

Mongolia's "Journey" to join the United Nations in 1946-1961: "Cold War" Factors and Ideological Conflicts of the Great Powers

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Abstract: *The article explores the aspects of the interaction between the USSR and the USA on the Mongolian question within the UN during first 15 years of the Cold war. The author dwells such problems as Mongolia's contribution to the war against Japanese militarism; the question of the involvement of Ulaanbaatar to the Korean war in 1950-1953; the arguments between Moscow and Washington concerning the package admittance of new members; the reason of the veto power exercised by the Chiang Kai-shek regime; ideological conflicts between two opposing blocs in the United Nations. The first application for Mongolia's admission to the UN was submitted to Secretary-General Trygve Lie in a letter dated June 21, 1946, signed by Kh. Choibalsan, Prime-Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the MPR. The solution of this issue, however, dragged on until 1961. During this period, the application for admission of the MPR was renewed four times - in 1948, 1955, 1956 and 1957. The Mongolian statement was considered at least 13 times in various meetings of the UN Security Council.*

Keywords: *the United Nations, admission of Mongolia, Soviet diplomacy, veto power, positions of Great Powers, membership of the MPR at the United Nations.*

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One. Mongolia's Struggle for Admission to the UN: Early Years of Cold War

The USSR declared war on Japan on August 9, 1945. A day later, the MPR government also declared war on militaristic Japan on August 10, 1945. In the text of the Small Khural and the Government of the MPR on the declaration of war, it was noted that "... Taking upon itself the commitment made, fixed in the protocol on mutual assistance between the USSR and the MPR of March 12, 1936, solemnly declares the holy war of Japan on the side of the United Nations to make its feasible contribution to the cause of the United Nations by proudly tying itself in a single desire of democratic countries and peace-loving peoples to destroy a common enemy as soon as possible".¹

The Mongolian authorities, given the Yalta conference's decision to maintain its independent status, as well as the agreement reached between the USSR and Kuomintang China in August 1945, have agreed to a plebiscite, considering it as a means of confirming their independence before China and other world powers. The Mongolian people expressed their desire to be independent almost 100 percent in the plebiscite held on October 20, 1945 on the basis of the decision of the Small Khural of the MPR. After notifying the USSR and China of the results of the plebiscite, the Chiang Kai-shek government on January 5, 1946 announced the official recognition of the MPR, and on February 13 of

the same year exchanged notes on the establishment of diplomatic relations and the mutual establishment of diplomatic missions in both capitals between the MPR and Kuomintang China.

The Mongolian government delegation headed by Ch. Surenjav, Deputy Prime-Minister of Mongolia, arrived in Chongqing, the capital of Chiang Kai-shek's government in February 1946. President Chiang Kai-shek, receiving the head of the delegation Ch. Surenjav and other members of the delegation of the Mongolian People's Republic on February 10 at his residence, announced that "China and Mongolia in former times belonged to the same family of peoples and were subordinate to the same authority \ meaning the Qing Empire - Ts.B.\. We fought together in the liberation war against imperialist Japan. Now the MPR is separated from the common family and declares itself as a sovereign and independent state."²

Four months after this event, Kh. Choibalsan, Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Affairs of the MPR, declaring Mongolia's intention to become a member of the UN on June 21, 1946, took the first step towards participation in the organization of a global scale. According to Article 4 of the UN Charter, "admission to membership in the Organization is open to all other peace-loving states that will assume the obligations contained in this Charter

¹ "Unen" newspaper, August 10, 1945.

² S. Rentsensonom. A memoir on the establishment of diplomatic relations between the MPR and the Republic of China. "Eyes of the World: Memoirs of Mongolian Diplomats", Ulaanbaatar, 1991, pp. 92-94. (in Mongolian)

and which, in the judgment of the Organization, can and wish to fulfill these obligations.” The statement of the Mongolian Government, stating the fact of the existence of the Mongolian People’s Republic as an independent state for 25 years, justifiably pointed to the feasible and worthy contribution of Mongolia to the common struggle of the United Nations against fascism during the Second World War. It also expressed its desire and readiness to respect the UN Charter and to fulfil all obligations arising from it.³

The Committee for the Admission of New Members, established at the initiative of the UN Security Council in July 1946, considered the applications of the applicant countries, including Mongolia. The UN Secretary-General, referring to the fact that countries such as the United States, Australia, Egypt, the Netherlands and the United Kingdom have expressed a desire to receive additional information about Mongolia, asked the Minister of Foreign Affairs of the MPR to provide information on the following issues. Questions included:

1. What is the present extent of Mongolia’s foreign relations, including political, economic, social and cultural?
2. What is the attitude of the Mongolian Government regarding the development of her foreign relations and in particular the exchange of diplomatic or consular representatives?
3. What countries other than the

Soviet Union and China have hitherto proposed to enter into diplomatic or consular exchanges with the Mongolian People’s Republic, and what replies have been given?

4. The Committee wishes to receive specific data on the following items: a/ documents relating to the Constitution of the MPR, the form of government and external relations, b/ figures on the country’s budget and the appropriation in respect to international affairs.⁴

The government delegation of the MPR, which included Yu. Tsedenbal, First Deputy Prime Minister, N. Lhamsuren, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, B. Jargalsaikhan, Head of the Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, arrived in August 1946 in New York, at the UN headquarters, to provide the Committee for the Admission of New Members of the UN with additional information and to participate as an observer in the process of discussing the application of the MPR at a meeting of the Security Council.⁵

The United States, the United Kingdom, two of the five permanent members, refused to support Mongolia’s candidacy in the Security Council vote in August 1946. The USSR, Kuomintang China, France, and three of the five permanent members voted for its admission. Of the non-permanent members, Brazil, Mexico, Poland voted

³ Archives of the MFA, fund 61. opis.01. case 22. pp. 1-2.

⁴ Gerard M. Friters. *Outer Mongolia and Its International position*. Baltimore, John Hopkins press, 1949. p. 289.

⁵ M. Dugersuren, Ts. Gombosuren. *Historical Overview of the external relations of Mongolia in the XXth century*. Ulaanbaatar, 2004. pp. 81-82. (in Mongolian)

in favour, Egypt, Australia abstained and the Netherlands abstained. The representative of Egypt explained his abstention by "insufficient information on the MPR".

A.A. Gromyko, the representative of the USSR, stated that "the Government of the USSR fully supports the request of the Mongolian People's Republic for its admission to the United Nations. The Mongolian People's Republic is a young, independent, democratic state. It is only 25 years old, but it has already managed to make a very great contribution to the struggle of the United Nations against the fascist aggression of the Axis powers. The Mongolian people provided active assistance to the Soviet people, the Red Army in the fight against fascism and aggression. ... The MPR, having declared war on Japan, thus took a direct part in the war on the side of the United Nations not only in the defeat of the centers of fascist aggression in the West, but also in the Far East. The number of the Mongol army, which participated together with the Red Army in the battles against Japan, reached 80 thousand people. In the war with Japan in 1945, the MPR suffered relatively large losses, human losses, killed, wounded, and missing amounting to 2,039 people, material damage only in hostilities amounting to at least \$ 50 million. " The representative of the USSR thus stated for the first time Mongolia's contribution to the cause of the United Nations and gave real figures expressing the human and material losses suffered by Mongolia as a result of Japan's aggression.⁶

Speaking at the same meeting of the Security Council on 29 August, the representative of the United Kingdom, Sir A. Cadogan, called for a delay in the admission of the MPR. He explained this by the fact that Mongolia "lacks" experience in international relations. "The government of Outer Mongolia," he said, "has been in diplomatic relations with only two other countries. It may not be to blame for this, but it certainly shows that they have not yet gained experience in international affairs sufficiently to equip them to play a proper part in the international work of the United Nations."

U.S. Representative Herschel V. Johnson gave a lengthy speech on the wisdom of applying the principle of "universalism" to all countries that had applied to the United Nations at the time. The US initiative was supported by UN Secretary-General Trygve Lie. The representatives of Great Britain, France, Brazil, Mexico and Egypt spoke in favour of the application of the principle of "universalism". The draft resolution was opposed by the representative of the USSR, A. Gromyko. He said: "I cannot accept the proposal to accept in bulk all countries that have applied for membership in the UN. Countries, in my opinion, cannot be regarded as things, as objects that can be treated in this way. We cannot simply apply a common universal standard to an entire group of countries and admit them to the UN through such a procedure. I believe that we should examine each statement individually in the light of the conditions and facts

⁶ The United Nations and Mongolia. Edited by B. Altangerel, J. Amarsanaa and others. Ulaanbaatar: National Center for legal studies. 2008, pp. 12-13. (in Mongolian)

relevant to the case.” Thus, Johnson withdrew his proposal, but he and the UK delegate tightened their position on the MPR. The MPR’s application was rejected because the two permanent members of the Security Council, the United States and the United Kingdom, voted against. And Kuomintang China remained behind them.

The impact of the military conflict on the Korean Peninsula that broke out in 1950 did not bypass Mongolia. The MPR firmly stood on the side of the DPRK during the Korean war in 1950-1953 and, together with other socialist countries,

sent food, clothing, shoes, medicines and other necessary goods to the Korean people. Mongolia, for example, sent several thousand tons of grain and meat products and more than 100 thousand heads of livestock. The government of Chiang Kai-shek, who settled on the island of Taiwan, strongly condemned the assistance and support of the MPR to the North Korean people and in every possible way used this factor as evidence of the aggressiveness and “hostile action” of the MPR against the UN armed forces of concern.

Two. Soviet Diplomacy and UN Acceptance of Mongolia’s Membership (1955-1961)

In the first half of the 1950s, Soviet foreign policy was marked by a gradual improvement in relations with the United States, the experience of seeking détente in relations with the West, and a reassessment of notions about the role of the Third World in the world and the neutrality of the Third World countries. The foreign policy strategy of the USSR, which began with the coming to power of N.S. Khrushchev, began to recognize the possibility of peaceful coexistence of the two blocs, as well as the “zone of peace” in the face of the Third World countries, to which Soviet diplomacy began to show great attention. The Geneva meeting of the four world powers in 1955 and the subsequent process of détente contributed to the creation of a favorable atmosphere in which most countries of the world began to call for the strengthening of the authority of the United Nations and for the expansion of the UN membership

with condemnation of the discriminatory approaches of the great powers to the new members of the UN. The change of leadership in the UN also played a role. Trygve Lie was replaced by the energetic Dag Hammarskjöld, who was able to establish relations with representatives of the United States and the USSR, which made it possible to solve the accumulated problems, in particular the issue of admitting new members to the UN.

John Foster Dulles, U.S. Secretary of State, and V.M. Molotov, Minister of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, exchanged views on the new UN members during the Geneva Meeting of Foreign Ministers in the fall of 1955. Dulles was opposed to the MPR candidacy. In support of his arguments, Dulles referred to the fact that Mongolia had not been invited to Bandung, where the Asia-Africa Conference was held in April of the same year, which marked the beginning of the

Non-Aligned Movement in the future. According to Dulles, "if Afro-Asian countries do not consider Outer Mongolia worthy of membership, we should hardly expect that we have a different opinion." According to the Russian historian Gaiduk, V. Molotov, however, stood his ground. Based on the instructions of the Presidium of the Central Committee, according to which Moscow agreed to the admission to the UN of 18 countries, including Japan, with which negotiations were being held at that time on the normalization of relations, Moscow recalled the objections that the USSR had regarding the admission of Japan and, especially, Spain to the UN. At the same time, he expressed his conviction that Moscow and Washington would be able to agree, hinting that the Soviet side would be ready to agree to Spain in exchange for Mongolia, and stressed that the USSR attaches "great importance to reaching an agreement with the United States on the issue of membership."⁷

In the mid-1950s, the principle of "Universalism" was gaining increasing acceptance, which was also supported personally by Trygve Lie, the UN Secretary-General. The "Committee of Good Offices" was established in October 1953, which included Egypt, the Netherlands and Peru, which worked to recommend the application of the principle of "Universalism" in the admission of new members. The draft resolution, sponsored by 28 countries

known as the "Canadian Resolution" on the admission of 18 new members to the UN in bulk, came to the General Assembly on November 16, 1955. The draft resolution gained great fame and was widely discussed "as the second major event within the UN since its creation in 1945."⁸

In 1955, the General Assembly called for the admission of the MPR to the UN among 18 countries that were put forward in a whole package in the spirit of the principle of universality. Delegations of many UN member states vigorously supported the admission of 18 countries, including Mongolia. For example, Prime Minister of India Javaharlal Nehru said at the XY session of the General Assembly: "If we are absolutely right to accept so many countries into the UN, then why should Mongolia stand aside? What has it done wrong, what violations of the Charter have it committed? The people of Mongolia are a calm and peace-loving people who are stubbornly striving for progress, and it seems to me absolutely wrong from the point of view of principle not to admit them to this great Organization."⁹

The special interest of Moscow and Washington in the admission of certain countries to the UN gave rise to all sorts of "different" projects. During the discussion of the "Canadian Resolution" at the Security Council in December 1955, a representative of the Chiang Kai-shek government vetoed the reception of

⁷ И.В. Гайдук. *В лабиринтах "холодной войны": СССР и США в ООН, 1945-1965 гг.* М.: ИВИ РАН, 2012. с. 218-219.

⁸ Leo Gross. Progress towards Universality of Membership in the United Nations. *The American Journal of International Law*, Vol. 50, No 4 (Oct., 1956), pp. 791-827

⁹ Cited by: Л. Хашбат. *Международный статус Монголии: Историко-правовые аспекты.* Улан-Батор, 2001. С. 85.

the MPR. In response, the representative of the USSR refused to support the candidacy of Japan and Spain, thus, the “Canadian resolution” did not pass through the Security Council. However, a compromise was found, 16 countries from that package became members of the UN in the same 1955 when the representative of the USSR offered to support 16 countries from the list except Japan and Mongolia at a special meeting of the Security Council on December 15, 1955.

In December 1955, Mongolia enlisted the support of India, with which it had long-standing traditional friendship and cultural contacts. India took this step towards establishing diplomatic relations with the MPR shortly after the Security Council, due to the resistance of Representative of Chiang Kai-shek, again rejected the MPR’s request for admission to the UN on December 13. This was a kind of India’s response to the “veto” of Western countries to the reception of Mongolia. India has consistently advocated the early adoption of the MPR at the UN. The example of India was followed by another large state - Indonesia with a population of almost 90 million people, which established diplomatic ties with the MPR on December 22, 1956. This began with the visit of President Ahmed Sukarno to Ulaanbaatar in September of the same year at the invitation of J. Sambuu, Chairman of the Presidium of the State Great Hural of Mongolia, who, as Sukarno himself put it, “arrived to strengthen the bonds of friendship

between the peoples of Indonesia and Mongolia.”¹⁰

The issue of admission of the MPR was again on the agenda of the Security Council in December 1956. In the voting at the Security Council on December 12, 1956, the USSR, Yugoslavia, Iran and Peru voted in favour, the representatives of Chiang Kai-shek and Batista Cuba voted “against”, five members - Australia, Belgium, Great Britain, the United States and France - abstained.

The personal factor of the Soviet representative to the UN was also important for the question of Mongolia’s membership. A. Vyshinsky was replaced as permanent Soviet representative to the UN by A.A. Sobolev, a prominent Soviet diplomat whose career was closely connected with the world organization. He played a significant role as a member of the Soviet delegation to the conferences in Dumbarton Oaks and San Francisco. After the creation of the UN, Sobolev for a number of years served as Assistant Secretary-General for Political Affairs. Subsequently, he was recalled to Moscow and appointed head of the US Department in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the USSR, but soon returned to New York as Vyshinsky’s deputy. In November 1954, Sobolev headed his country’s mission to the UN.¹¹

Permanent Representative of the USSR A.A. Sobolev made a detailed speech in defense of the request of the MPR for admission to the UN at a meeting of the Security Council on December 12, 1956. Sobolev explaining the draft recommendation of the USSR

¹⁰ “Unen” newspaper, September 30, 1956.

¹¹ И.В. Гайдук. *В лабиринтах “холодной войны”*: СССР и США в ООН, 1945-1965 гг. М.: ИВИ РАН, 2012. с. 216.

in support of the request of Mongolia said that "It is clear to everyone that such a request from the MPR was submitted to the UN more than 10 years ago. However, the policy of some states that encourage some, while at the same time discriminating others, has become an obstacle to making a decision on the membership of the MPR and other similar states in the UN. The session of the General Assembly last year clearly demonstrated to us the desire of the majority of UN countries in support of the principle of non-discrimination against those countries that deserve to be admitted to the UN." Further, Sobolev, referring to the example of the admission of the three countries of Sudan, Morocco, Tunisia last year, said that "We accepted three new countries (Sudan, Morocco and Tunisia)) into the UN last year, then they were states that declared their independence and sovereignty just a couple of months ago. I wish to note with satisfaction that such States have been unanimously supported both in the Security Council and in the General Assembly, and no one has dared to ask them how many countries they maintain diplomatic relations with. The Soviet representative believes that the question of a new member should be resolved in such a correct spirit in accordance with the universal principle of the United Nations." The representative of the USSR, thus, wanted to remind everyone, including Western countries, that the MPR first filed an application in 1946, decades have passed since its declaration

of independence, that it maintains diplomatic relations with dozens of Asian and African states. Most importantly, the representative of the USSR stressed that the experience or inexperience of a state, as well as the number of countries with which a state maintains diplomatic ties, cannot have any fundamental importance in the question of the right of this state to be represented in the UN.¹²

According to the Russian historian I. Gaiduk, the USSR, with the coming to power of N.S. Khrushchev, moved to decisive actions in the colonial question. Politically, the Kremlin "discovered" the countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America. Economic assistance, in particular through the UN, allowed the USSR to hope for sympathy from yesterday's colonies and, consequently, for an increase in its influence in the General Assembly. As a result, the optimism of the Soviet leadership towards the UN grew, which could not be shaken even by the widespread neutralist sentiments of the new UN members. De facto, in both cases, the pro-Western majority was narrowing, which began to worry Washington as early as 1956.¹³ Under the influence of these circumstances, the struggle for allies in the "third world" unfolded, and the "cold war" spread through the planet.

In the joint Soviet-Mongolian statement following the visit of the Government delegation of the MPR at the highest level to Moscow, published on May 15, 1957, it was stated that, "The Government of the USSR and the

¹² "Unen" newspaper, December 15, 1956.

¹³ И.В. Гайдук. *В лабиринтах "холодной войны": СССР и США в ООН, 1945-1965 гг.* М.: ИВИ РАН, 2012. с. 261-263.

government of the MPR are unanimous in that ignoring the legitimate right of the MPR to be a member of the UN is incompatible with the provisions of the UN Charter. The obstacles imposed by the United States and other Western powers in the issue of admission of the MPR to the UN testify to the desire of the ruling circles of these countries to use the UN in their narrow interests, which have nothing to do with the democratic and peace-loving principles of this organization. "Both governments expressed confidence that the Western powers would abandon such a policy of ignoring the MPR, an independent sovereign democratic state, and change their position on the admission of the MPR to the UN."¹⁴

Speaking at the 15th session of the UN General Assembly on September 23, 1960, N.S. Khrushchev, Chairman of the Council of Ministers of the USSR, said that "As for the Soviet Union, I will say frankly, we are pleased with the appearance of a large number of new states in the United Nations. We have always opposed and will continue to oppose any infringement of the rights of peoples who have won national independence. We share with these States a common desire to preserve and consolidate peace, to create conditions for peaceful coexistence and cooperation of countries on our planet, regardless of the state and social system, as required by the peace-loving principles proclaimed by the Bandung Conference

of Asian and African countries. The facts show that the liberation of nations and peoples under colonial domination leads to the improvement of international relations, the expansion of international cooperation, and the strengthening of world peace".¹⁵

At the same meeting, N. Khrushchev specifically raised the issue of the admission of new members, mentioning in this regard the question of the MPR. He, in particular, said that "The history of the issue of admission of the Mongolian People's Republic to membership in the United Nations also testifies to this. This issue, as you know, has been discussed many times over the years. However, the Mongolian People's Republic has not yet been admitted to the UN. We believe that the time has finally come to resolve this issue - to accept the Mongolian People's Republic into the United Nations so that it can participate on an equal footing with other sovereign states in the discussion and solution of the most important international problems."¹⁶

The Council of Ministers of the Mongolian People's Republic by a resolution of September 25, 1961 approved the composition of the delegation of Mongolia to participate in the process of the General Assembly on the admission of the MPR to the UN membership. The head of the delegation was D. Tsevegmid, Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs, members of the delegation - B. Jargalsaikhan, B. Dashtseren and O. Damdindorj, leading

¹⁴ Советско-Монгольские отношения. Сборник документов. 1921-1966. М.: Издательство "Наука", 1966. с. 218-219.

¹⁵ Official proceedings of the General Assembly. 15th Session, 869th plenary meeting. <https://documents-dds-ny.un.org> (accessed 15 August, 2021)

¹⁶ Ibid..

employees of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia. According to the delegate's travel notes, they were met by V.A. Zorin, Permanent Representative of the USSR to the United Nations, at the New York airport on October 22, 1961. The next morning, V. Zorin met the delegates at the Embassy of the USSR and informed them about the preparations for the meeting of the Security Council. According to Zorin, the circumstances were such that: "Representative of Chiang Kai-shek, most likely, will not participate in the vote. The 9 member countries of the Security Council will vote for the adoption of the MPR, the United States will abstain, and representative of Chiang Kai-shek will apparently not participate." The question of whose candidacy to discuss first, Mongolia or Mauritania, at a meeting of the Security Council remained controversial between the USSR and the United States until the last moment. The representative of the USSR exerted great pressure on A. Stevenson, the permanent representative of the United States, in order to discuss first the question of the admission of the MPR, and pressured Stevenson to call President J. Kennedy about this.¹⁷

At the suggestion of the Soviet Union and a number of other countries, the General Assembly adopted a special resolution in support of the admission of Mongolia and Mauritania on April 19, 1961. In it, the Assembly stated in particular that "in its opinion, the Mongolian People's Republic is a peace-

loving State in compliance with the provisions of Article 4 of the Charter of the United Nations, and that it is capable and ready to fulfil the obligations contained in the Charter and should therefore be admitted to membership in the United Nations".

The issuance of this conclusion put Chiang Kai-shek and the US administration in a difficult position. Judging by the letters of US President J. Kennedy sent to Chiang Kai-shek on August 15 and October 5, 1961, in this situation, the only thing left for the United States was "to convince Chiang Kai-shek and nationalists not to veto the MPR and not to provoke the African countries behind Mauritania to vote against Western countries on the fundamental issue of China's representation in the United Nations." Therefore, big issues were at stake. As the research of the Mongolian historian Ravdan Bold shows, American diplomats finally managed to persuade Chiang Kai-shek to admit the MPR to the UN, i.e. to abandon the use of the veto against Ulaanbaatar, which was a great success for the Kennedy administration.¹⁸

Judging by the official report on the 971st meeting of the UN Security Council held on October 25, 1961, the consideration of the request of the MPR for accession to the UN was as follows. The representative of Turkey, who presided over the meeting, followed the order of discussion so as to discuss the first request of the MPR and to vote on the first request, then proceed to the

¹⁷ Archives of the MFA, fund 61, opis 01, case 28, pp. 34-37.

¹⁸ Ravdan Bold. Mongolia's independence and the United States (1910-1973). Ulaanbaatar: Nepko printing, 2008, pp. 376-377 (in Mongolian)

question of the admission of Mauritania and vote on its acceptance. V.A. Zorin, the representative of the USSR, took the floor and presenting the draft Soviet resolution on the admission of the MPR to the UN, stated that “if the request of the MPR is satisfied, the USSR will not prevent Mauritania’s accession to the UN.”

V.A. Zorin in his speech stressed that Mongolia is one of the countries with an ancient historical past and now it maintains diplomatic relations with 21 states from 4 continents in which more than half of the world’s population lives. Although the MPR submitted a request for admission to the UN immediately after the establishment of this organization, it still remains outside the United Nations wall despite the repeated recommendations of the General Assembly on the admission of this nation to the UN. In this regard, Zorin recalled recommendation No. 1602 of April 20 of the same year. He also stated: “The Soviet representative calls on the members of the Security Council to correctly resolve the issue of admission of the MPR to the UN this time and to put an end to the unfair questioning of this state waiting for its legitimate accession to the United Nations since 1946.”¹⁹

Mr. Jiang Tingfu, a representative of Chiang Kai-shek’s government, trying to present in such a way that both Mongolia and China belonged to the same political family for many centuries, especially since the thirteenth century, referred to some facts to show both tsarist Russia and Soviet Russia

pursued a policy of annexation towards “Outer Mongolia”. He stated that “Outer Mongolia is actually a colony of the USSR, although from the outside it looks like an independent state. The modern 40-year history of Outer Mongolia clearly demonstrates a new kind of policy of colonialism and imperialism of the USSR.” At the end of the speech, he stated that Kuomintang China would not vote on the admission of the MPR and would not use the right of veto over it solely out of respect for the request of Mauritania and its African friends.

Charles Yost, the deputy U.S. representative, reminded everyone of the MPR’s request that Mr. A. Stevenson, the U.S. Permanent Representative, recently told the Security Council, “We will not obstruct the membership of Outer Mongolia, regardless of the views of the United States on it. The United States took into account the fact that the General Assembly in April of this year concluded that Outer Mongolia is worthy to be a member of this world organization. Therefore, while respecting the decision of the General Assembly, we will not prevent discussion of this issue in both the Security Council and the General Assembly. The United States will abstain in the vote on the admission of Outer Mongolia.”²⁰

Reflecting the will of the majority of UN members, the Security Council on October 25, 1961 recommended the adoption of the Mongolian People’s Republic to the UN. Great Britain, France, the USSR, the United Arab Republic, Liberia, Turkey, Ceylon,

¹⁹ Archives of the MFA, fund 61, opis 01, case 28, pp. 4-7.

²⁰ Ibid., pp.9-10

Chile, Ecuador voted for its admission. The U.S. abstained. Chiang Kai-shek representative "did not participate" in the vote and left the hall during the

voting. On October 27, 1961, the General Assembly unanimously approved the recommendation of the Security Council to adopt the MPR in the UN.

Conclusion

The leading world powers, including the United States, the USSR, the United Kingdom and France, took positions on an ideological basis on the issue of admitting new members to the UN in the first decade of the Cold War and tried in every possible way to expand the composition of the UN at the expense of certain countries that suited their own criterion. One of the main factors that delayed the issue of the admission of the MPR for many years was, undoubtedly, the use of the veto by Chiang Kai-shek government, which considered the MPR as a "satellite" of the USSR. Chiang Kai-shek used the involvement of the MPR in the Korean War and the selfless moral and material support provided by Ulaanbaatar to Pyongyang as evidence of the "aggressiveness" of the Mongolian state and tried to present Mongolia to UN members, especially the United States and Western countries, as "one of the aggressors" against the UN forces during the Korean war.

By the late 1950s and early 1960s, the balance of power at the United Nations between the world's leading powers, on the one hand, and the former colonial countries of Asia, Africa and Latin America, on the other, had changed dramatically. The USSR not only recognized the possibility of peaceful coexistence of the two blocs,

Western and Eastern, but also clearly began to see the emergence of a "zone of peace" in the face of the third world countries. The USSR, as one of the main founders of the UN, began to consider the expansion of UN membership at the expense of the newly independent states of Asia and Africa as an opportunity to increase the role of the UN in resolving acute international crises. Decolonization increasingly eliminated the former monolithic nature of the two camps, their bipolarity. Politically, the USSR "discovered" more and more countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America. Economic assistance, in particular through the UN, allowed the USSR to count on the sympathy of yesterday's colonies and increase its influence in the General Assembly.

The entry of the MPR into the UN was a matter of national prestige, recognition of legitimacy and international authority. Having overcome the barriers artificially created by the United States and its allies, it was able to take its rightful place in this international organization, which significantly expanded the possibilities for its participation in international affairs. Mongolian diplomats were actively involved in the work of various UN committees and organizations: UNESCO, ILO, WHO, the UN Economic

Commission for Asia and the Pacific, etc. Membership in the UN also contributed to the subsequent recognition of the MPR by those members of the Organization that had not yet recognized it. The establishment of diplomatic relations with the MPR by Western countries, which had

previously adhered to the policy of non-recognition of it, took place in the 1960-70s. However, Mongolia's diplomatic relations with the United States were established only in the 1980s, when the Cold War appeared to be waning.

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