

Mongolia and India: Developing a Strategic Relations

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Mongolia and India have recently celebrated 60 years of the establishment of their diplomatic relations on 24 December 2015, indications are high that the developing relations between two countries is moving forward against a backdrop of growing Chinese manipulation in the Northeast Asian region. On 17th May 2015 during the visit of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi to Ulaanbaatar, the two countries declared developing strategic relationship. Although such a raise of bilateral ties from comprehensive partnership to a strategic partnership is influenced by several factors, India's willingness to have its presence felt in Northeast Asia is also a key aspect.. After Narendra Modi took over power, India's foreign policy has taken new directions not only towards its neighbours but also towards its extended neighbourhood. This is more so because Northeast Asia is becoming a major factor in India's strategic vision in the East Asian region, especially after the 'Look East' Policy was changed in to 'Act East' Policy in November 2014.ⁱ With this new policy Northeast Asia also came into prominence in India's foreign policy.

Mongolia and India have maintained close historic-cultural ties since ancient times, notwithstanding physical barrier. Based on common Asian heritage and Buddhist culture their traditional relations were further cemented by the establishment of diplomatic relations in 1955. The two nations have interacted through the medium of Buddhism over a period of 2500 years.ⁱⁱ It was due to advent of Buddhism that India was well known in the Mongolian Steppe of Central Asia long before the appearance of the Mongols into the historical arena. Buddhism that reached there through Central Asia from its original homeland in India played a significant role in the Pre-Mongol period in bringing the ancient nomadic rulers of Mongol Land, familiar with the Indian

culture. These linkages are reflected in all human activities from language, literature, religion, medicine and folklore to culture and traditions of the two nations. Such a legacy of traditional linkages based on Buddhism has provided space for regular interaction, assimilation and exchanges between the two countries. This resulted in establishing a very close and friendly relationship in contemporary times so much so that they are today known as “spiritual” neighbours.ⁱⁱⁱ Mongolia has been in close contact with India not only on the basis of their traditional relationship but also on the basis of post-Cold War realities that have altered the geostrategic situation of Mongolia in particular, and Northeast Asia in general. Yet, looking back in the post on the developments in the bilateral ties, especially since the establishment of diplomatic relations, one can observe the level of “Trust” the two countries have for mutual benefits in diverse areas.^{iv}

Mongolia and India share increasing list of interest, values and remarkable growth in their political, economic, culture and strategic ties despite being separated by a vast geographical distance. From 1990s, Mongolia, like same others ex-communist countries, chose to establish a democratic and humane society with a new constitution and social, political and economic change a new page in Mongolian history.^v In the process of radical changes the country adopted its National Security and Foreign Policy Concepts in addition to a Military Doctrine. One of the major features in Mongolia’s foreign policy is its “Third Neighbour Policy” which scholars often describe as “a deft diplomacy of Mongolia’s external relations.”^{vi}

In the post-Cold War era, an emphasis on the “Third Neighbour Policy” of Mongolia, formulated in the early phase of Mongolia’s transition to a market economy and democracy, meant incorporating “additional neighbours” other than China and Russia. Beyond the physical geography, this perspective has something with a long historical relevance in relation to India, Mongolia’s spiritual neighbor. Mongolia is very important for India’s Asian strategic interest, too. In Indian context, this policy had always been in the interest of both countries, Mongolia and India.^{vii} It is very important to continue to have a fresh outlook by means of shifting focus with an enduring and massive influence on international relations for determining their foreign policies

among developing countries. It is in this background that this paper examines Mongolia-India spiritual linkages and makes it significant for the two sides to assist each other in varied areas of mutual concerns in this era.

Mongolia-India Bilateral Relations

Since the emergence of Mongolia as a modern nation state in the 20th century, the two countries have continued to build relations based on shared historical and cultural legacy. The first direct political contact between India and Mongolia took place around the time of India's independence, when a three-member Mongolian delegation came to New Delhi to attend the First Asian Relations Conference held in March 1947 at the initiative of Pt. Jawaharlal Nehru, who was then the Prime Minister during the interim period before independence of India. The main objective of holding this conference was to bring Asian nations together at a common platform and to understand their social, economic and political problems as well as to promote cooperation among the people of Asia.^{viii} Since then, the leadership of the two countries has been in constant contact with each other. This led to establishment of diplomatic relations between the two countries on 24 December 1955. India was the first country outside the then Socialist bloc to establish full diplomatic ties with Mongolia and it also made significant contribution to Ulaanbaatar's efforts of obtaining a full-fledged membership of the United Nations in 1961.^{ix}

In recent years, Mongolia's progress in building and strengthening democratic traditions and institutions as well as efforts to develop its economy has been admirable. India, as a close friend, would always like to see Mongolia flourish and prosper, and, therefore, India's contribution towards this process has been tremendous. This beginning of formal diplomacy developed into something of a small scale Mongolian-Indian bloc since then numerous treaties of friendship and cooperation between them are as dynamic as they were historical in nature. The strategic political relationship between the two countries is influenced by historic-cultural bonds that Mongolia and India share being the southern and northern ends of a Buddhist arch.^x

Political Relations

The development in Mongolia-India mutual relations in the post-Cold War period has largely been the result of the emergence of a democratic Mongolia which saw fresh developments in Ulaanbaatar's relations with outside world. The new Mongolian constitution adopted in 1992 that brought an end to Mongolian legacy of satellite foreign policy of dependence on Moscow, as well provided an opportunity to reach beyond geographic constraints and nurture relationship with countries far away. In June 1994, it came out with its own independent document entitled "Concept of Foreign Policy" and "Concept of National Security" as well as Military Doctrine, which were endorsed by the Mongolian Parliament.^{xi} The overall concerns for Mongolia security aimed at realizing favorable internal and external conditions for defensive vital national interest and national unity. Similarly, the post-Soviet foreign policy described as a "multi-pillar" foreign policy was aimed, first of all, at developing long-term, stable and good neighbourly relations with Mongolia's neighbours, particularly Russia and China.

Political and diplomatic relations between Mongolia and India have entered a new stage since the beginning of 1990s when Mongolia embarked the uneasy path of multiparty democracy and market oriented economy. The 1992, visit of India's Vice-President Dr. Shankar Dayal Sharma to Mongolia can be considered as an Indian support to Mongolia's firm commitment to prefer a democracy and a market oriented economy. The Vice-President of India pledged to boost technical support to Mongolia, i.e. training Mongolian technicians through Indian programme. Further, in 1994, when the then President of Mongolia P. Ochirbat paid an official visit to India, the two countries a Treaty on Friendly Relations and Cooperation was signed. In the new millennium in January 2001, the President of Mongolia N. Bagabandi paid a state visit to India. During his visit both sides noted the relevance of the 1994 treaty of friendly relations and cooperation and also signed new agreements in areas of information technology, defence and legal matters.^{xii} Although, it was the issue of rise in international terrorism and religious fundamentalism that concerned those two sides most. In a joint declaration the two sides "condemned terrorism in all its forms, irrespective of political,

philosophical, ideological, religious, ethnic, and racial or any other consideration that may be invoked to justify them.”^{xiii}

The Mongolian Prime Minister Nambaryn Enkhbayar visited India in January 2004. During this visit, three agreements were signed in order to promote mutual cooperation in the fields of Animal Health and Dairy, Space Science and Biotechnology. Both the countries “strongly condemned the menace of international terrorism and its devastating efforts on democratic societies, development and on human civilization itself.”^{xiv} Both sides are involved in several activities including further expansion of their defence ties as well as annual joint military exercises. Further in December 2005, when Mongolia’s Minister for Foreign Affairs, Ts. Munkh-Orgil, visited to India it coincided with the 50th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations between Mongolia and India. Munkh-Orgil visited was also significant for the two countries agreeing in principle to start a new joint project for the establishment of a satellite-based e-network for tele-education and tele-medicine in Mongolia on the occasion of the 50th anniversary of the diplomatic relations. It was also decided that not only Mongolian educational institutions would be connected to Indian educational institutions through a devoted satellite but also one or two Mongolian hospitals would be associated to Indian medical institutions in order to enable Mongolia to have direct access to quality education and medical services.^{xv} The same year Mongolia offered its support to India’s candidature for the permanent membership of the United Nations Security Council. However, 2006 India has also been participating in the multinational peace keeping annual exercises in Mongolia called ‘Khaan Quest’ which has now become one of the name training events for the participating nations. The latest Khaan Quest 2014 exercise has been the twelfth annual rehearsal that involved such segments as “Command Post Exercise, Field Training Exercise, Engineering Civil Action Programme projects and a Cooperative Health Exchange.”^{xvi}

With President Ts. Elbegdorj choosing India (not Russia or China as tradition has been in the past) for his first official trip abroad after assuming office in June 2009, Delhi seems to be on the right track in the strategic imagination of Ulaanbaatar to emerge as Mongolia’s “fourth neighbour”. Given the fact that

Mongolia is critical for a rising India's Asian strategy, the two countries are poised to upgrade their bilateral ties to comprehensive partnership. Both countries signed a comprehensive partnership treaty to cooperate in developing Mongolian uranium mining with a MoU on the "peaceful use of radioactive minerals and nuclear energy". Nuclear experts believe that under the treaty the supply of uranium from Mongolia is more critical for India than access to enrichment and reprocessing technology, and this would certainly boost India's Energy Security.^{xvii} As an Indian President Pratibha Devi Singh Patil to visited Mongolia in 2011 which has hailed as one of the most significant developments in the existing state of relationship between the two countries. During her visit to Mongolia the two sides recognized that due to joint efforts Mongolia-India bilateral relations in political, economic, security and defence fields. Both countries also agreed to encourage friendship in the fields of education, culture, agriculture, health, mining and nuclear energy, in particular IT sector and prompt ties in social welfare.^{xviii}

Recently on 17 May 2015, Narendra Modi, the first Indian prime minister to visit Mongolia, held wide ranging talks with his counterpart H. E. Chimediiin Saikhanbileg. During this visit the two sides' upgraded their ties into a "strategic partnership" and signed 14 agreements covering defence, agriculture, cyber security, renewable energy and health sector.^{xix} The renewal of defence cooperation agreement with Mongolia is also very important as it may give a boost to India's disguised policy of engaging with the neighbours of China in a more discrete manner. India now acknowledges that Mongolia is an integral part of New Delhi's 'Act East' policy.

Cultural Ties

There is a strong cultural tie between Mongolia and India and merely 200 of Mongolia's 2.8 million populations are Indian. Going back to the historical and cultural ties between Mongolia and India one may find that evidences are well documented for centuries. Such ties have been driven by Buddhism that reached Mongolia from India first through Silk Route and then through Tibet and China. Buddhism entered the service of the Mongolia Khans of Yuan dynasty in the early 13th century. At that time all variants of Buddhism

flourished through Chinese, Tibetan and Indian Buddhism. The before post-Cold War as Mongolia was under the Soviet Union for all most 70 years since it gained its independence in 1921, there had been negative ideological influence on religion and Buddhism suffered greatly. But the post-Cold War period, due to democratization as well as revival of Buddhism the Buddhist populations forms the single largest religion denominations its Mongolia.^{xx}

The culture ties between Mongolia and India have been developing on the bases the agreements signed between the two sides during the post-Cold War period. The Mongolian and India Cultural Agreement signed in 1961 have governed the Cultural Exchange Programme (CEP) between the two countries. The Agreement envisages co-operation in the fields of education in the form of scholarships, exchange of experts, participation in conferences etc. The CEP was subsequently renewed in 2003, 2005 and 2009 and 2015 for 3-year periods. “Festival of India” commemorating 60 years of diplomatic relations with Mongolia was organized in November 2015. Government of India provides 40-50 scholarships per year to Mongolian nationals for pursuing higher studies in India. Also, 2-4 students are granted scholarships to study Hindi language at Kendriya Hindi Sansthan, Agra every year.^{xxi}

The first cultural exchange programme to come out of Mongolia-India cooperation was the exchange of faculty from the National University of Mongolia (NUM) to Jawaharlal Nehru University (JNU) in New Delhi. Unfortunately, this programme was closed in the mid-1970s, but not before it could produce a range of Indian studies scholars at NUM, including Professor Enkhbayar Byambanorov. Other programmes quickly took its place with a current number of about 1000 Mongolian students studying in India at any given time. The main studies conducted by such students are in IT sector or English. In Mongolia itself, India has established a Communication and IT Institute as well as a joint Mongolia-India high school taught by Indian teachers. These educational ties are further diversified with the Art and Production School named after Rajiv Gandhi in Ulaanbaatar.^{xxii}

During the visit of Dr. Murli Manohar Joshi, the then Human Resources Development Minister to Mongolia in July 2002 an MOU on cooperation in

the field of education, which provided for setting up of a Mongolia-India Joint School in Mongolia and an Exchange Programme in the field of Education was signed. A large number of Indian literary works including *Panchtantra*, *Ramayana*, *Shakuntala*, *Ritu Samhara*, *Kamasutra*, *Godaan*, *Gaban* and *Kati Patang* has been published in Mongolian language as also major Buddhist scriptures of Indian origin. Hindi films are fairly popular in Mongolia. The serial Mahabharata, dubbed in Mongolian language, has been telecast on Ulaanbaatar TV. A photographic exhibition entitled “Path of Compassion”, another one titled ‘Amrita Shergil Revisited’ and an exhibition of 540 Indian paintings based on a private collection have been organized in Mongolia. There are regular exchanges of cultural troupe and performances of Indian performing groups that are well appreciated in Mongolia. There is an exchange programme for school children between Bal-Bhawan from India and Friendship Centre of Mongolia.^{xxiii} There were visits in Mongolia of a 5-member ‘Odissi’ dance troupe led by Ms. Geeta Maahalik (2004), a 6-member ‘Kathak’ dance troupe led by Ms. Madhumita Roy (2005), a 5-member ‘Oddissi’ dance troupe led by Ms. Meera Das (2007) and a 3-member Sarod classical music group led by Pt. Debojyoti Bose in 2009. Also in August 2009, a 10-day film festival was organized by Indian Embassy.^{xxiv}

The traditional relations between Mongolia and India are based on common Asian heritage and Buddhist culture which helped further in cementing their bilateral ties in modern times also so much so that they are today known as ‘spiritual neighbours’.^{xxv} The strategic political relations between the two countries which is influenced by historical-cultural bonds owes much to Buddhism that not only helped hitherto scattered and nomadic Mongols to become united and civilized but not enabled them to learn several dimensions of Indian philosophy and applied knowledge, such as astrology, poetry, art, medicine etc.^{xxvi} That is to say India is seen as such a divine place, where emphasis is given on Buddhist principles of denouncing anger and hatred, violence and rancor, apart from promoting universal peace and harmony through individual attainment of compassion and serenity.^{xxvii} The culture ties and spiritual linkages between Mongolia and India, therefore, make it

imperative for the two sides to cooperate each other not only for mutual benefits but also for regional integration.

Economic and Trade Cooperation

As 1990, Mongolia opted for market economy and introduced the private sector as the primary basis of the development of its national economy, the government attached great importance to develop a comprehensive economic and trade cooperation with India. Mongolia is mineral rich country in coking coal, copper, rare earths and uranium and India knows its potential for cooperation with Mongolia in the mineral sector. Both the countries have geographical compulsions so far as trade is concerned but they have the political will and understanding for cooperation.

During the visit of then Minister for Commerce Mr. Pranab Mukherjee in 1994, two MoUs pertaining to the establishment of Joint Trade Sub-Committee and Cooperation between the Planning Commission of India and the National Development Board of Mongolia were signed. An agreement for co-operation in the field of geology and mineral resources was signed in September 1996. In 1996 during the visit of the then Vice president, Mr. K.R. Narayanan to Mongolia, an Agreement on Trade and Economic Cooperation between Mongolia and India was signed. The agreement provides for Most Favoured Nation (MFN) status to each other in respect of customs duties and all other taxes on imports and exports.^{xxviii} During the visit of Mongolian President Bagabandi in 2001, both sides signed an Investment Promotion and Protection Agreement. The main items of exports to Mongolia include medicines, mining machinery and auto parts, etc. Imports from Mongolia include raw wool.^{xxix}

Atal Bihari Vajpayee Centre for Excellence in ICT: Following an Agreement signed in September 2001 during the visit of Minister for Information Technology Mr. Pramod Mahajan to Mongolia, the Atal Bihari Vajpayee Centre of Excellence (ABVCE) in Information and Communication Technology (ICT) and 5 Community Information Centres (CICs) in 5 provinces (Khovsgol, Bulgan, Kharkhorin, Darkhan-Uul and Sukhbaatar) were

established. This will now be upgraded to a full-fledged Centre with credit of US\$ 20 million. WAPCOS has been designated to implement this project.^{xxx}

Solar Energy: A solar energy electrification project was executed by the Central Electronics Ltd. And formally inaugurated in April 2006 in Dadal Soum cost of project is approx, US\$ 100,000. Training of Mongolian experts on solar energy has been organized in India.^{xxxi}

Rajiv Gandhi Polytechnic College for Production and Art (RGPCPA): During the visit Dr. Sankar Dayal Sharma, Vice President in 1992, it was decided to set up a Vocational Training facility in eight fields. The institution became functional thereafter. Six facilities for vocational training have been upgraded in 2015 with a total cost of approximately US\$ 2.84 million. During the visit Mongolian President Elbegdorj's in 2009, to India, 120 slots per annum were earmarked to Mongolia under Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC).^{xxxii} Mongolia was among the first few countries to sign a uranium deal with India in 2009, though India is still awaiting its first uranium supply from Mongolia. In 2010, while addressing member of the Southern India Chamber of Commerce and Industry (SICCI) in a bid to promote bilateral trade, the then Mongolian Ambassador to India, Voroshilov Enkhbold invited Indian businessmen to invest in priority sectors such as mining healthcare, ICT, tourism, entertainment, agriculture, oil and infrastructure that has not been tapped fully. Highlighting that the Mongolian government encourages investment in priority sectors and grants tax incentives to foreign direct investment, when Prime Minister Modi visited Mongolia he showed a lot of excitement to encourage trade and even announced a one billion dollar credit line to Mongolia.^{xxxiii}

The development of economic sectors is linked to many more developments. India can take the advantage in exploring the industrial sector of Mongolia in addition to the education sector where India has already done a lot by increasing the ITEC training slots for Mongolia from 150 to 200 and establishing in Mongolia-India joint school. A memorandum of understanding between Tata Memorial Centre of India and National Cancer Centre of Mongolia for gifting of Bhabhaton II Telecobalt unit along with Radiotherapy

simulator has already been signed.^{xxxiv} There is huge potential in civil nuclear sector, mining, health care, pharmaceuticals and dairy. India can also explore the possibilities of using digital technology to expand its economic relations with Mongolia.

Strategic Relations

The Mongolians want to transform their strong cultural relationship with India into a strategic partnership. And India, for its part, has been patiently expanding its defence and security links with Mongolia as part of an effort to build strategic ties with China's neighbours, in line with "Look East" policy. Mongolia and India relation between is driven by strategic concerns. Renew of defence cooperation agreement with Mongolia aimed at giving a boost to India's disguised policy of engaging with the neighbours of China in a more discreet manner. It is not that by simply signing the defence cooperation agreement India will be able to threaten China military but assumption is that India will simply attain a foothold in the northern neighbour of China. India-Mongolia defence relations can also not be described on similar footing to China-Myanmar or China-Pakistan defence relations, which has been a cause of much concern in Indian strategic circles.^{xxxv}

Since 2001 the defence ties between Mongolia and India have moved forward in the fields of training, bilateral visits and joint military exercises. India has been providing training facilities to Mongolian defence personnel in English language, peace keeping and military operations. In the process, the defence pact in the two countries was an "enabling agreement" which seeks to facilitate enhanced trading, exchanges and later joint military exercises, which raises growing Chinese concerns over setting up of a foreign military base in Mongolia. The first joint military exercise was held in Mongolia in October 2004 and evidently India and Mongolia agreed to upgrade their defence cooperation in training.^{xxxvi} With above all long period of Indo-Mongolia relationship, both countries needs to improve cooperation in various sectors like nuclear energy, education, infrastructure development, technology and defence so that both country could able to get more advantage of historical

relationship in new era of globalization and changing geo-political situation of the world.

Although China's strategy towards is against Mongolian efforts to establish military relationship with any other country, "India is quietly expanding its defence and security links with Mongolia in a bid to monitor China's space and military activities in the region". This leads to develop a cooperative partnership between both the countries and further Mongolia wanted "India to assist the modernizing the defence power of Mongolia".^{xxxvii} During the first ten years of the defence cooperation agreement, the two countries had a very senior level and deeper defence engagement as top military officers of India and Mongolia visited each other's bases, exercised together and discussed the possibilities of strengthening defence relations. India has not only trained Mongolian military officers in Indian training establishments, the Mongolian and Indian military officers have also been visiting each other's bases for joint exercises and academic exchanges. The Mongolian armies have sent their officers for counter insurgency and jungle warfare training school in Mizoram which is India's premier centre for anti-terrorist training.^{xxxviii} India and Mongolia also cooperate in the defence sector. There is India-Mongolia Joint Working Group for Defence cooperation which meets annually. Seventh meeting of this Working Group was held in August 2015 in Mongolia. Joint India-Mongolia exercise 'Nomadic Elephant' is held every year. India is a regular participant in the multilateral exercise 'Khan Quest'.^{xxxix} India contributes to various regular trainings of Mongolian officers.

In the recent times, Mongolia's freedom of strategic option has drawn attention to the solidity of interests with India, and therefore, the two countries have clearly defined their geostrategic interests. India can be visualized as the fourth alternative for providing security and development in Mongolia, the first and second is the two geographical neighbours- Russia and China, while the third is believed to be the U.S. However, despite China becoming the largest trade partner of Mongolia it does not mean that there is no threat to Mongolia which exists precariously. Russia, on the other hand, seems not to be in a position to provide the protective shield that it had earlier in Mongolia during Soviet days. Japanese and Western interests are limited mainly to

economic interests due to Mongolia's rich natural resources. But interestingly and quite seriously, the United States has been considered as Mongolia's "third neighbour", who could act as a balancing power vis-à-vis Russia and China.^{xi} But on the other hand, Mongolia appears to be in a serious dilemma of how to continue forging value based relations with the United States without jeopardizing its increasingly important economic ties with China. What Mongolia expects from India is yet to be seen considering the latter being the former's "spiritual neighbour."

In such a situation, what Mongolia and India require to do is to develop their strategic partnership that the two countries agreed to obligate during Modi's visit to Mongolia in May 2015. The joint statement given during the visit of Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi, India and Mongolia conformed that developing a strategic corporation, which is guided by the collectively recognized values of sovereign equality of states, the ideals of United Nations Charter, joint interests of the two peoples and the fundamental principles of the 1994 Treaty of Friendly Relations and Cooperation and other bilateral documents, would be their universal so far a new goal of their respective foreign policies.^{xli} India has also announced a US \$1 billion credit line to Mongolia for infrastructure development as part of its quest for developing strategic corporation with Mongolia. The two countries future agreed to deepen defence assistance besides exploring potential for tie-ups in areas like civil nuclear sector. The requirement of technical knowhow for the exploitation of Mongolia's huge uranium reserves (68,000 tons) is a major concern for Ulaanbaatar, and that is where India could be an important partner in view of its experience with nuclear energy.^{xlii}

Conclusion

Historical and cultural linkages between Mongolia and India have been very significant throughout their history and it provides essential bedrock for further development of bilateral ties. Buddhism offers a unique opportunity for both sides to further strengthen their civilization bonds. Both the countries have shown outstanding growth in all spheres of their engagements whether it is political, culture, economic and strategic. India has come a long way since

1955 when it becomes the first country outside the Soviet bloc to establish diplomatic relations with Mongolia. While Post-Cold war Mongolia pursues its foreign policy of maintaining friendly relations with all the nations of the world. The Mongolian multi-pillar, open door foreign policy provides a great opportunity to develop a comprehensive cooperation with India. The Mongolia foreign policy documents have emphasized the importance of developing good friendly relations with India. India supports the Mongolian membership to the United Nations and Mongolia supports India for a permanent membership to the UN Security Council and this has further created mutual trust and confidence in each other.

Today the driving force behind the developing strategic relationship between Mongolia and India is trade and economic cooperation. India's ongoing role in East Asia, which i.e. Southeast Asia as well as Northeast Asia, may have far reaching consequences to the extent of benefiting Mongolia so far as issue of regional cooperation is concerned.^{xliii} However, China is a huge factor both Mongolia as well as India in there bilateral relations. The two sides gaining maximum benefits through their supportive partnership in all areas of common interest and India will not let loose this opportunity to make its vibrant presence in the region with one more reliable partner like Mongolia.

ⁱSharad k. Soni (2016), "Mongolia and India: A Strategic Partnership in the Making" in Sharad K. Soni (eds), *Mongolia Today Internal Changes and External Linkages*, New Delhi Pentagon Press, pp. 251-264.

ⁱⁱSharad K. Soni (2009), "India-Mongolia Relations: Implications for Regional Cooperation in North East Asia", *Mongolian & Tibetan Quarterly* (Taipei), vol.18, no.2, pp. 50-65.

ⁱⁱⁱ*Ibid*

^{iv}Soni (2016), "Mongolia and India", p. 253.

^vSantosh K. Jha (2016), "Mongolia and Its Security Concerns", *International Journal of Applied Social Science*, vol. 3, p. 171.

^{vi}Sharad k. Soni (2015), "The Third Neighbour Approach of Mongolia's Diplomacy of External Relations: Effects on Relations between India and Mongolia", *India Quarterly*, vol. 71, no.1, p.41.

^{vii} Ranjana Gupta (1999), "India and Mongolia: A Geostrategic Perspective", *Regional Security Issue in Mongolia* (Ulaanbaatar), no.6 p.30

^{viii} Soni (2009), "India-Mongolia Relations", p. 56

^{ix} Ranjan Gupta (1999), "India and Mongolia", p. 30.

^x *Ibid*

^{xi} Sharad K. Soni (2001), "Mongolia's Foreign Policy Priorities", *Himalayan and Central Asian Studies*, vol.5, no.1, p. 57.

^{xii} Oidov Nyamadavaa (2003), *Mongolia-India Relations*, New Delhi: Pentagon Press, p. 128.

^{xiii} Soni (2016), "Mongolia and India", p. 256.

^{xiv} See "Visit of Prime Minister of Mongolia, January 14-20, 2004", at <http://www.meaindia.nic.in/pressrelease/2004/01/16pr01.htm> (accessed on 20 February 2017).

^{xv} Soni (2009), "India-Mongolia Relations", p. 55.

^{xvi} In addition to the U.S., Mongolia and India the other nations participated in "Khaan Quest 2014" included Australia, Bangladesh, Belarus, Canada, China, Czech Republic, France, Germany, Hungary, India, Indonesia, Japan, Mongolia, Nepal, Pakistan, Poland, Republic of Korea, Russia, Singapore, Tajikistan, Thailand, Turkey and the United Kingdom. In terms of importance the Khaan Quest "enables opportunity for international peacekeepers to share their knowledge and experience in peacekeeping operations, execution techniques, learned lessons, and real-life practices among the Soldiers." See Ankit Panda (2014), "Mongolia Hosts Exercise Khaan Quest 2014", *The Diplomat*, 1 July, at <http://thediplomat.com/2014/07/mongoli-hosts-exercise-khaan-quest-2014/> (accessed on 28 February 2017).

^{xvii} Sharad k. Soni (2015), "The Third Neighbour Approach of Mongolia's Diplomacy of External Relations: Effects on Relations between India and Mongolia", *India Quarterly*, vol. 71, no.1, p.45.

^{xviii} The Office of the President of Mongolia, 'President Elbegdor and President Patil participate in signing documents on bilateral ties and cooperation', 28 July 2011, at <http://www.president.mn/eng/newsscenter/viewnews> (accessed 4 July 2016).

^{xix} *Press Trust of India*, New Delhi, 17 May 2015.

^{xx} Vaishali Krishna (2017), *India-Mongolia Relations, India Empire Special Issue on Mongolia*, p. 40

^{xxi} See "Embassy of India, Ulaanbaatar" website: at <http://www.eoi.gov.in/ulaanbaatar> (accessed on 20 February 2017)

^{xxii} Indian Council for Culture Relations: Annual Report 2003-2004, Rep. Web. 17 Nov. 2009. at <http://www.iccrindia.org/annualreport03/report03.htm> (accessed 20 February 2017).

^{xxiii} See "Embassy of India, Ulaanbaatar"

^{xxiv} Indian Council for Culture Relations: Annual Report 2003-2004,

^{xxv} Soni (2009), "India-Mongolia Relations", p. 51.

^{xxvi} *Ibid.*

^{xxvii} Vasanta Iyer (1992), "Cultural Perspectives in Modern Mongolia," in K. Warikoo and Dawa Norbu (eds.), *Ethnicity and Politics in Central Asia* (New Delhi: South Asian Publishers, 1992), p.268

^{xxviii} Neadan Herkan Toppo (2011), "India-Mongolia Relations: Continuance of Endeavour", *World Focus*, Nov-Dec, pp. 846-854

^{xxix} *India Empire*, Special Issue on Mongolia, p. 47.

^{xxx} See "Embassy of India, Ulaanbaatar"

^{xxxi} *Ibid*

^{xxxii} *Ibid*

^{xxxiii} *Press Trust of India*, New Delhi, 17 May 2015.

^{xxxiv} Vaishali Krishna (2017), India-Mongolia Relations, p. 41.

^{xxxv} Santosh K. Jha (2014), Mongolia's Security Policy, (1991-2000), Unpublished M.Phil Dissertation, Jawaharlal Nehru University, New Delhi, p. 69.

^{xxxvi} Sharad K. Soni (2007), "India's New Roll in East Asia: Implications for Mongolia", *Mongolian Journal of International Studies*, V. 13 (5), p. 38.

^{xxxvii} *Ibid*

^{xxxviii} Santosh K. Jha (2014), 'Mongolia's Security Policy', p. 70.

^{xxxix} See "Embassy of India, Ulaanbaatar"

^{xl} Alicia Campi (2005), "Mongolia in North East Asia- The New Realities", p. 51.

^{xli} Ministry of External Affairs, Government of India, "Joint statement for India-Mongolia Strategic Partnership, 17 May 2015", <http://mea.gov.in/bilateral-documents.htm> (accessed on 12 March 2017).

^{xlii} Soni (2016), "Mongolia and India", p. 259

^{xliii} *Ibid*