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The ethnic and political borders of Mongolia and the resurgence of Mongolian nationalism

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Introduction

The disintegration of the Mongol empire and the growth of Russian and Manchu imperialism superimposed new political borders across traditional tribal boundaries, separating Mongol communities from one another and from Khalkha, the Mongol heartland, and subjecting them to alien administrative, cultural, religious and commercial pressures. When the princes of Khalkha accepted Manchu sovereignty in 1691, the boundary between the Russian and Manchu spheres of interest in North-East Asia had already been established by the 1689 Treaty of Nerchinsk. While Mongolia's northern border was determined by the 1727 Treaty of Kyakhta between Russia and Qing China and its protocols, Mongolia's southern border emerged gradually during the formation of the independent Mongolian state, at the Qing boundary between Outer Mongolia (Khalkha) and Inner Mongolia.

As part of the Qing empire Mongolia had long been isolated from the outside world and bypassed by modern socio-economic development. With the collapse of the Qing from 1911 Mongolia entered a brief period of self-proclaimed independence but actual autonomy, during which a treaty was concluded with Tibet, but its hopes of reuniting the Mongol people were quickly destroyed. After 1921 Mongolia was Sovietized and entered a new era of nominal independence but even greater isolation, recognized only by Soviet Russia and Tuva - once part of Outer Mongolia. Having earlier become separated from the Buryats, Kalmyks and other Mongol and Mongolized nations in Russia, the Khalkha people now found themselves also cut off from the Mongols of Inner Mongolia and other regions of China.

Mongolia's national independence endured against Chinese and Japanese pressure under Soviet protection and eventually was recognized by

the international community in the 1960s. As Soviet power went into terminal decline and the birth of freedom and democracy in Mongolia in 1990 ended the monopoly of communist rule, the outside world willingly helped Mongolia begin the difficult transition to multiparty politics and a market economy.

Mongolia has indicated its wish for a settlement with Russia over its aid debt to the Soviet Union amidst calls for compensation for the political, economic and environmental damage done to Mongolia by Soviet power, including the restoration of territory lost by revision of the Mongol-Russian border. Mongolia is seeking Russian and Chinese cooperation in patrolling the long borders to discourage smuggling, rustling and illegal immigration. Mongolia is concerned about the human rights of the Mongols and other minorities in China, for Mongolian Buddhists acknowledge the Dalai Lama as their leader.

Amidst the current political and economic turmoil the Mongols of Mongolia, Russia and China have been rediscovering their common roots in the empire of Genghis Khan. Mongolia's political and economic ties with Mongol communities in Russia and China have been renewed and their sense of cultural identity is being restored, although the prospects for pan-Mongolian unity are as poor as ever. Both Moscow and Peking remain utterly opposed to the separation of any part of Russia or China. Mongolia is consolidating its independence through relations with its "third neighbour", the international community. Meanwhile, as the Mongol heartland and the only independent Mongol state, Mongolia has taken the lead in establishing organizations to unite and represent the world's Mongols.

Historical overview

The 17th century was a period of intensive Russian exploration of Siberia, but in 1685 Manchu forces forced a temporary halt by attacking the Russian fort at Albazin on the Amur (Heilongjiang), upstream from present-day Khabarovsk. Representatives of the Russian and Manchu empires met in 1689 at Nerchinsk, in present-day Chita *oblast'* (region), at the confluence of the Nercha and Shilka rivers, to sign a treaty agreeing their border along the river Argun' (Ergun) and the Stanovoy ("Outer Hinggan") mountains to the Pacific coast. Albazin was demolished and the Russians withdrew, their line of exploration pushed to the far north-east for almost 200 years.

The Buryat territories around Lake Baikal were incorporated into the Mongol empire in 1207 and later ruled by the Jungarian (Oirat or Western Mongol) khanate. Russian Cossacks advancing through Siberia overran the Buryats and built a fort on the river Ude in 1665.

In 1691 the princes of Khalkha sought Manchu protection against the invading Jungarians, and the Mongol heartland became a Manchu colony (Outer Mongolia). The southern Mongols (Inner Mongolia) had already been placed under Manchu rule in 1636.

In 1727 the Russian and Manchu empires concluded the Treaty of Kyakhta and two protocols on the alignment of their border: the Abagatuy (Avgayt) protocol, on the section (63 markers) from the river Argun' to the river Kyakhta; and the Bur (Buurn Gol) protocol, on the section (24 markers) from Kyakhta to Shabin Dabaga. This pass (Shavinayn Davaa in modern Mongol) is on the boundary between the present-day Tuva Republic and Krasnoyarsk *krai* (territory). Mongolia's present border with Russia more or less follows the historical border, except where it embraced Tuva.

The Treaty of Kyakhta also established a trading warehouse on the border at Troitskosavsk (Kyakhta) and gave the Russians the right to send a tax-free trade caravan to Peking every three years. As well as the caravan route through Kyakhta, there were traditional packhorse routes into western Mongolia from Minusinsk and Biysk via the Usinskiy *trakt* (trail) and the Chuyskiy *trakt*, which followed the Usa and Chuya valleys.

The Treaty of Kyakhta placed the Buryats firmly inside the Russian empire and separated them from the Khalkha Mongols to the south, who with the partially Mongolized Turkic Tuvans of Urianhay had been brought into the Manchu sphere of influence. Russian settlement and the introduction of Orthodoxy in the 18th and 19th centuries were opposed by the Buryats unsuccessfully.

The Russian-Chinese border was extended southwards from Shabin Dabaga to Kokand (present-day Uzbekistan) under the Treaty of Peking of 1860 and delimited under the Tarbagatay (Chuguchak) protocol of 1864.

Outer Mongolia declared its independence in 1911, as Manchu rule collapsed, but it was not recognized and a new Treaty of Kyakhta, between Russia, China and Mongolia, in 1915 imposed autonomy on Mongolia under Chinese suzerainty. After a briefly successful attempt by China to reimpose its rule in Mongolia by force the country was invaded by troops of the Russian tsar and their Bolshevik enemies. In 1921 a combined force of Mongolian nationalist revolutionaries and the Soviet Red Army took the Mongolian capital Urga (Ih Hüree) and a "people's government" was installed. This was quickly consolidated by a treaty of mutual recognition with Soviet Russia and the beginning of the process of Sovietization under the ruling Mongolian People's (Revolutionary) Party (MPRP). The Mongolian People's Republic was proclaimed in 1924. Following the collapse of Soviet-style communism in Mongolia in 1990, the 1992 Constitution declared the country's name to be Mongolia (*Mongol Uls*) - not the "Mongolian State" or "Mongolian Republic", as some interpreted it.

The Buryat-Mongol Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic (ASSR) was established on the amalgamation of the two Buryat-Mongol Autonomous *oblast'* of the RSFSR and Far Eastern Republic in 1923. Its boundaries were revised in 1937, a time of anti-nationalist and anti-religious persecution. Buryat-inhabited areas west of Lake Baikal and south of Chita were made into separate *okrugs* (districts) based on the towns of Ust'-Ordynskiy and Aginskoye within Irkutsk *oblast'* and Chita *oblast'* respectively. The ASSR was renamed the Buryat ASSR in 1958. The capital is Ulan-Ude, formerly Verkhneudinsk. The post-Soviet self-proclaimed Buryat Republic (Buryatia) is a subject of the Russian Federation.

Tuva (Urianhay) lies north of the Tannu-Ola (Tangdy-Uula) mountains at the headwaters of the Yenisey, and like the Buryats its people were subjects of the Jungarian khanate. Once confirmed part of the Manchu sphere of influence by the Treaty of Kyakhta, Urianhay was administered by the Qing *amban* (governors) in Outer Mongolia, although from 1760 the Khalkha border guardposts (*karaul*) ran along the Tannu-Ola mountains between Mongolia and Urianhay. In the early 20th century Urianhay came under strong Russian imperial and then Bolshevik influence, and its recent history in many ways mirrored events in Mongolia itself.

In 1913 Russia and China issued a joint declaration that "Autonomous Outer Mongolia comprises the regions under the jurisdiction of the Chinese *ambans* at Urga and Kobdo and the Chinese military governor at Uliassutai (Uliastay)", provided that the exact boundaries of Outer Mongolia should be the subject of a subsequent conference. Urianhay was then governed by the Kobdo *amban*. In 1914 however, Russia declared a protectorate in Urianhay. When China sought to put Urianhay on the agenda of the 1915 Kyakhta tripartite conference, to obtain Russian confirmation of its northern border, the Russians refused to discuss it.

Tuva's independence was proclaimed in 1921, but in 1924 many of its inhabitants still offered their allegiance to Mongolia. The congress of the ruling Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party in that year stated Mongolia's wish for Tuva to remain part of Mongolia. Despite objections from the Soviet representative at the congress, it resolved to set up a joint commission to regulate Tuva's position. An official Soviet history of Tuva refers to "counter-revolutionary uprisings" and ploys "to split Tuva from the USSR" and "eliminate the republic's independence". Thus a conference in Kyzyl of representatives of the USSR, Mongolia and Tuva "to discuss the Mongol feudalists' aim of uniting Tuva and Mongolia" concluded that the "elimination of Tuva's independence and its unification with Mongolia does not reflect the view of the basic mass of the Tuvan population".

The Mongols were obliged to accept this and they signed a friendship and mutual recognition treaty with Tuva in August 1926. As the quasi-independent People's Republic of (Tannu) Tuva, ruled by the Tuvan

People's Revolutionary Party (TPRP), Tuva survived until 1944, when it was swallowed up by the Soviet Union. At first an autonomous *oblast'*, Tuva attained ASSR status in 1961. As the Tuva (Tyva) Republic, it is a subject of the Russian Federation. Its capital is Kyzyl, formerly Belotsarsk.

Kalmykia is inhabited by Torguts and Derbets (Western Mongols or Oirats). Their ancestors numbering some 280,000 migrated from Jungaria through Central Asia to the lower Volga and Russia recognised the Kalmyk khanate in 1661. A hundred years later, after the suppression of the Jungarian anti-Manchu uprising, many Kalmyks returned to Jungaria, and in 1771 the Russians abolished the khanate and its territory was administered from Astrakhan'. Some Torguts and Derbets live today in western Mongolia and northern Xinjiang.

In the Soviet period a Kalmyk Autonomous *oblast'* was established in 1920, upgraded to ASSR in 1935, and abolished in 1943 on grounds of the population's alleged collaboration with the invading German army. The Kalmyks were exiled to the Altai *krai* and other parts of Siberia and their territory divided between Astrakhan', Stalingrad and Rostov *oblast'* and Stavropol *krai*. The Kalmyk Autonomous *oblast'* was restored in 1956, and the ASSR in 1958. The self-proclaimed Kalmyk Republic (Kalmykia) or "Khalmg Tangkhch" is a subject of the Russian Federation. The capital is Elista, formerly Stepnoy.

The Oirats gave their name to the native people of the Altai Republic, the former Gornyy Altai *oblast'* of the RSFSR Altai *krai*. These Turkicized Mongols, also known as Oirots and Altaitsy, have preserved some Mongol customs and vocabulary, although their language is Turkic. They were part of the Jungarian khanate in the 17th-18th centuries but entered the service of the Russian tsar in 1756. Russian control of their territory was confirmed under the 1860 Treaty of Peking. In the Soviet period up until 1948 it was called the Autonomous Oirat *oblast'*. The Altai Republic is also a subject of the Russian Federation. Its capital is Gorno-Altaysk, formerly Ulala and Oirat-Tura.

The Kazakhs, the largest non-Mongol ethnic group in Mongolia, are a Turkic tribe which accounted for some six per cent of the population at the last census. About 100,000 lived in Bayan-Ölgiy province (*aymag*) in western Mongolia, forming 80 per cent of the local population, and another 30,000 in neighbouring Hovd (Kobdo) province. The Kazakhs migrated into Mongolia from East Turkestan (Xinjiang) towards the end of the last century. In the 20th century many found work in the mining industry in central Mongolia. Although they share no common border, the Kazakhs of Mongolia and the Republic of Kazakstan (the former Kazakh SSR) maintain close contacts. Surface access to Kazakstan from Bayan-Ölgiy is via the Altai Republic. Since 1990 perhaps 20,000 of Mongolia's Kazakh workforce (and 30,000 dependants) have emigrated to Kazakstan.

There are some 5.5 million Mongols in China, including 3.4 million in Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region (AR), where they account however for only 14 per cent of the region's now overwhelmingly Han population. During the Chinese "cultural revolution" 60,000 Mongols were murdered and over 200,000 severely injured, and many thousands more were forcibly resettled far away from China's border with Mongolia. Mongolian tribes also live in Xinjiang Uighur AR's Bayangol and Bortai Mongolian "autonomous prefectures" and Hoboksar Mongolian "autonomous county" - as well as Mongolian "autonomous counties" in the provinces of Jilin (Qian Gorlos), Heilongjiang (Dorbod), Liaoning (Fuxin and Harqin Left Wing), Gansu (Subei) and Qinghai (Henan and Haixi), and without "autonomy" in five other provinces (see tables).

Mongolia's cultural and economic contacts have been growing with Inner Mongolia's Khalkha, Tumet, Ordos and Chakhar Mongols through exchanges of delegations and publications and development of cross-border trade. These contacts are closely monitored by Han officials, who want to limit the spread of Mongol nationalism in Inner Mongolia.

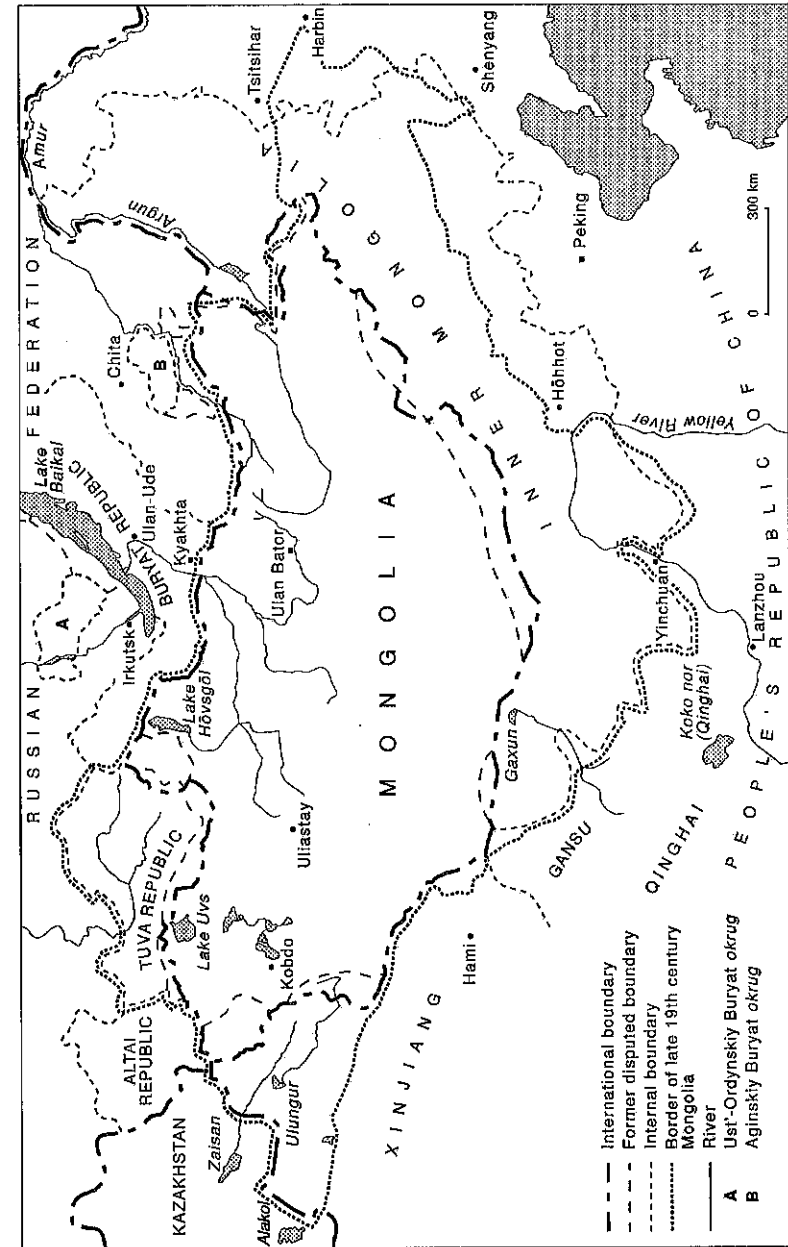
Mongolia's borders

The total length of Mongolia's borders with the Russian Federation and the People's Republic of China is currently 8,161.8 km.

From west to east the 3,485 km line of the northern border with Russia runs from the unnamed Height 4104.0 in the Tavan Bogd Uul (49 deg 8 min N lat and 87 deg 45 min E long) through the Altai and Sayan mountains (borders of the Altai and Tuva Republics) and across the Hentiy mountains (borders of the Buryat Republic and Chita oblast').

The 4,676.8 km southern border with China runs from Height 4104.0 along the Mongol Altai mountains and south of the Gobi Altai range (borders of Xinjiang Uighur AR and Gansu Province) and then turns north-east through the Gobi towards Lake Buir (border of Inner Mongolia AR).

Mongolia's eastern borders with Russia and China meet at Height 646.7 on Tarvagan Dah (49 deg 52 min N lat and 116 deg 45 min E long). The two border junction points were not agreed trilaterally until January 1994, when representatives of Mongolia, Russia and China signed an agreement to this effect in Ulan Bator after visits to Tavan Bogd (July 1993) and Tarvagan Dah.



For administrative purposes Mongolia's border with Russia is divided into three sections. From west to east they are: the Uvs section from Height 4104.0 to Asgat, in Zavhan province; the Selenge section, from Asgat to Height 970.6 on the river Minj or Menza (marker 988); and the Eastern section from Minj to Tarvagan Dah.

On the Russian side the border is also divided into three sections. From west to east they are: the Kyzyl section, from Height 4104.0 to Height 2855.8 (marker 332) in the Greater Sayan Mountains; the Kyakhta section, from Height 2855.8 to Height 1326.3 (marker 1019) at the river Yolt or Yelatuy; and the Mangut (Dauriya) section, from Height 1326.3 to Tarvagan Dah.

According to the Mongol-Chinese border protocol of June 1964, the border is 4,672.7153 km long. There are 639 markers (*bagana temdeg*), although those in very mountainous areas (Nos. 1-9 and 19-35) have not been checked since demarcation. Maj.-Gen. Palamyn Sündev, the Chief of Staff (now Commander) of the Mongolian Border Troops, in December 1992 gave a length of 4,676.895 km, but he named the western starting point as Hüytyn or Hüytyniy orgil, instead of Height 4104.0. Hüytyn (4,374 metres) is Mongolia's highest mountain. Tseden-Ish and Bat-Ochir in December 1992 gave a length of 4,677 km and added that there were 1,113 *ovoo* (cairns). It is not clear whether there is any essential difference between a "cairn" and a "marker". Subsequently it was reported that on the Mongol-Russian border from "Hüytyn to Tarvagan Dah" there were 2,992 "markers".

According to the Mongolian statistical yearbook published in 1991, the northernmost point of Mongolia is Mongol Sharyn Davaa (52 deg 9 min N lat and 98 deg 57 min E long); southernmost Orvog Gashuuny Bor Tolgoi (41 deg 35 min N and 105 deg 0 min E); westernmost Maan't Uul (48 deg 53 min N and 87 deg 44 min E); and easternmost Modtoy Hamar (46 deg 43 min N and 119 deg 56 min E).

Administrative maps of Mongolian *aimag* and *hoshuu* (provinces and districts) were produced in Autonomous Outer Mongolia and a map of Mongolia was published in 1925. Some Mongolian writers consider that the names of border points have been changed or the markers moved over the years, for example, that the easternmost point is really Modotyng Uhaa Hamar Uul (a variant name) or Soyolz Uul or Nömrög Ovoo, and the southernmost Ingen Usny Gov'. Others consider that the whole of Baytag Bogd mountain on the border with China should be inside Mongolia.

The Mongolian statistical yearbook for 1991 gives Mongolia's "territory length" from north to south as 1,259 km and from east to west 2,392 km. Contemporary statistics collected in 1968 gave 1,260 km and 2,368 km respectively.

Uncertainty about the length of Mongolia's borders has led to uncertainty about the country's total surface area. While one has to make allowances for updated measurement, human error or a tendency to round figures off, it is all quite strange for a country where publication of national statistics has been so important. In 1957 the country's borders were considered to be 7,000 km long and its area 1,531,000 sq km. By 1969 the borders were 7,670 km and Mongolia's area 1,560,000 sq km. Statistics collected in 1968 gave 7,030 km and 1,565,000 sq km. Some Western publishers favoured 1,564,660 sq km. Statistical handbooks for 1986 and 1991 say 1,566,500 sq km. Mongolian President Ochirbal is reported in his speeches to have cited three different figures for Mongolia's area: 1,330,000 (1990), 1,360,000 sq km (early 1991) and 1,563,000 sq km (late 1991).

It was reported that, as part of a project to photograph and video the whole length of Mongolia's borders, the section from Tes to Orvog Gashuuny Ovoo had been overflown by a helicopter during the summer of 1994.

At the beginning of the Soviet period Mongolia bordered not only on Soviet Russia (the RSFSR) but also, to the north-east, on the Far Eastern Republic, until it amalgamated with Soviet Russia in December 1922 to form the USSR. Mongolia's north-western border was shared with the People's Republic of (Tannu) Tuva, until it was swallowed by the USSR in 1944.

In the period 1932-45 the Japanese puppet state of Manchukuo was Mongolia's eastern neighbour. Mongolia's border with Japanese-held territory extended to 1,700 km after Japan's seizure of Chahar and Suiyuan (previously parts of Inner Mongolia). Following the victory of Mongolian-Soviet forces over the Japanese army in the Battle of Halhyn Gol (Nomonhan) in August 1939, agreement on Mongolia's border with Manchukuo was reached in June 1940 - between the Soviet Union and Japan. The agreement indicated that the MPR and Manchukuo governments were to demarcate the new border and then conclude their own agreement confirming this.

Since 1945 Mongolia has had borders only with Russia (USSR) and China (Republic, then People's Republic). During the Chinese "cultural revolution" the northern and south-western *aymags* of Inner Mongolia AR were taken away from the region and administered by neighbouring provinces, so that for some years Mongolia also bordered on Heilongjiang and Jilin provinces and Ningxia Hui AR.

There are 40 official crossing points on the Mongolian-Russian border, 20 of which are "permanent" and 20 "seasonal" (see tables). The most important permanent crossing points into the Russian Federation are, from west to east:

- In Bayan-Ölgiy Province, by road from Tsagaannuur to Tashanta and Kosh-Agach in the Altai Republic, giving road access to the railhead at Biysk (Altai *krai*); a new road is planned from Ust'-Kan in the Altai Republic to Leninogorsk, providing a good link with Kazakhstan.

- In Uvs Province, by road from Teel to Khandagayty, Chadan and Kyzyl in the Tuva Republic, giving road access to the railhead at Abaza and Abakan (Khakass Republic, Krasnoyarsk *krai*).

- In Hövsgöl Province, by road from Hanh, a port on the northern shore of Lake Hövsgöl, to Mondy in the Buryat Republic, giving road access to Irkutsk and the Trans-Siberian Railway. Use of this route has declined with the closure of lake shipping services.

- In Selenge Province, by rail from Sühbaatar to Naushki in the Buryat Republic, giving rail access via Ulan-Ude to the Trans-Siberian Railway.

- A few kilometres farther east, by road from Altanbulag to Kyakhta and Ulan-Ude.

- In Dornod Province, by rail from Ereentsav (Chuluunhoroot) to Solov'yevsk and Borzya (Chita *oblast'*), eastern Mongolia's link with the Trans-Siberian Railway.

Except for the rail and road link from Zamyn-Üüd to Ereen (Erenhot or Ehrlien) in Inner Mongolia AR, the nine crossing points on the border with China are of local significance and open only at specific times and dates (see table). There are sidings at Ereen and Zamyn-Üüd for changing from the Russian and Mongolian broad gauge to China's standard gauge. The railway line runs southeastwards to Jining for Höhhot or Datong (for Peking).

The Border Troops

The Mongolian Border Law adopted in October 1993 says that the border may be crossed only at designated crossing points. Non-citizens are banned from the 30 km border zone, non-residents require a permit to visit it, and residents must have an official stamp in their "citizen's passport". The Border Troops (*khiliyn tsereg*) control all activity in the 5 km border strip. Local government organizations ensure that border regulations are observed and recruit border defence volunteers, who can check people's identity documents in the border zone and detain illegal border crossers.

The law is in keeping with Article 4 of Mongolia's 1992 Constitution which says: "(1) The integrity of Mongolia's territory and borders shall be inviolable. (2) Mongolia's borders shall be guaranteed by law. (3) Stationing

of foreign forces on Mongolia's territory or their transit through its territory and across the state borders shall be prohibited unless provided for by law."

The border guardpost (*karaul*) service run by the Bogd Khan government was withdrawn from the northern border after the victory of the 1921 revolution. The Mongolian revolutionary government set up a border affairs department in 1924. In September 1928 the Mongolian government adopted regulations on the protection of the southern border. The Mongolian Border Troops were formed in 1933, and during the Manchukuo crisis in 1937 they were ordered to the eastern border. They are reported to have been disbanded in the 1950-60 period, when the border with China became "a border of peace and friendship", but then reformed in mid-1960 under the Ministry of Public Security. The period 1976-90 was a time of growth of the Border Troops, who were provided with dogs, buildings, monitoring devices, motor vehicles and other modern equipment made in the USSR. In the government changes in 1990 the Border Troops were placed under the Chief Directorate of State Security. In November 1993 they were made into a separate Directorate of Border Troops. Since 1990 they have suffered from a shortage of money, fuel, vehicles, mounts, communications equipment and winter clothing.

According to Maj.-Gen. Palamyn Sündev, Commander of Mongolian Border Troops, under the treaty on the border regime signed with Russia in 1980 delegations exchange visits and meetings are held to report border violations and exchange border violators. The top leadership of the Border Troops in Mongolia and Russia meet once every two years, and the border district commanders meet once a year. The treaty with Russia, valid for ten years then renewable every five years, provides for joint inspection of the border, regulates responsibility for markers and requires the clearing of all vegetation from the border in a five-metre strip on each side the line over its whole length. Meetings of the Mongolian-Russian inter-state joint border inspection commission took place in 1992 and 1995. Similar arrangements have been made with China under a border regime treaty signed in 1989.

Regular meetings of bilateral border co-operation committees are held to discuss measures to prevent illegal crossings, livestock rustling, smuggling, illegal hunting and fishing, activity harmful to the natural environment, and crime against people living in the border areas. Maj.-Gen. Sündev attended such a meeting in Russia with Lt.-Gen. Yeryomin, Commander of the South Baikal Border Troops District, in November 1994. They concluded an inter-governmental agreement and two protocols on stepping up co-operation and dealing jointly with border problems. Yeryomin had visited Ulan Bator in June 1994. At a meeting held in Tuva in May 1994, representatives of the Mongolian Ministry of Foreign Relations, Central Intelligence Directorate and Uvs and Zavhan provincial leaders reached agreement with the President of Tuva on improving the situation on both sides of the border. There were further meetings in Khandagayty and

with Lt.-Gen. Yeryomin in Kyakhta in February 1995. The Head of the Russian Border Service, Col.-Gen. Nikolayev, visited Mongolia in October 1995.

The Mongol-Russian border control commission deals with such matters as inspection of the border and erection of markers. According to the chairman of the Mongol side of the commission, Luvsandorjiyn Mundagbaatar, a new inspection of the whole length of the Mongol-Russian border began in 1993 and should be completed in 1996. The location of the markers will be recorded, and a good many of them replaced with new ones bearing the new Mongol state emblem. Undergrowth around them will be cleared away. Mundagbaatar said that the border section agreed under the 1958 treaty with Russia was inspected 1959-60, and the 1976 section in 1977-79. All archive material about the border has been handed over to the Ministry of Foreign Relations for safekeeping.

In 1992 Mongolia's land and air borders were crossed legally by 806,729 travellers from 110 countries, 86,991 train and aircraft crew members, and 308,749 vehicles. Ulan Bator's Buyant-Uhaa airport is a key international border point - 105,117 people passed through it in 1993. Total border crossings by land and air in 1993 reached 1,194,000 individuals, of which 77,000 were in transit. The rapid rate of growth has begun to fall off, with the imposition in 1995 of a visa regime on travellers to and from Russia. The number of foreigners entering Mongolia in 1993 exceeded 40,000, of whom 16,930 registered for a short stay on business. Another 7,278 foreigners and 2,981 dependants were staying in Mongolia on fixed-term contracts.

Small-scale illegal crossing of the border has long been a routine problem for Mongolia and its neighbours, which regularly detain smugglers and poachers and expel visitors who fail to register, outstay their permits, or set up illegal businesses. Most illegal crossings are associated with hunting and fishing, smuggling or livestock theft. In recent years cattle rustling has been particularly rife on the Mongolia-Tuva border, and several attempts have been made by the authorities on each side of the border to put a stop to it. The measures include increased patrolling by Mongolia's Border Troops.

In 1990 some 400 or so illegal border crossings were intercepted. In 1991 illegal crossings of the border with Russia rose by 60 per cent and the border with China by 30 per cent. During a visit to Mongolia in 1991 by the Chairman of the Tuvan Supreme Soviet, Bicheldey, "special attention was paid to Tuva's border with Uvs Province," according to Mongolian Vice-Minister of Foreign Relations Choynhor.

From January to November 1992 the total of illegal crossings intercepted was: from China 202 people, from Russia 348 and from Mongolia (i.e. outgoing) 200 or so. The 1992 totals of illegals apprehended were incoming, 220 on the northern border and 421 on the southern border, a

9.6 per cent increase on 1991; and outgoing 237 on the northern border and 21 on the southern, an 8.6 per cent increase.

From January to May 1993 intercepted illegal crossings were up on the same period of 1992 by 10 per cent on the southern border and 16.3 per cent on the northern border. In the first half of 1993, Tuvans rustled 2,342 head of Mongolian livestock while 114 head wandered into Tuva and 539 wandered out. In the first nine months of 1993 the Mongolian Border Troops caught 95 people leaving Mongolia for Tuva illegally and 113 people coming in from Tuva. The chairman of the Mongolian Great Hural's legal affairs committee, Tömör, visited Khandagayty for talks about the situation with Kazhin-Ool, the first deputy chairman of the Tuvan Supreme Soviet. Forty percent of the illegal crossings on the Mongolian-Russian border occur on the Tuvan section.

In 1992-94 the total of illegal border crossings intercepted reached 1,147 from the Russian side; 2,135 head of Mongolian livestock were reported stolen and taken to Tuva, of which only 1,038 head were returned. In August 1993 five Russians from Tuva stole all the carpets from the hotel in Bayantes.

Rustling of horses and livestock across the border with Tuva is common, but seasonal. Commenting in April 1994 on the Mongolia-Tuva border situation, *Rossiyskaya Gazeta* said the Tuvans and Mongols alike ignored the border markers "as if they were telegraph poles". "They simply cross the border at any time and steal each other's cows, horses and sheep."

People also enter Mongolia illegally in Hövsgöl, Selenge and Hentii Provinces from the Buryat Republic, to hunt wild animals. Citizens from both countries try to smuggle contraband. The Mongols smuggle petrol, tea, tyres and American butter. Mongol citizens who have lost their passports also try to return to Mongolia without using approved crossing points.

The Russian side is reinforcing its Border Troops and an "operational group" has been set up in Abakan (capital of the Khakass Republic, part of Krasnoyarsk *krai*) to supervise their operations in the area. A border unit has been set up at Aktash (northwest of Kosh-Agach in the Altai Republic) and detachments elsewhere. Meanwhile, Mongolian Deputy Procurator Enhnasan had a meeting in Kyzyl in March with Tuvan Procurator Damba-Khuurak to discuss anti-crime measures. This spurt of activity was no doubt connected with the killing of three men of the Mongolian Border Troops on the Tuvan border in June 1993. Russian communications with Tuva are quite difficult, since there are no railways or good roads.

According to Maj.-Gen. Püreviyn Dash, Chief of Staff of the Mongolian Border Troops, the situation on Mongolia's border with Russia is "not serious". No organised crime has been detected, although some local

people commit crimes regularly: "The local government of Uvs Province has decided to resettle suspicious elements away from border villages..."

Border claims and disputes

Mongolia has always been sensitive about any suggestion of disagreement with its neighbours about the borders or border territory. The public relations department of the Mongolian Ministry of Foreign Affairs issued a statement in March 1990, for example, saying: "Our country has treaties and agreements with the USSR and PRC concerning the border and there is no question of any territorial conflict. The border is constantly checked in co-operation with the two countries."

Nonetheless, a brief history of the formation of Mongolia's borders, published by Lt.-Col. Bat-Ochir of the Border Troops in 1992, was unusual for its consolidated listing of territory "lost" by Mongolia as a result of border "adjustments" in this century. As a result of an "ultimatum" from Russia and China, he said, under the 1915 Treaty of Kyakhta the western part of the Hovd border region and Bulgan Torgut lands became Altai district of Xinjiang. After giving some details about the various border agreements with Tuva between 1930 and 1958, Bat-Ochir said that Mongolia lost not only the Davst *uul* area of Uvs Province but also large pieces of border territory elsewhere. He went on to name geographical features of land east of the present border with China lost to Manchukuo in 1940, and land between the "existing" and "historical" borders lost to China in 1962. Further border areas of Mongolia (unspecified) were lost to the USSR in 1975. "History teaches us that the reliable defence of the border and border areas is more necessary than ever before," Bat-Ochir remarked.

The Movement for the Integrity of the Sacred Border is an organisation which has fought hard for the protection of Mongolia's border and territory. It drafted its own version of a border law well before the Great Hural (Mongolian assembly) adopted the Mongolian Border Law in 1993. The movement's leader, Pürev-Oydovyn Davaanyam, has said that Mongols "were told and made to believe" that there were no serious border problems in the past 70 years. Russia and China repeatedly said that they had no border disputes with Mongolia. However, Mongolian territory had been lost to Russia (part of Lake Uvs) and China (parts of Lake Buir and Baitag Bogd), he pointed out. "Of course, we will not get back the territories which we have already lost. It is now important not to lose more new territories." Mongolia had quite a few outstanding border issues with Russia and China, but they could not be resolved by force, and the stabilization of Mongolia's relations with its neighbours was to be welcomed.

It was only in the post-Soviet period that Russia's extraterritorial rights on the Marday uranium mine in Mongolia were disclosed. Marday and Erdes miners' settlement are in Dornod province's Dashbalbar district, to which a secret railway branch has been built from the Ereentsav-Choybalsan line. The mine and settlement banned local Mongols, who were forbidden even to use the local shop.

Moscow has always been sensitive to any calls for the revision of the external or internal borders of the USSR or Russia, whether they relate to Japan's "northern territories" (in the Southern Kuril islands) or Estonia's Petserimaa (in Pskov *oblast'*). Moreover, Moscow is also concerned to preserve the unity of the Russian Federation, although the Tuva Republic for one, in view of its independence from 1921-44, could have as good grounds as the Baltic states for restoration of its independence. As Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev has remarked, however, "Russia is not a Swiss cheese."

The Head of the Russian Border Service, Col.-Gen. Nikolayev, warned in January 1994 that "nationalist organisations" in Mongolia, Tuva, Finland and the Baltic states were persistently raising the issue of "revising" their borders with Russia. Warning to this theme, the Deputy Chairman of the Russian Federation Council, Abdulatipov, declared in the Russian *Nezavisimaya Gazeta* in March 1994 that "officials" in Latvia, Lithuania, Estonia, Finland, Ukraine, Georgia, Mongolia, China and Japan had been "laying claim" to Russian territory. The Russian *Kommersant Daily* echoed: "Japan, Estonia and Mongolia have long ago laid their claims on the territory of Russia."

Mongolian Vice-Minister of Foreign Affairs Choynhor called in the Russian ambassador, Sergey Razov, who said Abdulatipov's remarks did not represent Russian government policy and were deeply regretted. The Russian-Mongolian Treaty of Friendly Relations and Cooperation (January 1993) stated that both parties respected the inviolability of the two countries' state borders, Razov went on. Russia and Mongolia had a border treaty and border regime agreement, and joint demarcation was approaching successful completion.

The director of press and information at the Russian Foreign Ministry, Karasin, emphasized: "There are no territorial questions in Russian-Mongolian relations, no Mongolian official has made such a statement, and the Mongolian Ministry of Foreign Relations has confirmed this." The Russian co-chairman of the Russian-Mongolian joint border commission, Pavlov, commented: "There is not one section of the whole state border between Russia and Mongolia - over 3,000 km - which is disputed. Russia and Mongolia have no territorial claims on one another."

Mongolia's border with Tuva

The Soviet negotiators of the Mongolia-Tuva treaty of 1926 transferred to Mongolia 16,000 sq km of Darhat lands west of Lake Hövsgöl belonging to Tuva, whose border had reached the shores of the lake.

In 1930 MPRP Central Committee Secretaries Badrah and Eldev-Ochir agreed with TPRP Central Committee Secretary Toka to set up a joint border affairs commission to discuss allocation of land according to the nationality and distribution of the population and economic considerations. The Mongols wanted the border to run along the Tannu-Ola mountains. The Tuvans wanted the border moved to the line of former Mongol pickets (*karaul*) on the slopes.

In 1932 the Mongolian-Tuvan border commission realigned the border along the southern slopes, up to 25 km inside Mongolian territory in the *Tes gol* basin. The salt mine at *Davst uul* (Height 1809 north of Lake Uvs) was transferred to Tuva and Mongolian nomads on the border were offered free salt.

The Mongols were not satisfied but another border commission meeting in 1940 failed to resolve the differences between the two sides. The Tuvans told the Mongol negotiator Yanjmaa their people lived on the slopes of the mountains.

Tuva lost its independence in 1944, and control of the border with Mongolia passed to the USSR authorities.

Not long after Vyacheslav Molotov arrived in Mongolia to take up the post of Soviet ambassador in 1957, Mongolian Foreign Minister Avarzad claimed at border talks that the agreement on *Davst uul* was invalid because it was unratified and had been annulled at the talks with the Tuvans in 1940. Molotov had Avarzad removed and the new Mongolian delegation leader, Tsend, agreed to confirmation of the 1932 border. A new border treaty was signed in March 1958 which not only confirmed that *Davst uul* was in Tuva, but also redrew the Soviet-Mongolian border in a 6,985.2 metre strip across the north-eastern corner of Lake Uvs, cutting off from one another two rural districts of Uvs province (*Davst* and *Tes sum*) which had previously shared a 20 km boundary. Mongolia lost 1,247 sq km from *Davst* district and 4,560 sq km from *Tes* and *Züüingov'* districts.

The 1958 Mongolian-Soviet border treaty covered the 1,305 km border section from *Asgatyn Davaa* to "*Ih Sayaan Nuruu*" (the Greater Sayan Chain), or more particularly to Height 2855, Mongol *Sharyn Davaa*, with marker 332. *Tseden-Ish* claims that the "*Sharyn Davaa*" marker is 3.2 km out of its true position and in an unnamed pass of the *Tengis Gol*. Col. Altangerel, Director of the Border Troops Research Centre, has also pointed out that the marker is not at *Shar Davaa* but *Tengis Davaa*, depriving Mongolia of 1,150 sq km of territory.

The 1976 Mongolian-Soviet border treaty covered the sections of the border from *Tavan Bogd Uul* to *Asgatyn Davaa* and from "*Ih Sayaan*" to *Tarvagan Dah*. *Tseden-Ish* points out that under this treaty marker 880 was moved about 200 metres south.

While Mongolian officials were denying the existence of border disputes or even border talks with Russia or China, the *Kyzyl* newspaper *Respublika Tuva* reported in April 1993 that a session of the Russian-Mongolian mixed commission on border disputes, attended by the representative of Tuva, Vice-Premier *Shyyrap*, had finally reached agreement on a disputed section of the river *Naryn* in *Tes-Khem* district (*rayon*), where 130 hectares of pasture had finished up in Mongolia after the river changed course. It also reported that new proposals had come forward for resolution of the problem of a 14 km stretch of the *Khandagayty-Torgalyg* road passing through Mongolian territory. The Mongols rejected the idea of a corridor, but proposed in compensation the use of a similar "bulge" in the border elsewhere, where Mongolian herdsmen could pass freely. The Russian government was looking into this.

Tuvan President *Oorzhak* recalled that the Mongols' "territorial claims of 1988-89" had not been met. They had claimed eight sections of the border on the basis of the pre-1927 situation, i.e. they wanted the border to run along the crest of the *Tannu-Ola*. The Russian-Tuvan side rejected this, but repeated its own claims to 14 sections of the Mongolian border. The main dispute was about the river *Naryn*. The Mongols wanted compensation on a section of their border in Tuva's easternmost *Bay-Tayga rayon*, next to the *Altai Republic*. The Tuvan President had set up a special commission to study and collect material about disputed sections of the "Tuva-Mongolia line of the state border" and publish its findings "so as to prevent unnecessary tension in the republic's foreign relations" and encourage development of external economic relations.

Mongolia's border with China

Powerless as it was to enforce its claim in the face of Soviet Russian entrenchment in Mongolia, the Republic of China did not surrender its sovereignty until after the Second World War. At the *Yalta* conference in February 1945 the UK and US agreed to Stalin's call for preservation of the *status quo* in Mongolia. He said the USSR would recognise the independence and territorial integrity of the "People's Republic of Mongolia". China eventually agreed to recognise "Outer Mongolia within its existing borders" if a plebiscite confirmed the people's will to be independent. The plebiscite took place under UN auspices on 20 October, and the Mongols voted virtually unanimously for independence. The

Republic of China recognised Mongolia on 6 January 1946 and established diplomatic relations in February.

After the establishment of the People's Republic of China in 1949 Mongolia was recognised by the new regime in Peking, which signed an economic and cultural co-operation agreement with Mongolia in 1952, a treaty of friendship and mutual assistance in 1960, and a border treaty in 1962. After joint demarcation of the border a protocol listing all 639 markers was signed in June 1964 by the foreign ministers of the two countries. The protocol also specified border maintenance measures and joint inspections every five years. Under the terms of the treaty 30 disputed border sections totalling 17,295 sq km of territory were allocated: 12,302 sq km to Mongolia and 4,991 sq km to China.

During the worst years of the Chinese "cultural revolution" and Sino-Soviet dispute Mongolia had a serious border security problem in the form of repeated incursions by armed men and military vehicles, besides the more casual intrusions by hunters and poachers. An electrified double fence was installed on the border with China during the 1970s-80s.

Mongolian leaders have visited the border with China and Border Troops posts on a number of occasions in recent years. Great Hural Chairman Bagabandi and the then Commander of Border Troops, Sandr, went to Sulinheer, Han, Gashuun Suhayt, Ovoot, Hatansuudal, Shivee Hüren, Burgastay, Altay, Yarant and elsewhere in Dornogov', Ömnögov', Gov'-Altay and Hovd provinces in December 1993. A year later President Ochirbat and the new Border Troops Commander visited Dornod (Eastern) province. These border inspection visits were linked not only with the reorganisation of the Border Troops but also perhaps with the men's living conditions - there had been reports of starvation at remote military installations.

Mongolia's worries about China's intentions turn about wholesale annexation rather than the mere nibbling of borders. Mongolian publications cite a number of occasions when the PRC leaders have threatened Mongolia's independence, usually starting with Mao Zedong's remark to Edgar Snow in 1936, that after the victory of the Chinese revolution Mongolia would return to China. Mao's similar remark in 1949 to Mikoyan (then Soviet Minister of Foreign Trade) was relayed to Stalin, who reportedly said: "All the regions inhabited by Mongols should unite in one autonomous [sic] nation, the MPR, so the question will not arise unless the MPR raises the issue itself." It is said that Mao, with Liu Shaochi, Chu De and Zhou Enlai, "took fright" in 1950, when the newly appointed Mongolian ambassador asked about establishing direct contacts between the MPR and Inner Mongolia AR. Soviet party leaders Khrushchev and Bulganin were asked by Chou in 1954 what they thought about Mongolia being united with China; Khrushchev replied that it was up to Mongolia and China to decide.

During a visit to Mongolia in 1960 Chou suggested sending 300,000 Chinese to settle in Mongolia.

There were repeated Chinese media claims on all or parts of the "Soviet colony" of Mongolia during the Chinese "cultural revolution" and as the ideological and territorial dispute between Moscow and Peking developed. In the 1970s China published maps showing Mongolia as Chinese territory. Claims were made for example in Liu Peihua's *The New Short History of China* and the *World Atlas* (Peking, 1972). In 1980, Deng Xiaoping told foreign journalists that Mongolia should return to China by 2000, as the third step in fully "reuniting the motherland" after the recovery of Hong Kong and Taiwan.

Since the birth of democracy in Mongolia in 1990 Mongolia's view of China has tended to focus on human rights and the plight of the Mongols of Inner Mongolia. After the publication of a Chinese internal document calling for the suppression of Inner Mongolian "secessionists" and reports of the arrest of Inner Mongolian intellectuals, Mongolian students picketed the Chinese embassy in Ulan Bator in October 1991 to protest against "communist repression in Inner Mongolia". The students demanded the release of political prisoners, an end to human rights abuse and a halt to the Chinese policy of "ethnic assimilation" in Inner Mongolia. The Mongolian government rejected a demand for the banning of the demonstration from the Chinese ambassador, who described those arrested in Inner Mongolia as "bandits and extremists".

In 1992 a leaked document from the Inner Mongolia branch of the PRC State Security Bureau was reported in the Western media to have accused the Dalai Lama, Japanese academics and the US government of supporting attempts by "separatists" to "unify the three Mongolias in a Greater Mongolia". It went on to claim that the "three Mongolias" (Mongolia, Inner Mongolia and the Buryat Republic) really belonged to China. The document said that the Inner Mongolian "dissidents" arrested the year before had been incited by literature smuggled into Inner Mongolia from Ulan Bator. The Mongolian Ministry of Foreign Relations issued a statement in May about Mongolia's wish for good relations with China. The Mongolian Democrats' *Ardchilal* printed a feature about Tsengel, a refugee from Xilingol in Inner Mongolia, who founded the "Inner Mongolia Independence Movement" in Mongolia and later the "Free Mongols Movement" in the USA.

The publication of *The Secret of Mongolia's Independence* in Peking in April 1993 caused a storm in Mongolia. It claimed that the country was not independent but a Soviet creation and really part of China. The Mongolian press, from the government paper *Ardyn erh* to the MPRP's *Ünen* and the Democratic *Ardchilal*, published lengthy translated passages from the Chinese book, giving prominence to such quotations as "Outer

Mongolia is our Chinese northern border territory." The report in *Il tovchoo* quoted in a headline the words "Mongolia is China's sacred territory" and reproduced on its front page the book's map, showing Mongolia as part of China, under the heading "China's devilish intentions". Other Mongolian articles drew attention to China's border wars with India, the USSR and Vietnam. When challenged about the book, a Chinese government spokesman claimed that it did not represent official policy.

A passage from *Proof That The Border of Chinese Territory Has Been Changed*, a publication of the PRC Tourism and Education Publishing Committee printed by the Academy of Military Sciences Press in January 1993, was quoted in the Mongolian *Ünen* in December 1993: "Outer Mongolia is Chinese territory. It is a matter of history that the Qing government appointed a governor to rule Outer Mongolia. Outer Mongolia's border was regulated by China and Russia under the Buur and Kyakhta treaties back in 1727. But Tsarist Russia did not at all give up its greedy intentions of aggression and conquest against our Outer Mongolia."

PRC Premier Li Peng said during his visit to Mongolia in 1994 that China respected Mongolia's independence and territorial integrity, and this was confirmed in a new Mongolian-Chinese Treaty of Friendship and Co-operation.

Mongolia's relations with China have been complicated on several occasions in recent years by the Dalai Lama's visits to Ulan Bator, most recently in September 1995. As the Mongol Buddhists' spiritual leader the Dalai Lama is always given a big welcome. His visits are strictly on a non-governmental basis, but Peking grumbles about them anyway.

National resurgence

Independent Mongolia has set out firmly on the path towards multiparty democracy and a market economy, but amidst the new flourishing of culture the hard realities of the economic transition have hit most Mongols hard. Perhaps most shocking has been Moscow's submission of a "bill" for Soviet aid: Roubles 10.3 billion for the period 1949-90. The Russian government has agreed only to defer part of the payment. For several years Mongolia and Russia have fiercely disputed the debt's true size and dollar equivalent. In response President Davaanyam of Mongolia's Movement for the Integrity of the Sacred Border published in 1993 his version of Mongolia's "bill" for the damage done to it by Soviet policies from 1921-91. He estimated this at US\$ 392 billion under 12 headings, including destruction of temples (\$30 billion), theft of mineral wealth (\$30 billion), environmental damage done by Soviet troops (\$22 billion) and to the border areas (\$10 billion), as well as compensation for territory taken away from Mongolia (\$75 billion). In the

latter case there was a nice play on words: the Russians had long been taking from Mongolia a "little land" here and there, "Little Land" being the title of Leonid Brezhnev's book about his wartime "exploits".

The democratization of the "autonomous republics" of Russia in the post-Soviet period has also been overshadowed by their own economic difficulties, largely due to supply and payments problems as the bankrupt state enterprises ground to a halt.

In the Buryat Republic the Supreme Soviet and local soviets were abolished and a new constitution adopted, declaring the Buryat Republic to be a "constituent part of the Russian Federation". On the other hand the Buryat-Mongol People's Party wants union of the Buryat Republic with Mongolia. In August 1992 the BMPP issued an appeal for the withdrawal of 250,000 Russian troops from the Buryat republic to improve the ethnic balance. In March 1994 Mongolian demonstrators presented a petition with 20,000 signatures to the Russian embassy in Ulan Bator, calling for the release from prison of the BMPP leader, Nikolay Pinoyev.

The Dalai Lama attended the funeral service at Ivolginsk *datsan* of Tsbikiv, the Bandido Hamba Lama of Buryat Buddhists, in July 1992. Tsbikiv's successor, Shagdarov, was trained in Mongolia and Nepal.

President Potapov of the Buryat Republic visited Mongolia in 1995 for talks which concentrated largely on economic relations, including plans for a free economic zone on the border. Potapov called for "order" at the Kyakhta-Altanbulag crossing point and "normal conditions" for the people using it. Mongolia expressed concern about the impact on Mongolian livestock exports of Russian duties and taxes amounting to 75 per cent of their value.

Kalmyk President Ilyumzhinov, elected in April 1993 at the age of 31, said he saw a prosperous future for Kalmykia in the free market with foreign investment but "only within the Russian Federation". The same year the Kalmyk Supreme Soviet and local soviets were dissolved. However, during the debate on the new Russian Constitution the Chairman of the Kalmyk Parliament, Maksimov, distanced himself from the more independent position adopted by Tatarstan and Tuva. In 1994 Ilyumzhinov introduced the Kalmyk "Steppe Code" as a form of republican constitution.

Ilyumzhinov, who has been a promoter of Buddhism and links between the various Mongol nations and has hosted international Mongol rallies, visited Ulan-Ude for talks with Buryat Prime Minister Saganov on cooperation between the Kalmyk and Buryat Republics.

In Tuva the period 1992-94 was dominated by the political debate over possible independence and reports that many Russians were leaving because of Tuvan hostility. Kaadyr-ool Bicheldey, Chairman of the Tuvan Supreme Soviet, favoured secession, but Tuvan President Sherig-ool

Oorzhak, who opposed it, was elected chairman of the commission for drafting the new Tuvan constitution. Following the insertion into the draft of an article on the "right to self-determination up to and including secession from Russia" the campaign by the People's Front and Free Tuva movement for a referendum on independence was suspended. Free Tuva claimed support from the People's Party of Sovereign Tuva, the Organisation of Buddhists, Society of Kyzyl Homeless and Society of Ex-Prisoners (the latter said to speak for the one-third of the population who were Soviet convicts).

In the constitutional referendum (December 1993) more people voted for the Tuvan Constitution (53.9 per cent) than for the Russian Constitution (30.5 per cent). Tuva's new parliament, the Supreme Khural, was elected the same month. (The Altai Republic also decided in 1993 to set up a new state assembly called the El Kurultai with 27 elected deputies.) Bicheldey was elected chairman of the Tuvan Supreme Khural in January 1994. President Oorzhak continued to say that Tuva's right of secession from the Russian Federation was "only theoretical".

Mongolia signed bilateral treaties with the Buryat, Kalmyk and Tuvan Republics in 1991-92 on economic and cultural cooperation. The Russian Federation government however has reminded Ulan Bator from time to time, and most recently in early 1995, that Mongolia is dealing with "subjects of the federation" and not with independent countries.

Despite propaganda to the contrary, Mongolia has not made any serious or official attempt to "restore the Mongol empire", although some Mongols would like that. There is some popular discussion of the "rebirth of Pan-Mongolism", but there is little likelihood of it becoming a reality beyond closer ties of the kind envisaged by the 1992 treaties and similar arrangements agreed with Inner Mongolia and the Altai Republic.

Each year now there are international Mongol rallies and conferences in one republic or another. The rally of Mongol students held in the Buryat Republic in 1992 showed some of the difficulties on the path to unity:

The Buryats said: "We need a new Genghis Khan!" The Mongols said: "Link Mongol national identity with democracy, the free market and human rights!" The Kalmyks said: "Nobody has ever heard of us!" The Tuvans said: "Our language is not Mongol. Why were we invited?" And the delegation from Inner Mongolia was left completely in the dark, because everybody else spoke Russian.

The Association of the World's Mongols, founded in Ulan Bator in 1993 with Mongolian ex-Prime Minister Dashiyn Byambasuren as its President, pursues a programme of essentially cultural, ecological and humanitarian aims and trade promotion. Soon after the association was set up, however, an Inner Mongolian research institute warned that "Pan-Mongolism" with US and Japanese backing could lead to the "partitioning" of China.

Outside Mongolia, the only independent Mongol state, the Mongols scattered all across Eurasia are struggling to preserve their ethnic identity. All Mongols share the heritage of Genghis Khan, Mongol traditions and the classical Mongol script, but after decades of atheistic education and urbanisation the Buddhist religion and nomadic lifestyle are no longer the unifying factors they once were. The Mongols as one nation have a glorious history, but the post-Soviet Mongol communities face serious socio-economic problems that can be solved only in the broader international community.

Note

Throughout the text, the following conventions have been followed: No distinction is made between "Mongol" and "Mongolian". "Mongolia" is the historical homeland of the Mongols. "Outer Mongolia" is northern (Khalkha) Mongolia, which after the collapse of the Mongol empire submitted to Manchu (Qing) rule 1691-1911. It was known as Autonomous Outer Mongolia or Bogd Khan Mongolia in the period 1911-24 and the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) 1924-92. Since 1992 the country's name has been just "Mongolia". "Inner Mongolia" is southern Mongolia, which submitted to Qing rule 1636-1911 and subsequently was broken up into several provinces. In 1947-49 Inner Mongolia was reconstituted as an "autonomous region" within China. "China" means the Manchu (Qing) empire until 1911, the Republic of China from 1911-1949, and the People's Republic of China (mainland China) since 1949. "Russia" means the tsarist empire until the proclamation of the Soviet state in 1917, Soviet Russia or the RSFSR until 1922, the RSFSR as a union republic of the Soviet Union (USSR) 1922-91, and the post-Soviet Russian Federation.

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TABLE 1

The World's Mongols

<u>Country</u>	<u>Mongols</u>	<u>% of all Mongols</u>	<u>Remarks</u>
Mongolia	1,918,900	23.2	census 1989
China	5,518,800	66.7	census 1990
Russia	805,000	9.7	USSR census 1989
Others	22,500		estimate; Taiwan, Afghanistan, etc.
Total	8,265,200		

TABLE 2

Mongolia's Ethnic Groups

<u>Ethnic Group</u>	<u>Number (census 1989)</u>	<u>% of total</u>
Khalkha (Halh)	1,610,200	78.8
Kazakh (Hasag)	120,500	5.9
Derbet (Dörvöd)	55,200	2.7
Bayat (Bayad)	38,800	1.9
Buryat (Buriad)	34,700	1.7
Dariganga	28,600	1.4
Zakhchin	22,500	1.1
Urianhay (Altai)	20,400	1.0
Darkhat (Darhad)	14,300	0.7
Torgut (Torguud)	10,200	0.5
Eleuth (Ööld)	8,100	0.4
Khoton (Hoton)	4,000	0.2
Mingat (Myangad)	4,000	0.2
Barga	2,000	0.1
Others*	69,900	3.4
Total	2,043,400	100.0

* Other ethnic groups include Üzemchin, Chakhar (Tsahar), Khotogoit (Hotgoyd), Uzbeks (Chantuu), Horchin and Tuvan (Soyot Urianhay, Hövsgöl Urianhay and Tsaatan or "reindeer herders"), but not Russians or Chinese. The Khoton and Kazakh are Turkic. Some 50,000 Kazakhs have emigrated from Mongolia to Kazakstan since 1992.

TABLE 3

Russia's Mongols

	<u>Mongols (1989 census)</u>	<u>% Local Population</u>
Buryats (USSR)	453,000	
Buryat Republic	331,000	23 (30)
Irkutsk <i>oblast'</i> Ust-Ordynskiy <i>okrug</i>	50,000	33
Chita <i>oblast'</i> Aga <i>okrug</i>	40,000	45
Kalmyks (USSR)	200,000	
Kalmyk Republic	174,000	41.5 (62.3)

Note:

For percentages in brackets see Gürbadam, who estimated the Altai population of the Altai Republic at 60,000 (30% of the total), and the Tuvan population of the Tuva (Tyva) Republic at 207,000 (60.5%); the figures may reflect recent Russian emigration. Some Mongolians consider the Yakuts (Sakha) to be Mongols, calling them *zahaduud*, although their language is Turkic. There were 2,946 "Mongolians" (Khalkha speakers) living in the USSR in 1979.

TABLE 4

China's Mongols

Territory/Group	Mongols	Remarks
Total	5,518,800	1990
including:		
Inner Mongolia	3,400,000	14%
of which:		
Barga	70,000	1982
Chakhar	300,000	estimate
Dagur	61,000	
Ejine	34,000	1982
Khalkha (Halh)	1,100,000	estimate
Harachin	400,000	1982
Horchin	1,300,000	
Ordos	123,000	1982
Rest of China	2,118,800	
including:		
Gansu	403,700	
of which:		
Bao'an	12,200	1990
Monguor	100,000	
Sant (Dongxiang)	373,900	1990
Shar Uygur	12,900	1990
Gansu and Qinghai	354,000	
of which:		
Tsagaan Mongols (Tu)	191,600	1990
Guizhou	2,500	
Heilongjiang	40,000	
of which:		
Dagur	35,000	
Jilin	100,000	
Liaoning	243,000	
of which:		
Harachin	200,000	1982
Sichuan	20,000	
Xinjiang	135,000	
of which:		
Dagur	25,400	1990
Torgut	106,000	1982
territories including:		
Bayingolin Prefecture	40,000	5%
Hoboksar County	13,400	4%
Bortala Prefecture	23,000	7%
Altay Prefecture	5,000	
Yunnan	10,000	

Note:

Oirats (Torgut and Kok Nur) numbering some 144,000 (1990) live in Qinghai, Inner Mongolia, Xinjiang and Tibet. The percentages are for the nationality compared with the total population of the territory concerned where known.

TABLE 5

Mongol-Chinese Border: Crossing Points (E-W)

Mongolia	China	Opening times
Dornod Province: Havirga	Ar Hashaat (Inner Mongolia) for Hailar	0900-1700 1-15 January, April, July and October
Sühbaatar Province: Bichigt	Züün Hatavch (Inner Mongolia) for Xilinhot	ditto
Dornogov' Province: Zamyn-Üüd	Ereen (Erenhot) (Inner Mongolia) for Peking (rail)	0900-1700 daily
Ömnögov' Province: Gashuun Suhayt	Gants Mod (Inner Mongolia) for Baotou	0900-1700 1-15 January, April, July and October
Gov'-Altay province: Burgastay	Daoyemiao (Xinjiang) for Hami	1100-1800 15-30 March, June, August and November
Hovd Province: Baytag	Uliastay (Xinjiang) for Ürümqi	1100-1800 1-15 March, June, August and November
Bulgan	Takashikene (Xinjiang) for Ürümqi	1100-1800 20-30 April to December
Bayan-Ölgii Province: Dayan	Hongshanju (Xinjiang) for Altay	1100-1800 1-10 July to September
Naransevstey (see Note)	Mazushan	0900-1700 1-15 March, June, August and November

Note:

List according to Namhaynorov. He seems to have listed Naransevstey in the wrong province, since other evidence indicates that the post is at the southern extremity of Tsogt district of Gov'-Altay Province, on the border with China's Gansu Province. Naransevstey is not listed by Sharavsambuu as having a customs post and therefore does not appear on his map. The map however shows a customs post called "Shiree Hüren" (Shivee Hüren) on the western section of Ömnögov' Province's border with Inner Mongolia AR. A Chinese map suggests that Naransevstey is in Gansu. If so, Shivee Hüren may be the Mongol post opposite it. The Zamyn-Üüd - Ereen rail route is an international railway crossing, and will become a proper international road crossing when the road has been upgraded.

TABLE 6

Mongol-Russian Border: Permanent Crossing Points (W-E)

<u>Mongolia</u>	<u>Russia</u>	<u>Route</u>
Bayan-Ölgiy Province: Tsagaannuur Asgatyn Gol	Tashanta Aspayty	Altay Rep. - Kosh-Agach ditto
Uvs Province: Böhmörön Harigiyn Gol Borshoo	Kyzyl-Khaya Mugur-Aksy Khandagayty (Handgayt) ditto	Tuva Republic ditto Tuva Rep.-Chadan, Kyzyl ditto
Teel Teel Tes	Torgalyg Chaa-Suur (Shar Suur')	Tuva Rep. - Erzin, Kyzyl ditto
Zavhan Province: Artssuur'	Tsagaantolgoy	Tuva Rep. - Naryn, Erzin
Hövsögöl Province: Hanh (Turt)	Mondy	Buryat Rep. - Irkutsk
Bulgan Province: Ilenhgol (Ih Ilenge)		Buryat Republic
Selenge Province: Zelter Hongor Ovoo Sühbaatar Altanbulag Hutag-Öndör Hüder	Zheltura Botsiy Naushki Kyakhta (Hiagt) Kiran Tsagaanchuluutay	Buryat Rep. - Ulan-Ude ditto ditto - Trans-Siberian Buryat Rep. - Ulan-Ude Buryat Rep. - Chikoy Chita - Kr. Chikoy
Hentiy Province: Heriyn Gol Agatsyn Gol	Gavan' Altan	Chita Oblast' Chita Ob.-Kyra, Narasun
Dornod Province: Ulhan (Ulhanmayhan) Yamalh (Yalamhyn Gol) Ereentsav (Chuluunhoroot)	Ul'khun (Deed Ul'han) Novyy Durulguy Solov'yevsk	Chita Ob. - Narasun ditto Chita Ob.-Trans-Siberian

Note:

List according to Namhaynorov. Kosh-Agach gives road access to Biysk, and Kyzyl to Abaza and Abakan. The Tsagaannuur-Tashanta and Altanbulag-Kyakhta road routes and the Sühbaatar-Naushki and Ereentsav-Solov'yevsk railway routes were designated by the Mongolian and Russian governments as international border crossings under an agreement signed by Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Panov in Ulan Bator in August 1994. There are another 20 seasonal approved crossing points for bilateral use.

BOOK REVIEWS

AIDAN FOSTER-CARTER, *North Korea after Kim Il-sung: Controlled Collapse?* The Economist Intelligence Unit, London, 1994. vii + 58 pages. ISBN 0 85058 827 8.

Kim Il-sung, the "Great Leader", died, at the age of 82, in July 1994. *North Korea after Kim Il-sung* appeared two months later. Hasty, some would say, but then Foster-Carter has for some years closely scrutinised events in this most isolated socialist state, notably as the main writer for the *Korea Countdown* journal. The price charged for this slender essay (unrepeatable amongst British academics) is outrageous, and appears designed to woo only the few who are considering investing in North Korea. Foster-Carter's basic themes, though, have little to do with commerce. He considers the options for leadership and nation, and the way that these might be influenced by external action. In this, the volume closely shadows the same author's 1992 account, *Korea's Coming Unification: Another East Asian Superpower?* (Economist Intelligence Unit, London, 1992—reviewed in *Papers of the British Association for Korean Studies*, vol.4). The basic conclusion, implied in the question of the title, is that the North Korean regime cannot be sustained.

Generally, the volume is excellently produced. Considerable information is stitched together, from the policies of rival states to descriptions of mass mourning on TV following Kim's death, through accounts of North Korean traders in Macau expelled for making counterfeit money, to the Japanese suit manufacturer who went on TV in December 1993 to decry how the authorities sold his suits, already contracted to Japan, to Hong Kong. Sometimes, though, insufficient background is offered to allow this volume to stand on its own. This is particularly apparent when considering the decline and current status of North Korea. What should we make of the "rollback of problems" which, not surprisingly, present quite the opposite picture to that offered by North Korea's media: mostly unmodernised railways, roads and cars that hardly exist, primitive telephones, endemic power shortages, acute environmental problems, agriculture damaged by the overuse of chemicals, and so on.

The volume is divided into nine slimline chapters, starting with a summary and a background, and concluding with a vision of the way things could hopefully turn out. In between, Foster-Carter looks at Kim Jong-il, the chosen successor. He asks whether the younger Kim has the ability to survive, and if he can react to and reform policies developed during his father's almost half century of authoritarian rule. The nuclear issue, a recurring concern for the international community and a potential catastrophe in-the-making for North Korea's neighbours, gets the most extensive section. Two further chapters consider the role of the rival state, South Korea, and its curious back-tracking away from dialogue and détente since the arrival in power of Kim Young Sam early in 1993, and the attitudes of the surrounding powers—Japan, China, the former Soviet Union and America.