

Mongolia Promise Monitor — Issue 1, October 2026

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A monthly English-language briefing from shiid.mn, Mongolia's independent tracker of political promises.

Mongolia has had three prime ministers in nine months, and the presidency is up for election in June 2027. In that churn, what leaders commit to on paper is one of the few fixed points an outside observer can hold them to. This monitor tracks 4,058 written commitments made by the national government, the President, the Prime Minister, the Capital City Governor and 17 provincial and district councils.

This first issue sets the baseline: what is on the record, which deadlines have already passed, and which programmes are written so vaguely that they cannot be checked at all.

At a glance

4,058 commitments are on the record; five dated ones have already passed their deadline and are under verification.

Level	Source document	Commitments	Deadline status
National government	Government Action Programme 2024–2028	625	Term ends 2028
Provinces and UB districts	17 council election programmes, 2024–2028	3,344	Term ends 2028
President U. Khurelsukh	2021 election platform	62	All due by June 2027
Prime Minister N. Uchral	Inaugural speech (30 Mar 2026), budget statement (31 Aug 2026)	17	3 passed, 2 due in 2027
Capital City Governor B. Purevdagva	Five statements, May–Oct 2026	10	2 passed, 2 due by Dec 2026

Provincial coverage currently spans 7 of 21 aimags (Arkhangai, Bayankhongor, Dornod, Sukhbaatar, Umnugovi, Uvs, Zavkhan), plus Ulaanbaatar and its 9 districts. More provinces are added as their programmes are digitised.

Political context

The 2024–2028 programme is now being delivered by its third prime minister, under a different coalition from the one that wrote it.

- **Three prime ministers in nine months.** L. Oyun-Erdene was replaced by G. Zandanshatar in June 2025. Zandanshatar resigned in March 2026 amid corruption allegations against a senior minister. N. Uchral, previously Speaker, was confirmed on 30 March 2026 with 88 votes.
- **A new coalition.** The cabinet formed on 4 April 2026 joins the MPP, the HUN Party and the National Coalition, holding 79 of 126 seats. The Democratic Party, a former coalition partner, is in opposition.
- **Cabinet turnover continues.** The Minister of Justice and Internal Affairs was dismissed on 16 September 2026; his replacement was sworn in on 22 September.
- **The capital has a new governor.** B. Purevdagva was nominated before the City Council on 26 May 2026 and has since made ten dated or measurable commitments.
- **The presidency is in its final year.** President Khurelsukh's single six-year term ends in June 2027, and he cannot stand again. His 2021 platform is now a closed scorecard.

Why it matters: each change of government re-announces priorities. Uchral's own speech re-commits to the Zandanshatar cabinet's target of a 53% Mongolian share of Oyu Tolgoi benefits. Tracking which commitments survive each handover is a direct read on policy continuity.

The presidency: a 62-point scorecard closing in June 2027

37 of the President's 62 platform commitments promise to "support", "direct" or "work with" government rather than deliver an outcome. This reflects the limited executive powers of the office, and it shapes how the record can be judged.

The platform spans 58 topics, from the Oyu Tolgoi agreement to mother-tongue education. The commitments with the clearest economic weight:

Clause	Commitment (summary)	Measurable?
1.2.10	Push for a more beneficial Oyu Tolgoi agreement and annul the 2015 "Dubai agreement"	Partly: the Dubai agreement either stands or not
3.3.1	Support cutting urban air pollution by 80%	Yes: a stated target

Clause	Commitment (summary)	Measurable?
1.2.9	"Mongolian Fuel": finish the oil refinery and support domestic petrol output	Yes: refinery completion
3.3.5	Support building the Bogd Khan railway bypass around Ulaanbaatar	Yes: construction status
3.3.9	Support building the New Zuunmod – Aerocity hub	Partly
2.3.5	Make Mongolia a "Transit Mongolia" transport and trade hub	No

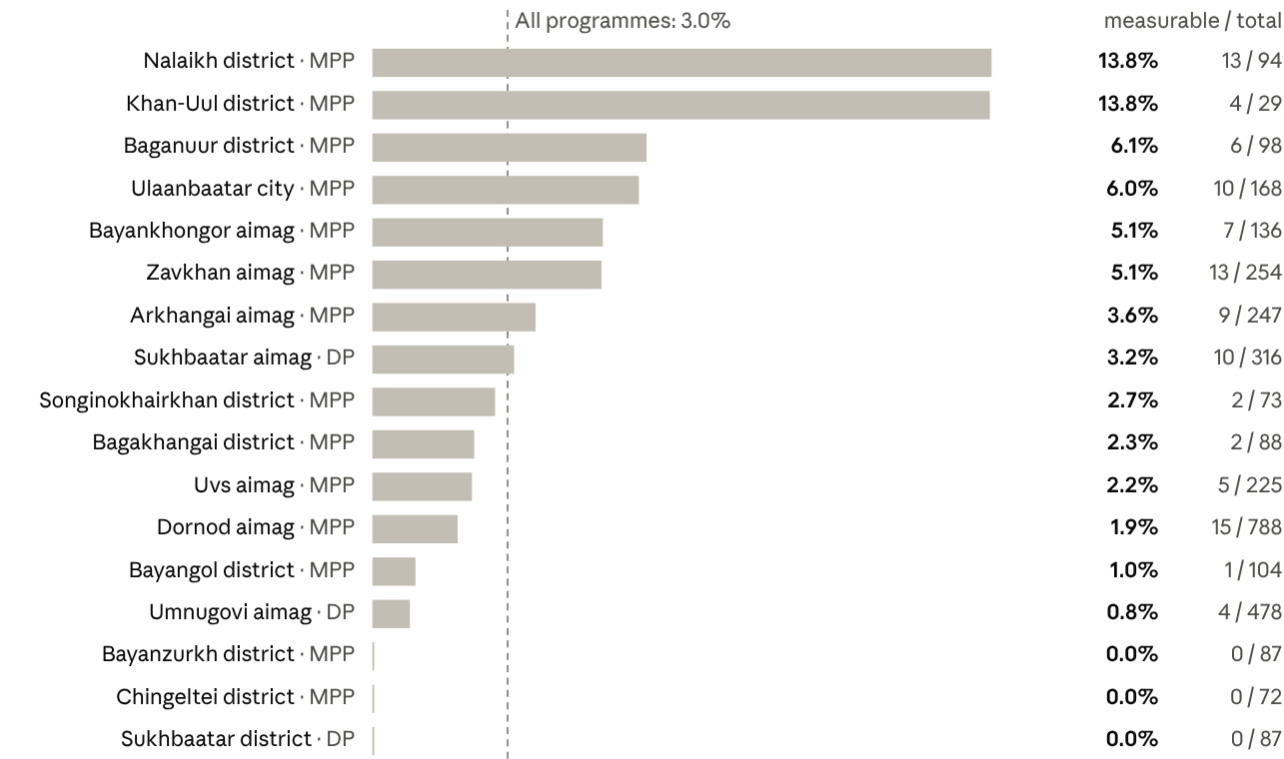
The full platform, clause by clause, is public at shiid.mn/erunkhiilugch, where citizens rate each commitment on a five-step scale. Issue 2 will publish the first status verdicts on the measurable commitments above.

Provinces: most local promises cannot be checked

Only 101 of 3,344 provincial and district commitments (3%) name a quantity that could be measured. The rest promise to "improve", "support" or "create conditions for" outcomes without saying how much or by when.

Only 3% of local promises name a measurable target

101 of 3,344 promises in 17 programmes state a quantity with a unit (km, beds, households, %)



Programme = council election platform, 2024–2028. MPP / DP = party holding the council majority.

shiid.mn analysis of 17 council election programmes, 2024–2028 (audit.mn filings) · as of 13 Oct 2026

Small programmes write tighter: Khan-Uul's 29 commitments and Nalaikh's 94 lead at about 14%. Dornod's 788-item programme, the largest tracked, has 15 measurable items. Three Ulaanbaatar districts have none. For investors and donors working at provincial level, this means local accountability rests on citizen perception rather than hard targets.

Watchlist: the next 90 days

Eight commitments to watch through January 2027; five of them have a deadline that has already passed.

Commitment	Who	Deadline	What decides it
Permits Law: abolish 31 permits and cut special licences from 254 to 180	PM Uchral	Spring session, closed 3 Jul 2026 (passed)	Whether the 92 laws amended on 3 July contain the cuts
Tax fairness package submitted with the 2027 budget	PM Uchral	1 Oct 2026 (passed)	Budget filed 31 Aug; package inclusion being checked

Commitment	Who	Deadline	What decides it
No income tax on salaries up to ₮792,000	PM Uchral	2027 Budget Law	Autumn session budget vote
Metro phase II procurement launched	Governor Purevdagva	Jul 2026 (passed)	Tender notice on the e-procurement system
All road repairs finished	Governor Purevdagva	15 Aug 2026 (passed)	City progress reports
Next year's road works finished early	Governor Purevdagva	Autumn 2026	City progress reports
Five schools and a kindergarten opened a year early	Governor Purevdagva	End of 2026	Commissioning dates
City tax on restaurants, hotels and car services cut to 1%	Governor Purevdagva	City Council vote	Council resolution

The permits row covers two of the Prime Minister's commitments, so five overdue commitments sit in four rows. The Metro tender was already reported as postponed to a 3 July opening in the article that carried the Governor's pledge.

Method, independence and subscription

Every commitment is quoted verbatim from a primary source and linked to it.

- **Sources.** Party election programmes as filed with the authorities, official speeches, and government or city statements. Each item keeps its clause number and page.
- **Deadlines.** Taken from the text itself. Where none is stated, the end of the mandate applies.
- **Measurability.** A commitment counts as measurable when it names a quantity with a unit (kilometres, beds, households, per cent, *tögrög*). This is an automated text screen and will be refined by manual review.
- **Citizen ratings.** Residents rate each commitment from 0% to 100% delivered on shiid.mn. These are a signal of public perception, not a representative survey.
- **Independence.** shiid.mn takes no funding from the state or from political parties and does not rate parties, only written commitments. Corrections are published openly.

Subscription. The Monitor is published monthly in English. Subscribers also receive custom briefings on a province, sector or office holder, and access to the underlying dataset. Contact: shiid.mn/contact.

Sources

- [Cabinet of Nyam-Osoryn Uchral — Wikipedia](#)
- [Mongolia names new prime minister in bid to end legislative deadlock — AP via WTOP, March 2026](#)
- [PM Uchral's inaugural speech, 30 Mar 2026 — News.mn](#)
- [Nine decisions from the 2026 budget amendment and 2027 draft budget, 31 Aug 2026 — MNB](#)
- [Governor Purevdagva's nomination speech, 26 May 2026 — ikon.mn](#)
- [Capital City Governor's Council, 8 Oct 2026 — ulaanbaatar.mn](#)
- [Provincial MPP and DP election programmes 2024-2028 — audit.mn](#)
- [Full dataset and clause-by-clause pages — shiid.mn](#)