DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION AND THE ELECTORAL PROCESS IN MONGOLIA

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ABSTRACT

This thesis is a study democratic transition paradigm in Mongolia from its communist past to its present status as a democratic country. The study is informed by the democratic transition paradigm by Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter and by the work of Thomas Carothers, a critic of that paradigm. It examines the effectiveness of this theoretical work in guiding the study of an emergent democracy and in that context focuses on the role of elections as well as other internal factors, as well as historical and external factors relevant to democratic transitions.

The study finds that both transition paradigm and Carothers's work are useful guides to understanding the Mongolian case but also it finds flaws in each of them.

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DEDICATION

To my beloved dad, Dambijantsangyn Bayantur,
who taught me the love for my land and the nation.
Thank you for your love and encouragement
in my entire life.

To you, I dedicate this work
(He passed away from liver cancer
when I was studying in Canada)

Hamgas hairtai aaw Dambijantsangyn Bayantur
Tanihaa gegeen dursgald zoriulav.
Nadad ugsun tani hair halamj, hatuujil,
ekh oronoo hairlah setgel unelj barshgui bilee.
(in Mongolian)

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LIST OF ABBREVIATIONS

MPRP	Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
GPH	Great People's Hural
MSDP	Mongolian Social Democratic Party
MNDP	Mongolian National Democratic Party
MDU	Mongolian Democratic Union
MDP	Mongolian Democratic Party
SGH	State Great Hural
GEC	General Election Commission
CMEA	Council on Mutual Economic Assistance

CHAPTER I

INTRODUCTION

Mongolia is a landlocked country in Central Asia bordering on the Russian Federation to the north and the People's Republic of China to the east, west and south. It has a land area of 1.6 million square kilometres making it the fifth largest country in Asia and the seventeenth in the world. Mongolia has a population density of only 1.5 persons per km² - one of the lowest in the world, half the density of Canada. Ninety percent of the population is composed of Khalkh Mongols and Turkic-origin Kazakh people. The Mongolian Statistical Yearbook published in 2004 states that the current population of Mongolia is 2, 504,000 (2.5 million), of whom 893,400 live in Ulaanbaatar, the capital city.[1] Of course, these are the official numbers, and the actual number of residents in Ulaanbaatar may well be higher. Out of the total population, 1,110,300 (or 44 percent) are 19 years old or younger, and the number increases to 1,376,440 (or 55 percent of the total population) if everyone under the age of 25 is included.[2]

[1] National Statistic's Office of Mongolia, Statistics 2003 (Ulaanbaatar, 2003), 37.
[2] Ibid., 37.

Mongolia is divided into 21 provinces, and there are three principal cities. The capital city, Ulaanbaatar, is located in the north central part of the country and represents 36 percent of the total population, while the rural population accounts for 42 percent of the total population. Another two big cities were established in the1960s by Russians closer to the former Soviet border. Darkhan is the second largest city and, the third largest, Erdenet, is primarily a mining city centered on the molybdenum industry, with one third of its residents originally from Russia.[3]

Agriculture is the main sector of the economy besides industry and manufacturing. According to the Food and Agriculture Organization Statistics data for 2004, it is estimated that 80 percent of the total land area -130 million ha - is suitable for agriculture in the broadest sense, but only 1.5 percent of this is used for crops and one percent is used for hay, while 97 percent is reserved for pasture.[4] Mongolia remains a largely pastoral society with animal husbandry the main economic activity. Though agriculture is most important, the economy developed a significant industrial sector during the period of central planning before 1990. Industries such as leather, shoes, cashmere wool, as well as milk and bread are dependant on the agricultural sector in that it provides the raw materials for manufacturing. Thus, the two sectors of economy are highly correlated. Animal products, especially sheep and goat hides, are important exports.[5] Mongolia is rich in natural resources, including copper, coal, molybdenum, fluorite, gold, iron ore, lead, phosphate, tin, oil and oil shale. Mongolia has large

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[3] Thomas Robinson, "Soviet Policy in Asia: the Military Dimension." Proceedings of the Academy of Political Science 36, 4 (July 1987), 151.
Robert Rupen, "Mongolia: Pawn of Geopolitics Relations with the Soviet Union," Current History, vol. 81, no.475 (May 1982,) 215.

[4] Food And Agriculture Organization of the United Nations Statistical Yearbook 2004, Country Profiles, Mongolia, 1.

[5] Frederick Nixson, Bernard Walters, "Transition to the Market Economy: Mongolia 1990-1998." International Journal of Economic Development, 2,1 (2000): 2.

deposits of graphite as well as construction and industrial materials such as marble, gypsum, limestone, granite, and quartz sands.[6] A Mongolian-Russian joint venture copper company, Erdenet, produces copper concentrate for export. Gold exports have significantly increased and foreign mining companies have also increased investments.[7]

In terms of its history, the establishment of the Mongol Empire reaches back seven centuries to the thirteenth century. In 1203 Chingis Khan united all Mongolian nomadic tribes and conquered the Central Europe and Southeast Asia, relying on his unique military leadership and tactics using fast-moving cavalry. Following the unification of Mongolian tribes, Kublai Khan, grandson of Chingis Khan, conquered China and established his Yang Dynasty (1271-1368).[8]

By the end of the 17th century Mongolia lost its political independence to the Manchu-Ching Empire, Qing Dynasty (1644-1911). Mongolia suffered more than two centuries under the oppression of the Manchu feudal state. In addition, Qing Dynasty administration policy divided Mongolia into an Outer and Inner region separated by the Gobi desert.[9] In 1911, when the Manchu dynasty fell in China due to the anti-Manchurian national liberation movement, Mongolia regained its independence and established the Bogd Khan (religious leader) monarchy (1911-1919). However, Mongolians did not fully realize at this time that independence was threatened by both the Republic of China and the Soviet Union.[10]

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[6] United Nations Development Programme: Development Co-operation, 1995 Report. (Ulaanbaatar, 1996).
[7] Bank of Mongolia, 1996 Annual Report of the Bank of Mongolia. (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 1997).
[8] Secret History of Mongolia.
[9] Robert Rupen, Mongols of the Twentieth Century. (Bloomington: Indiana University Press 1964).
[10] B. Baabar, Twentieth century Mongolia. (Cambridge: White Horse Press, 1999).

Although Mongolia was the first Asian country to adopt Soviet style communism it was also the first to reject communism and Soviet domination.[11] Mongolian independence, established in 1911, was not destined to last long. In 1921, during the civil war in Russia and with the support of Bolshevik Soviet troops, Mongolian nationalists in Ulaanbaatar defeated the Chinese troops who had been sent in 1919.[12] On November 26th, 1924 (Independence Day), the Mongolians established the world's second communist regime - the Mongolian People's Republic. This new regime remained relatively autonomous from Moscow until the late 1920s, when Stalin consolidated his power. Mongolia then adopted a Soviet-style political structure-and-command economy. Because, Mongolia had always been supported by the Soviet Union, it maintained economic and political ties with the country. In fact these ties were so strong that Mongolia was sometimes called the *"16th unofficial republic of the Soviet Union."* Despite these long-standing ties to the Soviet Union, in 1989 Mongolia cast off communism and Soviet domination through the processes of a democratic movement.

This transition spawned by the Mongolian democratic movement extends from the late 1980s to the present. The beginning of this period was marked by the Soviet Union's introduction of *perestroika* and *glasnost* which eventually contributed to the Soviet Union's collapse and led to tentative reforms in Mongolia. Furthermore, these events influenced intellectual leaders in Mongolia and contributed to the general liberalizing atmosphere. The initial reforms began at the state level in 1986 with restructuring economic policies and reforming the state bureaucracy and inefficiency:

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[11] Joseph E. Lake, First Resident U.S. Ambassador to Mongolia, "Perspectives on Early Political Change," The Asia Foundation Conference on Mongolia's Political and Economic Transition: Challengers and Opportunities (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, September 2000), 3.
[12] B. Baabar.

"Since 1990 Mongolia has advanced rapidly in transforming its controlled and directed economy, attempting to implement many Western-style deregulation, privatization, and market-liberalization measures."[13] This geographical and historical overview of Mongolia sets up the background for this thesis.

Thesis Statement

This thesis will analyze the Mongolian transition from an authoritarian one-party system to an open and competitive democratic political system. By critically assessing Mongolian history and political circumstances, this thesis will provide an analysis of the critical period of transition between these two political systems. This information will then be used to determine whether the country's transition parallels the five assumptions of the transition paradigm. Mongolia is a country that has proven its democratic achievement within the last decade and has taken the steps necessary to promote further democratization.

The Transition Paradigm

In the late 1980s the world faced the collapse of communist regimes in Eastern Europe leaving many countries somewhere between an authoritarian system of government and democratic system of government. Pinkney states that "it is difficult to discuss the move from authoritarianism to democracy without the concept of transition. Countries are not authoritarian one day and democratic the next."[14] Thomas Carothers points out that over the late 1980s and 1990s democracy promoters and academic

[13] Tray McGrath, **"**Mongolia's Bumpy Ride to Capitalism" Transitions (December 1997): 1.
[14] Robert Pinkney, Democracy in the Third World (Buckingham: Open University Press, 1993),101.

analysts, such as Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter, developed a democratization model called the "transition paradigm." This paradigm is associated with O'Donnell and Schmitter's work and analysis on the full extent of democratic transitions in the third world countries.[15] The transition paradigm was very influential during the decade after 1990 but became less influential because its predictions had not been validated by experience.

Carothers has led the challenge against this transition paradigm in an attempt to invalidate the paradigm's five core assumptions.[16] Carothers argues that the popular transition paradigm is limited in its actual applicability and, according to him, this popular paradigm is inherently flawed. Yet, Carothers does agree with the paradigm in that the transition to democracy is a gradual process.

The first core assumption of the transition paradigm is that countries moving away from dictatorial regimes are automatically in a transition to democracy.[17] However, Carothers argues that not all regimes move to democracy even if there are democracy promoters. Moreover he states that many countries have not democratized at all.[18] In fact, some transitional countries are between authoritarianism and democracy, or in the so-called *foggy zone.*[19]

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[15] Guillermo O'Donnell and Philippe Schmitter, Transitions from Authoritarian Rule: Tentative Conclusion about Uncertain Democracies (Baltimore: Johns Hopkins University Press, 1986).
[16] Thomas Carothers, "The End of the Transition Paradigm." Journal of Democracy XIII: 1 (January 2002), 15.
[17] Ibid., 6.
[18] Ibid., 14.
[19] Andreas Schedler, "The Menu of Manipulation: Election without Democracy." Journal of Democracy XIII: 2 (2002), 37.

The second assumption, developed by the United States Agency for International Development's (USAID) assessment system,[20] is that there is a sequential process of stages in a transition to democracy. Carothers characterized these stages as follows:

> The first stage, the political opening, is a period of democratic turmoil and political liberalization which appears in the ruling dictatorial regime. The second stage, the political breakthrough, represents the collapse of the regime and the rapid emergence of a new, democratic system, with the coming to power of a new government through national elections and the establishment of a democratic institutional structure, often through the promulgation of a new constitution. After the political transition, we enter a difficult democratic consolidation stage, which is a slow but purposeful process in which democratic forms are transformed into democratic substance through the reform of state institutions, the regularization of elections, and the strengthening of civil society.[21]

Carothers argues that "it is not inevitable that transitional countries will move steadily on this assumed path from opening and breakthrough to consolidation."[22] Not all countries followed these stages, and although many countries did go through some of the stages, their transition to democracy can not be considered one-hundred percent successful.

The third assumption that Carothers challenges concerns fair elections and addresses key elements of democratization. This assumption states that elections equal democracy. Carothers points out elections are not the only element of democracy; it is not true that wherever elections are held there is democracy, and, indeed, "Most authoritarian regimes hold some form of elections."[23] Furthermore, in many purportedly democratic countries, elections lack competitiveness and transparency and often involve election fraud such as stealing votes and jailing opposition leaders. For this reason,

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[20] USAID, Handbook of Democracy and Governance Program Indicators (Washington, D.C:USAID, August 1998).
[21] Carothers, 7.
[22] Ibid.
[23] Schedler, 36.

international observers are sometimes sent to newly democratic countries in an attempt to prevent such serious fraud. Carothers attack on the third argues that simply holding elections will not necessarily lead to a legitimate democracy with improved political participation and a stable government. According to Carothers, in authoritarian regimes elections are not seriously monitored and are susceptible to corruption. In a functioning democracy, elections must be fair, competitive, and transparent. Elections alone can not deepen the root of democracy.[24]

O'Donnell has responded to Carothers critiques in an article entitled *In Partial Defense of an Evanescent "Paradigm"* where he defends the transition paradigm stating that elections are an important and valid goal; he states that Carothers is overly critical of the paradigm.[25] He argues that regular elections are extremely important in forming a democracy, not because they will always lead to fair outcomes, but because elections mean a departure from authoritarian rule; elections signify progress.

The fourth assumption states that social and economic factors affect the transition to democracy. Carothers argues that the transition paradigm does not adequately take into account ethnic, social and historical preconditions for democracy.[26] In his attack on the transition paradigm, he argues that economic, political, and social preconditions for democracy strongly affect the transition.

The fifth assumption of the transition paradigm is that democracy promoters pay more attention to democracy-building than to state-building. The proponents of democracy assume that state-building is a part of the modification process from

[24] Carothers, 15-16.
[25] O'Donnell, "In Partial Defence of an Evanescent "Paradigm", Journal of Democracy, XIII:3 (July 2002), 9.
[26] Carothers, 8.

authoritarian state to a democratic state.[27] In contrast, Carothers argues that fundamental state-building, such as the introduction of new electoral and political institutions and strengthening civil society, is a very challenging process. Transition scholars must not ignore these challenges to democracy; they must focus on the issues involved in assisting state-building.[28] As political attitudes change, democracy requires the active development of strong institutions, such as political parties, interest groups and legislatures. Thus many new political institutions must be introduced in the transition period.

This thesis will examine Mongolia's historical settings before the formal transition began in the 1990s and also the country's experience with elections to determine whether Mongolia conforms to the transition model. Thus, this thesis will demonstrate the relevance of the transition paradigm. Making known the flaws within it sheds some light on whether Carothers' critique is justified. By considering both the national presidential and parliamentary elections held since 1990 it will be determined whether Mongolian elections have been free and fair. This discussion will help to make predictions about the future of multi-party elections in Mongolia.

Thesis Structure

The thesis will review some of the key elements of Mongolia's actual experience of transition and highlight some of the problems, both theoretical and practical, which have been encountered during this process. In doing so, this thesis will shed some light

[27] Ibid.
[28] Ibid.,16-17.

on the relevance of Carothers' attack on the transition paradigm. The basic structure of the remainder of the thesis is as follows:

Chapter Two will concentrate on the democratic transition of Mongolia and assess the validity of Carothers' critique (underlying conditions affect the transition to democracy) of the paradigm, based on the second and the fourth assumption. In this chapter I will present the 15 years period of transition in order to understand the forces that contributed it to its dramatic conclusion. I will examine the nature of the changes that have resulted from the privatization of property and the stunning electoral defeat of the incumbent regime and its restoration in the 2004 national elections. The chapter will also cover political history, Soviet-Mongolian relations, democratization until 2004, the transition of the economy, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party's (MPRP) response to pro-democracy activity, the new constitution, the introduction of new laws, and the establishment of new political institutions.

Chapter Three examines the electoral process and the elections that have taken place in Mongolia since 1990. This chapter will examine Carothers' critiques of the third assumption (the importance of elections), and the fifth assumption (that many countries face state-building problems) by demonstrating that shallow elections have occurred in Mongolia during the transition process and that the state-building processes remain compromised by the former Soviet period and its structures. Indeed, as Carothers' predicts, Mongolia has faced challenges in state-building during the transition from a Soviet style political system to a democratic system.

Lastly, Chapter Four will provide a conclusion to the thesis by bringing together the information discussed regarding the transition to democracy, democratic consolidation, and an analysis of the Mongolian electoral system. It will revisit my

arguments and relate my conclusions to the assumptions that remain in dispute between the proponents of the transition paradigm and Carothers' attack on this paradigm.

Methodology and Sources

The analysis which follows draws upon both secondary and primary sources. It is the latter which provides the original contribution of the thesis. I draw upon a wide range of government documents, statistical data on elections and parties, as well as key information on members of parliament, cabinet formation, and the crucial electoral results for all the key elections. This thesis is important because much of analysis has not yet appeared in academic literature.

CHAPTER II

DEMOCRATIC TRANSITION

Introduction

Within a short period of time Mongolia has undergone a striking transformation from an authoritarian political system with a state controlled and directed economy to an open, competitive multi-party system with a free market economy. The country has moved through the stages of political protest, political liberalization and democratic breakthrough with free, open and competitive multi-party elections in a period of just over a decade. Mongolia has literally been shaken from its communist orientation to a new liberal democratic society. How can such a dramatic transition have taken place in a country seemingly isolated from the rest of the world?

During seventy years of Soviet influence, Mongolia was arguably an unofficial dependent region of the Soviet Union. At various points, the Soviet Communist Party's General Secretaries, including Stalin, made decisions that had major impacts on political and economic life in Mongolia. The collapse of the Soviet Union was a historical precondition that led Mongolian politicians to consider adopting a democratic system, although some groups in the country had been considering the possibility of breaking away from Soviet control even earlier than the late 1980s.

The purpose of this chapter is to present the period of transition in order to understand the forces that drove Mongolia along its dramatic path. This is necessary so that an assessment can be made to determine whether Mongolia's transition to democracy meets the transition paradigm's first, second and fourth assumptions. With respect to these assumptions, an answer to three questions will be provided in this chapter: (1) Did Mongolia follow the sequential process outlined in the transition paradigm? (2) Did Mongolia's historical preconditions affect its transition to democracy? (3) Did Mongolia fall into the 'grey zone' between authoritarianism and democracy during the transition process?

This chapter will be divided into two sections. The first section is a historical analysis of Mongolia and communist party rule up to the late 1980s, as well as an analysis of Soviet influences (in the Gorbachev era of *perestroika*) to describe and explain Mongolia before 1989. The end of the Cold War and collapse of the Soviet Union led to the opening of archives and access to information kept secret for over 70 years about the functioning of the communist party in Mongolia. This has allowed for new and detailed research into the country's state operations during that period.

The second section is an analysis of the transition period and of the nature of the dramatic changes that took place between 1990 and the present. This section will discuss the many obstacles and challenges that Mongolia faced during the transition, from the privatization of property to the stunning electoral defeat of the incumbent regime and its restoration in the subsequent national elections.

Mongolian Soviet Relations

The geopolitical importance of Mongolia is the main reason for its political and military vulnerability; as scholar Ewing Thomas has stated, its position "between the hammer and the anvil," [29] namely China and the USSR, puts Mongolia in a trying position. In this situation, Mongolian leaders have been required to make difficult choices between the competing influences of the two giant neighbors. Robert Rupen, a Mongolian Studies scholar, emphasized that:

> Both Russians and Mongols fear the Chinese simply because there are so many of them. Many Mongols also fear Russians, but the Russian threat is less direct…. It is the very impossibility of massive Russian settlement in Mongolia that makes the Mongols to prefer the Soviet to the Chinese. The fact that Russians fear and oppose the Chinese as much as Mongols do makes it harder for the Mongols to realize the full extent of the Russian "occupation" of Mongolia- a spiritual, physical presence.[30]

From this perspective, Rupen explains why Mongolian leaders sought Soviet protection, particularly in that Soviet policy seemed more tolerable than the Chinese policy of permanent settlement of Han Chinese in Mongolian territory. Indeed, the Soviet-Mongol alliance brought significant success for the Soviet Far Eastern policy planners. According to one of the Soviet Politburo Commission reports to Stalin on Mongolia, the Mongolian People's Republic (MPR) was significant for the Soviet Union in more ways than one. The report states that the Soviet Union should recognize "Mongolia as the experimental field for a non-capitalist mode of development, as natural strategic protector for the southern Siberian border stretching from Manchuria to Chinese Turkestan, as an important meat and raw material supplier for the USSR, and finally as a

[29] Ewing Thomas, Between the Hammer and the Anvil? Chinese and Russian Policies in Outer Mongolia 1911-1921. (Bloomington: Indiana University, 1980).
[30] Rupen, How Mongolia is Really Ruled: A Political History of the Mongolian People's Republic 1900-1978. (Stanford: Hoover Institution Press, 1979), 128.

transit point for communications with China in case of military needs in Manchuria and in the Far East."[31] This implies that the Soviets did not simply help Mongolia; instead, as a buffer zone, Mongolia's role in Soviet policy was one of strategic importance. The Soviet Union did not care whether a Soviet-style policy structure would function in Mongolia. For all of these reasons, the role of the Soviet Union in Mongolia has been positive and negative in twentieth-century Mongolian history.

After Mongolia abolished Chinese dominance of the region with Soviet assistance, it became closely allied with the Soviet Union in order to obtain protection from China. It is in the context of this relationship with the Soviet Union that Mongolia adopted a one-party communist government system. In 1924, the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) adopted the Marxist- Leninist ideology and Mongolians established the communist regime – the Mongolian People's Republic. This marked the transition from a feudalist regime to a blueprint for socialism, bypassing capitalism. The Soviet Union came to dominate Mongolia and "eventually asserted complete control over the political, economic and social life of the country, transforming Mongolia into a Soviet style communist republic."[32] As Murphy points out:

> Since Mongolia became independent, all important organs have had Russians as advisers. To put it bluntly, it is the Russians who are directing everything. The Ministry of Finance, for example, has four Russian advisers and the Ministry of War had eight military advisers. The secret Police, which sees to the suppression of internal disorder, has six advisers and is actually headed by one. All the military training officers are Russians. The rest is manifest. [33]

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[31] George G. S. Murphy, Soviet Mongolia, a Study of the Oldest Political Satellite. (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1966), 4.
[32] Julia Hugh and Arnold Bilskie, "An Examination of the Political and Economic Transition of Mongolia since the Collapse of the Soviet Union." Journal of Third World Studies 19: 12 (Fall 2002): 206.
[33] Murphy, 97.

Mongolia paid a high price for its deep desire to survive the struggle for independence and sovereignty by becoming the first communist Asian country after the emergence of the Soviet Union. However, the hoped-for independence and autonomy of the government were actually subsumed by the intense control of the Soviets. During the 1930s, the strong political and ideological influence of the Soviets led to extensive purges, elimination of religion, forced herd collectivization, and suppression of traditional culture. For example, collectivization forced nomads to adjust to permanent community life styles, and this adjustment posed significant difficulties and hardship for communities used to a traditional nomadic life. But the collectivization policy failed in Mongolia, mostly due to severe losses in the herds which were the basis of the Mongolian economy. Bitter lessons were learned under communism during the great purges of 1930; Mongolia almost lost 10 percent of its population (intellectuals, male lamas, and liberal political leaders) in this Stalinist storm that overwhelmed the country.[34]

In 1939, Khorloogin Choibalsan became Prime Minister, and largely gained the power to decide Mongolia's fate for the next 50 years.[35] Under his dictatorship Mongolia experienced political violence that paralleled the great purges carried out in the Soviet Union in the 1930s. In 1952, Kh. Choibalsan died and Yumjaagiin Tsedenbal[36] was appointed General Secretary of the MPRP by the Soviet Communist

[34] Shagdar Sandag and Harry.H. Kendall, Poisoned Arrows: the Stalin-Choibalsan Mongolian Massacres, 1921-1941 (Boulder: Westview Press, 2000).
[35] Ibid.
[36] Yu. Tsedenbal was educated and trained in the Soviet Union. He continued some of Kh. Choibalsan's activities and followed Soviet style communism for more than forty years of his political career. Yu. Tsedenbal was Mongolia's longest serving communist ruler – serving as Prime Minister for 32 years. He pursued very personalized politics in Mongolia with his Russian wife. After he resigned from his duty, he and his family moved to Moscow, where he died in 1991. During the democratic transition Mongolians

Party. The Soviet-educated new leader did not consider changing the government's heavy dependence on Soviet policy. Instead, being an obedient follower of Soviet policies, Yu. Tsedendal acquiesced to increasingly greater control from the USSR.

It is also interesting to note that in 1945, by Stalin's fiat, Mongolia changed its classic Mongolian script into the Cyrillic alphabet. The beginnings of a new education system greatly expanded as "new content accompanied new external forms: Marxist Leninist indoctrination pervades the Mongolian educational system."[37] Many Mongolian leaders and top officials were educated in the USSR and fluent in Russian, and, further, Russian was compulsory in Mongolian schools.

Following the emergence of Mongolia from Soviet control there were initially strong feelings of bitterness and regret for the 70 year of totalitarian rule, however, today people have fewer doubts about the decisions leaders made in the 1920s realizing the political and economic necessities of the time. Mongolia had an unpredictable future at that time. In short it faced the possibility of vanishing as a cultural and political entity. David Dallin, referring to the positive aspects of Soviet-style development in Mongolia, points out that "…roads, schools, literacy, doctors, and medicine were brought to the nation… These effects of Soviet rule will be lasting; a return to the old ways of life is out of the question."[38] While the Soviet-Mongol relationship was certainly not one between equals, it was nonetheless welcomed by Mongolians because it severed Chinese domination of Mongolia and enabled the country's formal independence. Therefore,

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strongly accused him of poor leadership. See Leonid Shinkarev, Kh. Mergen translation Yu. Tsedenbal and Filatova, (Munkhin Useg Press: Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, 2004).

[37] Rupen, "Mongolia: Pawn of Geopolitics Relations with the Soviet Union", 218.

[38] David J. Dallin, The Rise of Russia in Asia. (New Haven: Yale University Press, 1949), 353.

restoring independence of the country from China was the greatest accomplishment of Mongols since the great successes of Chingis's Mongol Empire.

Near the end of the twentieth century, two dramatic political trends appeared in the Soviet Union: the transition towards democracy and the collapse of communism. Furthermore, the Cold War had come to an end. At this time dramatic and historic changes swept across Mongolia. These changes had huge impacts on political life, the economy and society, and the national structure of Mongolia.

For example, 1984 was year of change because a comparatively young new leader, Jambyn Batmunkh, replaced Yu. Tsedenbal as General Secretary of the MPRP. [39] When J. Batmunkh delivered his first official speech at the special plenum of the MPRP Central Committee in August 23, 1984, he promised to continue strengthening the relationship with the Soviet Union.[40] The new leader's address on this issue stated that:

> Mongolian–Soviet relations are distinguished by mutual trust, and our cooperation is characterized by its grand scale and great creative strength. The strengthening in every way of these really fraternal mutual relations with the CPSU and the Soviet Union was and will remain the principal line of our party and state.[41]

In March 1985, Mikhail Gorbachev became General Secretary of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union. This leadership change extensively influenced Mongol-Soviet relations. The new leaders faced the difficult challenge of transforming their countries to improve political and economic stability and living standards.

Gorbachev aimed at restructuring Soviet foreign policy, installing new leadership, and rekindling Sino-Soviet relations. It is critical, however, to note that

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[39] 58 years old, comrade Jambyn Batmunkh was a member of the Politburo and a Chairman of the Council of Ministers beginning in 1974.
[40] Alan Sanders, "Mongolia in 1984: From Yu. Tsedenbal to J. Batmunkh," Asian Survey vol. 25, no.1 (January 1985): 122-130.
[41] Ibid.,124.

Gorbachev remained committed to socialism. As he stated in his *Renewal and New Thinking*:

> We want to deepen socialism and that's why we aim to expand democracy… The historical experience showed that stagnation might occur in a socialist society and eventually result in a serious social and political crisis… It is important that socialism is capable to accomplish revolutionary changes as it is an energetic society by nature.[42]

Thus Gorbachev believed socialism would survive no matter what crises and conflicts arose. At the 27th Congress of the Communist Party of the Soviet Union in February 1986, Gorbachev criticized Soviet foreign and economic development policies and announced new initiatives in foreign policy and economic reform entitled *perestroika* and *glasnost*.[43] General Secretary J. Batmunkh attended the 27th Congress as an observer in Moscow. Back home, at the 19th MPRP Congress in May 1986, J. Batmunkh introduced party members to Gorbachev's "new thinking" policy, and presented a Mongolian equivalent of *perestroika* and *glasnost* that reflected the Soviet leader's initiatives. J. Batmunkh's initial political reform was focused on developing new leadership, party restructuring, administrative reforms and economic development. He pointed out that new party leadership and new ideas would improve the efficiency of state management which would in turn accelerate the country's development. Therefore, he brought about a major replacement of the party leadership to remove the dead wood inside the party.

The terms *perestroika* and *glasnost* brought into Soviet and Mongolian political discourse ideas about democracy. Freedom, transparency, social integrity, human rights,

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[42] Mikhail Sergeevich Gorbachev, Renewal and New Thinking (Moscow: Novosti 1988), 39, 56.
[43] Gail W. Lapidus, "The USSR and Asia in 1986: Gorbachev's New Initiatives," Asian Survey vol. 27, no. 1 (January 1987):1-9.

a free media, and free markets were new to Mongolians. These ideas fomented a very active social, economic, and political life in Eastern European countries, but also in Mongolia. This shift in policy provided a great opportunity for Mongolians to understand the functional realities of capitalism and to make important decision for the country's move towards democracy. However, in the chaotic transition period, the people of Mongolia were confused about the rationality of democracy and a free market economy, although they had hope that these might improve the quality of life. The transition itself was a gradual process; it was not a process whereby overnight an authoritarian country became a democratic country.

Gorbachev officially announced his new position on the normalization of Sino-Soviet relations in an important speech on Asian security in Vladivostok on 28 July, 1986. In this speech he announced the partial withdrawal of Soviet troops[44] from Mongolia along the Sino-Soviet border to meet China's condition for normalization of relations.[45] He also emphasized that "The Far East…always has been and always will remain close to the hearts of Soviet people."[46]

General Secretary J. Batmunkh and other delegates met with Gorbachev after this speech. Wishnick claims that part of Gorbachev's new foreign policy was to gradually reduce the Soviet military presence by withdrawing troops in Asia to some extent, and improving Soviet relations with Asian states in the region in areas of security and political-economic cooperation.[47] Prior to Gorbachev's Vladivostok speech, J.

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[44] Due to the Sino-Soviet disputes five Soviet divisions, comprising 75,000 troops, had been temporarily stationed in Mongolia since the Soviet negotiation of 1966. See Harry Gelman, "Gorbachev's Policies in the East Asia After Two Years," Journal of Northeast Asian Studies, vol. 7, no.1 (Spring 1988): 48.
[45] *Daily Report*, Soviet Union, July 29, 1986, R1-R20.
[46] *Pravda*, July 29, 1986.
[47] Elizabeth Wishnick, "Soviet Asian Collective Security Policy from Brezhnev to Gorbachev", Journal of Northeast Asian Studies, vol. 7, no.3 (Fall 1988): 3-4.

Batmunkh had articulated the Mongolian perspective in his 1985 official visit in the USSR:

> Mongolia pursues a policy of normalizing interstate relations with the PRC on the basis of such universally recognized principles of peaceful coexistence as good-neighborliness, mutual respect for sovereignty, and noninterference in each other's internal affairs. We are following with interest the progress of the consultation on normalization of Sino-Soviet relations.[48]

Soon after the Vladivostok speech, the Mongolian government gave its support for the withdrawal of Soviet troops from Mongolia to improve security in Asia and to strengthen foreign relations and bilateral relations with the People's Republic of China.[49] Because Gorbachev continued to expand Soviet influence in the Asian region including with China, Mongolia began to worry about its national security and economic difficulties. Therefore, Mongolia expanded its relations with other communist and non-communist countries. Gorbachev's foreign policy initiative had opened the window to the world for Mongolia[50] and in January 1987, Mongolia established diplomatic relations with the United States. These new relations had promising implications for Mongolia upgrading its profile on the world stage.

By November 1987, J. Batmunkh had developed a very critical view of Mongolian administrative and economic structures and, generally, of the political system

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[48] William Heaton, "Mongolia in 1985: From Plan to Plan," Asian Survey vol. 26, no. 1 (January 1986): 89, *Krasnaya Zvezda* (Moscow), August 30, in 1985; FBIS, *Daily Report/USSR*, September 3, 1985, C3.

[49] Montsame, August 1, 1986. see also Heaton, "Mongolia in 1986: New Plan, New Situation," Asian Survey vol. 27, no. 1 (January 1987): 76.

[50] In June of 1987, J. Batmunkh called in to see Gorbachev on the way back from state visits to Hungary and Bulgaria. The official history of the MPRP states that they had frank discussions: "Gorbachev said that the living standards of Mongolian people could be improved if the Mongolian party implemented a policy of reaching out for new economic frontier and social development. J. Batmunkh assured Gorbachev that Mongolians were inspired by [the Soviet policy of perestroika and glasnost] and the ideas were clear and close to them." [Although he added that the Mongolian government would explore various opinions and consider implementation of perestroika and glasnost and that the MPRP would analyse the situation in light of the Mongolian context[0]]. See Shirin Akiner, Mongolia Today (New York and London: Kegan Paul International in association with the Central Asia Research Forum, School of Oriental and African Studies, London, 1991), 66.

which Mongolia had inherited from the leadership of Kh. Choibalsan and Yu. Tsedenbal. As a result, he initiated the implementation of various political and economic reform programs. This decision was a positive response to Gorbachev's political and economic reforms and Asian initiatives.

During December 1988, the fifth plenum of the MPRP Central Committee highlighted the second stage of the tentative reform process. Gorbachev's reform policies inspired political reform and social changes, especially party reform, encouraging openness in the party's inner politics.[51] Party leader J. Batmunkh believed that the political and economic stagnation were due to the ex-communist leadership's shortcomings. Based on Gorbachev's ideas, Mongolian leaders conducted their own form of *perestroika* through administrative and economic restructuring and introduction of *glasnost* in the form of tolerance for a free media without communist party control, along with transparency in the political system. *Perestroika* in Mongolia went through several stages: perception, implementation, and modification (adaptation).[52]

J. Batmunkh interpreted *perestroika* in the context of restructuring people's "old ways" and "old thinking" in order to initiate processes of renewal and restructuring within the new party leadership.[53] He proposed a reform agenda to reduce party membership in order to improve its quality and to make unions and youth organizations independent. In other words, he encouraged civil society, non-governmental organizations, and their engagement in party and state issues. Later J. Batmunkh claimed in his *Never Allow the Use of Force in Decision Making* that the reform he introduced at

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[51] Jambyn Batmunkh, ed. Dojoogin Tsedev Khuch Kherkhevch Khereglej Bolohgui (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia, 2001), 21. *In English* : *Never Allow the Use Of Force in Decision Making*, (author's translation).
[52] Akiner, 69.
[53] Sanders, "Mongolia in 1988: Year of Renewal," Asian Survey vol. 29, no.1 (January 1989): 46.

the time was not about abolishing socialism, but was about eliminating mistakes caused by the flaws of socialism thereby deepening socialism and moving it in the right direction.

Moreover, according to Alan Sander, "Mongolia's leaders faced an uphill struggle in tackling the country's economic and social problems, including low productivity, a shortage of hard currency, the prospect of aid falling off in real terms as well as the rising prices and poor quality of imports from CMEA countries."[54] Therefore, in the next stage of the reform, initiated at the 1989 seventh plenum of the MPRP Central Committee,

J. Batmunkh's speech introduced a new program on labor productivity, agricultural development and development of the food industry.[55] Moreover, the new Law on State Enterprise (1989) led to the establishment of more new food processing enterprises to produce such consumables as bread, processed pork, soft drinks and thus to increase domestic consumption under Mongolia's Food Program.[56] Besides economic developments, "commissions were set up to deal with these numerous reforms by revising the MPRP Program, drafting amendments to the MPRP Rules, and to re-editing the MPRP Constitution."[57]

Another important event in 1989 was the actual withdrawal of Soviet troops;[58] the USSR had begun planning the withdrawal of its military forces from Mongolia in

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[54] Ibid., 66.
[55] As a result of the plenum the "central Committee reduced the number of its Departments from twelve to eight. In June 1989 the MPRP announced the formation of four councils composed of Central Committee members to deal with the reform of party and state organizations, ideology and foreign relations, socioeconomic policy, and agrarian policy[0].
[56] Sanders, "Mongolia in 1989: Year of Adjustment," Asian Survey vol. 30, no. 1 (January 1990): 65.
[57] Ibid.,61.
[58] "[Starting January 1987] the USSR began planning withdrawal of its military forces from Mongolia. TASS [reported that Moscow will pull out] 50,000 troops plus a large number of tanks, combat vehicles,

1987.[59] Unfortunately, this withdrawal left Mongolia an increasing number of empty factories, rusting bulldozers, potholed roads, and buses that were abandoned for want of spare parts. Moreover, all Soviet technical advisers left and the flow of economic assistance also ceased.[60] Soon after, Mongolia experienced a very difficult economic crisis due to its dependence on both the Soviet Union and the Council on Mutual Economic Assistance (CMEA) aid. [61] The challenge now was to implement suitable economic reform for the centralized command economy of Mongolia. This process proved very difficult; therefore, Mongolia followed the Russian example. "[T]he initial objective of Mongolia's reform process was to revitalize the socialist economy rather than replace it."[62]

The loans and assistance from the USSR had continued flowing to Mongolia in the 1980s and the country appeared to be developing well. However, in reality, Mongolia was experiencing a deep economic and social crisis because nearly 95 percent of Mongolia's trade was with the Soviet Union, and most of the rest with its allies in the CMEA. Most of the economic assistance consisted of loans amounting to about 10 billion transferable rubles (TR) or about US$1.5 billion.[63] All these loans created a huge

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and aircraft[0]."[58] See *TASS*, May 15 in Vera Tolz, The USSR in 1989: a Record of Events (Westview Press: Radio Free Europe / Radio Liberty, 1990), 255.
As reported in the *NewYork Times*, a Defence Ministry announcement on January 15th, 1987 stated that "in keeping with a decision taken by the Soviet leadership and an understanding reached with the Government of the People's Republic, one full-strength motorized rifle division and several Mongolian separate units from the contingent of Soviet troops on temporary station in the territory of Mongolia will be returned to the Soviet Union next April through June[0]." See "Soviet to Cut Forces in Mongolia," The New York Times, 16 January 1987, A6.

[59] Tolz, 255.

[60] "Around 40,000 Soviet adviser had helped build up Mongolian industry, particularly its vital minerals sector[0]." See "The Cure Hurts: Mongolia Pursues a Painful Transition," Far Eastern Economic Review (September 19, 1991), 70.

[61] In 1962 Mongolia became a member of the CMEA.

[62] Tom Ginsburg., "Political Reform in Mongolia: Between Russia and China," Asian Survey vol. 35, no. 5 (May 1995): 461.

[63] Sanders, "Mongolian Modernizations," Far Eastern Economic Review, (May 29, 1986):110.

debt to the Soviet Union at the end of 1989. M.S. Fish argues that "Mongolia embarked on its transition with the lowest standard of living in the communist world, matched only by Albania."[64] Mongolia was severely dependant on the Soviet economy:

> The effect of the collapse of the Soviet economy was especially hard on Mongolia, as between a third and half of Mongolia's budget came from Soviet aid. Most Soviet technicians and experts left, and those who remained demanded payment in hard currency. Withdrawal of Soviet support created shortages of energy, raw materials, and spare parts, which in turn caused factories to close, construction to halt, and unemployment to rise.[65]

The withdrawal of Soviet troops was finalized just before Gorbachev's visit to China in spring of 1989. "On May 15th 1989 Gorbachev visited China to attend the first Sino-Soviet summit in thirty years."[66] When he arrived in Beijing, a massive student-led pro-democratic demonstration took place on Tiananmen Square. In response to this event, Gorbachev addressed the media to indicate that he would support the reform process in Socialist countries. The Russian daily newspaper *Pravda* stated that "Gorbachev said that he would not judge the protest, he would use political methods if such events occurred in Moscow. He defended Socialist countries experiencing unrest as they try to reform."[67] There is a significant amount of speculation as to why the Mongolian government simply abandoned communism and the one-party system in the late 1980s. Gorbachev's strong position on the reform indicated to the Mongolian communist leaders the need to encourage reform in Mongolia.

In roughly five years of political leadership, J. Batmunkh was able to manage the transition to democracy, thereby avoiding the political violence occurring in China, and

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[64] M.S. Fish, "Mongolia: Democracy without Prerequisites," Journal of Democracy IX 3 (1998), 1.
[65] Heaton, "Mongolia in 1991: The Uneasy Transition," Asian Survey vol. 32, no. 1 (January 1992): 503.
[66] *Pravda*, May 15, 1989.
[67] Ibid.

these measures ensured the future of a peaceful transition to democracy in Mongolia.[68] His efforts strengthened the pro-democracy features of the political landscape in Mongolia. With his academic background in economics and education, J. Batmunkh was a pragmatic, flexible, far-sighted, open-minded, and cautious senior politician who managed to avoid major disruption in Mongolian politics. Mikhail Gorbachev's domestic reforms and "new thinking" in Soviet foreign policy provided the impetus for Mongolia's own political and economic transformation in the late 1980s. At various points, the Soviet Communist Party's general secretary, including Stalin, had made decisions that had a major impact on political and economic life in Mongolia. Gorbachev's reforms led Mongolia's leaders to consider adopting a democratic system and to embrace a more nationalistic approach to governing. J. Batmunkh carefully planned the reform process and positively responded to Gorbachev's initiatives. His actions illustrate that he was a successful and powerful leader. Yet, after all the years of sincerely working for the state, the state did not value his efforts while he was alive.[69] No matter how well the leaders solved state issues, unpleasant lives and reputations awaited for many of them after retirement from office.

In sum, the relationship between Mongolia and the Soviet Union provides a historical background to the period in which Mongolia began its formal transition to democracy. Carothers' critique stated that the fourth assumption of the transition paradigm did not take into consideration the social and historical preconditions of a country's transition to democracy. He emphasized the importance of these preconditions. The Mongolian experience confirms this importance because without the

[68] On March 12, 1990 the MPRP released J. Batmunkh from his position.
[69] See for more details, Batmunkh, 21.

external factor of the Soviet Union, it is safe to assume that Mongolia's transition to democracy would have been quite different.

The Democratic Transition Period: Dramatic Change

This section examines who participated in the democratic movement to shed some light on the transition process and how its tumultuous changes took place. With the end of the Cold War and the collapse of the USSR, Mongolia faced dramatic changes in its entire system due to its highly ideological, authoritarian party rule that had lasted for seventy years. The economy was strictly controlled and directed by the State. Yet Mongolia has now become an open, competitive multi-party system disclaiming the socialist model and has introduced free market reforms including a major privatization movement. Thus within roughly a decade Mongolia experienced tumultuous political and economic change. This transition period was severe. Mongolian people have gone though many hardships and challenges, making progress step by step. Events in December of 1989 and early 1990 marked a crucial moment in Mongolian history when the country could have either moved towards democracy or remained communist.

The Democratic Transition in the 1980s

First of all, beginning in the 1980s, the younger generation of party elite offspring was quite responsive to Gorbachev's policies, because many of them had been educated in the Soviet Union during this period. This situation created a generational power struggle in the party between the elite and its offspring. The young Mongolians who came in the mid to late 1980s brought back with them the reform ideas introduced by Mikhail Gorbachev.

> Most of the officials were in their 50s and 60s, and most of the demonstrators were in their 20s or early 30s. Many of these scions of privileged families had received their educations in the USSR or Eastern Europe and had been exposed to the new ideas swirling around in the freer Soviet era of the 1980s. All knew one or another of the Slavic languages, and several were comfortable in English and German, offering them exposure to Western newspapers, radio, and television.[70]

Students began advocating freeing the media from party control and engaged in a broad range of discussions about human rights, and multi-party elections. They had secret meetings to discuss potential social and political changes. Moreover, much propaganda directed against the government and its policy was posted in the main streets, in downtown Ulaanbaatar, encouraging people to support changes in the political system and demand freedom, and human rights. They launched slogans such as "Mongols, mount up!" calling for change, because the horse is a symbol of the armed Mongol man. As the History of Mongolia states "at the end of 1989 many students and young generation formed political groups, clubs and unions such as the Orchlon Club, the Shine Ue (New Generation) Group, the Ertunts (Universe) Debate Club, the Zaluu Ediin Zasagchdin (Young Economists' Club) and the Devshilted Zaluuchuudin Evsel (Progressing Youth Union).[71] All these newly formed organizations were the foundation of the future political parties. "[72] There were, of course, many others that did not coalesce to form political parities.

Later in February 1989, one of these unions, the Mongolian Revolutionary Youth Union, organized its second convention for consultation on the current political situation

[70] Morris Rossabi, Modern Mongolia: From Khans to Commissars to Capitalists (Berkley, LA: University of California Press, 2005), 2.
[71] These groups later combined to form a political party.
[72] Mongolian Science Academy and Institute of Historians, History of Mongolia Volume 5 (Admon Printing: Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 2003), 404-405. (Author's translation from the Mongolian text)

and the challenges that faced society.[73] They agreed to form a new Youth Union to contribute to the reform process. Following the convention, ten intellectuals influenced by developments in Eastern Europe, who already had been involved in the youth clubs and unions' activities, established the Mongolian Democratic Union (MDU) on February 18, 1989.[74] The Union was not registered by the government. It had only nine members and was without a leader. According to an MDU brochure, S. Zorig, Ts. Elbegdorj, Amarsanaa, Da. Ganbold, B. Bat-Uul,[75]Ts. Enkhtuvshin, D. Ninj, Nyamsuren, Tsogtsaikhan, Sukhbaatar[76] were the founders of the MDU. These individuals were leaders of the democratic movement.[77] The formation of the MDU was the first crucial step toward establishing civil society to challenge the communist state and its bureaucracy. In addition, the MDU establishment was a crucial political opening stage in Mongolia's development towards democracy. From February on, the newly formed union held several gathering and rallies in Ulaanbaatar. "Estimates of the number of the people who attended each rally ranged from 250 to more than 1,000."[78]

Secondly, the December 10, 1989 International Human Rights Day demonstration had a great impact on the foundation of the new civil society in Mongolia. Rossabi states that "the scene observers in Government House witnessed on December 10, 1989, both surprised and shocked them. As snow drifted down gently, two hundred

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[73] Otgonjargal Sodnomdarjaa, New Perspectives on the History of the Twentieth Century Mongolia (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 2003), 208- 209.
[74] Ibid., 211.
[75] Ts. Elbegdorj, Amarsanaa, Da.Ganbold, B. Bat-Uul had elected as Members of the Parliament in 2004 election. Especially lecturer S. Zorig, journalists Ts. Elbegdorj, Amarsanaa, and scientist B. Bat-Uul were the main speakers of the movement
[76] These people were the first democratic leaders to initiate the democratic movement. They were educated in Soviet Union. Most of them were involved in the politics of Mongolia: for example, Ts. Elbegdorj became Prime Minister of Mongolia in 2004.
[77] Mongolia "MDC Brochure," Democratic Party Archive.
[78] "With Official Permission, Change Stirs Mongolia," The New York Times, 5 January 1990, A6.

people marched around with banners and signs calling for the elimination of "bureaucratic oppression" as well as a promise to implement perestroika."[79] Slogans and banners at the rallies and demonstrations raised public awareness and people began seeking profound changes. The signs and banners carried such slogans as "Democracy is our goal", "Democracy in your hands", and "Solidarity for human rights."[80] Opposition groups carefully organized pro-democratic protest on International Human Rights Day taking into account the risk of being arrested and avoiding possible retribution by the government such as that occurred in China's Tiananmen Square massacre.[81] Hundreds of protesters carried signs like "End of Communist Experiment" openly criticizing communist party leaders and the ruling party.[82]

Leaders of the democratic movement were pleased and encouraged by the turnout, seeing two thousand protestors joining them in the demand for multiparty system, free elections with universal suffrage, human rights, freedom of the press, religion, freedom of speech, freedom to travel, a free market economy, private ownership, and top down government restructuring. According to the Democratic Party Archive materials the original slogans posted were:

- *We need a multi-party system*
- *a legal state*
- *Respect for human rights*
- *Freedom of the press*
- *The MPRP restricts human rights and freedom*
- *The MPRP rules the country through centralized administrative methods and thus leads it into poverty.*[83]

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[79] Rossabi, 2.
[80] "With Official Permission, Change Stirs Mongolia", A6.
[81] Sodnomdarjaa, 209.
[82] Jonathan Sikes, "Yet Another Soviet Outpost Feeling the Pangs of Freedom," Insight on the News, vol.6, no.14 (1990):34.
[83] MDC Brochure.

Heaton emphasizes that

> …[t]he ruling party initially responded by promising to undertake reform. MPRP General Secretary Jambyn Batmokh stated in early February that the party would hold a dialogue with the MDU. Other regime leaders also discussed the need for the development of a multiparty system and popular elections for the Great People's Hural (GPH), Mongolia's chief legislative body. The communists, however, appeared to be in no hurry.[84]

For the opposition forces, the December rally was the most courageous development in the last several decades of Mongolian history. "The long repressed Mongolians hoped for a leader with vision and independence, someone who would represent their pride rather than their domination."[85] People saw this leadership quality in Sanjaasurengin Zorig. "[Zorig stated that] we have opened [people's] eyes for the first time in decades. The people do not react to our movement because they are forced to. They react because they feel compelled to."[86] The outcome of the demonstration empowered the MDU to submit a first citizens' petition of political demands to the communist leadership.

This petition was a remarkable result of the rally, and it stated that:

> …we are deeply concerned about the process of reforms, the present social, political and economic situation of the country and the slow reaction to the urgent problems. Therefore, we demand the following:

A. That amendments be made to the Constitution of the Mongolian Peoples Republic to:
    1. Stop one-party rule of the state
    2. Respect the Universal Declaration of Human Rights
    3. Reorganize the Great Peoples Hural into a permanently functioning parliament
B. That restructuring and reforms be implemented to:
    1. Renew the electoral system and hold elections in the first half of 1990

[84] Heaton, "Mongolia in 1990: Upheaval, Reform, But No Revolution Yet," Asian Survey, vol. 31, no. 1 (Jan 1991):50-51.
[85] Sikes, 35.
[86] Ibid.

C. That the socialist development of the Mongolian Peoples Republic be evaluated to:
   1. Set up a public commission to commit for trial the people who nourished the willfulness of Kh. Choibalsan and Yu. Tsedenbal
   2. Rehabilitate hundreds of patriots, laymen, and clergymen who had been repressed and pay compensation to their families…[87]

This time the MPRP decided to compromise with reformers to avoid a domestic crisis and responded positively to the principles of a multiparty system, and basic human rights to be implemented within five years. However, young democrats were not willing to wait; they were in a hurry to undertake profound changes. Soon after the foundation of the MDU, other civil society organizations such as the Democratic Socialist Movement and the New Progressive Movement began to form.[88] Their purpose was to advocate democracy, a free press and democratic change in Mongolia and to leave behind the Soviet influence. "All the activities of the MDU and other democratic forces increased the political awareness of Mongolians as never before."[89] Topics including getting rid of the Soviet influence and being able to make one's own decision were discussed among the people for many years and this was probably the perfect moment to express these views openly. On the other hand "having dutifully followed by every twist in the Soviet party line for decades, [people] are now having to negotiate perhaps the most difficult turns so far: *glasnost* and *perestroika*".[90]

The Democratic Transition from 1990 to 1992

[87] Mongolia "Document of the MDC," Democratic Party Archive. (original petition)
[88] Sodnomdarjaa, 211.
[89] Ibid.
[90] Sikes, 35.

The first coalition government began its full-scale program of economic and political system transformation, as set in out its concrete reform strategy. Privatization of state property was the main reform of the economic transition. The Privatization Law passed in May 1991 entitled people to participate in privatization through a voucher system.

> The privatization program has been a key element in Mongolia's reform program and the move to a market economy. The program was initiated in October 1991 and was based on a voucher system similar to that used in a number of other transitional economies (Czechoslovakia, Poland and Romania). The decision to use the voucher system was a consequence of the low level of domestic financial savings, the lack of a well-developed capital market and the absence of adequate means of valuing state enterprises' assets.[91]

The process proceeded as follows: "In September 1991, the prices under control were liberalised. Further liberalization took place in March 1992, leaving only public utilities, transportation, housing rents, selected medicines, flour, bread and rationed vodka subject to price controls."[92] The Mongolian Stock Exchange was established in February 1992. Privatization of livestock herds was implemented and reached 80 percent of the entire herd animals between 1991 and 1993. Following privatization, the livestock number increased from 25.9 million in 1990 to 33 million in 1997.[93] The ensuing urban-rural migration was reflected in a slight decrease in the urban share of Mongolia's population: 58 percent urban and 42 percent rural according to 2003 statistics, compared to 60 percent urban 40 percent rural before.

During these years the government also established the State Property Committee, passed a new law on State and Local Property, and started a further and

[91] International Monetary Fund Report 1996, 12.
[92] World Bank Report 1992, 35.
[93] Statistics 2003.

ambitious privatization program.[94] A housing privatization program privatized residential units and apartments and transferred them to current residents free of charge. As a result, by 2001 "[a]bout 90% of residential units in apartment buildings had been privatized."[95]

The Democratic Transition from 1992 to 1996

The key event in this period was the adoption of a new constitution leading towards a liberal democracy. Mongolia's first constitution had been adopted after independence in 1924 with revisions made to it in 1940 and 1960 (both modeled on the Soviet Constitution of 1939). Following the formation of the new government in October 1990, a Constitution Drafting Commission headed by President Punsalmaa Ochirbat started working on a fourth Constitution.[96] The Constitution Drafting Commission was divided into a four groups reflecting the Constitution's main themes: human rights, state affairs, economic, social and political matters, and legal and constitutional issues. The Constitution's first draft was published in June 1991. Though many people argued that Mongolia should have a parliamentary system, the first draft called for a strong presidential system and a single chamber parliament.

Mongolians drafted the new Mongolian Constitution with foreign advice. It was adopted on January 13, 1992 within one year of its introduction.[97] The six chapters that

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[94] The law on Housing Privatization passed by Parliament in 1996 was delayed by a presidential veto but approved in February 1997[0].

[95] Mitsuhiro Hasegawa, Umekazu Kawagishi, Ishjamts Gonchigbat and Takumi Nakanishi, "Study on the Living Space Planning in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia," Journal of Asian Architecture and Building Engineering vol 3. no1. (May, 2004), 134. *Also see* National Statistical Office of Mongolia, Population and Housing Census 2000, Statistical Booklet (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia).

[96] Later twenty-one members from different political parties were added to the commission depending on their experience. See Sanders, "Mongolia's New Constitution: Blueprint for Democracy**."** Asian Survey 32: 6 (June 1992): 506-510.
Initially the constitution was called *Ikh Tsaaz*, the name of Chingis Khan's Law Code[0]. See Sanders, 512.

[97] The 13th of January is now celebrated as the Constitutional Day holiday in Mongolia.

make up the Constitution address the matters of independence and territorial integrity, human rights and freedom, the state structure, local administration functions, the Constitutional Court, and amendment of the Constitution. The new Constitution established a democratic political system with a free market, and also changed the structure of the state institutions in that "the final version called for a mixed political system loosely modeled on France's Fifth Republic."[98]

Chapter Three of the Constitution, dealing with the state structures, states that the supreme legislative power is the State Great Hural. According to this chapter, the President is Head of State, symbolizes the people's unity and has the power to veto parliamentary legislation. Yet, "the veto can be overturned by a two-thirds majority of the State Great Hural."[99] It further states that the President is also the head of the National Security Council and the commander of the armed forces. The prime minister, on the other hand, serves as head of the government and directs a cabinet drawn from the State Great Hural.

The new Constitution empowered the Constitutional Court (Constitutional Tribunal) as a high court that deals primarily with constitutional law. The Constitutional Court consists of nine members, including a chairman, appointed for a six-year term. Its main authority is to rule on whether or not challenged laws are in fact unconstitutional and therefore in conflict with constitutionally established rights and freedoms. However, a number of issues, such as the State Great Hural general elections scheduled

[98] Ginsburg, 466.
[99] Constitution of Mongolia, 1992, Aricle33 (1). The English version of the Constitution was obtained from the University of Southern California (USC) and University of California Los Angeles (UCLA) Joint East Asian Studies Centre (www.isop.ucla.edu/eas/documents/mon-const.htm).

in June 1992 and the presidential election to follow in June 1993, were dealt with by the Supplementary Law on Implementation of the Constitution during the transition period.

Democracy requires the development of strong institutions such as political parties, and interest groups. In accordance with the new Constitution, other laws were passed as revisions, amendments and changes of existing law on political parties, a law on parliamentary and presidential elections, and a law on local elections. These newly passed laws reflected far more democratic practices and establishment of democratized institutions. For example, the political parties law allowed the establishment of parties which could run in the elections. Moreover, interest groups have blossomed. For example, the NGO community has grown dramatically with more than 1,800 registered by the Ministry of Justice in 2000.[100] Therefore, "Mongolian citizens have several channels for representing their interests, including national NGOs. This demonstrates the empowerment of civil society in Mongolia to support the democratization process.

> Mongolia was one of the most interesting of the economies in transition from central planning to a free market economy during the 1990s. Massive external shocks in 1989 and 1990 led unexpectedly to a decline in the country's gross national product. At the same time as Mongolia embraced democracy it adopted rapid economic reform, which worsened the economic situation and led to high inflation.[101]

In the June 28, 1992 parliamentary elections, the MPRP won 71 out of 76 seats and voter turnout was 95.6 percent. The MPRP used the economic crisis situation in the

[100] Ministry of Justice and Internal Affairs of Mongolia website: http://www.jurists.mn (retrieved Jan 2004).

[101] "In May 1991 the State Bank was divided into a Central Bank (the Bank of Mongolia) and a Foreign Trade Bank (State Bank of Mongolia). The newly established commercial banks lacked the expertise to deal with lending in an uncertain market environment. As a result, extremely large debts threatened the entire banking system[0]." See Nixson and Walters,The Transition to A Market Economy: Mongolia 1990-1998, Handbook of Economic Development.

election to win the Democrats. This stunning victory of the communists was a result of them blaming the opposition:

> In the campaign, the conservative elements of the communist party attempted to blame the economic collapse on the new democratic process and the opposition, and exploited popular outrage at a banking scandal in which central banking traders with ties to opposition figures had squandered the country's entire gold reserves through speculations.[102]

Despite the fact that both the painful reforms and the banking scandal had occurred under the MPRP government, linking the opposition and an uncertain period of change to the scandal was an effective strategy and the MPRP won 93 percent of the seats. A new government was formed under Prime Minister P. Jasrai, who maintained the basic policy orientation towards economic reforms.[103]

The first presidential election was held in June 1993. Pulsalmaa Ochirbat won the election to serve as a President for another four years term (see Chapter 3 for detailed election results). His government embarked on an ambitious, but in the short term painful program to achieve the transition from central planning to a market economy by 1994. As we saw above, prices were liberalized, the currency was devalued, a new banking system and stock exchange were established, and privatization began. At this time Mongolia joined the International Monetary Fund and the Asian Development Bank. By 1996 Mongolia's inflation was greatly reduced, and privatization moved apace.

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[102] Ginsburg, 467.

[103] P. Jasrai was born in 1933, and in 1961 he graduated from the Institute of Economics and Statistics as an economist. He served the state for a long time. He was one of the top politicians, and as Prime Minister guided the country through the rough transition to a market economy. [103] For 59 years P. Jasrai was a member of the Communist Party Central Committee who serving as a Chair of the Planning and Economy Committee under J. Batmunkh's leadership. Beginning in 1992 he worked as member of the parliament and retired in 2004. He was working as advisor to Prime Minister Tsahia Elbegdorj.

In April 1994 there was an opposition-led hunger strike in the main square to protest against the government under the leadership of Prime Minister P. Jasrai, and the exposure of yet another banking scandal in the fall. The 41 hunger strikers with their crowd of supporters demanded the resignation of the P. Jasrai government and the dissolution of the Parliament, alleging bribery and corruption. Essentially, the strike was about freeing the media. The strike lasted for twelve days. Even though one of the strikers' demands was to free national radio and television the rural population in Mongolia had access to only government controlled radio and television. The government's continued control over television and radio was of vital importance in a country where most of the rural population did not receive newspapers. During the strike, President P. Ochirbat played role as an ombudsman-mediator. He tried to bring democracy into practice by protecting both public and government interests. As a result of pressure from him, the government agreed to propose a free media law to allow public demonstrations and the revisions of the election law. In the meantime the crisis was resolved by April 25th without the government having to resign.

In conclusion, Mongolia went through a very difficult period for approximately three years in the early 1990s as it suffered financially. As a result, Mongolia turned for assistance to the West and international donor agencies as the Mongolian government began the process of change. This international support helped Mongolia recover from the sharp economic crisis. In the meantime, GDP showed positive growth, and the economy improved gradually.

The Democratic Transition after 1996: The Pendulum Swings Again[104]

The 1996 election brought a new perspective in the politics of the newly democratizing Asian nation with a culture so much different from that of Western culture. "In 1996 the pendulum swung the other way."[105] The Democratic Union Coalition, led by Radnaasumberel Gonchigdorj, defeated the MPRP.[106] It won more than 50 of the 76 assembly seats. The elections for parliament at the end of June 1996 ended the 75 years of Communist rule. After its defeat, the MPRP had to recast itself as a center-left social democratic party. This marked a peaceful alteration from communism to democratization.

Mendsakhany Enhsaikhan, the 41-year-old democratic leader, was appointed as Prime Minister.[107] Economic liberalization was seen as a necessary step toward a democratic polity. The new government started its reform by liberalizing energy prices and eliminating all tariffs. Coal, electricity, and thus energy prices almost doubled. The people were strongly affected by the price liberalization.

During 1996, industrial production fell by twenty five percent. After big factories and enterprises had been privatized many of them closed down due to unsuitable economic and market conditions. Meanwhile, social conditions worsened. According to Statistics Mongolia, the percentage of people living under the poverty line increased to thirty percent and the number of homeless street children increased in Ulaanbaatar. "The

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[104] Sheldon R. Severinghaus, "The Pendulum swings Again," Asian Survey vol. XLI, no. 1 (January/February 2001), 60-64.
[105] Ibid., 62.
[106] Radnasumberelin Gonchigdorj is one of democracy's founders. He studied mathematics at the Mongolian National University. He was appointed, while Vice-President and Chairman of the Little Hural, as the leader of the MSDP in 1990. He was also elected in two parliaments as a speaker of the State Great Hural. R. Gonchigdorj was elected as an MP in the 2004 parliament election.
[107] M. Enkhsaikhan is an economist, and received his education from the University of Kiev in the former USSR.

UNDP estimates that 70 percent of the poor are children and that in 1997 around 4000 children were living on the streets, 60 percent of them in Ulaanbaatar."[108] Overall, due to upheavals brought about by privatization during the democratic transition in Mongolia, industries and social conditions declined leading to a rapid increase in poverty.

In 1997, the preparations for a May presidential election occupied the first part of the year. The former chair of the Small Great Hural, MPRP candidate N. Bagabandi, won easily with 60.8 percent of the vote over former President P. Ochirbat (29.8 percent). There was an 85 percent voter turnout. The new power balance between the president from the MPRP on one side and democratic forces on the other side reflected the consolidation of the constitutional system and democratic process. For example, peaceful coexistence between parliament and president confirmed the consolidating democracy.

Since 1996, Mongolian governments have been less stable, and a number of Prime Ministers have had to resign as a result of splits in the opposition party. Coalition governments resulted in four prime ministers in four years. The instability of the coalition led to political in-fighting, another corruption scandal, and a tendency among members of parliament to put personal political ambition above the interests of the coalition or nation. The coalition's four years in power were highly unstable and unpredictable. For example, in April 1998, the Coalition turned against its own Prime Minister, M. Ekhsaikhan. Tsakhia Elbegdorj[109], the leader of the Mongolian National

[108] UNDP, "Human Development Report Mongolia 1997," (Ulaanbaatar 1997), 25.
[109] Ts. Elbegdorj was a journalist trained in the Soviet Union (Ukraine). He was elected to Parliament in 1990 and served until 1992, but resigned in 1994 in protest over a scandal. He was re-elected in 1996 and appointed as leader of the Mongolian National Democratic Party. Soon after, Ts. Elbegdorj became Prime Minister in March 1998. He resigned in December 1998 following a banking scandal for which his government was held accountable and went to the United States for post graduate studies. He graduated

Democratic Party (MNDP), which was the largest party in the governing Democratic Union (DU) coalition, who became prime minister in April 1998 for five months.

In June, after Ts. Elbegdorj's resignation, President N. Bagabandi vetoed several candidates for Prime Minister: three nominees were vetoed a total of eleven times. Coalition leader, Davaagin Ganbold,[110] one of the founders of the democracy movement, was rejected seven times.[111] These actions made Mongolian democracy unstable. The instability shows that democratization was not a smooth process. Mongolia faced many complications that caused tense political conflicts and controversies. Another incident also shows that the transition in Mongolia was not smooth.

On October 2, 1998 S. Zorig, one of the founding fathers of the democracy movement in Mongolia, was assassinated in the night just before his name was to be submitted to President N. Bagabandi as the next Prime Minister.[112] His death shocked the Mongolian people. They feared that this incident would further lead to political instability and spoil the democratic reputation of Mongolia in the international community.

S. Zorig was a strong advocate for non-violence, and had devoted eight years of his life to the political activist movement. Shortly after his murder, his sister, S. Oyun in October 1998 established an NGO named after her brother to continue his work. This NGO is a good example of an organization that has helped further democracy. In

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from Harvard University with a Master's degree and in 2004 became Prime Minister, in a coalition with the MPRP.

[110] The first Deputy Prime Minister Davaadorjin Ganbold, a 35-year-old former university lecturer who helped lead the demonstrations which toppled the communist government.

[111] International Republican Institute. Mongolia Parliament Election Observation Mission Report. Washington D.C: IRI, July, 2000, 13.

[112] S. Zorig, a 36 year old Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP) member, Member of Parliament and Minister of Infrastructure. He was brutally stabbed to death in his apartment[0]. Authorities have never identified any suspects.

countries where civil society is developing, NGOs have played an important role. The Zorig Foundation works to advance the formation of democratic society by spreading the ideas of democracy and human rights and fighting for political reform in Mongolia to make government more transparent and accountable. Later, in December of the same year, S. Oyun,[113] was elected as MP during a by-election in S. Zorig's constituency. Since 1998 she was re-elected three times to parliament and in August of 2004, she had a short-term appointment as a vice-speaker of the State Great Hural.

Also, in December of 1998, Janlav Narantsatsralt became Prime Minister.[114] He continued free market reforms and accelerated state enterprise privatization. His government did not last long. He and his cabinet were toppled due to a letter he had written to the Russian government involving its share of the Erdenet Copper Mine. The decision to remove J. Narantsatsralt was made by a secret vote. His removal was based on personal political interest rather than government policy. It was because the coalition was in bad shape that everyone turned against each other and looked to simple mistakes to remove one another. Events such as these were setbacks on the road to democracy.

In July 1999, the coalition's fourth Prime Minister, Rinchinnyam Amarjargal, took over the cabinet when J. Narantsatsralt was forced to leave. [115] His government policies were focused on economic and judicial reform, privatization, and the

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[113] S. Oyun graduated from the Karlova University in Czechoslovakia in 1987 and afterwards she pursued PhD in Earth Sciences (geochemistry) from the University of Cambridge. She is also the Chair of the Citizens' Will Party[0].

[114] J. Narantsastralt , only 41 years old and former mayor of Ulaanbaatar, was a member of the MNDP and a Prime Minister. He graduated from the Land Management Institute of Moscow in 1981 as a land manager-engineer with a PhD in Geography. Later he received his second degree from Lomonosov University of Moscow in 1987 as a political scientist. He is in parliament as MP since 1996. In 2004 he was re-elected to the parliament.

[115] R. Amargargal graduated from the Economics Institute, Moscow, Russia in 1982 as an economist. R. Amarjargal was MP from the 1996 to 2000. He had been Minister of Foreign Affairs during Ts. Elbegdorj's government[0]. In July of 2004 he was nominated as an independent candidate and re-elected as an MP.

development of solar energy. Because the government in Mongolia changed hands so frequently, numerous reforms were implemented within a short period and this caused a strain both on the economy and political stability in the country. However, these policies were a good supplement to the development of the economy. They created the first open environment for private business, which has led to a rapid economic expansion in the private sector. By 2000 about 70 percent of the economy was in private hands, Mongolia had achieved the implementation of major economic reform policies. However, the political situation did not lead to democratic consolidation because these sudden changes in the government led people to think the coalition was ineffective, inexperienced and unstable in governing.

Thus, in the 2000 election, the pendulum of power swung back again to the MPRP. In this election, with a voter turnout of 82.43 percent, the MPRP obtained 72 of 76 seats (95 percent) in Parliament. A single party government was formed. The 42-year-old chairman of the MPRP, Nambarin Enkhbayar, was appointed as Prime Minister.[116] In an act of public re-assurance, the new Prime Minister stated,"[w]e are not some monsters who have come to power, but people who speak the same language as the democrats."[117] The reason for the failure of the Democratic Coalition in the election was clear:[118] the Coalition had collapsed and each party ran its own slate of candidates.

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[116] N. Enkhbayar graduated from the Moscow Literature University in USSR in 1979 as a writer and translator-editor. He served as Deputy Head of the Cultural Development Committee of the Government of Mongolia in 1990. Later in 1992 he became a Member of Parliament, Cabinet Member, and Minister of Culture and the member of the State Great Hural from 1992 to 1996. He was selected as Secretary General of the MPRP in 1996 and in the next year became Chairman of the MPRP. Finally in 2000 he became Prime Minister. Since 2004, he has been a Member of Parliament and Chair of the State Great Hural. In 2007, N. Enkhbayar was elected as president of Mongolia.

[117] Asia: "The Ex-Communist storm Back, put Promise to be Different This Time," Economist (July 8, 2000)

[118] Severinghaus, 20.

Nevertheless, they learned from their defeat and joined forces in December 2000 when the five opposition parties, including the MSDP and MNDP, merged to form the Mongolian Democratic Party (MDP). In many constituencies candidates won a narrow victory.

These election results showed that the Mongolian people put considerable trust and confidence in the MPRP. The government followed a liberal economic reform agenda. Parliament approved the new government's Action Program to double the salaries of civil servants, and seniors' pensions, and cut the tax on businesses. This led to a budget deficit, thus, destabilizing the economy. The Action Program was mainly focused on the privatization of large state enterprises such as the national airline MIAT, the NIC Oil Company, Gobi Cashmere, the Erdenet copper facility and the Trade Development Bank. Almost all of the former State enterprises had now been privatized.

Furthermore, The State Great Hural of Mongolia decided it was a time to draft a land privatization law. The Private Land Act, implemented in May of 2003, stipulates that every Mongolian citizen has the right to receive a certain amount of land free of charge. However, many influential people including some in government became large landholders. The Act benefited the country, but ironically enabled these elites to become wealthier.

On the other hand, during the MPRP government a number of events took place that also set back democracy. For example, from 1992 to 1996 the MPRP's government-owned national radio and television stations provided a great challenge for the opposition because the media had become even more difficult for the minority to access.

The MPRP gathered only slightly more than 50 percent of the popular vote. Many think the election law needs to be reformed so that the number of seats held by different parties in the parliament more closely reflects the popular vote.

Furthermore, the MPRP's newly established government replaced many civil servants because of their political affiliation.

Natural disasters increased the problems the country faced while trying to stabilize its economy and political environment. The extremely harsh winter of 1999-2000 caused the loss of 2.6 million head of livestock. According to the official statistics, this affected thousands of herders, whose livelihood depended on their animals. The following year, in 2000-2001, another harsh winter caused the death of 3.4 million more head of livestock. Prime Minister N. Enkhbayar did not deal effectively with this natural disaster. He simply stated that "Mongolians should stop being nomads and that it was necessary to urbanize 90 percent of Mongolia."[119] But after centuries of a nomadic lifestyle, people found it impossible to comply with such a decision. Fortunately, the Mongolian government had received some assistance from the international donor countries for the supply of food and goods for nomads that suffered during these harsh winter conditions.

Although the winters had been cold, Vladimir Putin's visit in 2000 warmed the relationship between Mongolia and Russia. Because of the domestic concerns in each country, relations between the two had suffered over the previous 10 years. Vladimir Putin was the first Russian President to have visited Mongolia since Brezhnev's visit in 1974. His visit helped to improve the relationship between Mongolia and the Russian Federation. In December 2003, the Russian government cancelled Mongolia's debts accumulated during the Soviet era. The negotiations started after the visit to Russia in

[119] Christopher Finch, "Mongolia in 2001: Political Consolidation and Continued Economic Reform," Asian Survey vol. 41, no.1 (January/February 2002), 43.

July by Prime Minister N. Enkhbayar.[120] As a result, today Mongolia is on friendly terms with the Russian Federation.

The most significant event of 2001 was the May presidential election. The MPRP incumbent, President N. Bagabandi, won the presidential election (See Chapter 3 for more detailed results of this election), and the elections further enhanced the MPRP's dominance at the parliamentary and presidential levels. The Democratic Party had found it difficult to rebuild public confidence after their tumultuous years in power. The Democratic Party's lack of experience led to the MPRP's ability to capitalize on their own governing abilities to handle the political and economic crises more effectively.

Not too long after this election the terrorist attacks on the United States on September 11, 2001 occurred. This event had an effect on cashmere prices and, therefore, Mongolia's economy and politics. The Mongolian economy, heavily dependent on export of cashmere, experienced a decline when the product's price dropped. The political environment changed as well when N. Enkhbayar's government agreed with the Bush administration to take part in peacekeeping operations in Iraq. The Mongolian army was also sent to peaceful zones in Afghanistan to demonstrate Mongolia's support for the operations. Mongolia was later selected by the United States as one of the countries to participate in the Millennium Challenge Account in 2002.[121] The possibility of being selected in the Millennium Challenge Account project was very important for Mongolian economic freedom. This achievement, combined with the fact

[120] The Mongolian Press reported that a debt of $11.4 billion to Russia would be written off by 90 percent and the rest would be paid through scheduled payment[0]s. See *Unuudur,* December, 2003

[121] The U.S assistance program announced by President Bush in 2002[0]. According to the CRS Report for Congress, the Millennium Challenge Account was a new supplemental foreign-aid program focused on economic growth in poor countries, good governance and economic freedom. The Mongolian government looked forward to working with Congress. See *CRS Report for Congress*, "Millennium Challenge Account: Implementation of a New U.S. Foreign Aid Initiative", Larry Nowels, Specialist in Foreign Affairs Foreign Affairs, Defense, and Trade Division (February 7, 2006).

that Russia had cancelled Mongolia's massive debt, gave the incumbent government great hope for electoral success in the coming parliamentary election because funding from Congress was around $1 billion.

Mongolians looked forward to the election of 2004 with patience and curiosity to discover whether the political pendulum would swing back again to the democratic forces or stay with the MPRP. It was difficult to predict what would happen. Surprisingly, in the June 2004 parliamentary election, the MPRP and the Democrat parties split the vote 50:50 getting equal representation in parliament.[122] Mongolian voters' attitude toward a party can change radically as this pendulum had already swung back during the previous 1996 election. However, the 2004 election demonstrated a surprising degree of unpredictability in Mongolian politics. Indeed, equal representation in parliament provided a positive democratic exercise for both parties because they had to make compromises to form a government. The election results demonstrate that the democratic challenges and opportunities presented to the Mongolian government allowed them to consolidate democracy. Because of these democratic achievements, the MPRP expected a large amount of public support.

During this period many dramatic changes took place that contributed to Mongolia's transition to democracy; namely the growth of civil society and numerous economic and institutional reforms. When compared to countries that fall into the 'grey zone' between authoritarianism and democracy, Mongolia has been exceptional. Its

[122] It was agreed that the two major parties – the MPRP and the MDC - would each hold the posts of Speaker of Parliament and Prime Minister for two years in rotation. The replaced Prime Minister would be able to hold the post of the Deputy Premier for another term. The term of all other ministers, except for the Prime Minister and Deputy Premier, would be four years. Political parties were to nominate and appoint people to their allocated posts as defined by the bargaining process[0].

transition to democracy occurred without floundering in the dangerous 'grey zone' that Carothers speaks of. Overall the Mongolian economic and political situation gradually improved under stable governments.

Conclusion

The transformation from an authoritarian system to a democracy is a lengthy and controversial process. The difficult transition from a centrally planned economy to a free market economy has been undertaken by many nations and its impact has been varied; however, there are a number of common features that characterize this process. Transitioning countries implement economic policies based on the particular experience of their transition period. Factors such as the historical background, economic endowment and the shock of transition vary from nation to nation.

After the collapse of the Soviet Union in 1990, Mongolia began the move towards democracy. But external actions alone can neither create nor destroy democracy. In this chapter, the case of Mongolian democratic transition demonstrates that the Soviet Union's collapse was an external factor that influenced the move towards democracy. Mongolian transition to democracy was strengthened by leaders and younger generations of Mongolians that were considering the possibilities of breaking away from Soviet control in the early 1980s. The Mongolian experience confirms the importance of historical preconditions and suggests that Mongolia's transition to democracy would have been different had it not been for the Soviet influences. This parallels the fourth assumption of the transition paradigm that social and economic factors affect the transition to democracy.

The transition period's first four years was a time of economic crisis in Mongolia, but since 1994, positive economic growth has been sustained. The major growth sectors have been agriculture, industry, mining, and construction. Even though the 1996 and 2000 elections resulted in different parties gaining power because the pendulum swung back in 2000, the ruling parties successfully implemented their government programs. Mongolia has had multiple changes of government in quick succession that contributed to democratic consolidation.

Assumption two of the transition paradigm states that there is a sequential process of stages that countries will follow while shifting to democracy. Mongolia is a case study that conforms to these stages. For example, the first stage, political opening, occurred in Mongolia in the late 1980s when the dictatorial regime began to break down and space was created for democracy promoters.

> Following the demise of Soviet-type regimes most countries of post communist Inner Asia either experienced initial political openings followed by reversion to authoritarianism or moved directly from one type of harsh authoritarianism to another. Mongolia is exceptional. The extent of political opening there during the 1990s far exceeded anything seen in any neighboring country and the gains of the early post-Soviet period were maintained instead of reversed.[123]

The second stage, political breakthrough, occurred throughout the 1990s when democratic structures were put in place to ensure freedom of democracy. The third stage, consolidation, has occurred in Mongolia through the numerous reforms that continue to allow the development of democracy. This indicates that Mongolia maintained a successful political opening that led to gradual democratic consolidation.

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[123] Steven Fish, M. "The Inner Asian anomaly: Mongolia's democratization in comparative perspective." Communist and Post-Communist Studies 34: 3 (September 2001): 323.

The next chapter will examine the Mongolian electoral system and analyze the democratic elections held since 1990.

CHAPTER III

THE ELECTORAL PROCESS

Introduction

Election and electoral systems are essential elements of a democracy. Countries moving towards democracy face major challenges in choosing the right electoral system to fit their country's historical and social circumstances and to ensure fair and competitive elections. Guillermo O'Donnell states that fair elections are the main criterion that certifies countries as democratic before other governments and international opinion.[124] The importance of electoral laws cannot be understated because they help to ensure that the electoral system is not corrupt. Hence, an examination of electoral system and electoral law is essential to determine whether a country is a democracy.

Mongolia, a post-communist country, is a newly established and successful democracy. One of the key elements of this success is Mongolia's parliamentary governance which has contributed to the development of a fair and transparent electoral system. This chapter will examine Carothers' critiques of the third assumption regarding the importance of elections, and the fifth assumption which argues that many

[124] O'Donnell, "Illusions about Consolidation." Journal of Democracy VII: 2 (April 1996), 44.

transitioning countries face state-building problems. This chapter will assess the quality of Mongolian democracy-building and the electoral system to determine whether the country parallels the transition paradigm outlined by O'Donnell and Schmitter or the critiques suggested Carothers. An answer to two questions will be provided in this chapter: (1) Were there flaws during Mongolia's election process as Carothers predicts? and (2), did Mongolia's democracy promoters effectively pay attention to state-building concerns while building a democratic system? These questions will be answered by providing a review and interpretation of the essential elements of the election process and the results of each democratic election held in Mongolia since it began its transition to democracy in 1990. This chapter is divided into three sections dealing respectively with the electoral system, election law, and elections in Mongolia.

The Electoral System

Democratic elections should translate votes into power fairly. There is a wide variety of election systems used around the world and a given election system will not operate in the same way in all countries. The Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) describes electoral systems as means to translate votes into party representation and allocate seats in the parliament or the legislature.[125] According to the IDEA, for electoral system design "the key variables are the electoral formula used, whether the system is majoritarian or proportional, and what mathematical formula is used to calculate the seat allocation and the size of constituencies, as well as the number of parliamentarians a district elects."[126] The IDEA outlines three broad families of

[125] International IDEA, Handbook of Electoral System Design (Stockholm, Sweden: 1997), 7.
[126] Ibid.

electoral systems. Among these systems, First Past The Post (FPTP) and Proportional Representation (PR) systems are the most popular.

It is important to review the FPTP and the PR systems to understand the efficiency of an electoral system and how to design the best system that works for the country's specific socio-political context. According to the IDEA analysis, one third of the world's countries use the List Proportional Representation system. The PR system promotes multi-party participation in elections and gives opportunities for minority party representation. The purpose of the PR systems is "to consciously translate a party's share of the national votes into a corresponding proportion of parliamentary seats. While seats are often allocated within regionally-based multi-member districts, the parliamentary seat distribution is effectively determined by the overall national vote."[127]

Many developing countries choose First Past the Post[128] for the formation of a stable government.

> In the FPTP the winner is the candidate with the most votes, but not necessarily an absolute majority of the votes. Sixty eight countries, just under one third of the world's countries that hold elections, use the FPTP systems. It is thought that the FPTP system promotes a party system with relatively few parties (sometimes only two).[129]

The FPTP system is also very clear and simple to use. Basically it provides a choice between different political parties and their candidates. It is a suitable system for newly democratic country without strong political institutions that have two political parties,

[127] Ibid., 60.
[128] The FPTP system is also known as a single-member plurality system[0].
[129] IDEA, 18-28.

because it produces a majority government.[130] However, it should be noted that this is not always the case in multi-party systems.

Elections and democracy are two sides of the same coin: "The choice of electoral system is one of the most important institutional decisions for any democracy."[131] Thus we need to analyze the electoral system in terms of electoral constituencies, the number of seats, and the method of election, and we also need to delve into the actual electoral campaigns by analyzing party platforms and campaign results.

Mongolia has carefully designed its own election system to suit its unique historical and socio-political conditions. The transitioning country chose a semi-presidential institutional design in which there is sharing of power between presidential and parliamentary governance. Mongolia now has a modified version of the FTPT system for the parliamentary elections. The Prime Minister is head of the government. The Prime Minister appoints his cabinet subject to the approval of the State Great Hural. For the presidential elections Mongolia has used the Two-Round System. The President is the symbolic executive of the state, elected for four-year terms. However, various parliamentary elections have been contested under different electoral rules including "a block vote system (1992), a party list and candidate list system (1996), and a first-past-the-post system (2000)."[132]

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[130] The IDEA explains that when the FPTP system is used in multi-member districts, it is referred to as 'the Block Vote' in which voters have as many votes as there are seats to be filled. The highest-polling candidates fill the positions, regardless of the percentage of the vote they actually achieve. See IDEA,18.

[131] Ibid., 1.

[132] Todd Landman, Marco Larizza, Claire McEvoy, State Of Democracy In Mongolia A Desk Study , Human Rights Centre (University of Essex, United Kingdom, 2005), 42.

Two-Round Systems are a common method for electing presidents. The "French Two-Round System tries to ensure that the winning candidate receives an absolute majority of the vote cast, that is, over fifty percent."[133] According to IDEA's explanation:

> The first round is conducted in the same way as a FPTP election. If a candidate receives an absolute majority of the vote, then they are elected right away, with no need for a second ballot. If, no candidate receives an absolute majority, then a second round of voting is conducted, and the winner of this round, if s/he receives a majority, is declared elected.[134]

Simply put it is called the two round system because, if no candidate receives a majority in the first round, a second round vote is held in which the two top candidates compete with one candidate declared the winner.

Mongolia's Electoral Law

Elections laws help establish electoral systems which establish regular and democratic elections. The new Constitution of Mongolia guarantees citizens the universal right to vote if they are age 18 and over. Mongolian elections are currently governed by three separate laws, with a substantial amount of repetition and overlap of articles and provisions. The election laws are ambiguous to some extent; the terms used in the election laws have neither been clearly defined nor clearly interpreted. Following the establishment of the Constitution, the first Parliamentary Election Law was adopted in 1992. Provincial government election law and the presidential election law were approved in 1993 by the State Great Hural. The Parliamentary Election Law specifies that 76 members shall be elected to the State Great Hural of Mongolia through the use of

[133] Ibid., 18.
[134] Ibid., 43.

a multi-member district majoritarian system, but the electoral law was amended in 1996 and initiated a single-member district system. The last two elections for parliament (2000 and 2004) were held according to this amended electoral law. In the last parliamentary election in 2004, some election irregularities and fraud appeared and as a result the coalition government formed by the two major parties rewrote the Parliamentary Election Law in December of 2005. In order to prevent the type of election fraud that occurred in the 2004 parliamentary election, the coalition government instituted electoral reform. The 2005 reform introduced a new mixed majority and proportional representation system in which 76 members are elected from multi-member districts. This multi-member district system ranges from nineteen electoral districts with four mandates each, to thirty-eight districts with two mandates.[135] Prior to the election the General Election Committee will determine which system to use for a particular election.

In order to monitor parties' finances and determine whether parties are corrupt or not, the General Election Committee audits parties', coalitions' and independent candidates' campaign accounts during and after an elections and makes sure this information is available to the public. Campaign finances are monitored to deter political parties from passing legislations that will benefit or reward party donors.[136] The Law on Political Parties defines that political parties' party property and income should come from membership fees, donations, entrepreneurial activities by the party, and party fund-

[135] The parliamentary election law stipulates that candidates should be at least 25 years old to be elected member of the State Great Hural and independent candidates should receive the support from a minimum of 801 eligible voters to be nominated. Many reforms have been made to election laws that include regulating campaign expenses. See The State Great Hural Election Law, Article 7.2, December 2005, General Election Commission (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia), 2.
[136] D. Burmaa, "The Political Party and Election Campaign Financing Assessment Study –Mongolia," (Ulaanbaatar, 2003), 1.

raising activities. Donations, from individuals and business, are the main source of funding for political parties in Mongolia and increase during the pre-election campaigns.

Recently, it has become customary for politicians to receive donations from the business sector:

> …usage of state resources for political campaigns constitutes a misuse of public authority for the benefit of individual or group interests (corruption) that has the added negative impact of consolidating single-party domination. The domination of a single party (and its counterpart, the weakness of opposition parties) in Mongolia, along with a Parliamentary political structure that gives significant executive power to the dominant party in the legislature, constitutes a major roadblock to reform of the conditions that foster corruption.[137]

For example, some political parties such as the Mongolian Republican Party and the Motherland-New Democratic Socialist Party of Mongolia are each entirely funded by a single business.

In order to monitor elections Mongolia's constitution calls for a General Election Commission. This Commission, appointed by the parliament, is a highly independent institution.[138] The Election Commission's mandate includes organizing and monitoring all elections and referendums in Mongolia. Since its establishment it has organized and conducted five parliamentary elections and four presidential elections.[139] Although the parliament and president appoint Commission members there have been instances when more than 70 percent of the Commission members have belonged to a single political

[137] U.S Agency for International Development, USAID, "Assessment of Corruption in Mongolia Final Report," August, 2005, 16.
[138] Before the 2006 revision of the General Election Commission Law, the Commission consisted of eleven appointed members. After 2006, it was reduced to nine.
[139] The Parliament appoints the Commission's Chairman and the Secretary. The President of Mongolia together with the Supreme Court appoints the remaining nine members of the Election Commission to six year terms. See General Election Commission Law, The State Great Hural, 2006, General Election Commission's English translation version (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia), 1-8.

party.[140] For example, during the 1996 elections, eight members of the Election Commission were MPRP members. This occurs because the Election Commission appointments are primarily given to members and supporters of the party that dominates the incumbent parliament. Also opposition complaints were raised in many places about the inclusion of MPRP members on electoral sub-district as non-partisans.[141] The Commission has the right to inspect finances, monitor the financial flows of campaign funds, and audit if necessary.

During the period of the elections, district and regional commissions as well as their branches and sub-commissions are established. Monitoring has been conducted based on relevant articles and provisions of the Parliamentary Election Law, Anti-Corruption Laws, and the Laws on Public Services and Political Parties. All these overlapping laws prohibit the abuse of state resources and media resources during election campaigns, especially the use of human and material assets, including property, equipment and funds that belong to government institutions. For instance, Article 41 of the Parliamentary Election Law, in particular, prohibits candidates from receiving, during the election campaigns, donations from governmental organizations or private enterprises that own state properties.[142] However, these provisions are frequently not enforced.

> Personnel are often blatantly fired without consideration for civil service hiring and removal practices. They are then replaced by staff chosen on the basis of political patronage, including those who worked or contributed to the campaigns,

[140] The chairman and all seven secretaries have been members of the MPRP since the establishment of the Commission. Ten out of fifteen members of the Commission appointed since 1992 were MPRP members and five were non-partisans.
[141] For more information see General Election Commission website: http://www.gec.gov.mn
[142] The State Great Hural Election Law, Article 7.2, December 2005, General Election Commission (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia), 23.

> regardless of whether or not they possess the capabilities or skills required by the jobs to which they are assigned.[143]

If any violation has taken place before the General Election Commission, the Supreme Court is asked to deal with these more complex election complaints. Despite minor infractions, Mongolia has been moving along the path to becoming a successful democracy.

Elections in Mongolia

The First Congress of the MPRP, known as the Great Hural, held indirect elections. However, an amendment to the 1940 constitution introduced direct elections, whereby a secret ballot replaced raised hands for a list of candidates at open meetings. In 1960, the Mongolian legislative body, or upper house, became the People's Great Hural with 370 deputies.[144] The first of the democratic multi-party upper house proportional representation elections was held in July 1990. In 1990 reforms negotiated by the Democratic Party with the monopoly MPRP successfully introduced free elections and democratic state institutions into the new Constitution of Mongolia. Before 1990:

> …[t]he provisional parliament consisted of two-chambers, with a 430 member directly elected lower house [The People's Great Hural] members, and fifty members indirectly elected members in the upper house [The State Little Hural]. The number of seats allocated to each party in the upper house had to be proportional to the number of seats held by the party in the lower house.[145]

In the 1990 election for upper house members, the MPRP was allocated 31 seats, the Democratic Party was given 13 seats and the Social- Democrats and the National

[143] USAID, 12.
[144] Sanders, 507-510.
[145] Christian Schafferer, "The 2004 Parliamentary Election In Mongolia: Big Surprises And Small Victories." East Asia, 3:2 (December 2004): 1.

Progress Party received 3 seats each out of total 50 seats.[146] The newly constituted State Little Hural elected Punsalmaagin Ochirbat as President of Mongolia, D. Byambasuren as Prime Minister and Randaasumberlin Gonchigdorj, the leader of the Mongolian Social Democratic Party as Vice-President and Chairman of the State Little Hural. The State Little Hural and President P. Ochirbat established the Constitution Drafting Commission. In January 1992, a new Constitution was adopted ensuring human rights, and free and fair elections. The old two chamber parliament system changed to a one chamber parliament, and reduced the number of members from 430 to 76, elected for four year terms. The law stipulates that 76 member shall be elected by plurality vote in 26 multi-member electoral districts each with either two or four mandates.

Elections in 1992 and 2000 demonstrated the importance of forming a democratic coalition. To be a strong opposition to the MPRP (which had existed for 80 years and had developed a plethora of grassroots structures, funding, members and experience), a coalition among the contesting parties was necessary. Also the contending parties were still relatively inexperienced, and unless they united into a coalition, they endangered splitting the opposition vote. This was the case in the 1992 and 2000 elections when, despite the fact that they received more than 45 percent popular vote, they ended with only four to six seats in parliament per contending party. In order to beat the MPRP, parties had to form a coalition before the election, but the coalitions were loose and based on the "front" against the former communists and not on a particular ideology. This explains why the democratic parties easily split after the elections.[147]

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[146] Sanders, 518.
[147] Since 1990, a total of nine parties merged together inside the united Democratic Party[0].

Since the 1990s, Mongolia has held four parliamentary elections in 1992, 1996, 2000 and 2004, and four presidential elections in 1993, 1997, 2001 and 2005. Democrats have once won the presidential election in 1993, and the MPRP has won the other three. Presidential elections are held a year after the parliamentary elections. The MPRP won a majority in the 1992 and 2000 parliamentary elections, while the Democratic Coalition won in the 1996 parliamentary elections and formed a coalition government in the 2004 parliamentary elections.

The 1992 and 1993 Elections

On June 28, 1992, in the first parliamentary elections of the transition period, 76 members ran in twenty-six multi-member districts in accordance with the new Constitution and the State Great Hural Election Law that was adopted in April 1992. Mongolia has 18 provinces that form constituencies, three big cities, Darkhan and Erdenet, which form one constituency each, and the capital Ulaanbaatar city, which comprises six constituencies. Successful candidates were chosen on the plurality basis.

Before the election, the Political Party law was approved by the parliament so that contesting parties officially registered by April 1992 could run in the election. Two coalitions and eight parties were registered to run in the first multi-party election. The first coalition, the Democratic Alliance, consisted of the Mongolian Democratic Party, the Mongolian Democratic National Progress Party and the Mongolian United Party. The second coalition was comprised of the Mongolian Democratic Believers Party and the Mongolian People's Party.[148] The remaining eight parties ran independently.[149] "In

[148] Schafferer, 2.

the elections of 1992, 275 out of 293 candidates were from 10 parties/coalitions and the other 18 were independent candidates."[150] The MPRP won 70 of the 76 seats in the State Great Hural, though it received only 56 percent of the popular vote. (See Appendix III, Table 1) The Democratic Alliance got four seats and the MSDP one seat, and one independent candidate was elected. The one independent and the opposition parties' four MPs belonged to the group of the first ten democrats who formed the democratic movements in Mongolia. They were: S. Zorig, Ts. Elbegdorj, R. Gonchigdorj, A. Ganbaatar and

D. Ganbold. The opposition vote was split among a broad number of parties and coalitions. According to the IDEA,

> …in Mongolia in 1992 the Block Vote system allowed the ruling Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party to win 92% of the seats with only 57% of the votes. This was considered by many to be not merely unfair but dangerous to democracy, and the electoral system was consequently changed for the elections of 1996.[151]

The IDEA and Electoral Knowledge Network (ACE) define a Block Vote as "simply the use of plurality voting in multi-member districts. Voters have as many votes as there are seats to be filled in their district, and are usually free to vote for individual candidates regardless of party affiliation."[152]

The Block Vote system worsened the chances for the opposition and this system was used only once. The MPRP received approximately 60 percent of the vote from the twenty country constituencies. Most candidates were MPRP leaders and well-known party members. Local Communist leaders in the countryside were more widely

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[149] These eight parties included: the MSDP, the MPRP, The Religious Democratic Party, the United Herdsmen and Farmers Party, the United Private Owners Party, the Mongolian Party of Independence, the Green Party and the Mongolian Capitalists' Party.
[150] J. Yadamsuren, Democratic Election Data, Election Commission Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 2002.
[151] IDEA, 11-12.
[152] Ibid.

recognized and popular, and people in rural areas were all MPRP members. A new government with a new policy towards economic reform was formed under P. Jasrai of the MPRP.

One party had dominated Mongolian politics and the entire country for seventy years. This dominance was one of the reasons why the Democrats were defeated. They found it difficult to establish contact with a highly dispersed rural population. These difficulties included the underdeveloped transportation infrastructure, and the lack of media and information available to rural Mongolians. This particular election was assessed as free and fair and democratic forces took some seats in the parliament which helped enhance democratic reform.

On June 6, 1993 Mongolia had its first free multi-party presidential election. (See Appendix II Table 1). Only parties holding seats in the State Great Hural were allowed to nominate presidential candidates, who then participated in the two-round presidential election. Although, voters did not have a substantial knowledge of presidential power or the President Election Law, voters' turnout was high at 92.7 percent.[153]

The former President, P. Ochirbat, was rejected as the MPRP candidate and he joined the Mongolian National Democratic Party. So the Democratic Alliance accepted him as their candidate for the Presidential election. P. Ochirbat was re-elected for a second term as president with 58 percent of the votes. His competitor, L. Tudev[154] received 38 percent of the vote.[155] (See Appendix II, Table 1). For P. Ochirbat the loss of his MPRP party membership provided him with a good opportunity which allowed

[153] Yadamsuren, 104.
[154] L. Tudev was the editor of the MPRP party newspaper "*Unen*" or "Truth" which was the Mongolian newspaper equivalent of the Russian *Pravda.*
[155] Ginsburg, 468.

him the chance to be re-elected in cooperation with democratic forces. P. Ochirbat's charismatic personality equipped him well to serve as president and he managed to strengthen his reputation during his presidency. There were several reasons why he was able to receive voters' support and improve his reputation, including the fact that people thought it would be a bad idea to change the president frequently during the transition to democracy.[156] Rather than basing their vote on personal characteristics, L. Tudev's supporters believed that he would consider the country's best interests while in power.[157]

The first presidential election proved that democracy in Mongolia had been strengthened and gave citizens the opportunity for meaningful choice. The majority of the population from the big cities, as well as Central, Gobi and Eastern provinces, supported the democratic party member P. Ochirbat, while the Western provinces voted for the communist MPRP member L. Tudev. P, Ochirbat won 14 of 18 provinces.[158] The first presidential election played a significant role in establishing a balance between the presidency and the parliament. The outcome of this election saw the communist party come into executive power and the democrats gain control of the parliament. Thus this presidential election led to a balance between the two major political forces and that strengthened the democratic transition.

The 1996 Election

The democratic transition period continued and in 1996 the parliamentary election was conducted by FPTP in single-member districts. Article 26 of the Election

[156] Gunfsambuu Khayanhyarva, Social Stratification In Contemporary Mongolian Society Zotol Club of Professional Sociologist (Ulaanbaatar 2002),115.
[157] Ibid.
[158] Ginsburg, 469.

Law, revised in January 1996, divided Mongolia into 76 single member districts with one candidate chosen from each constituency. "In the elections of 1996, 267 out of 302 candidates were from 7 parties/coalitions and there were 35 independents."[159] The Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP) and the Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP) formed a coalition called the Democratic Union Coalition (DUC). This party defeated the former communist party, the MPRP, winning an overwhelming victory.

> The coalition used the 1994 "Contract with America"[160] as a model for the "Contract with the Mongolian Voters." The Contract was the most widely disseminated document in Mongolian history, with numerous promises for sweeping political, economic, and social reform. [161]

Although its election platform's promises sounded unrealistic, for the first time in Mongolian history democrats won a parliamentary election and the DUC gained 50 of the 76 seats. The MPRP lost it hold on power for the first time in seventy-five years and received just 25 seats in the State Great Hural. The voter turnout was 92 percent (See Appendix III, V Table 2).

> The new Hural, with an average age of 38, reflected the youth of the country. Seven of the new MPs were women, up from three in previous Hural but down from the 20% mandated in the one-party period. Seventeen of the new MPs were in private business or were leaders of NGOs, reflecting the rise of civil society as an important political force.[162]

Most elected parliamentarians were well known DUC party members who had actively taken part in the pro-democracy movement. The 25 elected MPs from the MPRP were former MPs in the 1992-1996 parliaments.

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[159] Yadamsuren.
[160] In comparison with the Republican platform in the United States, the 1992 Mongolian elections were presented as a right-wing platform.
[161] International Republican Institute. Mongolia Parliament Election Observation Mission Report. (Washington D.C: IRI, July, 2000), 10.
[162] Ginsburg, **"**Mongolia in 1996: Fighting Fire and Ice**."** Asian Survey 37: 1 (January 1997), 61.

However, this election victory brought various challenges and difficulties for the democrats because experienced MPRP bureaucrats and well qualified professionals were replaced with the younger and less-experienced DUC party members. Former MP and economist, Mendsaikhan Enksaikhan, head of the DUC, was elected as the new Prime Minister. The new government introduced judicial reforms and radical economic reforms, freed the media, and strengthened the legal system. Fortunately, the transition from the incumbent to the Democratic Union proved to be peaceful and smooth, an important step toward democratic consolidation, because the communist party was voted out of power and the opposition democrats were voted in. Thus democracy was further consolidated and strengthened in Mongolia.

Mongolia's democratic transition period continued into the second presidential election in 1997. Three candidates were nominated from the parties holding seats in parliament. N. Bagabandi, the former speaker of the State Great Hural, was nominated by the MPRP; P. Ochirbat, was nominated by the Democratic Alliance; and Jambin Gombojav was nominated by the Mongolian United Conservative Party. On May 19, 1997 N. Bagabandi, the candidate for the MPRP, won the second presidential election (See Appendix II Table 1).[163] He was supported by 60.8 percent of the electorate on a platform that proposed to slow down the rapid political and economic reforms undertaken by the previous government. Incumbent President P. Ochirbat of the Democratic Union split the remaining vote by 29.6 percent with J. Gombojav who

[163] MPRP President N. Bagabandi used his power of veto to reject several candidates nominated for prime minister by the Democratic Coalition. Meanwhile, the Coalition was blamed for this unstable situation and for dismissing four prime ministers and cabinets within four years.

received 7.7 percent of the vote.[164] Once again, there was a high turnout of 85 percent of the 1.1 million eligible voters.

N. Bagabandi had strong financial and media support from the MPRP.[165] Competitor J. Gombojav had extensive experience working in the rural areas, so he received votes from herders. On the other hand, incumbent president P. Ochirbat relied on his personal charisma and a platform that focused on economic reforms such as tax-free imports; this proved very attractive to voters.[166] Yet, P. Ochirbat was not sure whether he would receive the same support that he had gathered during his first presidential victory. The Democrats, however, could not find any other reputable candidate who could meet the age requirement of 45 years under the presidential election law.

This election result also proved that the voters' preference could shift dramatically from one political party to another. Voters considered the candidate's official position, party affiliation and past political performance. This is a strong indication that Mongolian voters are prepared to see regime change and indicates that the ongoing new elections are genuinely democratic and that the transition to democracy continued successfully.

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[164] Khayanhyarva, 120, 122.
His platform slogan was "For Independence-Justice-Benefit of common people".
[165] Ibid., 119.
N. Bagabandi, the winner's slogan was 'Safe for the citizens, society for the people.
[166] Ibid.

The Parliamentary Election of 2000 and the 2001 Presidential Election

On July 2, 2000, the third parliamentary election returned political power to the MPRP.[167] Twenty of Mongolia's 24 political parties participated in the election, either independently or in a coalition (See Appendix III, V Table 3). The three parliamentary parties – the MPRP, the MNDP and the MSDP - all ran 76 candidates. Critically, the Democratic Union Coalition broke apart and the MSDP decided to compete in the election on its own. MPRP candidates ran under their party symbol, rather than as individuals. Voters chose between parties, rather than between candidates. The three ranking members of the MNDP parliamentary fraction formed the Mongolian Democratic Party. In March 2000, S. Zorig's sister, S. Oyun, formed the Citizens' Will Party.[168] Soon after, the Democratic Union Coalition and the Green Party formed a coalition with the Citizens' Will Party. Only the MNDP and the small Mongolian Religious Democratic Party remained in the Democratic Union Coalition. Fifteen political parties and coalitions took part in the 2000 elections.[169]

"The election resulted in a massive victory for the MPRP, with 72 out of the 76 seats, though it received only 50.3 percent of the vote, and despite the fact that the democratic force received 46 percent of the vote of the electorate."[170] The MPRP had nominated eight women candidates who were all elected as members of the parliament.

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[167] Severinghaus, 62.
[168] IDEA, 55-75.
[169] IRI., 20.
The Mongolian Peoples Revolutionary Party, Mongolian Social Democratic Party, Mongolian Democratic Party, Democratic Union Coalition of MNDP and the Religious Democratic Party, Mongolian New Socialist Democratic Party, Mongolian Republican Party, Citizens Will/Green Party Coalition, Mongolian Party for Rural Development, Mongolian Party of Unity, Mongolian Liberal Democratic Party , Mongolian Civic Democratic New Liberal Party Great Coalition (Party for Mongolia, Mongolians Renaissance Party, Mongolian Traditional United Party) Mongolian Party for Regional Development, Party for Mongolian Traditional Justice, and the Mongolian Workers Party.
[170] Yadamsuren.

One member of the MNDP, former Prime Minister J. Narantsastralt, was one of only four non-MPRP MPs elected. Another was S. Oyun, head of The Citizens' Will / The Green Party Coalition, re-elected from her constituency in Dornod province. The third was B. Erdenebat, chairman of Mongolian New Socialist Democratic Party, who won election in Ulaanbaatar. A single independent, L. Gundalai, won with 41.57 percent of the vote in Khuvsgul province.

There are several explanations for the defeat of the democrats. First, in a four-year period four governments had been formed. This displayed a degree of instability and a failure to provide leadership. Second, the various governments had made a series of mistakes on economic reform, as was demonstrated in Chapter 2. Third, the Coalition had split before the election and each party ran an independent slate of candidates. Therefore, the democrats had not fulfilled the people's expectation. Although almost fifty percent of the people argued that living conditions under the communist regime were better than during the democratic transition period, voters' feelings also seemed mixed about Mongolia's communist past; the majority said that a return to communism was not a desirable choice.

During the election, the most important concerns of the Mongolian people were unemployment and poverty. Furthermore, one party had controlled the government for almost 70 years and it had been difficult to beat. It had local-level organization, the support of some national newspapers and the people's habits in voting for it. Half of the MPs nominated from the MPRP were former MPs while the other half were new to the parliament. This shows that people trusted the MPRP by voting for incumbent MPRP members of the parliament. New opposition parties and candidates clearly had no experience in policy-making whereas the MPRP members did. In Mongolia, the MPRP

is trusted as Mongolians express a strong culture of support for well-educated, experienced individuals during election.

Party platforms are important in analyzing competing parties' goals during elections. Political platforms offer a good indication of the possible future government program. Here I will briefly introduce some of the parties' slogans and platforms that were put forward throughout the 2000 election. People began to look at the slogans to help make their decisions, despite the fact that some people became cynical that parties could not keep their promises during the election campaign. For example, the MPRP slogan was "Let's recover the state from the crisis and rescue the people from poverty."[171] The MPRP focused on the instability of the previous coalition government. Also the party's platform emphasized its commitment to build the Millennium Road, a two-lane asphalt highway across Mongolia. The Millennium Road project was to be completed by 2011. With its completion, the country will be connected with Central and Northeast Asia. Promises of the Millennium Road project attracted many votes.

The Citizens' Will Party / The Green Party Coalition slogan was, "It will depend only on your civic courage."[172] The new coalition platform was focused on the rule of law, and transparency and accountability in governance. The MNDP slogan was "Your choice is the future of Mongolia."[173] The slogan of the Motherland-Mongolian New Socialist Democratic Party (MNSDP or EREL Corporation) was "Believe in Yourself and Do It Yourselves," however its reputation was centered on chairman B. Erdenebat, who also owned the sole business that funded his party.

[171] IRI., 20.
[172] Ibid.
[173] Ibid., 21.

When the MPRP came to power the new Prime Minister and chairman, N. Enkhbayar, officially stated that the new government would not introduce major changes in the transition process. The MPRP General Secretary, L. Enebish, became the new Speaker of Parliament. It was very hard, however, for the opposition to oppose the MPRP in government or in Parliament because the MPRP had control over both parliament and the presidency. This example demonstrates that Mongolia kept coming back to authoritarianism from democracy by the alternation of power every four years. This example demonstrates that power shifted from the more authoritarian to the democratic forces in alternate elections without a major disruption in the transition to democracy.

The International Republican Institute observers and other international delegations observed the entire electoral process in the 2000 parliamentary election. They evaluated the whole election process starting from the pre-election period, election-day, the counting of ballots and until the transfer of power. Their report claims that "the ongoing support of international NGOs such as the International Republican Institute, Konrad Adenauer Foundation, Open Society/Soros Foundation, USAID, the Asia Foundation and others has been critical in helping build the opposition's election strategy and efficiency, in teaching citizens how to hold fair elections, and in encouraging all political parties to publicize their platforms."[174] In general, the observers did not notice any systematic electoral irregularities, but there were some minor issues such as the lack of uniformity in voter registration, problem in the distribution of voter identity cards, the counting of absentee ballots and the improper use of mobile boxes.

[174] IDEA, 66-67.

Following the surprising results of the 2000 election, there was another important political event – the presidential elections on May 20, 2001 (See Appendix II Table 3). In the run-up to the election, presidential candidate R. Gonchigdorj, former Social Democratic Party leader and 1996–2000 State Great Hural Speaker, defeated former National Democrat and Prime Minister M. Enksaikhan and won the nomination as the newly-united Democratic Party's presidential candidate.[175] The Citizens' Will Party formed a coalition with the Mongolian Republican Party to nominate L. Dashnyam as its candidate for the presidency. Ultimately, the Democrats' newly found unity was not enough to unseat N. Bagabandi, who won handily with 58 percent of the vote, compared with 36.5 percent for R. Gonchigdorj. The third contender, L. Dashnyam garnered 3.5 percent of the vote.[176]

> The presidential election victory enhanced the MPRP's political dominance. It illustrated the democrats' difficulties in rebuilding public confidence after their four tumultuous years in power. They made unpopular and painful decisions to liberalize Mongolia's economy during that time, but four successive Democratic Coalition governments marked their rule, a corruption case, political stalemate exacerbated by the MPRP, and failure to improve the standard of living.[177]

Despite the Democratic Party's appeals for a balance of power between the presidency and the parliament, the MPRP incumbent President N. Bagabandi won in an election that was widely viewed as free and fair.

> The MPRP, which adopted a social democratic doctrine in 1997, had worked to show the public and the world that the party had left its communist roots behind. They deepened the democrat-initiated economic reforms and generally maintained the environment of political and economic openness that Mongolia has enjoyed for the past decade.[178]

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[175] Finch, 40.
[176] Ibid.
[177] Ibid.
[178] Ibid.

Both the 2000 and 2001 elections returned political power to the MPRP at the presidential and parliamentary levels. The 2001 democratic election demonstrated that peaceful transitions occurred in Mongolia, and further proved that elections became an important part of Mongolia's transition to democracy. The fact that the parliamentary elections resulted in political power changing hands from the MPRP to the Democrats in 1996, and then back to the MPRP in 2000, demonstrates that Mongolia conforms with the third stage of the second assumption, for example, Mongolia is consolidating democracy according to the transition paradigm which is critiqued by Carothers.

The 2004 Elections

The fifth parliamentary democratic election was held on the 27 of June, 2004. This time the democratic opposition decided to form a strong coalition because of lessons learned from the 2000 election experience. Prior to this election the two major incumbent opposition parties in parliament, the Mongolian New Socialist Democratic Party and the Citizens' Will Party, joined with the Democratic Party to form the Motherland Democratic Coalition (MDC). Seven political parties and 15 independent candidates ran in the 2004 general election. Most often four or five candidates ran in each single member electoral district. Six parties ran in this election.[179]

The Motherland Democratic Coalition took 34 seats in the parliament while the MPRP fell from 72 seats to 36 (See Appendix III, V Table 4).[180] B. Jargalsaikhan, leader of the Mongolian Republican Party and director of Buyan Cashmere Company, who had

[179] MPRP - Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party, Democracy Coalition, RP - Republican Party, MPNU - Mongolian Party of National Unity, MUCP - Mongolian United Conservative Party, MLP - Mongolian Liberal Party, MGP - Mongolian Green Party.
[180] The results in two constituencies were under dispute.

run in three elections since 1992, finally won a seat. He is an example of an economic leader whose wealth helped to get him elected to parliament. Three independent winners, former Prime Minister R. Amarjargal, Yadamsuren Sanjmyatav, Democratic Party Chairman Zavkhanaimag, and Durzee Odhuu, Advisor to the NGO Altangadas Association, were former members of Democratic Party. The MPRP received 48.9 percent of the vote (36 seats) while the MDC attained 44.65 percent (34 seats). Voter turnout was 82.3 percent. The result of the election was a surprise for Mongolians, but also for international observers and the outside world. Many people expected that the MPRP would win a majority of seats in parliament. They were surprised but glad, and wondered why the MPRP had not gained the majority.

All the elected MPRP members of the parliament were former MPs at least two times elected and between the ages of 30 and 60 years, while only half of the elected MPs nominated by the Motherland Democratic Coalition were former MPs, including cabinet members who had served under previous Democratic governments. The other half elected were new to politics and the parliament. The newcomers, however, were all well known, successful businessmen running major companies in Mongolia. The Coalition selected their candidates from among the directors of large companies and former MPs from the 1996-2000 parliament. After this surprising election result, there remained the larger challenge of how to form a coalition government.

To explain the election results, we need to analyze the party campaigns and the party platforms. Many factors affected the MPRP's loss of its majority and the surprising victory of the Coalition. Let us begin with the main factors related to the MPRP election campaign. The MPRP's election platform for the parliamentary election

in 2004 had as its slogan "for you and with you/ your party and my party."[181] The party promised that the MPRP would continue to pursue policies focusing on social security, the State's increased attention to welfare policy and expanded public services for people of all ages. Great emphasis was placed on unemployment and poverty, and greater attention was devoted to public health and education. According to the platform, the MPRP would continue to implement the on-going major developmental programs, such as the Millennium Road project, though the opposition claimed that the project would take thousands of years to finish. The MPRP also promised to improve the efficiency of state services and to lessen bureaucracy.

The Motherland Democratic Coalition presented a platform with 21 main aims to support the well-being of citizens, particularly families and children; to encourage businesses; and to put an end to authoritarian tendencies within the bureaucracy. The party slogan was "Let's remove current pressures and support households."[182] They suggested in their platform that they would implement a 'Money of Trust' policy that would allocate and pay ten thousand tugrugs every month to all children below the age of 18.[183] The Coalition addressed the fact that Mongolia has one million children. There was an assumption by people that this 'Money of Trust' policy would attract many voters. The party intended to support households by providing social welfare, education, health care, and poverty reduction for the entire population with the hopes of encouraging people to benefit from a bright future. On the other hand, the Mongolian Republic Party platform promised to reform current banking and financial institutions

[181] Unen no. 099, (May 17, 2004) "MPRP Parliamentary Election 2004 Platform".
[182] Udriin medee, 126,127 (Daily News) July 2004**.**"Motherland – Democracy" Coalition Parliamentary Election 2004 Platform"**.**
[183] Motherland – Democracy" Coalition Parliamentary Election 2004 Platform**,** April 20, 2004 (Ulaanbaaatar, Mongolia), 1-20.

which were charging very high interest rates; to create opportunities and conditions to build private housing; to increase the salary of civil servants to US$ 300 per month, and to improve sustainability and accountability of the government.

The new social welfare policies addressed by political parties during this election campaign showed that the parties had different views and approaches. Let us review why people changed their attitude towards the parties. One reason, as Ch. Tamir argues, is that "the general factor that [influenced] the MPRP to lose the election was a people's psychology of tiredness."[184] Indeed, the MPRP alone had won victories in all elections since 1996, including the 1996 local election, the 1997 Presidential election, the 1997 by-elections, the 2000 parliament election, the 2000 local elections, the 2001 Presidential election, and the 2002 by-elections. Often people get bored, if the outcome is always the same. In sum, the rationale behind Ch. Tamir's explanation for the election results is basically that the people wanted to try new ideas, to experiment with new choices and new images, and to imagine themselves as a new people with a new political force and new policies.

Another reason given for the MPRP's defeat is that the party's advertising campaign was overwhelming because it was posted everywhere, including on the TV news. This demonstrated that the MPRP still maintained its power over the broadcast media. For example, a Soros Foundation monitoring survey reported that "the MPRP political advertisements alone took up 96 percent of the total advertisement time on radio by the first four weeks of the election campaign."[185] Voters were turned off by the MPRP's aggressive campaigning and this caused the vote to swing to the Motherland

[184] Ch. Tamir, "Election Analysis 2004*,"* Lecturer, Faculty of Sociology, Mongolian State University, (Ulaanbaatar: July 2004), 2.
[185] Ibid.

Democracy Coalition to balance political forces. In the 2000 election there were many party candidates competing in each district. With so many options it was difficult for voters to choose who would represent them. Inevitably, all the opposition parties split votes. Compared to the 2000 election, the 2004 election saw the opposition parties form an effective coalition. In the 2004 election the two main political forces were the Motherland Democratic Coalition and the MPRP.

Apart from this, the 2004 election saw more misdeeds than ever. Both competing parties in this election were involved in organized fraud. As Andreas Schedler notes, election fraud is extremely complicated:

> Anyone familiar with the often-messy business of monitoring elections knows that vote fraud can be a very complicated, shadowy, and slippery affair that causes domestic and international observers to pull their hair out by the handful. Much practical knowledge and painstaking methodological analysis have gone toward devising methods that allow monitors to distinguish massive fraud from widespread but unsystematic irregularities, but the results so far are hardly conclusive.[186]

Although they tried to reveal each other's misdeeds after the election, both parties cheated by, for example, tampering with voters' lists, pre-distributing ballot papers, transporting a mass of transferred voters, counterfeiting ballot papers, and invalidating opponents' votes. The MPRP accused the Democrats of cheating in the election. They abused the power of incumbency to monopolize state-controlled radio and television. The MPRP was able to abuse their political power because Election Law Article 10 states that, "Parties represented at the State Great Hural shall be financially supported from the state budget according to the number of seats they hold. The amount of

[186] Schedler.

financing and the procedure thereby shall be determined by the State Great Hural."[187] This provision favors the political party dominating in parliament, because it allows the party with the majority to receive funding proportionate to the number of seats it holds and the MPRP had by far the largest number of MPs.

In August 2004, after the election, the parties in parliament recognized the necessity for cooperation given the election results. They began negotiations to form a coalition government although the process was slow. They compromised in the formation of a coalition government composed equally of the Democratic Coalition and the MPRP. Former Prime Minister MPRP N. Enkhbayar was appointed as Speaker of the Parliament. After several weeks of negotiations, Ts. Elbegdorj, who had already served as a Prime Minister in the Democratic Coalition government of 1997, was appointed as Prime Minister. This new government was only the second Democratic administration in power following decades of MPRP rule. To facilitate their task, a group of MPs went to Israel to learn how to work in a coalition setting. The newly-appointed Prime Minister and Speaker of the Parliament divested the government of National Radio and TV stations and thus abolished state control. Further, parliament appointed a committee to reform election laws that had caused difficulties and fraud in the past elections. This 2004 election was a key milestone because it brought about further democratic consolidation. The political parties received equal representation and had to share power in the parliament. This shows that Mongolia is making a peaceful and stable transition to democracy

[187] The State Great Hural Election Law, December 2005, General Election Commission. (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia), 3.

The results of the 2004 election were surprising. Two major political entities, namely the MPRP and the hastily created Motherland-Democracy Coalition, took nearly an equal number of seats, 36 and 34, respectively. One of the remaining four seats went to a small party leader and independent candidates took the other three, leaving two disputed seats under judicial review. As a result of the lack of a clear-cut majority of 39 constitutionally prescribed for the appointment of the cabinet, the two previous political parties instead formed the so-called Grand Coalition Cabinet, and divided the ministerial portfolios equally. To minimize the likelihood of election fraud and help ensure fair election practices, the State Great Hural reformed electoral laws after the 2004 election.

Conclusion

Many people traveled hours across difficult terrain in order to let their voices be heard during the elections. The Mongolian people's spirit and their tireless efforts to practice their newly won democracy inspired widespread optimism. The extremely high voter turnout during the elections demonstrates that Mongolians are dedicated to strengthening democracy through successive elections. The 2004 election is a highlight in the Mongolian democratic transition because power successfully and peacefully changed hands again as it had in the 1996 and 2000 elections.

In sum, Mongolia's elections can be considered free and fair; they certainly improved democracy during the transition period as the third assumption in the paradigm predicts. However, Carothers argues that simply holding elections will not necessarily improve political participation and the stability of government. In the case of Mongolia, his critique is relevant because the election system is still susceptible to flaws and election laws are continually being reformed to better Mongolia's election system.

The strengthening of political institutions and civil society contributed in a major way to stabilizing democracy, hence while necessary, election alone did not ensure democracy.

Although Mongolia made significant democratic changes, it was not immune to state-building problems during this transition. This is in agreement with the fifth assumption of the transition paradigm that states that democracy promoters pay more attention to democracy-building than to state-building. Due to the past Soviet influences and structures previously in place, the state-building processes remained compromised. Institutions such as political parties faced many challenges during the transition period. Furthermore, Mongolia had made significant changes with respect to the laws governing elections. While there were many individuals and groups that promoted democracy they often neglected the intricacies involved in state-building. For example, although election law contributed to the country's successful democratic transition, it was not overnight that fair elections occurred. Moreover, laws often were passed that favored the majority government when going into an election. As was demonstrated in this chapter, the introduction of numerous electoral reforms and reform committees were required to ensure that the electoral system would be acceptable by international standards. By overcoming these unavoidable state-building problems Mongolia has demonstrated a peaceful transition to democracy.

Carothers has argued that once a country has fairly regular elections, it not only guarantees a new government democratic legitimacy, but also promotes deep democratic participation and accountability that will serve to strengthen democracy.[188] As has been demonstrated, currently Mongolia holds regular elections that are competitive (in that major opposition parties and candidates participate), and generally free of massive fraud.

[188] Carothers, 8.

The following chapter will bring together the paradigm's assumptions and demonstrate that Mongolia is still in the consolidation stage of its transition to democracy.

CHAPTER IV

CONCLUSION

The central objective of this thesis has been to examine Mongolia's transition to democracy from an authoritarian one-party system. Mongolia is a fascinating country which has undergone, within a short period of time, a massive transformation from an authoritarian political system with a state controlled and directed economy to democratic system with a free market economy. The objective in this concluding chapter is to summarize and interpret the findings.

Findings

Mongolia is a country that has proven its democratic achievement within the last decade and has taken the steps necessary to promote further democratization. The transition paradigm states that those countries making the transition to democracy will fulfill five requirements. These are the five core assumptions of the paradigm. However, Carothers has challenged the applicability of these assumptions. This section will provide a summary of how Mongolia meets these assumptions and it will determine the relevance of Carothers' critiques by taking into account the Mongolian experience.

The first assumption of the O'Donnell and Schmitter paradigm states that countries moving away from an authoritarian regime are automatically in transition to democracy. Carothers argues that this is not the case for all of countries; many countries lie in the grey zone between authoritarianism and democracy. Where some countries have faltered and remain grounded or stalled in this grey zone, Mongolia has succeeded in its transition to democracy. Not only has Mongolia conducted fundamental political and economic reforms simultaneously, but its political leaders have displayed an unexpected degree of maturity in both conceding the inevitable, and in crafting a coalition-formation process which recognizes and accommodates the realities of electoral outcomes. Furthermore, Mongolia has seen the emergence and institutionalization of various organizations within its now vibrant civil society. For example, the NGO community that has expanded dramatically within the last 15 years, and now there are approximately 2000 in existence. Because of these developments Mongolia has avoided the grey zone that Carothers says many countries will fall into. Based on the findings of this research, the Mongolian case demonstrates that the first assumption of the transition paradigm applies for Mongolia and that it is not an example of a country that falls in Carothers' grey zone.

The second assumption of the paradigm states that there is a sequential process that countries will follow while moving to democracy: political opening, democratic breakthrough and democratic consolidation. Carothers maintains that many countries do not necessarily follow these stages. Mongolia, however, is a case that does conform to these three stages. Mongolia's experience during the first stage, political opening, occurred when the dictatorial regime began to break down and space was created for democracy promoters. During this opening stage the Mongolians overturned the ruling

dictatorial regime during the 1990 strikes and demonstrations. This political opening was crafted very carefully by civil society leaders who did not want to foster dramatic state repression. This political opening was demonstrated in Chapter Two which discusses how the younger generation began to advocate for a free media and engaging in a broad range of discussions about human rights and multi-party elections. In establishing a variety of influential organizations these individuals became the leaders of the democratic movement the creation of which is an essential component of stage two.

The next stage, the breakthrough, saw the collapse of the old regime and the rapid emergence of genuine political liberalization. This created democratic openings and allowed new governments to alternate in power in both the 1992 and 1996 national elections. Mongolia also saw the establishment of a democratic institutional structure through a new constitution that was created in 1992. Furthermore, the vibrant civil society that developed continually pressured the government to maintain the democratic momentum. For example, the young intellectuals who organized the Mongolian Democratic Union sought to represent the interests of the masses. They were determined to wrest power away from the older conservative leaders of the communist era. Moreover, the MPRP's flexibility in response to the pressures of democracy should be emphasized. In 2000, the MPRP revised its party objectives and adopted the theory of social democracy. Thus the former communist party's adaptability ensured its continued presence on the political stage and helped to create a stable democratic environment.

Democratic consolidation is the last stage identified in the second assumption of the transition paradigm. The Mongolian government has made numerous reforms that have both allowed and promoted the continued development of democracy. Democratic consolidation includes strengthening civil society, political party development, and

reforming state institutions. For example, during the late 1980s many students and members of the younger generation came together to form political groups which evolved into political parties that remain influential to this day. Mongolia's civil society has played a crucial role in its democratization and the research in this thesis demonstrated that the Mongolian Democratic Union was one of the influential civil society actors.

Another essential development was the emergence of the coalition form of governance. Due the results of the 2004 elections, the MPRP and the Democrats are now in a power-sharing relationship with equal representation in parliament. This new democratic path may guarantee a decline of corruption as both parties in parliament closely monitor each other. It is also useful to note that, as Samuel Huntington suggests, democratization has occurred when there have been two clear regime changes through an open, competitive and fair electoral process. In the case of Mongolia, there have been three regime changes. The first election saw a regime change, the second election brought the MPRP back to power, and finally in 2004 a new coalition regime was formed. Appendix I captures the time frame of the crucial regime changes which took place in Mongolia during the consolidation phase.

With respect to Carothers' critique of the paradigm, Mongolia conformed to the transitional path from political opening and breakthrough to consolidation. Although Carothers states that not all countries will follow these three stages, Mongolia is an example of a country that did. This demonstrates that in the case of Mongolia this caution does not apply.

The third assumption of the transition paradigm states that free and fair elections are all that is required to call a country a democracy. However, Carothers argues that

simply holding elections will not necessarily improve political participation and the stability of government. Carothers' caution that elections alone do not necessary lead to democracy is confirmed in Mongolian case. The problematic elections held in 1996 and 2004 confirm that the system is still susceptible to flaws. It is possible that these flaws could be rectified with further reforms to the electoral system. Regardless of these flaws, Mongolia has made exceptional strides in its transition to democracy. Its democratic electoral system allows multiple political parties to participate and has been characterized by a high voter turn out. This is especially impressive given that only 15 years ago the system had been dominated by single party rule. But the strengthening of political institutions and civil society contributed in a major way to stabilizing democracy; hence while necessary, election alone did not ensure democracy. Carothers cautions that elections alone do not necessarily lead to a democracy, thus the case study of Mongolia confirms Carothers' critique of the transition paradigm.

The fourth assumption of the transition paradigm states that social and economic factors affect the transition to democracy. Carothers, however, argues that the paradigm does not adequately emphasize the preconditions for democracy that existed prior to the transition. He argues that the economic, political, and social characteristics of the country that existed prior to the transition strongly affect its transition to democracy. This research finds that these preconditions were important for Mongolia's transition to democracy. First, Mongolia had been heavily dependent on economic assistance from the Soviet Union. The collapse of the Soviet Union and the CMEA system affected Mongolia's decision to make economic reforms and move towards democracy. Second, alongside Mikhail Gorbachev's economic reforms, his foreign and domestic initiatives towards rekindling Sino-Soviet relations influenced Mongolia's own political actions.

Third, the civil society in Mongolia began to accept Gorbachev's policy reforms. An active young generation which promoted these reforms helped to set in motion this shift in civil society. These actions and changes in civil society formed the basis for the social preconditions that moved Mongolia towards democracy. The case study of Mongolia confirms the importance of the economic, political and social historical preconditions because without the external factor of the Soviet Union, Mongolia may not have been pushed towards democracy. Hence, Carothers' argument that historical preconditions affect a country's democratic transition has been confirmed by this case study.

The fifth assumption of the transition paradigm states that democracy promoters pay more attention to democracy-building than to state-building. In doing so, they neglect to take into consideration that state-building provides the backbone for democracy-building. Carothers argues that state-building (the introduction of new electoral and political institutions and the strengthening of civil society) is very complex and that scholars should not ignore these challenges to democracy. Mongolia demonstrates just how challenging it can be to focus on state-building while simultaneously building a democracy. Although Mongolia's civil society had begun to develop in the late 1980s, and had become considerably influential by 1992, the process of state-building has been continual throughout the last 15 years of the country's transition period. For example, Mongolia faced setbacks during state-building because of election fraud. Although election laws have contributed to the country's successful democratic transition, fair elections cannot be implemented overnight. Nevertheless, each reform has helped to mitigate the chances of fraud in Mongolia's political system. The process of reforming the electoral and political institutions is an ongoing challenge that Mongolia must address. Mongolia demonstrates the complexity of the state-

building process which Carothers argues is so challenging, yet important, during the transitional process.

This chapter has provided an overview of the five assumptions in the transition paradigm and Carothers' critiques against them. In summary, Carothers' critiques are validated and hold true in the case of Mongolia. Mongolia moved towards democracy without stalling in the grey-zone that Carothers says may exist, but not all countries fall into. Therefore, Mongolia is an example of a country that has transcended a possible grey zone. His caution was proved irrelevant in the Mongolian case. Mongolia conforms well to the three stages outlined by the transition paradigm in assumption two. The transition paradigm is validated in the case of Mongolia, however, Carothers's critiques highlighted the more complicated process that countries transitioning to democracy must go through.

Not only was the validity of Carothers' critique of assumptions one and two demonstrated by this case study, his critique of assumptions three, four and five is also applicable; Carothers' critiques are well founded. With respect to assumption three, Mongolia's electoral system has not been immune from flaws and there is ample room for improvement in this area of democracy. With respect to Carothers' critique of assumption four, the findings also prove that the historical preconditions in Mongolia did impact the country's decision to move towards democracy. And, lastly, with respect to Carothers' critique of assumption five, Mongolia has confirmed the importance of considering state-building aspects while promoting democracy; state-building provides the backbone to effective democracy-building. Although these cautions do apply for Mongolia, we cannot be sure that Mongolia would not have become a democracy were these conditions absent.

Mongolia's future democratic prospects look quite promising. The increasing involvement of young people in politics who are committed to democratization makes one even more optimistic about Mongolia's democratic future. The dimension of generational change in the ranks of the political leadership in Mongolia makes continued success even more likely and helps to assure the continuation of the momentum for political change. The young generation is not willing to return to the old regime and its anti-democratic ways. The new younger political actors are the product of the democratization movement.[189] They are committed to it and will ensure that the consolidation process continues to take place in the Mongolian political system.

The findings of this thesis also revealed that civil society has grown during Mongolia's transition to democracy. It is through the many NGOs that citizens are able to represent their interests. Many of the national NGOs are run by women who focus on gender-specific concerns. Comparatively, women are more actively engaged in civil society in Mongolia than men and they could contribute greatly to Mongolia if they were to be elected into crucial political positions. Moreover, women currently in Parliament have improved their professional competency since the 1980s. However, women are still the minority in Parliament and their representation in politics is still limited. There has been limited research into this area and actionable recommendations are required in order to increase women's participation and representation in politics in Mongolia.

Overall, by international standards for a transitioning country, Mongolia has made remarkable progress in the last decade. Mongolia is a good example of a

[189] This generational change is a new trend within democratic consolidation. In the 2004 parliamentary elections B. Erdeneburen became the youngest MP in the State Great Hural. Generally, the 2004 election results show that the younger generation is coming into power. Even the staid, conservative MPRP is trying to recruit more young party members and provide opportunities for young leaders to lead the country. Moreover, in the new coalition government, the majority of the ministers are relatively young people ranging from 30 to 50 years of age (See Appendix VI, Table 4).

consolidating democratic system in Central Asia. Unlike other Asian countries, Mongolia is challenging and breaking the stereotype of alternating between authoritarianism and democracy. The main conclusion reached is that Mongolia has accomplished this by undertaking concurrent political and economic reforms in a peaceful manner which has contributed to the country's success. Mongolians are obviously proud of the democratic steps taken in the last fifteen years.

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Appendix I: Timeline of Key Events in Mongolia during the transition

Date	Event
July 1984-	The General Secretary of the MPRP Yu. Tsedendal replaced by Jambin Batmunkh
1986-	Economic reforms beginnings of 'the perestroika' and 'the glasnost'
1987-	The MPRP announced agreement for withdrawal of the Soviet Motor Rifle Division
Jan 27, 1987 -	Diplomatic relations established with the United States
May 1989-	Sino-Soviet summit
Dec 1989 -	First popular reform demonstrations. The Mongolian Democratic Association organized
Jan 1990 -	Large scale demonstrations demanding democracy held in sub-zero weather
Feb 18, 1990	Jambim Batmunkh resigns with entire Politburo
Mar 2, 1990 -	Soviets and Mongolians announce that all the Soviet troops will be withdrawn from Mongolia by 1992
May 1990 -	New Constitution amended to provide for multi-party system and new elections
July 29, 1990-	The first democratic elections held
Sep 3, 1990 -	The first democratically elected the People's Great Hural takes office
Feb 12, 1992	New constitution goes into effect
Apr 4, 1992 -	New election law passed
Jun 28, 1992 -	Election for the first unicameral legislature (The State Great Hural)
Jun 6, 1993 -	The first direct presidential election won by Punsalmaa Ochirbat.
Jun 30, 1996 -	Election of the first noncommunist government
July 2, 2000-	Election of the former communist Mongolian Peoples Revolutionary Party (MPRP); formation of new government by Prime Minister Nambarin Enkhbayar
April 2001 -	The second presidential election won by Natsagin Bagabandi.
Nov. 2002 -	The land privatization
Jun 28, 2004 -	Fourth parliamentary election , which formed first coalition government
Dec. 2004 -	Russian Federation canceled debt to the Former Soviet Union

Source: J.Bolbaatar, M.Sanjdorj and B.Shirendev. History of Mongolia vol5, Mongolian Scientific Academy Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 2003, and 1990 - 2005 author's own data.

May 22, 2005-	Fourth Presidential election won by Nambarin Enkhbayar.

Appendix II: POLITICAL DATA

Name of the State: Mongolia
Form of the Government: Republic Semi-presidential Westminster system
Structure of the Legislature: Unicameral legislature, State Great Hural *(Ulsin Ikh Hural)*
Size of the territory: 1.6 million square kilometers
Size of the Population: 2, 504.000 (2003)

PRESIDENTIONAL ELECTION RESULTS 1993- 2001

Table 1:

Presidential Election, 6 June 1993

Turnout: 92.7%

Candidate	*Votes*	*% of Vote*
Punsalmaagin Ochirbat	592,836	57.8
Lodoin Tudev	397,057	38.7
Invalid	36,077	3.5
Total valid	989,893	96.5
Number of voters listed	1,106,403	

Table 2

Presidential Election, 19 May 1997

Turnout: 85.1%

Candidate	*Votes*	*% of Vote*
Natsagin Bagabandi	597,573	60.8
Punsalmaagin Ochirbat	292,896	29.8
Jambin Gombojav	65,201	6.6

Source: National Statistic's Office of Mongolia, Statistics 2003 (Ulaanbaatar, 2003) Gunfsambuu Khayanhyarva, Social Stratification In Contemporary Mongolian Society Zotol Club of Professional Sociologist (Ulaanbaatar 2002) and J. Yadamsuren, Democratic Election Data, Election Commission (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 2002), 93-118.

Invalid	26,970	2.7
Total valid	955,670	97.3
Number of voters listed	1,155,228	

Table 3

Presidential Election, 20 May 2001

Turnout: 82.9%

Candidate	*Votes*	*% of Vote*
Natsagin Bagabandi	581,381	58.1
Radnasumbrelin Gonchigdorj	365,363	36.5
Luvsannyamin Dashnyam	35,425	3.5
Invalid	17,411	1.7
Total valid	982,714	98.3
Number of voters listed	1,205,885	

Appendix III: Votes and Seats in the Parliamentary Elections 1992-2004

Source: J. Yadamsuren, Democratic Election Data, Election Commission (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 2002), 93-118.

Table 1

Parliamentary Election, 28 June 1992

Turnout: 95%

Party Coalition	*Seats*
MPRP	70
Democratic, National Progress And United Parties Alliances	4
MSDP	1
Independents	1
Total	76

Table 2

Parliamentary Election, 30 June 1996

Turnout: 92%

Party Coalition	*Seats*
DUC	50
MPRP	25
Mongolian Traditional United Party	1
Total	76

Table 3

Parliamentary Election, 2 July 2000

Turnout: 82%

Party Coalition	*Seats*
MPRP	72
MNDP-MRDP	1
Mongolian New Socialist Democratic Party	1
Citizens Will/Green Party Coalition	1
Independents	1
Total	76

Source: J. Yadamsuren, Democratic Election Data, Election Commission (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 2002), 3-59.
International Republican Institute. Mongolia Parliament Election Observation Mission Report. Washington D.C: IRI, July, 2000.

Table 4

Parliamentary Election, 27 June 2004

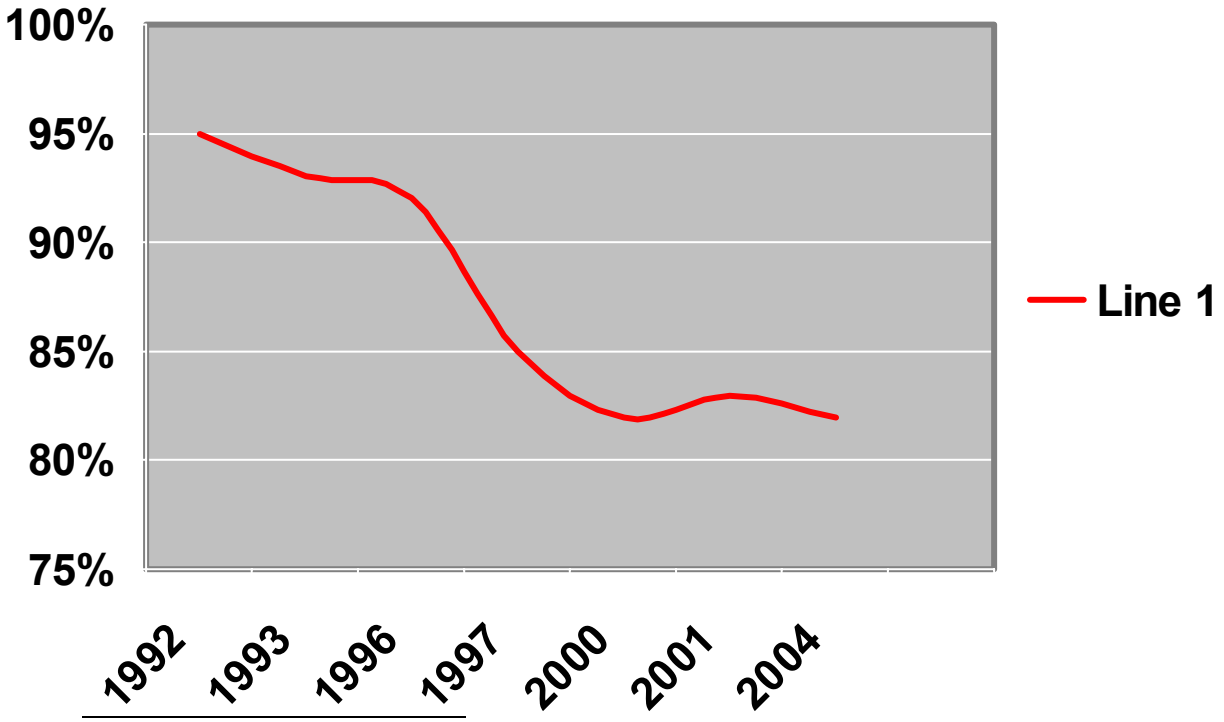
Turnout: 82%

Party Coalition	*% of Vote*	*Seats*
MPRP	47.3	36
Motherland Democratic Coalition	44.7	34
Mongolian Republican Party	1.47	1
Independents	3.9	3
Invalid		2
Total		76

Source: General Election Commission of Mongolia website: http://www.gec.gov.mn/ (Retrieved 12 August 2004.)

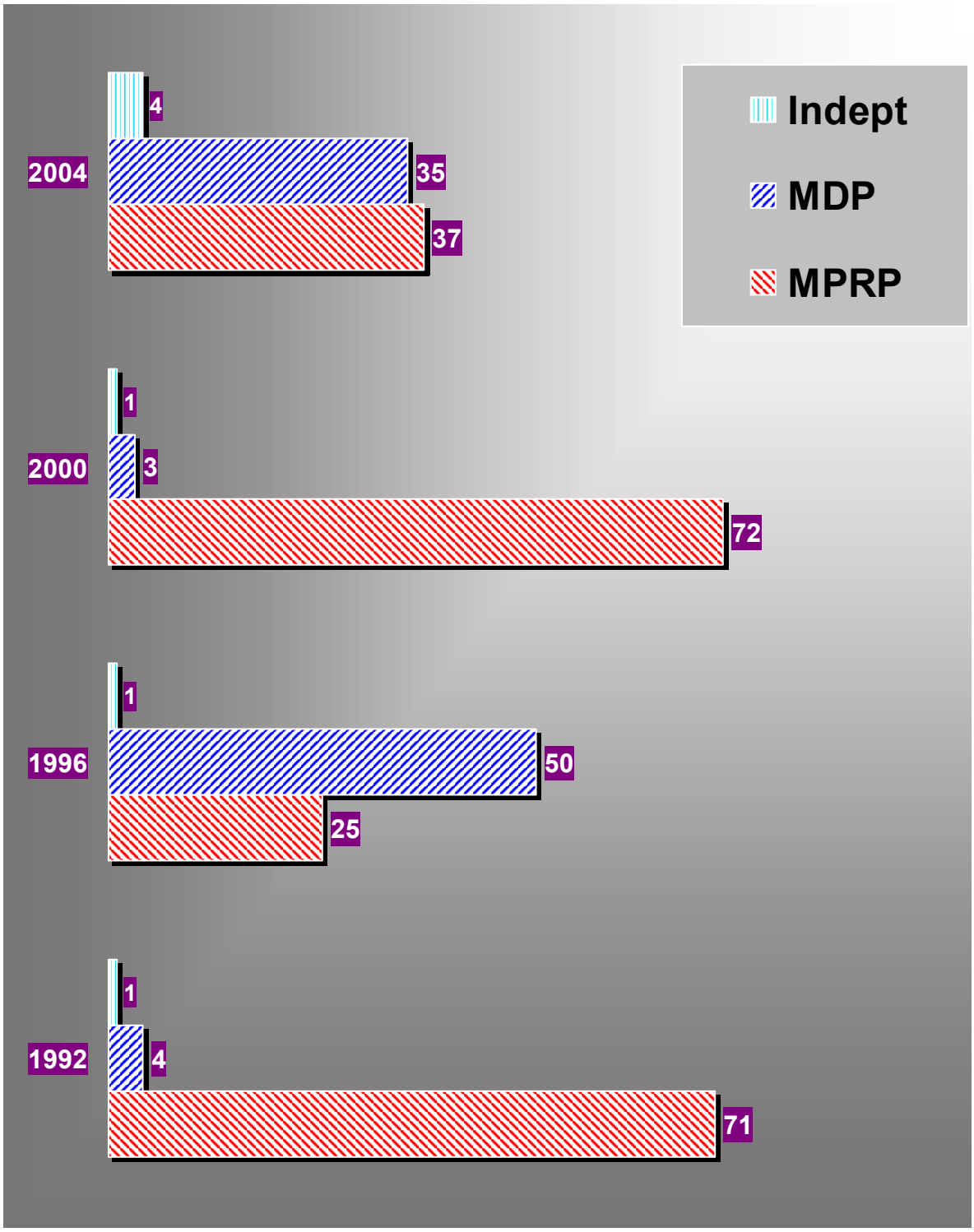
Appendix IV: Voter turnout, Parliamentary and Presidential Elections

Year of election		Voter turnout
1992	Parliamentary	95.60%
1993	Presidential	92.7%
1996		Parliamentary 92.15%
1997		Presidential 85.06%
2000	Parliamentary	82.43%
2001	Presidential	82.94%
2004		Parliamentary 82.3%



Source: J. Yadamsuren, Democratic Election Data, Election Commission (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 2002), 3-118

Appendix V: Parliamentary Election Results



Source: Author's data.

Appendix VI: Parliamentary Election Results

Table 1

Parliamentary Election 1992: MPs Elected

Name of the MP		*Party*	*Votes*	*% of Vote*
1.	M.Dalaikhuu	MPRP	19,823	46.3
2.	Ch.Purevdorj	MPRP	23,573	55.0
3.	R.Gonchigdorj	Dem All	30,527	71.2
4.	A.Bolat	MPRP	26,349	67.2
5.	H.Volodya	MPRP	21,481	54.8
6.	T.Sultan	MPRP	23,775	60.6
7.	D.Gombo	MPRP	20,621	56.3
8.	D.Dashtseden	MPRP	20,270	55.3
9.	G.Tserendavga	MPRP	21,590	58.9
10.	J.Boldbaatar	MPRP	18,541	67.9
11.	S.Gundenbal	MPRP	16,920	62.0
12.	A.Bazarkhuu	MPRP	18,698	62.3
13.	G.Zuunai/B.Alzahgui	Independent	12,246	40.8
14.	Yo.Adilbish	MPRP	20,065	70.8
15.	Ts.Sharavdorj	MPRP	18,389	64.9
16.	D.Bazarsad	MPRP	20,211	58.9
17.	D.Dagvasuren	MPRP	19,293	56.2
18.	Ts.Turmandakh	MPRP	19,859	57.8
19.	S.Batmunkh	MPRP	11,271	49.1
20.	N.Togtokh	MPRP	11,065	48.2
21.	N.Bagabandi	MPRP	31,169	70.6
22.	Ts.Nyamhkhainyambuu	MPRP	29,250	66.3
23.	S.Nyamzagd	MPRP	28,111	63.7
24.	Sh.Batbayar	MPRP	25,257	53.3
25.	O.Batmunkh	MPRP	26,086	55.0
26.	J.Batsuuri	MPRP	25,812	54.4
27.	D.Lundeejantsan	MPRP	31,590	66.6
28.	D.Idevkhten	MPRP	12,241	59.4
29.	R.Tsagaankhuu	MPRP	12,576	61.0
30.	J.Gombojav	MPRP	17,924	70.3
31.	Ch.Khurts	MPRP	13,647	53.6
32.	B.Demberel	MPRP	23,944	59.0
33.	D.Munkhuu	MPRP	27,666	68.2
34.	Ch.Zorigtbaatar	MPRP	23,305	57.4

Source: J. Yadamsuren, Democratic Election Data, Election Commission (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 2002), 7-8

35.	Ch.Dashdemberel	MPRP	37,080	75.8
36.	B.Lkhagvasuren	MPRP	34,559	70.6
37.	M.Zenee	MPRP	31,982	65.4
38.	M.Mendbileg	MPRP	29,548	60.4
39.	N.Bayartsaikhan	MPRP	32,366	81.2
40.	S.Tumur	MPRP	32,745	82.2
41.	O.Shaalai	MPRP	28,259	70.9
42.	J.Byambadorj	MPRP	27,941	76.6
43.	D.Demberel	MPRP	26,218	71.8
44.	J.Norovsambuu	MPRP	30,465	83.5
45.	B.Chimed	MPRP	28,176	55.5
46.	Ts.Elbegdorj/R.Odonbaatar	Dem All	28,022	55.2
47.	D.Danzan	MPRP	25,216	49.7
48.	G.Turtogtoh	MPRP	20,678	40.7
49.	N.Ganbyamba	MPRP	16,539	48.6
50.	Ch.Gan-Ulzii	MPRP	13,725	40.3
51.	D.Ganbold	Dem All	15,800	46.4
52.	N.Jantsannorov/T.Erdenebileg	MPRP	19,902	56.8
53.	Ch.Bayanjargal	MPRP	19,008	54.2
54.	J.Jadambaa	MPRP	18,659	53.2
55.	J.Delgertsetseg	MPRP	13,770	60.6
56.	Sh.Chunag	MPRP	10,903	48.0
57.	Ts.Nyamdorj	MPRP	15,302	50.3
58.	S.Chuluunbaatar	MPRP	14,643	48.2
59.	T.Ochikhuu	MPRP	31,513	54.2
60.	J.Byambajav	MPRP	31,497	54.2
61.	D.Batbaatar	MPRP	30,958	53.2
62.	N.Jalbajav	MPRP	27,132	46.7
63.	G.Ganbold	MPRP	18,723	50.0
64.	S.Zorig	Dem All	17,242	46.0
65.	N.Enkhbayar	MPRP	16,487	44.0
66.	J.Urtnasan	MPRP	19,419	51.4
67.	Ts.Ganbat	MPRP	19,177	50.8
68.	L.Enebish	MPRP	29,135	56.7
69.	T.Gandi	MPRP	27,840	54.1
70.	Ts.Gombosuren	MPRP	26,600	51.7
71.	S.Narangerel	MPRP	23,804	46.3
72.	P.Jasrai	MPRP	32,717	63.9
73.	J.Algaa	MPRP	24,325	47.5
74.	B.Ganbold	MPRP	23,221	45.4
75.	A.Ganbaatar	MSDP	18,416	36.0
76.	Ts.Tovuusuren	MPRP	17,020	45.1

Table 2

Parliamentary Election 1996: MPs Elected

Name of the MP		*Party*	*Votes*	*% of Vote*
1.	R.Gonchigdorj	DUC	11,653	71.1
2.	S.Tumur-Ochir	MPRP	5,538	38.4
3.	S.Lambaa	DUC	8,878	60.4
4.	R.Sandalhan	MPRP	6,701	66.3
5.	T.Sultan	MPRP	5,343	48.3
6.	A.Bolat	MPRP	6,044	47.6
7.	Yo.Gerelchuluun	DUC	6,721	59.8
8.	D.Batnasan	DUC	7,394	59.7
9.	Ts.Elbegdorj	DUC	9,412	64.6
10.	Ya.Erkhembayar	DUC	7,214	47.8
11.	D.Dashpurev	DUC	7,378	48.9
12.	P.Jasrai	MPRP	10,882	67.8
13.	A.Bazarkhuu	MPRP	9,624	59.8
14.	Yo.Adilbish	MPRP	8,199	61.8
15.	Ts.Sharavdorj	MPRP	9,344	61.7
16.	D.Enkhbaatar	DUC	5,724	59.5
17.	S.Zorig/S.Oyun(by-election)	DUC	7,645	64.6
18.	S.Bilegsaikhan	DUC	7,531	58.4
19.	N.Togtokh	MPRP	4,351	34.8
20.	J.Otgonbayar	DUC	5,687	51.1
21.	N.Bagabandi	MPRP	7,533	55.0
22.	Ts.Gankhuyag	DUC	9,550	59.4
23.	N.Battsereg	DUC	8,550	54.3
24.	Kh.Dashzeveg	DUC	5,379	47.2
25.	R.Badamdamdin	DUC	7,895	62.9
26.	D.Lundeejantsan	MPRP	7,381	54.7
27.	Sh.Batbayar	MPRP	5,006	36.9
28.	Ch.Otgonbayar	DUC	4,998	44.5
29.	Ts.Bayarsaikhan	DUC	6,426	61.1
30.	Ch.Ulaan	MPRP	7,784	60.4
31.	O.Dashbalbar	MTUP	5,400	37.4
32.	D.Tsogt-Ochir	DUC	8,146	53.7
33.	S.Bayartsogt	DUC	8,695	58.0

Source: J. Yadamsuren, Democratic Election Data, Election Commission (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 2002), 9-34

34.	R.Sodkhuu	MPRP	5,943	46.7
35.	D.Ganbold	DUC	7,733	53.3
36.	M.Zenee	MPRP	6,143	62.4
37.	S.Gonchig/Ts.Uuld	MPRP	6,020	48.7
38.	U.Narantsatsralt	DUC	5,957	49.2
39.	Ts.Nyamdorj	MPRP	6,306	55.1
40.	N.Bayartsaikhan	MPRP	9,115	62.6
41.	S.Tumur	MPRP	9,512	67.4
42.	J.Byambadorj	MPRP	5,364	54.6
43.	J.Norovsambuu	MPRP	9,241	64.8
44.	D.Demberel	MPRP	6,846	46.5
45.	D.Tsogbadrakh	DUC	5,804	44.6
46.	E.Bat-Uul	DUC	8,422	61.5
47.	R.Odonbaatar	DUC	7,441	54.7
48.	D.Bokhisharga	DUC	7,011	47.5
49.	D.Ganbold	DUC	7,484	64.5
50.	N.Tuvshintugs	DUC	7,671	63.0
51.	O.Enkhtuya	DUC	6,334	60.6
52.	T.Erdenebileg	DUC	7,823	70.6
53.	M.Chimedtseren/D.Tseveenjav	DUC	5,265	47.5
54.	Sh.Batbayar	DUC	5,913	47.8
55.	L.Luvsan-Ochir	DUC	7,326	53.9
56.	D.Enkhtaivan	DUC	8,407	62.6
57.	S.Boldkhet	DUC	8,266	53.1
58.	Kh.Hulan	DUC	7,710	54.3
59.	Ts.Tumurtogoo	DUC	7,120	46.6
60.	S.Batchuluun	DUC	7,913	43.8
61.	T.Ochirkhuu	MPRP	5,442	39.2
62.	G.Gankhuyag	DUC	8,006	51.3
63.	B.Batbayar	DUC	6,736	52.4
64.	R.Amarjargal	DUC	8,673	58.2
65.	T.Gandi	MPRP	5,382	40.6
66.	J.Gombojav	MPRP	4,313	33.4
67.	A.Ganbaatar	DUC	7,174	50.1
68.	Ch.Saikhanbileg	DUC	8,394	61.9
69.	N.Altankhuyag	DUC	7,565	52.5
70.	D.Battulga	DUC	6,711	51.4
71.	Batjargalin Batbayar	DUC	6,202	45.5
72.	R.Narangerel	DUC	5,402	45.9
73.	D.Khuvituguldur	DUC	6,587	47.0
74.	Lu.Bold	DUC	6,594	53.0
75.	B.Delgermaa	DUC	5.465	52.6
76.	Ts.Enkhtuvshin	DUC	6,247	49.0

Table 3

Parliamentary Election 2000: MPs Elected

Name of the MP	*Party*	*Votes*	*% of Vote*
1. B.Chadraa	MPRP	7,498	46.65
2. S.Tumur-Ochir	MPRP	4,723	34.37
3. M.Dalaikhuu	MPRP	7,456	52.94
4. R.Sandalhan	MPRP	6,974	61.1
5. O.Nigamet	MPRP	5,692	46.0
6. H.Jekei	MPRP	7,103	50.22
7. D.Tumendemberel	MPRP	4,304	37.7
8. Ts.Shiirevdamba	MPRP	5,446	42.0
9. S.Dulam	MPRP	7,151	50.01
10. Ch.Radnaa	MPRP	8,946	60.95
11. L.Enebish	MPRP	11,306	80.57
12. P.Jasrai	MPRP	9,868	62.85
13. R.Tsogtbaatar	MPRP	6,201	40.41
14. L.Odonchimed	MPRP	8,732	66.12
15. Ts.Sharavdorj	MPRP	7,361	46.28
16. B.Baatarzorig	MPRP	3,583	44.74
17. S.Oyun	Citizen's Will-Green	6,515	50.99
18. D.Bazarsad	MPRP	5,618	52.78
19. N.Togtokh	MPRP	5,273	43.34
20. J.Narantsastsralt	MNDP-MRDP	6,875	63.61
21. B.Sharavsambuu	MPRP	6,295	49.86
22. Sh.Otgonbileg	MPRP	11,489	78.16
23. D.Oyunkhorol	MPRP	8,257	52.22
24. D.Sugar	MPRP	6,028	53.68
25. D.Dembereltseren	MPRP	4,940	39.92
26. D.Lundeejantsan	MPRP	8,187	61.15
27. B.Erdenebilegt	MPRP	6,546	43.97
28. Ts.Oyunbaatar	MPRP	6,672	55.16
29. B.Dolgor	MPRP	5,715	52.76
30. Ch.Ulaan	MPRP	7,313	57.47
31. Sh.Badam	MPRP	6,395	42.5
32. P.Nyamdavaa	MPRP	7,981	53.30
33. Sh.Gungaadorj	MPRP	7,987	56.12

Source: International Republican Institute. Mongolia Parliament Election Observation Mission Report. (Washington D.C: IRI, July, 2000), 111-142
J. Yadamsuren, Democratic Election Data, Election Commission (Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia 2002), 7-9

34.	R.Sodkhuu	MPRP	5,481	40.50
35.	D.Dondog	MPRP	6,672	53.72
36.	M.Zenee	MPRP	6,159	67.85
37.	Ts.Uuld	MPRP	6,571	57.86
38.	N.Enkhbold	MPRP	5,750	58.93
39.	Ts.Nyamdorj	MPRP	6,355	63.5
40.	N.Bayartsaikhan	MPRP	9,192	65.76
41.	Ch.Avdai	MPRP	7,729	54.07
42.	Ts.Damiran	MPRP	4,803	47.63
43.	G,Nyamdavaa	MPRP	9,552	66.31
44.	D.Demberel	MPRP	7,161	47.71
45.	L.Gundalai	Independent	5,196	41.57
46.	U.Enkhtuvshin	MPRP	6,603	46.12
47.	E.Gombojav	MPRP	7,445	51.9
48.	L.Tserenjav	MPRP	6,723	43.9
49.	D.Arvin	MPRP	4,584	44.61
50.	N.Ganbyamba	MPRP	5,491	49.05
51.	U.Khurelsukh	MPRP	5,509	54.77
52.	B.Battulga	MPRP	4,929	47.47
53.	D.Tseveenjav	MPRP	4,493	46.39
54.	L.Davaatsedev	MPRP	6,000	53.23
55.	Yo.Bayarsaikhan	MPRP	6,858	44.95
56.	Ts.Nyam-Osor	MPRP	6,267	48.7
57.	T.Gandi	MPRP	7,999	50.49
58.	R.Amarsaikhan	MPRP	8,831	56.23
59.	R.Gavaa	MPRP	9,932	53.11
60.	H.Balsandorj	MPRP	6,877	38.05
61.	B.Erdenebat	MDNSP	5,517	40.52
62.	G.Turtogtokh	MPRP	8,206	51.15
63.	O.Suren	MPRP	6,186	50.58
64.	A.Shagdarsuren	MPRP	7,618	53.84
65.	N.Enkhbayar	MPRP	8,915	62.18
66.	J.Byambadorj	MPRP	7,778	63.70
67.	D.Altai	MPRP	7,982	50.49
68.	Ts.Baasanjav	MPRP	8,929	59.50
69.	N.Bolormaa	MPRP	7,150	54.30
70.	Ts.Dashdorj	MPRP	6,637	51.71
71.	N.Sodnomdorj	MPRP	6,195	54.95
72.	S.Tumur	MPRP	5,961	47.91
73.	T.Ochirkhuu	MPRP	6,721	43.73
74.	N.Gerelsuren	MPRP	5,283	48.94
75.	A.Bazarkhuu	MPRP	5,459	56.94
76.	D.Murun	MPRP	9,435	62.26

Table 4

Parliamentary Election 2004: MPs Elected

Name of the MP	*Gender*[190]	*Party*	*Votes*	*% of Vote*
1. R.Gonchigdorj	male	Coalition DP	10,107	62.68
2. N.Batbayar	male	Coalition DP	8,309	57.83
3. S.Lambaa	male	Coalition DP	6,883	52.14
4. A.Murat	male	Coalition DP	8,203	54.45
5. A.Bake	male	Coalition DP	7,199	52.72
6. K.Sairan	male	Coalition DP	8,324	53.79
7. G.Zandanshatar	male	MPRP	8,104	59.66
8. Ts.Jargal	male	Coalition MDNSP	6,205	52.38
9. H.Battulga	male	Coalition CW – RP	6,704	56.63
10. Ch.Radnaa	male	MPRP	9,031	63.64
11. Ts.Tsengel	male	MPRP	8,569	67.31
12. T.Ochirhuu	male	MPRP	9,229	61.97
13. A.Tsanjid	male	MPRP	7,812	54.88
14. L.Odonchimed	male	MPRP	8,785	64.58
15. Ts.Sharavdorj	male	MPRP	9,724	55.90
16. D.Odbayar	male	MPRP	4,087	50.74
17. M.Zorigt	male	Coalition CWP	7,208	53.32
18. J.Bathuyag	male	Coalition DP	5,195	46.39
19. R.Rash	male	MPRP	7,136	56.22
20. J.Narantsatsralt	male	Coalition DP	6,298	59.56
21. Ch.Sodnomtseren	male	Coalition DP	6,051	50.59
22. D.Tuya	female	MPRP	7,575	61.41
23. Ya.Sanjmyatav	male	Independent/DP	4,570	34.33
24. Z.Enkhbold	male	Coalition DP	Result not complete	
25. G.Batkhuu	male	Coalition DP	7,773	67.33
26. D.Lundeejantsan	male	MPRP	7,170	60.38
27. R.Badamdamdin	male	Coalition DP	7,826	54.42
28. D.Bat-Erdene	male	Coalition DP	6,922	56.17
29. Ts.Bayarsaikhan	male	Coalition DP	5,774	51.49
30. Ch.Ulaan	male	MPRP	10,129	78.20
31. R.Bud	male	MPRP	9,003	59.10
32. Sa.Bayartsogt	male	Coalition DP	8,500	55.76
33. R.Nyamsuren	male	MPRP	7,503	52.22

Source: General Election Commission of Mongolia website: http://www.gec.gov.mn/ (Retrieved 12 August 2004.)
Gender and age data available only for 2004 parliamentary election results.
Avarege MPs age is 45 years old.

34. E.Bat-Uul	male	Coalition DP	6,241	49.78
35. D.Dondog	male	MPRP	6,328	54.67
36. S.Batbold	male	MPRP	3,985	50.79
37. Ts.Sukhbaatar	male	MPRP	5,307	58.41
38. N. Enkhbold	male	MPRP	5,780	62.20
39. Ts.Nyamdorj	male	MPRP	7,497	68.52
40. B.Erdenesuren	male	MPRP	7,206	51.7
41. Ch.Avdai	male	MPRP	6,676	52.77
42. Ts.Damiran	male	MPRP	4,996	43.28
43. L.Purevdorj	male	MPRP	7,758	57.42
44. D.Demberel	male	MPRP	6,946	50.37
45. L.Gundalai	male	Coalition DP	7,984	63.8
46. O.Enkhsaikhan	male	Coalition DP	6,786	51.79
47. M.Enkhsaikhan	male	Coalition DP	8,507	59.00
48. B.Erdenebat	male	Coalition MDNSP	10,015	62.7
49. D.Arvin	male	MPRP	5,289	51.20
50. B.Bat-erdene	male	MPRP	6,343	52.43
51. U.Hurelsukh	male	MPRP	4,748	50.87
52. L.Gansukh	male	Coalition DP	7,406	54.93
53. M.Sonompil	male	Coalition DP	7,700	62.8
54. B.Tserenbaljir	male	Coalition MDNSP	6,242	51.26
55. D.Odhuu	male	Independent DP	9,251	46.17
56. G.Adya	male	MPRP	6,988	50.83
57. T.Gandi	female	MPRP	9,429	44.43
58. D.Ganhuyag	male	Coalition DP	11,073	47.09
59. Results not completed yet				
60. S.Otgonbayar	male	Coalition MDNSP	9,789	43.52
61. N. Bayartsaikhan	male	MPRP	7,469	51.88
62. D.Idevkhten	male	MPRP	11,405	52.89
63. B.Munkhtuya	female	Coalition DP	6,365	51.64
64. R.Amarjargal	male	Independent DP	7,685	47.64
65. N.Enkhbayar	male	MPRP	8,273	53.80
66. B.Batbaatar	male	Coalition DP	5,948	50.34
67. T.Badamjunai	male	MPRP	17,238	64.17
68. D.Terbishdagva	male	MPRP	13,771	63.13
69. S. Oyun	female	Coalition CWP	8,112	56.9
70. B. Jargalsaikhan	male	RP	5,849	43.72
71. B.Batbayar	male	Coalition DP	5,931	58.82
72. R.Erdeneburen	male	Coalition MDNSP	8,943	52.88
73. Ts.Bataa	male	Coalition DP	10,513	51.32
74. Ts.Munkh-Orgil	male	MPRP	6,243	54.87
75. S.Batbold	male	MPRP	5,896	53.29
76. L.Gantumur	male	Coalition DP	10,768	50.79

Appendix VII: Composition of the Cabinets 1992-2004

Table 1

The 1992 Government of Mongolia: 16 ministries

Prime Minister	P.Jasrai
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Ts.Gombosuren
Minister of Construction and City Building	Ts.Damiran
Minister of Justice	N.Luvsanjav
Minister of Finance	D.Davaasambuu
Minister of Defense	Sh.Jadambaa
Minister of Infrastructure	B.Jigjid
Minister of Education and Science	N.Ulziihutag/ S.Tumur-Ochir (May1995)
Minister of Environment	Z.Batjargal
Minister of Food and Agriculture	Ts.Uuld
Minister of Fuel and Energy	B.Jigjid
Minister of Industry and Trade	Ts.Tsogt
Minister of Population Policy and Labor	E.Gombojav
Minister of Health	P.Nyamdavaa
Minister of Culture	N.Enkhbayar
Minister of Road, Transportation and Communication	R.Sandalhan
Minister of Geology and Natural Resource	Ts. Bayarsaikhan
Speaker of the Parliament	N.Bagabandi

State Great Hural Standing Committees:
The SGH has Standing Committees dealing with specific fields and also determines the competence, structure and procedures of those Committees.

On 21 July, 1992 SGH approved ten Standing Committees.	*Chair*
Standing Committee on National Security and Foreign Policy	D.Lundeejantsan
Standing Committee on Environment and Rural Development	Ch.Khurts
Standing Committee on Education, Culture and Science	J.Batsuuri
Standing Committee on Population, Health, Social Welfare	G.Zuunai
Standing Committee on Budget, Finance, Monetary & Loan Policy	A.Bazarkhuu
Standing Committee on Legal Affairs	S.Tumur
Standing Committee on Internal Affairs	S.Chuluunbaatar

Source: Mongolian Government website: http://www.open-government.mn (Retrieved Jan 2003-Aug 2004)
The State Great Hural, Parliament website: http://www.parl.gov.mn (Retrieved December 2003)
Gender and age data available only for 2004 government.

Standing Committee on Economic Development, Infrastructure	G.Tserendavga
Standing Committee on Food and Agriculture	J.Norovsambuu
Standing Committee on Session, Administration	D.Dashtseden

On 12 January, 1995 these committees were trimmed down into 5 committees:

Standing Committee on Social Policy	B.Demberel
Standing Committee on Budget, Finance, Monetary & Loan Policy	A.Bazarkhuu
Standing Committee on Agricultural Policy and Environment	M.Dalaikhuu
Standing Committee on Legal Affairs	Ts.Sharavdorj
Standing Committee on Economic Policy	J.Delgertsetseg

Table 2

A. The 1996 Government of Mongolia: four different cabinets

On 19 July, 1996 SGH approved Mendsaikhan Enkhsaikhan as Prime Minister and he assigned the following ministers (9 cabinet members).

Prime Minister	M.Enkhsaikhan
Minister of Justice	J.Amarsanaa
Minister of Finance	P.Tsagaan
Minister of Defense	D.Dorlijjav
Minister of Education	Ch.Lkhagvajav
Minister of Environment	Ts.Adiyasuren
Minister of Health and Social Welfare	L.Zorig
Minister of Infrastructure Development	G.Nyamdavaa
Speaker of the Parliament	R.Gonchogdorj
Vice-Speaker of the Parliament	Ts.Elbegdorj

State Great Hural Standing Committees:

On 24 July, 1996 SGH approved Standing Committees.	*Chair*
Standing Committee on Social Policy	H.Hulan
Standing Committee on State Structure	S.Zorig
Standing Committee on Budget, Finance, Loan Policy	A.Ganbaatar/Da.Ganbold (2 Sep)
Standing Committee on Legislation	S.Batchuluun
Standing Committee on Agricultural Policy and Environment	Ts.Bayarsaikhan

Later these committees expanded into these committees:	*Chair*
Standing Committee on National Security and Foreign Policy	S.Zorig

Source: International Republican Institute. Mongolia Parliament Election Observation Mission Report. (Washington D.C: IRI, July, 2000)

Standing Committee on Environment and Rural Development	Ts.Bayarsaikhan
Standing Committee on Social Policy	H.Hulan
Standing Committee on State Structure	D.Battulga
Standing Committee on Budget	A.Ganbaatar
Standing Committee on Legal Affairs	Ch.Otgonbayar
Standing Committee on Economy	Da.Ganbold

B. The April 1998 Government of Mongolia

On 24 April, 1998 SGH appointed Thahiagin Elbegdorj as Prime Minister and he assigned the following ministers (7 cabinet members).

Prime Minister	Ts.Elbegdorj
Minister of Foreign Affairs	R.Amarjargal
Minister of Justice	S.Batchuluun
Minister of Finance	B.Batbayar
Minister of Agriculture	N.Altankhuyag
Minister of Environment	S.Bayartsogt
Minister of Health and Social Welfare	Sha.Batbayar
Minister of Infrastructure Development	S.Zorig

C. The November 1998 Government of Mongolia

In November 1998 President agreed Ulaanbaatar city mayor Janlavin Narantsatsralt as Prime Minister and assigned the following ministers (9 cabinet members).

Prime Minister	J.Narantsatsralt
Minister of Foreign Affairs	N.Tuya
Minister of Justice	L.Tsog
Minister of Defense	Sh.Tuvdendorj
Minister of Finance	Ya.Ochir-Sukh
Minister of Agriculture and Industry	Ch.Sodnomtseren
Minister of Environment	S.Mendsaikhan
Minister of Health and Social Welfare	S.Sonin
Minister of Infrastructure	G.Batkhuu
Minister of Education	A.Battur
Vice-Speaker of the Parliament	Do.Ganbold (12 Nov, 1998)

Source: International Republican Institute. Mongolia Parliament Election Observation Mission Report. (Washington D.C: IRI, July, 2000)

D. The 1999 Government of Mongolia

In September 1999 SGH appointed Rinchinnyamin Amarjargal as Prime Minister and he kept the 9 cabinet members.

Table 3

The 2000 Government of Mongolia: 11 ministries

Prime Minister	N.Enkhbayar
Member of Cabinet and Government Chancellor	Ц.Enkhtuvshin
Minister of Foreign Affairs	L.Erdenechuluun
Minister of Justice and Interior Affairs	Ts.Nyamdorj
Minister of Finance and Economy	Ch.Ulaan
Minister of Defense	J.Gurragchaa
Minister of Infrastructure	B.Jigjid
Minister of Education, Culture and Science	A.Tsanjid
Minister of Environment	U.Barsbol
Minister of Food and Agriculture	D.Nasanjargal
Minister of Industry and Trade	Ch.Ganzorig
Minister of Social Welfare and Labor	Sh.Batbayar
Minister of Health	P.Nyamdavaa
Speaker of the Parliament	L.Enebish/ S.Tumur-Ochir (reappointed)

State Great Hural Standing Committees:	**Chair**
Standing Committee on National Security and Foreign Policy	D.Lundeejantsan
- Special Auditing Sub-Committee	D.Bazarsad
Standing Committee on Environment and Rural Development	Sh.Gungaadorj
Standing Committee on Social Policy	T.Gandi
Standing Committee on State Structure	D.Demberel
- Sub-Committee on Ethics	L.Gundalai
- Sub-Committee on Local Self-Governance	R.Tsogtbaatar
Standing Committee on Budget	N.Bayartsaikhan
- Sub-Committee on Budget Expenditure Control	D.Tseveenjav

Source: International Republican Institute. Mongolia Parliament Election Observation Mission Report. (Washington D.C: IRI, July, 2000)
Source: Mongolian Government website: http://www.open-government.mn (Retrieved Jan 2003)

Standing Committee on Legislation	Ts.Sharavdorj
- Sub-Committee on Human Rights	S.Tumur
Standing Committee on Economic Policy	T.Ochirkhuu

Table 4

The 2004 Government of Mongolia: 13 ministries

Prime Minister	Ts. Elbegdorj	41, male
Government Deputy Premier	Ch. Ulaan	50, male
Chairman of Government Secretariat	S. Bayartsogt	37, male
Cabinet Minister for Disaster Issues	U. Hurelsukh	36, male
Cabinet Minister for Professional Control	I.Erdenebaatar	40, male
Minister of Environment	U. Barsbold	40, male
Minister of Construction and City Building	N. Batbayar	44, male
Minister of Education, Culture and Science	P. Tsagaan	50, male
Minister of Defense	B. Erdenebat	45, male
Minister of Foreign Affairs	Ts. Munkh-Orgil	40, male
Minister of Road, Transportation and Tourism	G. Bathuu	44, male
Minister of Social Welfare and Labor	Ts. Bayarsaikhan	42, male
Minister of Finance	N. Altanhuyag	46, male
Minister of Industry and Trade	Su. Batbold	40, male
Minister Justice and Internal Affairs	Ts. Nyamdorj	48, male
Minister of Food and Agriculture	D. Terbishdagva	49, male
Minister of Fuel and Energy	T. Ochirhuu	56, male
Minister of Health	T. Gandi	43, female
Speaker of the Parliament	N.Enkhbayar	46, male
Vice-Speaker of the Parliament	D.Lundeejantsan(MPRP)	47, male
Vice-Speaker of the Parliament	S.Oyun (MDC)	40, female

State Great Hural Standing Committees:	**Chair**
Standing Committee on Security and Foreign Policy	M. Enkhsaikhan (MDC)
Standing Committee on Social Policy	S. Lambaa (MDC)
Standing Committee on Budget	R. Badamdamdin (MDC)
- Sub-Committee on Budget Expenditure Control	G. Zandanshatar (MPRP)
Standing Committee on Nature, Environment, Rural Development	Ch. Radnaa (MPRP
Standing Committee on State Structure	S. Batbold (MPRP)
- Sub-Committee on Ethics	L. Gantumur (MDC)
- Sub-Committee on Self-Governance	A. Murat (MDC)
Standing Committee on Legislation	D. Odbayar (MPRP)
- Sub-Committee on Human Rights	Ts. Jargal (MDC)

Source: Mongolian Government website: http://www.open-government.mn (Retrieved Dec 2004)
The State Great Hural, Parliament website: http://www.parl.gov.mn (Dec Aug 2004)