

Baasankhuu Ganbaatar

National University of Mongolia, Ulan-Bator
(E-mail: baasankhuu_sfs@yahoo.com)

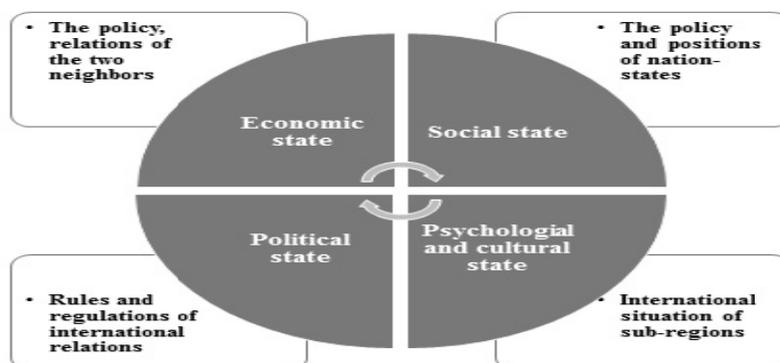
Mongolian Democratic Foreign Policy since 1990's

In 1990, Mongolia had a peaceful revolution like the other countries of the Eastern bloc. These were the beneficial changes that occurred in both internal and external environments of Mongolia's security. Many countries supported Mongolia for transitioning into democratic political system and market economy relations like other former socialist countries did. As Mongolia transitioned into democracy, approaches towards Mongolia from two neighbors changed as well. The favorable relationship between the two neighboring countries is one of the external factors that influence Mongolian foreign affairs to be broad, multifaceted, independent and flexible. The main 3 principles of Mongolia's foreign policy includes the neutral policy with two neighbors, third neighbor policy and nuclear free status. Mongolia as a democratic country is focusing more on the policies above that have become the main diplomatic achievements to ensure the national security in political and diplomatic way. With the help of democracy, an active foreign policy, cooperation and guarantee for external security, foreign investments and most importantly international fame, which did not exist before, were brought to Mongolia.

Keywords: international relations, international law, nuclear weapons, peace, international agreements, negotiations, foreign policy, democracy, national security, multilateral relations, «third neighbor» policy, diplomacy.

In the winter of 1990, Mongolia saw its own peaceful revolution following the trend of the «Velvet Revolution» of the Eastern Bloc countries, which was highly influenced by the restructuring of the Soviet Union, and irrevocably followed the road to democracy and transition to market economy. At the early stage of the transition, Mongolia, which had been dependent on the Soviet Union for seventy years, needed to restore its foreign policy, especially its relationship with the western countries. Mongolia also had to receive political and economic support from the malong with the intense reformation of its domestic politics, economy and society. Further more, it was vital for our national security as well as the development of foreign relations to renew the fundamental legal records of Mongolia's relationship with its two neighbors — the neuro zone of the external environment of Mongolia's security — and to develop a relationship based on equal conditions together with friendly and mutually beneficial cooperation.

There were numerous external and internal factors that helped shape Mongolia's foreign relations development and policy progress, and they varied according to the historic features of geopolitics. The external factors include two neighboring countries' policy, their relations, the international situation of sub-regions, nation-states' policy and their position on Mongolia and current rules and regulations of international relations. The main internal factors were society, economy, politics and social psychology of Mongolia.



I. Historic geopolitical situation

The few things that the world is aware of Mongolia are Chinggis Khaan, and the Mongol empire that conquered half of the world. In fact, in order to understand Mongolian foreign policy and the features of its foreign relations, its historic geopolitical situation needs to be studied. The reason why is for nomadic Mon-

golians, overseas trade has been of significant importance. Moreover, Mongolia's foreign relations and foreign policy have been defined by its landlocked geopolitical location.

The «People's revolution» was achieved in 1921 with the assistance of Soviet Russia's government, and although Mongolia declared its independence on the 11th of July that year, not a single country acknowledged it on an international level. Even on the agreement made with the Soviet Union in August, not a single word about Mongolian independence was recorded [1]. By adopting its new constitution in 1924, Mongolia inescapably became one of the soviet-styled socialist countries. However, during that time only Soviet Russia had acknowledged Mongolia's independence.

The Yalta conference between the three leaders of the Allies during the Second World War played a significant role in gaining official recognition of Mongolia's independence on an international level, especially from China. During the meeting, I.V Stalin, the leader of Soviet Union convinced W. Churchill, the prime minister of the UK and F. Roosevelt, the president of the USA and consequently Mongolia retained its «status-quo» [2]. At the time, Chinese delegates tried to sway the situation by bringing out an argument that stated Mongolian people might not want independence. Therefore, on the 20th of October 1945, an independence referendum was held in Mongolia with a participation of 98.4% of the population and was approved by 100% of voters [3].

The atmosphere of the Cold war after the WWII, the changes in the environment of Mongolia's security including the competition between the Soviet Union and the US in northeast Asia, Chinese Civil war during 1947–1949 and communists led by Mao attaining authority in Mainland China influenced Mongolia's foreign policy significantly. At the same time, the colonial system fell, the role of the UN increased and the status of the Third World rose. Establishing diplomatic relations with newly independent Asian countries positively influenced Mongolia's foreign affairs, which were limited by relationships with only a few Eastern Bloc countries.

Mongolia established diplomatic and consular relations with sixteen socialist countries of the Eastern Bloc and strengthened its foreign affairs until it joined the UN in 1961: with Russia on November 5, 1921, with People's Republic of Korea on October 15, 1948, with Albania on May 24 of 1949, with China on October 16 1949, with Poland, Bulgaria and Romania in April, 1950, with Socialist Republic of Vietnam in 1954, and with India in 1955.

During this period, Mongolia attempted to join the UN several times, yet the requests were rejected due to Chiang-Kai Shek's position on Mongolia [4]. The two of the most influential events that took place in the second half of the 20th century were the fall of colonial system and the emergence of the Third World and they showed great importance in the broadening of Mongolia's foreign relations. Furthermore, the change in USA's policy towards China and the People's Republic of China obtaining the position in UN Security Council from Chiang Kai Shek helped Mongolia, who had been requesting to join the UN for a long time. By becoming the member of the UN on 24 October, 1961, Mongolia attained an international guarantee for its independence. Although Mongolia followed a socialist-style direction during the years between 1961 and the end of the Cold War, it established diplomatic relations with 86 countries.

However, as a country of the Eastern Bloc, Mongolia's foreign affairs were narrowly determined by relationships with a few socialist countries. Basically, Mongolia was fully dependent on the Soviet Union in political, strategic, economic, educational and cultural ways.

At the same time as the reformation policy of the Soviet Union and the «Velvet Revolution» in Eastern Bloc countries that occurred between the 80's and the 90's of the 20th century, the external environment of Mongolia's security was changed.

In other words, it can be observed from the history that geopolitical condition — the landlocked location has been the key factor that influenced Mongolia's foreign policy.

During its powerful times, Mongolia wrecked its bounded state and established a powerful empire that controlled the main international trade route. In contrast, throughout its time as a small nation, Mongolia has been overcoming the unfavorable geopolitical conditions with diplomatic and political methods and emphasized providing sustainable overseas trading that suits nomadic Mongolians and confirming its security from its two powerful neighbors.

The reason is because Mongolia faced the danger of losing its independence and becoming fully dependent on its neighbors during its fragile times. The two hundred years under the Qing rule and the seventy years of Soviet oppression proved that Mongolia can only gain guarantee for its foreign policy and independence through diplomatic and balanced relations with its neighboring countries. Moreover, Mongolia's

sandwiched geopolitical feature can be determined by Mongolia's national security being closely connected to its relationship with Russia and China.

II. The external conditions of Mongolia's foreign affairs since 1990

In 1985, M.S. Gorbachev, the new leader of the Soviet Union launched a reformation policy known as the «perestroika», which helped countries like Mongolia that were too dependent on the Soviet to conduct a relatively liberal policy; it provided the opportunity to make internal and external changes. For instance, Mongolia established diplomatic relations with the US in 1987, and following Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik, Mongolia established diplomatic relations with South Korea in 1990, which started conducting Nordpolitik policy.

Since 1985, in order to successfully conduct the restructuring policy, the Soviet Union started concentrating on soothing its relationship with the US and the Western countries, creating a calm atmosphere; thus investing the large amount of defense spending in economy, and receiving grants and loans from Western Countries for its reformation. The Soviet Union's new leader M. Gorbachev implemented transparency along with a new political doctrine, which was based on the idea that highlights values of brigades as well as human values. Due to the massive accumulation of nuclear weapons, which can destroy the earth a several times, he appealed for reducing use of force in international relations and implementing a smart, self-sustaining military force. All humans are closely connected to each other and in order to survive, the global issues need to be solved by not a single or a few countries, but by the world community. Therefore, he pointed out that the Soviet Union needs to communicate broadly with all countries of the world regardless of their social structures. Within this frame, he also acknowledged mistakes that were made in relationship with China and other countries.

The idea of complex peace initiative brought out by Gorbachev was a new call for ending Cold War in Asia. In his book «Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World», he gave a positive evaluation of «the Four Modernization» policy of China for the first time and suggested to restore diplomatic relationship with the great socialist China as well as to use the benefits of «the Four Modernizations» for it [5], which drew the Chinese officials' attention.

Within the framework of the reduction in force along China border, M.S. Gorbachev also announced the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia's territory.

The Soviet Union resolving issues with the US, Western countries, and with Afghanistan, stabilizing diplomatic relations with its neighbor China, restoring relationship with Japan and cooperating with South Korea on trade and economy — all these were favorable external conditions for Soviet Union's small neighbor, Mongolia. Inasmuch as, even though Mongolia was not a member country of the Warsaw Pact, it was a member of the Council for Mutual Economic Assistance and was completely dependent on Soviet Union.

In 1990, Mongolia had a peaceful revolution like the other countries of the Eastern bloc, and soon, in 1991 the Soviet Union collapsed. These were the beneficial changes that occurred in both internal and external environments of Mongolia's security. Many countries supported Mongolia for transitioning into democratic political system and market economy relations like other former socialist countries did.

As Mongolia transitioned into democracy, approaches towards Mongolia from two neighbors changed as well. Although the succession of the Soviet Union, the Russian Federation's domestic economy and politics were in a difficult state, and their foreign policy was determined by their sharp turn to West — the «Atlantic-style», Russia stated that they were ready to look back the previous unequal relations with Mongolia. Eventually, Mongolia and Russia signed a Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation, which took the relationship to a new stage where it was based on equal conditions. Later, the Russian Federation following the Western models and Mongolia following the Northeast Asian path have caused an idle relationship between the two countries, which became active after the state visit of President Vladimir Putin to Mongolia in November, 2000. The signing of «Ulaanbaatar Declaration» defined the main directions of two countries' multifaceted cooperation and became an important step towards a noticeable activation of Mongolia and Russia's relations and cooperation. A joint statement about the after-effect of Mongolian Prime Minister's official visit to Russia in 2003 highlighted that «the special character of Mongolia-Russia relations, which was strongly based on the traditional and good-neighborly partnership, is still retained throughout its development during the new historic condition». The bilateral relations were then shifted into the principles of «traditional partnership of good-neighborliness».

Defining the relations and cooperation between Mongolia and Russia as «strategic partnership» in the «Moscow Declaration», which was signed by the two dignitaries during Mongolian President's state visit to Russia in 2006, became significantly important.

During D.A. Medved's state visit to Mongolia in August 2009, the two sides unanimously acknowledged the intense progress of Mongolia and Russia's strategic partnership, as well as its entrance to a new development level and signed the «Declaration on Development of Strategic Partnership».

Mongolia established diplomatic relations with the People's Republic of China in on 16 October, 1949. The two sides signing the treaty on friendly relations and good-neighborliness in 1994 became the legal base for the modern relations that took the relationship to a new level. Today, there are about 60 treaties and agreements in force that regulate the relationship and cooperation issues of the two countries.

In the course of Chinese President Hu Jin Tao's state visit to Mongolia in June, 2003, the two sides agreed on developing a good-neighborly, mutually trusting strategic partnership. In 2011 during the state visit of Premier Minister N. Altanhuyag to the China signed the mid and long term strategic partnership program [6]. China is the largest trading partner of Mongolia and has been continuously leading the foreign investors' list for the last 10 years.

Moreover, one of the external factors that favorably influence Mongolia's balanced relationship with its neighbors is the intense development of China and Russia's strategic partnership.

Non-alignment and non-conflict are the important characters of Russia and China's relations. In their history, the Soviet Union and China were allies as well as hostiles. The internal meanings of non-alignment and non-conflicts are not establishing alliance 'against' any third country and not establishing alliance 'with' any third country. The emphasis of the third country in two countries' relations has historical reasons. More or less, there had been influence of the third country in Russia-China's relations for a long time [7]. The development of the two neighbors' efficient relations became a far-reaching step in their history. Since Yeltsin's visit to China in April 1996, they decided to develop «a strategic and cooperative partnership based on equality and mutual trust and oriented towards the 21st century». As Russian President Vladimir Putin converged Russian foreign policy orientations in Eurasia instead of the West, the bilateral relations with China became more intense. On 18 April 2000, the heads of the two countries signed «Beijing Declaration», agreeing to promote comprehensive partnership relations towards the new century. *The favorable relationship between the two neighboring countries is one of the external factors that influence Mongolian foreign affairs to be broad, multifaceted, independent and flexible.*

The US and other major powers that were capable of providing essential supports in Mongolian economic and political fields, which were necessary for developing democracy as well as overcoming the difficult times of economic transition, affected Mongolian foreign affairs development and the implementation of multifaceted, independent foreign policy. The Federal Republic Germany and Japan must be pointed out here. These two countries supported Mongolia from the first day of its transition into democracy, and started showing political and economic support.

Mongolia established diplomatic relations with the US on 27 January, 1987. America's influence in Mongolian foreign relations development has been increasing since 1990. In 2004, during Mongolian President N. Bagabandi's visit to America, the two nations agreed on the bilateral relations promotion to «comprehensive partnership based on common values and shared strategic interests», which was stated in «Mongolia-United States Joint Statement». *The US has been supporting Mongolia for being a committed supporter of democracy.*

Japan is one of the most important partners of Mongolia. The calming of Cold War and revolution in China-America relations became a pleasing effect for the establishment of relations between Mongolia and Japan. The two countries established diplomatic relations on 24 February, 1972. Until 1990, the relationship was developing normally, if not intensely. In 1991, Japanese Prime Minister T. Kaifu paid an official visit to Mongolia, which activated the cooperation in all fields. As a result of Mongolian President Elbegdorj's visit to Japan in November 2011, Mongolia-Japan Joint Tokyo statement was issued and the bilateral relations now have developed to a degree where a strategic partnership based on comprehensive partnership is being developed.

Although Mongolia established diplomatic relations with the Federal Republic of Germany on 31 January, 1974 as a result of Willy Brandt's Ostpolitik, after the reunification of Germany in 1990, the bilateral relations were taken to a new stage. As a country that initiatively supported Mongolia for its democratic processes, Germany's government has been supporting the legal and educational reforms that were important for strengthening democracy for strategic purposes. The President of Germany's official visit to Mongolia

in 1998 was the first of the Presidents' of developed countries. A joint declaration on the basis of relations established in 1995 is used as basic legal source for all fields of the bilateral relations. In 2011, in course of the German Chancellor Angela Merkel's visit to Mongolia in 2011, the sides agreed on taking the bilateral relationship to an advanced level.

After transitioning into democracy, Mongolia established diplomatic relations with about 60 countries and the number has increased to 174 today. In addition to the countries mentioned above, Mongolia has been promoting cooperation and partnership with South Korea, Italy, Canada and Australia in the last 20 years.

On one hand, this shows that these countries support Mongolia's path in democracy and this is the direct outcome of our country employing the human rights based approach and democratic values, which are the main sociopolitical values of the majority of the world's countries'. On the other hand, this clearly shows by transitioning to democracy and market relations, Mongolia's strategic mines have become the center of many countries' attention.

As mentioned before, because Mongolia's development and external security depend greatly on foreign trade coherent with geopolitical context, Mongolia's government has developed an agenda to enhance foreign relations economically in 2009, and is adhering since. The agenda also includes the effective usage of strategic mines. Therefore, the matter of starting up mines which have major resources and is acknowledged worldwide, such as OyuTolgoi's copper and gold mine, Asgat's silver mine, Dornod's uranium mine, and Umnugovi's coal mine, thus developing our country from the profit made from those mines, and in such context inevitably cooperating with other countries as a country with a small and developing economy, has been discussed. The fact that mines which have large quantities of energy and nonferrous metal resources are being discovered in Mongolia, has a big influence on how not only our two neighbors but the whole world is advancing their relations with Mongolia.

Mongolia has largely focused on cooperating with international organizations, and has joined IMF, the World Bank and the Asian Development Bank in 1991, World Trade Organization in 1997, and the Non-alignment movement in 1990 after the soviet military moved out and after sending requests for many years. In 2008 Mongolia has joined ASEM, and the OSCE in 2012. The loans and soft loans given to Democratic Mongolia's economy from The Asian Development Bank and the IMF has played a crucial role in sustaining stable economy and overcoming the transition.

Contemporarily Mongolia's peacekeepers are actively taking part in international peacekeeping operations with UN mandates, which shows that we have succeeded in rising from a socialist era country that is protected by others, to a country that protects others [8]. The fact that Mongolia has chaired the Association of Democratic Countries from 2011–2013 is a clear display of our country being fully acknowledged by the international community as a small democratic country. In 2016 Mongolia organized ASEM Meeting in Ulaanbaatar successfully.

Judging from these facts, Mongolia has pursued an independent, multi-pillared and well balanced foreign policy since 1990.

Because Mongolia is small and has a disadvantageous geopolitical position, we have long believed that we should ensure our national security not by military force but only by political and diplomatic ways, and in this range we have pursued a strategic aim to keep a non-aligned, neutral international status, to keep a balanced relationship with our two neighbors, and to receive political and economic aid from developed countries within the third-neighbor policy. It has been reflected in the Military doctrine, National security concept, and Foreign policy concept which are the main legal documents of Mongolia's national security and foreign policy.

III. Domestic conditions that affected Mongolia's foreign relations following 1990

The transitional state caused a big crisis in Mongolian society. However, Mongolia's government never backed down from the transition to democracy, and it was crucial for Mongolia, which was too dependent on one country for 70 years prior, to achieve international political support, attract foreign donor countries, and solve domestic issues independently. Privatization and the unemployment, bankruptcy and collapse of industries that followed caused a big crisis in society. Even though small to medium enterprises started developing rapidly, national production took a fall and became abandoned which was the most tragic issue that arose in the last twenty years. Today, although private sector is making up 70% of Mongolia's GDP, a big manufacturing factory almost has not been built.

Following unemployment many sensitive social issues began arising which made Mongolia's new political powers too focused on social welfare policies which in turn caused inflation. Unemployment passed

10%, and contemporarily it hasn't declined much and has reached 36% in 2005, 33,7% in 2010, 28,9% in 2012, 9,4% whereas the concept of unemployment did not exist before.

Among Mongolians' social crisis, psychological pain developed and excessive drinking as well as homeless lifestyle increased rapidly because of the sudden transition from socialism to market relations. This in turn caused gender issues and increase in international crimes such as human trafficking and drugs, which wasn't in society before.

In 1992, Mongolia adopted the new Constitution and became a republican parliamentary democracy. Mongolia's the main decision making authority goes to the State Great Khural (with 76 members) and the Government which answers to it. The president is the symbol of national unity. As for the political system, although we have a multiparty system, the Mongolian People's Party and the Mongolian Democratic Party are the two main political powers which have been taking power alternatively. These two parties have had different positions regarding domestic politics, but they have been united in terms of foreign relations and not only have they maintained Mongolia's foreign policy's continuity, they have had an integrated position of focusing on keeping our country's external security environment pleasant.

Even though the transition years have been difficult, foreign subjects' interest in Mongolia's economy, market, especially raw material, which gradually revived, has developed economic cooperation and increased foreign investment. The formation of the concept of respecting human rights and democracy in political, social, cultural mindset has obtained the support of international community and has rapidly developed our foreign relations in every sector. As a result, our country's international reputation has increased as a country which consistently supports democracy in a short period.

IV. The democratic Mongolia's foreign policy theory and its basis and implementation

During the adoption of the first foreign policy concept, in early 1990, Mongolia had started to pursue an independent policy. As a country transitioning from socialism to democracy, it was crucial to become fully acknowledged by super states, international organizations and especially western countries in order to validate our independence, as well as expand our relations which was previously only limited by establishing diplomatic relations, with those countries and get their political support in terms of security. In this range, multi-pillared foreign policy arose simultaneously with independent status and thus named our foreign policy activities. This also met the requirements to get foreign economic aid due to the difficult situation of domestic transitional economy and politics.

Furthermore, the idea to pursue a balanced foreign policy has developed in order not to go back to the tragic historical situation and become too dependent on international subject or a super state.

A long-term and sensible ideology was necessary to firstly develop a balanced and friendly relationship with our two neighbors, and to not be politically and strategically pressured by our two neighbors or super states. Some analysts made an initiative to have a neutral status, but by majority vote we joined the Non-alignment movement in 1990 and switched to a status of non-alignment.

In truth, neutral status in Asia often became unsuccessful. For example, while Bhutan, which is in between India and China, got itself into a more oppressed situation by becoming a neutral country, Cambodia, which became a neutral country due to the Vietnamese War, became a socialist country in the end. In today's world of globalization, many countries are rethinking their neutral status and are actively joining international organizations.

By joining the Non-Aligned Movement, Mongolia has solidified its position in the international community, as well as achieving the opportunity to have more elastic relations with its two neighbors along with third party countries. Although some researchers claim that non-alignment is past its time and was only significant during the Cold War, we know that the only possibility of resisting direct pressure from any one country is, rather than one great nation, exclusively the Non-Aligned Movement which contains almost 100 countries from all over the world.

In other words, the main base of Mongolia's foreign policy is a pragmatic non-alignment stance. Based on this, the main goal of Mongolia's foreign policy is:

- Relations with its two neighbors;
- Relations with great nations and regional powers;
- Active participation in the International Co-operative Alliance [9].

We have gone through both favorable and unfavorable relations with our two neighbors and as mentioned before our relations with our two neighbors are dependent upon the relations between these two rather than Mongolia's own interests. The agreements of camaraderie and cooperation made between Russia

in 1993, and China in 1994 secured our environment of international security are important documents and as a result, we maintain a neutral position towards both of our neighboring countries.

As a result, even though there are certain problems pertaining to Russia's heavy interest in the matter of the ownership of collaborative companies such as copper and molybdenum mine Erdenet, Ulaanbaatar Railway, and Mongol rostsvetmet; Mongolia still dependent on almost its entire oil needs, as well as heavily regarding Russia's policies and stances shows that the relationship between the two countries is almost the same as before.

Also, in regards to China, there are historical prejudices between the people of the two nations (Mongolians don't like Chinese people, view them as deceitful, backstabbing, lying while Chinese view Mongolians as stupid and barbaric), although China attempts to pressure Mongolia because of the Dalai Lama's visit, although Mongolia accepts that Taiwan is a part of China, although Mongolia does not interfere in China's issues with Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang-Uighur, and Tibet, Mongolia is still very much dependent on China for every day necessities as well as supplying China with raw materials at a cheap price illustrates that the relations between China and Mongolia still remain the same.

Both neighbors respect the neutral state policy of our country, which they perceive as an assurance that no third power will come into direct political and strategic influence on Mongolia.

Mongolia had to make a solid ordination on political and regional matters during the confirmation of foreign policy concept, in order to get the opportunity of becoming part of integration and to approach the countries that can show direct political, economic and financial support. Therefore, Mongolia has been pointing out in its' foreign policy concept and diplomacy that it is a North East Asian country for the last 20 years. As a result, not only the relation between Japan and Mongolia has deepened but also South Korea has become the second biggest investing country. Moreover, Mongolia has become a member of ARF in 2008 for participating initiatively in joint-regional activities.

Power and donor countries play important role for Mongolia's economic and political security. The term of «third neighbor policy» was first mentioned by Beaker in 1991 during his visit to Mongolia, which affected the policy to expand. The third neighbor policy was studied theoretically and mentioned frequently. Therefore, during 2000–2002 numbers of Mongolian scholars and researchers have implemented a project regarding the third neighbor policy and national security concept. More likely, developed countries such as USA, Japan, Germany and South Korea were named as third neighbors according to scholars. On the other hand, it became an interesting point at that time when some researchers named international organizations as third neighbors of Mongolia

Every country, that is potential and interested to cooperate with Mongolia as neighbor countries, regardless of geographical location, is considered as third neighbor.

Indeed, it includes developed countries with big economies, nevertheless, for the last few years small countries such as Kuwait have showed its interest in expanding relations by becoming third neighbor of Mongolia.

Being a member of North East Asian countries has become significant for Mongolia as it is the main connection to the world economy.

Having our two neighbor countries, Japan and South Korea all in the same region makes the matter more significant. Mongolia is the only country that has a friendly relation with all the countries in the region regardless of political and territorial issues. For that reason, many scholars believe that Ulaanbaatar can become Helsinki, by taking advantage of its neutral policy and become the bridge to solve the North Korean nuclear problem (Helsinki agreement on European boundaries, 1975).

One of the most important matters in national security and foreign policy is the role in international organizations. Mongolia cooperates with all the UN specialized agencies. Moreover, Mongolia has participated in many international security projects and has initiated nuclear free zone decree in 1992 which became official by UN General Assembly in 2000. Mongolia's nuclear free status being tested practically would definitely correspond with the economic development.

In general, Mongolia has been initiating sustainable, independent and neutral foreign policy and the base theory of the policy stands as a pragmatic neutral policy.

The main 3 foundations of this neutral policy includes the neutral policy with two neighbors, third neighbor policy and nuclear free status that are the strategic directions of leading policies of Mongolia:

- relations with the two neighbors;
- relations with major powers and regional countries;
- active participation in international organization projects.

In other words, Mongolia as a democratic country is focusing more on the 3 policies above that have become the main diplomatic achievements to ensure the national security in political and diplomatic way.

During a short historical period, Mongolia has overcome its geopolitical challenges and developed its foreign relations to an extent that its foreign policy is now an example to other small countries, and is being able to implement foreign policy goals and objectives which are one measure of value of democracy and its international standing.

With the help of democracy, an active foreign policy, cooperation and guarantee for external security, foreign investments and most importantly international fame, which did not exist before, were brought to Mongolia.

In conclusion, democracy brought a new era and a new page to the development of Mongolian foreign relations and to the concept of foreign policy since 1990's.

References

- 1 Ulambayar, D. (2013). Mongolia and Far East: International Relations, Geopolitics and Diplomacy. UB., 277–232.
- 2 Bold, R. (2008). Mongolian Independence and U.S. /1910–1973/. UB., 187–193.
- 3 Bor, J. (1998). Mongoliin Diplomat Tovchoon. UB., 292.
- 4 Batbayar, Ts. (2015). Mongolia and the Major Powers in the XX Century. part one. From Kyakhta to Yalta: Stalin, Chiang Kaishek, Independence of Mongolia. UB., 315–338.
- 5 Gorbachev, M.S. (1987). Perestroika: New Thinking for Our Country and the World. Moscow, 175.
- 6 Bayasakh, Kh. (2015). Mongolia and It Neighbors Foreign Policy. UB., 69.
- 7 国际战略研究”中文杂志, 2001, 1, 12页.
- 8 Myagmarjav, D. (2015). Participation of the Mongolian Armed Forces in the United Nations Peacekeeping Operation. *Peace Studies in the XXI Century and Mongolia*. G. Baasankhuu, D. Oyunsuren (Ed.). UB., 43–48.
- 9 Baasankhuu, G. (2016). The Transition Balance of Power in Northeast Asia and Mongolia's Initiative on Permanent Neutrality. *Beyond the Horizon of Turbulent Asia: Issues and Studies*. UB., 84.

Баасанхүү Ганбаатар

1990 жылдардан бастап Монголияның демократиялық сыртқы саясаты

XX ғасырдың 90 жж. басынан бастап Монголияның сыртқы саясаты белсенді, көпқырлы, тәуелсіз, икемді және прагматикалық бағыт ұстанды. Екі көршілес елдермен қолайлы қарым-қатынастары Монголияның сыртқы саясатына оң әсерін тигізетін негізгі сыртқы факторлардың бірі болып табылады. Монголия демократиялық ел ретінде екі көршілерімен бейтараптық саясатты ұстанып, «үшінші көрші» саясаты мен ядролық қарусыз мәртебесіне бағытталған белсенді саясатын жүргізді. Аталған басымдықтар демократиялық ел ретіндегі қазіргі заманғы Монголияның ұлттық қауіпсіздігін қамтамасыз ету үшін саяси және дипломатиялық жолдармен қолжеткізген ірі дипломатиялық жетістіктер ретінде белгіленген.

Кілт сөздер: халықаралық қатынастар, халықаралық құқық, ядролық қару, бейбітшілік, халықаралық келісім, келіссөздер, сыртқы саясат, демократия, ұлттық қауіпсіздік, көпжақты қатынастар, «үшінші көрші» саясаты, дипломатия.

Баасанхүү Ганбаатар

**Монгольская демократическая внешняя
политика с 1990-х годов**

В статье отмечено, что с начала 90-х годов XX в. внешняя политика Монголии стала активной, многогранной, независимой, гибкой и прагматичной. Подчеркнуто, что добрососедские отношения с двумя соседними странами являются одним из ключевых внешних факторов, которые влияют благоприятно на внешнюю политику Монголии. Монголия как демократическая страна больше ориентируется на нейтральную политику с двумя соседями, ведёт активную политику «третьего соседа» и политику безъядерного статуса. В статье выделено, что именно эти приоритеты являются главными дипломатическими достижениями для обеспечения национальной безопасности политическим и дипломатическим путем современной Монголии как демократической страны.

Ключевые слова: международные отношения, международное право, ядерное оружие, мир, международные договоры, переговоры, внешняя политика, демократия, национальная безопасность, многосторонние отношения, политика «третьего соседа», дипломатия.