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PROBLEMS OF THE HISTORY AND MODERN SITUATION OF THE TUVA-MONGOL RELATIONS¹



controversial area.

Abstract: The paper is dedicated to problems of the history and modern situation of Tuva-Mongol relations. The intensity of these relations depended on the constantly changing geopolitical, economic, and ethnosocial conditions. Mongol influence had a great affect on the ethnocultural history of Tuva from the thirteenth century till the middle of the twentieth century.

Keywords: Chengis-Khan expansion, protectorate, Tuva People's Republic, Sayan-Altaj Upland, international situation, Mongol lingual tribes, indigenous population, problem of state frontier,

ПРОБЛЕМЫ ИСТОРИИ И СОВРЕМЕННОЙ СИТУАЦИИ ТУВИНСКО-МОНГОЛЬСКИХ ОТНОШЕНИЙ

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Аннотация: Статья посвящена проблемам истории и современного состояния тувинско-монгольских отношений. Тувинско-монгольские отношения начали развиваться с XIII века в связи с завоеваниями Чингис-хана. С тех пор и до начала XX века тувинцы и монголы жили в составе одних и тех же государств, существовавших на их территориях. С первой четверти XX века началась отдельная история двух народов, которые разделяли общую историю в течение веков. Интенсивность тувинско-монгольских отношений зависела от меняющихся геополитических и социально-экономических условий.

Ключевые слова: военно-политическая консолидация, этнокультурная история, монголоязычные племена, тюркоязычное население, международная обстановка, спорные территории, старомонгольская письменность, Тувинская Народная Республика, приграничные районы.

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In the ethnic history of the Tuvan people different components of Turkic and Mongol ethnic culture were interwoven in an original way. Being Turkic by their language and at the same time practicing the Buddhism, the Tuvan people has much in common with the Mongol people by culture, traditions and way of living, as for through the centuries the Tuvans have been living with the Mongol people in the various state structures earlier existed in the Central Asia. The Tuva-Mongolian relations started to form in the thirteenth century. The intensity of the Tuva-Mongol relations depended on the constantly changing social, economic and geopolitical conditions.

The formation of the Mongol Nomad Empire at the beginning of the twelfth century played a great role in the ethnic history of the people of the Sayan-Altai upland region. Numerous aggressive campaigns of the Mongol troops to different countries of Asia and Europe profoundly influenced not only to the regions bordering to Mongolia but also to the ethnic geography of Eurasia. Military-political consolidation under the leadership of Genghis Khan enveloped the whole territory of Mongolia in the middle of the twelfth century.

In the thirteenth century the territory of Tuva belonged to the country "Kyrgyz and Kem-Kemdgiut". This country consisted of two provinces — Kyrgyz (the present day Minusinsk basin) and Kem-Kemdgiut (the Yenisei and the Khemchik basin) composing the single estate. "Kyrgyz and Kem-Kemdgiut" is mentioned in *The Collection of Chronicles* as one of the places inhabited by the Turkic lingual the so-called forest tribes. This fact proves that the population of Tuva of that period was mostly of a Turkic origin. According to Rashid-ad-Din, each tribe whose yurtas were situated not far from the forest were attributed to the forest tribes but as the forests were a long way



off each other, then its tribes were not related to one another (Rashid-ad-Din, 1952: 150).

In 1207 the Mongol troops commanded by Genghis Khan's elder son Juchy conquered the forest tribes living from Baikal to South Siberia. According to *The Secret History of the Mongols*, in the year of Hare (1207) Juchy was sent with his troops to the forest tribes. Having overridden the oirats, the burjats, the barkhuns, the urasuts, the hubhanases, the hunhases and the tubases, Juchy came up to the Kyrgyz. The Kyrgyz leaders expressed submission to him. Juchy accepted the forest tribes under the Mongol authority (Kozin, 1941: 174-175). Among the tribes conquered by Genghis-Khan's troops there were mentioned some ethnic groups inhabited the Sayan-Altai region including the present day territory of Tuva. These were the Tubas, the Tumats, the Kyrgyz, the Teles, etc. Till the Genghis-Khan's (1227) and Juchy's death (1226) the Sayan-Altaj upland was in Juchy's possession. Then it passed to Genghis-Khan's younger son Tuluj's and his successor's possession (Istoria, 2001: 158).

Since 1260 the Sayan-Altai upland was a part of the Mongolian Yuan dynasty in China (1368-1644). The capital of this dynasty was the Dajdu (the present day Peking). In Tuva there were formed the Khankhena district (Kapkanas) — it must be the present Todja region of Tuva; the Kiandjou — the lands alongside the middle stream of the Yenisei, i.e. the territories of the present Chaa-Hol and Ulug-Hem regions of Tuva; Ilangjou — perhaps it was the Elegest and the Mejegei basin (the present Tandy region of Tuva) (Kyzlasov, 1969: 135).

Since that time the continuous process of ethnic and economic rapprochement and mixing of the Tuvan population with the Mongol lingual tribes left its marks in the names of the ethnic groups and the



place names. According to opinions of numerous researchers dealing with this problem some of the Tuvan ethnic names such as Mongush, Olet, Salchak, Dongak and the others are related to the Mongolian lingual tribes by their origin. They connect these ethnic names with the ojrats, the saldgiuts, the kereits mentioned in *The Secret History of the Mongols* and the Rashid-ad-Din's *The Collection of Chronicles*. One of the factors causing the ethnic mixing of the Mongolian speaking tribes with the indigenous population was that "many Mongols gone to the foreign lands were left at those places to live and to perform the garrison duties; then they dissolved in local ethnic milieu" (Mannai-ool, 2004: 82-84).

Toponymy materials of Tuva shows that the Mongol geographical names met among the Turkic place names there equally. These are the mountain names with the ending - ula (Tandy-Ula, Orangy-Ula), the river names with the ending -gol,-kol (Khusyn-Gol, Bayan-Kol), the names of lakes with the ending -nur (Shara-Nur, Belgir-Nur). It should be noted that some places with Mongol names are situated quite far from the frontier of Mongolia (Serdobov, 1971: 196).

The afflux of the Mongol speaking tribes to the Tuva was also connected with a forced migration of the Mongol tribes and other people to its territory for organization of military and agricultural colonies. Using the craftspeople and farmers from China and conquered people the Mongol government organized military and agricultural colonies in fertile lands of Tuva. They were engaged in mining, building and agriculture. There were produced grain, weapon and other productions necessary for the Mongol army. On the territory of the present-day Tandy and Ulug-Khem regions of the Republic of Tuva the archaeologists investigated the remains of six cities and two settlements



(Kyzlasov, 1969: 140-143). As written in Yuan shih, at that period the depots and granaries were built up, the mail service and administration were established. At the same time the craftspeople were sent to train the indigenous population for pottery, metal melting, boat making (Kuner, 1961: 283). However, with the downfall of the Yuan dynasty, when the craftspeople and farmers had left for their homeland, when the military and agricultural colonies had ceased its role, settlements and cities began to ruin for the nomad form of economy life, typical for the indigenous populations of that time, kept the way of life existed through the ages. The Buddhist temples, chapels, pagoda and statues of Buddhist divinities found during the archeological excavations are evidences of the penetration of Buddhism to the Mongol milieu and people of the Central Asia conquered by them during the Yuan dynasty (1215-1294) (Kyzlasov, 1969: 148-151).

Thus the Mongol lingual tribes played a great role in the history of the Tuvan people in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries. Although the Mongol influence to all aspects of the Tuvans' life was very significant, the Mongol lingual tribes assimilated and became the Turkic lingual.

Intensive ethnic and cultural contacts of the Tuvan tribes with the Mongols went on after the fall of the Mongol empire, in the period of the Altan Khan and the Dzungar (Oirat) khanates (the end of the fifteenth century-the middle of the eighteenth century). The Altan Khan's state was springing up at the end of the sixteenth century due to the integration processes enveloped the Mongol society. The Tuvan tribes under the Altan-Khan's dominion roamed not only in the territory of the today's Tuva, but moved as far as the Kobdo River in the south and in the east of Khubsugul Lake. According to the Rus-



sian sources, the Russians had been meeting the Tuvan tribes on the territory of Tomsk and Kuznesk districts (Istoria Tuvy, 2001: 174-177). The name of Altan Khan is connected with the strengthening of Tibetan Buddhism in the Outer Mongolia. The followers of Altan Khan promoted the propagation of Buddhism in the subordinated lands, encouraged Buddhist monks' activity, built Buddhist temples. The shamanism was persecuted and their paraphernalia destroyed, though shamanism itself was never eliminated. At times even a kind of accommodation allowed co-existence of two systems, and Tibetan Buddhism can be seen to have adopted some shamanist beliefs and practices, while the lamaist deities penetrated the shamanist spirit world (Mongush, 2001: 35).

Dzungar (Oirat) Khanate left the more marked traces in the history of Tuva. It reached its golden age at the beginning of the eighteenth century under Tseven Rabdan (1697-1727) and Galdan Tseren (1727-1746) when the most part of Kazakhstan, Easten Turkestan and the Sayan-Altai region were subordinated to it (Narody Sibiry, 1956: 423). After the fall of the Altan Khan's dynasty a number of tribes inhabited on the territory of the present day Tuva were under Dzungar (Oirat) khanate and were united into Uriyangkhai princedom (Serdobov, 1971: 138). They performed the conscription and paid the duty as regards Dzungar khan. Dzungar khan's policy directed to the formation of the united Mongolia made him the enemy of Ching dynasty which aimed to the capture of all Mongolian lands. As a result of hitting from Ching troops (1689-1697) Dzungars lost the vast territory in East Altai, Kobdo basin and in Tuva. The Tuvan tribes were divided between three states - Dzungar khanate, China and Russia (nord-east tuvan tribes) (Istoria Tuvy, 2001: 186-187). As James Forsyth remarked "In northern Tuva



the clans who had formally roamed themselves being forced to give *yasak* (duty) to two masters, in order to escape from this situation they moved out of the frontier area. Some went south to join other Chinese subjects in the upper Yenisei basin, while others found themselves on the Russian side ..." (Forsyth, 1992: 225).

In the middle of the eighteenth century Dzungar khanate lost its authority and power so that the Oirat rulers could not stand up to the Manchu troops. As a result of Dzungar khanate defeat the population of Tuva and Mongolia was taken under authority of China, the Ching dynasty. Having conquered Dzungaria the Chinese emperor finished the capture of the vast territory of the Central Asia and established his domination. Mongolia and Tuva had to be submitted to the Li Fan Yuan, or Colonial Ministry in Peking, and it was the Li Fan Yuan which had ultimate control of the Outer Mongolia, control which it exercised through a number of officials, such as Resident (amban) at Urga, General of Uliasutai and the Trade Commissioner (zargach) at Kiakhta. The code of laws known as Code of Colonial Ministry was worked out by this department. There was a new political and administrative structure in Mongolia and Tuva. The three Mongol khanates (aimag) were divided into a number of banners (koshuun), 34 to begin with, though over the years the number was almost to triple. The status of the erstwhile powerful khans was reduced to that any banner-prince (noyon). In 1762 united administration of the Tuvan people was found at the head of banner-prince Oyun khoshuun (amban-nojon). Using management system like this by the Mongolia and the Tuva Manchus entrusted the reduced population with military service and payment of duty (alban) to Chinese emperor (Istoria Tuvy, 2001: 217-219).



From the end of the eighteenth century Tibetan Buddhism, come from Tibet through Mongolia, expanded and flourished in Tuva due to the Ching dynasty policy which was based on the main principle "to govern the neighboring peoples according to their customs and traditions" (Moiseev, 1983: 118). With the rise of Tibetan Buddhism, which in this respect only reinforced one effect of the Manchu occupation, much more fixed centers began to appear, as lamaseries were founded in many part of the land, presenting new local points for settled life. To begin with, lamaseries were actually nomadic. Lamaseries were not only centers of prayer and teaching, but played an important economic role too as centers of trade and finance and patrons of art and craft. They were also training grounds for doctors who studied traditional Tibetan medicine there (Mongush, 2001: 41-46).

Thus, beginning Genghis-Khan's period by the early years of the twelfth the Tuvans and the Mongols lived under the same rulers, did similar nomadic way of living and had common religion. So the ethnic and cultural Tuvan-Mongolian relations determined close interaction and common struggle against foreign conqueror.

In 1911-1913, as a result of Chinese revolution, the Ching Empire, being traditionally influential factor in the East, fell apart, and this fact determined a new international situation in this region. Tuva had been annexed informally to the Russian empire in 1914. It was under protectorate of Russia. The First World War, Russian revolutions weakened the position of Russia in Tuva. In July 1921 the Soviet Commissar for Foreign Affairs declared that Russia's annexation of Tuva in 1914 had been illegal, and Soviet Russia had no claims upon it. Under the aegis of the Tuvan People's Revolutionary Party and Comintern People's Republic of Tannu-Tuva was established. During



the next five years Mongolia didn't recognize Tuva as an independent People's Republic. It was natural for the Mongols to look upon Tuva as an integral part of their land. But the Russian Communist party had no intention of adding Tuva to the territory of Mongolia, and instead of it turned it into a separate puppet "state". In November 1925 Mongolia recognized Tuva as a sovereign state under pressure of USSR (Forsyth, 1992: 279-281; Saaya, 2003: 58-59). So it was beginning of the separate history of two peoples which shared their common history through the ages.

It should be noticed that in the 90s of the twentieth century in Mongolian press the problem about belonging Tuva to Mongolia was discussed. A number of scientists and politicians of Mongolia state that Tuva must be a part of Mongolia and the Tuvans are ethnic Mongols (Orps dah Mongol ugsaany yleuud, 1995). However, it was glossed over that the Tuvans and Mongolians are different ethnic groups speaking on different languages and keeping their ethnic identities. Could the Tuvans preserve their language, traditions and culture as a part of Mongolia? The facts testify that it would not be possible; being part of Mongolia Tuva would have been mongolized sooner or later like the Tuvans who inhabit Mongolia. At present their size reduces because they enlist as the Mongols owing to low status of their ethnic group, the Tuvan language is their domestic language, and it is subjected to the influence of the Mongolian language. They have not their own state autonomy and representation in the authorities of Mongolia (Mongush, 2002: 33-36).

At that time the trade with the USSR played a significant role in the economy of Tuva. Other direction, the Tuva-Mongolian contacts of foreign trade didn't develop. But outside the domain of govern-



ment establishments economic contacts between the Tuvans and Mongolians continued to take place. In particular, the contacts at the marginal areas were traditionally brisk. One of the reasons of it was the fact that before demarcation of state frontier the Tuvans and the Mongols living at the border used water, wood and fuel at the same places. It was mutually profitable for both people.

In the whole two young states needed the mutual support in solving urgent economic problems. But aimed at the unilateral development of the Soviet-Tuvan relations, the policy of the Tuvan government did not favor the development of relations with Mongolia on the state standards. It should be mentioned that the Mongol government paid much attention to the mutual necessity of economic and cultural support in its appeals to the government of Tuva (Saaya, 2003: 91).

One of the important problems of foreign policy became the question about the state frontier because it was related to the sovereignty of states. The process of determination of the frontier of the Tuvan People's Republic represented a complicated process which depended on many factors as historical, political, economical, ethnographical and geographical. The Tuvan People's Republic had borders on two countries — the USSR and Mongolia. As for the line of the frontier with the USSR and the Tuva, they preserved the line which was earlier, existed between Russia and China. The problem of the Tuva-Mongolian frontier was very difficult as between them was not clearcut borders in consequence that both countries lived under the same states for ages. So till 40s of the twentieth this problem was the reason of strained relations between them. The Mongol government tried to use this problem to attract attention on the fact of existence of the Tuvan state. Under these



conditions the government of Tuva partly regulated the frontier problems with the USSR. But the problem of controversial areas of the frontier was not solved. At the beginning of 40s the government of Mongolia raised this question again. The arbiter of this problem was the USSR, but because of the Second World War, the problem of controversial areas of frontier between Tuva and Mongolia was postponed. In connection with including Tuvan People's Republic into the USSR in 1944 the Tuva-Mongolian frontier became Soviet-Mongolian. The frontier on the controversial areas was regulated by the Pact of March 26, 1958 (Saaya, 2003: 77-81, 147). It should be mentioned that this Pact does not take into consideration the interests of inhabitants of both parts, and it has been discussing by them up to this day.

To preserve its sovereignty, the government of the Tuvan People's Republic continued the policy of estrangement from Mongol People's Revolutionary party and Mongolian People's Republic. It was important for the Tuva to take an approval and support from the Soviet Union in order to strengthen its international status as an independent state. In all affairs concerning disputable questions with Mongolia, Tuva authorities tried to have consultations with Soviet authorities or the Soviet representatives in Tuva. But the Tuvan intellectuals and clergy treated such exceptional orientation to the USSR in a reserved manner. But their resistance was weak as the USSR was powerful economical and political centre for Tuva and Mongolia at that time. Therefore, the government of Tuvan People's Republic avoided mutual cooperation with Mongolia in economical and culture spheres. There is an opinion that it was caused by policy of distrust that took place before the establishment of the Tuva-Mongolian official relationship when all kind of activity from Mongolia counted as a threat of forcing



the ideas of pan mongolism and arising of political dependence from Mongolia (Saaya, 2003: 92). Tuva and Mongolia had similar problems and tried to solve them together but during this process both sides quite often displayed their political "short-sighting" which resulted the damping of the Tuva-Mongolian relations.

In 30s of the twentieth century Tuva and Mongolia started to make regular exchange of information on economical problems. Tuva gave recommendations on the development of cattle breeding and agriculture which borrowed from the USSR and also at that period Tuva and Mongolia established relationships in the field of education. As a result the Tuvan government regularly sent young men to Mongolia for study. In 1924 the courses of the Mongolian language were organized in order to solve the problem of educating the population of Tuva. There was made an attempt to accept the Mongolian alphabet as the Tuvan state script. The cultural links became the part of state policy. Also it should be noticed that Mongolian specialists tried to participate or at least to help in the process of creating a new Tuvan alphabet. This case was possible enough because till the 30s the Mongolian language was the official and literary language in Tuva. However, Roman alphabet was introduced in 1930 under pressure of the Soviet Union. As James Forsyth remarks: ... the intention to weaken the age-old links with Mongolia as far as possible was shown in the replacement of Mongolian as the official and literary language by the Tuvan (Turkic) vernacular, for which a Roman alphabet was introduced in 1930. The recently created press then changed not only its alphabet but also the titles newspapers, e.g. from Mongolian *Unen* "Truth" to Tuvan Shyn, and names of administrative territories (khoshuuns) underwent a similar change" (Forsyth, 1992: 281).



The loyalty of Mongolia to Tuva was the reflection of strengthening of position of the USSR in this region and the world. The USSR used economical and cultural links with both Mongolia and Tuva as a possibility to influence the internal affairs of these republics and have the exclusive rights in consulting in all spheres and including the Party's affairs. As a result, in 1944 Tuva became the part of USSR.

From 1944 to the end of the 80's of the twentieth century the Tuva-Mongolian relations were at official communist party level in the context of Treaties of Friendship and Mutual Assistance between the Soviet Union and Mongolia. It was the period of "brotherly friendship of people". The scientific sources and press devoted to the Tuva-Mongolian relations give no information about existing problems in this sphere. The Tuva-Mongolian frontiers were practically closed. The tourist trips were organized through Irkutsk and Moscow. Making visits of the relatives living on the other side of the frontier was connected with many difficulties of a bureaucratic character.

In the 90's of the twentieth century the Tuva-Mongolian relations were characterized by the release of boundary regime according to the agreement about simplification boundary regime for inhabitants of the frontier regions. This time relatives living at the both sides of frontier could visit each other, and the frontier trade had become much more intensive. On the other hand, the release of boundary regime brought to negative phenomena as illegal trade operations, a violation of state frontier, property rights (especially on cattle theft) on the both sides.

At the beginning of the years 2000 some negative consequences of simplified boundary regime were settled in the connection with



reinforcement of migration policy in the Russian Federation. Today Mongolia is the main foreign trade partner of the Republic of Tuva. Upwards of 90% of the foreign trade turnover of the republic is related to Mongolia. In 2003 there were opened the representatives of the Republic of Tuva in Ulaangom (Mongolia, Ubsunur aimag). In connection with expansion of economical cooperation of Tuva and the Siberian regions with Mongolia the Consulate of Mongolia in Kyzyl (the capital of Republic of Tuva) plays the important role. The agreements on commercial, economic and cultural cooperation were signed between the government of Republic of Tuva and the frontier regions of Mongolia (Zafhan, Ubsunur, Kobdo, Baian-Olqui, Khubsugul); they should be renewed every year. The results of these agreements are intergovernmental projects for the studies and preservation of the environment of Ubsu-Nur basin, student exchange between the Republic of Tuva and Mongolia, expansion of frontier trade, joint scientific and research projects.

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Резюме статьи на русском языке

Военно-политическая консолидация монгольских племен, происходившая под предводительством Чингис-Хана во второй половине XII в. быстро охватила всю Монголию. Как свидетельствуют отрывочные письменные источники, археологические материалы, данные топонимики, монгольское влияние в этнокультурной истории тувинцев сильнее сказывалось с начала XIII века в связи с экспансией Чингис-Хана. В период могущества и расцвета монгольской империи (начала XIII-конец XIV вв.) в Туву проникло значительное количество монголоязычных племен. По мнению ряда исследователей, с монголоязычными племенами связаны такие тувинские этнонимы, как олет, салчак, тумат, донгак, монгуш, хотя их этимология до сих пор остается не до конца выясненной и оспаривается некоторыми исследователями. Появление монголоязычных племен в Туве в период объединения монгольских племен в единое государство во многом предопределило те этнические перемены, которые привели к ассимиляции монголоязычных этнических групп местным тюркоязычным населением. С этого времени происходил беспрерывный процесс этнического,



культурного и экономического сближения и смешения населения Тувы с монголоязычными племенами, оставившими свои следы в этнонимике и топонимике Тувы.

Тесные этнокультурные контакты тувинцев с монголами продолжались после распада монгольской империи, в период Алтын-Ханского и Джунгарского (ойратского) ханств (конец XV-первая половина XVIII вв.). Кроме того, с середины XVIII в. до начала XX в. Тува вместе с Монголией находилась под властью Цинской империи. В названный период этнокультурные связи тувинцев с монголами определялись как тесными взаимоотношениями, так и общей борьбой против иноземных завоевателей.

Традиционное сходство материальных культур тувинцев и монголов прослеживается четко (пища, жилище, одежда и т.д.). Много общего в традициях, фольклоре, прикладном искусстве, религии этих народов. Кроме того, тувинцы с XVII в. вплоть до 1930 года пользовались старомонгольской письменностью в делопроизводстве, официальной и личной переписке, а монгольский язык служил средством общения между тувинцами и монголами.

С 1914 по 1921 гг. Тува была под протекторатом России. Вне рамок правительственных органов между тувинским и монгольским народами продолжаются экономические связи. В частности, традиционно оживленными были связи в приграничных кожуунах, так как на некоторых участках границы доступ к источникам воды, топлива для жителей Монголии и Тувы вплоть до установления государственной границы оставался общим.

В период — со времени образования Тувинской Народной Республики, включая годы ее суверенного существования (1921-1944) — объективно оба молодых государства нуждались во вза-



имной поддержке для решения актуальных проблем экономики. Однако недальновидная политика тувинского политического руководства, направленная на одностороннее развитие советскотувинских связей, не способствовало расширению сотрудничества с Монголией на государственном уровне, хотя монгольское правительство в своих обращениях к руководству ТНР заостряло внимание на необходимости хозяйственной и культурной взаимопомощи.

В 1944 году Тува вошла в состав СССР. Вплоть до конца 80-х годов тувинско-монгольские отношения были на официальном партийном уровне в рамках договоров между Советским Союзом и Монголией. Тувинско-монгольская граница была практически закрытой, посещение родственников представляло огромные трудности бюрократического характера.

С конца 80-х до конца 90-х годов XX в. тувинско-монгольские отношения характеризуются ослаблением паспортно-визового режима. В это время родственники, живущие по обе стороны границы, могли посещать друг друга, активизировалась приграничная торговля. Но ослабление паспортно-визового режима, с другой стороны, привело к таким негативным явлениям, как нарушение государственной границы, прав собственности с обеих сторон, особенно в форме скотокрадства.

С начала 2000 гг. в связи с усилением миграционной политики и паспортного режима в Российской Федерации была урегулированы некоторые негативные последствия упрощенного паспортно-визового режима. Сегодня главным внешнеэкономическим партнером республики является Монголия. Около 90% внешнеторгового оборота республики приходится на Монголию.





С 2003 года открыто представительство Республики Тува в Улангоме. В расширении сотрудничества Республики Тува и сибирских регионов с приграничными аймаками Монголии важную роль играет консульство Монголии в г. Кызыле, которое открыто в 2003 году. Подписаны соглашения о торгово-экономическом, научнотехническом и культурном сотрудничестве между правительством Республики Тува и приграничными аймаками Монголии. В итоге этих соглашений были достигнуты такие результаты как расширение приграничной торговли, межгосударственный проект Убсунурская котловина для исследования и охраны окружающей среды в районе озера Убсу-Нур и эффективного использования ее ресурсов, обмен студентами между Республикой Тува и Монголией, совместные научно-исследовательские проекты.