

CEPPS/IRI Quarterly Report: January 1, 2005- March 31, 2005

STRENGTHENING DEMOCRACY IN MONGOLIA:

USAID Cooperative Number: 492-A-00-02-00010-00

Project Dates: May 3, 2002-September 30, 2005

Total budget: \$1,601,501 -- Expenses to date: \$1,476,568.32

I. Summary

During this quarter, IRI focused on the upcoming women's forum and presidential elections, while continuing to work on the Parliamentary program. IRI also conducted its first poll since the Parliamentary elections of last summer, bringing much needed insight into the current status of Mongolia as the nation prepares for the May 22 elections. IRI and Mongolian members of parliament concentrated on building and strengthening the parliamentary procedures within the State Great Hural (SGH). Much of IRI's work emphasized working with the recently elected members of Parliament (MPs), especially since over half of the 76 members are new to the SGH. IRI continues to work with legislators in the SGH to develop committee structures and to promote ethics legislation, which Mongolia does not currently have. With the SGH reconvening on April 5 for the Spring Session, it is expected that legislation will soon be passed.

IRI is looking forward to yet another free and fair election in Mongolia, solidifying the past successes of democratic procedures and transparency, even in politically divided times. While the presidential election is not traditionally viewed as being as remarkable as the parliamentary elections, this particular election will be an important indicator of the mood of the country. IRI is currently undertaking a six-week training program for poll watchers which began mid-March, which will include the distribution of 8,000 party poll watcher manuals. Currently, IRI is undertaking the final poll leading up to the election and is closely observing key races. IRI will continue working with all parties to ensure a democratic election day on May 22.

Throughout the quarter, IRI has worked to put together the April 25-27 Women's Forum on Democracy titled, "Women's Partnership in Politics and Governance" along with the Democratic Women's Union, a domestic NGO. The forum will bring together prominent female leaders from across the country, as well as multiple international representatives. The event will develop a long-term plan for increasing the involvement of women in Mongolian politics and plant seeds of cooperation and foster linkages between women in political parties and civil society at the national level.

ATTACHMENT

Poll watcher training schedule for the May 22 presidential elections

II. Background

Since 1992, IRI has offered training and technical assistance to Mongolia's foremost activists and political parties. IRI trainings cover a full range of political party functions including grassroots organization, party-building, message design, and communications. Additionally, IRI has provided technical assistance to the SGH in order to raise ethics standards and to develop procedural legislation.

In 1992, Mongolians solidly supported the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP), which won 71 of 76 seats in the SGH. The following year, opposition parties formed the Democratic Coalition and prevailed in the Mongolian presidential election, winning 58 percent of the vote. The Democratic Coalition claimed a parliamentary majority in the 1996 elections by picking up 50 of the 76 seats. The Coalition's 1996 victory was in large part due to the help of IRI's aggressive political party training and by the Democratic Party's (DP) adoption of the Contract with the Mongolian Voter as a campaign centerpiece. During the 1996 campaign the MPRP declined to accept assistance from IRI. The Democratic Coalition's success was soon overshadowed by volatility and unstable leadership. During the subsequent four-year period, Mongolia witnessed the resignation of four prime ministers, all of whom were forced to leave over corruption and scandal allegations. Mongolians elected the MPRP presidential candidate, Bagabandi, in 1997. In 2000 the MPRP returned to power in the 2000 parliamentary elections with 72 of 76 SGH seats.

In 2000, IRI conducted an assessment of Mongolia's political and government institutions. With the results of the assessment, IRI created a three-year strategy to bring about a more competitive political environment and a more transparent and effective legislature. Despite the challenges of its transition, Mongolia is the only country in Central Asia, and one of the few countries throughout Asia, that continues to boast a pluralistic multi-party system.

In the June 2004 elections, Mongolia underwent yet another power-shift resulting in an evenly divided SGH. By mid-September 2004, while two seats remained in dispute, the MPRP had retained 36 seats in the SGH, the Motherland Democracy Coalition (MDC), a coalition of opposition parties, picked up 34 seats, independent candidates won three seats, and the Republican Party secured one seat. This split in the SGH reflected IRI's work towards building a competitive multi-party system. Once the shock of the election results wore off, the MPRP and MDC set up a "Grand Coalition" government, with the leadership positions in the SGH and in government divided evenly. The Prime Minister is from the MDC and the Speaker is from MPRP.

Last winter, however, the SGH balance became somewhat unsettled. In December, two of the three MDC leaders (PM Enkhsaikhan and MP Erdenebat) officially pulled out of the MDC because of professional and personal conflicts with fellow MDC members in the SGH, thus the MDC was officially "disbanded" within the SGH. For the "former" MDC government (under PM Elbegdorj) to stay in power, 25 MPs from the Democratic Party (the main party in the MDC) formed an official "working group" with MPRP in the SGH. This arrangement allows the current government to stay in power as is and the individual "former" MDC ministers and vice ministers to stay in their posts. Since the MDC no

longer exists in the SGH, MDC Vice Speaker Ms. Oyun was removed from her post as head of the party. A compromise was made between the major players in the SGH that the current government will stay in place for two years, until October 2006. This winter was also marked by the integration of dozens of new MPs within the SGH and the reconstitution of committees. The SGH session ended in early January and reconvened on April 5, 2005.

Despite these developments, IRI has retained an excellent relationship with all of the parties in the SGH. During the confusion within the SGH, IRI did not get involved in the inner party struggles. Overall IRI's work was not greatly interrupted by the political events.

To ensure the consolidation of democracy in Mongolia, an open and pluralistic political system must be institutionalized and appropriate checks and balances must be built into the system. IRI remains committed to working with members of both political parties to expand transparency and to increase public participation in Mongolia's democratic processes, particularly in parliament. In 2005, IRI will place special emphasis on parliamentary capacity building, by providing support and cooperation through the IRI-SGH Joint Working Group so that SGH members will develop procedures for public committee hearings and adopt legislation to raise ethics standards for MPs. As the presidential election approaches in May 2005, IRI will promote political party monitoring of the election, much as it did in the October 2004 local elections.

III. Activities

Parliamentary / Party Development Program

During this quarter, IRI and Mongolian MPs concentrated on building and strengthening the SGH's parliamentary procedures. Much of the emphasis was placed on working with the newly seated MPs, especially since over half of the 76 members are new to the SGH. With such a large number of new MPs, it was critical to IRI's long-term parliamentary program goals that the IRI-SGH Joint Working Group was reconstituted, which then allowed the IRI-SGH Joint Working Group to begin working full time on implementation of the new parliamentary procedures, and opened up discussions about reforming other legislation.

IRI has focused its efforts upon providing lengthy personal consultations with individual MPs to solidify their understanding of the trainings and advice given by IRI's consultants last quarter (Kenneth Kraft from the US House of Representatives' Committee on Agriculture and a former German MP that was co-sponsored by the Konrad Adenauer Foundation.) By helping to solidify the understanding of MPs, IRI was able to impart a clearer rationale as to why these reforms are essential for Mongolian democracy, and through that understanding, increase the chances that legislation will be passed and will continue to be passed in the future. These consultations were conducted personally by IRI Country Director John Poepsel with the support of the IRI-Mongolia staff.

It is important to note that no legislation could be passed this quarter due in large part to the fact that the SGH was adjourned from early January until the beginning of April.

Committee Development

IRI is pleased to report that legislation to improve committee transparency and development has been placed on the agenda for the Spring Parliamentary Session. For the past quarter, IRI has consistently pushed for movement on this issue that is a key to the legitimacy of SGH actions. Basing its recommendations upon the advice of the IRI trainer brought over in December 2004 and the structural model of the House Agricultural Committee, IRI has met frequently with myriad MPs from both parties to help usher in changes to the system. Having the legislation brought before the SGH is a major step towards improving the democratic workings of the SGH. It is expected that the committee legislation will be introduced in the SGH in late April, with passage in May.

While IRI has met with over 50 MPs in the process of getting the legislation introduced, the main players that IRI has worked with have been: Chairman of the Committee on State Structure Batbold, MP Demberel, MP Gonchigdorj, MP Ms. Oyun, MP Enkhsaikhan and MP Idevkhten, along with Secretariat of the SGH Mr. Luvsanjav.

Personal consultations with MPs included discussions of committee rules, duties of the committee chairman, and standardized procedures for each of the 11 standing committees in the SGH. IRI consulted in great detail with individual MPs and was frequently asked to provide information from foreign parliaments on these issues, which IRI was always happy to supply. These consultations were conducted personally by IRI Country Director John Poepsel with the support of the IRI-Mongolia staff.

Ethics Legislation

IRI is pleased to announce that drafted ethics legislation is on the agenda for the Spring Session of the SGH. Throughout this Quarter, IRI was consistent in bringing up the topic of ethics legislations during meetings with key leaders. With a newly reconstituted SGH, and many new members, it has been essential to rebuild the momentum of the legislation and carry it over into the new term. The legislation sets higher standards of official conduct for MPs and strengthens the rules of procedure of the Ethics Subcommittee. With it on the agenda for the Spring Session, it will come before the full SGH for a vote. It is expected that the ethics legislation will be introduced in the SGH in late April, with passage in May.

While IRI has met with many MPs regarding the issue of ethics legislation, the key MPs that IRI regularly meets and works with include: Chairman of the Committee on State Structure Batbold, Chairman of the Ethics Sub-Committee Gantumur, MPRP Caucus Chair Idevkhten, MP Ms. Oyun, MP Enkhsaikhan, MP Gonchigdorj and Secretariat of the SGH Mr. Luvsandagva.

Personal consultations with MPs included discussions of ethics legislation, its purposes in a democratic government and the positives associated with passage of ethics legislation.

IRI consulted in great detail with individual MPs and was frequently asked to provide information from foreign parliaments on these issues, which IRI was always happy to supply. These consultations were conducted personally by IRI Country Director John Poepsel with the support of the IRI-Mongolia staff.

Women's Forum

Throughout the quarter, IRI has worked to put together the April 25-27 Women's Forum on Democracy titled, "Women's Partnership in Politics and Governance." Focusing on the linkages between women's success and democracy, the Women's Forum will provide a unique opportunity to focus on the past successes and future expectations for women in Mongolia. The goal of the forum is to develop a long-term plan for increasing the involvement of women in Mongolian politics and to plant seeds of cooperation and foster linkages between women in political parties and civil society at the national level.

The forum comes from an idea that was proposed in October 2004. IRI and USAID are cosponsoring the forum, which will be organized by the Mongolia Democratic Women's Union, a domestic NGO that promotes women's rights in Mongolia. The forum, which is an unprecedented event for Mongolian women, is non-partisan and will feature most of Mongolia's most powerful women leaders from all segments of society. In addition to the Mongolian participants, US Ambassador to Mongolia Pamela Slutz, U.S. Ambassador Ellen Sauerbrey and IRI Asia Division Director Cynthia Bunton will participate in the Forum. IRI also has worked with Senator Diane Feinstein (D, CA) to film a speech by the Senator that will be shown at the forum. There will also be representatives from USAID, the UNDP, the Asia Foundation, and UNIFEM.

IRI has been working closely with the Democratic Women's Union to plan and see through every aspect of the Forum, including: the agenda, workshop design, travel and event logistics, and overall management for the event. IRI worked with USAID and the US Embassy in Mongolia to secure approval and funding for the event. IRI also held weekly briefing sessions during the quarter with involved parties, and in the last few weeks prior to the event, will hold daily planning meetings.

The four IRI-designed workshops will be conducted at the Women's Forum. The workshops each focus on a different topic that corresponds with the subtopics of the event. The topics are: "women and party politics," "women and state power," "women and political ethics" and "women and civil society."

National Political Opinion Poll

In January, to prepare for the May 22 presidential election, IRI sponsored the first of two polls directed at assessing the mood of the country and evaluating the key issues in the upcoming election. This was the first national poll for IRI since the July 2004 parliamentary election. IRI presented the poll results throughout Mongolia to key political players. The Mongolian Alternative Center, headed by Professor Ganbold, conducted 1,800 interviews from January 10 to February 5. Considering the success of IRI's previous poll, IRI again consulted with Mr. Edward Ledek of the Western Wats Center as our pollster. IRI also consulted with the Social Research Center to conduct

independent quality control on the Alternative Center's fieldwork on the poll. The quality control analysis by Social Research Center confirmed the integrity and accuracy of the fieldwork.

In general, the attitudes of the Mongolian citizens towards politicians and the economy have declined since our last poll was conducted in April 2004. Mr. Ledek traveled to Ulaanbaatar (February 14-19) to present the poll results to a variety of political party and government officials. For example, on February Mr. Ledek and IRI Mongolia Resident Program Director, John Poepsel, met for approximately 30 minutes with Prime Minister Elbegdorj to discuss and present the most recent poll results. Mr. Ledek was able to successfully convey the poll results and their potential impact on the presidential elections. The Prime Minister was particularly interested in the lowered satisfaction among Mongolian citizens and the reasons detected behind the results.

IRI is currently preparing and executing a poll during the lead-up to the May 22 presidential elections. Because the presidential candidates are not announced until the first weekend of April, IRI will field the poll immediately after the names of the candidates become available. IRI plans to present the poll results the first week of May so that they can help inform citizens as well as all political parties as to citizen opinions and perceptions of the Mongolian government and of the presidential candidates.

Poll Watcher Training

Starting in mid-March 2005, IRI began conducting party poll watcher trainings throughout the aimags. The intent of these trainings is to ensure that poll watchers are equipped with the necessary skills and knowledge to effectively monitor the polls. The methodology of the polls is that a knowledgeable, educated and responsible poll watcher can serve to greatly reduce the incidents of voter irregularities and violations at polling stations. This perception is reinforced by the observations of previous IRI poll watcher missions for the June 2004 parliamentary elections and for the October 2004 local elections. It is essential that the elections are free and fair and that the Mongolian public considers the results legitimate.

IRI is continuing its poll watcher trainings for the May 2005 presidential elections for the following reasons: 1) Mongolians today are politically divided. With neither side enjoying clear dominance, the temptations to manipulate the system are greater than ever. While Mongolia has proven to be a stable democracy, the level of training for many ensuring the legitimacy of the elections is still low 2) IRI has not conducted a poll watcher training for a Presidential election, which has different governing laws and procedures than local and parliament level elections 3) this round of trainings are train-the-trainer missions. Many of the participants are the same as in the 2004 elections, but these trainers are being trained to educate others and will perpetuate the process into the future. The participants in these training sessions are expected to train fellow poll watchers in their respective regions and villages. 4) Finally, the trainings serve as a way to obtain feedback from previous participants about difficulties faced in the elections. This feedback will be used to inform any future training.

IRI developed and printed 8000 poll watcher manuals that will be distributed in the poll watcher trainings and will prove an essential guide leading up to and on the day of the presidential elections as well as beyond. Considering the successful, legitimate results of the previous elections, IRI is continuing with the same basic manual layout that was used for the local and parliamentary elections of 2004, adjusting the content as necessary for the presidential elections.

Attached is a copy of IRI's poll watcher training schedule.

IV. Results

Result: Democratic practices will be institutionalized in the form of a functioning legislature, viable democratic parties, and a government that is accountable.

Parliament

Result 1 – The State Great Hural will have the procedures and rules in place to allow effective oversight and accountability.

No final results to report.

The State Great Hural was adjourned from early January to the beginning of April. Legislation regarding ethics and committee rules have, however, been added to the Agenda for the Spring Session of the SGH. It is expected that the ethics legislation will be introduced in the SGH in late April, with passage in May.

IRI meets on a very regular basis with members of the SGH and with members of the IRI-SGH Joint Working Group to help train new members and encourage the passage of legislation. IRI has consulted extensively with individual MPs to increase their understanding of the topics involved as well as to solidify the work started last quarter by consultants from the US House of Representatives Committee on Agriculture and from the German Bundestag. It is believed that by focusing on building upon the foundations laid last quarter, IRI will be able to ensure that the logic of reform is adopted and perpetuated long after IRI has ceased working in Mongolia.

Result 2 – Members of the State Great Hural will develop strong supportive district offices while meeting the needs of constituents.

No results to report.

Result 3 – The State Great Hural will develop standardized procedures for the drafting of legislation and centralize all passed and proposed legislation.

The SGH MPs continue to develop standardized procedures, but much emphasis this quarter has been spent on new and incumbent MPs learning the changes to the

SGH Parliamentary Procedure and Law in order to effectuate a smooth transition. Once the new laws are fully implemented, the procedures for legislating should be consistent and standardized.

Result 4 – The State Great Hural will pass meaningful legislation to set rules and regulations for the Parliament and for the political parties.

No result this quarter.

The State Great Hural was adjourned from the beginning of January to the beginning of April 2005.

Political Parties

Result 1 - Local and national Democratic Party leadership will have organizational and institutional knowledge.

No results to report.

Result 2 – The Democratic Party will continue to practice open and democratic principles while remaining unified and attracting third parties to join their ranks.

No results to report.

Result 3 – Leadership in both the Democratic Party and the Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party will manage effective campaigns on the local, provincial, and national levels.

No results to report.

Result 4 – Through citizen observation and poll-watching, Mongolian officials will be held accountable for the way the election is discharged.

IRI created, published and distributed 8000 copies of the poll watcher manuals in preparation for the May 22 election.

IRI is also conducting poll-watcher trainings, initiated in March and continuing through April. There will be 18 trainings in all in 18 different aimags. The training of trainers sessions will instruct experienced poll watchers on how to train others so that poll watching skills can be more widely distributed and the Mongolian trainers will learn how to be teachers for the future.

IRI also received feedback from previous participants (from the 2004 local elections and parliamentary elections). The feedback process will improve future poll watcher trainings and also inform IRI and other trainers of failures within the election system.

Result 5 – The Mongolian People’s Revolutionary Party will practice open and democratic principles.

No results to report.

V. Future Activities

Committee Procedures and Public Hearings

IRI will continue to give priority to assisting the implementation of new legislation on parliamentary procedures. IRI will build off of the advice that U.S. Congressional expert Kenneth Kraft brought to Ulaanbaatar in December, and will work with Committee chairs to work from the models and examples Mr. Kraft provided. IRI continues to provide extensive consultations with committee chairpersons, members, and staff about drafting committee rules and facilitating public hearings. Procedures legislation has been added to the agenda for the Spring Session of the SGH, which reconvened on April 5, 2005.

Bi-partisan Women’s Forum

IRI is preparing a bi-partisan women’s forum for April 25-27, that will be attended by US Ambassador Pamela Slutz, US Ambassador the United Nations Commission on the Status of Women Ellen Sauerbrey, and IRI Asia Division Director Cynthia Bunton, and will feature a taped speech from Senator Diane Feinstein. The forum will be in cooperation with the Mongolia Democratic Women’s Union and will involve discussions on leadership, networking, and media relations with the aim of assisting women in assuming greater prominence in Mongolia politics

Ethics Legislation

Ethics legislation promoted by the IRI-SGH Joint Working Group has been added to the agenda for the Spring Session of the SGH, which reconvened on April 5, 2005. IRI will continue to be heavily involved in this process as it moves for a vote in the SGH this spring.

Poll-Watcher Training

IRI will continue to provide a “refresher” series of training sessions for political party poll-watchers in anticipation of the presidential election. These sessions will prepare party poll-watchers to closely monitor the election process and to document any irregularities they might observe. IRI will provide a manual for the party agents in collaboration with the Voter Education Center. The General Election Commission will be requested to review the manual.

Democratizing the Internal Structure of Political Parties

IRI will begin working with the political parties in more detail as to how the parties can structure the internal processes to be more democratic. This will involve consultations, possible training, and oversight advisement.

Attachment- Poll Watcher Training Schedule

**IRI ITINERARY OF 2005 PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION POLLWATCHER
TRAINING OF TRAINERS SEMINARS FOR DEMOCRATIC PARTY AND
MPRP**

Training Team #1(Team Leader Kh.Urnukh)

1. *Sukhbaatar and Chingeltei districts*

- Seminar at Continental on 10, 11 March

2. *Bayangol and Songinokhairkan districts*

- Seminar at Continental on 14, 15 March

3. *Nalaikh district*

- Seminar in Nalaikh on 17, 18 March

4. *Baganuur district*

- Seminar in Baganuur on 22, 23 March

5. *Dornod – Sukhbaatar - Khentii aimags*

- fly by AeroMongolia to Dornod aimag 4 April
- seminar in Dornod aimag on 5, 6 April
- drive to Sukhbaatar aimag on 7 April
- seminar in Sukhbaatar on 8, 9 April
- drive to Khentii aimag on 10 April
- seminar in Khentii on 11,12 April
- return to UB on 13 April

6. *Darkhan - Selenge aimags*

- Drive to Selenge aimag on 17 April
- Seminar in Selenge 18, 19 April
- Drive to Darkhan on 19 April
- Seminar in Darkhan 20,21 April
- Drive back to UB on 21 April

7. *Khuvsgul -Zavkhan - Arkhangai aimags*

- Fly by AeroMongolia to Khuvsgul aimag on 23 April
- Seminar in Khuvsgul 24, 25 April
- Drive to Zavkhan on 26 April
- Seminar in Zavkhan 27, 28 April
- Drive to Arkhangai on 29-30 April
- Seminar in Arkhangai 1, 2 May
- Drive back to UB on 3 May

8. *Dundgobi-Umnugobi aimags*

- Drive to Dundgobi on 6 May
- Seminar in Dundgobi on 7, 8 May
- Drive to Umnugobi on 9 May
- Seminar in Umnugobi on 10,11 May
- Drive back to UB on 12-13 May

Training Team #2: (Team Leader B.Munkhjargal)

9. *Tuv aimag*

- Seminar in Tuv aimag on 10, 11 March

10. *Bagakhangai district*

- Seminar in Bagakhangai district on 14, 15 March

11. *Khan-Uul and Bayanzurkh districts*

- Seminar at Continental on 22, 23 March

12. *Bulgan and Orkhon aimags*

- Drive to Bulgan aimag on 1 April
- Seminar in Bulgan aimag on 2, 3 April
- Drive to Orhon on 3 April
- Seminar in Orkhon on 4, 5 April
- Drive back to UB on 6 April

13. *Gobi-Sumber – Dornogobi aimags*

- Drive to Gobi-Sumber on 9 April

- Seminar in Gobi-Sumber on 10, 11 April
- Drive to Dornogobi aimag on 12 April
- Seminar in Dornogobi on 13, 14 April
- Drive back to UB on 15 April

14. Gobi-Altai - Bayankhongor – Uvurkhangai aimags

- Fly by MIAT to Gobi-Altai on 19 April
- Seminar in Gobi-Altai on 20, 21 April
- Drive to Bayankhongor on 22 April
- Seminar in Bayankhongor on 23, 24 April
- Drive to Uvurkhangai on 25 April
- Seminar in Uvurkhangai 26, 27 April
- Drive back to UB on 28 April

15. Uvs – Bayan-Ulgii - Khovd aimags

- Fly by AeroMongolia to Uvs aimag on 30 April
- Seminar in Uvs on 1, 2 May
- Drive to Bayan-Ulgii aimag on 3 May
- Seminar in Bayan-Ulgii on 4, 5 May
- Drive to Khovd on 6 May
- Seminar in Khovd on 7, 8 May
- Fly back by AeroMongolia to UB on 9 May