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Mongolia - Pres. Ochirbat Visit 1/23/91 [OA 8321]

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McGroarty/Dooley
January 18, 1991
11:00 am
[MONGOLIA]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR THE VISIT OF
PRESIDENT OCHIRBAT OF MONGOLIA
THE SOUTH LAWN
JANUARY 23, 1990
1:15 PM

Mr. President: It has been my great honor to welcome you to the White House for this historic visit to our country -- the first-ever by the head of state of Mongolia. //

Mr. President, Mongolia and the United States are countries separated by thousands of miles, and a world of differences -- in culture, history and outlook. Yet, in this past year, our two nations have **moved closer together** -- drawn toward one another by universal principles and ideals. //

In the past year, Mongolia has **opened its controlled economy to free market reform -- opened its closed political system -- and opened its doors to the world.** //

Opposition parties are now legal. Mongolia held its first multi-party elections in July -- free and fair elections that elevated you, Mr. President, to your position of leadership. //

And this transition toward broader political freedom has a parallel in increased freedom of belief as well, with the re-opening of several monasteries and a mosque -- [and the invitation to the Dalai Lama to visit Mongolia later this year.] //

Mr. President, your party's positive approach toward reform has meant peaceful change. //

*subsequently
elected by
leg. elected in*

In our discussions today, I made clear the strong support the United States is ready to offer as Mongolia moves forward toward greater freedom. Already, the U.S. has begun a program of technical assistance to Mongolia. / Just this month, a team from A.I.D. travelled to Ulan Bator [OO-lahn BAH-ter] to brief 20 mid-level managers on free market reform -- and found 200 officials ready to exchange ideas, including ~~the entire~~ ^{many members of the} Mongolian legislature. / This summer, for the first time ever, Peace Corps volunteers will begin work in Mongolia. / Later this afternoon, our two countries will sign agreements opening the way to **expanded trade**, and closer contact in the areas of **science and technology**. / And today, I have given my approval to grant Mongolia Most Favored Nation status -- a step I hope will spur increased trade between our two countries. //

In addition to these matters of mutual interest, I reviewed with ~~Chairman~~ ^{President} Ochirbat world affairs of surpassing concern -- including OPERATION DESERT STORM. // Mongolia was among the first to condemn Iraq's brutal invasion of Kuwait -- and to call for Iraq's complete and unconditional withdrawal.

Mr. President, I know that you believe as I do, that no nation must be permitted to assault and brutalize its neighbor. //

The actions of Iraq's dictator -- the actions of one misguided man -- cannot obscure mankind's bright destiny of democracy and freedom. // The future lies with the process of revolution and renewal now taking place in your nation -- a democratic revolution that is destined to bring peace, freedom

and prosperity to the people of Mongolia, as it has to this country and so many others around the world. //

Once again, Mr. President, it has been my pleasure to welcome you to Washington, and to the White House. God bless you -- and may God bless the people of Mongolia.

#



United States Department of State

Washington, D.C. 20520

**BUREAU OF EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS
FAX COVER SHEET**DATE: January 15, 1991TO: White House Speech Office - Peggy DooleyFAX NUMBER: 456-6218ADDRESSEE'S PHONE: 647-9141FROM: EAP/ China/Mongolia DeskFAX NUMBER: 202-647-7350SENDER'S PHONE NUMBER: 202-647-9141NUMBER OF PAGES INCLUDING COVER SHEET: 5

REMARKS:

As promised.UNCLASSIFIED
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Country Profile

Mongolia

Official Name: Mongolian People's Republic

► Geography

Area: 1,566,500 sq. km. (604,103 sq. mi.); slightly smaller than Arizona, New Mexico, Texas, and Louisiana combined (land boundaries 8,158 km). **Cities:** *Capital*—Ulaanbaatar (pop. 600,000, 1986). *Other cities*—Darhan (63,300), Erdenet (48,000). **Terrain:** Almost 90% of land area is pasture or desert; 0.9% is arable; 8.9% is forested. **Climate:** Continental, with little precipitation and sharp seasonal fluctuations.

► People

Noun and adjective: Mongolian(s). **Population** (1989): 2,044 million. **Annual growth rate** (1976–88): 5.7%. **Ethnic groups:** Predominantly Mongol (77% Khalkha, 11.7% other Mongolian groups), 5.3% Kazakh, 2% Chinese, 2% Russian, 2% other. **Languages:** Khalkha Mongol, more than 90%; minor languages include Kazakh, Chinese, and Russian. **Religions:** Tibetan Buddhist Lamalism is the predominant religion of 94% of the population, Muslim 6% (primarily in the southwest) and Shamanism. Religious activity, though guaranteed in the 1960 constitution, has been limited by the communist regime; however, since January 1990, the process of reopening two monasteries and one mosque has begun. **Education:** *Years compulsory*—8. **Literacy**—about 80%. **Life expectancy** (1985): 65.6 yrs.

► Government

Type: Communist state undergoing democratic transition. **Independence:** 1921. **Constitution:** 1960, major amendments 1990.

Branches: *Executive*—highly centralized administration (Council of Ministers).

Legislative—People's Great Hural (National Assembly), and August 1990 election of first Baga Hural (Small Hural). **Judicial**—blend of Russian, Chinese, and Turkish law systems, administered by courts and Office of the Procurator—Supreme Court elected by People's Great Hural. **Legal code** under revision. No provision for judicial review of legislative acts. **Legal education** at Mongolian State University. Mongolia does not accept International Court of Justice jurisdiction.

Political parties: Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (the communist MPRP has dominated the country since 1921.) The following opposition parties were registered as of June 7, 1990: Mongolian Democratic Party, Social Democratic Party, Party of National Progress, Party of Free Labor, and the Green Party.

Suffrage: Universal 18 and older.

Elections: People's Great Hural elections held every 4 yrs, scheduled July 29, 1990.

Administrative subdivisions: 18 *aymags* (provinces) and three autonomous cities (Ulaanbaatar, Darhan, and Erdenet).

Defense expenditures: About 12% of total GNP (ending December 1977, more recent figures unavailable); 405 million tugriks.

National holidays: International Socialist Workers' Day, May 1; People's Revolution Day, July 11. **Flag:** Three vertical bands—red, sky-blue, red; on the left red band, golden five-pointed star and, underneath, the golden *soyombo* (the Mongolian national emblem, composed of a flame, sun, moon, two triangles, four rectangles, and two fish) are arranged.

► Economy

GDP (1990 Mongolian est.): \$3 billion. **Per capita GDP** (1990 est.): \$1,500. **Annual growth rate** (1975–88): 5.7%.

Natural resources: Coal, copper,

molybdenum, phosphates, tin, nickel, zinc, wolfram, fluorspar, gold.

Agriculture: *Products*—livestock, wheat, oats, barley, hay fodder, vegetables. **Rural population** (1990)—43%.

Industry (50% of GNP est.): Animal-derived products, building materials, minerals.

Electric power: 522,000 kW capacity (1983); 1,765 million kWh produced in 1983, 1,487 kWh per capita.

Communications: Railroad 1,815 km. (1990), all broad gauge (1.524 m.). Highways 49,150 km. total; composed of concrete, asphalt, crushed stone, gravel, and earth (42,610 km. are unpaved).

Trade: *Exports*—livestock, animal products, wool, hides, fluorspar, nonferrous metals, and minerals. *Imports*—machinery and equipment, petroleum, clothing, consumer durables, building materials, sugar, tea, chemicals, and food products. **Partners** (1989)—83.5% with communist countries (USSR 73.3%). **US-Mongolia trade**—\$1.6 million (1989). **Total turnover**—About \$1.7 billion (1989).

Aid received: Heavily dependent on USSR. **Official exchange rate** (1990): 2.9975 tugriks=US\$1. **Fiscal year:** calendar year.

► Membership in international Organizations

UN and some of its specialized agencies, including UNESCO, International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA), International Labor Organization (ILO), International Telecommunication Union (ITU), Universal Postal Union (UPU), World Health Organization (WHO), World Meteorological Organization (WMO), International Civil Aviation Organization (ICAO); Interparliamentary Union, Council for Mutual Economic Assistance (CEMA), Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (ESCAP).



GEOGRAPHY

The Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) is in central Asia, with the Soviet Union to the north and China to the south. It coincides roughly with "Outer Mongolia," a term historically applied to the area by the Manchus to distinguish it from Inner Mongolia, an autonomous region in northern China, and Buryat Mongolia in the Soviet Union.

In the southeast, the Gobi supports almost no vegetation and is sparsely populated. North and west of the Gobi, the landscape changes gradually to rugged mountains rising to elevations of more than 3,962 meters (13,000 ft.) above sea level. The highest peak in Mongolia is Nayramdal Uul (4,374 m.—14,350 ft.). Many salt lakes and prairies dot the country. Water is more abundant in the habitable north, although the rivers in this area are rough and uncontrolled.

The climate is continental, with little precipitation, sharply defined seasons, great diurnal temperature changes, long, cold winters (October-April), short summers, and some of the highest recorded barometer pressures in the world. The mean monthly temperature at Ulaanbaatar ranges from -27° C (-17° F) in January to 18° C (64° F) in July, with recorded extremes of -48° C (-54° F) and 39° C (102° F). Precipitation averages 25.4 centimeters (10 in.) annually at Ulaanbaatar.

PEOPLE

Life in sparsely populated Mongolia is becoming more urbanized and sedentary. The birth rate is estimated at 2.6%. Of the 2 million people, approximately 25% live in the capital; another 32% live in various provincial centers. In the countryside, nomadic life still predominates, but settled agricultural communities are becoming common. Traditionally, Mongolians have scorned agriculture, but once-nomadic herders now use modern farm machinery to raise grain and fodder crops.

Mongolians account for about 90% of the population and subgroups are distinguished primarily by their dialects. The majority (77%) are Khalkha Mongols. Non-Khalkhas—Durbet Mongols and others in the north, and Dariganga Mongols in the east—total about 8% of the population. Turkic speakers (Kazakhs, Turvins, and Khotans) comprise 7% of the population,

and the rest are Tungusic-speakers, Chinese, and Russians.

Formerly, Tibetan Buddhist Lamaism was the predominant religion; however, religious activity had been suppressed and only one showcase monastery had remained open in recent years. In early 1990, as part of the liberalization process, the government announced that two more monasteries and one mosque would be reopened.

About 4 million Mongols live outside Mongolia—approximately 3.4 million in China, mainly in the Inner Mongolia Autonomous Region, and about 500,000 in the USSR, primarily in Buryat Mongolia and the Kalmyk Autonomous Republic.

HISTORY

In 1203 AD, a single Mongolian feudal state was formed from nomadic tribal groupings under the leadership of Ghengis Khan. He and his immediate successors conquered nearly all of Asia and European Russia and sent armies as far afield as Central Europe and Southeast Asia. Ghengis Khan's grandson, Kublai Khan, gained fame in Europe through the writings of Marco Polo. Although Mongol-led confederations sometimes exercised wide political power over their conquered territories, their strength declined rapidly after the Mongol dynasty in China was overthrown in 1368.

The Manchus, who conquered China in 1644, brought Outer Mongolia under Manchu rule in 1691. Although the Khalkha Mongol nobles swore an oath of allegiance to the Manchu emperor, they remained autonomous. However, all Chinese claims to Outer Mongolia since the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty have rested on this oath. In 1727, Russia and Manchu China concluded the Treaty of Kjachta, delimiting the border between China and Outer Mongolia that exists in large part today.

Outer Mongolia was a Chinese province from 1691 to 1911, an autonomous state under Russian protection from 1912 to 1919, and again a Chinese province from 1919 to 1921. As Manchu authority in China waned, and as Russia and Japan confronted each other, Russia gave arms and diplomatic support to nationalists among the Mongol religious leaders and nobles. The Mongols accepted Russian aid and

proclaimed their independence in December 1911, shortly after a successful Chinese revolt against the Manchus in October. Through agreements signed in 1913 and 1915, the Russian government forced the new Chinese republican government to accept Mongolian autonomy under continued Chinese sovereignty, presumably to discourage other foreign powers from approaching a newly independent Mongolian state that would be looking for support from as many foreign sources as possible.

The Russian revolution and civil war gave China an opportunity to establish rule in Outer Mongolia, and Chinese troops were dispatched there in 1919. But, following Soviet military victories over White Russian forces in the early 1920s, Moscow again became the major outside influence on Mongolia. Under the revolutionary leaders Sukhe Bator and Choybalsan, the Mongolian People's Republic was proclaimed in November 1924.

Historically, Mongolia's foreign relations have focused on its two neighbors, the Soviet Union and China. During the Sino-Soviet conflict of the early 1960s, Mongolia tried to remain neutral. However, this situation changed in the middle of the decade. In 1986, Mongolia and the Soviet Union signed a new agreement which allowed Moscow to reintroduce large-scale Soviet ground forces as part of the USSR's general buildup along the Sino-Soviet frontier. Many factors may have motivated this shift, including Mongolia's historical antipathy for the Chinese, continued tensions on the Sino-Mongolian border (despite a 1964 demarcation), statements attributed to Beijing suggesting a continued interest among some Chinese for reannexing Mongolia, Russia's historical counterbalancing of Chinese influence, and heavy Mongolian dependence on Soviet economic aid.

The birth of *perestroika* in the Soviet Union and the democracy movement in Eastern Europe was mirrored in Mongolia. The first demonstrations were held in Ulaanbaatar in December 1989, and the first organized opposition group, the Mongolian Democratic Association, appeared. In the face of popular sentiment for faster reform, the leadership of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) resigned in March 1990. The constitution was amended in

Principal Government Officials

Chairman, Presidium, People's Great Hural—Punsalmaagiyin Ochirbat
Chairman, Council of Ministers—Sharabyn Gungaadorj
First Deputy Chairman, Council of Ministers—Dashiyin Byambasuren
Deputy Chairmen, Council of Ministers
 Kinayatyn Dzardyhan
 Badrahyn Sharabsambuu
 Sonomyn Lubsangombo
 Tsendiyn Molom
 Dondoglyin Tsebegmid

Other Ministers

<i>Agriculture, Light & Food Industry</i> — Dandzangiyin Randnaaragchaa	<i>Foreign Affairs</i> — Tserenpiliyn Gombosuren
<i>Communications</i> —Irbudziyn Norobjab	<i>Health & Society Security</i> — Fagbjabyn Nyamdabaa
<i>Construction</i> — Ubsanbaldangiyin Nyamsambuu	<i>Heavy Industry</i> —Sodobyin Bathuyag
<i>Culture</i> —Bedziyn Baljinnyam	<i>Irrigation (Water)</i> — Dzunduliyin Janjaadorj
<i>Defense</i> —Lubsangombyn Molomjamts	<i>Justice</i> —Origiyin Jambaldorj
<i>Education</i> —Norobyin Urtnasan	<i>Trade & Cooperation</i> — Nadmidyn Babuu
<i>Environmental Protection</i> — Uthany Mabelt	<i>Transportation</i> —Dogyn Yondonsuren
<i>Finance</i> —Demchigjabyin Molomjamts	

May, deleting the MPRP's role as the guiding force in the country, legalizing opposition parties, creating a standing legislative body (Baga Hural), and establishing the office of president. Mongolia's first multiparty elections are scheduled for July 29, 1990, to bring a new government to power.

Traditionally, Mongolia has adhered to the Soviet line in foreign policy. However, it is now improving ties with China, has reached an agreement for the withdrawal of all Soviet troops by 1992, and is moving toward a non-aligned foreign policy.

GOVERNMENT

The Mongolian government was modeled on the Soviet system. The dramatic shifts of 1990 are continuing, and the general structure of the new government is just beginning to emerge.

A People's Great Hural is scheduled to be elected on July 29, 1990. Voters will cast ballots indicating their support for one of the parties registered to compete in the election. After the newly elected People's Great Hural meets, it will elect 50 members to the Baga Hural ("Small Hural"—the standing congress). Candidates for the Baga Hural will be nominated by each political party based on the number of votes they receive in the election. In addition, the People's Great Hural will elect a chairman, vice

chairman and secretary of the Baga Hural, and the president. The president will nominate a prime minister who must be confirmed by the People's Great Hural.

Until May 1990, only the communist MPRP was officially permitted to function. Although the MPRP, which has 88,000 members, continues to run the government, five opposition parties had been recognized by early June 1990.

The MPRP central committee elected a new presidium of six members headed by General Secretary Gombajavyn Ochirbat in March 1990. Only one member of the new party presidium, Tserenpiliyn Gombosuren, who is foreign minister, also holds a high government post.

A new government took office in April 1990. Sharabyn Gungaadorj (prime minister) is the chairman of the council of ministers and Punsalmaagiyin Ochirbat is chairman of the presidium of the People's Great Hural (head of state).

Justice in the MPR is administered by the court system and the office of the procurator. The supreme court is elected by the People's Great Hural, while lower courts are elected locally. The People's Great Hural appoints the procurator, who in turn appoints lower level procurators. The Mongolian legal code is currently under revision.

Below the national level are 18 *aymags* (provinces) plus the capital, Ulaanbaatar. On the next administrative level are *somon* (in the provinces) and *horoo* (in Ulaanbaatar and the municipalities). In many cases, leaderships of the *somon* and the livestock and farming cooperatives operating within the *somon* are the same. Local elections will also be held on July 29, 1990.

POLITICAL CONDITIONS

Although the first two decades of communist rule in Mongolia were politically unstable, there was no significant popular unrest until December 1989. Collectivization of animal husbandry, introduction of agriculture, and the extension of fixed abodes have been, or are being, carried out without perceptible popular opposition. The emergence of the democracy movement in December 1989 has brought swift and peaceful change to Mongolia, and the government has adopted a positive approach toward reform.

During the period of Sino-Soviet tensions, relations between Mongolia and China also deteriorated. In 1983, the MPR began systematically expelling some of the 7,000 ethnic Chinese from Mongolia, despite the fact that many of them had lived in the MPR since the 1950s when many Chinese had assisted in construction projects. Mongolian relations with China began to improve in the mid-1980s when consular agreements were reached and cross-border trade contacts expanded. China and Mongolia exchanged foreign minister visits in 1989, and in May 1990 a Mongolian head of state visited China for the first time in 28 years. Soviet troop withdrawals, which began in 1987, are scheduled to be completed by 1992. The establishment of relations with the United States in 1987 also has marked a new effort by the MPR to develop relations outside the socialist world. In this connection, Mongolia's prime minister visited Japan in March 1990. The Mongolians also established diplomatic relations with South Korea in March 1990.

ECONOMY

Mongolia's economy is heavily agricultural. Live animals and animal products—meat, butter, wool and hair, hides,

and furs—account for half of Mongolia's output and almost 90% of its exports. Coal is also an important export. Principal imports include machinery, petroleum, cloth, and building materials. Although almost all Mongolian external trade is conducted with the Soviet Union and Warsaw Pact countries, links with non-communist states are developing, and a growing tourist trade is making the country better known to the outside world.

In recent years, Mongolians have begun coal, copper, and molybdenum mining, grain and fodder production, consumer goods and construction material production, commercial fishing, and development of a food-processing industry. The railway linking Moscow, Ulaanbaatar, and Beijing, completed in 1955, provides a shorter route between the USSR and China than the line through Manchuria. Mongolia has both internal and international airline service, and trucks have largely replaced camels on domestic freight routes.

The rapid changes of the first 6 months of 1990 marked the beginning of Mongolia's efforts to develop a market economy, but transforming the traditional centrally planned economy will be a difficult and prolonged process.

Despite some progress, Mongolia has been unable to achieve economic independence. Foreign aid, which is necessary to help finance a vast expansion of educational and other public services and a great deal of construction, continues to come from the Soviet Union—the principal source of credit—and the Soviet-led members of CEMA (Council for Mutual Economic Assistance). The 1986–90 5-year plan anticipated Soviet aid of approximately \$3 billion. The estimated debt to the Soviet Union in 1990 was 6.6 billion rubles. Considerable technical assistance has also come from the Soviet Union and several East and Central European countries. In the early 1960s, the People's Republic of China also advanced more than \$100 million in grants and credits and made available thousands of its workers to overcome a shortage in Mongolia.

Some Key Events in Mongolia 1920–present

March 13, 1921: Provisional people's government declares independence of Mongolia. People's revolutionary government established on July 21.

May 31, 1924: USSR signs agreement with Peking government, referring to Outer Mongolia as an "integral part of the Republic of China," whose "sovereignty" therein the Soviet Union promises to respect.

November 1924: People's Great Hural meets for first time, proclaims existence of Mongolian People's Republic (MPR), and adopts constitution in which it calls itself independent.

March 12, 1936: Formal 10-year USSR-MPR treaty of friendship and mutual defense is signed. Chinese sovereignty is not mentioned, and two Chinese protests are disregarded by Moscow.

August 14, 1945: In an exchange of notes signed at the conclusion of the Sino-Soviet treaty of friendship and alliance, the government of the Republic of China agrees to recognize the independence of Outer Mongolia within its "existing boundary," provided that a plebiscite of the Outer Mongolian people confirms their oft-expressed desire for independence.

October 6, 1949: Newly established People's Republic of China accepts recognition accorded MPR and agrees to establish diplomatic relations.

October 27, 1961: MPR admitted to UN.

January 27, 1967: Diplomatic relations established with the United States.

December 1989: First popular reform demonstrations, Mongolian Democratic Association organized.

March 1990: Top government leaders resign.

March 2, 1990: Soviets and Mongolians announce that all Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Mongolia by 1992.

April 1990: Mongolian first deputy prime minister visits the United States.

May 1990: Constitution amended to provide for multiparty system and new elections.

US-MONGOLIA RELATIONS

The US Government recognized Mongolia in January 1987 and established its first embassy in Ulaanbaatar in June 1988. The embassy formally opened in September 1988 with the presentation of credentials by the US Ambassador. After administrative preparations were completed, the embassy opened on a year-round basis in June 1989. The first Ambassador to Mongolia, Richard L. Williams, was not resident in Mongolia. Joseph E. Lake was confirmed on June 22, 1990, as ambassador, and he is expected to arrive in the summer of 1990. The Mongolian People's Republic accredited its first ambassador to the United States in March 1989.

The US has sought to expand relations with Mongolia, primarily in cultural and economic matters. In 1989, the US and Mongolia concluded a cultural accord. Several other agreements, including a Peace Corps accord, a trade agreement, and a consular convention, are currently under discussion.

Since the beginning of Mongolia's reform movement, the United States has sought to be supportive of the trend toward greater democracy and market-oriented reform. ■

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MESSAGE NO. _____ CLASSIFICATION Limited Official USE No. Pages 2

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MESSAGE DESCRIPTION draft of President's statement at
departure of President Ochirbat

<u>TO: (Agency)</u>	<u>DELIVER TO:</u>	<u>Extension</u>	<u>Room No.</u>
<u>White House</u>	<u>Peggy Dooley - Speech office</u>	<u>456-7750</u>	<u>111 1/2</u>
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PRESIDENTIAL STATEMENT
AT THE DEPARTURE OF PRESIDENT OCHIRBAT
JANUARY 23, 1991

✓ Mongolia and the United States are countries far separated by circumstance - with different histories, different cultures, and different societies. Yet, we are now united in our conviction that a free and democratic political system and a market-oriented economy provide the best life for our people.

In my meetings today with President Ochirbat I heard him describe what his country has accomplished in the brief span of a year. What had been an authoritarian one-party state has changed course, and is now moving toward democracy through the cooperative actions of the Mongolian people and their government.

✓ We in the United States respect and admire all that Mongolia has accomplished. We are convinced that Mongolia has chosen the right course, and we are committed to doing what we can to help it succeed. The United States has already begun a ✓ program of technical assistance to Mongolia, and ✓ Peace Corps ✓ volunteers will begin work there this summer. Today I have ✓ signed a Presidential determination that Mongolia qualifies for ✓ Most Favored Nation status. This afternoon our two countries will sign agreements on trade and on cooperation in science and technology. These steps establish a firm basis for the warm and friendly cooperation between our two countries.

LIMITED OFFICIAL USE

Barack Obama

During our talks this morning I reviewed with President Ochirbat the situation in the Gulf. He recalled that Mongolia was among the first countries to condemn Iraq's invasion of Kuwait and to call for its unconditional withdrawal. I think that is important, because Iraq's aggression is not something which concerns just the Security Council or just the Arab world. The principle that all nations should be secure from intimidation and invasion is precious to all of us.

The big news of the past year is, in the final analysis, not the depredations of aggressors like Iraq, but the courageous, peaceful democratic revolutions embarked upon by Mongolia and other countries around the world. Mr. President, I know I speak for all Americans when I congratulate you on what you and your people have done to build democracy and prosperity. Rest assured, you have the support and the warm friendship of the American people as you continue down this path.

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Document No. and Type	Subject/Title of Document	Date	Restriction	Class.
01. Report	Government report. (1 pp.)	04/02/90	P-1, (b)(1)	C

Collection:

Record Group: Bush Presidential Records
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Series: Speech File, Backup
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File Location: Mongolia - Pres. Ochirbat Visit 1/23/91

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MR Case #:	Appeal Case #:
MR Disposition:	Appeal Disposition:
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RESTRICTION CODES

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P-5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
P-6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

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Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

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02. Report	Government report. (1 pp.)	04/18/90	P-1, (b)(1)	

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Re-review Case #: 2004-2265-S	
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MR Case #:	Appeal Case #:
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- (b)(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- (b)(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- (b)(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- (b)(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- (b)(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- (b)(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- (b)(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- (b)(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information

Ulan BAH-ter

PD-
FYI
pls. see p 2

McGroarty/Dooley
January 17, 1991
4:00 pm
[MONGOLIA]

PRESIDENTIAL REMARKS: DEPARTURE STATEMENT FOR THE VISIT OF
PRESIDENT OCHIRBAT OF MONGOLIA
THE SOUTH LAWN
JANUARY 22, 1990
1:15 PM (13)

7119
Rm. 20

Mr. President: It has been my great honor to welcome you to the White House for this historic visit to our country -- the first-ever by the head of state of Mongolia. //

Mr. President, Mongolia and the United States are countries separated by thousands of miles, and a world of difference -- in culture, history and outlook. Yet in this past year our two nations have **moved closer together** -- drawn toward one another by principles and ideals of universal attraction. //

In the past year, Mongolia has **opened its controlled economy to free market reform -- opened its closed political system -- and opened its doors to the world.** //

Opposition parties are now legal. Mongolia held its first multi-party elections in July -- free and fair elections that elevated you, Mr. President, to your position of leadership. // And this transition toward broader political freedom has a parallel in increased freedom of belief as well, with the re-opening of two monasteries and one mosque. //

(Planned?)

Mr. President, your party's positive approach toward reform has meant peaceful change. //

invited
Dalai Lama
this year

12 MON - staffing -
Dan Price - USTR
395-3639

In our discussions today, I made clear the strong commitment we in the United States feel toward Mongolia as it moves forward toward greater freedom. Already, the U.S. has begun a program of technical assistance) to Mongolia. / This summer, for the first time ever, Peace Corps volunteers will begin work in Ulan Bator and elsewhere in Mongolia. / Later this afternoon, our two countries will sign agreements opening the way to **expanded trade**, and closer contact in the areas of **science and technology**. / And today, I have given my approval to grant Mongolia Most Favored Nation status -- a step I hope will spur increased trade between our two countries. //

In addition to these matters of mutual interest, I reviewed with Chairman Ochirbat world affairs of surpassing concern -- including the current situation in OPERATION DESERT STORM. // Mongolia was among the first to condemn Iraq's brutal invasion of Kuwait -- and to call for Iraq's complete and unconditional withdrawal.

Mr. President, I know that you believe as I do, that no nation must be permitted to assault and brutalize its neighbor.

[DESERT STORM UPDATE] //

The actions of Iraq's dictator -- the actions of one misguided man -- cannot obscure mankind's bright destiny of democracy and freedom. // The future lies with the process of revolution and renewal now taking place in your nation -- a democratic revolution that is destined to bring peace, freedom and prosperity to the people of Mongolia, as it has to this country and so many others around the world. //

sample
AID team of nd. contractors
brief mid-level mgrs - pastoral with
expecting 10-20 over 200 ncl. entire standing leg
→ market econ

Once again, Mr. President, it has been my pleasure to
welcome you to Washington, and to the White House. God bless you
-- and may God bless the people of Mongolia.

#

The overthrow of the Manchus in China in 1911 provided the opportunity. Manchu suzerainty was automatically eliminated, the claim of the new Chinese Republic was ambiguous, the Mongols wanted autonomy with Russian support, and the Russians desired to play a larger role in Mongolian affairs. The political shift of Mongolia from the Chinese to the Russian orbit occurred at this time.

The 20th Century. The obvious weakening of Manchu control in China had led to new jockeyings for power aimed at redrawing the lines of force in Central Asia. Japan entered the Asian mainland, and secret treaties with Russia in 1907, 1912, and 1916 divided Mongolia into "spheres of influence" by which Outer Mongolia was assigned to Russia and eastern Inner Mongolia to Japan. The republican revolution in China, plus Russian encouragement and support, led the Outer Mongols to declare their "autonomy," a political condition that existed from Dec. 1, 1911, to 1919, with the eighth Jebtsun Damba Khutukhtu of Urga as head of the government. The 1915 Tripartite Treaty of Kyakhta, signed by "autonomous" Mongolia, republican China, and czarist Russia, gave Outer Mongolia an ambiguous legal status: "autonomous," recognizing Chinese suzerainty, but with Russia in effect controlling its foreign relations.

The Russian Bolshevik Revolution in 1917 destroyed this delicate balance, and China reasserted full sovereignty over Outer Mongolia in 1919. Then, late in 1920, anti-Communist forces led by Baron Alexander von Ungern-Sternberg took refuge in Outer Mongolia as a result of the consolidation of Bolshevik control in Siberia. Red Army troops, accompanied by a small Mongolian detachment, destroyed anti-Communist forces on Outer Mongolian soil and entered Urga on July 6, 1921.

Since that time, Russian influence has been paramount. The Jebtsun Damba Khutukhtu, however, remained nominal head of the country until his death in 1924, when Outer Mongolia took the official name of Mongolian People's Republic and the city of Urga became Ulan Bator (Red Hero). Khorloin Choibalsan and Sukhe Bator formed and led the early Revolutionary party, and Choibalsan served from 1939 to 1952 as premier.

Extensive economic, social, and political change occurred in the republic after 1924. Chinese economic control was broken, and social revolution became especially violent in 1929-1932 when an abortive attempt at collectivization of livestock resulted in mass destruction of the herds and widespread purges swept the country. In the 1930's the Japanese renewed their active aggression on the Asian mainland, creating the puppet state of Manchukuo from China's Manchurian provinces and forming an Inner Mongolian government called Meng-chiang, headed by the Mongolian prince Te Wang. Japanese military buildup on the border of the MPR in the Barga area of Manchuria led to the Soviet-Mongolian Treaty of Mutual Assistance of 1936, and various incidents culminated in a fairly large-scale clash in which Russian troops defeated the Japanese at Nomonhan in 1939.

The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Army joined the Soviet Red Army in military operations against the Japanese in World War II in the week before Japan's surrender. A provision of the Yalta Agreement of February 1945 led to

a plebiscite in the republic in October 1945, by which Mongols voted almost unanimously in favor of independence from China. In January 1946, Chiang Kai-shek's Kuomintang government of China officially recognized the independence of the MPR, although it later withdrew that recognition. Following the assumption of power in China by the Communists in 1949, Peking recognized the independence of the MPR. Sino-Mongolian trade relations were renewed in 1952, and significant Chinese immigration to the MPR began in 1955.

In 1957 talks in Moscow between Premier Yumzhagiyn Tsendenbal and Soviet leaders resulted in the MPR's endorsement of Soviet foreign policy, a pledge to continue economic and cultural cooperation, and an agreement for Soviet economic aid. The USSR agreed to hand over its share of the Sovmngolmetal minerals development company and its airport installations at Ulan Bator and Sain Shanda and to sell the Mongolneft oil trust on easy terms to the republic.

The Sino-Soviet split that developed after 1958 led to the withdrawal of most Chinese influence and personnel from the MPR. In 1962, however, China and the MPR signed a border treaty. In 1969, Peking drastically reduced the area of China's Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region in a manner that leaves two thirds of the Mongols in China outside the region that remains nominally theirs.

In the MPR in the 1970's, the considerable industrial growth in the northern city of Darkhan, the start of construction on the new copper-molybdenum mine at Erdenet, the extensive New Lands program for agriculture in the Selenga Valley, and the integration of the electric-power grid of the northern part of the country with the East Siberian power complex all substantially reinforced the infrastructural web binding the republic to the Soviet Union.

ROBERT A. RUPEN
University of North Carolina

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11TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Chicago Tribune

July 30, 1990, Monday, NORTH SPORTS FINAL EDITION

SECTION: NEWS; Pg. 3; ZONE: C

LENGTH: 543 words

HEADLINE: U.S. critics take shots at Baker's Mongolia trip

BYLINE: By George de Lama, Chicago Tribune

DATELINE: SINGAPORE

BODY:

So far, Secretary of State James A. Baker III has spent his time in Southeast Asia grappling with allies over Cambodia and Vietnamese boat people in an embarrassing policy conflict that no amount of diplomatic niceties could hide.

Now another controversy is marring Baker's Far East tour, this time over his well-known fondness for hunting and how much it may have had to do with his decision to visit out-of-the way Mongolia later this week.

Aides scrambled Sunday to deny published reports accusing Baker of traveling to one of the world's most isolated lands mainly to hunt and fish.

They were even more exercised by the suggestion that he had been intrigued by the possibility of shooting Mongolia's rare argali sheep, an endangered species prized as a trophy among well-to-do hunters back in his native Texas.

"Secretary Baker has never, ever considered shooting an endangered animal anywhere on Earth . . .," his spokeswoman, Margaret Tutwiler, told reporters. "He is an outdoorsman and has too much love and respect for wildlife."

Baker, a shrewd political operator, also may have too much horse sense to get caught shooting an animal already on or about to be placed on the endangered species list. Before leaving Washington, he had aides check the status of every wild animal in Mongolia with the National Wildlife Federation, just in case, Tutwiler said.

That done, Baker has no intention of even visiting the Altai Mountain range where the endangered sheep live, Tutwiler said.

But he definitely plans to fish and may hunt during a day-and-a-half excursion to Mongolia's Gobi Desert. If he does shoot game, "it will only be wild goats," Tutwiler said. "That's like shooting deer in Alabama."

Nonetheless, his three-day visit to Mongolia reportedly has caused grumbling in Washington. The Washington Post reported that career diplomats in the State Department question the need for Baker's visit to a remote country low on most Americans' mental radar screens at a time when the department is being forced to cut its budget.

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Pointing out that Baker is traveling 4,500 miles out of his way to spend two days in talks with officials of a nation that received its first U.S. ambassador just 10 days ago, the paper quoted one unnamed U.S. diplomat as saying: "It's a two-day hunting trip, primarily. And ask them what it costs to take all those people there."

Tutwiler said that was a cheap shot. She noted that the day before traveling to Mongolia, Baker will meet only an hour's flight away with Soviet Foreign Minister Eduard Shevardnadze in the Soviet Siberian city of Irkutsk.

Tutwiler said she did not know what it cost to travel to Mongolia, but said Baker deemed it important to visit the remote land to bolster its transition from communism to a multiparty democracy.

Sensitive about the suggestion Baker may be wasting taxpayers' money with his visit, Tutwiler said her boss turned down a Mongolian offer to pay for his lodging and travel for the journey to the Gobi. Instead, Baker is paying his own way for the excursion. State Department security guards will accompany him, but in a smaller contingent than normal.

Baker also will pay \$1,200 for a hunting license if he decides to hunt at all, she said.

ISSUE; OFFICIAL; UNITED STATES; TRIP; MONGOLIA; HUNTING; QUOTE

1ST STORY of Level 2 printed in FULL format.

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November 7, 1990, Wednesday, Final Edition

SECTION: FIRST SECTION; PAGE A21; THE FEDERAL PAGE

LENGTH: 657 words

HEADLINE: No Place Like Mongolia, U.S. Envoy Says;
Health Care, Food and Clean Air Hard to Come By, but Diplomats Play Down
Hardship

SERIES: Occasional

BYLINE: Al Kamen, Washington Post Staff Writer

BODY:

U.S. Ambassador to France Walter J.P. Curley lives in one of the great residences of France, a mansion that is a stone's throw from the Palais de L'Elysee, the French president's palace in the heart of Paris.

Shirley Temple Black, Washington's representative in Prague, lives in a 65-room palace filled with antiques on a beautifully manicured 3 1/2-acre estate.

Then there is the "residence" of Ambassador Joseph E. Lake, our man in Ulan Bator, capital of Mongolia.

Lake lives on a smaller scale. Much smaller. To be precise, 410 square feet, not counting the bathroom. In a four-story walk-up.

The architecture, like almost everything built since the Soviets made Mongolia a satellite 70 years ago, is classic neo-Stalinist: gray, crumbling concrete. The poorly lit hallways make the stairs treacherous to negotiate even in daylight, as reporters discovered on a visit in August.

For neighbors, Lake, a career diplomat who served in Bulgaria, Nigeria and Taiwan before arriving in Mongolia in July, has the Palestine Liberation Organization on the right. Japan -- whose hand-me-down furniture he used for a dining room table and chairs -- is on the left.

Lake and his assistants get a special hardship allowance (an extra 25 percent in salary) for a number of reasons. First, there is no decent local health care, a State Department official said. Political officer Michael J. Senko last year had to travel 30 hours by train to Beijing to get his broken jaw set.

In addition, virtually all the food Lake, Senko and administrative officer Theodore R. Nist eat is brought in from Beijing, which is a 40-hour train ride in the winter, when temperatures can plunge to minus-40 degrees. While mutton is plentiful, vegetables, for example, are nearly non-existent.

Then there is the extraordinarily bad air. The clever communist regime built the city power plant downstream so as not to pollute the river. The only problem is that the plant, which belches huge clouds of black smoke in winter, is upwind from the 4,000-foot-high city, making the air almost unbreathable.

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Lake, with the smallest ambassador's residence, also probably has the shortest commute to work -- about 3 feet across the hall. The 685-square-foot office was recently doubled by adding a second-floor apartment. Even so, the photocopier sits on a plywood board atop the bathtub.

There is almost no social life. Picnics, even in the winter, are the main social activity. The popular local brew is fermented mare's milk, which has something of a kick to it but tastes much like buttermilk gone bad.

The diplomats and their wives nonetheless maintain an extraordinary esprit de corps, they say, because they see their jobs as a frontier adventure rather than a posting on the end of the earth.

"It is a place where we can have an impact," Lake, in town for intensive language training, said in an interview this week. "It is a rare moment in history where the United States can do something, where you can accomplish something," he said, adding that the "Mongolian people are wonderful to deal with."

Mongolia, once ruler of much of the known world, has shed Soviet domination, holding its first democratic elections in July. The nation, with a population of 2 million, is also quickly undoing its communist economic system and looking for Western investment.

Lake may be getting some additional living space soon, State Department officials said. Washington and Ulan Bator have nearly completed negotiations for the only empty building in that city. The building would more than triple Lake's residential space and provide 2,400 square feet of office space. The new offices are likely to be where the U.S. mission will stay for the next decade, when officials hope an embassy will have been completed.

Meanwhile, Mongolia's ambassador here, Gendengiin Nyamdoo, is comfortably ensconced in an appropriately ambassadorial residence in fashionable Potomac.

GRAPHIC: PHOTO, THE BUILDING ABOVE IN ULAN BATOR HOUSES BOTH THE AMBASSADOR'S RESIDENCE AND THE U.S. EMBASSY, WHERE THE PHOTOCOPIER, ABOVE RIGHT, RESTS ON AN OLD BATHTUB. AL KAMEN; PHOTO, CYRENA CHANG

TYPE: NATIONAL NEWS, FOREIGN NEWS

SUBJECT: AMBASSADORS, ATTACHES, ETC.; U.S.S.R.; UNITED STATES; MONGOLIA; EMBASSIES

NAMED-PERSONS: JOSEPH E. LAKE

7TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

Copyright (c) 1990 The Economist Newspaper Ltd.

August 4, 1990

SECTION: World politics and current affairs; ASIA; Pg. 28 (U.K. Edition Pg. 44)

LENGTH: 660 words

HEADLINE: Mongolia;
Wild goat's chase

BODY:

ONE way or another, Mongolia is back on the map. On July 29th the world's second-oldest communist state held its first free and (more or less) fair election. Before the Kuwait crisis, Mr James Baker, the American secretary of state, fresh from superpower talks in Irkutsk, over the border in Siberia, with the Soviet foreign minister, Mr Edward Shevardnadze, was due there for a spot of goat-shooting and a chat about trade and the big, wide world.

The election was won by Mongolia's communist party. No great surprise there. The opposition grew out of demonstrations against communist rule that began only late last year. It had little time to organise or find candidates for most of the seats outside Ulan Bator, the capital. However, six parties contested the election, including a Green party that wants the Russians, who have all but colonised Mongolia during these past 69 years of communist rule, to pay for the damage they have done. The communists won around 80% of the seats in the People's Great Hural, Mongolia's full parliament. They got a less impressive 60% of the seats in the Small Hural, the part of parliament that will actually do the work, drafting the new laws that Mongolians hope will catapult them out of poverty and isolation.

The victorious communist party boss, Mr Gombojavyn Ochirbat (who scraped into parliament only by a 4% majority), has already called for a coalition. For once the communists are looking ahead. They have moved nimbly to pinch many opposition policies, including privatisation, freer prices and greater openness to foreign investment. They no doubt hope to share out responsibility for the hard times ahead.

They also hope to catch the attention and tap the pockets of rich governments in the West. Mongolia is in a fix. Only central planning could ensure that meat is hard to come by in this vast country of rolling, grassy steppes, where livestock (mainly sheep, horses, cattle and goats) outnumber the people (roughly 2.2m of them) ten to one. Unemployment officially stands at 70,000 (approaching 10% of the workforce). The country is in hock to the Soviet Union to the tune of perhaps 10 billion roubles (\$ 17 billion at the fictional exchange rate).

More to the point, Mongolia still depends on the \$ 800m-worth in fresh aid that the Soviet Union is reckoned to pour in each year. It has been told to look for new donors, and would like early membership of the Asian Development Bank, and of the World Bank and the IMF.

Mongolia also needs new trading partners. About 80% of its trade is done with the Soviet Union and most of the rest with Comecon, now no longer under Soviet management and disintegrating. What is more, from next January Comecon is committed to hard-currency trading, which will cause still more problems

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for its weaker brethren. Hence the visit to Japan in May by Mongolia's former prime minister, and the hopes attached to Mr Baker's visit.

Interest in Mongolia, once a staging post on the lucrative Silk Road along which trade between China and Europe moved, is reviving all round. The recent star of the tiny diplomatic community in Ulan Bator (probably the only capital where the Albanian embassy dwarfs the American one) is India: it scored points by appointing as ambassador a man said to be a living Buddha.

Just as Mongolia is turning outwards in search of trade and investment, so it is turning back to its ancient roots. Genghis Khan, whose hordes once lorded it over a vast empire, has been brought back as local hero. The opposition parties are pressing for religious freedom and the reopening of Buddhist temples. Most portentous of all may turn out to be the little-noticed reopening last month of Mongolia's consulate in Hohhot, the capital of Chinese-ruled Inner Mongolia. There are more Mongolians in China than in Mongolia proper. There would be a lot of bother if they should ever decide they want to get together again.

GRAPHIC: Picture, Wild horses wouldn't stop them bringing in the ballot-box

11TH STORY of Level 1 printed in FULL format.

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Business Week

June 18, 1990, Industrial/Technology Edition

SECTION: LETTER FROM MONGOLIA; Number 3165; Pg. 22 A

LENGTH: 1082 words

HEADLINE: GLASNOST MEETS THE HEIRS OF GENGHIS KHAN

BYLINE: LYNNE CURRY; Despite the cuisine, Beijing reporter Curry says she's eager to get back.

BODY:

From Beijing to Ulan Bator there is just one plane a week, a battered Antonov-24. And service to the remote Mongolian capital is so irregular that it isn't even listed on the airport's schedule board. Perhaps with good reason. Primitive communications, outdated equipment, and overcast weather conspire to cancel our flight.

'Does this happen often?' my husband asks a Japanese businessman who is a veteran of the run.

'Always.' If, as rumored, the winds of change from Moscow have indeed swept across the Gobi and reached Ulan Bator, they haven't quite reached this little outpost of Mongolian Airlines at the Beijing airport. But we return the following day, and this time, all systems are go. We board the plane along with two Western TV crews, a Swiss banker, and groups of American hunters and Japanese anglers. The flight attendant hands out newspapers written in Cyrillic and the English-language tabloid Moscow News. The in-flight snack is raw bacon and a small bottle of vodka.

Three hours later, we land in Ulan Bator, the capital of Mongolia. Once called Outer Mongolia, this territory was for centuries dominated by China -- which still includes within its borders the area known as Inner Mongolia. But since 1921, Mongolia has been a Soviet satellite state.

The night air is cooler and fresher than Beijing's. There's just a scattering of neon lights on a few bars and on a couple of hotels, but compared with Bei-jing, it looks like Las Vegas. Daylight shows a city of broad avenues and immense Socialist-style buildings in peach and red hues. Slightly shabby, the blocks of high-rise offices retain a vaguely European feel, a result of 70 years of Soviet rule. After overcrowded and repressive Beijing, Ulan Bator feels relaxed and empty. Mongolia's entire population is only two million, less than a third that of the Chinese capital.

Many men and women wear leather boots and the traditional high-collared robe held together with a brightly colored sash -- all sported with a style and grace rarely found in socialist countries. The felt tents clustered in various suburban neighborhoods give the city a frontier quality despite all the modern buildings. The inhabitants, like their nomadic countrymen out in the grasslands, while away the evenings around cozy coal-fired stoves.

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In the city's premier hotel, the drab, stolid Ulan Bator Hotel, with its \$ 160, two-bit rooms, we're made to feel lucky that we even have one. There is daily rancor at the check-in desk as guests with delusions of confirmed bookings argue and cajole to get the receptionists -- who speak only Mongolian and Russian -- to hand over room keys.

BLOBS OF FAT. Then, there's the food: mutton and potatoes -- no fresh green vegetables and never a new entree on the menu. The waiters bring large blobs of fat and present them as barbecued lamb. But the cuisine's reputation has preceded it, and we have packed peanut butter, crackers, canned spaghetti, fruit, dried noodles, and powdered milk. (The greenless diet seems to suit the Mongolians, who all look quite hardy.)

It's Lenin's birthday, and in front of the hotel, goose-stepping soldiers and a marching band enliven the laying of wreaths at the foot of the only remaining statue of him in town. The city's last remaining statue of Stalin was torn down in February. But the Communist Party is still in control and is widely expected to win the country's first multiparty elections this summer, having co-opted much of the opposition's reform program.

Not that Stalin doesn't get his lumps. Among other crimes, he is accused by our government-supplied guide of having nearly obliterated the country's traditional Buddhist religion. Gandan, the sole surviving Buddhist monastery, was once the center of a faith that boasted more than 700 monasteries and tens of thousands of monks. Now, there are only a few elderly saffron-robed monks to be seen, carrying out their devotions before camera-laden tourists from Eastern Europe.

In other areas, the cultural renaissance takes strange forms. The rock band Harankh resembles any other heavy-metal group with its shoulder-length hair, metal studs, and volume. But their lyrics deal with poverty, bureaucracy, and repression. Another rock group, Hongk, has hit the local top of the pops chart with an ode to hometown boy Genghis Khan. Their song reaches back to the 13th century to ask the great conqueror and his horde of horsemen to pity the Mongolian people for what has befallen them under communism. For decades, the mere mention of his name was forbidden as too potent a symbol of Mongolian nationalism.

Several thousand Russians still live in Ulan Bator, but nobody seems to like them, and there are reports that they are sometimes attacked. Westerners mistaken for Russians feel the sting of deep hostility. When I take my fair-haired, three-year-old son to the city's only large department store, frosty stares and averted eyes make the other shoppers' resentment clear. But when I make it known that I'm an American, smiles break out.

In the countryside, however, the Mongols are friendly. A family of herders invites us into their tent. For lack of more elaborate refreshments, they offer us lumps of sugar as we make small talk through our translator.

Mongolians have expressed a keen interest in having contact with the West. The country already sells leather, rugs, cashmere, and woollens to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe, and it's eager to expand those exports to the West. ~~To attract investment, Mongolia earlier this year passed laws that would allow foreigners to hold majority ownership of joint ventures. One result: Embassies in Ulan Bator are becoming more important. The U. S. embassy, opened in 1987,~~

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is staffed by Mike Senko and Ted and Sally Nist. The Nists live in a one-bedroom flat. The embassy, one floor below, is so small that the copying machine is kept in the bathtub. As neighbors in the diplomatic compound, they have envoys from the PLO, East Germany, and Cuba.

One day we go into the hills on a picnic with American and British diplomats. Here, on the edge of the Gobi Desert, the air is clear and cold, and, all things being relative, the tuna sandwiches and chocolate chip cookies taste delicious. Sally Nist recalls that in her childhood, ' ' Mongolia was the kind of place your mother said she would send you if you didn't eat your spinach.' ' But this afternoon, being in Mongolia doesn't seem like much of a punishment.

GRAPHIC: Photograph, IN ULAN BATOR, MONGOLIA'S CAPITAL, A HARDY PEOPLE DESPITE A DIET SHORT ON GREENS PHOTOGRAPH BY CHARLESWORTH/JB PICTURES; Map, Mongolia MAP BY ALBERTO MENA/BW

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May 7, 1990, U.S. Edition

SECTION: WORLD; Pg. 44

LENGTH: 865 words

HEADLINE: MONGOLIA;

Asia's Gentle Rebel;

As democracy stirs in this frozen outpost of Stalinism, the leadership takes a slow-motion approach to perestroika

BYLINE: By JAIME A. FLORCRUZ ULAN BATOR

BODY:

Inside a fenced government compound in the heart of Ulan Bator, Mongolia's capital, a traditional felt tent, known as a ger, rests on the concrete square. Inside the ger stands Mandakh Jiguur, 28, an artist who has abandoned his oils and watercolors for a higher calling: private enterprise. Spiritedly, he moves between the eight tables, pushing sausages, vodka and smoldering Mongolian hot pot on his customers. Jiguur heaves a sigh of relief that this day the authorities did not arbitrarily shut down his bar. "One day they tell you to stand up and start a business," says Jiguur. "But the next, they hit you on the head."

Call those meddlesome government officials Mongolia's past and the enterprising Jiguur the future. The present is just as Jiguur experiences it: a country trying, by fits and starts, to make a graceful transition from orthodox communism to something approximating democracy. Since last December, reform-minded Mongolians have been pressuring their leaders for ever faster economic and political change. In response, the ruling Communist Party has opened Mongolia's doors to foreign investment and ceded its monopoly on power, giving rise to more than a dozen pro-democracy parties. Activists insist that the changes are merely cosmetic. But measured against the intransigence of North Korea, China and Vietnam, Asia's other Marxist states, Mongolia is a renegade, spearheading the charge from behind the Bamboo Curtain toward the more democratic and market-oriented future now embraced by Eastern Europe.

Perhaps what surprises most about Mongolia's quiet revolution is how peacefully it is unfolding. Mongolia, after all, is the homeland of Genghis Khan, who seven centuries ago led one of history's most notorious tribes of warriors. Twentieth century Mongolian history has not been much kinder. Economic stagnation, diplomatic isolation and political repression have withered the nation of 2 million since it fell into Moscow's orbit in 1921. The most basic commodities are in scarce supply -- even meat, despite the fact that Mongolia has more than six times as many sheep as people. Half the meat production is exported in exchange for Soviet goods and loans. The exports help repay Mongolia's \$5.5 billion foreign debt.

Against that backdrop, the gains of Mongolia's revolution seem breathtaking. Prodded by Moscow and local reformers, the ruling Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party has gingerly embraced shinechiel (renewal), the local version of perestroika. Last March, Ulan Bator opened its doors to

(c) 1990 Time Inc., Time, May 7, 1990

foreign investment after the government approved a law that guarantees unlimited and tax-free repatriation of profits for investors and joint ventures. The results seem promising. The Gobi Cashmere Factory already produces garments for Japanese and European markets, and Japanese, European and U.S. traders are talking about joint ventures.

As Mongolia's isolation lifts, outside influences seep in. English is taught in schools and on television. Western pop culture -- from rock music to lambada dancing -- has invaded the cities. And the infectious spirit of Eastern Europe's pro-democracy parties is broadcast directly into many Mongolian homes, courtesy of Soviet television.

In many respects, the changes speak more of a revived sense of nationalism than of a hunger for democracy. The descendants of Genghis Khan are rediscovering traces of an identity that was systematically blurred during the decades of Soviet domination. Mongolian script, abandoned in the 1940s in favor of the Cyrillic alphabet, is again being taught. The image of the Mongol hero is back in vogue: a nearly completed joint-venture hotel is named after Genghis Khan, and his visage adorns the label of a local vodka that is bottled for export. An elaborate memorial to the warrior will soon be constructed in the capital. Meanwhile, the last of the Stalin statues in Ulan Bator has been dismantled.

Since December, pro-democracy activists have turned the heat on the ruling party with a series of demonstrations. In March they won a surprising victory when the Communist Party replaced its five-member Politburo with a younger, more progressive team and promised to hold multiparty elections for a bicameral parliament by this July. The opposition feels those changes do not go far enough. At a four-day congress in April, the ruling party approved plans for greater freedom for party members and rejected the Leninist principle of democratic centralism. But after intense infighting, the congress re-elected the top party echelon. Last week opposition and security forces almost came to blows as 40,000 protesters descended on the government palace to demand change.

The opposition faces an uphill sprint. The Communists, who have ruled for 69 years, enjoy access to state money, media and organizational apparatus. To offset those advantages, six opposition parties and groups have agreed to field common candidates in the elections. Even if Mongolia's first democratic exercise is fair, local and foreign observers in Ulan Bator predict that the Communists will win by a comfortable margin. Still, it would seem that the days of absolute rule are over.

GRAPHIC: Picture, An exotic land edges into the modern age, clockwise from top left: protesters in Ulan Bator demand democracy, freedom and reform; the military parades through Sukhe Bator Square; children learn English in high-tech fashion; one of the proliferating ger compounds outside the capital; street sweepers chat during a break; Lamaist monks outside Mongolia's only working Buddhist temple descColor: Six photographs: Protesters; military parade in Mongolia; children watching television screen; tent compound; street sweepers; monks., Photographs for TIME by Peter Charlesworth -- J.B. Pictures

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PAOLO KOCH. FROM RAPHO/PHOTO RESEARCHERS

Mongolian *arat* (herdsman) lassos a horse with an *urga*, a long pole with a leather loop.

MONGOLIA is a geographical region of east central Asia, lying principally between the Soviet Union and China but including portions of those countries. Traditionally Mongolia was divided into two distinct regions, Inner Mongolia and Outer Mongolia, separated by the Gobi desert. Inner Mongolia has been under Chinese control since the 17th century. Outer Mongolia was a Chinese province from the end of the 17th century until 1911. The terms "inner" and "outer" refer to the position of the two Mongolias as viewed from China proper.

Today the contiguous area inhabited by Mongols is divided into three political units: (1) the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region, which belongs to China; (2) the independent Mongolian People's Republic; and (3) the Buryat Autonomous Republic, a subdivision of the Russian Republic of the USSR. The total Mongolian population of these areas is about 3 million.

Mongolia is a mountainous, landlocked, arid plateau, covering 2 million square miles (5 million sq km) of steppe, forest steppe, desert steppe, and true desert. Most of the area has a continental climate, with light precipitation and great extremes and variations of temperature.

The scattered nomadic population of Mongolia bases its economic life chiefly on livestock herding. Chinese immigration from the south and Russian immigration from the north are greatly extending and expanding the area's agricultural and industrial development, but they also are constricting the traditional pastoral nomadism and significantly decreasing the area in which the Mongols are culturally and numerically dominant.

The Mongolian conquests of the 13th to 15th centuries extended southward to China, southwestward to Turkestan, Iran, and Iraq, and northwestward into Russia. The impact of the Mon-

gols was weakened by their small numbers and nomadic way of life. In China and the Middle East, they were absorbed and transmuted, but in Russia their influence was greater and was one significant factor separating Russia's historical development from that of western Europe.

The Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) was established in 1924 but for decades was almost completely isolated from all but Russian influence. Since the mid-1950's, however, its international contracts have multiplied, and diplomatic relations have been established with some 80 countries, of all political hues. The main political significance of the MPR lies in the context of the Sino-Soviet ideological dispute. The USSR has remained dominant and controlling in this state, whereas China has been excluded.

1. The People

The Mongols are classic examples of the yellow, Mongoloid race. They usually have stocky builds with short legs, and rarely exceed 5 feet 6 inches (168 cm) in height. Their identifying characteristics include round head (brachycephalic), coarse dark hair, scant beard, flat nose, black or brown eyes with epicanthic fold of the upper eyelids ("slanted" eyes), generally broad flat face, and, for a brief period after birth, the "Mongolian spot" of bluish pigment in the skin of the lumbar region.

Only in the MPR do Mongols still constitute a clear majority of the population—more than 1.2 million of a total of 1.5 million. Chinese outnumber native Mongols in the Inner Mongolian Autonomous Region (IMAR). The 1953 census of China reported 1,462,956 Mongols in China, mostly in the IMAR, but only speculative estimates have been available since 1953. Russians and Ukrainians now outnumber the Mon-

gols in the major Soviet Mongolian areas, the Buryat and Kalmyk autonomous republics.

The Kalmyk Mongols number 100,000 in European Russia. The small group of Hazara Mongols, in central Afghanistan, has been completely isolated from the other Mongols for centuries and constitutes a unique population.

Changing Social Patterns. Kinship and clan played a large role in traditional Mongolia. The secular social structure before the Communist period began in 1921 encompassed two main classes: the nobility, or "white bone," in theory tracing its descent from Genghis (Chinggis) Khan; and commoners, or "black bone." Six khans were nominal rulers of territorial units called *aimaks*, and 105 *jassaks*, or ruling princes, governed the *khoshuns* into which the aimaks were divided. *Hoshuns* were subdivided into *somons*, *bags*, and *arbans*. The bulk of the population were the *arats*, livestock-herding nomads who lived in tents and owed fealty to the princes, expressed in terms of goods and services called *alba*. There were also serfs called *khamjilgas*, for the old society was feudal in its basic pattern.

From the late 16th century, Buddhism brought from Tibet flourished in Outer Mongolia. By the 20th century nearly 100,000 males were lamas, large numbers of whom lived permanently in monasteries and devoted themselves mainly to chanting and praying. The church hierarchy was dominated by the Jebtsun Damba Khutukhtu, or "Living Buddha," who exerted great secular political power as well as religious influence.

The Buddhist Church in Outer Mongolia penetrated every aspect of life. It owned or controlled extensive property, vast sums of money, and tens of thousands of people. It presided over its own land, livestock, and buildings, and was even governed by its own legal code. The eight largest monasteries alone included over 30,000 lamas and were the fixed centers of trade as well as of worship in the nomads' society. Mongolian cities, including Ulan Bator, capital of the MPR, originated as monasteries and gradually became urban centers as trade, commerce, and a permanent secular population established themselves in the vicinity. The Jebtsun Damba Khutukhtu, the Buddhist Church, and the many lamas guarded and maintained a tradition marred by superstition and backwardness. But they also defended a separate and unique Mongolian identity from incursions by Chinese and Russians.

The *arat* lived in a wooden latticework-framed felt tent, or yurt (*ger*), and moved with his herds in a fairly well-defined seasonal pattern of nomadism. The herds comprised mainly sheep plus lesser numbers of horses, cattle, goats, and camels. Nomadic mobility depended on the horse, which occupied a very special place in the heart of the Mongol, often reflected in song and story. Camels (the two-humped variety) served for goods transport, and the camel caravan was a common sight on the Mongolian steppe. Such typical Mongols consumed large quantities of meat, tea, and dairy products, especially *airak* (kumiss, or fermented mare's milk); spoke Mongolian but rarely could read or write it; and professed Buddhist Lamaism, which included many superstitions surviving from earlier Mongolian shamanism. Illiteracy, ignorance, and disease were widespread.

Russian and Chinese influences have affected all these characteristics of traditional Mongol society and have completely eliminated some of

them. Collectivization of the herds and concomitant settlement of the nomads eliminated pastoral nomadism among the Buryat Mongols in the 1930's and now threaten the livestock-herding nomads of the MPR and Inner Mongolia. Many Buryats live in Russian log huts, and some Inner Mongols live in Chinese loam huts. In the MPR the yurt has changed, now often including a stove and a wooden floor and frequently electricity as well. Thousands of Mongols work in factories and live in Western-style housing. Military service, internal passports, taxes, production norms, labor laws, an extensive police system, and improved health and sanitation standards now affect the outlook and activity of the people.

Language and Writing. The Mongolian language belongs to the Altaic family, which also includes Turkic and Manchu-Tungusic languages. Many Mongols in Buryat Mongolia and the MPR speak Russian, and many in Inner Mongolia speak Chinese.

The Mongols of the MPR now use the Cyrillic (Russian) script, adapted to the contemporary Khalkha dialect spoken around Ulan Bator. The MPR announced adoption of this modified Cyrillic alphabet in 1941. Since 1946 it has been used for all printing in the republic, and since 1950 it has been mandatory in all official business.

The People's Republic of China announced adoption of the Latin script for Inner Mongolia, but the traditional Mongolian vertical script is still used extensively there. Buryats used a Latin alphabet from 1931 until 1937, when they changed to Cyrillic. Differences in pronunciation, vocabulary, and grammar make Buryat and Khalkha almost mutually incomprehensible.

Culture. Mongolian culture is built of five main layers. On a base consisting of the original nomadic culture lies a thick Buddhist-Tibetan stratum followed by layers of traditional Chinese, Czarist Russian, and Soviet Russian (Communist Chinese in Inner Mongolia).

Early nomadic culture included urban centers even before the establishment of Kara Korum (Karakorum) as the capital of the Mongol Empire in the 13th century. For millennia the steppe nomads of Mongolia had a close relationship with the settled farmers on the other side of the Great Wall of China. Tibetan Buddhism spread through Mongolia mainly after 1586, and the Tibetan language as well as Buddhist literature and art styles from Tibet came into widespread use. The Chinese supplied the manufactured goods the nomads needed, including Buddhist icons and artifacts. They left their mark on the architecture of the Buddhist temples, unmistakably Chinese-built and modified considerably from the original Tibetan models. Chinese language and education were common, especially among the princes, and Chinese literature and drama were much appreciated.

Czarist Russian influence began in the mid-19th century, slowly and tentatively starting the process of Westernization and modernization that, under the Communists, transformed Mongolian society. Even before 1917 many Mongols learned Russian, and some were educated in Russia. The Russian influence was especially strong among the Buryat Mongols around Lake Biakal, and a small but very influential Russian-educated Buryat intelligentsia was in the forefront of cultural change in Outer Mongolia as early as 1900. Soviet Russia weakened, and in the 1930's destroyed, the very important Buddhist component



DLO KOCH. FROM RAPHO/PHOTO RESEARCHERS
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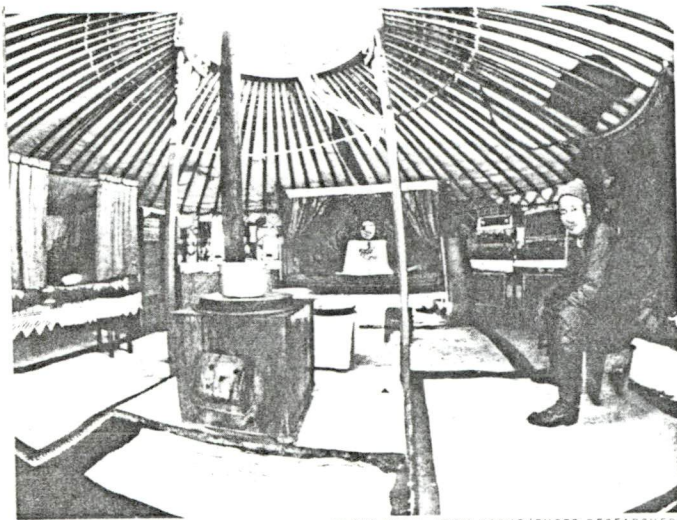
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PAOLO KOCH, FROM RAPHO/PHOTO RESEARCHERS

(Above) Herdsmen assemble a yurt, which is a felt tent on a wooden latticework frame. (Below) This modern yurt is equipped with a stove and electricity. Some have wooden floors and other amenities.



PAOLO KOCH, FROM RAPHO/PHOTO RESEARCHERS

of traditional Mongolian culture, and communism's general programs of social transformation have made deep inroads on traditional nomadism as well. Mongols who tried to retain the old culture faced formidable obstacles erected by the Communist regimes directed by the Soviet Union in the MPR and by China in Inner Mongolia. Little remains of the traditional culture.

Traditional Mongolian literature was rich in epics and other oral forms, and some historical writing and legal codification developed as well. But the contemporary literature generally follows the Russian example, and much of the old literature has been lost or is known only to specialists. The Khalkha author Tsendein Daudinsuren and the Buryat writer Khutsa Namsarayev represent the new literature, based largely on Soviet models. Beginning about 1900, there had been a promising literary renaissance, especially among the Buryats, that attempted to harmonize and combine the traditional with Western literary forms and content. But most representatives of this approach lost their lives, or at least their liberty, in the great Soviet purges of 1937-1938. Tsyben Zhamtsarano, Badzar Baradin, and Solbone Tuyaa led this Buryat intelligentsia.

The MPR has established art schools, and the State Theater of Music and Drama sponsors productions of Mongolian dramatic works. Plays of Shakespeare, Molière, Chekhov, and other classical European dramatists are also performed. After 1921, motion pictures became popular. In addition to showing some foreign films, the republic produces films of its own.

An unusual traditional sport was the *zegenaba*, the great hunt, last witnessed in the late 18th century. This was in reality a giant-scale war game—maneuvers in preparation for conquest. It began with Genghis (Chinggis) Khan. Other traditional sports were Mongolian wrestling, archery, and horse racing, all of which have to some extent survived. But now Western wrestling, basketball, soccer, and track are very popular, and enthusiastic Mongolian participation in the Olympic Games influences the shape of the officially supported sports program.

2. The Mongolian People's Republic

The Mongolian People's Republic (MPR), formerly Outer Mongolia, is an independent country located in east central Asia between the Soviet Union and China. After a Communist revolution occurred in July 1921, the MPR was officially proclaimed in November 1924. Massive social and economic changes have completely transformed the country from its former primitive and backward condition into a modern Communist state. Health and education have improved immeasurably, while the nomadic life traditional for most of the population has declined drastically. Urbanization has been extensive, the capital city Ulan Bator having grown from about 60,000 inhabitants in 1921 to more than 350,000 in 1977. Economic development has not been nearly as radical or successful as social transformation. Traditional livestock-herding has thus far continued to dominate Mongolian economic activity, although light industry has been established throughout the country and a massive copper-mining project at Erdenet represents a major new economic thrust.

The Land. The Mongolian People's Republic has extreme dimensions of 1,471 miles (2,367 km) east to west and 782 miles (1,258 km) north to south. While the average elevation is 5,184 feet (1,580 meters), the land has the general conformation of a saucer, tipped higher in the northwest and lower in the southeast.

Transitions from forest to steppe in the north and from steppe to desert in the south, with generally light precipitation, mark the physical aspect of the country. The Gobi desertlands are confined to the south. In the north, rivers and forests provide a Siberian rather than a typically Mongolian natural setting. Because of its fertile steppe, as well as forests and mountainous terrain, the northern third of the republic contains the greater part of the human population and livestock. Vast "virgin lands" programs of new agricultural development threaten to cause erosion and dust bowls, a problem compounded by high and erratic winds.

Several mountain systems lie within the republic or on its borders. Along the northwestern frontier with the USSR extends the Tannu-Ola range. In the northeast are the Khentui Mountains. The Khangai Mountains rise in the west central part of the country, and extending from west to southeast near the Chinese border are the Mongolian Altai and Gobi Altai. The former

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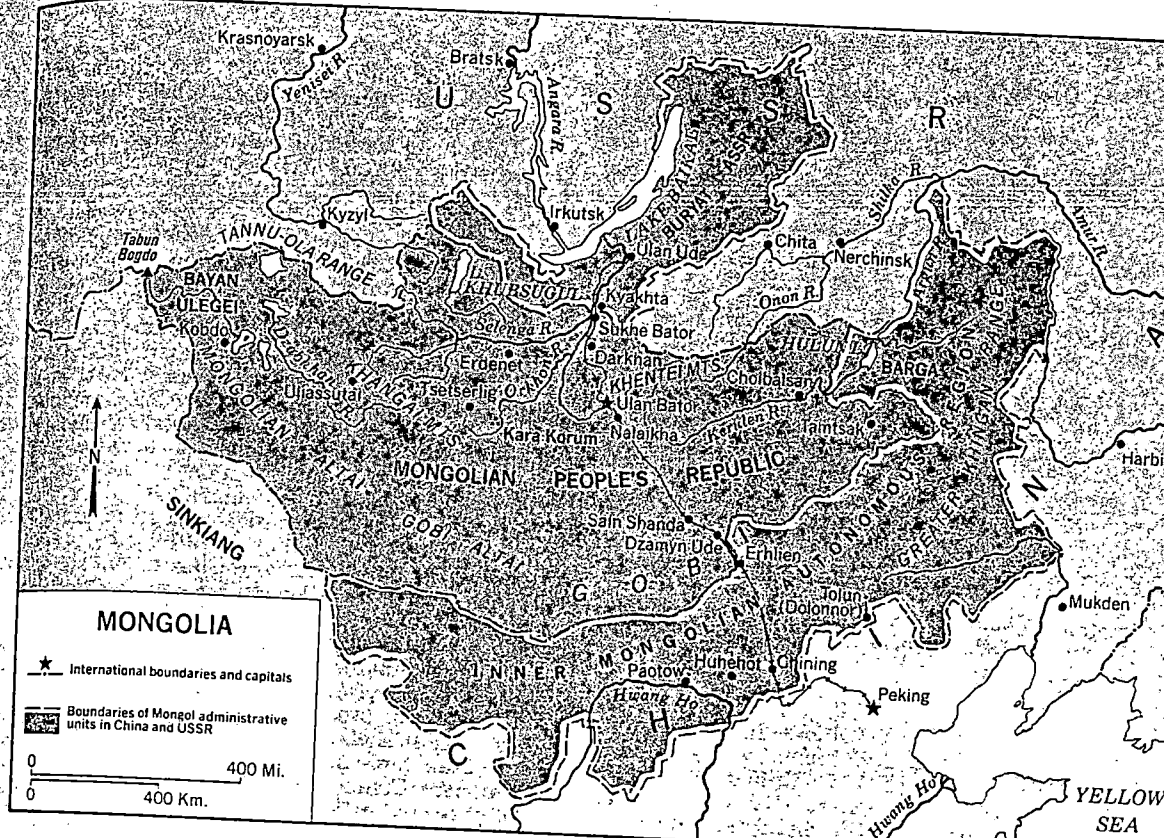
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The Mongolian People's Republic covers an area of 1,471,000 square miles (2,367,000 square kilometers) and an average elevation of 6,562 feet (2,000 meters). The land has the shape of a saucer, tipped higher toward the north and lower in the south. From forest to steppe in the north to desert in the south, with precipitation, mark the physical features of the country. The Gobi desertlands are in the south. In the north, rivers and mountains are typical of a Siberian rather than a typically Asian setting. Because of its fertile soil and forests and mountainous terrain, a third of the republic contains virgin lands. Programs of reforestation threaten to cause erosion, a problem compounded by strong winds.

Mountain systems lie within the borders. Along the northwestern border, the USSR extends the Tannu-Ola Range. In the northeast are the Khentei Mountains. The Gobi Mountains rise in the west, and extending from the Chinese border are the Gobi Altai. The former



range rises to 15,266 feet (4,653 meters) in Tabun Bogdo, the highest peak in the Altai. Fertile river valleys in the north, especially those of the Selenga and Orkhon, support most of the population. The valley of the Kerulen forms a broad highway to eastern Mongolia. Lake Khubsugul in the northwest, 83 miles long and 21 miles wide (133 by 34 km), supports a fishing industry. Many undrained salt lakes and rivers that have no outlet illustrate that two thirds of the territory lies in the undrained basin of Inner Asia. The Selenga and the Orkhon, however, flowing into Lake Baikal in the USSR, drain ultimately to the Arctic Ocean. The Kerulen and the Onon drain toward the Pacific.

About one fourth of the country is occupied by the Gobi, the arid steppe and desert that characterizes the southern part of the republic and northern Inner Mongolia. The Gobi separates

the relatively densely populated and economically developed areas of the northern part of the MPR and of southern Inner Mongolia. One of the most severe earthquakes ever recorded anywhere shifted rivers and moved mountains in the remote Gobi Altai region on Dec. 4, 1957.

Annual precipitation, mainly in the form of summer rain, ranges in different parts of the country from 4 to 12 inches (100-300 mm). Light snow, combined with extreme cold, results in a considerable belt of permanently frozen soil (permafrost) in the northern part of the country. The temperature range is wide. At Ulan Bator, about midway between mountains and desert, the average temperature for January is -28°C (-18°F); and for July, 18°C (64.5°F). Extremes of temperature are much greater.

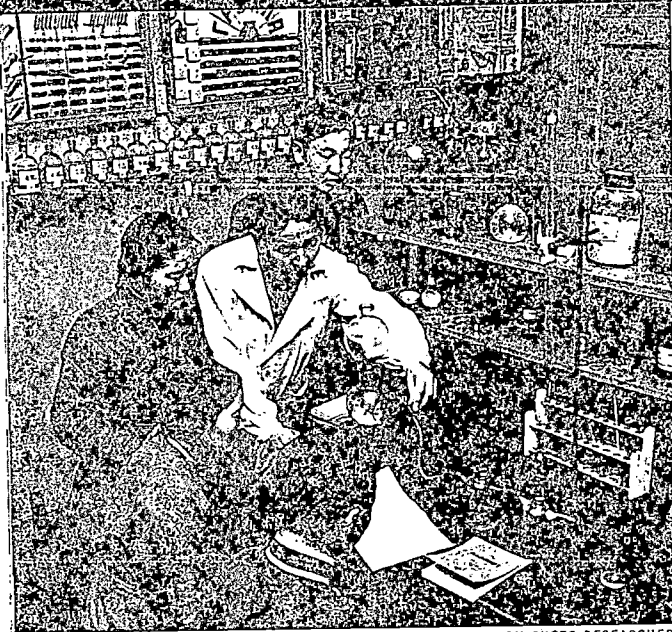
Wild animal life is plentiful in many parts of the country, and hunting is a popular sport with natives and visitors. Among the larger mammals are mountain sheep, deer, reindeer (especially around Lake Khubsugul), and some wild camels and horses. Przewalsky's horse, once common, is rarely if ever seen now. Marmots are ubiquitous and hunted systematically for their fur. Since 1975 an official Society for the Protection of Nature and the Environment has functioned, but the New Lands program and the giant new copper mine at Erdenet pose a serious challenge to environmentalists.

Dinosaur fossils and eggs have been associated with Mongolia since Roy Chapman Andrews led expeditions there in the early 1920's. New discoveries by Mongolian paleontologists of very large, well-preserved skeletons suggest that a treasure of dinosaur fossils may be found.

The People. The major portion of the republic's population is made up of Khalkha Mongols. The largest Mongol minority groups are the more than 50,000 Oirats, who live in the western provinces, and the 22,000 Buryats, inhabiting

INFORMATION HIGHLIGHTS

Official Name: Mongolian People's Republic.
Head of State: Chairman of the Presidium of the Great People's Khural.
Head of Government: Chairman of the Council of Ministers.
Legislature: Great People's Khural.
Area: 600,000 square miles (1,565,000 sq km).
Boundaries: North, USSR; east, south, and west, China.
Elevations: Highest—Tabun Bogdo (15,266 feet, or 4,653 meters); lowest—900 feet (275 meters).
Population: (1985 est.) 1,866,300.
Capital: Ulan Bator.
Major Language: Mongolian.
Major Traditional Religion: Buddhist Lamaism.
Monetary Unit: Tugrik (= 100 monggos).
Weights and Measures: Metric system.
Flag: Three vertical stripes of equal width, alternately red, light blue, and red, with a gold star and the gold soyombo emblem on the left-hand stripe. See also FLAG—Flags of Asia.
National Anthem: Our Free Revolutionary Land.



J. PH. CHARBONNIER, FROM PHOTO RESEARCHERS

Students watch an instructor perform an experiment in a laboratory at the state university in Ulan Bator.

mainly the Selenga Valley from north of Ulan Bator to the Soviet border. In the southeast, 16,000 Darigangga Mongols occupy an area that once supplied camels to the Chinese Army. Darigangga had a favored status but is now integrated into the regular administrative structure of the MPR. Near Lake Khubsugul in the northwest, 7,000 Darkhat Mongols retain unique linguistic and ethnographic characteristics. Before 1924 the Darkhats enjoyed a special position as persons free of taxes because of their close relationship to the Jebtsun Damba Khutukhtu, head of the Mongolian Lamaist Church.

The largest non-Mongol minority is the group of 26,000 Kazakhs. Turkish Muslims who have their own "autonomous area," the Bayan Ulegei Aimak, in the western part of the country. A limited number of Russians live chiefly in Ulan Bator and other population centers. Some 10,000 Chinese are especially important in the construction industries.

Provincial cities of over 10,000 population include Choibalsan (formerly Bayan Tumen), in a coal-producing region in the eastern part of the country; Tsetserlig, an old industrial center west of Ulan Bator; Kobdo (Jirgalanta) in the west; Sukhe Bator, a transshipment point and rail depot north of Ulan Bator near the Soviet border; and Darkhan, a new industrial center between Sukhe Bator and the capital.

Population Dynamics. In 1973 the urban population of the MPR was 650,000 and the rural population just under 750,000. The urban proportion had increased from 28% of the total in 1956 to 46% in 1973. About half of it is in Ulan Bator. Of the total rural population, one fifth was settled and nonnomadic in 1963 and one third in 1973, but the proportion is now much higher. The number of nomad livestock herders—"typical Mongols"—decreased by 30% in the 1960's, while total population increased almost that much. The MPR's birthrate rose from 26 per thousand in 1940 to 43 in 1960, but then declined to a UN-estimated average of 39 for 1970-1975.

Before 1921 the Mongols were probably dying out physically, from disease. Now their high birthrate and low death rate (estimated at 9.3

per thousand for 1970-1975) have dramatically reversed that trend. In 1925 there were two physicians with M. D. degrees in the MPR, and in 1952 there were 180. By 1973 the total had increased to 2,700, and a network of hospitals was functioning.

Education and Religion. Nearly universal primary education in the MPR has almost eliminated illiteracy and has made great inroads on superstition. In addition to the general secondary schools there are technical schools of agriculture, trade, and industry. In Ulan Bator the State Pedagogical Institute trains teachers, and Choibalsan University provides courses in sciences and arts for some 3,000 students. The Mongolian Committee of Sciences and Higher Education dominates all fields of intellectual activity.

About 300,000 pupils attend eight-year and ten-year general schools, and in 1975 there were more than 13,000 university-level students. The literacy rate, 6% in 1935, was 90% by 1970.

The organized Lamaist Church, which once dominated the society and economy, has been reduced to scattered remnants. Today there are only about 100 lamas and two or three functioning temples in the MPR.

The Economy. Central planning has dominated the long-term process of transforming a formerly feudal and backward nomadic society into an industrial, professional, specialized, and scientific modern Communist society. That transformation process had proceeded slowly after 1921, and violent counterrevolution and civil war in the 1930's resulted from an attempt to speed it up. Marked acceleration began with the Three-Year Plan of 1958-1960 and has continued since, largely because of the Sino-Soviet split and Soviet fear of some form of Chinese repossession of Mongolia. But all slow or rapid change is affected by a pervasive manpower shortage, of both Mongols and Russians.

Most Mongolian political leaders have economic training and background, and economics relates closely to politics. Mongolian Five-Year Plans are coordinated with Soviet Five-Year Plans, and locational economics follows political as well as economic imperatives. Most major projects are in the north central part of the country between Ulan Bator and the Soviet border.

Livestock and Agriculture. Despite numerous campaigns and exhortations, the total number of livestock has not increased in 40 years. Collectivization was attempted unsuccessfully in the 1930's and accomplished only in the late 1950's. About 20% of the livestock, however, remains privately owned. Two New Lands programs, since 1959, have vastly extended grain-farming. Most wheat is grown on state farms, or *goshkhozes*, but fodder for the animals is now produced on the collective farms, or SKhO's.

Manufacturing and Mining. The new city of Darkhan, announced in 1961, attained a population of 50,000 by the late 1970's. Its economic activities include grain milling and storage and considerable light industry. Ulan Bator has meat-packing and light manufacturing.

Construction of the city of Erdenet began in 1973. This urban center will serve the new copper mine, which is to be the largest in Asia and one of the ten largest in the world. Mongolian coal production, which supplies domestic industry, is being doubled. An oil refinery was built in the Gobi in 1951 but closed in 1969 after oil production had declined.

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Education. Nearly universal primary education. The MPR has almost eliminated illiteracy. It has made great inroads on superstitious beliefs. It has introduced technical schools of agriculture, medicine, and engineering. In Ulan Bator the State University trains teachers, and Choirjavjav provides courses in sciences for 100 students. The Mongolian People's Republic and Higher Education Commission promotes intellectual activity. In 1970, 90% of pupils attend eight-year and secondary schools, and in 1975 there were 100 university-level students. The literacy rate in 1935, was 90% by 1970. The Lamaist Church, which once was the dominant religion, has been reduced to remnants. Today there are about two or three functioning monasteries.

Central planning. has dominated the country since the start of transforming a formerly nomadic society into an industrial, specialized, and scientific society. That transformation proceeded slowly after 1921, the revolution and civil war in Mongolia. From an attempt to speed industrialization began with the Three-Year Plan in 1960 and has continued since. The Sino-Soviet split and the reform of Chinese repossessions of all slow or rapid change is a massive manpower shortage, of 100,000 Russians.

Political leaders. have economic backgrounds, and economics is a major political concern. Mongolian Five-Year Plans, tied with Soviet Five-Year Plans, and economics follows political imperatives. Most major decisions are made in the central part of the country, Ulan Bator and the Soviet border. **Agriculture.** Despite numerous restrictions, the total number of sheep has increased in 40 years. Collected unsuccessfully in the late 1950's, livestock, however, remains a major industry. New Lands programs, since 1960, extended grain-farming. Most are state farms, or *goshkhoz*s. Animal husbandry is now produced on 100,000, or SKhO's.

Industry. The new city of Erdenet, founded in 1961, attained a population of 100,000 by the late 1970's. Its economic base is in copper, iron, and coal. It has a large steel mill and storage and processing industry. Ulan Bator has light manufacturing. The city of Erdenet began in 1961. Its center will serve the new city. It is to be the largest in Asia, and the largest in the world. Its industry, which supplies domestic needs, has doubled. An oil refinery was built in 1951 but closed in 1969. Its production had declined.

Trade. Meat products and wool have been the major exports, which go mainly to the USSR. Processed meat and washed wool have superseded the wasteful livestock-on-the-hoof and unwashed wool that once dominated exports. Imports from the Soviet Union doubled in the 1960's, while Mongolian exports did not increase, suggesting a politically motivated subsidy to counter the threat from China. But the entire copper and molybdenum production of the mine at Erdenet will go to the USSR and is intended to more nearly balance Soviet-Mongolian trade. Mongolia has increased its export of fluorspar to the USSR, which formerly obtained this product from China.

Transportation and Communications. The Trans-Mongolian Railroad, opened in 1956, is the country's chief modern transportation artery. The northern part, linking Ulan Bator with the Trans-Siberian main line, has been in operation since 1950 and carries most of the freight. The Sino-Soviet dispute has drastically reduced traffic on the part of the Trans-Mongolian that connects Ulan Bator to Chinese railroads. Two short feeder lines bring coal to Ulan Bator and Darkhan, and a 100-mile (160-km) connection has been completed to Erdenet. Short rail lines in eastern Mongolia, built for military reasons in the struggle against Japan in the 1930's, connect the city of Choibalsan to the Trans-Siberian line.

The Soviet airline, Aeroflot, began direct jet service between Moscow and Ulan Bator in 1977. Domestic air transport connects all the provincial centers with the capital. Ships and barges operate on the Selenga River and on Lake Khubsugul. Few roads exist, but the Mongolian terrain generally allows cross-country driving. Many bridges have been built since the 1950's.

Radio and telephone service links all important centers of the country. Television came to Mongolia in 1970. Each of the 18 provinces publishes a newspaper, and several periodicals and newspapers are published in Ulan Bator.

Government. The leader of the ruling Mongolian People's Revolutionary party (MPRP) is the first secretary of its Central Committee, Yumzhagiyn Tsendenbal. He and fellow members of the Politburo dominate the Central Committee and the 70,000 party members. Celebration of Tsendenbal's 60th birthday in 1976 was marked by many signs of an emerging "cult of personality."

The MPRP follows its mentor and model, the Communist party of the Soviet Union (CPSU), in substantive policy and in method of operation. Party members occupy key positions all through the system of state administration, the economy, education, armed forces, and public organizations.

Many party officials have received Russian education or attended Soviet party schools for special courses. The Soviet ambassador to the MPR has usually been an experienced official of the CPSU in eastern Siberia, thus providing a direct Communist party connection that strengthens even more the close ties of the USSR and MPR.

The MPR is divided into 18 provinces called *aimaks*, which are subdivided into *somon*-cooperatives, or county-agricultural collectives. The *sums*, or household groups, were abolished in 1959.

The highest organ of government is the Great People's Khural, or People's Assembly, modeled on the Supreme Soviet of the USSR and composed of deputies chosen from the urban districts, the *aimaks*, and the armed forces. It is elected



Shoppers throng open-air stalls in the main square of Ulan Bator, capital of the Mongolian People's Republic.

every three years by universal suffrage of persons over 18 years of age and meets at least once a year. It chooses from its number a Presidium, which is in charge of state affairs during the interval between sessions of the Great Khural. The chairman of the Presidium is head of state. The Council of Ministers is the highest executive and administrative body. Its chairman, or premier, is head of government. In 1974, Tsendenbal became chairman of the Presidium, relinquishing the premiership to Jambyn Batmunkh, whose members are elected by the supreme court, Justice is administered by the Great Khural for a period of four years. The smaller units of government have their own khurals and courts.

All male citizens must serve in the People's Revolutionary Army, which at times has attained a strength of 90,000 men.

3. History of the Mongols

The span of years between the proclamation of Genghis as *khagan*, or great khan, of the Mongols in 1206 and the period marked by the end of their Yuan dynasty in China in 1368, the Russian defeat of the Mongols at Kulikovo in 1380, and the death of Timur (Tamerlane) in 1405 includes the most impressive and important events of the famous Mongolian Empire. The reverberations of Mongolian power after 1405 were only minor aftershocks following tremendous upheaval in the affairs of men.

Before the rise of Genghis Khan in the late 12th century, the Mongols were disunited. They were one of several groups of peoples who inhabited the steppes and mountains north and west of China. The various Mongolian, Turkish, and other peoples of Inner Asia were mostly pastoral nomads whose tribes fought among themselves, formed shifting alliances, and made periodic raids into the settled lands to the south. At times, strong leaders of well-organized nomadic groupings founded states and dynasties in the steppes, and occasionally they established their rule over parts of China, Southwest Asia, India, or even Europe. Their empires, such as those of the Huns in the 5th century and of the Seljuk Turks in the 11th century, were usually short-lived. In the early 13th century, the Chin dy-



THE GRANGER COLLECTION

Genghis Khan (c. 1167–1227), founder of the Mongolian Empire, portrayed in a 16th century Persian manuscript.

nasty of Tungusic origin ruled northern China, and the Khwarizm shahs of Turkish ancestry dominated eastern Iran, Afghanistan, and Transoxiana (roughly modern Uzbekistan, USSR). Within 75 years, all of China, Central Asia, Iran, and Iraq, and most of Russia fell before Genghis and his successors, who created the largest empire the world had ever known.

Genghis (Chinggis) Khan. Genghis—the accurate but less familiar spelling is “Chinggis”—won power over all the peoples of Mongolia through hard fighting, and he devoted his life to uniting the nomadic tribes and establishing their domination over the known world of his time. After reducing the state of Hsi-Hsia northwest of China to vassalage, he invaded the Chin Empire of northern China in 1211. The Chin bought peace but could not prevent the loss of Peking to the Mongols in 1215. Genghis then turned westward, conquering the state of Kara-Khitai in 1218 and the dominions of the Khwarizm shah in 1219–1221.

The more successful were Genghis' military conquests—and they were stunningly successful—the more massive the contradictions that arose. The military, aggressive, and destructive qualities that made him a great conqueror did not help to establish effective government. But Genghis had the capacity to formulate a large overall conceptual framework for Mongolian rule and to organize an empire around it. He assigned his sons Jochi (Juchi), Chagatai (Jagatai), Ogodai (Ogadai), and Tolui to administer the major parts of his realm. He believed in the necessity of fixed regulations, and his famous *Yasa*, or code of laws, was an impressive compilation. His system of post stations along trade routes and of rapid communication by couriers using relays of horses was a work of genius. Noted for his openness to advice, Genghis reached out for, effectively used, and generously rewarded

expert advisers without restriction as to their ethnic origin, creed, or color.

Enlargement of the Empire. Genghis died in 1227. Under the next four khagans—Ogodai (reigned 1229–1241), his son Kuyuk (1246–1248), and Tolui's sons Mangu (1251–1259) and Kublai (1260–1294)—the Mongols vastly enlarged the empire founded by Genghis Khan. Ogodai completed the conquest of northern China in 1231–1234, after which a 45-year war began with the national Chinese empire of the Sung in the south. Mainland Korea was effectively occupied by 1236. Meanwhile, Ogodai's generals had annexed western Iran to the empire in 1230–1231 and had moved into the Caucasus. By 1244 the Georgians, Armenians, and also the Seljuk Turks of Anatolia had been defeated and made vassals of the khagan. Jochi's son Batu and the great Mongolian general Sabutai (Subotai) opened a third front in Europe in 1237. They defeated the Kipchak (Cuman) Turks of the southern Russian steppe and then the Russian princes of the north and west, failing only to take Novgorod. Invading Poland and Hungary, two Mongol armies almost simultaneously (April 1241) annihilated the Polish and German knights at Liegnitz and the Hungarians at Mohi before withdrawing eastward.

In 1256, Mangu dispatched his brother Hulagu (Hulegu) to round out the Mongol empire in Southwest Asia. Hulagu took Baghdad in 1258, extinguishing the Abbasid caliphate, and in the next two years overran Syria and Palestine, except for the Crusader strongholds. In 1260, during his absence, his army was routed at Ayn Jalut, Palestine, by the Mamluks (Mamelukes) of Egypt, under Baybars. This was the first great Mongolian defeat and resulted in the loss of Muslim Syria and Palestine to the Mamluks. In China, Mangu sent another brother, Kublai, to outflank the Sung from the southwest. Kublai conquered the state of Nan Chao in 1253, and one of his generals captured Hanoi in 1257. Mangu died in 1259 without completing the conquest of southern China. This was left to his successor, Kublai, whose final defeat of the Sung in 1279 brought the Mongolian Empire to its greatest extent.

Genghis Khan had been satisfied to live in a tent. It was Ogodai who established the imperial capital, Kara Korum, in 1235. But since Kublai's removal of the capital to Peking in 1260 left the city in the steppes without any particular function, it flourished only a very short time. In that brief period a European, William of Rubruck (Guillaume Rubruquis), resided in Kara Korum for six months, and his description immortalized it as the headquarters of the Mongolian Empire. The Chinese destroyed the city in 1388.

Fragmentation of the Empire. Within the two Mongolian centuries (1206–1405), the year 1241 is of great importance, for the callback of the Mongolian chieftains from all corners of the empire to choose a new khagan appears to have saved Europe from complete subjugation. At that time the Mongols were close to Vienna and Venice, and had already defeated every kind of military force that could be assembled. The events of 1241, only 14 years after Genghis Khan's death, illustrate two fundamental problems of Mongolian rule: the tremendous distances separating the imperial capital from its possessions, and the shakiness of the system for succession.

The vassal Russian princes of the forestlands north of the steppe served the Mongols. Through loyalty to the Golden Horde, the princes of Moscow and their city became increasingly important. By 1340, when Uzbeg (Uzbek) Khan died, Moscow and the Russians already threatened the predominance of Sarai and the Golden Horde. The defeat of the Mongols by the Russians at Kulikovo in 1380 and the destruction of Sarai and Astrakhan by Timur in 1395-1396 confirmed the hegemony of Russia and Moscow.

Turkestan and Timur. The khanate of Chagatai was inhabited mainly by Turkish peoples—nomads in the east, or Moghulistan; farmers and city dwellers in the west, or Transoxiana. After the reign of Kebek, which ended about 1326, the state split into its dissimilar halves. These were reunited in 1360 by Tughluq-Temur, the Chagatai ruler of Moghulistan.

Two members of the Turkish nobility of Transoxiana—Timur (Tamerlane) and Husain—led a revolt that liberated Transoxiana from Mongol rule. In 1370, Timur, having eliminated Husain, became sole emir. From headquarters at Tashkent, he embarked on a whirlwind and fabulously successful but notoriously cruel and destructive campaign of conquest. He united the former dominions of Chagatai and the Il-Khans, ravaged the territories of the Golden Horde, shattered the Delhi sultanate of India, and temporarily checked the rise of the Ottoman Turks, thus relieving their pressure on Constantinople. He even embarked on a crusade to take over China, but died in 1405 before that venture got very far.

Although Timur was not a descendant of Genghis Khan, he claimed the heritage of Genghis—the Mongolian Empire—and he sought mightily to recreate it. He consciously honored the *Yasa* and the Mongolian traditions and named a genuine descendant of Genghis as nominal ruler. But Timur also represented Islam and Iran, and would follow their laws. He tried to yoke incompatible ideas and philosophies. His accomplishments were negligible because he lacked Genghis' spark of genius, which went beyond simply winning battles. Yet with all his monstrous cruelties and killings, he protected science and the arts. Senseless cruelty and refined sensibility were simultaneously within him. He always meticulously spared the lives of intellectuals and artisans in captured cities before he piled up the skulls of all the other inhabitants. The annihilation of so many and the destruction of so much forever besmirch his memory and name.

Timur's empire collapsed after his death. His descendants, known as the Timurids, ruled his eastern territories for about 100 years, sometimes in splendor. One descendant, Babur, driven from his principality of Fergana by the Uzbek Turks, established himself in Afghanistan and invaded India, where in 1526 he founded the Mughul ("Mongol") dynasty.

The Mongolian Legacy. The small number of Mongols and the crudity of their nomad culture meant that they contributed little to the more developed lands they conquered. Subtle civilization and the silver bullets of luxury brought down many tough Mongolian fighters, and it became extremely difficult for the Mongols to maintain their readiness for battle. By continuing to expand outward, Genghis Khan had avoided this problem. The terrible cruelty and widespread destruction that often made Mongolian victory

possible aroused bitter hatred. Nomad-farmer antipathy was an ancient story, and to the conquered inhabitants of sophisticated cities the simplicity of the Mongols seemed primitive.

But the Mongolian conquests had great positive potential. The unification of China, Inner Asia, and much of Southwest Asia and Russia fostered the growth of trade and cultural exchange between Asia and Europe, with the Mongols acting as a transmission belt. These effects were much greater on western Asia and Europe than on China. Chinese tradition remained largely impervious to foreign cultural innovations, although Islam took permanent root in some western provinces. The impact of Chinese culture on Russia, Iran, and Iraq was considerable. Commodities and ideas such as gunpowder, paper money, printing, porcelain, medical knowledge, and art motifs traveled westward, and some reached Europe by way of the Islamic world. An effect not realized at the time was the transmission of germs and disease. The Mongols may have been a plague in the literal as well as figurative sense.

Genghis Khan is still a potent political symbol that stirs emotion and causes controversy. He supplies a sense of Mongolian identity, nationalism, and a feeling of commonality among Mongols everywhere—Pan-Mongolism. The Mongolian hereditary aristocracy traced its lineage to Genghis Khan. Traditional Mongolian literature sings his praises; poetry and stories still circulate about him and even about his marvelous horses. Archaeology in Mongolia is politically sensitive because of the continued potency of such symbols. For Mongols, Kara Korum is more than just an archaeological site. In the 1930's and 1940's the Japanese and their Mongolian protégé Te Wang exploited Genghis' memory. His contemporary impact showed quite clearly in 1962 when the Mongols in Chinese-controlled Inner Mongolia celebrated the 800th anniversary of his birth, and those in the Soviet-dominated Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) tried, unsuccessfully, to celebrate it. At Ejen Khoru, Inner Mongolia, purported relics of the great khan are enshrined in an elaborate building erected by the Communist Chinese and are watched "eternally" by special hereditary guards.

To the Russians, Genghis Khan and his heirs meant defeat and destruction. To the Chinese, Kublai and his descendants until 1368 were emperors of China as well as Mongolian khans. In the contemporary Sino-Soviet split, attitudes expressed toward Genghis Khan imply attitudes about the rivalry between the USSR and China.

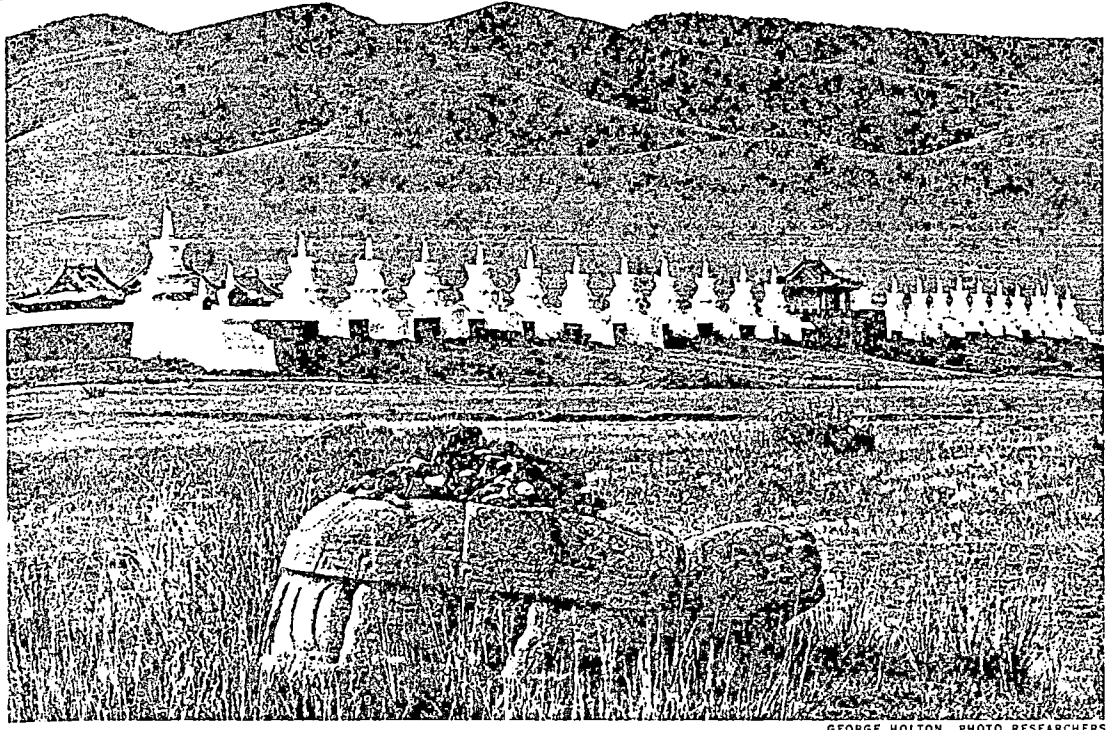
Buddhism. Before their conversion to Tibetan Buddhism the Mongols worshiped natural phenomena. Their chief spirit was Tengri (the sky). The Mongols had shamans, who they believed could contact the spirits and mediate between them and mankind. The shamans combined the roles of priest, medicine man, and soothsayer in ancient Mongolian society. Often they had great political influence.

In the 15th century the reformist Yellow Hat sect of Lamaist Buddhism became dominant in Tibet. During the next two centuries Tibetan monks spread this sect rapidly through Mongolia. With it came the Tibetan language, Indian influences in theology, medicine, and mythology, new architectural forms, a religious literature, medicine, philosophy, a new hierarchical organization, an educational system, and monasticism.

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GEORGE HOLTON, PHOTO RESEARCHERS

A stone tortoise from the ruins of Kara Korum, Mongolia's imperial capital, lies near Erdeni Dzu Monastery.

This rich and varied culture appeared at a time when internal quarrels divided the Mongols. In the early 15th century the Oirats, or western Mongols, had gained ascendancy in Mongolia. The Khalkhas and other eastern Mongols, ruled by descendants of Kublai, were torn by dissension. After the death of the Oirat leader Esen-taiji in 1455, the eastern Mongols were reunited under Dayan Khan (reigned 1470-1543), and Altan Khan (reigned 1543-1583) drove the Oirats westward. Altan's death was followed by another period of disunity.

The Buddhist Church in Mongolia developed mainly after the establishment of the monastery of Erdeni Dzu in 1586. It was built near the site of Kara Korum, so that historical symbolism fortified religious appeal. From the first, the church was closely allied to the secular aristocracy, and top church figures came from the families of lay khans and princes. In 1650 a son of the Tushetu Khan—ruler of the area around Urga (now Ulan Bator)—was named the first Jebtsun Damba Khutukhtu, or "Living Buddha." This opened a phase of Mongolian history that ended with the death of the eighth, and last, reincarnated Jebtsun Damba Khutukhtu in 1924. These Mongolian Church leaders gained property, power, and prestige, and the native administration increasingly bore the character of a theocracy.

Manchus, Chinese, and Mongols. Galdan (reigned 1676-1697), khan of the Dzungar tribe of Oirats, reestablished the old steppe fiefdom of Chagatai. Turning his attention to eastern Mongolia in 1688, he quickly drove the Khalkhas southward into Inner Mongolia, where they sought the protection of the Manchu K'ang Hsi emperor of China. In 1691, at Dolon-Nor, 550 representatives of the Khalkha nobility, including the three major khans and the Jebtsun Damba Khutukhtu, swore fealty to the K'ang Hsi emperor. That "Diet of Dolon-Nor" marked the subjection of the Mongols to the Manchus, fellow nomads who had conquered China, but the Mongols never

acknowledged the overlordship of China itself.

In 1696 the Manchus defeated Galdan, and the Khalkhas returned to their own territory, no longer independent. The Dzungars were not finally conquered until the 1750's. The Mongolian policy of the Manchus, who ruled China until 1911, included weakening the khans, preventing communication with the eastward-expanding Russians, and obtaining horses and soldiers from Mongolia. The Manchus also forbade permanent Chinese settlement in Mongolia and, after a bloody revolt in 1756, decreed that future reincarnations of the Jebtsun Damba Khutukhtu must come from Tibet instead of from Mongolian aristocratic families.

The Manchu-Mongol arrangement began as one of near equality, including common suspicion of the Chinese, but the Manchus became assimilated to Chinese culture and a growing Russian threat in the north further united Manchu and Chinese interests. Chinese merchants and moneylenders penetrated into Mongolia almost from the beginning of the Manchu period, and new threats to the Mongols emerged at the end of the 19th century when the Manchus, alarmed by Russian expansion into Manchuria, reversed earlier policy and encouraged Chinese immigration to Mongolia. Mongol-Chinese quarrels and confrontations became increasingly frequent in Urga, and the Jebtsun Damba Khutukhtu more and more assumed a nationalistic, anti-Chinese identity. The fact that many Mongolian princes were heavily in debt to Chinese added a strong economic argument to the pressures for independence.

Russians and Mongols. Russia wanted to keep Mongolia free of Chinese colonization and hoped to break Chinese control of the Mongolian trade, but it also wanted to maintain economic and other relations with China. The Czarist government opened a consulate in Urga in 1861, both for transit trade with China and for local trade with the Mongols. The more Manchu and Chinese pressure on the Mongols increased, the more attractive Russia looked to the Khalkhas.