

## Narrative Description:1

## **Executive Recruitment: Competitive Elections (8)**

The Mongolian people have the right to change their chief executives through democratic processes. Mongolia is a presidential-parliamentary democracy. Executive power is divided between the president and the prime minister. While the president is directly elected, the prime minister is nominated by the majority party in the legislature (with approval of the president) and elected by the national legislature (the Great Hural). While the post-communist transition to democracy in Mongolia is still in its infancy, the country has experienced multiple turnovers of power through democratic mechanisms. The first president,

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Pusalmaagiyn Ochirbat, originally represented the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party (MPRP) and was "elected" by the communist controlled legislature in 1990. President Ochirbat left the MPRP in 1993, sought the backing of the liberal opposition, and won election in a direct popular vote. The MPRP, due to their control over state finances, media and patronage, won an overwhelming victory in parliamentary elections in June 1992. However, in June 1996 the Democratic Coalition, (a union of liberal parties led by the Mongolian National Democratic Party and the Mongolian Social Democratic Party) stunned both domestic and international observers by capturing 50 of 76 seats in the Great Hural, thus forcing the MPRP out of power for this first time since 1921. However, in May 1997 the MPRP showed its political resilience when its candidate, Natsagiyn Bagabandi, defeated the incumbent, Pusalmaagiyn Ochirbat, in presidential elections that were deemed free and fair by international observers. The July 2000 parliamentary elections (in which the MPRP won 72 out of 76 seats) and the May 2001 presidential election (won by the incumbent, President Bagabandi), were also deemed free and fair.

The legislative elections of June 2004 produced an evenly divided parliament. In the aftermath of these elections, in which both the MPRP and the Motherland Democracy coalition (formerly the Democratic Coalition) accused each other of voting irregularities, each party held separate parliamentary sessions. However, in August 2004 parliament named Tsakhiagin Elbegdorj of the Democratic Party as prime minister. The former prime minister and chairman of the MPRP, Nambaryn Enkhayar, was named speaker of the Great Hural. By mid-2005, however, the Grand Coalition had begun to fray as the MPRP made public its intentions to form a new government without the Motherland Democracy coalition. After the defection of a Democratic Party MP in January 2006 to the MPRP, the MPRP called for the resignation of Prime Minister Elbegdorj. The National Assembly then elected Myeegombo Enkhold, a member of the ruling MPRP, as the country's new prime minister. The Democratic Party accused the MPRP of pulling out of the ruling coalition in an attempt to stifle parliamentary debate about their party's alleged corruption. In response to this change in government, opponents to the MPRP took to the streets of the capital in political protest. Sanjaagiin Bayar became the General Secretary of the MPRP in 2005 and was elected MPRP Chairman in October 2007, defeating Prime Minister Enkhbold. After demoting Enkhbold to the post of Deputy Prime Minister in November 2007, the National Assembly approved Bayar as Prime Minister of Mongolia. In September 2008, following the MPRP's decisive victory in the June parliamentary election, Bayar was re-elected as prime minister of a MPRP-DP coalition.

The leader of the Democratic Party and two-time former prime minister, Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj, won a narrow victory over Nambaryn Enkhbayar in the May 2009 presidential election. The election campaign was dominated by the issue of distributing the country's vast mineral wealth. Unlike the disputed parliamentary elections of 2008, the presidential ballot did not trigger any political violence in the country and was considered to be free and fair. Despite the opposition victory of the office of the presidency, the MPRP continued to control the 76-seat parliament, creating a virtual coalition government between the two parties. In October 2009, the MPRP nominated Foreign Minister Batbold Sukhbaatar to be the country's new prime minister after Bayar Sanjaa resigned due to ill health.

## **Executive Constraints:** Executive Parity or Subordination (7)

The 1992 Constitution provides for a semi-presidential system patterned roughly on the French model, but with a stronger legislature. Executive power in Mongolia is divided between the president and the prime minister. The president is the head of state, commander in chief of the armed forces, and head of the national security council. The Constitution empowers the president to propose a prime minister and veto legislation (which can be overturned by the legislature by a 2/3 vote). The prime minister is in charge of managing the day-to-day activities of government. Like the Polish model, the distribution of powers in Mongolia deters executive absolutism, be it of the presidential variety found in Russia or the prime ministerial type found in Slovakia.

## <u>Political Participation</u>: Institutionalized Open Electoral Competition (10)

In 1993 opposition to the MPRP was virtually nonexistent. However, between 1993 and 1996 opposition leaders launched a vigorous effort to expand their parties throughout the country. The fruits of their labor were reveled in 1996 when the Democratic Coalition (MNDP and MSDP) defeated the ruling MPRP in elections that were deemed free and fair by international observers. However, by July 2000, a society shaken by drought, famine, poverty and corruption went to the polls and returned the MPRP to power in a landslide election. Despite its return to power, the MPRP saw its legislative majority quickly collapse. The June 2004 polls produced a deadlocked parliament. In order to form a government, the MPRP and the

Democratic Party forged the first coalition government in Mongolia's history. The Grand Coalition between the MPRP and the Democratic Party, however, ended in January 2006 with a defection of a Democratic Party MP to the MPRP, giving the MPRP a 50% majority in the Great Hural. While the political success of both the MPRP and the Democratic Party in the post-Soviet era has created an aura of institutionalized political competition in Mongolia, nonetheless, persistent poverty, rising inequality and widespread corruption continually threatens to undermine this nascent democratic system. The fragile nature of Mongolian democracy was evident in the wake of the July 2008 parliamentary elections. In these elections, in which the ruling MPRP claimed a landslide victory, a sizeable protest outside the MPRP headquarters turned violent. The MPRP headquarters was burned and clashes between civilians and security forces left at least five people dead. In response to this crisis, President Enkhbayar declared a fourday state of emergency. The newly elected members of parliament from the opposition Democratic Party refused to take the oath of office, demanding that the nine-member General Election Commission resign for alleged electoral shortcomings.