes in the global relationship in the 1990s, it became necessary to take an entirely new approach to the multilateral issues of national security and ensure it using its own forces by carrying out an independent policy.

-Due to the abovementioned emerging situation, it also became necessary to redefine the concept of national security in connection with the outdated social concept of threat, which was explained by the State in restricted senses, such as "foreign aggression," "ideological hostility," or "counter-revolutionaries."<sup>76</sup>

The Concept of National Security of Mongolia is a considerably detailed, accurate document composed of 11 sections and 56 articles. This document gives formal

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<sup>75</sup> Also there. (1992) p 25

<sup>76</sup> Naidancuren, Sodnomgombo (2000): "Mongol Ulsiin Undesnii Ayulgui Baidal Tuuniig Hangah Arga Zam" /Mon., Mongolian national security its proved ways/ Ulaanbaatar. p 42

definitions and formulations for the first time to the important concepts of national security, vital national interests, structure of national security, and external and internal factors affecting national security and specifies the ways and guarantees to ensure national security. All these are the innovative aspects and advantages of this document.

The Concept of National Security determines: “The national security, of Mongolia represents the status when favorable external and internal conditions are secured to ensure vital national interests of Mongolia.”<sup>77</sup> Judging from this, one can see that the national security of Mongolia is a criterion clarifying how reliable are the favorable conditions for ensuring the national security but not a criterion clarifying the ensured security within the current frontiers in terms of space. That is to say, it implies step-by-step policy and activities producing particular results through a constant comprehensive search but not a parochial concept or a task to be performed immediately.

On the other hand, the Concept of National Security of Mongolia is an important document because it is adequately based upon the modern universal concepts of security and ensuring thereof and latest achievements in international relations as well as takes into consideration the traditional statehood of Mongolia and geopolitical characteristics of the country. For instance,

In addition to military-political security and diplomacy, the authors of this document tried to consider the national security issues comprehensively from their economic, environmental, scientific, technological, information, and educational aspects. One of these indications is the concept of vital national interests of Mongolia. For a country, the most vital issue is its national interests. Western countries pay much attention to this issue. One of the representatives is Lord P Lord, a prominent British scholar and political scientist, who said: “We have no eternal allies, and we have no perpetual enemies. Our interests are eternal and perpetual.”<sup>78</sup> By deepening this formulation, Hans Morgenthau, dubbed as the father of U.S.

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<sup>77</sup> The Concept of National Security of Mongolia. (1994): Ulaanbaatar. p 5

<sup>78</sup> The Zuunii Medee Newspaper. Issue (1999): Ulaanbaatar. No. 174, September 8

political realism, said: “American foreign policy has one true god. It is the American national interest.”<sup>79</sup>

Furthermore, it is observed that the authors of the document put forth efforts to consider the historical experience of the country since the victory of the 1921 revolution, relations with the former Union of Soviet Socialist Republics and the People's Republic of China, and negative lessons from the history of relations among the Soviet Union, China, and Mongolia.

Both Russian and Mongolian scholars agreed: “Clearly visible is a tendency to make entire changes to the Russian-Mongolian relations based upon the principles of equality, independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, inviolability of the current frontiers, non-interference, and mutual benefit formed between the U.S.S.R. and Mongolia for more than 70 years.”<sup>80</sup>

The Concept of National Security of Mongolia clearly defines the national security and its structure and counts the ways to ensure the national security. However, many people are unaware of the content of the national security because of insufficient activities to promote this concept to the public. The Mongolian people must learn about the national security at the same level as they know ABC. The concept of national security of our country is well developed, and it is now important to promote and implement its provisions and rules in practice. Additionally, it is required to prevent the abovementioned threats and take particular measures. Comparison of similar things often helps us to notice their advantages and disadvantages. Therefore, we have tried to compare the Concept of National Security of Mongolia with its Russian counterpart.

Comparison of the Concept of National Security of the Russian Federation with its Mongolian Counterpart: The new Concept of National Security of the Russian Federation was published in a state journal on January 14, 2000. This concept was

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<sup>79</sup> The Zuunii Medee Newspaper. Issue (1999): Ulaanbaatar. No. 174, September 8

<sup>80</sup> Bold,R (1999): "Undesnii Ayulgui Baidal" /Mon., Security of Mongolia/ Ulaanbaatar. pp 143-145.

signed by Russian President Vladimir Putin on January 10, 2000<sup>81</sup>. The concept of national security was drafted by the National Security Council of the Russian Federation on October 5, 1999. This concept reformed the Concept of National Security signed by Boris Yeltsin on October 17, 1997.

The national security concept of the Russian Federation constitutes a system of views on ensuring the security of the individual, society and the state from external and internal threats in all spheres of life in the Russian Federation. The national security of the Russian Federation is interpreted as the security of its multinational people as the bearer of sovereignty and the only source of power in the Russian Federation. This national security concept is composed of the following sections which are defined clearly and comprehensibly:

- Russia in the World Community
- The National Interests of Russia
- Threats to the National Security of Russia
- The Assurance of the National Security of the Russian Federation.

#### Russian in the World Community:

The situation in the world is noted for a dynamic transformation of the system of international relations. Two mutually excluding trends dominate them now that the age of bipolar confrontation is over, and states begin to establish and maintain cooperation in new fields<sup>82</sup>.

Russia is one of the world's largest countries, with a long history and rich cultural traditions. Despite the complicated international situation and internal problems, it continues to objectively play an important role in world processes.

#### The National Interests of Russia:

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<sup>81</sup> National Security Concept of the Russian Federation  
<[http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2000\\_01-02/docjf00](http://www.armscontrol.org/act/2000_01-02/docjf00)>

<sup>82</sup> National Security Concept of the Russian Federation  
<<http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/gazeta012400.htm>> part 1

The national interests of Russia is a combination of balanced interests of the individual, society and the state in the economic, domestic political, social, international, information, military, border, ecological and other spheres. They are long-term and determine the basic goals, strategic and current tasks of the domestic and foreign policy of the country. National interests are ensured by the institutes of state power, which operate, in particular, jointly with the public organizations working on the basis of the Constitution and legislation of the Russian Federation<sup>83</sup>.

#### Threats to the National Security of Russia:

It is written that the current situation in the Russian economy, the inadequate organization of state power and the civic society, the socio-political polarization of Russian society and the spread to crime to social relations, the growth of organized crime and terrorism, the aggravation of national and deterioration of international relations create a wide range of internal and external threats to the national security of the country<sup>84</sup>.

Further, this section covers the threats in the economic, political, and spiritual spheres, the threats of spreading crime to social relations, the threats of organized crime and terrorism, the crisis of the health and social protection systems, the threats of alcohol consumption and drug addiction, the treats in the international sphere, the threats in the information sphere, the military threats, the treats in the border sphere, and the threats in the ecological sphere. There are a total of 13 methods and goals to ensure the national security of the Russian Federation.

#### Comparison of the Concepts:

As for Mongolia, the highest priority task of the State policy is to ensure to the national security and protect the interests of the Russian Federation in the economic sphere.

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<sup>83</sup> National Security Concept of the Russian Federation  
<<http://www.fas.org/nuke/guide/russia/doctrine/gazeta012400.htm>> part 2

<sup>84</sup> <sup>84</sup> Also there, part 3



The national security concept of the Russian Federation is more concrete than that of Mongolia and is consistent with the modern period. That is to say, it is of practical importance by determining what threats to the national security of the Russian Federation exist at this very moment and how to avoid these threats. On the contrary, the concept of national security of Mongolia is a sort of proclamation covering a wide range of issues. Probably, in order to implement it in practice, it may be imperative to approve and enforce long- and short-term plans relating to the national security.

Generally, the national security concept of the Russian Federation gives priority to the interests of individuals, society, and the state and identifies the threats to these interests.

When comparing the threats to the national security of the Russian Federation with those to the national security of Mongolia, we have found out that these threats are basically universal. In particular, probably the strongest threats to the national security of the two countries are those in the economic sphere.

### **3.1.3 Laws**

There exist other laws of Mongolia enacted in conformity with the Constitution of Mongolia governing all issues comprising the national security of Mongolia. Enclosed is the list of the abovementioned 126 laws. In addition, the State Great Hural Resolution No. 44 on the Improvement of Mongolian Legislation until 2004 was adopted on May 18, 2001<sup>85</sup>. Among them, let us consider those laws applying to the national security.

1. The Law of Mongolia on Radiation Protection and Safety.
2. The Law of Mongolia on the Native Language.
3. The Law of Mongolia on Joining the United Nations Convention against Illicit Traffic in Narcotic Drugs and Psychotropic Substances.

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<sup>85</sup> National Statistical Office of Mongolia <[www.nso.mn/v2/index2.php?page=page&id=39](http://www.nso.mn/v2/index2.php?page=page&id=39)>

4. The Law of Mongolia on the Coordination of Foreign Loans and Grant Aids.
5. The Law of Mongolia on Regional Development.
6. The Law of Mongolia on the Legal Status of Free Economic and Trade Zones.
7. The Law of Mongolia on the Protection of Gene Pool and Health of Domestic Animals.
8. The Law of Mongolia on the State Reserve.
9. The Law of Mongolia on Water Supply and Water Treatment Systems.
10. The Law of Mongolia on Wastewater Discharge Fees.
11. The Law of Mongolia on Armed Forces.
12. The Law of Mongolia on the Mobilization of Financial Resources in Time of War.
13. The Law of Mongolia on the Preparation of Agricultural Products and Raw Materials.
14. The Law of Mongolia on the Service of Servicemen Abroad or for International Organizations and on the Legal Status of Ordinary Citizens Serving in the Armed Forces (2003).
15. The Law of Mongolia on Air Space.
16. The Law of Mongolia on the State Special Standing Committee.
17. The Law of Mongolia on the Registration of International Treaties to Which Mongolia is a Party and on Issuing Passports.
18. The Criminal Code of Mongolia.
19. The Law of Mongolia on Firearms.
20. The Anti-Corruption Law of Mongolia.
21. The Law of Mongolia on the National Security. It was planned to adopt all these laws.

The existing laws of Mongolia relating to the national security are as follow:

- The Law of Mongolia on the National Security Council (1992),
- the Law of Mongolia on the President (1993),
- the Law of Mongolia on the Guidance for Joint Boundary Inspection (1993), the Law of Mongolia on the Frontier (1993),
- the Law of Mongolia on Defense (1993),
- the Law of Mongolia on the State Symbols (1994),

- the Law of Mongolia on Environmental Protection (1996), the Law of Mongolia on State Secret (1995),
- the Law of Mongolia on Internal Troops (1995),
- the Law of Mongolia on the State of Emergency (1995),
- the Law of Mongolia on the State of War (1998),
- the Law on Stationing of Foreign Troops in the Territory of Mongolia and Allowing Them to Cross the State Border for the Purpose of Passing Through the Country's Territory (1998),
- the Law of Mongolia on the State of War (1998),
- the Law of Mongolia on Mobilization (1998),
- the Law of Mongolia on Sea Exploitation (1999),
- the Law of Mongolia on the Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status (2000),
- the Law of Mongolia on Diplomatic Service (2000),
- the Law of Mongolia on the Protection of Gene Pool and Health of Domestic Animals (2001),
- the Law of Mongolia on Radiation Protection and Safety (2001),
- the Law of Mongolia on the National Security (2001), and the Criminal Code of Mongolia (2002).

From them, we will consider the Law of Mongolia on the National Security (2001) and the Law of Mongolia on the Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status (2000).

#### **-The Law of Mongolia on the National Security (2001)**

The reasons for passing this law stem from the following conditions: Although the 1992 law on ensuring the national security defines the rights and obligations of state organs and citizens arising in connection with the ensuring of the security of the country, it covers mainly the issues of the then public security organizations, thereby governing the relations of a single organization rather than those pertaining to public security.

The most of the provisions of the 1992 law on ensuring the national security were cancelled in connection with the adoption of the Law of Mongolia on Intelligence Organizations by the State Great Hural (parliament) of Mongolia in 1999.

Although the existing laws of Mongolia have a number of provisions relating to the ensuring of national security, it is now necessary to integrate and coordinate the activities to implement the fundamental ideas and principles of the concept.

It became necessary to reform the law since it was complicated to coordinate the national security policy and activities and ensure their continuity and unity without clarification of the legal foundation for the coordination of activities carried out by the subjects involved in the ensuring of the national security. That is to say, the implementation process of the national security concept required the determination and legalization of the legal foundation for the coordination of activities carried out by state organs, non-governmental organizations, economic entities, or individuals involved in the ensuring of the national security.

Thus, the law on the national security was drafted by a working group established by the 1999 Decree No. 13 of the President of Mongolia. This draft law consisted of 5 chapters and 22 articles. The Law of Mongolia on the National Security was passed on December 27, 2001. This law has 5 chapters and 21 articles.

Chapter One, the General Provisions of the Law, formulates the purpose of the law, legislation on the national security, the notion of national security, the basic principles of activities ensuring the national security, and the concept of national security.

The draft law provided that:

- (1) Human security,
- (2) State security,
- (3) Economic security,
- (4) Ecological security,
- (5) Security of civilization, and
- (6) Security of information might constitute parts of the national security, whereas the adopted law has 9 parts contained in the Concept of National Security of Mongolia (1. Security of the existence of Mongolia, 2. Security of the social order

and state system, 3. Security of citizens' rights and freedoms, 4. Economic security, 5. Scientific and technological security, 6. Security of information, 7. Security of Mongolian civilization, 8. Security of the population and its gene pool, and 9. Ecological security<sup>86</sup>).

Judging from this, one can see that the insufficiency of the parts contained in the draft law. In general, the approved concept of national security should be followed. The draft law had the following contents:

Chapter Two, the National Security System, provides the structure of a system ensuring the national security and the body with special functions to ensure the national security.

Chapter Three, the Involvement of Economic Entities, Organizations, or Individuals in the Oversight of Development and Implementation of Policies on the Ensuring of National Security, provides the involvement of the bodies having powers of the State Great Hural, the President, and the Government of Mongolia and judicial power in the ensuring of the national security, the involvement of governors at all levels, the involvement of state organs and functionaries, the involvement of non-governmental organizations and economic entities, the involvement of citizens, and the oversight of the implementation of policies on the ensuring of the national security.

Chapter Four, the Coordination of Activities to Ensure the National Security, defines the coordination of activities to ensure the national security, the exchange of information on the ensuring of the national security, and the consultative working groups.

Chapter Five, the Miscellaneous Provisions of the Law, deals with the penalties to be imposed on those having violated international treaties and legislation on the national security and financing of expenses associated with the ensuring of the

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<sup>86</sup> The Law Mongolia on the National Security. (2001): Ulaanbaatar. Article 4. Paragraph 4

national security. In principle, there were no conflicts when the law on the national security was adopted. However, it was provided that the Secretary of the National Security Council had broader power, but this provision should not be supported. It should be revised such that the Secretary of the National Security Council shall give orders to the relevant bodies or functionaries with regard to the coordination of activities to ensure the national security and oversee the implementation of its orders.

Votes were taken on the revision of Article 18 of the draft law.

All these were approved with 73.3-91.1 percent of vote. Interestingly, this law was passed after the first discussion, receiving 84.8 percent of votes from 46 members. Generally, it was important that the Law on the National Security introduced a notion of coordination of activities to ensure the national security.

Prior to the adoption of this law, scholars, research workers, and lawyers had disagreements to a certain extent. It was a question of whether it is necessary to adopt such a special law or not. While some believed that there was no need for a special law, since all laws aim to strengthen the national security, others proposed to adopt a special law in order to improve the activities to ensure the national security and optimize coordination of such activities. As for me, I support the latter. In fact, small states, like our country, must have detailed laws on the ensuring of the national security. It is a key step to create a legal environment for ensuring the national security.

The purpose of the Law on the National Security is to regulate the relations arising in connection with the coordination of the fundamental principles of activities to ensure the national security of Mongolia and the policies and activities ensuring the national security.

Let us consider the contents of the Law on National Security:

The law has 5 chapters and 21 articles. The main purpose of the law is “to regulate the relations arising in connection with the coordination of the fundamental

principles of activities to ensure the national security of Mongolia and the policies and activities ensuring the national security.”<sup>87</sup>

This law defines the national security as the status when favorable external and internal conditions are secured to ensure vital national interests of Mongolia.<sup>88</sup> The ensuring of national security implies State policy aimed at creating all-round guarantees of protecting and strengthening of Mongolia’s vital national interests, actions taken by organizations, economic entities, functionaries, and citizens to that effect.<sup>89</sup> Functionaries implementing State policy ensuring the national security must work by adhering to the principles of cherishing of the vital national interests of the country, protection of human rights and freedom, respect for laws, integration and coordination, promptness and continuity, basis upon accurate information, mutual responsibilities between state organs and citizens, cherishing of national unity, and openness. In doing so, the national security will be ensured.<sup>90</sup>

The above law provides that the duties to ensure the national security are incumbent upon the State Great Hural, the President, and the Government of Mongolia. The State Great Hural defines State policy ensuring the national security and approves the concept of national security of Mongolia. The President of Mongolia, as the Head of the National Security Council, provides general guidance for ensuring the national security within his power as given by the Constitution and other laws, whereas the Government of Mongolia takes necessary actions to ensure the national security.

It is stipulated in the above law that Mongolia shall not enter into any international treaties which are contrary to the independence, sovereignty, territorial integrity, or vital national interests of Mongolia. In my opinion, one of the most important achievements of this law is the determination of participation of organizations and citizens in ensuring the national security in details.

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<sup>87</sup> The Law of Mongolia on the National Security (2001): Article 1. General Provisions

<sup>88</sup> Also there. Article 3. Paragraph 1

<sup>89</sup> Also there 3. Paragraph 3

<sup>90</sup> Also there. Article 4.

Participation of Organizations and Citizens in Ensuring National Security as provided for in the Law on the National Security: The innovative aspect of the Law on the National Security adopted in 2001 is the creation of a certain legal environment defining the roles of participation of organizations and citizens in ensuring the national security. In the chapter, entitled “Participation of Organizations and Citizens in Ensuring the National Security in the Concept of National Security of Mongolia,” it is mentioned that as for the ideas of improving interrelations among citizens, state organs, and non-governmental organizations and increasing their involvement in the ensuring of the national security of Mongolia, a direction given by the President of Mongolia, who said: “It is necessary to make clear the legal foundation for the coordination of activities carried out by the subjects involved in ensuring the national security,” serves as the key grounds for passing the new Law on the National Security. Therefore, I understand that this law has the abovementioned direction.

The activities to ensure the national security refer to the actions taken by organizations, economic entities, or citizens to implement the State policy aimed at creating all-round guarantees of protecting and strengthening of Mongolia’s vital national interests (The Law of Mongolia on the National Security, 3.3). That is to say, the following subjects are involved in the ensuring of the national security:

- Organizations (state organs and non-governmental organizations),
- Economic entities,
- Functionaries, and
- Citizens.

Furthermore, the law introduces the subjects obligated to ensure the national security in connection with the activities to ensure the national security:

- Legislative bodies,
- Executive bodies,
- Judicial bodies, and
- Local self-governing bodies.



The Law on the National Security provides the power and involvement of state organs as well as defines the rights and obligations of citizens, non-governmental organizations, and economic entities of Mongolia to ensure the national security.

Chapter Three of the Law on the National Security reflects the involvement of economic entities, organizations, and citizens in shaping, implementing, and overseeing the policies aimed at ensuring the national security.

In general, the law introduced interrelated and clear coordination of state organs as well as non-governmental organizations, economic entities, and citizens.

A system of ensuring the national security plays an important role in it. Let us consider it in a table

No.	Organizations	Power and Participation in Ensuring the National Security
1.	State Great Hural	The State Great Hural defines State policy on the national security and approves the concept of national security.
2.	President	The President provides general guidance for the activities to ensure the national security and familiarizes himself with the activities of the relevant organizations and provides them with guidance.
3.	Government	The Government takes necessary actions to ensure the national security.
4.	Judicial Bodies	Judicial bodies prevent the occurrence of suspected conditions threatening the national security, give information on such conditions to the agencies with functions to ensure the national security, and submit proposals for preventive actions.
5.	Local	Local self-governing bodies shape, implement,

	Self-Governing Bodies	and oversee the implementation of policies aimed at ensuring the security at local levels.
6.	Governors of All Levels	Governors of all levels prevent and inhibit any actions threatening the national security, identify and eliminate their causes and conditions, provide relevant guidance to the local agencies obligated to ensure the national security, and submit proposals to the related authorities.
7.	State Organs and Functionaries	State organs and functionaries are obligated to follow regulations for ensuring the national security, strictly maintain the confidentiality of state, corporate, and personal secrets, and furnish the relevant higher authorities with information and documents under their legal obligations. Furthermore, they must submit proposals to the Council, make decisions, and express their positions based upon the Concept of National Security and the Law on the National Security.

This law provides: “Non-governmental organizations and economic entities are obligated to give support for ensuring the national security and respect the vital national interests. Non-governmental organizations and economic entities are entitled to submit their proposals for approval to state organs or functionaries ensuring the national security.”<sup>91</sup> It is also stipulated: “Citizens of Mongolia are obligated to respect the vital national interests, perform their obligations under the laws, and not to disclose any state, corporate, or personal secrets.”<sup>92</sup> Furthermore, citizens of Mongolia are entitled to file their proposals or complaints for approval with the appropriate state organs or functionaries with respect to any matters which may threaten the national security.”

<sup>91</sup> The Law of Mongolia on the National Security (2001): Article 13.

<sup>92</sup> Also there, (2001). Article 14.

All these provisions laid the legal foundation defining the rights and obligations of citizens and non-governmental organizations when involved in ensuring the national security of Mongolia.

As mentioned above, the Law of Mongolia on the National security defines the rights and obligations of state organs, non-governmental organizations, economic entities, and citizens to ensure the national security.

Hence, there arises a question: "How to improve the involvement of citizens and organizations above the current level?" To do so, it is required in the first place to instill a strong sense of patriotism in every Mongolian person and study and introduce experience of other countries. In doing so, every person will feel the unique characteristics of Mongolia.

#### **-The Law of Mongolia on the Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status (2000)**

In 1992, Mongolia declared itself as a state with the nuclear-weapon-free status, winning praise from the international community and powers. That is to say, the states with nuclear weapons expressed their support for this status of Mongolia.

Mongolia also received support for its policy to institutionalize its single-state nuclear-weapon-free status in the final documents of the XII Summit of the Nonaligned Movement in Durban, South Africa in 1998. Furthermore, the Resolution on the Mongolia's International Security and Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status was passed by consensus at the 54<sup>th</sup> Session of the United Nations General Assembly. In Article 1 of the said resolution, it is said: "welcomed the Mongolia's declaration of the nuclear-weapon-free status."<sup>93</sup> This step taken by Mongolia was a unique event in international practice in terms of the possibility of a single state to become a nuclear-weapon-free zone.

Thus, the declaration of the nuclear-weapon-free status served as the grounds for passing the Law on the Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status. It was necessary to adopt this

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<sup>93</sup> Dugersuren.M, Khosbayar (1999): "Olon Ulsiin Erh Zui" /Mon., International Law/ Ulaanbaatar. p 81

law when the whole country became aware of this status and it was important to introduce legal regulation of it at national level.

The definition of nuclear weapon in this law is based upon the relevant international treaties and conventions. It is prescribed that any individuals or legal persons that have violated this law shall be held liable in accordance with the Criminal Code. Verification is divided into two types: national and international.

The law provides: "Mongolia shall conduct international verification over the implementation of the present Law in cooperation with the relevant international organizations or by concluding special international agreements thereon." Increasing the involvement of international organizations is essential to improve the guarantees of our national security, and our country may insert in such agreements the issues in which it is interested or which are considered necessary in an appropriate form acceptable by other states and international organizations. For that reason, Mongolia consulted with the International Atomic Energy Agency, which is a relevant organization, about the draft law.

The purpose of this law is to regulate relations pertaining to the preservation of the territory of Mongolia in its entirety, including its air space, land, waters and the sub-soil free from nuclear weapons, which constitutes an important factor for ensuring Mongolia's security.

"Nuclear weapon" means any explosive device that is capable of releasing nuclear energy in an uncontrollable manner and that can be used for hostile purposes, whereas "nuclear-weapon-free status" means a legal status of being free from nuclear weapons.

So far, there has been no practice in which a single state became a nuclear-weapon-free zone and confirmed its status at international level. In 1985, New Zealand adopted laws on the nuclear-weapon-free status, disarmament, and arms control, but has never achieved success under the influence from other states.

In fact, it was a special event for Mongolia to strengthen its national security by political and diplomatic means.

The confirmation, further clarification, and maintaining of the nuclear-weapon-free status of Mongolia at State policy level is essential to strengthen trust and favorable external conditions ensuring the security of Mongolia and connect the country's security with the regional security and sustainability.

The Mongolia's nuclear-weapon-free status is a new trend emerging in the international community and a large contribution to the broad global cooperation in nuclear nonproliferation.

#### **-Fundamentals of the Military Doctrine of Mongolia**

A document, called "Fundamentals of the Military Doctrine of Mongolia," was adopted in 1998. Previously, the Mongolian People's Republic carried out its defense policy and practiced its military doctrine based upon the military doctrine of the Soviet Union and ensured its security under an agreement made with the Soviet Union. Although this means was dangerous, it contributed to guaranteeing political independence.

Today, the fundamentals of political and diplomatic activities of a state to ensure its security are linked to the military doctrine of that state. Nowadays, states tend to declare and practice a military doctrine aimed at defending itself only.<sup>94</sup> So does the Fundamentals of the Military Doctrine of Mongolia, e.g. it is stipulated that Mongolia shall give top priority to diplomatic measures based upon the national security and foreign policy concepts in order to defend herself.<sup>95</sup>

In 1994, Mongolia elaborated its military doctrine in order to resolve independently the issues of its national security and new external and internal

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<sup>94</sup> Dugersuren.M, Khosbayar.O (1999): "Diplomat Ajillagaa, Diplomat Albanii Undes" /Mon., Fundamentals of Diplomatic Activities and Services/ Ulaanbaatar. p 7.

<sup>95</sup> Mongolian Defense White Paper (1998)  
<http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~corff/im/Buch/WhitePaper-4.html>

conditions which have been emerging since the 1990s. However, this doctrine was replaced with the Fundamentals of the Military Doctrine of Mongolia, adopted in 1998. The Fundamentals of the Military Doctrine of Mongolia is the basic document formulating the defense policy which constitutes the national security.

The Fundamentals of the Military Doctrine is composed of the following parts:

1. General Provisions,
2. General Guideline of State Policy on the Prevention of Armed Aggression,
3. Guideline for the Preparation of the Population, Economy, and Territory for Defending Mongolia, and
4. Guideline for the Preparation of Armed Forces.

The fundamentals of the military doctrine is an official concept of the State with regard to the determination of the State's approach to any armed aggression, the prevention of threats of wars or armed conflicts, the protection of the country from any external armed aggression, the military structure, and the carrying on of armed struggles. This document is based upon the principle of self-defense as stipulated in the Constitution of Mongolia.

The political fundamentals of the military structure of Mongolia are the civilian control over the armed forces. That is to say, although the duty of the State is to secure the country's independence, it is impossible to do it without support and assistance from citizens. The formation and strengthening of civilian control not only over the armed forces but also over the defense sector still remains an important challenge of State policy on defense issues. Civilian control means any activities carried out by the public to oversee the implementation of legislation on defense, the management of armed forces and other professional military organizations, and financing and spending of defense budgets through state organs or functionaries<sup>96</sup>.

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<sup>96</sup> Mongolian Defense White Paper (1998)  
<http://userpage.fu-berlin.de/~corff/im/Buch/WhitePaper-4.html>

The principle of self-defense of Mongolia is based upon the integrated defense system basing on local defense. The fundamentals of the military doctrine are civilian control over the armed forces. The principle of self-defense of Mongolia is based upon the integrated defense system basing on local defense.<sup>97</sup>

The fundamentals of the military doctrine are an important document because they are determined as the basis of Mongolia's legislation and international treaties and agreements on defense activities.

In such a way, the matters of national security of Mongolia are regulated clearly and comprehensibly by the domestic law of Mongolia. This regulation represents the views and intelligence of our ancestors passed down from ancient times. All these laws, regulations, and concepts show that Mongolia has a sophisticated political structure and regime and a moral order.

### **3.2. Reflection of foreign policy and principles in laws and documents related to national security**

As of today, many events happened that strong powers implement their foreign policies' directions and goals through ways on making economic pressure and using military force. That measure has not been completely disappeared<sup>98</sup>. Nations' security depends on external and internal factors. State duty is to create a basis to protect security and existence. Thus, an issue on security is indicated to confirm in the constitution that is the state supreme law, and other legislations adopted in accordance with it.

In the globalization era, the most urgent issue facing to nations is an issue on protecting their national security. Even though nations maintain their security in many ways, in general, they are based on their feature, resource, capacity, rely on international laws and international organizations and jointly use both of them. A reason of this is that traditional and nontraditional dangers arising from the

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<sup>97</sup> Mongolian [Military](http://www.mdef.pmis.gov.mn/) Ministry <<http://www.mdef.pmis.gov.mn/>>

<sup>98</sup> Dugersuren.M, Khosbayar. (1999): "Olon Ulsiin Erh Zui" /Mon., International Law/ Ulaanbaatar. p 5

globalization are requiring world nations to cooperate as for international laws and as well as to pay attention to their national legal environment and foreign policies.

It is right to mention how a concept of foreign policy is considered in international level. Under the international law, it is determined, “a nation’s general direction to follow in international relations is a foreign policy” and a foreign policy is certain nation’s guidance to communicate with other nations and people<sup>99</sup>.

Today, the International law reflects 10 principles to be adhered in the international relations /full rights principle, equal rights principle, land integrity, border inviolability principle, principle on non participation in internal affairs, principle on solving international dispute in peaceful way, non violent and non treaty principle, nations’ self governance principle, principles on respecting human rights universally and principle on fulfilling international duties fairly. /also there, 15-23<sup>rd</sup> side/. The Constitution of Mongolia reflected that a foreign policy that honored peace by following universally agreed status and principles of international law shall be carried out/The Constitution of Mongolia, Chapter 1, article 10, clause 1/.

The above international legal principles were reflected the following principles in the laws and foreign policy of Mongolia as “openness”, “honoring national basic interests, national rights and interests and having many partners”, “non alliance”, “the most important significance to the relations with two neighboring nations, and equal relations with them”, “neutrality”, “non localization of foreign military force, armament, specially atomic and mass destructive weapons and other armaments in its territory”.

I tried to study from the Constitution of Mongolia, the Concept of National security, National Security Law, the Concept of Foreign Policy to determine foreign policy issues. A reason to choose the above documents is that the main concepts of Mongolian policies in foreign nations are reflected in these documents.

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<sup>99</sup> Also there. p 8



### 2.2.1. The concept of foreign policy in the constitution

Depending on its feature, Mongolia gives high significance to its foreign policy in maintaining its national security. It is told in the article 10 of the constitution of Mongolia as “Mongolia shall adhere to the universally recognized norms and principles of international law and pursue a peaceful foreign policy.”<sup>100</sup>

In addition, when reflecting issues related to foreign policy in the Constitution of Mongolia, subjects of pursuing foreign policy, their rights and duties allotment were determined. For example:

The President, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Relations have rights to represent their nation in all external and internal issues according to their occupations. Even though, the Parliament solves foreign policy issues, it shall not represent its nation in foreign relations. There is no practice that the Parliament concludes an international agreement on behalf of its nation. It considers that a statement of a Member of Parliament does not create any right and duty in relevant nations<sup>101</sup>.

When determining rights specified in the Constitution of Mongolia:

- to determine the basis of the domestic and foreign policies of the State<sup>102</sup>;
- to ratify and denounce international agreements to which Mongolia is a Party and to establish and sever diplomatic relations with foreign States at the suggestion of the Government<sup>103</sup>;
- to declare a state of war in case the sovereignty and independence of the state are threatened by armed actions on the part of a foreign power, and to abate it<sup>104</sup>;

Under the sovereignty of President:

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<sup>100</sup> The Constitution law of Mongolia. Chapter 1, article 17, provision 1

<sup>101</sup> Dugersuren.M, Khosbayar.O (1999): "Diplomat Ajillagaa, Diplomat Albanii Undes" /Mon., A Basis of Diplomatic Activities and Services/ Ulaanbaatar. p 70

<sup>102</sup> The Constitution of Mongolia. Chapter 3, article 25, provision

<sup>103</sup> Also there, chapter 3, article 25, provision 15

<sup>104</sup> Also there, chapter 3, article 25, provision 17

- to represent the Mongolian State in foreign relations and, in consultation with the National Parliament, to conclude international treaties on behalf of Mongolia<sup>105</sup>;
- to appoint and recall heads of plenipotentiary missions to foreign countries in consultation with the National Parliament<sup>106</sup>;
- to receive the Letters of Credence or Recall of Heads of diplomatic missions of foreign states<sup>107</sup>;
- to decide matters related to granting and withdrawing Mongolian citizenship and granting asylum<sup>108</sup>;
- to declare a state of emergency or a state of war on the whole or a part of the national territory and to order the deployment of armed forces when extraordinary circumstances described in Article 25 (2) and (3) arise<sup>109</sup>...

Under the sovereignty of Government:

- to implement state foreign policy<sup>110</sup>;

The right on drawing up a state policy like concluding and implementing international treaties with the consent of and subsequent ratification by the National Parliament as well as to conclude and abrogate intergovernmental treaties<sup>111</sup> is granted to the Parliament and its implementation /to represent its direction/ was granted to the Government and the representation right was granted to the President respectively.

In brief, the structure of state of foreign relations of Mongolia is divided into two classifications: the center and abroad. The central political organizations are the Parliament, President, Government and its agencies whereas the abroad organizations include embassies, consulates of Mongolia to abroad and resident representative offices in international organizations<sup>112</sup>. The constitution indicates that state organizations Parliament and President are elected by the public elections

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<sup>105</sup> Also there, chapter 3, article 33, provision 4

<sup>106</sup> Also there, chapter 3, article 33, provision 5

<sup>107</sup> Also there, chapter 3, article 33, provision 6

<sup>108</sup> Also there, chapter 3, article 33, provision 9

<sup>109</sup> Also there, chapter 3, article 33, provision 12

<sup>110</sup> Also there, chapter 3, article 38, provision 8

<sup>111</sup> Also there, chapter 3, article 38, provision 9

<sup>112</sup> Dugersuren.M, Khosbayar.O (1999): "Diplomat Ajillagaa, Diplomat Albanii Undes" /Mon., A Basis of Diplomatic Activities and Services/ Ulaanbaatar. p 73

and the majority coalition or force in the Parliament founds the Government. The organizations abroad are appointed and recalled in negotiation with the President and the Parliament. According to the provisions of the Constitution, the Constitution of Mongolia determined clearly the rights and duties of state head in foreign relations. I conclude that it was significant.

Finally, one of the main methods of maintaining any nation's independence is that state policy and its main expression legislations shall perfectly serve in the territory. Accordingly, Mongolia may not abide by any international treaty or other instruments incompatible with its Constitution<sup>113</sup>. It is also one new provision of principle. But a concept is hiding behind it that if it is compatible not "incompatible", Mongolia shall fulfill its duty fairly according to international treaty<sup>114</sup>.

In accordance with international law, it indicates that international legal status shall have more supremacy than a nation's internal law, and this is clear in the Vienna Convention on International treaty Rights /1969/. In the provision 27 of the convention, the participant nations in the treaty shall not "approve itself the non-fulfillment of international duty due to its internal legal provisions". In accordance with the principle, a nation's internal law shall meet International law. If a conflict arises between them, it shall be adhered to International law<sup>115</sup>. As considering the above, the provision in the Constitution of Mongolia is a provision that decreases the international legal duty. Even though, the provision may be explained that an international treaty and other documents, which are incompatible with the independence and sovereignty, shall not be adhered, international treaty itself shall be based on principles of honoring any nation's independence, sovereignty and security. In modern time, the international law has become a key fundamental for any nation's security. As considering it, there is a hesitation that whether the above provision in the Constitution of Mongolia is appropriate or not.

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<sup>113</sup> The Constitution of Mongolia, article 10, provision 4

<sup>114</sup> Also there. provision 25

<sup>115</sup> Dugersuren.M, Khosbayar. (1999): "Olon Ulsiin Erh Zui" /Mon., International Law/ Ulaanbaatar. p 3

### **3.2.2. Foreign policy and principles in the concept of national security of Mongolia**

To determine the concept of foreign policy, it is right to study at first how external environment and its influence and range are determined.

In the concept, the factors that may have a negative impact on national security are divided into objective and subjective by their character, and into real and possible by the probability of danger they might cause<sup>116</sup>. As for the political space, the security is divided as world, regional and sub-regional. It shall not need to mention again the factors negatively affecting to the national security of Mongolia as of today.

According to concepts, the “Openness” foreign policy shall be the key political method to ensure national security with goals on developing Mongolia as a democratic nation, which has equal rights of world commonwealth association, is independent and developing, integrating in region and making it as an international subject to contribute effectively to the creation of security structure not to ensure security being involved specially in any military alliance in world political policy, regional and sub regional levels.

It indicates that national security is ensured by social, political, organizational, economic, diplomatic, military, intelligence and legal means, unilaterally or through the development of international cooperation<sup>117</sup>. From the methods on ensuring the above dangers, the most important way for our country that has broad and wide territory, wealth, a few number population and two big neighbors is diplomatic talks and negotiations, in particularly it expended the significance of foreign policy to maintain the security through the way of developing international cooperation.

The concept raised its security of existence at first and it is significant and determines the fundamental guidance of state activity in international stage and in the field where the national security can be secured<sup>118</sup>.

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<sup>116</sup> The Concept of National Security.(1994): Provision 7

<sup>117</sup> Also there, provision 10

<sup>118</sup> “East, West” journal. 1995. No.1-2

The ways on solving the above mentioned matter, avoiding different conditions that may cause a danger in Mongolia and preventing from them through political methods to remove were put in the mid of the concept of national security. From these, the most important principles of this concept appeared from non alliance, non allowance of territory to be used against other nations, not interference in the relations of Russian and China, and neutrality in a serious matter between the two nations if it is incompatible to the national rights and interest of Mongolia<sup>119</sup>. Mongolia was a field of opposition for decades as the relations between Soviet Union and China was unpleasant in 60s and they oppose each other in the fields of doctrine, economy and military force.

Nowadays, the relations between Russia and China become normal and it is influencing on the regional situation positively. For the national rights and interests of Mongolia, the formalization of the relations of the two powers, both have atomic weapon, is important. But, this factor cannot be alone a guarantee for the national security of Mongolia. Even though, a conflict is not between Russia and China. On the other hand, depending on that they pay more attention to their internal political and economic matters, they do not have more interest in activating their position in Mongolia in the near future. It was reflected in the concept.

Besides, the concept tells that the main guarantors of national security are the people of Mongolia and the Mongolian State<sup>120</sup> and the international guarantees of national security consist of political, legal and moral-psychological components. They are secured and strengthened through the combination of unilateral, bilateral and multilateral measures. Military-political security can be ensured through a collective security system by joint efforts or participation in such a system<sup>121</sup>. As of today, Mongolia is running an active cooperation in its defense sector and has carried out many joint operations of defense.

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<sup>119</sup> Also there, p 2

<sup>120</sup> The Concept of National Security.(1994) provision 12

<sup>121</sup> Also there, provision 13

The nation has established its diplomat relations with a total of 141 nations and it adheres an active position in any world and regional matters. As considering it, international law is important to ensure the security of existence of Mongolia. To carry out this guarantee, it is significant to raise its reputation and position though active relations with the two neighbors, other third nations and active operation in international stage. According to the above, it is seen that the foreign policy is very important to the security of Mongolia.

The necessary directions in foreign policy of Mongolia: Imposition of political, military, economic and ideological control over Mongolia<sup>122</sup>; /even though, there is not the concept of imposition of political and ideological control, a policy on being dependent on economy cannot be denied./ Changing of state frontiers, illegal border crossing and border violations<sup>123</sup> /as of today, breaches of state border crossing tended to increase./

Massive inflows of migrants from a neighboring State<sup>124</sup> /currently there is no such thing as for the bordering nations but the third nation's or North Korean attempts to illegally cross the border of South Korea because of political reason tend to increase./

Occurrence of natural and ecological calamities, outbreak or spread of acutely infectious human or animal diseases.<sup>125</sup> /One of urgent issues/. The main objective of foreign policy is to decrease the danger of factors which may cause the national security negatively, to avoid from them and no to be affected by them. It is required to urgently solve the issues on economic and state border breaches and migrants from North Korea and to run an active activity.

The main point of this concept is understood that Mongolia will pursue an “openness” foreign policy to negotiate with influential nations on the issues on

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<sup>122</sup> Also there. provision 21, clause 6

<sup>123</sup> Also there, provision 21, clause 9

<sup>124</sup> The Concept of National Security.(1994), provision 21, clause 11

<sup>125</sup> Also there, provision 21, clause 12

ensuring international peace and security and developing collaboration, to increase the nation's strategic significances and to pursue a policy on creating influential nations' interests and rights in Mongolia.

According to the issue as above, the concept of national security of Mongolia indicates, "in case a danger does not cause in the vital interest, Mongolia shall implement non alliance foreign policy<sup>126</sup>. An issue is arising from the provision on what possibility Mongolia has to exist not to join in any alliance with the purpose of strengthening international peace and security in its foreign policy and to develop its economic and political relations in the globalizing world and international relations.

### **3.2.3. Foreign policy and principles in the concept of foreign policy of Mongolia**

A general direction to be followed in a nation's foreign policy is foreign policy<sup>127</sup>. One of the important methods on maintaining the independence and security of Mongolia is foreign policy and active diplomatic mission. Therefore, the concept of foreign policy of Mongolia is designed and being followed by state competent organizations. This concept determines the basic guidance of foreign policy of Mongolia, and direction of foreign relations of Mongolia in the fields of politics, economy, science-technology, culture and humanity.

The foreign policy of Mongolia is based on the national interests specified in the Constitution, and the external and internal features of Mongolia are to be a basis to determine foreign policy's objective, principle and direction.

The international law indicates neutrality status as "a nation shall be a neutral nation that receives a duty not to support any combatant nation in war and no to render military assistance. Other nations shall respect the status of neutral nation. In

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<sup>126</sup> Also there, chapter 3, provision 27, clause 1

<sup>127</sup> Dugersuren.M, Khosbayar.O (1999): "Diplomat Ajillagaa, Diplomat Albanii Undes" /Mon., A Basis of Diplomatic Activities and Services/ Ulaanbaatar. p 4

peaceful time, the neutral nation must not participate in a military alliance<sup>128</sup>. The concept of foreign policy of Mongolia indicates that Mongolia shall pursue an open and non aligned policy and shall adhere to directions not to join in any military alliance, not to allow its territory and air to be used against any nation and not to locate foreign military force, atomic and mass destructive weapons. As seeing the above provisions, it is an instance that Mongolia is possible to be a nation that has a permanent status of neutrality in accordance with international agreement.

It can be understood directly that the concept of neutrality of Mongolia adheres a position of neutrality not to participate in any conflict caused in the two neighbors. It cannot be understood that Mongolia observes neutrality for an issue on international security except the neutrality on the conflicts in the two neighbors.

This is a limited policy of neutrality that is appropriate to the rights and interests of a small nation's security. It might be like that Mongolia locked itself twice if it selects a permanent policy of neutrality as for a nation that locates between the two big powers.

Mongolian position of neutrality in the opposition of the two neighbors is a continuation of policy on communicating with them equally not to follow any of them in case of conflict. Thus, it indicates that Mongolia shall not establish a relation with any big nation, if a state that may conflict Mongolian rights, interests and national security, it shall align any of the two neighbors and other great powers to protect itself and shall observe a direction of neutrality in disagreement of the two neighbors that do not conflict Mongolian rights and interests.

This concept keeps a policy on establishing real interest of highly developed nations in Mongolia and prevents overly reliance or dependent on any particular nation. Mongolian interest in foreign nations shall be guaranteed and protected through political way<sup>129</sup>. It was the newest thing that Mongolia will secure its

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<sup>128</sup> Dugersuren.M, Khosbayar. (1999): "Olon Ulsiin Erh Zui" /Mon., International Law/ Ulaanbaatar. p 4

<sup>129</sup> The Concept of Foreign Policy. (1994): provision 3



security by following laws not only to secure the nation's security through neutrality but also to pursue an active policy in international stage.

This concept showed that Mongolia shall pursue an open and non aligned foreign policy. An open policy means that our nation will develop mutually beneficial economic and technical cooperation with all nations and establish real interest of developing nations in its nation<sup>130</sup>.

For other word, we understood that it will be open in all sectors as for politics, information, science, technology and humanity. But it protects from overly reliance or dependent on any particular nation /economic, immigration, religious etc/. For other word, the open policy shall be in a status not to harm and incompatible on the nation's rights and interests. It means that if it does not harm on national rights and interests, we will pursue friendly, cooperation, non opposition and non hostility policy<sup>131</sup>. Another important idea is that the meaning of non aligned policy is broad and we understand that it is not to participate in an operation against the two neighbors, not to align against any neighbor or not to carry out an activity against the two neighbors having joined in other nations and alliance.

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 favorable external environment for its economic, scientific and technological development. It determines the fundament of foreign policy is the security of Mongolia.

Main state active foreign policies have been waited on participation in the globalizing world and international relations, as well as, protection, active development of its economy, rapid and beneficial scientific and technological achievements in the nation, study from other nations' culture and traditions and collaboration in humanitarian field.

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<sup>130</sup>“East, West” journal. 1996. No1. p 7

<sup>131</sup> International Relations Journal. (1994). No 2. p 27

The political foreign policy of Mongolia is one of key instruments to ensure and strengthen its national security and its result shall be determined by the maintenance of the nation's security, independence, interests, strengthening of international position and increase of reputation.

Mongolia follows universally agreed general principle and status in its foreign policy and pursues multilateral policy. The external political policy of Mongolia shall orient toward communicating with the two neighbor powers, the United State of America, Japan, Germany, Asian nations, Union Nation and its specialized agencies, other international organizations, socialist commonwealth nations and newly independent nations. For other word, due to the current hidden conflict of being exist between Russia and China, fear and tenderness to be tucked between the two great powers again and aspiration to activate its foreign relations, Mongolia is seeking for its competitive version of guarantee for its security. Mongolia did not limit its security range with the tow great powers.

A principal achievement of the concept of foreign policy of Mongolia is to find or try to establish "third" partner which can create a certain negative balance in possible pressure and force from the tow powers Russia and China. It might be the United State of America, Japan or Union Nation and influential international organizations.

As for multilateral foreign policy specified in the concept, it indicates six leading directions of our foreign policy, honors national rights and interests, develops its cooperation with all nations and international organizations not considering doctrine, social and economic structure, on the other hand it includes the content of policy in scientific, technological, cultural and humanitarian sectors not only in political and economic foreign policy.

Besides, one point of it is that Mongolia is a responsible member of world cooperation society and it shares the wealth of majority and it is a nation that follows civil society progress tendency. This is a document that shows Mongolia has

many partners and many “friends”<sup>132</sup>. Mongolia is reaching a definite achievement by actively pursuing “open”, “multilateral” and “active” foreign policy specified in the concept. For example:

In recent 3 years, under the objective, state heads have visited to more than 30 nations to attend international summits and high ranking meetings. In turn, heads of 18 nations and international organizations paid visits to Mongolia. During these measures, a total of 74 agreements and negotiations were made through the bilateral line and Mongolia joined 29 multilateral conventions.<sup>133</sup> It was significant to expand its foreign policy in international level and to establish a favorable legal environment on cooperation.

As a result of putting forward a goal on guaranteeing non atomic weapon status in international level, 5 member nations, which have atomic weapon, of the Union Nation Security Council have granted guarantee of security to Mongolia and made their joint statement. It was significant. Mongolian non atomic weapon status is giving its definite contribution to strengthen regional peace and stability.

The main objective of foreign relations policy on economy is to appropriately use external factors to solve the nation’s economic future and timely goals on the basis of sustainable development concept, and as well as to make the nation’s economy have its own position in the regional integration.

The main objective of foreign relations and cooperation on science and technology is to fully use external factors to develop the modern capacity of national science and technology that might be a power for rapid development of the nation’s economy and industry and have competitiveness in region and in the world.

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<sup>132</sup> “East, West” journal. (1996). No1. p 8

<sup>133</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Mongolia

<[http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=category&sectionid=5&id=19&Itemid=42](http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com_content&task=category&sectionid=5&id=19&Itemid=42)>

The main objective of foreign relations of culture and humanity is to focus cultural cooperation on protecting Mongolian national civilization, enriching cultural feature heritage, world culture with universal achievement, restoring historical and cultural values, investigating exported ones, preparing national qualified specialists, to publicize Mongolia abroad, to expand number of those, who are interested and appreciate Mongolia, to support Mongol studies in other nations, to know other nations, and to increase mutual understanding and trust with them.

If compared the concept of foreign policy with the concept of national security, the concept of national security indicates, “a non aligned foreign policy shall be pursued” whereas the concept of foreign policy<sup>134</sup> specifies, “non military alliance” and it indicates to grant an issue on non alliance in limitation. An issue comes from how to understand the difference.

Another issue is that Mongolia declared itself that it has non atomic weapon status. The Union Nation approved a resolution supporting it and five member nations of the Union Nation Security Council made statement on supporting it. Mongolia enacted a law on free from atomic weapon. Nowadays, it might be better if the term of stationing of nuclear or any other type of mass destruction weapons in its territory<sup>135</sup>, is determined as direct content “prohibition”. Besides, the concept of foreign policy indicates that Mongolia shall adhere to the following directions to implement the foreign policy<sup>136</sup>, and 6 directions were listed. This might be understood that Mongolia will carry out its foreign policy in 6 levels, for other word it will communicate with every nation in different situation /differently/.

#### **3.2.4. Foreign policy and principles in the document of military policy of Mongolia**

A feature of security of a small nation is susceptible to external conditions, especially changes in big neighbor nations’ political, economic and military

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<sup>134</sup> The Concept of Foreign Policy.(1994): clause 9

<sup>135</sup> Also there, clause 9

<sup>136</sup> Also there, provision 12, clauses 1-6

conditions and is dependent. A basic instrument to maintain a favorable external condition of security of Mongolia is a political-diplomatic measure.

Mongolia is pursuing a policy on developing its national security through the ways of society, politics, organization, economy, diplomacy, military, intelligence and law and developing international cooperation independently. Guidance is observed to furnish international guarantee on ensuring national security in the field of politics, law, ethics and psychology. It indicates to strengthen the foundation of military-political security through active participation in multilateral talks and treaties on security, establishment of military trust with other nations and maintenance of openness in military affairs. For example:

The diplomatic mission of defense is oriented towards developing friendly relations with the two neighbors, attending a measure for strengthening multilateral process of security and military trust in Southeast Asia, exchanging ideas on regional security, exchanging military representatives and preparing military staffs in peacekeeping operation.

A fundamental of military policy also indicates it is a foundation for legislation of Mongolia, international treaty and negotiation on defense. Today, even though, mutual understanding, trust and partnership tend to dominate in international relations and danger of war and armed crush has not completely disappeared, a structure of security on cooperation has not yet created in the world, in particularly in Asia –Pacific region, and terrorism and organized crime still exist. Thus Mongolia still has the necessity of military and armament to defend itself which is the key reason of the development of military policy.

That Mongolia is to provide external favorable conditions, to prevent and avert any wars and armed clash, conduct peace policy in accordance with general international legal principles, to consider any countries threatening or attacking the independence, sovereignty, and territorial inviolability of Mongolia with armed force and any other parties of their alliance as enemies of Mongolia, and to prefer political and

diplomatic methods using the concept of national security and foreign policy as the basis of implementing its defense objectives, is the grounds of defending national security for small countries.

The mission statement of Mongolia is to officially organize multilateral talks and negotiations of security in international level and Asia-Pacific regions, to prevent and avert any wars and armed clashes, actively participate in multilateral and bilateral trust of military, to have many partners, to respect the fundamental interests of the nation, and to pursue consistent foreign policy to ensure the security by the political methods<sup>137</sup>.

Today, diplomatic and defense mission of Mongolia is oriented towards developing friendly relations with the two neighbors, attending a measure for strengthening multilateral process of security and military trust in Southeast Asia, exchanging ideas on regional security, exchanging military representatives and preparing military staffs in peacekeeping operation.

Nowadays, bilateral relations between Mongolia and Russia are intensifying in the defense sector. Representatives headed by the Chairman of General Staff of the Armed Forces of Russia A.Kvashnin paid a working visit to Mongolia in 2000. It was the first high ranking military representatives from Russia, who have visited to Mongolia since 1993. Chairman of Communication Border Service of Russia K. Totskii paid a visit to Mongolia in 1999. Two sides' strategically research institutes have conducted a joint research titles "Urgent issues to the National Security of Mongolia". In 2000, President of Russia V. Putin visited to Mongolia and during this time, two sides negotiated to activate military-technical cooperation<sup>138</sup>.

Military exchange has normalized with the People's Republic of China. Minister of Defense of Mongolia visited to China in 1997, Chairman of General Staff of the Armed Forces – in 1999 and representatives headed by State Secretary of Ministry

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<sup>137</sup> White Book of Defense of Mongolia (2001), <[www.pmis.gov.mn/gov\\_eng.htm](http://www.pmis.gov.mn/gov_eng.htm)> p 23

<sup>138</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Mongolia

<[http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=72&Itemid=81#rus](http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=72&Itemid=81#rus)>

of Defense in 2000 respectively. In turn, Minister of Civil Affairs of China, Chairman of Foreign Cooperation Department in Ministry of Defense visited to Mongolia in 1999, Minister of Defense of China – in 2000 respectively. Mongolian veterans also visited to China. The Institute of Strategically Research in Ministry of Defense of Mongolia and the Chinese Institute of International Strategically Study organize a meeting every year for exchanging ideas on the issue of bilateral and regional security.

The relationship with other nations: Military exchange with the United State of America has stabilized and the start of cooperation in civil defense and peace keeping operations with the United State of America was established. The Commander in Chief of the Armed Forces of the United State of America in Pacific and Deputy Minister for Defense Policy of the United State of America visited Mongolia in 2000. The two parties had the strategic consultative meeting on the defense sector on the level of Deputy Ministers for Defense. This was the first consultative meeting with big powers for the Ministry of Defense. The two countries annually conducted the “Balance Magic” exercises in 1996-1999<sup>139</sup>.

The Rector of the National Defense Academy of Japan and the Director of the National Institute of Defense Studies visited Mongolia in 1998. Five military students of Mongolia started to study at the Japanese Defense Academy from 1999. In 1998, the eighth meeting of the Institute of Strategic Studies and the Institute of Japanese Academy of Peace and Security was held on the regional security issues.

Currently, there are three countries’ military resident attaches, 12 nations’ military co-attaches in Mongolia and resident attaches of defense from Mongolia are to Russia, China, the USA and Belgium. Mongolia participated twice in the command staff exercise of peacekeeping forces in Central Asia as an observer and a platoon of Mongolian Armed Forces attended the “Centrazbat-2000” joint military field exercise for international peacekeeping operation, held in Kazakhstan.

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<sup>139</sup> Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade, Mongolia  
<[http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=72&Itemid=81#bnhau](http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=72&Itemid=81#bnhau)>

With the participation of the Ministries of Defense of Mongolia and the United State of America and the Union Nation Peacekeeping Operation Agency, a seminar and a workshop on peacekeeping operation has been organized for three times since 1998. These activities are achievements of Mongolia in international relations in the field of defense<sup>140</sup>.

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<sup>140</sup>White Book of Defense of Mongolia (2001), <[www.pmis.gov.mn/gov\\_eng.htm](http://www.pmis.gov.mn/gov_eng.htm)> p 23



### **Conclusion remark**

Social relationships of any country are carried out within the framework of approved norms and laws of that country. The main method of insuring national security and not to loosen it when making political and economic reforms is to secure it by the legislation. National security and interest always change in consistency with international relations, social and economic development. The necessity to review and refine the national security concept arose due to the changes of external and internal environment of Mongolia.

The national security concept reflected many new aspects reflecting development of international relations and peculiarities of our country's political and economic development. For example, to develop efficient measures focused on following international legal norms and standards and making others to follow them, to improve the reputation of the country by supporting and actively participating in the activities of international and regional organizations, Union Nation in particular, to advertise our country, to avoid any dispute and conflict with the neighboring countries and not to take any measures conflicting with the interests of them in coalition with third country for the purpose of development of friendly relationship with them, to get national security guarantee from them, to reduce the harm of nuclear arms to our country and to the world through the concept of nuclear arms free status etc.

## **Chapter 4. Implementation of laws and documents related foreign policy, national security**

### **4.1 Foreign policy role in ensuring Mongolian national security and its Implementation**

The every country and states to provide their national security by the under following means of aspects, among from; high developed economy, smart and flexible foreign policy, potential resource of defending but our country hadn't those possibility, because stayed and un developing economy, it's not possible to defend the country by military ( army ),therefore we must to activate our foreign policy and to provide our interests one of the increasing aspect of foreign policy's Mongolian geographical location<sup>141</sup>.

Another words Mongolian situated between big powered military, nuclear armaments countries without crossing to the sea, unconnected to the sea of roads, depending two big countries to hold relationship with other countries<sup>142</sup>. These countries interests coordinated the situation and increased our role of our foreign policy. Alteration of 1989 years changed the security situation and stating which is being 70 years. The guaranty of security's which provided only soviet socialist republic of Russia was liquidated and connecting with this we must to provide ourselves security our self.

Mongolian foreign policy was founded in time of people republic of Mongolian on the idea of socialist formed relationship with other countries, nowadays is founding our the relationship with other countries, which is recognized international rights and public spreading foreign policy, politics, economy's tasks.

The early is main task was spreading idea of world revolution, socialism's idea, now our main task's to provide national interests and defend it, directed to this policy.

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<sup>141</sup> Bayarhuu.D (2002): "Yeroasiain Geopolitik, Odoо ba Ireedui" /Mon., Eurasian geopolitics, Today and Future/. Ulaanbaatar. p 21

<sup>142</sup> "Gombosuren.Ts (1994): "Mongol Ulsiin Gadaad Bodlogo 90-eed ond" /Mon., Mongolian foriegn policy in 90 years/, "East, West Journal". p 34

Now a day's new urgent task of being the country must to change the situation, to provide changeable requests of principal possibilities security.

To provide the Mongolian security and to complete developing conservation which directed to this policy's could divide.

1. Bilateral relationship
2. To participating direct and indirect to the regional, country's integration, this is parlaying in country and region.
3. Participation and deciding urgent problems before regional and world's countries and to have our country's role.<sup>143</sup>

#### **4.1.1 Bilateral foreign relationship**

From 1990 years we have providing ship independent security and foreign policy, provided bilateral foreign policy and founded on it;

-Being in a open condition, mutual foreign policy, policy of third neighboring country

-None participating to the coalitional policy

-None nuclear region and country

All these policies issued by the each situation and condition, it will be reformed on new time, new position, direction these policy's their importance's on each aspects

**-Being in an open to other countries, mutual foreign policy, to be a third neighboring country:**

In new time and condition determined main Principe national security, and how to provide it. Open and mutual, 3<sup>rd</sup> neighboring policy's Principe were important for our policy, this principal was a new for Mongolia when was founded great Mongolian empire in 12cent, Mongolia empire in 13 cent, disperse in 15-16 cent and regenerative of 20 cent etc each historical periods hold smart relationship with two neighboring

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<sup>143</sup> Batzaya.B (2003): "Globalchlal ba Mongol Ulsiin gadaad bodlogo" /Mon., Globalization and Mongolian foreign policy/. Ulaanbaatar. International study journal. p 36

country and, also to get 3<sup>rd</sup> neighboring country used mutual foreign policy, considering on this policy pass each historical period<sup>144</sup>.

One of these great example, mode is a silk road passed through (between) crossing many Asian-European countries, continents; using this policy provided successful our foreign policy, in time of Bogd Khaan Mongolia<sup>145</sup> 20 cent hold relationship with Russia, west, Japan countries, had sent letter with asking of armaments (gun, weapon), searched 3<sup>rd</sup> neighbor this efforts had been some results issued on the mutual foreign policy, sometimes depending on time, condition couldn't got good results for our asks and requests.

Nowadays Mongolia suffering not being in influences of two neighboring countries to be out of influences these countries must hold relationship with 3<sup>rd</sup> neighboring countries, considering mutual relationship other countries. The considering mutual relationship other countries. Main Importance of this policy to recognize our policy in world to being interests of 3<sup>rd</sup> neigh neighboring, other countries to hold relationship with many countries, to get supports of them.

In inclement of policy to be in open, hold relationship other and neighboring countries as activate coordination with china, Russia in balanced equal rights, stability and to develop good neighboring relationship. Russian federation's president after 26 years in November of 2000 years paid a visit to our country and newly reformed, determined issue of relationship between Russia Mongolia were signed memorandum of Ulaanbaatar in 2002 years Russia prime minister paid visit to Mongolia anal described newest relationship Principe, decided herring problems and among them great loans problem it was one great steppe which directed Mongolian security<sup>146</sup>.

Mongolia and china has changed vim delegations increased the 2 neighboring among them commercial, trade, economical, factory to deepening relationship and

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<sup>144</sup> Davaanyam.P, (2001): "History of Mongolia"

<[http://www.csms.edu.mn/ss102/index.php?option=com\\_expose&Itemid=6&album=7](http://www.csms.edu.mn/ss102/index.php?option=com_expose&Itemid=6&album=7)>

<sup>145</sup> Olziidolgor.T (2006): "*Mongol Ulsiin altan tamga*" /*Mon., The Golden stamp of Mongolia*/ <http://www.mongolia800.mn/24tsag/2006/11/13/3803>

<sup>146</sup> Russian embassy in Mongolia <[http://www.mongolia.mid.ru/mn/press\\_49.html](http://www.mongolia.mid.ru/mn/press_49.html)>

noticed that this policy get to the results merge efforts two countries. Today China's occupied 53.7% exports, 19.3% imports, trade turnover's 33.4%. Mongolian government to realizing these mutual issued foreign policy's hold strategically relationship between United State of America, European Union, European Union's membership countries<sup>147</sup>, Japan, South Korea, Western Asian Pacific countries, regional countries and developing and deepening good partnership and got some good result, importance.

In relationship Mongolia America increased bilateral understanding, Mongolia has occupied important for their policy hold good closest ship and atmosphere, main role played in this visits our president in 2003 to USA and prime minister in 2001 years. Mongolian Japan strengthening good complete partnership, and spreading cooperation bilateral countries. Japan's government reduced of donation to other countries, but Japan officially not reduced of donation to Mongolia. Mongolian Prime Minister in 2001, Chairman of Great Khural in 2002, Japanese prince in 2002 paid visits to Japan and Mongolia, these mares necessary for developing after our relationship in 21 century and that spreading Japan supported Mongolia in world arena not only in region. These supports of Japan express Japan's policy to strengthening relationship 2 countries.

Relationship with South Korea substituted each other this relationship is spreading in sphere of science, trade, economy, politics, investing, cultural, educational and to have rich contents. South Korea became in 2<sup>nd</sup> place in investing to Mongolia, turnover of trade in 5<sup>th</sup> place. South Korean invested (many) factory economical units now in Mongolia, and also living and working many Korean people.

European Union and his membership countries hold friendly and good relationship with us and developing partnership. The leadership of our country paid a visit to Europe Union, Germany Federation, Switzerland, Be-Ne-Lox, Ukraine, Turkey. European Union and Technical Aid to the Commonwealth of Independent States (TACIS) program decided the following development program ALA transferring 2004

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<sup>147</sup> Mongolian economic statistic <<http://www.nationmaster.com/country/mg-mongolia/eco-economy>>

years, considering program by European Union's to be for long period, and more investments. After with European Union's will be establish the contract.<sup>148</sup>

Mongolia holds dynamic relationship with United State of America and held seminar of national security between 2 countries. United State of America expresses that United State of America's investment to being, improvement of supporting Mongolia and relationship. United State of America's policy to keep interests in this region and some of part United State of America military participating, supporting to Mongolia may be to worsen China relationship with Mongolia main warning aspects on this sphere that cooperation. Activazation of United State of America in North last Asia to tremble China, it will be special condition in China's relationship. Because, we must coordinate our participation and relationship connecting with this problem each great countries has their own interests.<sup>149</sup>

When our foreign policy's increased we must take a mares, we must open many representative offices abroad: in Canada, Austria, Singapore, Keizer, Reliant opened council's office, our representatives will be depend our country's citizen's interests rights. At the 7 diplomat representative office has new council's branches, in 16 countries we have an honored councils. Main conclusion of these we good realized in practice mutual relationship with other countries.

#### **-Non participating in alliance (policy)**

In period of cold war, since 1961 in Yugoslavian capital city Belgrade was sounded activity of none participation of war alliance, main slogan wasn't participating and supporting military and armaments alliances, but nowadays stabilizing leadership countries interests, protecting membership countries important interests, supported them. Now 118 countries participated in this forum, protected ocean, sea's water's 53% whole

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<sup>148</sup> Mongolian multilateral relations (2009)

[http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=48&Itemid=51](http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=48&Itemid=51)

<sup>149</sup> Li.Dazuni, Jan.Zenipin, Van.Culi (2005) "Mongoliin Olon Tulguurt Gadaad Bodlogo Hyatadiin Ayulgui baidald nolooloh ni" /Mon., Mongolian Mutual Foreign Policy Influence to Chinese security/ international studies, Ulaanbaatar. 2 p 122

forest's 44%, oil 86%, world mankind population's 51%. Many of membership countries have not high developed countries<sup>150</sup>.

Participating in this activity we could a possibility of each country's Principe in world. Mongolia demonstrated in their foreign police none participating to alliance will provide national security with cooperating Union Nation, 77-group with 130 countries memberships, none participating to alliance. Between the countries none participating to alliance our country has own idea, reformation supporting of these countries, expressed, that own economical political position. In September of 2003 was held international 5<sup>th</sup> conference of build and rebuild democracy's countries with successful. In this conference participated 119 countries, Mongolia always participated to this movement's conference and expressed the opinion.

#### **-Non nuclear region**

One of important aspects of providing national security whole of the country is a none nuclear region, country. 110 countries of the World, Latin American, Pacific regions, Africa's, South east Asian None nuclear 4 regions were established. Also many countries united in this movement. The means of none nuclear region was begin since 1950 years, depending on spreading the nuclear armaments.

Main importance of None nuclear region is a precautionary of preventive measures to be a nuclear armaments country, place, country with separated of nuclear armaments to spread country, place without nuclear armaments, after will be prohibited the nuclear armaments. In 1995 years in Asian Bangkok was concluded last Southern Asian countries "None nuclear region". In 1996 years African countries were educated and signed the document of none nuclear region, Africa has status of continents without nuclear armaments.

Mongolian status of none nuclear armament is difference of other continent, country, because Mongolia as the one country has this status. Our country's were recognized by the Union Nation, international cooperation, 5 country's with nuclear

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<sup>150</sup> Enkhsetseg.O (2009): Negdsen Undsenii Baiguulaaga ba Mongol Uls /Mon., Union Nation and Mongolia/ <<http://www.mongolnews.mn/unuudur.php?n=35813>> Onoodor News paper

armaments movement to none participation of alliance and grateful for our status.  
<sup>151</sup>One of expression at 57<sup>th</sup> assemble of Union Nation, general secretary Kobe Annan said that; international security position, none nuclear status and speech on assembly 22<sup>nd</sup> November 2002 years were concluded the resolution on this question, Mongolian foreign policy's played a bid steppe to provide national security In 2000 years, Mongolian great Hural proved the law of none nuclear armament country, the decision became (proved) law and legislative powered. <sup>152</sup>It has several necessary importances:

-Nuclear armaments country and world cooperation countries were recognized Mongolian Status of None nuclear armaments country. Union Nation supported our policy, position and it was one of main important aspect for strengthening our foreign security..

-This policy were influenced regional stability of other countries, important for the dispreading, limited nuclear armaments, to reduce nuclear danger and support none nuclear armaments countries. <sup>153</sup>

-This initiative of Mongolia was increased the prestige before the other countries and not also provide the guarantee of security and change the means of 2 countries butter, none entering possible confrontation dangers. Only one country with the status of None nuclear armaments country biographical uncial aspects and which is bordered with 2 big nuclear armaments countries. Mongolia is being model of none nuclear armaments country for other countries, it's one of results. <sup>154</sup>

#### **4.1.2. The participation of integration and to participate in it direct and indirect through the region which entered Mongolia and Mongolian participation.**

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<sup>151</sup> ASEAN Regional forum (2008): "North East Asia Security Challenges: Mongolia's Perceptions" <<http://www.aseanregionalforum.org/PublicLibrary/Publications/AnnualSecurityOutlook2001/Mongolia/tabid/257/Default.aspx>>

<sup>152</sup> Ministry of Foreign affairs and trade, Mongolia (2008): /Mongolia's Nuclear-Weapon-Free Status/ <[http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=223&Itemid=87](http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=223&Itemid=87)>

<sup>153</sup> United Nation's 55th General Assembly (2000): Mongolia's International Security and Nuclear-Weapon free status <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/55/a55166.pdf>

<sup>154</sup> Enhksaihan (2006): Mongoliin tsoмиin zevseggui busiin tuhai /Mon., About Mongolian Non unclear zone / <<http://origo.mn/24tsag/2006/11/15/3830>>



All activities depending on our participation, how to define cultural, political, economy, science, technical interests and also countries ties relationship being closest. Therefore one country couldn't decide all relationship problems. Each country couldn't possibility of in separate decide urgent problems must to counting the condition and with ties it to define the problems. In document of Mongolian foreign policy's defined that "Mongolian foreign policy determined with connecting international development, world, regional political conditions, to define the maintain tasks, to establish the policy". (Mongolian document of foreign policy)

The researcher decided that, XXI century is being Asian-Pacific century. One of Mongolian position's to participate in regional country's continents integration. Most closest to us east north Asian region in first step of their newest development centre, in this region considered biggest century's newest projects, to establish development bank of region, and also by these question, but not only these question described dynamic model of integration, were held many sub contracts, contract, tasks. Mongolian's one of informant task of to enter the membership of Asian Pacific Economical Cooperation.

Mongolia hold trade, commercial contact with 110 countries in the world turnover's 86%, 70% of investment to Mongolia has occupied membership countries of APEC Mongolia<sup>155</sup> held the relationship with not only one, two countries every 2 years were hold Asian European countries leadership in high rank and in this frame established system of mechanism of contracts, tasks. The regional economical, political integration's connecting with the understanding with other countries, hopeless between countries depending on country's security, peace keeping stating. Some of part Mongolian foreign policy's defined the political foreign policy has defined quality (document foreign policy) Also Mongolian principal goal's to provide the regional security and play own role in this operation.

Many researchers thought, that Mongolia is a north-east Asian country, Mongolia and by initiative of Mongolia at the 55 assembly of Union Nation by the initiative of questions of security in last-north Asia and this region and cooperated

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<sup>155</sup> Mongolian foreign trade statistic (2008): <<http://www.census.gov/foreign-trade/balance/c5740.html>>

Mongolia on these question with other countries in this region political and economical relationships bad developed.<sup>156</sup>

Since today didn't established the organization as the European Union, Asian, with supporting Union Nation projected, planned to realize those projects also through the Russian Siberian far east to China, to constructed high voltage line, piper of pass through gas, oil etc, planned many projects in east-north Asian, between these regional countries. Security of Central and east-north Asian cooperation activities widest talks organization is a Shanghais regional corporation biggest regional organization demonstrated their activity in this region.

Main task of this organization uncoordinated with our foreign policy, because our foreign policy's defined the under following prines:

None participating for armaments alliance, activity in peace keeping time, don't entering any military coalition, activity, being the upright keeping, depending on it Mongolia couldn't being the membership of this alliance. One of part in our region established cooperation organization as "Shanghai Cooperation Organization", its globalization, but other parts we could have another widest possibility to hold relationship with many peacekeeping alliance, coalition and countries.

Mongolia is entered to the south-east Asian region's talks organization Asian in 1988 ye its opened possibility of entering for all talks and speeches by the problems of Asian Pacific region countries. The next step of Mongolian foreign policy's to be permanent membership of Asian Pacific Economic Corporation and Asian and to participate in their activity. Asian organization developed after European Union.

Mongolian participation in South Asian integration: Asian not only South East Asian regional organization, but Asian, Pacific and continental organization of economics, politics, security, cooperation organization become the bridge between that

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<sup>156</sup> United Nation's 55th General Assembly (2000): Mongolia's International Security and Nuclear-Weapon free status <http://www.un.org/documents/ga/docs/55/a55166.pdf>  
<http://www.aseanregionalforum.org/PublicLibrary/Publications/AnnualSecurityOutlook2001/Mongolia/ta/bid/257/Default.aspx>

country which hadn't any experiences to cooperate with Pacific region's country's indifference economical structure, indifference development, being the model of indifference countries by for all sphere.

Asian countries in region public valid custom's mitigation, good trade (commercial) condition, give bilateral mitigation to the each country and supporting region's trade, economical circumstances. Therefore one of our important tasks is to take part in region's integration, to be a useful important aspect for us. This organization had limited membership countries, but Mongolia has maintained aspects in it:

-Mongolia hold good, friendly relationship between China, Japan, Korea, these countries our main trade partners, from these countries. We have supporting to be a membership and they expressed the support.

-Mongolia has mine resource product of mining manufactory of agriculture, tourism, these branches has a big future for developing by these spheres Mongolia will cooperate Asian countries, and it's useful for our side. Another side Mongolia may be bad influencing to region country, if not be stability country by economic8 politic, because Mongolia located between Russia and China, placed pass crossing location of different religious crossing . From that condition Mongolia must be membership of this organization.

**4.1.3. World most spreading organization to participate for decides any urgent problems, Mongolia towards the problems before world cooperation and orientated pass through these problems.**

And own experiences, possibility potential side Mongolia declared if participated any communication will be open, to follow energetic foreign policy. Mongolian external Ministry which considering guideline among them to educate operational strategic 2001-2004 years, to forming national security and national developing foreign good condition, to widen cooperation region, other countries, to protect Mongolian citizenship's right abroad, and the following mares were

considered now, take important matters. In this time Mongolia has newest partner-friendly countries.

World Trade Organization is one of the world's famous organizations. Mongolia became a member of the World Trade Organization, International Fund for Agricultural Development, World Bank. These organizations operate their activities through the World Trade Organization. Mongolia entered about 75 trade agreements and contracts in the areas of human rights, crime against fighting, international trade, freight, communication, intellectual property, ocean's rights. Natural conservation has the right protection of this organization.

Nowadays Mongolian foreign relations have increased. Also the United Nations, World Bank, Asian Development Bank that express a desire to cooperate with the non-state organization in the sphere of bank and finance. By this direction in the sphere of social development branches chosen to execute the project, 70% of these projects were executed by nongovernmental organizations, also private, could participate in it.

Today, last year, when organized a group of other national donations for Mongolia, in this time were held donation's meetings 8 times and promised 2.9 billion \$ donations, we got 2.1 billion \$ donation, 1.2 billion of it mitigation loan, 0.9% billion of donation (help)<sup>157</sup>. Certainly our economy needs a loan, donations, but also increased duty, it's would be oppressed on economical increasing, influenced for the economical security.

Period of economical transferring one task was to increase economical condition; therefore Mongolia established "Donation club" participated in this from 1990 Japan, United States of America. At first time Japan was demining coordinator united Korea, United States of America, Germany, England, Denmark, Netherlands etc, after times Russia, World Bank, Int. C. foundation, Asian development fund, bank and financial organizations. Loans restored economy, Mongolia non depending on Russia and

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<sup>157</sup> Batbuyan.Ts (2002): "Globalchlal ba Mongol ulsiin gadaad bodlogo" /Mon., Globalization and Mongolian foreign policy/ Ulaanbaatar. p 95

developed limited depend on Russian, hold the partnership china for all sphere.<sup>158</sup> This steppe help to Mongolia to decide many kept problems, and requests to deepen their success after.

Another part Mongolia has dynamic foreign policy, it was important for economy, In 2002 years, paid a visit General Secretary of Union Nation, this visit expressed open for Mongolia new condition, and it was first visit to Mongolia when Mongolia in new, democratically changing way was chosen by Mongolia. Arable is growing, planted any field, mining, stored the city north of Beijing is losing the balance of ecology, and influenced to Korea, Japan, and United State of America. By the investigation's speech of CIA of United State of America mankind in future will trouble only water problem then conflicts war, its difficult problem in Middle East. North China will have deficit of water nearly. Mongolia must to research it too. If Mongolia will good decide this natural problem Mongolian future depend on it nearest future.

#### **4.2 Globalization and national security of Mongolia and its foreign policy**

The researchers expressed that globalization's deepen and widen in public market, it's become one big understanding. It will be defining by economy, technology, information, communication, also politics, and cultural categories which in content and very uncial action. Influence at globalization's results couldn't research must to warning for the results of influence politics, national security, and independence. The independence is a main issue of the state.

- To get high rights also called internal independent right, this means by the area, area's population will decide last decision. They have special rights on this decision.

- The other country, state recognized the independence and rights of our country, from outside it will be expressed in religion ship.

- The state will operate own rights without any participation and oppress of any foreign country.

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<sup>158</sup> Bataa.G, Galsanjamts.S (1999): "Mongol Ulsiin Undesnii Ayulgui Baidal" /Mon., National Security of Mongolia/ Ulaanbaatar. p 92

How to influence the state rights the globalization, how to discuss the decision that country's own problem, all these question connected with educating the policy, operating the right, potential<sup>159</sup>. Globalization expressing the influence by the following qualities for each country's independent right and education at policy.

1. In separate each country couldn't decide some problems without another part country, one country couldn't consider all problems, and it is none powered.

2. In high level than Union Nation, IC found, World Bank, International organizations, also transnational corporation and their executing roles, influence is increased and from their side increased participation of internal (domestic) state, country problems.

3. The state lost some monopoly mechanism of method to operate the right. Example: Now every (state) country couldn't to control on informational issues.<sup>160</sup> Also Mongolia couldn't in full united to the public market of the world, absolutely closest, depending on geographical location with 2 big powered neighborhood countries influenced, because globalization is too long. The globalization brings to us new possibilities, new experiences, and tests.

Some of part the globalization influenced for the state politics positive. The economical integration requests state, political reform and innovation. Another part the globalization has some opposite sides in it. World Bank, Int C Sound, bank and organization, creditor countries prevent conditions how to coordinate with developing country's interests. Certainly their policy's directed to develop the private business, market and keep it and considered the innovation of market, that's our good factor of their policy, but they limited choice of nation, their decision, state right, policy's decision.

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<sup>159</sup> Dorjsuren.Ts (2002): "Globalchlal ba Mongol Toriin bodlogo" /Mon., Globalazitions and Mongolian state policy/ "Globalization and Mongolian development" confrence. Ulaanbaatar p 113

<sup>160</sup> "Lundeejantsan. (2002): "Globalchlal ba Undesnii ayulgui baidal" /Mon., Globalazitions and National security/ "Globalization and Mongolian development" confrence. Ulaanbaatar p 78

- Economical oppressing is not worsen, Mongolia depending on exports of goods, raw materials, foreign donation and loan, it will be for Mongolia oppressing of duty.

- International and State organization's operation expressed that to blow some urgent problems instead of decide.

- Globalization pressing could we stand with our independence, decision of any problem will limited, couldn't have any independent decision, it will get Mongolian legitimate quality's will be worse, that bad results of it.

- In part of politic with democracy Mongolia has independent full right membership of inter sociality, could after 300 years decide own problems self. Union Nation, Asian Pacific countries supported Mongolian Foreign Relationship and activity, peacekeeping initiatives efforts.

Today Mongolia has diplomatic relationship with 141 countries in the world, membership of 49 countries international and economy entered 159 mutual contracts. In 1990 later Mongolia has diplomatic relationship with 104 countries membership of international economic organization 26 countries, entered to the 79 mutual contracts, it's not only increasing by diagram, it's expresses one of positive side of globalization.<sup>161</sup> Another side the globalizations too weaken right and role of government, national state of bad developing countries, every time, when they have a decision must to ask and to get a vision.

In bad developing countries always delicate economical resource (human, material, finance), uninterrupted the demands, biggest requests of resource, market self coordinated the price connected with it some of part nation's too weaken said Susan in her strait article. Influence of globalization not to limited, because national product's content, financial structure, citizen's understanding, hope, idea, despair expressed all it, it's too much hard to define what's product, who is invested to the production when,

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<sup>161</sup> Mongolian economic statistic (2008):  
<<http://www.nationmaster.com/country/mg-mongolia/eco-economy>>

where it's produced. Also progressive direction of globalization expressed on political and economical sphere. Among them in economical factor: Globalization times, which compared last times.

### **Globalization and Cold War**

Kind direct	Cold war	Globalization
Power structure	USSR and USA Balance of power	Triangle balance 1. Nation, country 2. Nation, country and world market 3. Private person
Economy	National industry Increase direct to export Communist manufacture	Open, uncoordinated Privatization of economy Western coordinated trade
Idea	Capitalism and Socialism Conflict	Free market Capitalism
Perspectives	Divided "wall"	Unite "world wide web"
Warning	liquidation warning	Frighten of speed changing

Last 20 years we take a mere, which coordinated globalization's demand but geographical position locked, information, stayed old technology, population is too small, weaken economy is reduced to participating of globalization with dynamic and couldn't get that criteria, which provide economical security. The person's development, natural security yet adapted with the globalization. Also our education, absolutely pragmatic quality's positive influenced.<sup>162</sup>

For the person has many apposite phenomenon, results of last society. When investigate of globalization and transferring many apposite phenomenons appeared in social, living traditions broke down, appearing homeless children, prostitution, algologist phenomenon crime etc. Doctor Ts.Mukhar said: 10-15 years later every year

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<sup>162</sup> Baatar.Ts (2005): "Globalchlal: CHig handlaga, uil yavts" /Mon., Globalization: the Trent, Action/ "Internationa stuties", Ulaanbaatar. Journal 3 p 64



was born 80 thousand children, now it became 50 thousand. The marriage and aberration statistic showing; behind it is many situation of the national security directly. The female are leading got the education, increased alcoholism. These entire apposite situations influenced to planning of family. Mongolia now in 10<sup>th</sup> place of getting female education, but female student's 70 percent has problem of marriage, they wouldn't like get a simple poor family, depending on it come out stability family. Our southern neighborhood devised "One family-one child" thus following by this devise, among the population leading number of male, it will bad influenced to our country, also sent the people to abroad by working power, single woman married for foreigners, it's increased.

Still today we couldn't get any information for all sphere by specialists level, but now we got all information for us related professionalism's sphere and also we have wide possibility. But great powered country, big nation surpassed by information to small nations, sometimes great country will draw by policy for small nation.

Mongolian state and other organization still isn't founded the informational found really and any investigation, conclusion planning not founded on the real information, couldn't get any citizen's information about taxation, income, credits, because it's difficult to managing social by state, and reduced costuming potential.

Nature conservation: In time of globalization nation's interests unlimited by border. Nowadays many problems surrounding the nature, draught, warming, is deserting to become not only one country's also problems for all people. Nation in the world, every country, each citizen's troubles these problems. Yellow dust's polluted Seoul city's air From Mongolian. Also in China, inner Mongolian steppe inhabited many people, arising population, and they herds

How to decide this problem depended future of our country, and mining resource, it will be (decision right) guarantee of future. Difference of development increased rich and poor poles, some country possible to develop, some country's

weaken, poor, the person for self for developing, make effort for their life and country. Some of parts are absolutely conflicted problem.

Mongolian population still today kept nomadic tradition. That is good but their tradition, technology stayed of time, weaken infrastructure, depend on neighboring country is we lead the neighbor or stay of them depend on us, on them, sometimes staying will useful for our country in this century other nation's interests how to influence to country, to define developments strategy in positive for our country to count the special, uncial possibility, appositive factor t us good research and define the strategic.

Also warn of appositive results to direct by right position, hold right Principe and to manage our country by right, positive direction. Between 2 nuclear armaments countries how to communicate with our neighboring countries, couldn't any exit for bordering. Mongolian foreign security depends on 2 neighbors, their internal policies, relationship, how Mongolia depends on regions.

Now China, Russia to have internal problem inside their country. 2 countries considering their economical, political innovation, changements, they really need, being in peace, but all this remembered events in 1950 between 2 countries.

Maintain task of foreign policy communicate the relationship with western, eastern countries, to widen it, none participation any coalition, none nuclear armaments status, none placing military in our area. The program with 6 chapters expressed that to develop relationship with eastern European countries, Russia, China, Asian countries. Open foreign policy played big role of change the status of country, to be independent country.

Third neighborhood: What's the 3<sup>rd</sup> neighborhood? Whose we could call? It's a United State of America or Japan? By directing international right, legitimating we could decide it smart. Small countries couldn't be a 3<sup>rd</sup> neighborhood, because their role isn't big, they couldn't determine. In peacekeeping time small countries transferring

with international organization considered legislature, interests and security. Some of part small country always being out of conflict, war, some of parts they will be a good partner. In war time they high possibility of danger, because they want to realize international legitimate and to perfecting international court and participated in peacekeeping process.

International right's recognized 3<sup>rd</sup> neighborhood one of this aspect's general 53<sup>rd</sup> assembly of Union Nation approved the resolution. That was International and none nuclear status in Mongolian security. Mongolia efforts to have lobby group, which is supported Mongolian interests, connecting with related political and economical and humanitarian spheres. Mongolian diplomats nearest policy, task is, to organize interesting groups in great influenced countries.

Another part domestic policy's very necessary, reduce the poverty, to reduce depending on import, to be a good educational systems, manage the country without risk and mistakes, to prepare leader in future, to develop country, hold good relationship with neighborhood, to liquid apposite direction as the locked country, to be a good infrastructure increase the level of education of youth, if we could decide all these problem Mongolia become high developed country.

In 1994, Mongolia has approved Mongolian foreign policy's document is ruled this direction Mongolia being friendly neighbor for China and Russia, will keep balances with 2 countries, as the good neighboring and develop future cooperation, realized it intergovernmental relationship with 2 countries developed. In 2008, foreign trade; whole exports 64 percent China, 3.3 percent Russia occupied the trade ship, import with Russia was 39.3 percent, China 33 percent this statistics expressed influence of 2 countries nowadays increased, not reduced.<sup>163</sup>

Russia: One biggest trade partner supplied the goods: petroleum, oil products, electro energy, parts, and equipments. Old Mongolian factory, agriculture, power station,

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<sup>163</sup> Mongolian economic statistic (2008):  
<http://www.nationmaster.com/country/mg-mongolia/eco-economy>

manufacture, industries branches were equipped by Russian equipments. Also Mongolia bordered with Russia 345 km, issue to hold relationship with Russia.<sup>164</sup>

China: Cold war ended, Russian-China's relationship is normalized and Russia got out of Mongolia military. The saying situation get to the friendly relationship is with 2 neighboring countries, its one biggest example Mongolia depending on neighbor's policy. In last times Mongolian relationship with China to issue on communicative rights, right equal, friendly atmosphere.<sup>165</sup> It was right position. World recognized equal rights between two countries. Also Mongolian China's high level visits continued. Multiplier open foreign policy; in 1990 Mongolia has and domestic and foreign newest situation, attended by new security problem. In 1994 Mongolia has approved document of National Security policy, in 1998 year Policy of Mongolian State Military. These entire documents are shown, that in newest situation now adapted Mongolia quickly.

In this document Mongolia must to hold the relationship with many countries, it's useful for our country, noticed. Mongolia developed the relationship by diplomat policy, economy, and cultural, educational health spheres with other countries. Mongolia holds diplomatic relationship and entered with 140 countries, trade relationship with 80 countries, intergovernmental 48 countries, and multilateral 132 countries. Mongolia has multilateral policy, political parties got to progress and kept the traditions of foreign policy.<sup>166</sup>

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<sup>164</sup> Also there.

<sup>165</sup> History of Mongolian foreign policy, <<http://countrystudies.us/mongolia/63.htm>>

<sup>166</sup> Ministry of foreign affairs and trade, Mongolia (2008): "[Multilateral relations](http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=45&Itemid=45&lang=en)"  
<[http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=view&id=45&Itemid=45&lang=en](http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com_content&task=view&id=45&Itemid=45&lang=en)>

## **Conclusion remark**

The role of foreign policy is very important due to the geographic location, economy, politics, military capacity etc. The fundamental principle of foreign policy focused on national security is “preservation of balance of power”. The other principles of foreign policy such as seeking for third partner, non-aligned country concept directly come out of the balance of power foreign policy. Policy of insuring balance of power focuses on not only balancing of influences of the two neighbors but also on reducing predomination of any country’s influence and creating economic interest of third partner in the country.

The third neighbor country does not necessarily mean any single country but it may include developed countries as well as international organizations as a whole as commonly understood by majority of researchers. It is concluded that third neighbor interest in Mongolia is already created realistically. For example, Mongolia values democracy which is a common development trend of the world. There is an interest of third partner and international organization to support the democratic processes in Mongolia for the purpose of making it as a model of transition to democracy for the countries like China, which has a totalitarian regime, and Russia, which is too much controlled by one party, and other countries of Asia with monarchy and authoritarian regimes. For example, Donor Countries Meeting was established in Mongolia to provide loan and assistance services and also US government is granting 285 million US\$ from its Millennium Growth Fund to Mongolia.

Number of developed countries interested in investing in Mongolia, which has a vast territory and rich natural resources, is increasing now. The main example of this is that Canadian investors, leaders in mining sector, is leading foreign investment in Mongolia and China is in second place so far.

We are cooperating with Union Nation in the field of world peace keeping mission by sending our military team and trainers within the framework of policy of securing military and political security guarantee by creating system of mutual security. Also Mongolia became associate member of Shanghai Mutual Cooperation Organization, a regional military and political organization, which shows that Mongolia is making certain success by pursuing efficient foreign policy focused on incurring national security. It is important to secure and improve this success.

## Chapter 5 Conclusion

The collapse of socialist system changed the national security environment of Mongolia completely. We are trying to insure national security of Mongolia by active foreign and domestic policies in legal, political and economic framework. For example, in terms of legal framework, national security concept, national security law, foreign police concept, law on nuclear arms free status and other related laws were developed and approved by the parliament. Mongolia has developed comprehensive cooperation with Union Nation by joining in its over 120 treaties, proposing and getting approved about 19 Union Nation resolutions, furthermore, it became a member 49 regional organizations as well. Mongolia has improved its relationship with two neighboring countries newly establishing 106 inter-governmental bilateral agreements with Russia and 126 bilateral agreements with China respectively within the equal relationship policy.<sup>167</sup>

In terms of political framework Mongolia values principles of democracy, justice, equality and introduced the system of nationwide election of the parliament, which is very important for insuring national security and avoiding creation of dictatorship of a person or a group. Also Mongolia expanded the number of countries with diplomatic relations as well as number of its embassies and offices of diplomatic representatives and became member of many international organizations. During last 20 years Mongolia has established diplomatic relation newly with over 40 countries and became member and associate member of international organizations such as Asia Pacific Assembly, Shanghai Mutual Cooperation Association etc.<sup>168</sup>

In terms of economic framework, Mongolia has transferred into free market economy system and creation of developed economy based on private sector is

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<sup>167</sup> Ministry of foreign policy and trade, Mongolia (2008): Mongolian bilateral relations <[http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=category&sectionid=5&id=19&Itemid=42](http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com_content&task=category&sectionid=5&id=19&Itemid=42)>

<sup>168</sup> Ministry of foreign policy and trade, Mongolia (2008): Mongolian [Multilateral](#) relations <[http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com\\_content&task=category&sectionid=5&id=19&Itemid=42p](http://www.mfat.gov.mn/index.php?option=com_content&task=category&sectionid=5&id=19&Itemid=42p)>

considered as the basis of the national economic security guarantee. The gross domestic products increased by 10.2 % in 2007 and by 8.9 % in 2008 respectively and total export increased by 30.3 % and import by 66.6 % in 2008 respectively. It is a great progress in securing national economic security.<sup>169</sup>

Even though many activities have been carried out for preserving national security still there are many factors that need to be addressed: In terms of legal environment, some of the existing legal documents are not clear enough or need certain revision in consistency with the present requirements. For example: The law states that Mongolia shall secure its international guarantee of national security by way of combining unilateral, bilateral or multilateral measures. And military and political security guarantee shall be secured by creating system of preserving mutual security.<sup>170</sup> This provision is understood that Mongolia will pursue an active foreign policy and its military and political security guarantee will be insured jointly with other countries or coalition and also by joining international organization. But this is contradicting with the provision of the principle of non-aligned policy in case no threat is happens to the basic interest of Mongolia.

Therefore, it is required to clarify the meaning of “creation of system of securing national security” and “cooperation” etc. It is necessarily required to clarify the consistency between the provisions: “non-aligned” foreign policy shall be pursued and to pursue policy to develop international cooperation, to honor national interest and to have many partners in today’s ever increasing globalization of international relations.

In the foreign policy concept the foreign policy of Mongolia is defined as follows: the leading direction and objectives can be determined with flexibility in consistency with further trends and development of international relations and world and regional political situation. This is good thing that the leading direction and

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<sup>169</sup> Statistic of Mongolian economic (2008): <<http://www.nationmaster.com/country/mg-mongolia/eco-economy>>

<sup>170</sup> Concept of Mongolian National Security (1994): Ulaanbaatar. General Provisions. p 25



objectives of foreign policy can be flexible depending on situation, however, it does not state how to make the changes, who should propose, how to negotiate to make revision.

There are some measures taken by the government breaching the principles of national security when participating in international relations. For example, Mongolia sent its troops to participate in the “Dessert Storm” international military operation with a purpose of giving freedom to Iraq and Mongolian military mission is working in Afghanistan within the framework of the Afghanistan army development program. These measures are contradicting with the principle of insuring national security by using non-aligned status.<sup>171</sup>

I agree with the conclusions done by many studies that the most vulnerable aspect of our national security is the economic security issue. If we see the economy from the quantitative indicators point of view it seems like the economy is very good with high increases year by year, however, there are many thing to take into consideration from the quality point of view. For example, in terms of foriegn trade, 71.9 percent of export is made to China, 10.7 percent to Canada and 32 percent of import is done from China, 29.4 % from Russia respectively. The 71.9 percent or about  $\frac{3}{4}$  of the total export is done with a single country and 61.6 percent of import is done from the two neighbours. In terms of foreign investment , 48.4 percent of foreign investment is made in exploration and mining industry, 17.7 percent in trade and service sector, 4.9 percent in banking and financial sector and 3.2 percent in construction sector respectively and China is leading and Canada is in second place in terms of their investment in Mongolia. Russia is included in top 5 countries.<sup>172</sup>

The above data shows that the national security principles of third neighbor and balance of power have not been implemented in our economic policy. The main reasons are the landlocked geographical condition, poor development of domestic

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<sup>171</sup> Bayarmagnai.B (2005): Challenges Facing Mongolia's Participation in Coalition Military Opoerations

<<http://www.strategicstudiesinstitute.army.mil/pdffiles/ksil52.pdf>>

<sup>172</sup> Statistic of Mongolian economic (2008):

<<http://www.nationmaster.com/country/mg-mongolia/eco-economy>>

manufacturing and lack of policy to support domestic manufacturing. It is considered appropriate to make the following proposals considering the above factors:

- to make changes in legislation considering the changes in the national security environment;

- to conduct an efficient and pragmatic foreign policy based on the legal principles of insuring national security /since contradicting policy measures have been taken many times/;

- to give higher priority to issues of insuring national economic security and to pursue economic policy to support national manufacturing;

- to become manufacturing country insted of being a raw material supplier;

- to pay attention to the increase of the negative social factors such as dipsomania, crimes rate, unemployment etc.

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