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Некоммерческое акционерное
общество
«Отандастар қоры»

«АЙМАҚТАНУДЫҢ ҚАЗІРГІ КЕЗЕҢДЕГІ МӘСЕЛЕЛЕРІ»
ХАЛЫҚАРАЛЫҚ ҒЫЛЫМИ-ПРАКТИКАЛЫҚ КОНФЕРЕНЦИЯ
МАТЕРИАЛДАРЫНЫҢ ЖИНАҒЫ

«СОВРЕМЕННЫЕ ПРОБЛЕМЫ РЕГИОНОВЕДЕНИЯ»
СБОРНИК МАТЕРИАЛОВ МЕЖДУНАРОДНОЙ НАУЧНО-
ПРАКТИЧЕСКОЙ КОНФЕРЕНЦИИ



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Жинаққа ғалымдардың, докторанттардың, магистранттар мен студенттердің аймақтық даму мен аймақты зерттеуге әсер ететін проблемаларды түсінуге жәрдемдесуге бағытталған баяндамалар кірді. Бұл процестерді әр түрлі аспектілерде және әр түрлі жағынан қарастыру әсіресе қазіргі кезде өзекті болып табылады.

В сборник вошли доклады ученых, докторантов, магистрантов и студентов, направленные на содействие более глубокому пониманию проблем, влияющих на региональное развитие и изучение региона. Рассмотрение данных процессов в разных аспектах, и с разных сторон особенно актуально в наши дни.

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REGIONAL PROBLEMS OF OUTER MONGOLIA IN THE FIRST HALF OF THE 20TH CENTURY

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***Abstract.** To describe the regional problems of Outer Mongolia in the first half of the 20th century, it is necessary to cover the events of these years which were one of the most important turning points in the new history of Mongolia and marked the beginning of a new period of its development. Mongolia has achieved state sovereignty in its development, the social structure, cultural and economic appearance of the country has changed, new administrative and political institutions have appeared. In this regard, although almost a century has passed since the Mongolian revolution of the 1920s, a comprehensive historiographic study of these events is of particular importance.*

A lot of works have been published about the nature of the development of Mongolia after the revolution, relations with other foreign countries, especially with neighboring Russian and Chinese powers, their important role in the history of the country and about regional problems that arose after Mongolia gained independence. Thus, there is a need for a special historiographic study of the regional problems of Outer Mongolia during this period. The relevance of this research topic is due to the need to compare and analyze the validity and objectivity of various conflicting assessments of the events we describe in the works of Russian, Mongolian and Western authors.

***Key words:** regional problems, Outer Mongolia, Russia, China, USA, foreign policy.*

In the complex of problems associated with the study of the political history of Mongolia in the early 1920s, along with an analysis of the internal situation that developed in the territory controlled by the new People's Government, an important place is occupied by questions about the international status of the Mongolian state and the nature of its contacts with the outside world. There is no doubt that the historical, geographical and political realities of that time determined the two main directions of the foreign policy of the new Mongolian authorities - Russian and

Chinese. Moreover, the development of relations between the emerging Mongolian state and its two neighbors and foreign policy partners in each case was subject to different laws and had fundamental differences. Soviet Russia, by military and political means, largely contributed to the emergence in June 1921 in Urga of a government allied to it, headed by the "Red Mongols". As for the Republic of China, its authorities, as already mentioned above, considered the territory of Outer Mongolia as a region to which the jurisdiction of the Beijing government should extend, and excluded for themselves even the hypothetical possibility of recognizing the rights of the "Urga separatists" to state sovereignty and independence. Therefore, the main foreign policy focus for the People's Government in the first year of its existence was the problem of regulating relations with China. This is confirmed by the fact that one of the first important acts of the People's Government was an appeal to all foreign states to declare the independence of Mongolia, signed by Prime Minister D. Bodo on September 14, 1921. There was mentioned that: "The People's Government ... declares that China's suzerainty will no longer be recognized. A constitutional-democratic system has been created in Mongolia, under which the Mongols themselves rule the country. They strive to continue to maintain friendly relations with China. Mongols and Chinese can live independently and peacefully. We want to establish trade relations with all countries...etc" [1, 47]. In an appeal to all foreign powers - the "Declaration of Independence of the Mongolian State", adopted in September 1921, it was said about the foundations of Mongolian-Chinese relations: "At the present time, our People's Government does not at all intend to pursue a hostile policy towards the Middle State (China), harboring a sense of past revenge on it. At the same time, it will by no means agree to the restoration of Chinese suzerainty over Mongolia. It wishes the early establishment of friendly ties and commercial relations between Mongolia and China on the basis of its recognition of the current People's Government" [2, 69].

In general, the People's Government that came to power took into account that the settlement of relations between the new Mongolia and China is a complex and lengthy problem. In order to gradually begin to solve it, on September 10, 1921, it turned to the government of the RSFSR with a request for mediation in establishing peaceful relations with the authorities of the Republic of China. Considering the foreign policy situation that had developed around Outer Mongolia by mid-1921, it should be noted that the appeal of its government to the Soviet authorities that we mentioned was not the first attempt to search for such international mediation. Somewhat earlier and under different circumstances, the Urga government had already demonstrated a desire to resort to the help of a third party in establishing contacts with official Beijing. In this case, however, we are not talking about the Mongolian People's Government, but about its predecessor - the administration, headed by the Bogdo Gegen. Its representatives, even during the capture of Urga by Baron Ungern, on February 15, 1921, turned to the American consul and conveyed the request to mediate between Mongolia and China.

American Consul Sokobin worked in the Outer Mongolian capital from August 18 to September 14, almost a month. He held talks with the head of the new

Mongolian government, D. Bodo, who took up his duties just a month ago. The Mongolian Prime Minister turned to Sokobin with a request that the United States sign the China-Mongolian agreements and become a member of that agreement. At the same time, Bodo suggested that the US government act as a guarantor of the implementation of the Mongolian-Chinese agreements by both parties, regardless of what rights might be granted to Mongolia under these interstate agreements. Thus, the Prime Minister of the People's Government actually offered the United States to assume the duties that Russia performed in the China-Mongolian agreements. Bodo said that "he hopes that the United States and Russia will take steps to establish peaceful relations between Mongolia and China, to organize negotiations between the" [3, 115]. Sokobin asked how much the Mongolian government relies on the support of Soviet Russia in conducting negotiations between China and Mongolia, to which Bodo replied that the Russian side was ready to help, constantly and more and more interested in the Mongolian issue [3, 116].

In addition to negotiations in the Mongolian government, Sokobin also met with the Bogdo Gegen, whose invitation, in fact, was the reason for the visit of the American consul to Urga. Sokobin wrote: "Bogdo-gegen is very concerned about the establishment of peace and prosperity, he several times sent personal representatives to me with a request for mediation in the difficult affairs of relations between Mongolia and China" [3, 118].

The political leadership of Soviet Russia viewed Sokobin's meeting with the leaders of the new Mongolian government and with influential princes and lamas with obvious suspicion. Representative of the People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the RSFSR B.Z. Shumyatsky believed that "for more than a month's stay in Khuree, the American consul had the goal of alienating the Mongolian people's revolutionary government from his country, sought to unite the princes and lamas in order to eliminate our influence" [3, 119]. The aforementioned Soviet diplomat arrived in Khuree in early September 1921 to study the situation, after which he wrote about Sokobin: "The American consul promises economic assistance on behalf of Washington and is rushing with all his might to obtain a mandate in America to mediate between Mongolia and China" [3, 118]. Having made such a conclusion, Shumyatsky took countermeasures.

Obviously, the result of Shumyatsky's visit to Urga was that the Mongolian government sent a request for mediation between Mongolia and China and Soviet Russia and America at the same time. The letter sent by Prime Minister Bodo to Moscow on 10 September 1921 stated: "Since there has been no official business in the establishment of friendly relations between Mongolia and China to this day... and the people of the Middle State and its government are striving to divide the Mongolian people and subjugate them to themselves, therefore, dear commissioner, we respect your reminder and ask for your consent to mediate in these matters".

The Mongolian historian R. Bold notes: "On September 14, the Soviet side immediately responded to Bodo's letter, which was reported in the newspaper "Izvestia" on September 17, 1921. Chicherin, taking into account the fact that the Government of Russia plans to enter into permanent relations with the Government

of China in the near future, which was reported through a trade delegation recently sent to Beijing, said that the request of Mongolia was taken into account [3, 118].

Sokobin, on the other hand, made the following conclusion regarding Chicherin's note: "It is obvious that the Soviet government demands from China much more than recognition of the independence of Mongolia. When negotiating with China on the issue of Mongolia, it (the Soviet government) does not have the goal of granting independence to Mongolia or freeing the Mongolian people from "foreign oppression", here the game is to involve foreign powers in relations with them or to force the Chinese government to recognize the Soviets as one of the powers " [3, 118-119].

If we consider the question of the possible start of Mongolian-Chinese negotiations, then it should be concluded that during the period we are considering there were not even minimal objective prerequisites for establishing a political dialogue between Urga and Beijing. The northern government of China, which, among all other governments that existed at that time in this country, acted as the official spokesman for national interests in the international arena, ruled out even the hypothetical possibility of recognizing the Urga government as an equal party to negotiations on any issues of the foreign and domestic political agenda [4, 91].

As for the mediation efforts of the United States, during the period under consideration, they could not influence the resolution of insurmountable contradictions in the sphere of Mongolian-Chinese relations. On September 12, 1921, the People's Government sent a note to the official authorities of the United States of America, in which it informed them of the gain of independence and proposed the establishment of equal diplomatic and trade relations between the two states. However, the American authorities ignored this proposal and refused to recognize the independence of Mongolia. The American side treated the Mongolian issue from the position of limiting the influence of Japan and Russia in the Far East, maintaining the territorial integrity and administrative unity of China, increasing trade with the countries of the Far East and investing in their economies at the expense of the powers weakened after the First World War [5, 114].

As for the Soviet leadership, it demonstrated its commitment to its own political goals and supported the struggle of the Mongolian people for independence from China only as long as this struggle was in their interests. The government of the RSFSR and the Comintern, of course, took into account the complexity of the problems that had developed in 1921 in the sphere of Soviet-Chinese relations. At the same time, the position of the Soviet political leadership was that the separation of Mongolia from China, to which Soviet Russia began to actually assist in 1921, should not become an insurmountable obstacle to the establishment of official diplomatic relations between the RSFSR and the Republic of China.

There were different approaches to the Mongolian question in Soviet political circles. The People's Commissariat for Foreign Affairs of the USSR considered this issue to be part of future relations with China and did not consider the problem of the Mongols' desire for independence to be of paramount importance for Soviet interests in the Far East. The Executive Committee of the Comintern held a different

point of view that the revolution in Mongolia should become part of the general process of "revolutionization" of the Far East [6, 118]. At the same time, both these points of view equally ruled out the development of such an approach to the problem of the status of Outer Mongolia, which could become acceptable as a position of a mediator in relations between the Urga authorities and the Northern Chinese government.

As a conclusion of this we would like to compare Russian, Mongolian and Western authors researchers and their main ideas on this topic.

According to Russian researchers, the decisive factor contributing to the restoration of national Mongolian statehood and its further strengthening was the support of Soviet Russia [7]. The authors of Western historical studies generally follow similar positions [8]. Mongolian historians, on the other hand, believe that these events were the result of Mongolia's own development. Accordingly, the state that emerged in Outer Mongolia in 1921 is described by Mongolian authors as a sovereign and independent state [9]. Therefore, we are sure that in the historical science of Mongolian studies, the detailed study of the events of Mongolian history in the first half of 20th century will be one of the most relevant and promising directions in the future.

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