PRESIDENTIAL ELECTION PLEDGES · MONGOLIA

Fulfilment of President U. Khurelsukh's Election Pledges

An assessment of 62 pledges over the 2021–2026 term of office



Fully fulfilled 7 · Partially 14 · Not fulfilled 5 · No evidence found 34 · Not testable 2

23.3%
Fulfilment index, conservative

53.8%
Based on 26 evidenced pledges

34
Pledges with no public evidence of delivery

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STATEMENT

This report is independent of any political party, state body or candidate. The assessment relies solely on publicly available sources, all of which are listed in Annex 2.

The report draws no conclusions about the reasons for the President's resignation or any related allegations. It examines only the fulfilment of pledges made in the 2021 election platform.

The assessment will be updated as official responses and new evidence are received, and each revision will carry a version number.

ABBREVIATIONS

SGK	State Great Khural (Parliament)
MPP	Mongolian People's Party
UN	United Nations
UNGA	UN General Assembly
CPPG	Comparative Party Pledges Group
PM2.5	Particulate matter under 2.5 microns

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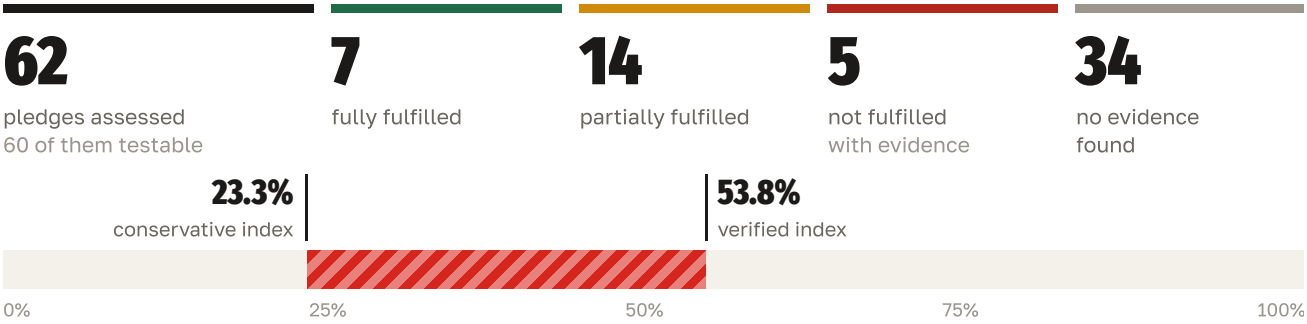
Executive summary

This report is an independent assessment of 62 measurable pledges selected from the 2021 election platform of U. Khurelsukh, the sixth President of Mongolia, evaluated at the end of his term. His term ran from 25 June 2021 to 19 November 2026, or 90.0 per cent of the six-year mandate.

The assessment applies the methodology of the Comparative Party Pledges Group (Thomson et al., 2017), widely used in international research on pledge fulfilment. The status of every pledge was verified against publicly available sources.



Actual fulfilment lies between these two values. The range will narrow as evidence on the 34 undocumented pledges becomes available.

KEY FINDINGS

1. **Limited fulfilment.** Of 60 testable pledges, 7 (11.7%) were fully and 14 partially fulfilled. The conservative fulfilment index is 23.3%.
2. **Most delivery was partial.** Of the 26 pledges with evidence, 21 were fully or partially delivered, but two thirds of these (14) only partially.
3. **No quantified target was met.** None of the numeric targets — doubling visa-free destinations, cutting urban air pollution by 80 per cent, single-digit lending rates — was achieved.
4. **A major transparency gap.** For 34 of 60 pledges (57%) no public evidence of implementation was found. This does not prove non-fulfilment, but it points to a shortfall in public information.
5. **Weaker record within the President's own powers.** Pledges the President could deliver directly, through legislative initiative or decree, score lower (19.5%) than those depending on the Government or Parliament (31.6%).

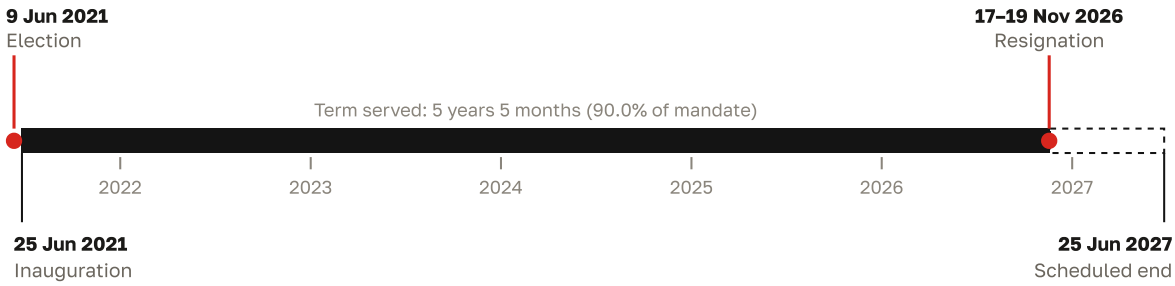
1 Context and scope

1.1 Term of office

U. Khurelsukh, nominated by the MPP, won the presidential election of 9 June 2021 with 823,326 of 1,216,246 votes cast (67.69 per cent), and was sworn in on 25 June 2021[1]. Under the 2019 constitutional amendments the President serves a single six-year term, which would have ended on 25 June 2027.

The President announced his resignation on 17 November 2026[2, 4], and on 19 November 2026 the State Great Khural accepted it with 96 of 104 votes[3]. Under Article 37 of the Constitution, the Chairman of the State Great Khural exercises presidential powers until a new President is elected.

Figure 1. Key dates of the term



Source: IFES ElectionGuide; AP; Constitution of Mongolia

1.2 Scope

Sixty-two clauses containing a specific action, law, decree, programme or numeric target were selected verbatim from the platform. General slogans, value statements and clauses without a verifiable criterion were excluded. The selected pledges fall into the three chapters of the platform.

Table 1. Pledges by platform chapter

Platform chapter	Pledges	Testable
1. Governance and economy	24	23
2. Security and foreign policy	7	6
3. Human development, society, environment, cities	31	31
Total	**62**	**60**

Source: 2021 presidential election platform

1.3 Research period and data

Evidence was collected up to 22 November 2026. The full text of every pledge, its assessment and source links are published at shiid.mn/erunkhiilugch.

2 Methodology

2.1 Framework

The assessment follows the methodology of the Comparative Party Pledges Group, a collaboration of researchers from more than 20 countries (Thomson et al., 2017). It tests whether the action or outcome stated in a pledge actually occurred, and records separately who was responsible. Pledge wording was taken verbatim from the scanned original of the election platform.

2.2 Rating categories

Table 2. Rating categories and scores

Status	Definition	Score
Fully fulfilled	The pledged action or outcome was delivered in full	1
Partially fulfilled	Part of the pledge was delivered, or a numeric target was approached but not met	0.5
Not fulfilled	Evidence shows the pledge was not delivered	0
No evidence found	A systematic search found no public evidence of implementation	0*
Not testable	General aim without a verifiable criterion	–

* Scored 0 in the conservative index. “Not testable” pledges are excluded from all calculations.

2.3 Formulas

Fulfilment index (conservative)	(Full + 0.5 × Partial) ÷ Testable × 100
Verified index	(Full + 0.5 × Partial) ÷ (Full + Partial + Not fulfilled) × 100
Full fulfilment rate	Full ÷ Testable × 100

2.4 Evidence standard

Each rating is supported by at least one publicly available source, chosen in this order of preference: (1) state bodies — the Bank of Mongolia, ministries, agencies; (2) international organisations — the UN, UNESCO; (3) project parties such as Rio Tinto; (4) established media — MONTSAME, ikon.mn, Interfax and others. Figures were taken from primary sources where possible.

2.5 Attribution of responsibility

In Mongolia’s parliamentary system, most presidential pledges depend on decisions of the Government and Parliament. Each pledge was therefore classified as either (a) within the President’s direct powers — legislative initiative, decrees, foreign relations, launching national movements — or (b) dependent on the Government or Parliament. This distinction shows where responsibility for delivery actually lay.

3 Results

The four indicators are shown below. The conservative index applies the standard rule of scoring undocumented pledges as unfulfilled and therefore marks the lower bound. The verified index reflects only pledges for which evidence was found.

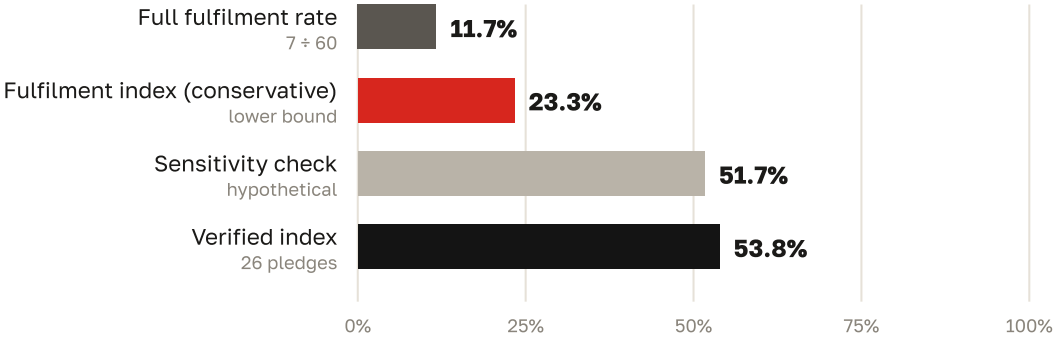
Table 3. Fulfilment indicators

Indicator	Calculation	Value
Fulfilment index (conservative)	(7 + 0.5 × 14) ÷ 60	**23.3%**
Full fulfilment rate	7 ÷ 60	11.7%
Verified index	(7 + 0.5 × 14) ÷ 26	**53.8%**
Sensitivity check[1]	(7 + 0.5 × 48) ÷ 60	51.7%

[1] A hypothetical calculation treating all 34 undocumented pledges as partially fulfilled, shown as an upper-bound reference.

Source: Shiid.mn calculations based on Annex 1

Figure 2. Fulfilment indicators, per cent



Source: Shiid.mn calculations based on Annex 1

Actual fulfilment lies between 23.3% and 53.8%. The wide gap between the two values is a direct consequence of the lack of public information on 34 pledges.

4 Breakdown

4.1 By responsibility

Table 4. By responsibility

Category	Pledges	Full	Partial	Not fulfilled	No evidence	Index
Within the President's direct powers	41	4	8	3	26	**19.5%**
Dependent on Government or Parliament	19	3	6	2	8	**31.6%**

Source: Shiid.mn calculations based on Annex 1

Pledges the President could deliver himself score lower (19.5%) than those depending on others (31.6%). The main reason is that for 26 of 41 such pledges — typically "will initiate a programme" or "will launch a movement" — there is no public evidence of implementation.

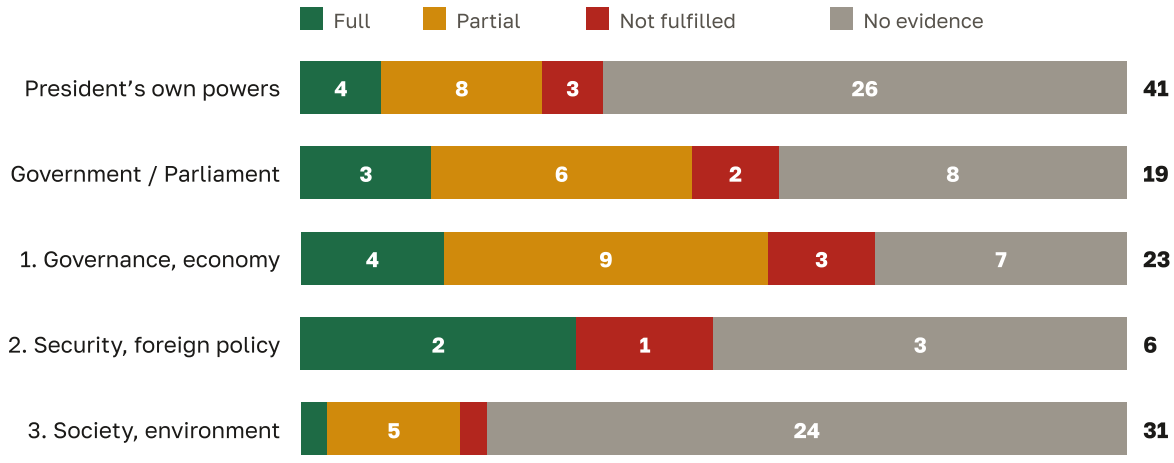
4.2 By platform chapter

Table 5. By platform chapter

Chapter	Pledges	Full	Partial	Not fulfilled	No evidence	Index
1. Governance and economy	23	4	9	3	7	**37.0%**
2. Security and foreign policy	6	2	0	1	3	**33.3%**
3. Society, environment, cities	31	1	5	1	24	**11.3%**

Source: Shiid.mn calculations based on Annex 1

Figure 3. Pledge status by responsibility and chapter



Source: Shiid.mn calculations based on Annex 1. Figure on the right: number of testable pledges

Evidence is weakest in the social policy chapter (education, youth, family, housing, older people): 24 of 31 pledges have no public evidence.

5 Notable findings

5.1 The 7 fully fulfilled pledges

Table 6. Fully fulfilled pledges

Clause	Topic	Evidence	Src
1.1.9	Political party finance law	The President submitted a revised Law on Political Parties on 14 Apr 2023; Parliament adopted it on 7 Jul 2023, including party-finance disclosure and donation caps.	6, 7
1.1.14	Fair distribution of mining wealth	The Sovereign Wealth Fund Law was adopted on 19 Apr 2024; every citizen received an accumulation account and a MNT 135,000 dividend allocation.	9
1.1.18	Digital public services	E-Mongolia offers 1,170+ public services; Mongolia rose to 46th in the 2024 UN E-Government Index (74th in 2022).	10
1.2.14	“Atar IV” crop campaign	The Government decided to implement the “Atar IV” national programme (Jan 2025; 200,000 ha).	18
2.2.3	Cyber security law	The Law on Cyber Security was adopted on 17 Dec 2021.	15
2.3.3	UN engagement / 2 September day	Proposed 2 September as an international day at UNGA 76; UNGA adopted Mongolia’s World Horse Day on 3 Jun 2025; Mongolia hosted UNCCD COP17 in Aug 2026.	23, 24
3.2.3	Tree planting movement	The “Billion Trees” national movement was launched by decree on 4 Oct 2021; 140 million trees planted by Sep 2026.	30, 31

Source: sources listed in Annex 2

5.2 Pledges with numeric targets

Table 7. Numeric targets and outcomes

Clause	Pledge	Target	Outcome	Target reached	Src
2.3.7	Visa-free destinations	Double (25 to 50)	25 to 30 (+20%)	**20%**	25, 26
3.3.1	Urban air pollution	Cut by 80%	PM2.5 −58.5% (2019–2024)	**73%**	33, 34
1.2.9	Oil refinery	Complete and commission	≈60% complete; moved to 2028	**≈60%**	16
3.1.13	“2100 Students” programme	Study at top world universities	420 in preparation; none abroad	**0%**	28
1.2.16	Commercial lending rates	Single digits	Policy rate 12%, inflation 11.2% (2026)	—	19

“Target reached” shows the share of the targeted change achieved (e.g. +5 of the +25 visa-free destinations required). The lending-rate target cannot be expressed as a share. Much of the fall in air pollution predates the term and is linked to the 2019 ban on raw coal.

Source: Annex 2

6 Limitations

The 34 undocumented pledges

These are not confirmed as unfulfilled. They may have been implemented without public reporting. The conservative index scores them 0 and therefore marks a lower bound.

Access to official sources

The websites of the Office of the President (president.mn) and the unified legal information system (legalinfo.mn) were unreachable during the research period, so ratings could not be checked against official lists of decrees and programmes.

Attributing responsibility

Many pledges are phrased as “will support” or “will direct”. They were rated by outcome, although the actual implementer was usually the Government.

Timing

The term ended seven months early (90.0% of its length). Long-term projects, especially infrastructure, were assessed within this window.

Pledge selection

Only 62 measurable clauses were selected, not every clause of the platform. Selection criteria are set out in section 1.2.

7 Right of reply and recommendations

7.1 Right of reply

In line with international fact-checking standards, this report will be sent to the Office of the President with a request for official evidence on the 34 undocumented pledges. Responses will be reviewed, the assessment updated, and the official reply published at shiid.mn/erunkhiilugch. Errors can be reported through the shiid.mn contact page.

7.2 Recommendations

1. **An open register of decrees and programmes.** Publish presidential decrees, initiated programmes and legislative initiatives in a single open register, with dates and implementation status.
2. **Annual progress reporting.** Establish the practice of elected officials reporting publicly each year, with measurable indicators, on the delivery of their election platforms.
3. **Measurable pledges.** Encourage candidates to state timelines, indicators and responsible bodies for each pledge, and have the General Election Commission consider this when reviewing platforms.
4. **Pledges within constitutional powers.** Explain clearly to voters whether a presidential candidate’s pledges fall within the powers granted by the Constitution.

Annex 1 Assessment of all 62 pledges

Pledge topics are summarised in English; the verbatim Mongolian text of each clause is available in the Mongolian edition and at shiid.mn/erunkhiilugch. "Resp." column: **P** — within the President's direct powers; **G** — dependent on the Government or Parliament. Numbers in the "Src" column refer to Annex 2.

#	Clause	Pledge	Status	Resp.	Evidence	Src
1	1.1.8	**Civic participation / CSO law**	Not fulfilled	P	A Government draft Law on Non-Profit Legal Entities was discussed but not adopted; no evidence the President initiated a civil-society law.	5
2	1.1.9	**Political party finance law**	Full	P	The President submitted a revised Law on Political Parties on 14 Apr 2023; Parliament adopted it on 7 Jul 2023, including party-finance disclosure and donation caps.	6, 7
3	1.1.12	**Anti-corruption law**	Partial	P	Parliament adopted a package tightening corruption penalties on 16 Dec 2022, but it was submitted by the Government; no evidence of a presidential initiative.	8
4	1.1.13	**Ban on officials' offshore accounts**	No evidence	P	No new legislation banning officials' offshore accounts was found during the term.	—
5	1.1.14	**Fair distribution of mining wealth**	Full	G	The Sovereign Wealth Fund Law was adopted on 19 Apr 2024; every citizen received an accumulation account and a MNT 135,000 dividend allocation.	9
6	1.1.15	**Luxury & progressive taxation**	No evidence	G	No evidence found of increased luxury taxation or expanded progressive taxation during the term.	—
7	1.1.16	**Judicial independence**	Not testable	G	General aspiration ("restore trust in courts") without a verifiable deliverable.	—
8	1.1.18	**Digital public services**	Full	G	E-Mongolia offers 1,170+ public services; Mongolia rose to 46th in the 2024 UN E-Government Index (74th in 2022).	10
9	1.2.3	**"Millennium Railway" network**	Partial	G	Zuunbayan–Khangi (226.9 km) opened on 25 Nov 2022; the Ulaanbaatar bypass was 97% complete in Sep 2026. An integrated horizontal/vertical network has not been completed.	11, 12
10	1.2.4	**"Organic Food Exporter" programme**	Partial	P	The President launched the "Food Supply and Security" national movement (2022); no "Organic Food Exporting Nation" programme as pledged was found.	13
11	1.2.5	**Power plants & energy export**	Partial	G	Erdeneburen HPP (90 MW) still under construction (Sep 2026); energy-exporter goal not achieved.	14
12	1.2.6	**4th Industrial Revolution laws**	Partial	P	Digital-development laws (cyber security, personal data) were adopted on 17 Dec 2021; no tax-free innovation zone was found.	15
13	1.2.9	**Oil refinery & "Mongol Fuel"**	Not fulfilled	G	The oil refinery was ~60% complete in Aug 2026; completion pushed to 2028.	16
14	1.2.10	**Oyu Tolgoi agreement**	Partial	G	The 26 Jan 2022 agreement waived Mongolia's US$2.4bn carry-account debt; formal termination of the prior financing plan ("Dubai agreement") was still outstanding at that time.	17
15	1.2.11	**Livestock cooperatives**	No evidence	P	No evidence of a "From herder's corral to factory" programme.	—
16	1.2.14	**"Atar IV" crop campaign**	Full	G	The Government decided to implement the "Atar IV" national programme (Jan 2025; 200,000 ha).	18

#	Clause	Pledge	Status	Resp.	Evidence	Src
17	1.2.16	**Single-digit lending rates**	Not fulfilled	G	Policy rate 12%, inflation 11.2% (May–Jun 2026); single-digit lending rates not achieved.	19
18	1.2.17	**“Patriotic Procurement”**	No evidence	P	No evidence of a “Patriotic Procurement” programme.	–
19	1.2.19	**“COVID-free Mongolia” vaccination**	Partial	P	By Jan 2022, 66.6% of the population had two doses and 964,000+ had a booster; full coverage was not reached.	20
20	1.3.1	**Native place names**	No evidence	P	No evidence of formal action on indigenous place names.	–
21	1.3.5	**Heritage looting liability law**	No evidence	P	No evidence during the term of a law tightening liability for looting heritage.	–
22	1.3.6	**Int’l Association of Chinggis Studies**	Partial	P	A decree “On Supporting Mongolian History Studies” (Nov 2024) promoted Chinggis Khaan research; no “International Association of Chinggis Studies” was found.	21
23	1.3.9	**Nomadic culture & sports festival**	No evidence	P	No evidence of a regular Nomadic Culture and Sports Festival hosted in Mongolia.	–
24	1.3.10	**UNESCO heritage listings**	Partial	P	Of the five elements pledged, “Mongol nomad migration and its associated practices” was inscribed in 2024; the other four were not.	22
25	2.2.2	**National security concept**	No evidence	P	No evidence of an updated National Security Concept.	–
26	2.2.3	**Cyber security law**	Full	P	The Law on Cyber Security was adopted on 17 Dec 2021.	15
27	2.2.8	**“Military Town” housing**	No evidence	P	No evidence of a “Military Town” housing programme.	–
28	2.3.3	**UN engagement / 2 September day**	Full	P	Proposed 2 September as an international day at UNGA 76; UNGA adopted Mongolia’s World Horse Day on 3 Jun 2025; Mongolia hosted UNCCD COP17 in Aug 2026.	23, 24
29	2.3.5	**“Transit Mongolia”**	Not testable	G	General goal (“Transit Mongolia”) without a verifiable deliverable.	–
30	2.3.7	**Double visa-free destinations**	Not fulfilled	P	Visa-free destinations for ordinary passports rose from 25 (Aug 2022) to 30 (Mar 2026), +20%, not doubled.	25, 26
31	2.3.12	**Fill ambassador vacancies**	No evidence	P	No evidence that ambassador vacancies were eliminated.	–
32	3.1.3	**“Two Foreign Languages”**	No evidence	G	No evidence of a “Two Foreign Languages” programme.	–
33	3.1.5	**Annual health screening for all**	Partial	G	About 800,000 people were screened under a national programme by Jan 2023; universal annual screening was not established.	27
34	3.1.6	**“Healthy Mother and Child”**	No evidence	P	No evidence of a “Healthy Mother and Child” programme.	–
35	3.1.7	**“Healthy, Fit Mongolian” movement**	No evidence	P	No evidence of a “Healthy, Fit Mongolian” movement.	–
36	3.1.8	**Decree on large families**	No evidence	P	No evidence of a decree supporting large families.	–
37	3.1.9	**Youth law & programme**	No evidence	P	No evidence of a revised Youth Development Law.	–

#	Clause	Pledge	Status	Resp.	Evidence	Src
38	3.1.11	**“Earning Student”**	No evidence	**P**	No evidence of an “Earning Student” programme.	–
39	3.1.12	**State-funded priority tuition**	No evidence	**P**	No evidence of a law fully funding tuition in priority fields.	–
40	3.1.13	**“2100 Students” scholarships**	Partial	**P**	“Presidential Mission-2100” started in 2026 with 420 students selected for preparation; none yet studying abroad.	28
41	3.1.14	**Reading movement**	No evidence	**P**	No evidence of a “Good Friend of Books” movement.	–
42	3.1.15	**“Dol”, “Shonkhor”, student soldiers**	No evidence	**P**	No evidence of revived “Dol”/“Shonkhor” programmes.	–
43	3.1.17	**“Youth District” housing**	No evidence	**P**	No evidence of a “Youth District” directive.	–
44	3.1.19	**“New Century Wealth Creator” TVET**	No evidence	**P**	No evidence of a “New Century Wealth Creator” programme.	–
45	3.1.20	**Poverty-reduction policy**	No evidence	**P**	No evidence of a comprehensive poverty-reduction policy authored by the President.	–
46	3.1.21	**“Housing for Every Household”**	No evidence	**P**	No evidence of a “Housing for Every Household” programme initiative.	–
47	3.1.24	**“Elders’ Town”**	No evidence	**P**	No evidence of an “Elders’ Town” directive.	–
48	3.1.27	**Alcohol & drugs (“Risk-free Household”)**	Partial	**P**	A presidential decree on combating alcohol abuse was issued (Apr 2022); no evidence of reduced alcohol strength.	29
49	3.1.28	**Genealogy records decree**	No evidence	**P**	No evidence of a decree on genealogy records.	–
50	3.2.2	**“Patriotic River” water programme**	No evidence	**G**	No evidence of a “Patriotic River” programme.	–
51	3.2.3	**Tree planting movement**	Full	**P**	The “Billion Trees” national movement was launched by decree on 4 Oct 2021; 140 million trees planted by Sep 2026.	30, 31
52	3.2.5	**Mining liability & licence revocation**	Not fulfilled	**P**	A Government Minerals Law amendment was tabled in May 2026 but not adopted, and it contains no licence-revocation provisions.	32
53	3.2.8	**“Clean Mongolia” campaign**	No evidence	**P**	No evidence of a “Clean Mongolia” campaign.	–
54	3.3.1	**Cut urban air pollution by 80%**	Partial	**G**	Ulaanbaatar annual PM2.5 fell from 62 µg/m³ (2019) to 25.7 µg/m³ (2024), −58.5%; the 80% target was not met, and much of the decline followed the 2019 raw-coal ban.	33, 34
55	3.3.4	**“Congestion-free Cities”**	No evidence	**P**	No evidence of a “Congestion-Free Cities” project.	–
56	3.3.5	**Bogdkhan bypass railway**	Partial	**G**	Construction of the Bogdkhan (Ulaanbaatar bypass) railway began in Apr 2025; 97% complete in Sep 2026, not yet operational.	35, 12
57	3.3.8	**Decentralisation of Ulaanbaatar**	No evidence	**G**	No specific evidence of the pledged decentralisation measures was found in this review.	–

#	Clause	Pledge	Status	Resp.	Evidence	Src
58	3.3.9	**“New Zuunmod – Aerocity”**	No evidence	**G**	No evidence of progress on the “New Zuunmod – Aerocity”.	—
59	3.3.12	**Regional development law**	No evidence	**P**	No evidence of a new regional development law initiated.	—
60	3.3.13	**“National Clusters”**	No evidence	**G**	No evidence of “National Clusters” established.	—
61	3.3.15	**“Local Roads” project**	No evidence	**G**	No evidence of the “Local Roads” project.	—
62	3.3.22	**“New Countryside” project**	No evidence	**G**	No evidence of the “New Countryside” project.	—

Annex 2 Sources

All links accessed on 22 November 2026. Titles of Mongolian-language sources are given in English translation.

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