

**Mongolia Parliamentary Election
Observation Mission Report**

July 2, 2000



International Republican Institute

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**International Republican Institute
1212 New York Avenue, N.W., Suite 900
Washington, DC 20005**

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**2000 Mongolia Parliamentary Election
Observation Mission Delegation Members
July 2, 2000**

Delegation Leader

Eddie F. Brown is currently Associate Dean and Director of the Kathryn M. Buder Center for American Indian Studies at the George Warren Brown School of Social Work at Washington University, St. Louis, Missouri. From 1989-1993, he served as the Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs in the US Department of the Interior where he served as the Indian spokesman in the Executive Branch and Congress and directed the Bureau of Indian Affairs.

Dana Covington currently serves as Postal Rate Commissioner.

Michael Delph is Congressman Dan Burton's District Director and observed an election in Nicaragua in 1996 with IRI.

Chris Hickey serves as Honeywell's Director of Aerospace Government Relations.

Mary Noel Pepys currently serves as a legal consultant to the East West Management Institute and the National Center for State Courts. From November of 1999 through April of this year she assisted the Ministry of Justice of Mongolia in drafting a strategic plan for judicial independence.

Robert W. Radtke currently serves as Vice President for Policy and Business Programs at the Asia Society.

Nate Thayer is a journalist for the *Far Eastern Economic Review*. Thayer covered the Mongolian elections in 1996 and is also known for having been the only non-Cambodian to witness the Pol Pot Trials in 1998.

Craig Turk currently serves as general counsel for the Straight Talk America PAC, a group dedicated to promoting reform minded candidates for elective office.

Richard Wall is a partner in the San Francisco law firm of O'Donnell, Waiss, Wall & Meschke. He participated in an IRI training mission to Vietnam in 1996 and observed the Cambodian elections in 1998.

**2000 Mongolia Parliamentary Election
International Republican Institute
Observation Mission Staff**

Paul Grove
Asia & Middle East
Regional Program Director

Chris Holzen
Program Officer
Mongolia

Sabina Agarunova
Project Accountant

Tim Johnson
Program Officer
Asia

Barbara Broomell
Assistant Program Officer
Ukraine & Belarus

Lhamsuren Lhagva
Office Manager
IRI Mongolia

Chao Veasna
Resident Program Officer
Cambodia

Bayaraa Sanjaasuren
Executive Director
IRI Mongolia

Elizabeth Dugan
Resident Program Director
Southeast Asia

Sichan Siv
Advisor, Cambodia

Thomas E. Garrett
Resident Program Director
Mongolia

Judy Van Rest
Commonwealth of
Independent States
Regional Program
Director

I. Executive Summary

With funding from the U.S. Agency for International Development (USAID), the International Republican Institute (IRI) sponsored a 19-member, bipartisan delegation to observe the July 2, 2000 parliamentary elections in Mongolia. IRI teams – with additional support from U.S. Embassy personnel, including U.S. Ambassador Alphonse La Porta – deployed to eight locations throughout Mongolia.¹ While the delegation observed the immediate pre-election period and all facets of election day and the counting process, IRI staff stationed in Mongolia observed the entire electoral process – including the peaceful transfer of power following the final reconciliation of ballots. The delegation was led by former U.S. Department of Interior Assistant Secretary for Indian Affairs Dr. Eddie Brown. This report details the findings of the IRI delegation and in-country staff.

IRI teams visited 92 polling sites nationwide on election day. In some cases, delegates traveled over two hours from one polling site to the next closest one, a reflection of how disperse the population is as well as the underdeveloped nature of Mongolia's transportation infrastructure. While some delegates noted irregularities on election day, none were determined to be of malicious intent and none would have altered the final outcome of the election. The Institute did not observe any instances of systematic electoral fraud or irregularities.

IRI's preliminary assessment was that the July 2 election was another step forward in the country's path toward democracy initiated in the Democratic Revolution of 1990. IRI's final assessment is that the elections clearly reflected the will of the Mongolian voters and that members of the Democratic Coalition

¹Ulaanbaatar, Darkhan, Erdenet, Uvs, Zavkhan, Dornod, Dundgobi, and Overhanghai provinces.

government should be commended for honoring the results of the election and for ensuring the peaceful and smooth transition of power.

However, in the interest in further entrenching democracy in Mongolia, IRI believes that the election framework and process should undergo a thorough and serious review by the incoming Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) government. The Institute has included in this report 15 recommendations for improving electoral administration for future elections. Among the recommendations, IRI is calling for the government to re-examine how members are chosen for election committees, at both national and local levels. IRI addresses what it sees as a lack of coordination among various entities of government in the development of voter lists, and also makes recommendations to address the lack of specificity in the election law relating to the type of identification required for voters to receive ballots and to the rules outlining the appropriate use of mobile ballot boxes.

In addition to the election observation mission, IRI's contribution to the parliamentary election process was broad and substantial. IRI provided nationwide campaign training to the parliamentary parties and to women activists and candidates from numerous parties. IRI conducted training nationwide for domestic polling site monitors which were later observed by delegates of the observation mission at every polling site visited. In order to further ensure the integrity of the balloting IRI purchased 10,000 single use, tamper-proof ballot box seals at the request of the chairman of the Mongolian General Election Commission. With a Mongolian non-governmental organization partner, the Voters' Education Center, IRI printed 4,000 posters outlining correct voting procedures and compiled political party platform comparisons to inform Mongolian voters. The Center and IRI also produced 10,000 booklets for first time voters and 30,000 easy-to-read Voter Guides.

II. Pre-Election Period

A. Political Background: Emerging Democracy

In the 1980's, the Communist government in Mongolia was rocked by the changes brought about in the Soviet Union during Mikhail Gorbachev's reign. By 1990, young dissidents, including students, undertook hunger strikes to pressure the Russian-installed government of Mongolia to implement political reforms. Thousands joined the peaceful protest and in March 1990, the government resigned and a new two chamber parliament was elected. The newly elected government adopted a new Constitution and held multi-party parliamentary elections for a 76 member unicameral legislature. The divided democratic opposition won only six seats, while the incumbent MPRP retained 70.

In 1996, the democratic opposition formed the Democratic Union Coalition² and won election overwhelmingly, using the 1994 "Contract with America" as a model for the "Contract with the Mongolian Voters." The Contract was the most widely disseminated document in Mongolia's history, with 350,000 copies in circulation, and numerous promises for sweeping political, economic, and social reforms. With the defeat of the MPRP, the Democratic Union Coalition government appeared to be a natural and positive step in the democratization of Mongolia.

However, the effectiveness of the Democratic Coalition was tempered and restrained by its own political inexperience, and

²The Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP) and the Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP) were the two largest parties of the Democratic Union Coalition. Other parties included the Green Party and the Mongolian Religious Democratic Party.

political and market factors. The opposition MPRP effectively boycotted key legislative votes in parliament, depriving the chamber of its quorum and the ability to conduct the nation's business. A power struggle between the Coalition parliament and the MPRP president over the nomination and approval procedures for prime minister created confusion and chaos at the highest levels of government – for which the Coalition received blame. Competition between parties in the Coalition often led to open bickering and backstabbing. Finally, a drop in world copper prices and a glut of cashmere exports heavily impacted Mongolia. These political and economic problems were exacerbated by a 1999 summer drought which was followed by the harshest winter weather in 30 years, a *zud* as it known in Mongolian, in which entire herds of animals in huge regions of the country were wiped out. The mainstays of the Mongolian market were taken to the point of collapse.

1. Murder of S. Zorig

Several key political and economic events between 1996 and 2000 drastically altered the political playing field in Mongolia and undermined the ability of the Democratic Union Coalition to effectively govern the country. Perhaps no event was as shocking or troubling as the unsolved murder of Mongolian National Democratic Party parliamentarian S. Zorig on October 2, 1998. A 36 year old democracy activist and the Minister of Infrastructure, Zorig was brutally stabbed in his home by unknown assailants. Occurring in the midst of a crisis to form a new government, his murder came days before the Coalition was to submit his name to President Bagabandi as the next prime minister.

2. Four Years, Four Governments

The political environment in which Zorig's murder took place was extremely chaotic. In April 1998, majorities within MNDP and the Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP) turned against their

own Coalition's Prime Minister M. Enkhsaikhan due to the slowing pace of social reforms and a deterioration in relationships between the government and parliament. The Coalition forced Enkhsaikhan from office and named Ts. Elbegdorj, chairman of MNDP and parliament Majority Leader, as Mongolia's new leader. The Elbegdorj government was short-lived as he was hobbled by a banking issue that the MPRP used to force a vote of no confidence in his government. He failed to sufficiently defend his government's banking policy and was swept from office when he miscounted votes in his own party prior to the parliamentary vote of no confidence. Elbegdorj then acted in an interim capacity for nearly five months.

Shortly after Prime Minister Elbegdorj's resignation, MPRP President Bagabandi sought to strengthen his position and become more of a player in politics. Bagabandi found a political tool in the Mongolian Constitution by reinterpreting and substantially expanding the articles on the president's advisory role with parliament on selection of a prime minister. The Coalition rejected this expansion of power, but was outflanked by Mongolia's Constitutional Court, which is dominated by MPRP judges.

President Bagabandi rejected three nominees a total of 11 times (Coalition leader Da. Ganbold was rejected 7 times alone). A fourth nominee that cleared the presidential desk was voted down in the parliament. Bagabandi took control of what was meant to be a parliamentary process and went so far as to submit a list of candidates he would approve to the parliament.

In the end of this turmoil, J. Narantsatsralt, a candidate on President Bagabandi's list of acceptable nominees, was selected by the Coalition as a candidate for prime minister. Most political observers say that his prime ministership was as uneventful as his two-year tenure as mayor of Ulaanbaatar, but he did back the continuation of free market reforms and pushed through legislation to sell off Mongolia's larger state run enterprise.

The confirmation of Narantsatsralt ended a bitter stalemate between the democratically elected majority Coalition and the President, a contest that provided the young Mongolian democracy its greatest test to date. In the final analysis, most observers feel the stalemate damaged the Coalition and strengthened the president and the MPRP. Another result of this long paralysis was that Mongolia was left with a backlog of critical work to be completed in privatizing its remaining state-run industries and establishing banking and economic priorities. Financial institutions were reluctant to lend or grant any funds to Mongolia until a government was seated, and overseas investment slowed noticeably as investors sought greater political stability.

During the parliamentary-presidential struggles, a vote of no confidence was passed against the Narantsatsralt government over a controversial letter the Prime Minister had written to the Russian government involving their share of a Mongolian copper mine. In a secret vote, many of Narantsatsralt's own party members joined with the opposition MPRP to bring down the third Coalition government in as many years. The vote of no confidence appeared to have a basis more in personal political agendas than in any governmental policies.

The fourth Prime Minister, R. Amarjargal, pledged to make economic and judicial reform his top priorities. He kept all of Narantsatsralt's government ministers save one. At age 37, Amarjargal came to the prime minister's office from service as Foreign Minister under Prime Minister Elbegdorj. He was initially regarded as an effective Prime Minister as he could form a consensus, but with the approach of the 2000 elections, the MPRP blocked any measure of the government that might prove popular with the voters. A 2/3 majority is required for a quorum in parliament, and opposition MPRP members simply stopped debate on important issues by walking out. Prime Minister Amarjargal and the Coalition were unsuccessful in telling the public this side of the story; instead, the public viewed the Coalition as ineffective and

inexperienced in governing.

The citizens of Mongolia looked to their government for leadership in dealing with these issues; instead, they saw three governments collapse in as many years and the unsolved murder of Zorig. The arrest and trial of several Coalition members of parliament for corruption further tarnished the image of the democrats.³ The troubled economy and the Coalition's inability to rise to the challenges of addressing these problems created an advantageous political environment for the MPRP. The *Far Eastern Economic Review* ("Days of Loss," July 6, 2000 - see attachment I) characterized the election:

Framed by the dzud (sic) crisis and the country's economic woes, the election has become a contest between the old and the new – a showdown between an incumbent governing coalition that has been unable to stabilize Mongolia's economy and a revamped communist party...

To track political and electoral developments in Mongolia, IRI prepared a series of Election Bulletins, which were distributed in Ulaanbaatar, on Capitol Hill, and to academics and the policy making community in Washington, D.C. (see pages 41-74).

3. IRI Poll: MPRP Favored to Win Election

Against this backdrop, every public opinion poll, including a nationwide survey conducted by IRI and the Social Science Academy of Mongolia (see pages 75-98), found the MPRP 25 or more percentage points ahead of the MNDP and MSDP in voter preference. In IRI's poll, 1,000 likely voters across Mongolia were asked to give their responses to 79 questions in an attempt to

³The corruption case involved alleged bribes received for the relocation in Mongolia of a Macau-based casino operation.

qualify Mongolian citizens' political views. The survey had a margin of error of +/- 3.39 percent which made the results statistically significant. The results were shared with the media, all political parties competing in the election, and other segments of civil society.

In IRI's survey of likely voters, 98 percent of respondents indicated their intention to vote. When asked whether the country was headed in the right direction or the wrong direction, respondents were evenly split with men coming out slightly more on the right direction side (45 percent right to 39 percent wrong) and women coming out slightly more on the wrong direction side (37 percent right to 42 percent wrong). These results closely mirror the favorable versus unfavorable rating of the Democratic Coalition. On their own, these numbers were not particularly bad for the coalition. However, when stacked against the MPRP's favorable/unfavorable ratings, the Coalition fared very poorly.

The MPRP started the election campaign with a solid core of support of approximately 40 percent of the likely voters. Approximately 20 percent of the voters had favorable views toward the MPRP, but were willing to return to their support of the coalition, depending on a specific issue. The issues which this group of voters identified as important were those they overwhelmingly believed the MPRP would be better at handling. It was only when this group felt threatened by loss of personal freedoms or a return to Communism that they indicated a willingness to swing their support back to either the MNDP or the MSDP.

Prime Minister Amarjargal's personal popularity was high going into the campaign. However, he was unable to transfer that popularity to his party. After a well orchestrated effort by the MPRP to keep the campaign focused on bread and butter issues, the Prime Minister's support began to sag and, in the end, he too was defeated in his own parliamentary district.

Voters clearly believed that the MPRP would not manage relations with the West as well as the MSDP or MNDP. However, only 2 percent of respondents rated foreign relations and defense as important in helping to decide their vote.

Two-thirds of voters said they believed that at least some, if not most, of the items in the Coalition's Contract with the Mongolian Voter had been accomplished.

The issue of privatization of state-owned enterprises ranked last in almost every category. And when privatization was discussed, it cut negatively against the coalition parties because a vast majority of Mongolians thought the privatization process to be unfair.

Mongolians overwhelmingly stated that reforms were either too slow or just about right. This was surprising because in transition economies where the social safety net is not firmly in place, people usually criticize the reformers as going too fast. Only 14 percent thought they were going too fast. This allowed the MPRP to claim the mantle of change by promising to speed up reforms.

Even in the 1996 landslide for the coalition parties, women favored the MPRP on election day 41.5 percent to 39.6 percent. The gender gap – which helped the democratic coalition to victory four years ago – was among men. 43 percent of men supported the MNDP/MSDP coalition that year while only 35 percent opposed it. Women's support for MPRP did not change from 1996 to 2000, while the lead which the MNDP/MSDP government had among men eroded. Men proved more willing to experiment with new parties whereas women did not shift their political allegiances as easily.

When asked whether they favored or opposed the transition to democracy from a socialist system, over 87 percent said they either strongly or somewhat favored such a transition and only 6 percent

said that they opposed it. Voters also showed their mixed feelings about Mongolia's communist past. 54 percent said living conditions under communism were better, however, a majority of those respondents also said that returning to communism was not feasible or desirable. The most important issues on the minds of Mongolians during the election were unemployment and poverty. Other priority issues were improving openness and transparency, something 20 percent of voters listed as their top concern.

As Mongolia's parliamentarians are selected in single mandate, majoritarian districts (that is, in the same manner as members of the United States Congress), many political observers wondered during the pre-election period whether these national polling figures would be accurate indicators in determining the outcome since voters might have decided to vote for individuals and might not have based their vote on party preference. In the end, the polls were indeed accurate reflections of the voters' intentions as only one member of the MNDP, former Prime Minister Naransatsralt, was re-elected and no members of the MSDP were returned to office.

B. Parliamentary Elections

1. Coalition Disintegrates

The election year began with further woes for the Democratic Coalition. Three ranking members of the MNDP faction in parliament left to form the Mongolian Democratic Party, followed a month or so later by other party leaders and elected officeholders leaving to form the Party of Citizen's Will, led by S. Zorig's sister S. Oyun. The Democratic Union Coalition itself broke apart when the MSDP left to seek election on its own. Another founding Democratic Union Coalition member, the Green Party, had also left to form a coalition with Citizen's Will. Of the four founding parties, only MNDP and the small Mongolian Religious Democratic Party remained in the coalition to compete in the

parliamentary election.

2. Political Parties and Their Campaigns

Mongolian voters chose from among 16 parties or election blocs which qualified for ballot placement.⁴ The following are the political parties and coalitions in the order of their registration with the Ministry of Justice and in the order of their placement on the ballot for this election (in the case of coalitions, the list reflects the party which registered the earliest):

- **Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (May 16, 1990):** MPRP's message was "Let's recover the state from the crisis and rescue the people from poverty." MPRP was the only party to produce a comprehensive election platform, which played to the instability of the Coalition government.
- **Mongolian Social Democratic Party (May 25, 1990):** MSDP's slogan was "We are for Mongolia." Many voters found this slogan vague and uninspiring.
- **Citizens Will/Green Party Coalition (Green Party registered on May 26, 1990):** While lacking a comprehensive platform, the coalition stressed the rule of law, and transparency and accountability in governance. S. Oyun, sister of the slain S. Zorig, was a popular candidate in the election. The coalition's slogan was "It will depend only on your civic courage."

⁴The Mongolian People's Party merged with the MPRP before the election, and the Mongolian Communist Party, the Mongolian Youth Party, and the Mongolian Democratic Socialist Party all failed to register.

- **Democratic Union Coalition of the Mongolian National Democratic Party and the Mongolian Religious Democratic Party (MRDP registered on February 14, 1991):** The coalition's message was "Your choice is the future of Mongolia," which many Mongolians thought lacked substance – particularly in terms of the accomplishments of the Democratic Coalition's four years in power. Like the MSDP, this coalition lacked a comprehensive platform, but in the final phases of the campaign the MNDP/MRDP coalition ran a heavy negative campaign against the MPRP.
- **Mongolian Republican Party (June 13, 1992):** The MRP promised, as it did in 1996, to increase average salaries by \$200-\$300. Mongolians may have found this promise unrealistic and the Party's slogan, "We shall provide you with opportunities, you do your best," may have rung hollow in the face of the *zud*'s devastation.
- **Mongolian Workers Party (April 7, 1992)**
- **Great Coalition of the Party for Mongolia, the Mongolian Renaissance Party, and the Mongolian Tradition United Party (Mongolian Traditional United Party registered April 14, 1994):** The Great Coalition's slogan was "For Just Government and Affluent Life," and it had a tag of being ultra-nationalist.
- **Mongolian Party of Unity (August 19, 1994)**
- **Party for Mongolian Traditional Justice (April 20, 1995)**
- **Motherland-Mongolian Democratic New Socialist Party (EREL) (December 2, 1998):** EREL's slogan was "Believe in Yourselves and Do It Yourselves," but its

reputation centered around its chairman, businessman Erdenebat. EREL's left leaning ideology attracted some of the harder core elements of the MPRP, but generally the party was viewed by Mongolians as consisting of random individuals – many under the employ of Erdenebat.

- **Mongolian Party for Rural Development (May 28, 1999)**
- **Mongolian Party for Regional Development (May 28, 1999)**
- **Mongolian Civil Democratic New Liberal Party (January 28, 2000)**
- **Mongolian Democratic Party (February 3, 2000)**
- **Mongolian New Social Democratic Party (March 20, 2000)**

Some consideration was given to including on the ballot a possible referendum question defining presidential powers. The proposed referendum, supported by President Bagabandi, was rejected by his own party in parliament.

The election campaigns of the various political parties and election blocs differed in style and intensity, as did their messages and candidate slates. The MPRP undertook a nationwide effort to identify candidates selected in large part by the local party structures. Most of those selected by grassroots activists were unknown beyond their communities and the national headquarters of the party and the local committees went through a period of active debate and negotiations before settling on a candidate list.

The MNDP and MSDP – former Coalition members – went primarily with candidate lists made up of incumbents, although many sought re-election in districts different from the ones they had previously represented. The newly formed Party of Citizen's Will, along with coalition partner Green Party, had several individuals come to them, seeking to run for office on their ballot. The Mongolian Democratic Party, another splinter group from the MNDP, ran candidates in 75 of 76 electoral districts, choosing not to run anyone against Citizen's Will candidate S. Oyun, sister of the slain member of parliament S. Zorig.

IRI and its Mongolian NGO partner, Voter Education Center, attempted to hold several televised debates, featuring all of the parties and blocs on the ballot. However, the major parties, such as MNDP, MSDP and MPRP refused to participate, which caused the debate series to stall. Minor parties used the opportunity to present their platforms to the public, but viewer interest in the debates dropped substantially with the absence of the major parties.

Rather than use the debate format, MNDP and MSDP both relied on television and radio advertising to communicate with voters. However, their messages were seen by many as inconsistent in theme or as failing to address voter concerns. MNDP and MSDP were well situated to abuse the power of incumbency to monopolize the dominant state radio and television, but did not. This was not the case in 1996, when state media clearly favored the MPRP government. For the first time in Mongolia's democratic history, election media were market driven and not limited to those in power.

MPRP issued a well thought out platform during this election, while MNDP and MSDP did not. While broad in scope, covering most every aspect of Mongolian life, the MPRP platform was general and vague in some key areas, such as media freedom and the precise role of the government in controlling the economy.

Smaller parties, such as the Republican Party and the Mongolian Democratic New Socialist Party (EREL) campaigned on an anti-incumbent message, opposing the gridlock of the three parliamentary parties, the MPRP, MNDP and MSDP. Smaller parties and blocs saw the refusal of the three main political parties to join televised debates as evidence of collusion between those in power, although the election eventually proved this accusation false.

An obvious problem for the reformist political parties in this election cycle was the multitude of parties at the democratic center and on the right. MPRP almost single-handedly occupied the left of center, and actually co-opted the MSDP's center left base in large part on election day. The non-MPRP forces' refusal to work together, in a formal coalition, led many to conclude that MPRP would do well on election day against such divided opposition. Yet, the election remained difficult to call, as Mongolian election law provided for candidates to drop out of the race in the last few weeks of the election. MNDP and MSDP, upon the split in their coalition, told dismayed reformers that although the formal coalition was gone, an informal coalition would continue in its place, with candidates in both parties dropping out closer to the election to ensure that reform forces were not defeated through division. This informal coalition, or coordination, essentially failed to take place as July 2 approached, and the election took place with non-MPRP parties dividing the 49.8 percent of the vote cast against MPRP.

3. Election Machinery: MPRP Dominated At All Levels

According to Article 11 of the Election Law of Mongolia, the General Election Committee (GEC) of the parliament is a permanent organ tasked with carrying out the duties necessary for implementing elections for the Presidency and the Parliament. The members of the GEC are forbidden to participate in the promulgation of partisan propaganda. Members serve for a period

of five years and may be renominated after each term expires. In December 1999, the terms of all members of the GEC had expired.

When it became clear that parliament was incapable of forming a quorum necessary to conduct business, a compromise was reached between the Democratic Coalition and the MPRP that 14 incumbent GEC members would oversee the July 2 polls. Only one new member from MSDP was approved to sit on the GEC. The Committee was chaired by MPRP member S. Lkhagvasuren, who has held this position since 1992. Prior to the start of the formal campaign period, MSDP nominated D. Lamjav to the chairman's position, but stiff opposition was voiced by both the MPRP and MNDP.

Of the 76 electoral districts, 50 were chaired by MPRP members, with MNDP holding 17 chairmanships, MSDP holding 7, and only the Mongolian Democratic New Socialist Party and the Mongolian Democratic Renaissance Party holding a single chairmanship each. Fifteen out of 20 Ulaanbaatar election district committees were chaired by MPRP members. Nationwide, MPRP had 204 members on district commissions, MNDP had 128, MSDP had 101 members, and 20 belonged to the Citizens' Will party. Citizens' Will's coalition partner, the Mongolian Green Party, had 4 members of electoral committees. The Mongolian Democratic New Socialist Party had 65 members, the Mongolian Democratic Party had 26, the Mongolian Republican Party had 33, and the other parties with a few (less than ten) members on the district committees included the Mongolian Liberal Democratic Party, the Traditional United Party and the Democratic Renaissance Party. Eighty-nine members of the district commissions were independent.

The disparity of the GEC, with the MPRP vastly outnumbering the other parties in terms of members placed on the committee, was a concern to both competing political parties and the IRI delegation during the pre-election period. A second concern expressed was

that the national GEC was operating without any formal by-laws and their meetings were closed to the press and public. The single new member of the GEC, affiliated with the MSDP, voiced her support for establishing operating by-laws under which the committees should work. However, her suggestion was rejected.

The Mongolian Social Democratic Party tried to expand the size of electoral constituencies through lowering the number of districts from 76 to 26 but fell short of approval. Another failed amendment would have required candidates to receive 50.1 percent of the vote to be declared winners, as opposed to the legally mandated 25 percent. The 1996 Election Law that divided the country into 76 single mandate constituencies remained intact.

4. Pendulum Politics

There was much speculation during the pre-election period in Ulaanbaatar among Mongolian politicians, foreign journalists, and diplomats on the final outcome of the election. MPRP was thought to be the favorite – all polling data indicated a strong showing. To the IRI delegation, it appeared that the parties in the Coalition were resigned to a loss at the polls; they seemed to accept the political pendulum's swing back to the MPRP. However, what remained largely unknown during this period was how large voter turnout would be (and the impact the *zud* might have on the interest and ability of herders to vote) and exactly what voters would do when the time came to mark their ballots. IRI's polling data indicated that although MPRP had the highest favorable ratings, most Mongolians seemed content with the job their incumbent representatives were doing. The 2000 elections – as did those in 1996 – were to surprise all pundits.

III. ELECTION DAY

A. IRI Observer Teams

Throughout 2000, IRI staff in Mongolia traveled to every province and administrative region in the course of implementing political campaign training seminars and parliamentary local office consultations. Based on knowledge of the local political environments gleaned during these rounds of training, and taking into account various factors necessary to give IRI a balanced, national perspective of the elections, IRI chose eight regions in which to deploy observation teams: Ulaanbaatar, Zavkhan, Uvs, Dornod, Overhanghai, Dundgobi, Erdenet and Darkhan.

IRI's election observer delegations received briefings from representatives of all major political parties competing in the election, representatives of the media, the General Election Committee, US Embassy and local IRI staff. By July 1, observers had successfully been deployed to their respective regions and spent the day before the election meeting with local party representatives, election officials, media and citizens to obtain a clear understanding of the local political situations in the lead up to the elections. During these meetings, assessments were made on media access issues, the capabilities of the election administration in the pre-election phase and the overall ability of candidates to campaign freely. The delegates recorded election related complaints and noted concerns of those with whom they met (see below).

On election day, IRI observer teams arrived at polling stations in their designated regions to witness the opening. Delegates then visited different polling sites throughout the day to observe and record voting procedures, polling site organization, compliance with the law and the level of secrecy in voting. When the polls closed, the observer teams remained at polling sites to observe the counting and process. Recognizing the possibility of fraud taking

place at all levels of the counting process, IRI delegates followed the protocols from the individual polling sites at which they witnessed the closing to the next highest site of collection and tabulation. The following day, delegates received the total results for the parliamentary districts they observed. These results were reported to IRI's Ulaanbaatar office and subsequently compared to the General Election Committee's voting results.

B. Observations

Organizing a nationwide election in Mongolia is a momentous task. With a land mass the size of Europe, and a population of 2.5 million people spread out across a region with little transportation infrastructure, the obstacles facing election administrators are many. Despite these difficulties, IRI delegates observed an election that was adequately administered. Delegates reported observing various interpretations of election regulations and procedures in polling stations. One team in Ulaanbaatar remarked that no two polling stations followed the same set of procedures, from securing the ballots to checking identification cards and passports to managing the flow of voter traffic.

With a few exceptions, even polling sites in some of the most remote regions of the country were equipped with the necessary tools to carry out the election. Ballots were delivered in a timely manner, and election officials were observed stamping and signing ballots a day or two before the election was held. Poll workers were generally found to be dedicated to their task of making the process run smoothly, but in some instances the chairmen appeared overly zealous in implementing rules as they interpreted them. In one polling station in Ulaanbaatar, domestic monitors were literally forced to sit in complete silence in a remote location (outside the viewing range of the ballot boxes). Some teams reported election officials refusing them access to polling stations until copies of the election law were produced and submitted for consideration. Others reported the presence of uniformed police and other

government officials at the polling sites during the election, and the presence of party-related materials (such as flags).

Most polling sites displayed a poster produced jointly by IRI and the Women for Social Progress (a local nongovernmental organization) which informed voters of the proper way to mark a ballot. Voters interviewed by observers stated that the posters were helpful in answering various questions about the entire voting process. In some cases, particularly in Ulaanbaatar, these posters were taken down at some point during the day. No explanations were given by election officials for the removal of the posters while voting was still in progress.

Most polling sites were orderly (although often crowded) and voters seemed to understand the balloting process. Domestic monitors representing various parties were present in all polling sites visited by IRI delegates, although some voiced complaints over the restriction of movement inside the polling area by election chairmen. Delegates did express some concern over the uneven application of the law regulating the use of mobile ballot boxes and the scarcity of party observers accompanying mobile boxes once they left the polling stations. The law requires only those who apply in advance the right to vote through the mobile ballot box, but in many instances, this law was ignored. Delegates also expressed concern over the selection process and composition of election commission, from the national to the local level.

It should be noted that several IRI delegations reported instances of less than cooperative election officials during the conduct of the polls. This included initial refusal of delegates to enter the polling station by election committee chairman, a reluctance to provide information on the conduct of the polls and, at times, open hostility when routine questions were asked. One team in Overhanghai reported being ordered to leave the polling station by the election committee chairman shortly before the counting of ballots commenced.

IRI teams observed the closing of polls and reconciliation of ballots. No major issues were reported during these phases of election day.

C. Election Related Complaints

While not appearing to be systemic in nature, these issues are nonetheless serious. They were brought to the attention of observers in the process of interviews conducted the day before the election and by general observation on election day.

The complaint heard most was that Mongolians were confused about what identification was acceptable in order to receive accreditation to vote. For example, in parliamentary district 16, polling site #119 in Ulaanbaatar, IRI delegates observed elderly voters being turned away from the polls because they had not brought with them their birth certificates. In Ulaangom, many people either forgot to bring their passports to the polling sites or were unaware of the need to do so. In some cases, people were allowed to vote without producing a passport, in other instances they were not. Article 34-3 of the Election Law of Mongolia states that “the electoral division committee shall match the election certificate and national passport of the voter with the electoral register and deliver ballot paper to each elector.” This would imply that the documents needed in order to vote are an election certificate and a national passport. Many people were allowed to vote with only one or the other. The GEC should be clear about what documents a voter must produce at the polling site in order to receive a ballot.

Many political parties complained that opponents were making unfair charges against them during the campaign. While such tactics may not be desirable, they are generally not in violation of any electoral procedures. While the election law does forbid slander and revealing an opponent’s “personal secrets,” there were

no reported cases of parties placing formal charges of slander against their opponents.

Some voters in Ulaanbaatar were heavily critical of the last minute decision to mark people’s fingers with ink after they voted to ensure they could not vote twice. Voters seemed to think this was an invasion of their person and expressed dismay at why there was no public education campaign making them aware of this new practice.

In Overhanghai, IRI observation teams witnessed several instances of election committees engaged in heated disputes over whose cars would be used for transporting the mobile ballot box. The parties in disagreement seemed to fear that the driver of the car could influence people’s votes.

Many polling sites allowed unauthorized people to enter, which created a more chaotic polling environment. In some cases, the unauthorized individuals were candidates who were using the opportunity to try to persuade voters to support them at the last minute. One candidate in Zavkhan complained this type of campaigning inside polling places was occurring because the polling site administrators were too afraid to ask the candidates to leave the polling sites. In Kharhorin at polling site #23, militia members were present inside the polling site. When asked by observers their purpose for being inside the site, they responded by saying they were there to “control drunkenness.”

A complaint heard by several parties in Darkhan was that voter registration was haphazard at best, fraudulent at worst. Claims were made that some people were issued more than one voter registration card and that many herders were not issued temporary residence cards even though they had established domicile long ago (the temporary registration card is necessary in order to vote). IRI could not substantiate these claims.

At polling site #6 in Uliasti, the IRI team was told by domestic poll watchers that the mobile ballot box had been sealed at 5:00 AM on election day, instead of the legally required 7:00 AM, in order to have enough time to travel the long distances necessary to accommodate all mobile ballot box requests. Representatives of four parties witnessed the sealing of the box. However, the fact this was done two hours prior to the legally mandated time should be of concern.

IRI delegates also witnessed mobile ballot boxes being used as *de facto* polling stations. In Darkhan, the boxes were sent to a remote location, a flag was raised, and people gathered to cast their ballots. Pre-registration to use the boxes seemed largely ignored, and some voters observed in Darkhan appeared neither sick nor elderly.

D. Election Day Statement

Preliminary findings were issued during a press conference on July 3 (see Attachment E). In general, the delegates found the election to be administered in a sound fashion. While the delegation did not observe any instances of systematic electoral fraud or irregularities, observers were nonetheless concerned about a lack of uniformity in election practices and procedures such as voter registration, distribution of voter identity cards, the handling of absentee ballots and the use of the mobile ballot boxes. The preliminary statement also raised concern about a concentration of power by any single party through multiple leadership positions on the various electoral committees.

IV. POST-ELECTION PERIOD

A. Issues and Environment

Following the election, a smooth transition of power took place as the outgoing Democratic Union Coalition handed over the reigns of government to the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. The transition proceeded with the outgoing government honoring the will of the people and pledging to support any efforts on behalf of the new government to continue economic reforms in Mongolia.

Upon taking office, the new government immediately found itself in a constitutional crisis when it tried to approve its party chairman, also a member of Parliament, as Prime Minister. Previous governments had honored a constitutional court's ruling which stated that a member of parliament could not simultaneously serve in another branch of government. After much legal wrangling and opposition by the President, the Parliament decided to ignore the court's ruling on the grounds that the previous parliament had not debated the court's ruling after the fact and that the ruling therefore was invalid. The party then voted overwhelmingly for its chairman, Enkhbayer, to become Prime Minister and its party General Secretary, Enenbish, to become Speaker of the Parliament. The Prime Minister retained his seat in parliament as did all later parliamentary nominees to the Cabinet of Ministers.

There are four members of the new parliament who do not belong to the MPRP: Oyun, the chairwoman of the Citizen's Will Party; Naransatsralt, the former Prime Minister and member of the Mongolian National Democratic Party; Erdenbat, a successful businessman and chairman of the left-leaning Mongolian Democratic New Socialist Party; and Gundalai, the only independent to be elected to the current parliament. The low level of representation for the non-MPRP parties means they do not

reach the threshold required for privileges that are otherwise afforded to an official parliamentary faction. Furthermore, in a symbolic gesture meant to separate these members from the MPRP members, the majority party issued lavender colored chairs on the floor of parliament to MPRP members only. The four non-MPRP members of parliament were given tan colored chairs, similar to those used by administrative staff.

The new government immediately began reshuffling government agencies and appointing ministers. Several new ministerial positions have been created and several have been merged in an attempt to bring the government more in line with the goals of the MPRP platform.

B. Final Results

On July 6, the GEC announced the unofficial results of the election and declared that 81.5 percent of those Mongolians eligible to vote participated in the election. While many districts had close votes, no recounts were requested by any candidates and none took place. There were also no districts in which the winning candidate received less than 25 percent of the vote, which would have necessitated a run-off election. [For a complete district by district list of the election results, see Attachment F].

V. CONCLUSION

IRI believes that the July 2 election was another step forward in Mongolia's path toward democracy in that a healthy multi-party system exists in which free association is permitted. A vigorous media was free to report on the election without government interference, and for the second time this decade, voters watched as one political party or coalition passed the reigns of government to another in a peaceful manner.

Mongolians should be proud of the democratic steps made in the past ten years. This election was a reminder that the ideals of the peaceful revolution in 1990 are still alive and in practice. An election, however, is only one part of an entire democratic system. Those who would challenge the freedoms that were won ten years ago should take heed that the voters of Mongolia, who once again turned out in astonishing numbers to cast their ballots, have shown a willingness to be more than passive players in their country's democratic development. These citizens are not likely to give up their hard earned freedoms easily.

Many people traveled hours across difficult terrain in order to let their voices be heard. This spirit of the Mongolian people and their tireless efforts to practice the democracy they won is what makes many optimistic that Mongolians are dedicated to making their democracy grow. This election is just another example of that dedication.

Much work needs to be done as Mongolians strive to improve their electoral system. And despite the obstacles facing them, IRI believe they have shown the commitment necessary to implement the needed reforms as they continue to be a positive example of democracy to their Asian neighbors and the world.

VI. RECOMMENDATIONS

Issue 1. General Election Committee

While the General Election Committee (GEC) generally fulfilled its duties under a tight deadline, a major concern of many political party activists was that 14 of the 15 members had been previously associated with a single party, the MPRP. All 14 incumbent members had served on the committee since 1992, at a time when the chairman openly espoused support for the MPRP.

IRI recommends that a new GEC should be constructed that includes fair and equal representation from political parties and civil society. IRI urges the Mongolian government to convene public meetings to solicit the views of civil society and political parties on how best to ensure fair representation on the GEC. IRI believes that slots on the GEC should be based on competency, not positions within the government (such as head of the police, head of the Statistical Bureau). A more broadly representative GEC may contribute to a less tense and suspicious political environment, with fewer accusations of partisanship in the decision-making process.

Issue 2. District and Polling Site Election Commissions

Mongolia's election law calls for representatives of different parties (as well as independent persons) to be placed on the District Election Committees as well as the polling site committees. On many committees, independents were actually affiliated with one or another political party. For example, in electoral district #55 in Orkhon Aimag, the two independent representatives were the head of the local prison and the vice-head of

the police office. Upon further inspection, both individuals were closely associated with the MPRP. In this case, and many others like it, were a vote to occur on a specific issues, the votes of the independents and the representatives of the parties with which they are affiliated would in many instances constitute a simple majority of members on the committee. This gives an unfair advantage to one party and avoids the spirit of the law.

Fair and equal representation from political parties and civil society should also be extended to district and polling site election commissions. IRI believes that greater efforts need to be expended in determining the independence of local election officials (for those positions reserved for "independents") to ascertain that they are not affiliated with any particular party. IRI suggests that a newly formed GEC consider modifying the nominating procedures for individuals serving on these committees so that they be legitimate representatives of the groups they claim to represent.

IRI also believes that the duties and responsibilities of the officers of election committees (i.e. chairmen, vice-chairmen, secretaries, and members) should be separated and clearly defined. IRI recommends that the chairman and vice-chairman positions be filled by individuals from different political parties.

Issue 3. GEC By-Laws and Transparency

The GEC currently lacks written by-laws under which to operate. This makes it impossible for minority views on the committee to be put to a vote. Meetings were also closed to the public or press, in contradiction with Article 4-1 of Mongolia's election law.

IRI recommends that once a more representative GEC is formed, it consider and adopt rules and by-laws. IRI also recommends full enforcement of the law allowing the public and press to observe the workings of the GEC, including efforts to address and resolve election related complaints and disputes. GEC meetings should be publicized in advance, and minutes of GEC meetings and official decisions and the results of elections should be made available to the public.

Issue 4. Mobile Ballot Boxes

Mongolia's election law stipulates that the mobile ballot box must be deployed with two members of the election committee. It does not, however, state that the two members should be from different parties. This loophole in the election law allows for the possibility of ballot box stuffing outside of the view of anyone but the single party participating in such fraud. In many sites nationwide, the mobile box left the polling site early in the morning and did not return until late in the evening. Pollwatchers who wished to safeguard the mobile box were required to provide their own transportation and keep up with the box's movements. Another concern regarding the mobile box is that those voting through this process were often doing so without the privacy necessary for their votes to be secret.

IRI recommends the GEC to undertake serious discussion and debate on the merits of the mobile ballot box system. Current law allows a voter to cast their ballot through the use of the mobile ballot box if he/she requests to vote this way and "is unable to come to the polling station for reasons of health or other justifiable reasons." IRI observed seemingly healthy and young people using the boxes to vote.

If the mobile ballot box system is retained, Mongolia's election law must be amended to include explicit eligibility requirements and reasons for use. In addition, greater emphasis should be placed on ensuring the security of the boxes and the privacy of those voting through this mechanism. Furthermore, IRI recommends the GEC to solicit views and opinions from political parties and civil society in determining how best to guard the boxes from fraud and abuse.

In order to decrease reliance on mobile ballot box use, the GEC should consider increasing the number of polling sites nationwide to accommodate isolated rural voters and/or institute a well defined absentee ballot system for those unable to be present physically at their polling sites on election day.

Issue 5. Calendar of Election Activities

Mongolia's election law provides a series of deadlines for drawing election districts, organizing election committees under the GEC, registering candidates, and compiling voter registration lists. While most of the deadlines are set in relation to election day, the deadlines for nominating and registering candidates are set in relation to the day the election is announced (Article 22-1 and 26-1). The law provides that the election must be announced *at least 75 days* before the election. However, if the election is announced more than 75 days in advance, then the election law might require candidates to be registered with the electoral district committees before those committees have even been formed.

To avoid confusion, IRI recommends that all deadlines be set in relation to the election day.

Issue 6. Ballot Box Placement, Number of Ballot Boxes at Each Polling Site, Standard Size of Ballot Boxes and Use of Seals

IRI noted that each polling site had between three and five ballot boxes. In sites with five ballot boxes, three were stationary boxes and two were mobile. In almost all of these instances, three stationary boxes were not necessary in order to accommodate the number of voters casting ballots. In some cases, extra boxes were stored in a room which was out of view of the election observers. While there were no reports of misuse of extra ballot boxes, the unnecessary extra number of boxes can create the appearance of impropriety, thus undermining the legitimacy with which voters and observers view election results. All ballot boxes appeared to utilize the IRI donated lockseals, individually numbered and designed with a tamper-proof feature.

IRI recommends that all ballot boxes should be placed in full view of voters and election observers from the time the polling site opens to the end of tabulation. IRI suggests the GEC consider decreasing the number of ballot boxes at each polling site in order to decrease the likelihood that additional ballot boxes might be used improperly. A uniform number of ballot boxes per site should be issued by the GEC and standard boxes should be used nationwide, rather than requiring local election committees to design and manufacture their own boxes. The use of ballot box seals, such as those donated by IRI, should be required by the election law, and not occur only through the discretion of the GEC and the international community.

Issue 7. Voter Lists

Article 16-4 of the election law stipulates that the electoral district committees conspicuously display a copy of the voter list, signed by the district chairman, no later than 15 days before the polls open (or in the cases of hospitals, rest houses and sanatoria, seven days before election day). Random spot checks in Ulaanbaatar prior to the election found most polling sites to be in compliance with these provisions. However, the process outlined in the election law for developing the voter list raises a number of concerns. The system lacks the kind of orderliness and consistency that is necessary to build confidence. It is not clear who can complain if there appear to be extra names on the list. It is also not clear how the various lists are coordinated to ensure that the same person does not appear on more than one list. It is also not clear why the DEC can wait thirty days after compiling the lists to publicize them. In fact, this delay reduces the amount of time voters and parties have to check the list and file complaints if inaccuracies are discovered.

IRI recommends that timely consideration be given to clarifying the use and development of the voter lists as an ongoing activity. IRI also recommends that a newly formed GEC make clear who can file a complaint, how the complaint is to be filed, and with whom it is to be filed.

Issue 8. State Media

Several complaints were received that state organs were not fair in their allocation of media coverage. Article 21-3 of the election law states that "the Mongolian State Radio and Television shall equally treat each party, coalition and independent candidate contesting in the same constituency in terms of free service, duration and opportunity to conduct agitation and propaganda." In one complaint, a candidate in Hentii province reported that during the time his ads were to air, the power supply to the district was interrupted and nobody was able to intervene and rectify the situation.

IRI recommends that the Mongolian government take immediate measures to foster more confidence in the impartiality of state run media. IRI believes that the government should consider privatizing this sector of its economy. Failing this, IRI suggests that the government consider establishing an independent media board comprised of members representing all major political factions. This board could be authorized to resolve all disputes pertaining to media coverage and access. Currently, state media personnel are employed by the government in power, and thus are perceived as being dependent on the ruling political party or coalition for their economic welfare. This situation has the possibility of undermining the confidence of the populace in the independence of the media.

Issue 9. Voter Identification

The ambiguity of the Mongolian election law concerning necessary identification for people to vote created confusion. IRI noted many people voting with differing forms of identification and

some people with no identification whatsoever being given ballots.

IRI recommends that the election law be very clear as to what type of identification is required to vote. The GEC should place emphasis on training election officials on the acceptable methods of identification and should conduct awareness activities to ensure the electorate is better informed on appropriate identification. It is imperative that any use of voter identification cards be carefully monitored: voters receiving voter cards should sign receipts to prevent fraud and abuse.

10. Ballot Placement

Mongolia's election law states that the parties appear on the ballot in the order of the years in which they registered with the Supreme Court (Article 33-3). This provision guarantees the MPRP – which registered in May 1990 – prominent placement on the ballot. MPRP registered at a time when no other parties were allowed to exist in Mongolia.

IRI suggests that the GEC chose ballot placement for parties by lottery, held in a public venue. If done honestly, this would ensure that each party would have an equal chance of appearing first or last. The GEC may also consider rotating party/candidate lists, as they did during the 1997 Presidential elections.

Issue 11. Dispute Resolution Mechanisms

One candidate interviewed by the IRI delegation stated that despite evidence of fraud in his district, he would not file a complaint with the GEC as it was (1) partisan, (2) not accountable to any higher authority that was not directly or indirectly

controlled by MPRP, and (3) would in all probability refer the case to the Mongolian courts, which are also under the control of the MPRP.

IRI believes that the GEC should undertake a thorough review of its election dispute mechanisms and endeavor to make them more responsive to the needs of candidates and parties. Time lines for the adjudication of disputes should be developed, and advice on crafting a fair and impartial system should be solicited from political parties and civil society. New mechanisms should be very clear on the methodology and framework for resolving disputes.

Issue 12. Unauthorized Individuals in Polling Site

IRI observed cases of unauthorized persons in polling stations. In one case, the governor of a region was inside polling site #103 in the 74th parliamentary district urging people how to vote. When questioned by IRI, the governor stated that the election law allowed her presence in the polling station, but she was unable to point to this provision in a printed copy of the election law.

IRI recommends that the election law be clear in its definition of persons allowed in polling stations on election day. In addition, IRI suggests that police and militia members be prohibited from patrolling inside polling stations and that the circumstances necessitating their need be made explicit in the law.

Issue 13. Pre-Stamped and Signed Ballots

IRI observed ballots being pre-stamped and pre-signed prior to the opening of polls, and noted that the ballots were under the control of the polling site chairman, who represented a single party. When queried, many chairmen replied that they were pre-

stamping and pre-signing ballots to ensure efficient operation of the polling station on election day.

IRI recommends that the practice of pre-stamping and pre-signing ballots be expressly prohibited in election regulations. IRI believes that this will lessen opportunities for fraud, particularly if ballots continue to be under the control of the chairman.

Issue 14. Marking of Voters

IRI commends the GEC for its foresight in using indelible ink to mark the fingers of voters who cast ballots. The intention was clearly to prevent voter fraud. However, the GEC appears to have failed to educate voters on the necessity of the ink, resulting in confusion, and, in some cases, confrontation.

IRI recommends that the use of indelible ink be continued, particularly given the dominance of the GEC by a single party. However, finger marking should not become a substitute for well crafted voter lists. IRI suggests the GEC include in future voter education programs information on the use of and the rationale for the ink.

Issue 15. Rights of International and Domestic Observers

In some cases, IRI delegates were reluctantly allowed to enter polling stations, and in others, domestic observers were relegated to remote corners of polling stations and tightly controlled (to the point where they were prohibited from speaking to each other). Some polling site chairmen seemed oblivious to the check both international and domestic monitors provide on the elections process.

IRI suggests that GEC more clearly define the rights and responsibilities of domestic monitors and provide adequate

instruction to future polling site chairmen on these rights. International observers should be given the same rights and responsibilities as domestic observers, as outlined in the GEC approved Pollwatcher manual. The GEC should allow domestic and international observers access to polling stations in both the pre-election period and on election day in order to ensure greater transparency and security in the handling of election materials and ballots.

IRI Bulletin
Elections in Mongolia
Issue 1, March 1, 2000

In the interest of providing timely and accurate information on the political situation in Mongolia leading up to parliamentary elections currently scheduled for the end of June or beginning of July 2000, the International Republican Institute (IRI) will publish a bi-monthly summary of news events and issues relating to Mongolia's political environment, election process, and provincial developments. If you have any questions or comments, please contact Mr. Paul Grove at (202) 408-9450 or pgrove@iri.org.

Political Environment

- 22 political parties have already registered for the upcoming national polls in Mongolia, with the Mongolian Democratic Party registering most recently on February 3. Three members of parliament from the Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP) formed their own political organization out of their dissatisfaction with the direction and leadership of the MNDP. Deputies Khuvitogoldor, Kh. Dashzeveg, and S. Bilegsaikhan are reportedly targeting other parliamentarians for recruitment.
- While figures on party membership cannot be confirmed, MNDP sources believe that some two hundred current members have expressed intentions to move to the new party. However, the MNDP leadership estimates that over 70 percent of its elected members of parliament will stand for re-election in the upcoming polls.

- During a visit to her electoral constituency in Dornod aimag, member of parliament S. Oyun (sister of slain democracy activist and former parliament deputy S. Zorig) held a press conference to announce that she was forming a new political party which will compete in the June 2000 parliamentary elections. Oyun was elected as an independent to the constituency her brother represented prior to his assassination in October 1998. The charter meeting is expected to be held no later than March 10.
- In an open letter, senior officials within the MNDP – which, with the Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP), comprises the Democratic Union – called for a special meeting of the party to address several issues, including “internal democracy.” Former Prime Minister Narantsatsralt, a key author of the letter, did not state what actions would be taken if a special meeting were not held.
- Majority leader and former Prime Minister Ts. Elbegdorj has created “Freedom Center,” a non-governmental organization dedicated to the promotion of democracy in Mongolia. Board members include current Prime Minister Amarjargal, State Great Hural Speaker R. Gonchigdorj, and Member of Parliament Da. Ganbold (former chairman of the MNDP).
- The State Great Hural was in session until February 4, recessing with the beginning of the Tsagaan Sar holiday. Parliament reported the adoption of 49 laws and 44 resolutions. Two important acts of the State Great Hural were Constitutional amendments which (1) lowered parliamentary quorums from two-thirds to a simple majority and (2) provided that elected members of parliament may serve as Cabinet officers without resigning their legislative posts. All parties in the

parliament supported the changes, and a presidential veto of the amendments was overridden. Unless an extraordinary session is called, the State Great Hural is expected to be in recess until April 5.

- Speaker of the Mongolian Parliament Tsahiagiin Elbegdorj, who also served a term as the country’s Prime Minister, has decided not to seek re-election to his parliamentary seat citing a desire to pursue academic studies. Elbegdorj also serves as the Chairman of the MNDP and is the head of the Democratic Union.

Election Process

- Mongolia’s current election law establishes 76 single member districts for the Parliament, from which the candidate receiving the highest number of votes is automatically elected. Highlights of the law include no proportional ballots and the requirement that governing coalitions be formed in advance of the election.
- Possible changes to the election law may include a requirement that candidates receive a 50 percent plus 1 majority of all votes to be elected (a runoff election would occur between the two top vote getters, should this threshold not be met) and the removal of the requirement that electoral coalitions be formally declared in advance of an election.

Provincial Developments

- Extraordinarily harsh winter weather in Mongolia has killed more than 800,000 animals, including cattle, horses, goats and camels that many nomadic Mongolians rely

upon for survival. Many animals were in an already weakened state due to a severe drought last summer.

- While there have been few reports of human fatalities, the death of so many animals will have a far-reaching impact on the health, economy and food security of an entire nation according to Mongolian Foreign Minister N. Tuya, who spoke this week at an IRI event on Capitol Hill. "This is the worst disaster to befall Mongolia in 30 years. We very much need the help of the international donor community if we are to survive this natural disaster." Foreign Minister Tuya stated that a second year of harsh weather would increase the likelihood of political instability.

IRI Bulletin
Elections in Mongolia
Issue 2, March 21, 2000

Political Environment

- The "New Party," held its organizing conference in Ulaanbaatar on March 9. Delegates selected the party's official name, the "Party of Citizens' Will," and vowed to oppose the "alliance between political power, business and crime." The date held significance, as it was the tenth anniversary of the resignation of the Politburo of communist Mongolia. MP S. Oyun was selected as party leader, while fellow defectors from the Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP) parliamentary faction, Gankhuyag, Kh. Khulan, and T. Erdenebileg also joined her in the party's leadership. The conference, which drew 450 delegates from across Mongolia, began with a tape-recorded speech from slain democracy leader S. Zorig.
- Loss of elected MPs to new parties and incarceration has left the MNDP with only 23 seats in the State Great Hural, down from 35 after the election of 1996. In the last year, MNDP lost three members to the Mongolian Democratic Party, four members to the new Party of Citizens' Will and three to the penal system on corruption charges. The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) maintains 26 seats in parliament. MNDP's coalition partner, the Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP), also lost one member of parliament this past week over differences with the party, dropping the MSDP's representation to 14 MPs.
- Prime Minister Amarjargal of the MNDP and Parliament Speaker Gonchigdorj of the MSDP issued an appeal to their respective party rank and file on March 17 to support the

continuation of the two parties' Democratic Coalition, formed in the 1996 elections. Local organizations of both parties are to meet and consider continuing the coalition, and the MSDP will take up the issue at its mid-April national conference. In an internal party vote on March 19, over 60% of the Hubvsgol aimag MSDP branch rejected the notion of maintaining the coalition.

IRI Bulletin
Elections in Mongolia
Issue 3, April 24, 2000

Election Process

- In last week's parliamentary debate on the Election Law, a Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP) plan to expand the size of electoral constituencies through lowering the number of districts from 76 to 26 fell short of approval. Another failed amendment would have required candidates receive a 50.1 percent vote to be declared winner -- currently candidates need only garner 25 percent. Therefore, the 1996 Election Law that divides the country into 76 single mandate constituencies remains intact. MSDP leadership changed its position on amending the law and supported keeping it intact. The vote to retain the 1996 Election Law was 30 in support and 23 against.
- The Parliament set the election date on July 2, 2000 and endorsed the proposed allocation of 460 million turgiks for election expenditures. The deadline for all political parties to officially declare their participation in the elections is April 27, according to the General Election Commission of Mongolia. Speaker Gonchigdorj proposed that D. Lamjav be made Chairman of the General Election Committee, but the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) and the Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP) do not support the nomination.

Political Environment

- The Ik Hural (parliament) of Mongolia officially opened its fourth session on April 5. Speaker R. Gonchigdorj called the session to order, declared a quorum and provided time

for each of the three parliamentary parties' leaders to deliver addresses to the legislative body and the nation. The Prime Minister, representing the MNDP, called for unity and cooperation, especially in the area of privatization, in order to make this final session before the summer elections productive. N. Enkhbayar, chairman of the opposition MPRP attacked the Democratic Coalition government in his remarks, calling it "corrupt" and "ineffective at solving Mongolia's problems."

- The leadership of the Mongolian National Democratic Party met in assembly on April 19, to look at the coming election. The gathering agreed to hold the party's national convention on May 27.
- The Mongolian Social Democratic Party held its national convention in the Government House on April 15-16, at which time it voted in favor of leaving the Democratic Coalition with MNDP. Activists in the MSDP wish to contest the July parliamentary elections alone, without declaring a coalition with any party. A dissenting minority group, including ex-Chairman of the State Property Committee Z. Enhbold, unsuccessfully warned delegates that voters who support the coalition will now be divided, ensuring less seats for both MNDP and MSDP. Those in favor of leaving the formal Coalition said there would be informal, coordinated action with MNDP in fielding the respective party nominees in constituencies. The final vote was 63 against maintaining the Coalition to 48 supporting a common alliance.
- The Mongolian Social Democratic Party will put forward for re-election all of its incumbent members of parliament save two. Additional nominees were confirmed by the party in challenger seats, including IRI staff member Boldbaatar, who will resign his program officer position at IRI this week

to seek election in Zavkhan, Constituency number 23. Bold has worked with IRI since 1995.

- The Party of Citizens' Will announced it would form an electoral coalition with the Mongolian Green Party. The Green Party was in coalition with MNDP and MSDP in the 1996 elections. The move is positive for the new Citizens' Will Party, as it allows them to be placed third on the voters' ballot. Political parties are ranked on the ballot according to their registration with the Justice Ministry. Citizens' Will is only a few weeks old and would have placed very low on the ballot, if not last. The Green Party is one of Mongolia's older parties, thus securing a third place on election ballots.
- State investigators announced last week that Parliament Member Bat-Uul is now a suspect in the murder case of former MP Sanjaasuren Zorig. Bat-Uul, a member of MNDP, has denied all charges and claims that the announcement of murder charges was timed to politically damage him before the election. He hired a well-known defense attorney to represent him this past week. Bat-Uul has long been considered by police to be a suspect because of physical evidence belonging to him which they claim was found at the crime scene.
- The anniversary of Zorig's birthday was celebrated on April 20, with planting of trees in a central Ulaanbaatar park where a statue of the slain democracy leader stands, following a memorial service outside the MNDP headquarters.

Provincial Developments

- The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party is holding aimag level conferences nationwide to select candidates for the summer elections. After all 21 aimags have met, the

MPRP will meet in national conference to confirm its candidates to parliament.

**IRI Bulletin, Issue 4
Elections in Mongolia
May 4, 2000**

Election Process

- April 27 was the deadline for political parties to register for the July 2 parliamentary elections. The three parliamentary parties – the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (MPRP), the Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP), and the Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP) – all filed to run candidates. MNDP and MSDP decided not to run in a coalition, but MNDP will appear on the ballot as the Democratic Union Coalition (along with the Mongolian Religious Democratic Party which had been a member of its coalition in 1996). In 1996, MNDP, MSDP, the Mongolian Religious Democratic Party, and the Green Party united under the Democratic Union Coalition.
- While the electoral picture has become clearer with the April 27 deadline, precise lists of candidates are not yet available. Candidate lists are being compiled from May 2 through May 22, although a clause in the law allows a change in nominees up to June 13.
- Of Mongolia’s 24 political parties, 20 will participate in the election, independently or in coalitions. The Mongolian People’s Party, the Mongolian Communist Party, the Mongolian Youth Party and the Mongolian Democratic Socialist Party all failed to register. The following are the political parties and coalitions (in order of their registration):

Mongolian Democratic New Socialist Party (EREL)
Mongolian Republican Party
Mongolian Democratic Party

Citizens Will/Green Party Coalition
 Mongolian New Social Democratic Party
 Mongolian Party for Rural Development
 Mongolian Party of Unity
 Mongolian Civil Democratic New Liberal Party
 Great Coalition (Party for Mongolia, Mongolian
 Renaissance Party, and Mongolian Traditional
 United Party)
 Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party
 Mongolian Party for Regional Development
 Mongolian Social Democratic Party
 Party for Mongolian Traditional Justice
 Mongolian Liberal Democratic Party
 Democratic Union Coalition of MNDP and the
 Mongolian Religious Democratic Party
 Mongolian Workers Party

- There is some talk of including a possible referendum question to define presidential powers on the July 2 ballot. Although MPRP's parliamentary wing has not supported much of MPRP President Bagabandi's bid to expand his authority, they are expected to block this question from going to the voters.

Political Environment

- Four ranking members of the MPRP left the party and joined EREL, the Mongolian Democratic New Socialist Party. EREL is emerging as a serious problem for the MPRP, which had hoped to capitalize in this election on voter dissatisfaction with the last four years of democratic governance by the Coalition. However, the smaller and newer non-parliamentary parties may strike a responsive chord with voters dissatisfied with all parliamentary parties, majority or minority.

- The director of Erdenet Ore, Mongolia's large state copper operation, left Mongolia in 1999 under a cloud of suspicion of misuse of government funds. Sh. Otgonbileg, a close ally of President Bagabandi, recently returned from his home in the United States when an Ulaanbaatar court found him not guilty of these charges. He has said he would seek election as an MPRP candidate to parliament, and it is unlikely the MPRP will deny him a place on the party list.
- Another possible MPRP candidate is Ts. Zorig, son of a prominent Communist leader of Mongolia, Yu. Tsendenbal, who left for Russia after governing Mongolia from 1952 - 1986. Ts. Zorig would run from Uvs aimag, a traditional base of support for his family.
- B. Jargalsaikhan, head of Buyan Cashmere and the Mongolian Republican Party, was in Darhan last week, Mongolia's second largest city. During a lengthy interview on local independent television, he pressed his party's theme that all three parliamentary parties should be rejected by voters. Jargalsaikhan also came to the support of Ulaanbaatar's substantial fleet of independent minibus taxis. The minibuses, popular with Ulaanbaatar citizens, were recently banned from using the city's major avenues. Alone in speaking out for the minibuses, Jargalsaikhan is being repaid with the sight of these private taxis flying Republican Party insignias around the capital.

**IRI Bulletin, Issue 5
Elections in Mongolia
May 15, 2000**

Election Process

- The General Election Committee, chaired by S. Lkhagvasuren, met with all 76 election district chairmen and secretaries this past weekend. Lkhagvasuren, a member of the Mongolian Revolutionary People's Party (MPRP), has held this position since 1992 and this year received re-appointment to the position through the election. Before the election campaign officially began, the Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP) nominated D. Lamjav (a member of the party's political council) to the post of chairman, but could not overcome MPRP opposition.
- Of the 76 electoral districts, 50 are chaired by MPRP members, with the Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP) holding 17 chairmanships, MSDP holding 7, and only the Mongolian Democratic New Socialist Party and the Mongolian Democratic Renaissance Party holding a single chairmanship each. Fifteen of Ulaanbaatar's election district committees are chaired by MPRP members. Committee members are supposed to suspend their partisan political activity while serving on the committees.
- Nationwide, MPRP has 204 members on district commissions, MNDP has 128, MSDP has 101 members, and 20 belong to the Citizens' Will party. Citizens' Will coalition partner, the Mongolian Green Party, has 4 members of electoral committees. The Mongolian Democratic New Socialist Party has 65 members, the Mongolian Democratic Party has 26, the Mongolian Republican Party has 33, and the other parties with a few

(less than ten) members on the district committees include the Mongolian Liberal Democratic Party, the United Party and the Democratic Renaissance Party. Eighty-nine members of the district commissions are independent.

- There will be 1,604 polling sites in Mongolia, with each site having a total of five ballot boxes. Two of the five boxes will be designated as "mobile" ballot boxes, which will be taken to shut-ins or the sick to allow them to vote.
- *Unodoor*, a major daily newspaper, has established policies to allow any political party or candidate to purchase political advertising in its pages. Most Mongolian media expresses a clear bias for a particular ideology or political viewpoint.
- Political parties will be given 20 minutes of free air time once during the election campaign on state television beginning mid-May, and parties or coalitions already receive 20 minutes weekly on state radio. Independent candidates will receive two minutes of free air time once on state television.
- The head of Mongol Radio and Television resigned this past week, Ts. Munkhtur, will be a candidate on the MSDP ballot. He was replaced by MNDP's Ts. Sarantuya, former press secretary at the party.

Political Environment

- Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP) Member of Parliament, E. Bat-Uul, was in an automobile accident Wednesday, returning from a visit to Amarbayasgalant monastery. Newspapers report that his son, who was not injured, was driving and that Bat-Uul has internal injuries. He was recently named by the police as a suspect in the murder of democracy activist S. Zorig and is said to be

planning to run for re-election not from his current district, but from Selenge, home to his in-laws.

- The Mongolian Youth Federation took full page advertisements in Ulaanbaatar newspapers to advocate for the inclusion of youth issues in political party platforms.
- Republican Party chairman B. Jargalsaikhan, millionaire owner of Buyan cashmere, has announced that he will seek office in whichever district MPRP chairman N. Enkhbayar selects for his race. B. Jargalsaikhan, in addition to his party's ideological dislike of MPRP, seeks to run against and defeat Enkhbayar as evidence of his personal strength as a political figure in Mongolia. Enkhbayar has said he will run from an Ulaanbaatar district.
- Former Prime Minister Ts. Elbegdorj, who had said he would not seek re-election, now intends to run for office from Khentii Aimag.

Provincial Developments

- The MPRP has been holding local gatherings of its members nationwide to select candidates for parliament. Party leadership in Ulaanbaatar have expressed some dismay at the candidates which local cadres have been selecting, often through rejecting party leaders and their picks. MPRP will have its national gathering on May 16, to finalize its candidate list.
- On the heels of the winter's zud disaster, which took a huge toll in Mongolian livestock, an outbreak of highly contagious hoof and mouth disease is spreading rapidly. Although not fatal to humans, the disease may be spread by humans to animals.

IRI Bulletin, Issue 6 Elections in Mongolia May 24, 2000

Election Process

- The General Election Committee (GEC) of Mongolia is a 15-member body which will oversee the July 2 polls. Of the 15 GEC members, all but one have served since 1992. The new member of the committee is a member of the Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP). The other 14 members of the GEC are all members of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP).
- In Ulaanbaatar's Election District 57, two members each of the Citizens' Will Party and the Mongolian Democratic Party were placed on the District Election Committee.

Political Environment

- In a surprise move, the son of former Communist leader Yu. Tsedenbal, Ts. Zorig, will run for office from Uvs aimag (in northwest Mongolia) as a candidate from the Citizens' Will Party, not the MPRP. This is the second party switch for Ts. Zorig; earlier in the week he had announced that he would stand as a candidate from the Mongolian Democratic Party.
- The MPRP met this week and nominated 76 candidates for the upcoming polls. Nearly 300 names had been put forward by the local party branches, resulting in two days of often heated debate. *Odriin Sonin* (Daily News) newspaper reported that eight women candidates emerged from the mix, including incumbent T. Gandi, the only woman MPRP member of the current parliament. Five incumbent members chose not to seek re-election, but all other incumbents

(including the party leadership) will seek re-election in their old districts or in newly chosen districts. MPRP chairman Enhbayar will seek election in an Ulaanbaatar constituency, in the Bayangol district. T. Gandi will stand for election in a new district, and will be challenged by first time candidate G. Naranmandah from the Citizens' Will Party.

- The Mongolian National Democratic Party's (MNDP) list of candidates includes former Prime Minister J. Narantsatsralt, Minister for Infrastructure Development G. Bathuu, Chief of the State Property Committee D. Zorigt, Foreign Minister N. Tuya, Prime Minister Amarjargal, Ambassador to the Russian Federation Ts. Tsolmon, and Director of the National Sport Institute H. Bayanmuh.
- The MSDP also has completed its nomination process. Important races to watch include D. Mamjav of MSDP against the chairman of the MPRP, Enhbayar and the chairman of the Mongolian Democratic Party, S. Erdene. They will all contest district 65 in Ulaanbaatar. Also facing-off in the capital (district 75) are B. Baabar of the MSDP, A. Bazarhuu of the MPRP, Ch. Saihanbileg of the MNDP, and D. Suhbaatar of the Civic Courage Party.
- Colonel D. Moron, the lead police investigator of S. Zorig's 1998 murder until his abrupt removal in February for lack of progress, will stand for election as an MPRP candidate in Ulaanbaatar. The former head of the Erdenet Mining Concern, Sh. Otgonbileg (recently returned from a self-imposed exile in the United States when a Mongolian court cleared him of any wrongdoing in misappropriation of state funds in the company) will seek election in Zavkhan.
- The Mongolian New Democratic Socialist Party (MNDSP), commonly referred to as Erel, continues to be a serious competitor for the MPRP. Party chairman B. Erdenebat will

seek office in Darhan, Mongolia's second largest city. The Darhan MPRP organization is considered to be the party's finest in all Mongolia, and will provide an active race for Erel.

Provincial Developments

- Prime Minister Amarjargal visited eastern Sukhbaatar aimag recently to open a new airport and present computers to a technical school. Before he left on the official visit, he met in his capacity as MNDP chairman with Mongolian journalists, describing his party as the "driving force" of democratic transformation in the country.
- Amarjargal also gave Erel Company, owned and directed by MNDSP chairman B. Erdenebat, an award as a "Reliable Taxpayer" last week. Eight other companies received the award.
- This month's outbreak of highly contagious hoof and mouth disease in Dornogobi prompted the State Emergency Commission to order that 1,500 domesticated animals be eliminated. *Mongolia This Week* reports that the method of killing the animals is causing resistance among the herders: the animals are lured to the edge of specially dug trenches and gunned down with AK-47 rifles. Some 18,000 animals may have contracted the disease and the government says it will replace all animals euthanized.

**IRI Bulletin, Issue 7
Elections in Mongolia
June 20, 2000**

Election Process

- On June 16, at the request of the General Election Commission (GEC), IRI donated 10,000 one time use, plastic ballot seals for the upcoming elections. GEC Chairman S. Lhagvasuren thanked IRI for the Institute's long term commitment to assisting the GEC in areas such as ballot security and general election administrative issues. The GEC immediately initiated plans to distribute the ballot seals to all polling precincts nationwide. IRI donated similar ballot seals to the Mongolian GEC in 1996.
- The number of candidates who will compete for the 76 seats in parliament (the Ikh Khural) in next month's polls has decreased by 49, according to the final list of candidates approved by the GEC following the June 13 deadline for candidates to make changes to their ballot slates. On the final day to withdraw candidates, 56 chose to drop out of the race with only seven accepting re-nominations in other districts.
- The Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP) withdrew 6 candidates. According to Party Secretary General N. Altanhuyag, candidates withdrew on their own initiative and not as a result of any pressure from the MSDP party apparatus. However, some observers believe that behind the scenes coordination has been taking place between the MSDP and the Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP) regarding last minute coalitions in some districts.
- The Mongolian Revolutionary Party's (MPRP) list remained intact with no last minute candidate withdrawals.

- IRI trained 150 party pollwatchers in a one day seminar designed to equip each party with a better understanding of the roles and responsibilities of domestic election day monitors. Each participant was given tools to implement their own pollwatcher training program in their home provinces. Representatives from all parties and coalitions from all 21 aimags attended the training session. IRI also provided over 15,000 copies of an official handbook to reference on election day. Despite the fact that the election law did not change from the 1996 version, almost all parties contacted IRI requesting pollwatcher training in advance of the elections.

Political Environment

- The Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) recently embarked on what many observers see as a strategy to counter increasing attacks by their opponents on their general status as the front-runner – they are accusing their opponents of unfair campaign tactics. Among the accusations the MPRP has made in an official complaint lodged with the GEC earlier this week are charges that some parties are engaged in “foul play” by “intentionally discrediting MPRP candidates,” including burning a banner of an MPRP candidate, distributing anonymous campaign materials holding the MPRP accountable for past political repressions, and placing posters on church walls stating that an MPRP win would threaten the church's very existence.
- Under Mongolia's Election Law, the Supreme Court must first rule that a violation has taken place before the GEC can take action on any election related complaint. An examination of the resolution of complaints in the 1996 elections reveal that quick action is unlikely: only one complaint out of seven was acted upon due to the slow decision making process of the Court.

- In a recent survey conducted by the Sant-Maral Centre, supported by the German NGO Konrad Adenauer Foundation, incumbent Prime Minister R. Amarjargal led the results of an opinion poll in which likely voters were asked who they would like to see become the next Prime Minister. The Prime Minister received 62 percent. Results from the survey (which interviewed 2,500 people from Ulaanbaatar, Suhbaatar, Overhangai, Zavhan, Hentii and Hubsgol Aimags) showed R. Armarjargal to rate the highest in response to this question with his results jumping an astonishing 16 percent since the last survey was taken. When asked who they thought the next Prime Minister would be, 21 percent replied Amarjargal. In second place was MPRP chairman Enkhbayer, who registered at 14 percent. B. Jaragalsaihan (the millionaire cashmere magnate), B. Erdenebat (the wealthy business man who owns Erel Company), and former MPRP hard-line communist Prime Minister Jasrai placed third, fourth and fifth, respectively.
- The Mongolian Society of Protection of Consumers' Rights has issued an appeal to all voters to elect those who respect consumers and protect their interests, and endorsed the following candidates: P. Jasrai (MPRP), J. Naransatsralt (MNDP), L. Odonchimeg (Red Cross Society), N. Bolormaa (MPRP), S. Lambaa (MSDP), D. Sugar (MPRP), MP Ch. Ulaan and B. Jargalsaihan (Republican Party), Ts. Sedwanching (MSDP) and Ministers S. Sonon and Ch. Sodnomtseren.
- Many of Mongolia's most famous rock-and-roll singers and groups, such as pop-diva Sara and the 70's rock ensemble "Harangue" have been performing concerts for competing parties. When asked about this practice, they conceded that they are conducting concerts for whichever parties will pay them.

- In a recent nationwide survey of 1,000 Mongolian voter attitudes conducted by the International Republican Institute, with a margin of error of plus or minus 3.39 percent, likely voters were asked whether the degree to which they favored or opposed the transition to democracy from a socialist state. All respondents saying they "strongly opposed" the transition to democracy plan to vote for the former Communist People's Revolutionary Party:

CHART 1

	strongly favor democracy	somewhat favor democracy	somewhat oppose democracy	strongly oppose democracy	No response	Total
1. MNDP	19.0%	8.2%	5.0%	0%	3.4%	10.1%
2. MSDP	13.1%	8.5%	5.0%	0%	6.8%	9.2%
3. MPRP	37.6%	50.5%	60.0%	66.7%	45.8%	48.0%
4. Republican Party	5.4%	5.0%	3.3%	0%	1.7%	4.7%
5. Motherland Party	8.1%	9.1%	10.0%	0%	5.1%	8.7%
6. Citizen's Will Party	3.2%	4.2%	3.3%	0%	3.4%	3.8%
7. Other party	0%	.8%	0%	0%	0%	.5%
8. DK/undecided	10.0%	9.1%	11.7%		25.4%	10.4%
9. refuse to say	3.6%	4.6%	1.7%	33.3%	8.5%	4.6%
	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%	100.0%

The IRI survey also noted that despite over 80 percent of respondents believe the economy of Mongolia is either bad or poor, most ascribe this to reforms being too slow. (See Chart 2)

CHART 2

too fast	14.3%
about right	42.8%
too slow	34.1%
don't know	8.8%

- This is in contrast to many former communist countries currently experiencing the painful transition from a command style economy to one of free-market capitalism. In the final few weeks of the campaign, the MNDP has been subtly hinting in some of its advertising that economic reforms will be stalled if the MPRP were to take power. While the MPRP acknowledges that its platform calls for slowing down and

reassessing the process of economic reforms in Mongolia, it states that this is necessary to implement reforms properly and to insure that corruption is not allowed in the reforming process.

Provincial Development

- In an independent survey, MNDP candidate Bat-Uul, who was recently questioned and held as a suspect in the murder investigation of democratic leader Zorig, has garnered 35 percent support in his Selenge District. The only other opponent in that race is the MPRP candidate who registered the support of 36 percent of the districts likely voters. All other candidates in this race polled in single digits. Given MP Bat-Uul's very high unfavorable ratings nationwide, this latest information points to the possibility of a trend which some believe will greatly affect the outcome of the election; that people are registering their votes for better known incumbents despite the party affiliation of the candidate. Another sign in this direction is the enthusiasm of voters in Dornod aimag where former MP Elbegdorj seems to have pulled ahead of his opponents simply on the basis that the local residents of this rural, isolated district in eastern Mongolia feel that a well known MP could do more for the district than an unknown. IRI's recent pre-election assessment in Dundgobi found through informal surveys that former Prime Minister Naransatsralt was also running a highly competitive campaign, attracting the support of people who are excited about the celebrity of the candidates, despite their dislike for his party, the MNDP.
- The Alternative Center, IRI's Mongolian partner research, issued the results of political surveys conducted to assess the strengths and weaknesses of current and former Prime Ministers who are currently seeking office. Altogether 64 percent of the electors in the eastern soum of Dundgobi,

constituency No. 20 have expressed their support in the election for former Prime Minister J. Naransatsralt. R. Amarjargal, in line with other recent surveys conducted in his district, is in a comfortable lead with 60 percent. Former Prime Minister Jasrai's ratings in Govi-Altai registered at 55 percent. And despite dire predictions of his demise, Ts. Elbegdorj has come on strong recently in his Dornod constituency.

- Former President Orchirbat, in keeping with his moderate reputation, has announced that he will campaign for candidates who strongly supported him, despite their party affiliations. This reportedly includes the current Minister of Agriculture and Industry, Ch. Sodnomtseren, former general director of Erdenet Sh. Otgonbileg, and Ya. Sanjmyatav of the MNDP.
- The candidacy of Ts. Zorig, the son of the late Mongolian Soviet leader Yu. Tsedenbal, who has changed parties twice and dropped out of the race once, officially registered on the final day possible for ballot placement. He will contest in Uvs aimag in parliamentary district 39. His father, who died in exile in Moscow a few years ago, is still extremely popular in Uvs, his hometown aimag. Zorig will run as a candidate on the Civic-Will/Greens Party Coalition. CW/Green's party chairman S. Oyun, expressed her faith that Tsedenbal's son, though not a fluent speaker of the Mongolian language (he has only returned to Mongolia this year after many years living in Moscow) can nonetheless read it and understand it very well. A statue of Yu. Tsedenbal stands prominently on the main square of Ulaan Gom, Uvs's largest city, and many believe the association with his father is a decided advantage in the race and could serve to increase the number of candidates representing the CW/Greens alliance in parliament.
- Recent reports from Choibolsan, the aimag in which CW/Green Party Chairman S. Oyun is heavily favored for re-

election and in which former Prime Minister Elbegdorj is a leading contender in a neighboring district, have stated that visits from the various “millionaire candidates” who sweep into town in their SUV convoys, sirens blaring and bodyguards with earpieces in tow, have had a negative affect on the wealthy candidates images. One bystander upon seeing this wealth displayed in such a poor countryside town said, “with all their Mercedes and sirens, you’d think this was the Kremlin.” Many of the townspeople in Choibolsan attended the rock concerts put on by the wealthy parties, but said they would vote for other parties. “We’ll enjoy their concerts and then vote against them,” said an old man who did not want to give his name. An American reporter in Sukhbaatar province, however, said that the wealthy candidates and their lavish campaign styles impressed many people in Sukhbaatar, in contrast to Choibolsan.

**IRI Bulletin, Issue 8
Elections in Mongolia
July 24, 2000**

- The Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party (MPRP) won 72 of 76 seats in the July 2, 2000 elections to the State Great Hural, with former Prime Minister Narantsatsralt the sole victor from the previous’ parliament’s majority Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP) ranks. MNDP’s former Democratic Union Coalition partner, the Mongolian Social Democratic Party (MSDP) – which broke ranks with the coalition and opted to run alone – failed to gain a single seat. Party of Citizen’s Will candidate S. Oyun was returned to her Dornod seat and the chairman of the Democratic New Socialist Party, B. Erdenebat, won election from an Ulaanbaatar district. A single independent, L. Gundalai, took 41.57% of the vote in Hubvsgol.

The following is a list of winning candidates with vote percentages:

<u>District</u>	<u>Candidate/Political Party</u>	<u>Vote %</u>
1	B. Chadraa/MPRP	46.65%
2	S. Tumur-Ochir/MPRP	34.37%
3	M. Dalaihuu/MPRP	52.94%
4	R. Sandalhan/MPRP	61.1%
5	O. Nygamet/MPRP	46.49%
6	H. Jekei/MPRP	50.22%
7	D. Tumendemberel/MPRP	37.7%
8	Ts. Shiirevdamba/MPRP	42.00%
9	S. Dulam/MPRP	50.01%
10	Ch. Radnaa/MPRP	60.95%
11	L. Enebish/MPRP	80.57%
12	P. Jasrai/MPRP	62.85%
13	R. Tsogtbaatar/MPRP	40.41%

14	L. Odonchimed/MPRP	66.12%
15	Ts. Sharavdorj/MPRP	46.28%
16	B. Baatarzorig/MPRP	44.74%
17	S. Oyun/ Citizen's Will-Greens	50.99%
18	D. Bazarsad/MPRP	52.78%
19	N. Togtoh/MPRP	43.34%
20	J. Narantsatsralt/MNDP-MRDP	63.61%
21	B. Sharavsambuu/MPRP	49.86%
22	Sh. Otgonbileg/MPRP	78.16%
23	D. Oyunhorol/MPRP	52.22%
24	D. Sugar/MPRP	53.68%
25	D. Dembereltseren/MPRP	39.92%
26	D. Lundeejantsan/MPRP	61.15%
27	B. Erdenebilegt/MPRP	43.97%
28	Ts. Oyunbaatar/MPRP	55.16%
29	B. Dolgor/MPRP	52.76%
30	Ch. Ulaan/MPRP	57.47%
31	Sh. Badam/MPRP	42.01%
32	P. Nyamdavaa/MPRP	53.30%
33	Sh. Gungaadorj/MPRP	56.12%
34	R. Sodhuu/MPRP	40.50%
35	D. Dondog/MPRP	53.72%
36	M. Zenee/MPRP	67.85%
37	Ts. Oold/MPRP	57.86%
38	N. Enhbold/MPRP	58.93%
39	Ts. Nyamdorj/MPRP	63.35%
40	N. Bayartsaihan/MPRP	65.76%
41	Ch. Avdai/MPRP	54.07%
42	Ts. Damiran/MPRP	47.63%
43	G. Nyamdavaa/MPRP	66.31%
44	D. Demberel/MPRP	47.71%
45	L. Gundalai/Independent	41.57%
46	U. Enhtuvshin/MPRP	46.12%
47	E. Gombojav/MPRP	51.25%
48	L. Tserenjav/MPRP	50.42%
49	D. Arvin/MPRP	44.61%

50	N. Ganbyamba/MPRP	49.02%
51	U. Hurelsuh/MPRP	54.77%
52	B. Battulga/MPRP	47.47%
53	D. Tseveenjav/MPRP	46.39%
54	L. Davaatsedev/MPRP	53.23%
55	Yo. Bayarsaihan/MPRP	44.95%
56	Ts. Nyam-Osor/MPRP	48.82%
57	T. Gandi/MPRP	50.49%
58	R. Amarsaihan/MPRP	56.23%
59	R. Gavaa/MPRP	53.11%
60	H. Balsandorj/MPRP	38.05%
61	B. Erdenebat/Dem. New Soc.	40.52%
62	G. Turtogtoh/MPRP	51.15%
63	O. Suren/MPRP	50.58%
64	A. Shagdarsuren/MPRP	53.84%
65	N. Enhbayar/MPRP	62.18%
66	J. Byambadorj/MPRP	63.70%
67	D. Altai/MPRP	50.49%
68	Ts. Baasanjav/MPRP	59.50%
69	N. Bolormaa/MPRP	54.30%
70	Ts. Dashdorj/MPRP	51.71%
71	N. Sodnomdorj/MPRP	54.94%
72	S. Tumur/MPRP	47.91%
73	T. Ochirhuu/MPRP	43.73%
74	N. Gerelsuren/MPRP	48.94%
75	A. Bazarhuu/MPRP	56.94%
76	D. Murun/MPRP	62.26%

- On July 19, the new parliament convened. MPRP elected members were given lavender colored seats, while the four non-MPRP members were given tan colored seats – the same color seating as those for professional staff. President N. Bagabandi opened the ceremony, which included the swearing of oaths of office by individual members and the election of MPRP's L. Enebish as Speaker of the State Great Hural. J. Byambadorj was elected Vice-Speaker.

- The chairmen of the seven standing committees of parliament were chosen on July 19, as well. Selected from the most experienced ranks of long-serving MPRP officeholders, the committees and chairmen are: State Structure - D. Demberel; Economic Policy - T. Ochirkhuu; National Security and Foreign Policy - D. Lundeejantsan; Environment and Rural Development - Sh. Gungaadorj; Budget - N. Bayartsaikhan; Social Policy - T. Gandi and Justice - Ts. Sharavdorj.
- In past parliaments, the budgetary oversight subcommittee had been chaired by a member of the minority or opposition, however, the MPRP installed one of its members to head this subcommittee. The ethics subcommittee, which examines issues of official corruption, will be chaired by the sole independent member, Gundalai. S. Oyun, the sole Citizens' Will Party member in the Ih Hural, will serve with 2 MPRP members on the subcommittee on internal security.
- The selection of a MPRP prime minister is complicated by the current Constitution of Mongolia. The Constitution requires that the prime minister resign his or her parliamentary seat before being confirmed to the new post. The same holds true for any member of parliament seeking one of 9 Cabinet posts. MPRP members are wary of having its elected parliamentarians step down to serve in the Cabinet because of the necessity of by-elections. As of today, the four person minority in the Great State Hural may address the chamber as individuals, but are otherwise limited in their powers within parliament. If another four minority members are elected through by-elections, the opposition would be able to form an official faction (which requires a minimum of 8 members) and have increased powers.
- MPRP members of parliament are searching for means of amending the Constitution to allow members of parliament to serve as prime minister or in the Cabinet concurrently with

their legislative mandates. Such an amendment was defeated during the last parliament, when it was rejected, along with six other amendments, by the MPRP dominated Constitutional Court, at President Bagabandi's urging.

**IRI Bulletin, Issue 9
Elections in Mongolia
August 13, 2000**

- The ruling Mongolian Peoples Revolutionary Party (MPRP) introduced its government last week. Expanding the number of government ministries by two, the State Great Hural, Mongolia's parliament, nominated 11 new ministers and a Cabinet Secretary to serve with Prime Minister N. Enkhbayar.
- Enkhbayar became prime minister July 26, through a vote in which three of the four minority members of parliament refused to participate, concerned with the constitutional legality of the vote process.
- Mongolia's Constitutional Court in March 2000 rejected parliamentary amendments to the constitution providing that a member of parliament could simultaneously serve in government. The MPRP dominated State Great Hural decided the parliament could select Enkhbayar as prime minister concurrently with his elected status as a member of the legislature, regardless of the high court's ruling. MPRP President Bagabandi, formerly opposed to the amendments, now supports the parliamentary position against that of the Constitutional Court.
- The new Cabinet of Ministers were speedily nominated by the Prime Minister with the MPRP political council and approved by the parliament. They are:

Health: P. Nyamdavaa, former Social Policy Adviser to the President. He served in this same Cabinet position from 1990 - 1996.

Justice and Internal Affairs: Ts. Nyamdorj, member of parliament since 1992 and deputy leader of the opposition in the last parliament.

Food and Agriculture: D. Nasanjargal, new to electoral politics and former director of a farming company in Selenge.

Finance and Economic: Ch. Ulaan, member of parliament since 1996 and former Minister of the National Development Board in the last MPRP government.

Industry and Commerce: Ch. Ganzorig, formerly an official with the Foreign Ministry.

Infrastructure: B. Jigid, former Minister of Energy in the last MPRP government.

Social Welfare and Labor: Sh. Batbayar, member of parliament since 1992.

Education, Culture and Science: A. Tsanjid, adviser to the Speaker of the Great Hural from 1993 to 1996 and national campaign manager for MPRP in the June 2000 elections.

Foreign Affairs: L. Erdenechuluun, foreign policy adviser to the president and prime minister, former representative to the United Nations.

Environment: U. Barsbold, at age 36 the youngest member of the government and director of the Mongolian Business Development Agency.

Defense: J. Gurragchaа, since 1996 Chief of the Military Staff for Air Defense and a cosmonaut.

- While no women or youth leaders were included in the MPRP government Cabinet, Enkhbayar says the deputy minister positions he appoints will draw upon “women and Kazakhs.”
- This week, the State Great Hural enters its recess and will return in approximately four weeks. High on their agenda at that time will be local elections, held nationwide, sometime in October.

National Survey of Voter Attitudes Mongolia, March/April 2000

1. Would you say that things in the country are headed in the right direction or do you think they are off on the wrong track?

1. right direction	40.8%
2. wrong direction	40.4%
3. DK/NR	18.8%

2. How would you rate your quality of life ... would you say the quality of your life in Mongolia is excellent, good, fair, not so good, or poor?

1. excellent	.5%
2. good	2.9%
3. fair	29.4%
4. not so good	45.2%
5. poor	21.5%
6. DK/NR	0.5%

3. Would you say that the state of the economy in Mongolia is excellent, good, fair, not so good, or poor?

1. excellent	.2%
2. good	.9%
3. fair	9.3%
4. not so good	58.0%
5. poor	30.0%
6. DK/NR	1.6%

4. In the last five years, would you say your personal economic situation has gotten better, gotten worse, or stayed about the same?

1. gotten better	16.2%
2. gotten worse	32.3%
3. stayed about the same	49.5%
4. DK/NR	1.9%

5. Do you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove, or strongly disapprove of the job Bagabandi is doing as President?

1. strongly approve	6.1%
2. somewhat approve	54.4%
3. somewhat disapprove	29.2%
4. strongly disapprove	3.8%
5. DK/NR	6.5%

6. Do you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of the job the Parliament is doing?

1. strongly approve	.6%
2. somewhat approve	16.7%
3. somewhat disapprove	62.6%
4. strongly disapprove	16.3%
5. DK/NR	3.8%

7. Do you strongly approve, somewhat approve, somewhat disapprove or strongly disapprove of the job the Government is doing?

1. strongly approve	1.6%
2. somewhat approve	32.7%

3. somewhat disapprove	48.9%
4. strongly disapprove	10.1%
5. DK/NR	6.7%

8. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the Mongolia Social Democratic Party (MSDP)

1. strongly favorable	8.1%
2. somewhat favorable	44.8%
3. somewhat unfavorable	23.4%
4. strongly unfavorable	12.8%
5. DK/NR	11.0%

9. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the Mongolian National Democratic Party (MNDP)?

1. strongly favorable	9.2%
2. somewhat favorable	38.2%
3. somewhat unfavorable	22.6%
4. strongly unfavorable	21.9%
5. DK/NR	8.2%

10. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP)?

1. strongly favorable	35.6%
2. somewhat favorable	42.8%
3. somewhat unfavorable	11.0%
4. strongly unfavorable	6.8%
5. DK/NR	3.8%

11. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the Mongolian Republican Party?

1. strongly favorable	6.7%
2. somewhat favorable	18.1%
3. somewhat unfavorable	21.7%

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| 4. strongly unfavorable | 24.5% |
| 5. DK/NR | 28.9% |

12. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the Mongolian Democratic New Socialist Party (Motherland Movement)?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| 1. strongly favorable | 12.2% |
| 2. somewhat favorable | 27.1% |
| 3. somewhat unfavorable | 19.5% |
| 4. strongly unfavorable | 18.2% |
| 5. DK/NR | 23.0% |

13. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the Mongolian Democratic New Socialist Party (Motherland Movement)?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| 1. strongly favorable | 2.7% |
| 2. somewhat favorable | 22.0% |
| 3. somewhat unfavorable | 20.1% |
| 4. strongly unfavorable | 27.7% |
| 5. DK/NR | 27.5% |

14. Do you have a favorable or unfavorable opinion of the Citizens' Will Party?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| 1. strongly favorable | 8.3% |
| 2. somewhat favorable | 20.3% |
| 3. somewhat unfavorable | 12.7% |
| 4. strongly unfavorable | 16.9% |
| 5. DK/NR | 41.9% |

15. In 1996, MNDP and MSDP formed a coalition called the "Democratic Coalition". What is your opinion of the Democratic Coalition?

- | | |
|-------------------------|-------|
| 1. strongly favorable | 7.8% |
| 2. somewhat favorable | 38.1% |
| 3. somewhat unfavorable | 32.7% |
| 4. strongly unfavorable | 13.9% |
| 5. DK/NR | 7.4% |

16. What is your opinion of President Bagabandi?

- | | |
|----------------|-------|
| 1. favorable | 62.0% |
| 2. unfavorable | 30.6% |
| 3. DK/NR | 7.4% |

17. What is your opinion of Parliament Speaker Gonchigdorj?

- | | |
|----------------|-------|
| 1. favorable | 46.2% |
| 2. unfavorable | 42.0% |
| 3. DK/NR | 11.8% |

18. What is your opinion of Prime Minister Amarjargal?

- | | |
|----------------|-------|
| 1. favorable | 60.5% |
| 2. unfavorable | 24.7% |
| 3. DK/NR | 14.8% |

19. What is your opinion of Enkhbayar?

- | | |
|----------------|-------|
| 1. favorable | 57.0% |
| 2. unfavorable | 23.6% |
| 3. DK/NR | 19.4% |

20. What is your opinion of Jargalsaikhan?

1. favorable	42.6%
2. unfavorable	23.2%
3. DK/NR	34.2%

21. What is your opinion of Erdenbat?

1. favorable	45.3%
2. unfavorable	19.2%
3. DK/NR	35.4%

22. What is your opinion of Oyun?

1. favorable	45.6%
2. unfavorable	16.8%
3. DK/NR	37.6%

23. What is your opinion of Elbegdorj?

1. favorable	15.3%
2. unfavorable	69.7%
3. DK/NR	14.9%

24. What is your opinion of Enkhsaikhan?

1. favorable	34.4%
2. unfavorable	44.8%
3. DK/NR	20.8%

25. What is your opinion of Delgermaa?

1. favorable	34.7%
2. unfavorable	42.0%
3. DK/NR	23.3%

26. What is your opinion of Bat-Uul?

1. favorable	16.8%
2. unfavorable	66.4%
3. DK/NR	16.8%

27. If the election for Parliament were today, would you vote to reelect your Member of Parliament or do you think a new person could do a better job?

1. definitely re-elect	10.5%
2. probably re-elect	21.2%
3. probably new person	27.7%
4. definitely new person	34.4%
5. DK/NR	6.2%

28. Which ONE of the following issues is most important to you in deciding how to vote for Parliament?

1. unemployment & poverty	32.0%
2. improving openness in government	20.3%
3. development of the national economy	21.3%
4. privatization of large industries	1.0%
5. improving education	6.0%
6. agriculture & herding	4.1%
7. protecting the environment	0.3%
8. banking reform	1.6%
9. bringing stability to government	9.9%
10. foreign relations & national defense	1.4%
11. DK/NR	2.0%

29. Thinking ahead to June elections for Parliament, if the election was being held today, for which party would you vote?

1. MNDP	10.0%
2. MSDP	9.1%
3. MPRP	47.9%

4. Republican Party	4.7%
5. Motherland Party	8.6%
6. Citizen's Will Party	3.8%
7. Other party	0.7%
8. DK/undecided	10.3%
9. refuse to say	4.7%

31. Would you be more likely or less likely to support a democratic candidate from the MSDP or MNDP if the two parties did NOT form a coalition like they did in 1996, but ran instead as separate parties, or would it make no difference to your vote?

1. more likely to support	21.4%
2. less likely to support	24.3%
3. no difference	44.1%
4. DK/no opinion	10.1%

32. What is the MOST important quality you consider when deciding how to vote for Parliament?

1. personality of the candidate	12.4%
2. party affiliation	6.3%
3. platform of the candidate	18.3%
4. candidates background & record of experience	58.4%
5. where the candidate is from	1.4%
6. other qualities	0.5%
7. DK/NR	2.6%

33. If there are two candidates in an election with the same qualifications, but one is a man and the other is a woman, would you be more likely to vote for the man, the woman or would it make no difference to your vote?

1. more likely to vote for man	13.8%
2. more likely to vote for women	10.6%
3. gender makes no difference	73.3%
4. DK/no opinion	2.3%

34. Which party do you believe would do a better job at handling the issue of...reducing unemployment?

1. MSDP	11.6%
2. MNDP	12.2%
3. MPRP	53.1%
4. no party	12.1%
5. DK/no opinion	10.8%

35. ...reforming the judiciary

1. MSDP	13.1%
2. MNDP	15.8%
3. MPRP	44.0%
4. no party	9.5%
5. DK/no opinion	12.2%

36. ...improving education

1. MSDP	21.1%
2. MNDP	14.3%
3. MPRP	45.6%
4. no party	6.8%
5. DK/no opinion	12.2%

37. ...reducing poverty

1. MSDP	9.5%
2. MNDP	12.5%
3. MPRP	53.7%
4. no party	13.2%
5. DK/no opinion	11.1%

38. ...bringing openness and accountability to government

1. MSDP	11.1%
2. MNDP	20.8%
3. MPRP	43.4%

- 4. no party 11.6%
- 5. DK/no opinion 13.1%

39. ...eliminating corruption from government

- 1. MSDP 8.9%
- 2. MNDP 10.5%
- 3. MPRP 52.4%
- 4. no party 13.8%
- 5. DK/no opinion 14.4%

40. ...addressing the needs of the people in the countryside

- 1. MSDP 8.3%
- 2. MNDP 12.1%
- 3. MPRP 55.1%
- 4. no party 11.2%
- 5. DK/no opinion 13.2%

41. ...addressing the needs of the people in the cities

- 1. MSDP 11.7%
- 2. MNDP 17.8%
- 3. MPRP 40.6%
- 4. no party 11.9%
- 5. DK/no opinion 16.6%

42. ...managing large industries such as energy, mining, cashmere

- 1. MSDP 12.0%
- 2. MNDP 18.7%
- 3. MPRP 39.5%
- 4. no party 13.1%
- 4. DK/no opinion 16.6%

43. ...improving the nation's economy

- 1. MSDP 11.1%
- 2. MNDP 15.5%
- 3. MPRP 48.0%
- 4. no party 10.6%
- 5. DK/no opinion 14.8%

44. ...creating opportunities for young people so they won't leave Mongolia to seek better opportunities outside the country

- 1. MSDP 14.9%
- 2. MNDP 14.6%
- 3. MPRP 43.1%
- 4. no party 12.0%
- 5. DK/no opinion 15.3%

45. ...managing foreign relations with our neighbors, China and Russia

- 1. MSDP 11.5%
- 2. MNDP 15.6%
- 3. MPRP 52.8%
- 4. no party 6.0%
- 5. DK/no opinion 14.1%

46. ...do a better job of managing foreign relations with western countries such as the United States and Germany?

- 1. MSDP 21.7%
- 2. MNDP 23.0%
- 3. MPRP 31.5%
- 4. no party 6.7%
- 5. DK/no opinion 17.1%

47. ...do a better job of protecting the environment?

- 1. MSDP 13.6%
- 2. MNDP 13.2%

3. MPRP	45.2%
4. no party	10.2%
5. DK/no opinion	17.8%

48. ...do a better job of finding solutions to our banking and credit problems?

1. MSDP	11.2%
2. MNDP	15.6%
3. MPRP	46.1%
4. no party	12.0%
5. DK/no opinion	15.2%

49. ...do a better job providing a stable government?

1. MSDP	9.2%
2. MNDP	10.5%
3. MPRP	57.2%
4. no party	10.1%
5. DK/no opinion	13.0%

50. ...do a better job of expanding personal and social freedom?

1. MSDP	15.3%
2. MNDP	25.5%
3. MPRP	36.4%
4. no party	8.8%
5. DK/no opinion	14.0%

51. Now, I would like to read you some statements the three major political parties might say about themselves. After I read the statements, please tell me, based on these statements, which party you would vote for in the Parliamentary elections (rotate three statements):

1. The MNDP has had much success in the last four years, passing many reforms outlined in the Contact with the Mongolian Voter as part of the Democratic Coalition. Their most important priority for the future is to compete the transition to democracy and market based economy. The MNDP says to be competitive with other countries in the 21st century and to improve our social and economic opportunities, we need the new ideas of their party and the energy of their young leadership, not the old ideas of the past.

2. The MSDP says they have been partners in the success of the Contact with the Mongolian Voter and have implemented many important democratic reforms over the last four years. The far left political partners, and is the only party capable of unifying the many different political factions that exist in Mongolia today.

3. The MPRP says the state of the economy has declined in the last four years since the Democrats took control of Parliament and that more people suffer from poverty today as a result. They say the Democrats don't have the experience to govern the country effectively, and corruption has been rampant under Democratic authority. Returning the MPRP to majority status in Parliament will return stability to government and improve the lives of Mongolians.

Based on these statements, which political party would you vote for?

1. MNDP	14.6%
2. MSDP	16.1%
3. MPRP	56.3%
4. DK/NR	13.1%

52. Do you FAVOR or OPPOSE the transition to a democracy from a socialist form a socialist form of government?

1. strongly favor	22.3%
2. somewhat favor	65.1%
3. somewhat oppose	6.0%
4. strongly oppose	0.6%
5. DK/NR	5.9%

53. Would you say the pace of reform in the last four years has been too fast, too slow, or just about the right pace?

1. too fast	14.4%
2. about right	43.1%
3. too slow	34.3%
4. DK/NR	8.2%

54. On the issue of reform, which of the following statements comes closer to your point of view:

1. Some people say that the Democratic Coalition has put into place important economic reforms that will greatly improve the nation's economy in the future and the standard of living of Mongolians. It takes time for reforms to work, so we need to be patient and re-elect the Democrats to give them more time to compete the transition.

– OR –

2. Other people say that the economic reforms are not working and more people are worse off now than they were four years ago. We can't afford to risk the well-being of the Mongolian people taking too many risks, and we need a change in political leadership in Parliament.

1. democrats need more time to complete economic transition	25.8%
2. democrats take too many risks time to change parliament	57.0%
3. DK/NR	7.2%

55. Thinking about the issue of reform, consider the two following statements:

1. Some people say that under communism living conditions were not very good. People had to carry ration cards, food was difficult to get, and Mongolia was isolated internationally. We cannot go back to that way of life.

2. Other people say that under communism, everybody was well taken care of. There was less poverty in the country, pensions were sufficient to meet everyone's needs, and more attention was paid to the social welfare of Mongolians.

Which statement comes closer to your point of view?

1. we cannot go back to communism	32.4%
2. communism at least created better living conditions	53.8%
3. DK/NR	13.8%

56. Thinking now about some of the social changes in the country... I would like to read you a statement, and after I read the statement, please tell me if you agree or disagree with the statement:

"The personal freedom we have now in Mongolia, such as freedom of speech, freedom of movement, and equal opportunities for all citizens are worth it in the long-run

if we have some short-term problems during the transition period.”

Do you agree or disagree with the statement?

- 1. agree 78.9%
- 2. disagree 9.9%
- 3. DK/NR 11.3%

57. Thinking back to the 1996 elections, are you familiar with the Contract with the Mongolian Voter, an election platform produced for voters by the Democratic Coalition?

- 1. familiar 52.4%
- 2. not familiar 28.2%
- 3. DK/NR 19.4%

58. Based on what you know, do you think the Democratic Coalition accomplished a lot, some, only a few or none of the items in the Contract?

- 1. a lot 12.0%
- 2. some 29.2%
- 3. a few 35.3%
- 4. none 4.1%
- 5. DK/NR 19.3%

59. Thinking some more about the Democratic Coalition's legislative record over the last four years ...

1. Some people say that the Democratic Coalition has not accomplished very much over the last four years because they are too inexperienced to govern the country effectively.

2. Other people say that the Democratic Coalition has been obstructed by the MPRP Members of Parliament trying to block reform legislation. If the Coalition has not been obstructed by MPRP they would have gotten more accomplished.

Which of these two statements comes closer to your point of view?

- 1. Coalition not accomplished much, too inexperienced 63.0%
- 2. Coalition could have done more but MPRP obstructs reform 22.2%
- 3. DK/NR 14.8%

60. As you may know, the government of Mongolia has changed four times over the last four years. Do you think these changes are more due to inexperience of the Democratic Coalition due to corruption in government?

- 1. inexperience of coalition 22.9%
- 2. corruption in government 28.8%
- 3. both inexperience & corruption 45.1%
- 4. DK/NR 3.2%

61. Do you think corruption is more a problem at the local level of government or at the state level of government?

- 1. local level 5.6%
- 2. state level 34.8%
- 3. both equally 55.7%
- 4. DK/NR 3.9%

62. Are you familiar or not familiar with the number of Zorig in 1998?

- | | |
|-----------------|-------|
| 1. familiar | 89.8% |
| 2. not familiar | 3.8% |
| 3. DK/NR | 6.4% |

63. Do you think Zorig's murder was committed by his political enemies or was it a random act of violence committed by non-political criminals?

- | | |
|----------------------|-------|
| 1. political enemies | 82.1% |
| 2. random act | 3.7% |
| 3. DK/NR | 14.2% |

64. And do you believe the inability to solve the murder is due to political corruption or is this just a difficult case for the police to solve?

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------|
| 1. political corruption | 70.8% |
| 2. difficult case to solve | 19.1% |
| 3. DK/NR | 10.1% |

65. Would you say you understand completely the issue of privatization, mostly understand it, partly understand it, or don't understand it at all?

- | | |
|----------------------------|-------|
| 1. completely understand | 9.0% |
| 2. mostly understand | 41.4% |
| 3. partly understand | 40.1% |
| 4. don't understand at all | 7.3% |
| 5. DK/NR | 2.2% |

66. In the last four years, do you think privatization of state-owned industry has gone too far, has not gone far enough, or do you think it's proceeding at just about the right pace?

- | | |
|--------------------------|-------|
| 1. gone too far | 22.9% |
| 2. not gone far enough | 29.4% |
| 3. just about right pace | 30.1% |
| 4. DK/NR | 17.6% |

67. Please tell me if you agree or disagree with the following statement: "Privatization in Mongolia offers companies for sale in a fair and open process."

- | | |
|-------------|-------|
| 1. agree | 15.4% |
| 2. disagree | 66.6% |
| 3. DK/NR | 18.0% |

68. Thinking now about the possible changes in the privatization process, I would like to read to you a list of possible changes, and please tell me which ONE you think is most important?

- | | |
|--|-------|
| 1. make process more open & transparent | 52.1% |
| 2. exclude foreigners from buying companies | 22.7% |
| 3. stop privatization entirely | 3.5% |
| 4. no changes are necessary | 3.4% |
| 5. introduce another method of proposed cost | 10.4% |
| 6. DK/NR | 7.9% |

69. Age

- | | |
|-------|-------|
| 18-24 | 15.7% |
| 25-29 | 15.2% |
| 30-34 | 13.1% |
| 35-39 | 13.5% |

40-44	14.0%
45-49	9.3%
50-54	7.6%
55-59	4.9%
60 +	6.1%
NR	0.4%

70. Last level of education completed?

lower secondary	10.0%
some upper secondary	5.1%
upper secondary	22.6%
VT school	17.4%
university	21.5%
graduate school	20.1%
NR	3.2%

71. Ethnicity

Khalka	87.2%
Khazakh	1.1%
Oirad	1.6%
Buryat	2.2%
something else	7.2%
DK/NR	0.7%

72. Religion

Buddhist	63.1%
Muslim	1.7%
Shamanist	0.9%
Christian	1.1%
Other	0.8%
no religion	27.6%
DK/NR	4.8%

73. Annual household income

up to 50,000 MNT	54.9%
50,000 - 100,000 MNT	31.9%
100,000 - 200,000 MNT	7.8%
more than 200,000 MNT	2.3%

74. Occupation

government services	34.7%
student	8.4%
agriculture or herder	4.0%
black hand or household	4.8%
pensioner	9.4%
private businesses	14.6%
private company	6.6%
factory employee	3.3%
unemployed	10.4%
something else	2.4%
DK/NR	1.3%

75. Are you currently a member of any political party?

not a member of a party	58.4%
member / MNDP	5.8%
member / MSDP	6.2%
member / MPRP	18.9%
member / other party	5.5%
DK/NR	5.1%

76. Did you vote in the parliamentary elections of 1996? If yes, what was the political party of the candidate for whom you voted in that election?

no, did not vote	13.2%
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voted for democratic coalition candidate	41.3%
voted for MPRP candidate	38.5%
voted for other party	2.5%
can't recall if voted	0.9%
can't recall who voted for	1.3%
refused to say	2.3%

77. Did you vote in the 1997 election for President? If yes, can you tell which candidate you voted for in the election?

no, did not vote	10.6%
voted for Bagabandi	56.0%
voted for Orchibat	27.9%
voted for other candidate	1.3%
can't recall if voted	1.3%
can't recall who voted for	1.5%
refused to say	1.4%

78. Sex

male	51.8%
female	48.2%

79. Residence

city (UB, Darkhan, Erdenet)	47.7%
aimag capital	22.2%
soum centre	25.8%
rural area (nomadic)	4.5%

**OFFICIAL ELECTION RESULTS
PARLIAMENT OF MONGOLIA
JULY 2, 2000**

Dist.	Candidate	Party	#	%
1	GONCHIGDORJ	MSDP	7052	43.87
	CHADRAA	MPRP	7498	46.65
	BATBAATAR	Mongolian Democratic Party	344	2.14
	TSERENBAT	CW-GP Coalition	355	2.21
	NATSAGDORJ	Democratic New Socialist Party	816	5.08
2	BATMUNH	MSDP	2511	18.27
	TUMUR-OCHIR	MPRP	4723	34.37
	ZUNDUI-OSOR	Mongolian Democratic Party	344	2.14
	BATBAYAR	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	2946	21.44
	NYAMTSUREN	Big Coalition	74	0.54
	DANZANDORJ	Republican Party	161	1.17
	GANSUKH	Democratic New Socialist Party	1746	12.70
BATBOLD	Independent	463	3.37	
3	GANTUMUR	MSDP	691	4.91
	DALAIHUU	MPRP	7456	52.94
	ENKHJARGAL	Mongolian Democratic Party	230	1.63
	LAMBAA	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	2620	18.60
	DASHNYAM	Big Coalition	516	3.66
	SUKHBAT	Republican Party	148	1.05
SODMANDAH	Democratic New Socialist Party	2410	17.11	
4	SANDALHAN	MPRP	6974	61.1
	KULANDA	Mongolian Democratic Party	230	1.63
	HALIDOLDA	CW-GP Coalition	746	6.5
	DAUIRJAN	Democratic New Socialist Party	991	8.7
5	BEKEN	MSDP	1743	14.22
	NYGMET	MPRP	5698	46.49
	MURAT	Liberal Democratic Party	60	0.49
	SHARIV	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	2022	16.5
	BAIGONAK	Republican Party	552	4.5
	BARBOL	CW-GP Coalition	475	3.88
	KUMARZAK	Democratic New Socialist Party	1588	12.96
	ISLAM	Big Coalition	68	0.55
	MANDAT	Mongolian Democratic Party	126	1.03
	6	MEYRAM	MSDP	2929
JEKEI		MPRP	7103	50.22
MEYRBAN		Mongolian Democratic Party	1203	8.51
SYEZDI		MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1199	8.48
SURAGAN		Republican Party	536	3.79

	BEKET	Democratic New Socialist Party	1130	7.99					
7	CHIMGEE	MSDP	901	7.89	13	TSOGTBAATAR	MPRP	6186	40.32
	TUMENDFMBEREL	PRP	4304	37.7		GALBADRAH.L	MSDP	2509	16.35
	BAS-ORGIL	Mongolian Democratic Party	355	3.11		GANBAATAR	Mongolian Democratic Party	113	0.94
	GERELCHULUUN	N-INDP-MRDP Coalition	2207	19.33		BAARTARTOGTOH.	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	973	6.34
	NYAMAA	Republican Party	331	2.90		DARMAA	Republican Party	734	4.78
	HURELSUH	CW-GP Coalition	853	7.47		DAMDIN.	Democratic New Socialist Party	924	6.02
	NYAMJARGAL	New Social Democratic Party	274	2.40		SODNOMDORJ.	Independent	754	4.91
	CHULUUNBAATAR	Democratic New Socialist Party	2114	18.52		NYAMD	Independent	3121	20.34
8	OTGONBAYAR	MSDP	1899	14.65	14	NARMANDAH.	MSDP	715	5.41
	SHIIREVDAMBA	MPRP	5446	42.00		ODONCHIMED.	MPRP	8732	66.12
	ULIGANSUREN	Mongolian Democratic Party	117	0.90		BAYARMAGNAI	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	930	7.04
	BATNASAN	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	496	3.83		SARANTUYA.	Republican Party	305	2.31
	TUMENJARGAL	Republican Party	172	1.33		TUMURTOGOO	Democratic New Socialist Party	2493	18.88
	AYURZANA	CW-GP Coalition	216	1.67	15	PUREVBAATAR.	MSDP	1030	6.48
	JARGAL	Democratic New Socialist Party	1510	11.65		SHARAVDORJ.	MPRP	7361	46.28
	BATTULGA	Independent.	3102	23.92		ALTANGEREL.	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	641	4.03
9	BYAMBADORJ	MSDP	1068	7.47		GURJAV.	Republican Party	757	4.76
	DULAM	MPRP	7151	50.01		BATTOGTOH.	CW-GP coalition	392	2.46
	JAMYAN	Mongolian Democratic Party	238	1.66		SELENGE.	Civil Dem. New Liberal Party	88	0.55
	BAYARSAIHAN	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	3525	24.65		BATSUURI.	Independent	4769	29.98
	ENKHBAATAR	Republican Party	310	2.17		TSEREN	Democratic New Socialist Party	845	5.31
	ZAGAR	CW-GP Coalition	183	1.28	16	BAATARZORIG.	MPRP	3583	44.74
	TSEREN	Democratic New Socialist Party	1487	10.40		BOLD	Mongolian Democratic Party	84	1.05
	MISHIG	Big Coalition	324	2.27		ELBEGDORJ.	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	3232	40.35
10	DASHPUREV	MSDP	1317	8.97		ENKHTSETSEG.	Republican Party	371	4.63
	RADNAA.	MPRP	8946	60.95		CHULUUNBAT.	CW-GP Coalition	408	5.09
	DELGERSAIHAN	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	573	3.90		BAARTARTSOGT.	Democratic New Socialist Party	318	3.97
	URGAMAL	Republican Party	303	2.06	17	BUYANHISHIG	MSDP	164	1.28
	ULZISAIHAN	CW-GP coalition	1566	10.67		SHINEBAYAR	MPRP	5477	42.87
	UUGANBAYAR	Democratic New Socialist Party	1946	13.26		TSERENCHIMEG.	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	611	4.78
11	LHAGVAJAV	MSDP	1241	8.84		OYUN	CW-GP Coalition	6515	50.99
	ENEbish.	MPRP	11306	80.57	18	PALAM	MSDP	323	3.03
	TARVIL	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	498	3.55		BAZARSAD.	MPRP	618	52.78
	DASHDEMBEREL	Democratic New Socialist Party	798	5.69		BILIGSAIHAN	Mongolian Democratic Party	1016	9.54
	JAVZANDULAM	Liberal Democratic Party	174	1.24		BUYANMUNH.	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	952	8.94
12	BYAMBAJARGAL	MSDP	1158	7.38		ERDENEBAATAR	Republican Party	470	4.42
	JASRAI	MPRP	9868	62.85		CHIMID-OCHIR	CW-GP Coalition	515	4.84
	BARS ANDASH	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	574	3.66		UHNAA.	Democratic New Socialist Party	1731	16.26
	BOLDSAIHAN	Republican Party	1012	6.45	19	TUNGALAG	MSDP	772	6.35
	GALINDEV.	CW-GP coalition	158	1.01		TOGTOH	MPRP	5273	43.34
	TSAGAAN.	Big Coalition	137	0.87		ERDENEbUD	Mongolian Democratic Party	85	0.7
	DAVAADORJ.	Independent	879	5.60		ALTANHUYAG	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1691	13.90

	GANBOLD	Republican Party	1044	8.58		ZORIGT	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	3041	22.71
	BAYARAA.	CW-GP Coalition	1181	9.71		NARANTSFTSEG	Republican Party	114	0.85
	NARMANDAH	Democratic New Socialist Party	1797	14.77		SHUIRBAATAR	Democratic New Socialist Party	581	4.34
	TURBAT	Liberal Democratic Party	295	2.42					
20	TURBAT. SH	MPRP	3650	3 1.77	27	GANHUYAG	MSDP	1175	7.89
	NARANTSATSRALT	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	6875	63.61		ERDENEBILEGT	MPRP	6546	43.97
	DAGVADORJ	Republican Party	230	2.13		ZALAA-UUL	Mongolian Democratic Party	927	6.23
	BATTUMUR.	Liberal Democratic Party	42	0.39		DORJPALAM	MNDP-MRDP coaliton	3262	21.91
21	SODNOMTSEREN	MSDP	2925	23.17		BUYANDELGER	Republican Party	154	1.03
	SHARAVSAMBUU	MPRP	6295	49.86		BUMYALAGCH	CW-GP Coalition	141	0.95
	JAMTS	Mongolian Democratic Party	40	0.32		TSOGTBADRAH	Democratic New Socialist Party	1885	12.66
	SHINEBAATAR	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	533	4.22		ERDENE	Rural Development Party	796	5.35
	BATHUYAG	Republican Party	171	1.35	28	ENHTAIVAN	MSDP	283	2.34
	GANHUYAG	CW-GP Coalition	1039	8.23		OYUNBAATAR	MPRP	6672	55.16
	BYAMBAJAV	Democratic New Socialist Party	1409	11.16		CHULUUNBAT	Mongolian Democratic Party	18	0.15
	SAMDANDORJ JID.	Big Coalition	211	1.67		BAT-ERDENE	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	4018	33.22
22	MUNHTUR	MSDP	1728	11.76		CTANBAATAR	Republican Party	507	4.19
	OTGONBILEG	MPRP	11480	78.16		ZORIGT	CW-GP Coalition	196	1.62
	TUMENJARGAL	Mongolian Democratic Party	168	1.14		DARGAHUU	Democratic New Socialist Party	387	3.20
	NYAMJAV	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	963	6.56	29	DOLGOR	MPRP	571	52.76
	GALTSOG.	CW-GP Coalition	344	2.34		BADRAA	Mongolian Democratic Party	95	0.88
23	BOLDBAATAR	MSDP	713	4.51		BAYARSAIHAN	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	3634	33.55
	OYUNHOROL	MPRP	8257	52.22		BAATARJAV	Big Coalition	580	5.35
	BATCHULUUN	Mongolian Democratic Party	53	0.34		NAKANGEREL	Republican Party	658	6.07
	SANJMYATAV	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	7374	46.64		CHULTEM	Democratic New Socialist Party	188	1.74
	BAYARSAIHAN	CW-GP Coalition	272	1.72	30	ULAAN	MPRP	7313	57.47
	SUKHBAATAR	Democratic. New Socialist Party	2138	13.52		SUHBAATAR	Mongolian Democratic Party	193	1.52
24	BADAMDAMDIN	MSDP	734	6.54		DELGERTSOGT	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	2287	17.97
	SUGAR	MPRP	6028	53.68		MANGALJAV	Republican Party	288	2.26
	TUMUR	Mongolian Democratic Party	116	3.03		BUD	GCW-GP Coalition	302	2.37
	BATTSEREG	MNHP-MRDP Coalition	1895	16.88		BATBAYAR	MSDP	266	2.09
	NYAMJAV	Republican Party	89	0.79		MEND-OOYO	Democratic New Socialist Party	1264	9.93
	BOLDHUYAG	CW-GP Coalition	114	1.02		LHAGVASUREN	Independent	795	6.25
	OCHIRBAATAR	Democratic New Socialist Party	817	7.28	31	MOONDOI	MSDP	446	2.99
	AMGALAN. Sh	Big Coalition	1408	12.54		BADAM	MPRP	62.64	42.01
25	BATSUURI	MSDP	610	4.93		GANHUYAG	Mongolian Democratic Party	171	1.15
	DEMBERELTSEREN	MPRP	4940	39.92		TSOGTBAATAR	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1562	10.48
	HOROLDAMBA	Mongolian Democratic Party	59	0.48		BOR	Republican Party	72	0.48
	BATHULJ	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	4907	39.66		PUREVDORI	CW-GP Coalition	709	4.76
	BARUUZANA	Republican Party	107	0.86		MUNKHSAIHAN	Civil Dem New Liberal Party	49	0.33
	DAMDINBAZAR	Democratic New Socialist Party	1746	14.11		GALINA	Party for Tradition and Justice	537	3.60
26	MENDSAIHAN	MSDP	1448	10.82		TUMUR-OCHIR	Liberal Democratic Party	73	0.49
	LUNDEEJANTSAN	MPRP	8187	61.15		GOMBOJAV	Democratic New Socialist Party	2109	14.15
						BOLD	Rural Development Party	1129	7.57
						SHAGDARSUREN	New Social Democratic Party	1766	11.85

32	ENHBOLD	MSDP	5096	34.03
	NYAMDAAVA	MPRP	7981	53.30
	NINJ	Mongolian Democratic Party	230	1.54
	JARGALSAIHAN	Republican Party	322	2.22
	SAIZMAA	CW-GP Coalition	407	2.72
	BADRAABAT	Democratic New Socialist Party	908	6.06
33	GUNGAADORJ	MPRP	7987	56.12
	MUNKHBAATAR	Mongolian Democratic Party	31	0.22
	TSOGT-OCHIR	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1641	11.53
	SUKIIBAATAR	Big Coalition	175	1.23
	AMGALAN	Republican Party	1262	8.87
	BADAMDELGER	CW-GP Coalition/GP	282	2.02
	BATBAYAR	Regional Development Party	27	0.19
	BATMUNKH	Democratic New Socialist Party	1991	13.99
	SANJAASUREN	Independent	801	5.63
34	SODIUU	MPRP	5485	40.50
	BAT-UUL	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	5432	40.11
	KOKENAI	Big Coalition	398	2.94
	GANTSOOJ	Republican Party	315	2.28
	NYAM	CW-GP Coalition	309	1.59
	GANBOLD	Democratic New Socialist Party	560	4.13
	NYAMBUU	Independent	1034	7.63
35	AYUSH	MSDP	499	4.02
	DONDOG	MPRP	6672	53.72
	BATSAIHAN	Mongolian Democratic Party	45	0.36
	GANBOLD	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	2571	20.70
	OYUNCHIMEG	Republican Party	719	5.79
	BATSUREN	CW-GP Coalition	294	2.37
	TUMENAST	Democratic New Socialist Party	1569	12.63
	DASHDAVAA	Liberal Democratic Party	38	0.31
36	IDSJNOROV	MSDP	216	2.38
	ZENEE	MPRP	6159	67.85
	ATARSAIHAN	Mongolian Democratic Party	111	1.22
	BATTSETSEG	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	707	7.79
	SUKHBAATAR	Republican Party	876	9.65
	GANBAATAR	CW-GP Coalition	117	1.29
	LHAGVASUREN	Democratic New Socialist Party	875	9.64
37	YONDONGOMBO	MSDP	1670	14.70
	UULD	MPRP	6571	57.86
	AZBAYAR	Mongolian Democratic Party	32	0.28
	MYAGMARSUREN	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1637	14.41
	SARANTSATSRAL	CW-GP Coalition	400	3.52
	DORJGOTOV	Democratic New Socialist Party	1041	9.17

38	BULGAN	MSDP	324	3.32
	ENHBOLD	MPRP	5750	58.93
	DASILZEVBG	Mongolian Democratic Party	24	0.25
	BYAMBAA	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1114	11.42
	TUMEN	Republican Party	172	1.76
	TUUL	CW-GP Coalition	364	3.73
	TSERENDASH	Civil Dem. New Liberal Party	159	1.63
	BADARCH	Democratic New Socialist Party	1841	18.87
39	BAATAR	MSDP	492	4.90
	NYAMDORJ	MPRP	6355	63.35
	BAATARJAV	Mongolian Democratic Party	8	0.08
	SHARAV	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	789	7.87
	BYAMBAA	Republican Party	490	4.88
	ZORIG	CW-GP Coalition	1097	10.94
	DAVAASAMBUU	Democratic New Socialist Party	695	6.93
	BATSUKH	Big Coalition	95	0.95
	MAGNAIBAYAR	Liberal Democratic Party	13	0.13
40	OMBOO	MSDP	499	3.57
	BAYARTSAIKHAN	MPRP	9192	65.76
	BATSUURI	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	655	4.69
	SURENJAV	Republican Party	149	1.07
	BASANDORJ	CW-GP Coalition/GP	1461	10.45
	BYAMBADORJ	Democratic New Socialist Party	1975	14.13
	LHAMSURFN	Liberal Democratic Party	35	0.25
41	DUGERJAV	MSDP	1928	13.49
	AVDAL	MPRP	7729	54.07
	LHAGVASUREN	Mongolian Democratic Party	43	0.30
	BAYANMLINH	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1006	7.04
	JARGALSAIHAN	Republican Party	2051	14.35
	TUNTEE	CW-GP Coalition	155	1.08
	DAVAAJAV	Democratic New Socialist Party	1108	7.75
	DAVAANYAM.	Independent	254	1.78
42	MYAGMARSUREN	MSDP	295	2.93
	DAMIRAN	MPRP	4803	47.63
	DOKIN	Mongolian Democratic Party	39	0.39
	BATTUR	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1901	18.85
	GALDAA	Republican Party	238	2.36
	NARANTSETSEG	CW-GP Coalition	129	1.28
	ERDENEBAAATAR	Democratic New Socialist Party	2639	26.17
	BAYARHUU.	Civil Dem New Liberal Party	23	0.23
43	HURELSUH	MSDP	692	4.80
	NYAMDAAVA.	MPRP	9552	66.31
	ALTAN-OCHIR	Mongolian Democratic Party	475	3.30
	GALSADRAH.L	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	2033	14.11

	TUMURHUYAG	Republican Party	155	1.08
	URTNASAN	Democratic New Socialist Party	850	5.90
	AMGALAN	Independent	602	4.18
	DAMBA	Big Coalition	42	0.29
44	BAYARHUU	MSDP	856	5.7
	DEMBEREL	MPRP	7161	47.71
	TSOGZOLMAA	Mongolian Democratic Party	21	0.14
	LHAGVA	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	3649	4.31
	UNENBAT	Republican Party	186	1.24
	GOMBOJAV	CW-GP Coalition	88	0.59
	BAYARMAGNAI	Civil Dem- New Liberal Party	58	0.39
	GANHZJYAG	Democratic New Socialist Party	1604	10.69
	ERDENEHUYAG	Regional Development Party	57	0.38
	TUYABADRAH	Liberal Democratic Party	1323	8.81
45	DORJGOTOV	MSDP	1367	10.94
	TOGTOHNYAM	MPRP	4164	33.32
	DULAMSUREN	Mongolian Democratic Party	18	0.14
	TSOGBADRAH	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	437	3.50
	NYAMBAT	Republican Party	202	1.62
	DARAMSENGE	CW-GP Coalition	52	0.42
	PUREV	Civil Dem- New Liberal Party	141	1.13
	GANSUKH	Big Coalition	95	0.76
	DAMDINDORJ	Democratic New Socialist Party	678	5.42
	ENKHBAT	New Social Democratic Party	135	1.08
	GUNDALAI	Independent	5196	41.57
46	LORIG	MSDP	3080	21.51
	ENHTUVSHIN	MPRP	6603	46.12
	OYUNGEREL	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1659	11.59
	ERDENEBAATAR	Republican Party	291	2.03
	DELGERJAV	Democratic New Socialist Party	1904	13.30
	LHAGVASUREN	New Social Democratic Party	746	5.21
47	MUNHJARGAL	MSDP	438	3.12
	GOMBOJAV	MPRP	7202	51.25
	ODONBAATAR	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	820	5.83
	BOLDBAATAR	Republican Party	457	3.25
	AMGALAN	Democratic New Socialist Party	3762	26.77
	MYANGANBAYAR	Big Coalition	102	0.73
	UNURSAIHAN	New Social Democratic Party	103	0.73
	ENHBAT	Independent	807	5.4
	DAMDIN	Independent	1348	9.59
48	SEDVANCHIG	NISDP	4106	30.78
	TSERENJAV	MPRP	6732	50.42
	GUNDJALAM	Mongolian Democratic Party	256	1.92
	BOHISHARGA	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	173	1.30

	BILEGSAIHAN	Republican Party	139	1.04
	BAZAR	CW-GP Coalition	437	3.27
	GANBAATAR	Democratic New Socialist Party	3076	23.04
	GANBAT	Rural Development Party	117	0.88
	BAT-OCHIR	Solidarity Party	229	1.72
49	MENDSAIHAN	MSDP	1221	11.88
	ARVIN	MPRP	4584	44.61
	DAMDINSUREN	Mongolian Democratic Party	15	0.15
	ENHTAIVAN	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	3959	38.53
	ERDENETSETSEG	Republican Party	91	0.89
	TSERENDAMBA	Democratic New Socialist Party	394	3.83
50	TUVSHINTUGS	MSDP	1655	14.78
	GANBYAMBA	MPRP	5491	49.05
	BAASAN	Mongolian Democratic Party	82	0.73
	TUYA	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1677	14.98
	TEGSHSAIHAN	Republican Party	305	2.72
	OYUNBILEG	Big Coalition	188	1.68
	DAMDIN	Democratic New Socialist Party	1784	15.94
51	LNHEL	MSDP	206	2.05
	HURELSUH	MPRP	5509	54.77
	GANBOLD	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1632	16.22
	DASH	CW-GP Coalition	173	1.72
	SEDEDDULAM	Democratic New Socialist Party	724	7.20
	JARGAL	Independent	1806	17.95
52	DAVAASUREN	MSDP	427	4.11
	BATTULGA	MPRP	4929	47.47
	ERDENE	Mongolian Democratic Party	58	0.56
	MUNHBAT	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	3249	31.29
	JARGALTOGS	Republican Party	271	2.61
	BAYARSAIHAN	CW-GP Coalition	217	2.09
	NATSAGDORJ	Civil Dem- New Liberal Party	20	0.19
	TSERBNPUU	Liberal Democratic Party	43	0.41
	GANTUYAG	Regional Development Party	59	0.57
	OTGONBAYAR	Independent	77	0.74
	TSERENBALJIR	Democratic New Socialist Party	1022	9.84
53	BATTOGOTH	MSDP	268	2.77
	TSEVEENJAV	MPRP	4493	46.39
	OVOR	Mongolian Democratic Party	55	0.57
	SONOMPIL	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	3820	39.44
	BUYANBADRAH	Republican Party	204	2.11
	ENHJARGAL	CW-GP Coalition	173	1.79
	ZINAAMIDER	Civil Dem- New Liberal Party	32	0.33
	BARANCHULUUN	Democratic New Socialist Party	581	6.00
	SUNDLIJAV	Regional Development Party	40	0.41

	ERDENECHIMEG	Liberal Democratic Party	17	0.18		SUKHBAATAR	Solidarity Party	48	0.31
54	BATBAYAR	MSDP	412	3.66	59	TUMURTIGOO	MSDP	704	3.76
	DAVAATSEDEV	MPRP	6000	53.23		GAVAA	MPRP	9932	53.11
	BUYANTOGTOH	Mongolian Democratic Party	134	1.19		BYAMBAA	Mongolian Democratic Party	217	1.16
	MUNIJTUR	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	2051	18.20		TUVDENDORJ	MNDP-NRDP Coalition	3118	16.67
	BATBOLD	Republican Party	1095	9.72		BAYAR	Big Coalition	82	0.44
	BATBAYAR	CW-GP Coalition/GP	170	1.51		DAMDTNSUREN	Republican Party	519	2.78
	GURJAV	Democratic New Socialist Party	1336	11.85		JARGALSAIHAN	CW-GP Coalition	785	4.20
	GANBAATAR	Regional Development Part	55	0.49		ENKHBAYAR	Civil Dem New Liberal Party	30	0.16
55	ODHUU	NISDP	3963	25.98		SANJAADORJ	Democratic New Socialist Party	1930	10.32
	BAYARSAIHAN	MPRP	6858	44.95		BATTOGOH	Party for Tradition and Justice	51	0.27
	SARANGEREL	Mongolian Democratic Party	178	1.17		TSETENBAATAR	Independent	962	5.14
	LUVSANOCHIR	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	262	1.72		BAYARSAIHAN	Independent	271	1.45
	MUNHTOGTOH	Republican Party	585	3.83		CHILHAASUREN	Independent	69	0.37
	SUHBAATAR	CW-GP Coalition	482	3.16	60	ARIUNSAN	MSDP	1095	6.06
	DELEG	Democratic New Socialist Party	2745	7.99		BALSANDORJ	MPRP	6877	38.05
	JUDAG	Independent	161	1.06		SUKHBAATAR	Mongolian Democratic Party	117	0.65
56	ENHTAIVAN.	MSDP	1114	8.66		ERDENEBAT	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1806	9.99
	NYAMOSOR	MPRP	6277	48.82		OTGONBAYAR	Republican Party	5798	32.08
	BATTUVSHIN	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1310	10.19		DORJ	Civil Dem c New Liberal Party	156	0.86
	DASHDULAM	Republican Party	1040	8.09		SUNDUL	Democratic New Socialist Party	868	4.80
	ENHTAIVAN	CW-GP Coalition	234	1.89		NARMANDAI	Big Coalition	91	0.50
	SANDULJAV	Democratic New Socialist Party	1631	12.69		PUREVTOGTOI	Solidarity Party	15	0.08
	SHMENDEV	Big Coalition	111	0.86		TUMURMONKH	Liberal Democratic Party	602	3.33
	HURELBAATAR	Independent	596	4.64		OCHIRLHAM	Independent	636	3.52
	LUVSANSHARAV	Independent	505	3.93	61	DASHZEVEG	MSDP	527	3.87
57	GANHUYAG	MSDP	3019	19.06		GANZORIG	MPRP	4994	36.68
	GANDIA	MPRP	7999	50.49		ENH-AMGAUAN	Mongolian Democratic Party	644	4.73
	GANTUMUR	Mongolian Democratic Party	158	1.00		TSAGAAN	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1425	10.47
	TSOLMON	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1328	8.38		GANZORIG	Republican Party	222	1.63
	ELBEGSAIHAN	Republican Party	611	3.86		ERDENEBAT	Democratic New Socialist Party	5517	40.52
	NARMANDAH	CW-GP Coalition	885	5.59		JAMTSAI	Big Coalition	177	1.30
	NAMJIL	Civil Dem New Liberal Party	23	0.15		DASHTSEDEN	Independent	96	0.71
	ODD	Dem. New Socialist Party	1663	10.50	62	HATANBAATAR	MSDP	389	2.42
	ICHINHORLOO	Worker's Party	47	0.30		IURTOGTOH	MPRP	8206	51.15
	BATCHULIJUN	Independent	101	0.64		ARIUNBOLD	Mongolian Democratic Party	294	1.83
58	ADIYASUREN	MSDP	1077	6.86		GANHUYAG	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1419	8.84
	AMARSAIHAN	MPRP	8831	56.23		ZORIG	Republican Party	614	3.83
	TUUL	Mongolian Democratic Party	140	0.89		ODONCHIMEG	CVV-GP Coalition	192	1.20
	GANBAT	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	981	6.25		BULGAN	Civil Dem. New Liberal Party	17	0.11
	ALTAN-OCH	Big Coalition	109	0.69		MUNKH-OCHIR	Big Coalition	160	1.00
	GOVISAJNAN	Republican Party	713	4.54		ZORIGT	Democratic New Socialist Party	4544	28.32
	URANTSETSEG	CW-GP Coalition	896	5.71		ERDENEBILLG	Independent	97	0.60
	GONTUGS	Democratic New Socialist Party	2885	18.37		BATTSETSEG	Solidarity Party	33	0.21

	MUNKHBAT	Liberal Democratic Party	47	0.29
63	ULAANHUU	MSDP	512	4.19
	SUREN	MPRP	6186	50.58
	SOGTSAIHAN	Mongolian Democratic Party	462	3.78
	ENHTUR	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	2660	21.75
	BATSAIHAN	Republican Party	1009	8.25
	ENHAMGALAN	CW-GP Coalition	521	4.26
	YANSANJAV	Civil Dem New Liberal Party	32	0.20
	BAYARSAIHAN	Big Coalition	45	0.37
	ARSLAA	Democratic New Socialist Party	654	5.35
	MAGSARJAV	New Social Democratic Party	136	1.11
64	SHAGDARSUREN	MPRP	7618	53.84
	ALTANSH AND	Mongolian Democratic Party	247	1.75
	AMARJARGAL	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	4595	32.47
	DEJEEHUU	Republican Party	443	3.13
	BADAMHANDI	CW-GP Coalition	275	1.94
	BAYASGALAN	Civil Dem New Liberal Party	12	0.08
	BALDORJ	Solidarity Party	40	0.28
	ENKHSIAIHAN	Liberal Democratic Party	31	0.22
	TSOGT	Democratic New Socialist Party		8826.23
65	LHAMJAVD	MSDP	930	6.49
	ENHBAYAR	MPRP	8915	62.18
	ERDENE	Mongolian Democratic Party	2900	20.23
	HURTSBILEG	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	271	1.89
	GOMBOHUU	Republican Party	308	2.15
	BYAMBATSEND	CW-GP Coalition	213	1.49
	OYUN	Democratic New Socialist Party	769	5.36
	NYAMHUU	Liberal Democratic Party	11	0.08
66	GANBAATAR	MSDP	1303	10.67
	BYAMBADORJ	MPRP	7778	63.70
	HUVITUGULDUR	Mongolian Democratic Party	279	2.28
	TSOG	Republican Party	1297	10.62
	TURBAYAR	CW-GP Coalition	675	5.53
	HAISANDAL	Civil Dem. New Liberal Party	37	0.30
	CHIMEDDORT	Democratic New Socialist Party	736	6.03
	YONDONDEMBEREL.	New Social Democratic Party	106	0.87
67	SODUTUU	MSDP	567	3.59
	ALTAI	MPRP	7982	50.49
	CHIMEDDORJ	Mongolian Democratic Party	100	0.63
	GANTUMUR	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	937	5.93
	BATTOGTOKH	Big Coalition	326	2.06
	OYLTINGEREL	Republican Party	1137	7.19
	BAATARZORIGT	CW-GP Coalition	713	4.51
	BAYANBILEG	Civil Dem New Liberal Party	28	0.18

	BURMAA	Solidarity Party	520	3.29
	ALTANGEREL	Liberal Democratic Party	158	1.00
	NYAMSUREN	Democratic New Socialist Party	3301	20.88
68	BAASANJAV	MPRP	8929	59.50
	GANZORIG	Mongolian Democratic Party	342	2.28
	BILEG	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1504	10.02
	TSERENDORJ	Big Coalition/MTUP	470	3.13
	JARGALSAIHAN	Republican Party	1229	8.19
	TUYA	NV-GP Coalition	435	2.90
	BAZARSUREN	Civil Dem New Liberal Party	44	0.29
	PUREV	Democratic New Socialist Party	1922	12.81
	BEGZJAV	Liberal Democratic Party	63	0.42
69	ALTANHUYAG	MSDP	2055	15.61
	BOLORMAA	MPRP	7150	54.30
	ENKHBOLD	Mongolian Democratic Party	30	0.23
	BAYANDALAL	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	392	2.92
	JARGALSAIHAN	Republican Party	663	5.04
	CHIMEG	CW-GP Coalition	506	3.84
	BALDANGOMBO	Civil Dem. New Liberal Party	44	0.33
	TSENDJAV	Democratic New Socialist Party	1289	9.79
	DAVAANYAM	Solidarity Party	142	1.08
	PUREVSIJREN	Liberal Democratic Party	95	0.72
	DORJ	New Social Democratic Party	774	5.88
70	OCHIRSUH	MSDP	3019	23.52
	DASHDORJ	MPRP	6637	51.71
	BAYARMAA	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	610	4.75
	JARGALSAIJIAN	Republican Party	515	4.01
	BOLD	CW-GP Coalition	1704	13.28
	AVIRMED	Democratic New Socialist Party	31	0.24
	CHIMED	Liberal Democratic Party	293	2.28
	HURELTGOO	Mongolian Democratic Party	17	0.13
71	BATBAYAR	MSDP	1936	17.17
	SODNOMDORJ	MPRP	6195	54.94
	OYUNBILEG	Mongolian Democratic Party	49	0.43
	GANBOLD	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	826	7.33
	TSIIREGZEN	Republican Party	457	4.05
	ERDENETULIL	CW-GP Coalition	1045	9.27
	DANZAN	Civil Dem New Liberal Party	27	0.24
	ERDENETUNUALAG	Democratic New Socialist Party	653	5.79
	CHULUUNJAV	New Social Democratic Party	36	0.32
	BAASAN	Independent	38	0.34
72	ZOLBAYAR.	MSDP	3144	25.27
	TUMUR	MPRP	5961	47.91
	TUMURBAATAR	Mongolian Democratic Party	84	0.68

	MUNHBAATAR	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	413	3.32
	DASH-ERDENE	Republican Party	638	5.13
	BAYARAA	CW-GP Coalition	581	4.67
	BOSHIGT	Civil Dem New Liberal Party	34	0.27
	BATJARGAI	Big Coalition	209	1.68
	TSEDEV	Democratic New Socialist Party	1351	10.86
73	ERDENE-ULZIL	MSDP	889	5.78
	OCHIRHUU	MPRP	6721	43.73
	BAYARHUU	Mongolian Democratic Party	182	1.18
	BAYARSUREN	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	327	2.13
	HURELBAATAR	Big Coalition	2285	14.87
	CHINBAT	Republican Party	327	2.13
	BATAA	CW-GP Coalition	2521	16.40
	DAGVAASAMBLJU	Civil Dem New Liberal Party	66	0.43
	BAASANTSEREN	Democratic New Socialist Party	1999	13.01
	LHAGVADORI	Rural Development Party	23	0.16
74	GERELSUREN	MPRP	5283	48.94
	AYANGA	Mongolian Democratic Party	28	0.26
	BOLD	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	993	9.20
	ZANASHIR	Republican Party	785	7.27
	GANHUU	CW-GP coalition	2693	24.95
	YAVUUHULAN	Civil Dem New Liberal Party	90	0.83
	ENK.HBAT	Big Coalition	605	5.60
	BAT-EREDENE	Democratic New Socialist Party	304	2.82
75	BATBAYAR	MSDP	1849	19.28
	BAZARHUU	MPRP	5459	56.94
	ENHEE	Mongolian Democratic Party	146	1.52
	OYUNTSETSEG	Republican Party	463	4.83
	UNENBUREN	CW-GP Coalition	407	4.24
	BAYASGALAN	Civil Dem. New Liberal Party	23	0.24
	TOGMID	Democratic New Socialist Party	1230	12.83
76	SONLN	MSDP	786	5.19
	MURUN	MPRP	9435	62.26
	TUMENTSOGT	Mongolian Democratic Party	192	1.27
	GANTUMUR	MNDP-MRDP Coalition	1470	9.70
	ZAYA	Big Coalition	805	5.31
	GOMBOTSEREN	Republican Party	398	2.63
	ERDENEBILEG	CW-GP Coalition	862	5.69
	BALGAN	Democratic New Socialist Party	1168	7.71
	BATTOGTOKH	Liberal Democratic Party	18	0.12

**Preliminary Statement
of the International Republican Institute on the July 2, 2000
Parliamentary Elections in Mongolia**

The International Republican Institute (IRI) commends the people of Mongolia for their enthusiastic voter turnout, estimated at 75 percent, Mongolian citizens served as vigilant party pollwatchers, helping to guarantee the integrity of the polls. IRI believes that the elections continue Mongolia's path toward democracy initiated in the December Revolution of 1990.

IRI's 19-member delegation deployed to eight locations in Mongolia: Ulaanbaatar, Darkhan, Erdenet, Uvs, Zavkhan, Dornod, Dundgobi, and Overhanghai. Delegates observed all aspects of the voting process, from the opening of polls to the counting and reconciling of ballots early this morning.

While IRI is concerned with several aspects of the electoral process, the Institute did not observe any instances of systematic electoral fraud or irregularities. IRI does believe that Mongolia's election law should be reviewed to ensure more uniform election practices and procedures, particularly in the registration of voters, distribution of voter identification cards, the handling of absentee ballots, and the use of the mobile ballot boxes. The Institute is also concerned with the control of any single party through multiple leadership positions of national and local election committees – and Mongolian courts – should swiftly and fairly resolve all election related complaints and disputes.

IRI's contribution to the July 2, 2000 elections was broad and substantial. In addition to providing nationwide campaign training to the parliamentary parties and to women activists and candidates from numerous political parties, the Institute conducted domestic pollwatcher training for many of yesterday's competing parties. Evidence of this training was confirmed by IRI delegates and other observers in numerous polling stations. 10,000 single use, tamper-proof ballot box seals employed at every polling site in the country were donated by IRI at the request of the chairman of the General Election Committee. With a Mongolian non-governmental organization partner, the Voters' Education Center, IRI printed 4,000 posters outlining correct voting procedures and compiled political party platform comparisons to inform Mongolia's voters. The Center and IRI also produced 10,000 booklets for first time voters and 30,000 easy reader Voter Guides.

In conducting an election observation mission, IRI assesses four phases of the election process: the pre-election period, election day, the counting and reconciling of ballots, and the transfer of power. This preliminary statement is a reflection of the Institute's observations of the first two phases, and should not be regarded as IRI's final statement on the July 2, 2000 parliamentary elections in Mongolia. In the near future, IRI will release a comprehensive report that describes the delegation's findings in greater detail, and lists specific recommendations for consideration by Mongolian election officials on ways to improve the electoral environment and process.

IRI intends to continue its democratic development programs in Mongolia and will work with political parties and General Election Commission to review and analyze the conduct of yesterday's poll and its results.

International Republican Institute
1212 New York Avenue N.W., Suite 900
Washington, DC 20005
tel: 202-408-9450 fax: 202-408-9462