



Annual Democracy Forum 2016
Learning from Democratic Transitions in Asia and the Pacific:
An Inter-Generational Dialogue
25-26 August 2016
Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia

Event report

As Chair of the Council of Member States of International IDEA, Mongolia organized the Annual Democracy Forum (ADF) in collaboration with International IDEA. The forum was held in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia on 25-26 August 2016 with the theme “*Learning from Democratic Transitions: An Inter-Generational Dialogue*” that brought together approximately 80 participants from International IDEA Member States and neighboring countries in Asia and the Pacific to discuss transitions and its aftermath.

This report provides highlights from the various sessions and themes emerging from the forum.

I. Highlights of the Sessions:

Opening Session

Opening Remarks

Tsend Munkh-Orgil, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mongolia

Yves Leterme, Secretary-General of International IDEA and former Prime Minister of Belgium

Video message from Jan Eliasson, Deputy Secretary-General of the United Nations

Keynote Speakers

Chadraabal Unurbayar, Legal Policy Advisor to the President of Mongolia

Maria Leissner, Secretary General of Community of Democracies

Highlights:

In the opening remarks, the Mongolian Foreign Minister Tsend Munkh-Orgil highlighted the experience of Mongolia’s transition to democracy 26 years ago with the hope that the younger generation can learn from its own successes and failures. He emphasized that through this process, Mongolia has learned that transition to democracy is a never-ending process. For this reason, he expressed the importance of the country be steadfast and uphold national unity and the constitution. He is confident that the forum will be able to provide insightful experiences from other countries, particularly on the role of women and the international community. The foreign minister also has stated that, though Mongolia’s democracy is young, the country will continue to support neighboring countries in transition to democracy and to commit to the proposed establishment of a regional centre for election observations. (The opening remarks, Annex A).

International IDEA’s Secretary General Yves Leterme, who testified to Mongolia’s commitment towards supporting sustainable democracy worldwide, further affirmed this. He emphasized that this year’s ADF theme comes at an opportune time when several countries in the Asia and the

Pacific region are undergoing or have undergone democratic transitions. In his remarks, Leterme highlighted the 10 lessons learned in transitions based on the International IDEA publication. (The opening remarks, Annex B).

In his video message, Jan Eliasson, United Nations Deputy Secretary-General, expressed appreciation for this year's aforementioned very timely theme. He hoped that the younger generation would be inspired by the stories of transition. He also stressed UN's support to democratic transitions and emphasized inclusivity and participation of marginalized groups. ([Video message by Jan Eliasson United Nations Deputy Secretary-General](#)).

Next, Chadraabal Unurbayar, Legal Policy Advisor to the President of Mongolia, examined the lessons that Mongolia learned from its own transition and how its own peaceful experience could be shared with others. However, he acknowledged that there is still much to be learned in order to enhance democratic values and to improve current legislation to aid a strengthened democracy in Mongolia.

In addition, Maria Leissner, Secretary-General of Community of Democracies, emphasized that lessons from transitions, new democratic systems must create new opportunities. While democratization has its weaknesses such as violent protests and threats to democratic processes. On the other hand, transitioning to democracy transforms societies and offers leaders the ability to harness this opportunity. She urged Mongolia and International IDEA to continue its mutually beneficial work in promoting democracy.

Session I: Constitutional Transitions

This session on Constitutional Reforms brought forward examples of various routes of constitutional transitions in different scenarios whether successful or delayed constitutional building processes. The session covered experiences in Mongolia, Brazil and Bhutan, to Nepal and Fiji.

Panelists:

- Ochirbat Punsalmaagiin, First Former President of Mongolia
- Chen Bunn Young, Chairman of the Fijian Elections Commission
- Mohna Ansari, Commissioner, of the National Human Right Commission of Nepal
- Dasho Kunzang Wangdi, First Chief Elections Commissioner of Bhutan and Member, Royal Research and Advisory Council of Bhutan
- Sergio Victor, Chief Advisor of Superior Electoral Court of Brazil

Moderator: Leena Rikkilä Tamang, Director of the Asia and the Pacific Region Programme for International IDEA

Highlights:

The panelists presented each of their respective country experiences with transitions through constitutional amendments or an entirely new constitution.

For former President Ochirbat, the constitution is the cornerstone of democracy, since it provides stability and strength to democracy. However, he highlighted that constitutions are not written in stone and that amendments should not be taken lightly, because they involve a very thorough reflection, discussion and consensus among several parties. Besides, he affirmed that enactment of democratic institutions, elections, political parties and consultations to adopting the constitution were the key factors to ensure a smooth transition for democracy in Mongolia.

Although a constitution is the bedrock of a country's democracy, it can also be undermined as in the case of Fiji, which has undergone several coups and several revisions of its constitution. For

instance, only the current constitution of 2013 has a provision on human rights, protection of indigenous rights and gender equality. This enabled to take progressive steps, such as the institution of the iTaukei affairs to protect the rights of indigenous Fijians, and the decision of having a woman as Speaker of the House. Nevertheless, these are small steps toward democracy.

For Nepal, the road to reforms through a new constitution was indeed long, beginning with when the country overthrew the monarchy in 2006. In constitutional transitions, there will be times that incremental steps forward are taken, then divisions happen to understand that taking a step back and re-examination are necessary. For instance, consultations with women and minorities are quite important. Though still divisive, Nepal has considerably progressed with the promulgation of a new constitution and women's representation in key executive, legislative and judicial positions.

In Bhutan's case where democracy was handed by the monarchy, people were not ready for transition. They however have to follow the mandate of the King and thus has successfully drafted a constitution to conclude with the elections. As Mongolia, Bhutan's democracy is very young; in fact, Dasho Kunzang admitted that they still have much to learn and would like to assess how they have made progress.

Victor agreed with co-panelists that transitions are a very long process. With Brazil it started in 1979 when military decided for the transition. Since then Brazil has drafted a new constitution promulgated in 1988. He affirmed that the constitution has helped his country to gain stability, promote economic growth and social change.

The common thread expressed by this session's examples is that transition itself is a long slow process and that constitution remains the bedrock of democracy, therefore it should be taken into account.

Session II: Role of Security Sector in Democratic Transitions

Overview: This session explores the role of the security sector in the success or failure of democratic transitions. A key challenge in transitions has been how to bring the armed forces and other security institutions under civilian authority while recognizing their legitimate roles. In this session, experts from Indonesia, Nepal and Fiji presented the lessons learned in their processes of bringing security sector's support towards democratization.

Panelists:

- Bhojraj Pokharel, Former Chief Elections Commission of Nepal
- Lt. Gen. (Retired) Agus Widjojo, Board of Advisers, Institute for Peace and Democracy, Indonesia
- Vijay Naidu, Professor and Director of Development Studies of the School of Government, Development and International Affairs, Faculty of Business and Economics, University of the South Pacific

Moderator: Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, Former Chair of the Government Negotiating Panel for Talks with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front

Session Highlights:

In the case of Indonesia, the political and military reforms took place at the same time, but Widjojo emphasized that military's role in democratic transitions must not interfere with politics, since its main role should be limited to the security and defense by ensuring smooth democratic transition process. There is no single excuse for military or the security sector to take control of democratically-elected governments if population deemed their leaders breached national values

and objectives of the constitutions. Security sector leaders were not elected by the people, hence they do not have authority to make political decisions. In cases of political crisis, resolution should be based on proper political and democratic process with no interference from non-political authorities.

Pokharel affirmed that security sector is legally under civilian command and that the constitution outlines roles and responsibilities of the security sectors, particularly military. In the experience of Nepal where prior to its transition, the military fully supported the monarchy, the security sector had to rethink and accept the will of the people for a democratic Nepal. One of the factors for the military's peaceful acceptance of civilian rule were through the presence of well-respected key leaders who build on the confidence and instilled trust between military and civilian for a successful transition. Another component would be the role of international community who helped negotiate for disarmament and monitor the peace process.

The experience of Fiji shows how transitions can be resilient having experienced four military coups in the last 20 years. Naidu explained that in Fiji, the role of military to promote peace and security had its disadvantages since they took advantages of their roles and held control of the government. During these times, rights were oppressed and democratic institutions and processes were undermined. However, now that the country has undergone recent transition having held their first democratic elections in 2014 (after eight years), institutions are slowly rebuilding, economic and social rights of indigenous and marginalized sectors are being taken into consideration and three branches of government have been established to ensure checks and balances. He however stressed that while executive is strong, the other two branches are still weak and a full working democracy has yet to be achieved.

The panelists emphasized that democracy is an incremental process and sometimes the process have drawbacks before it moves forward. However, people tend to be cynical of democracy in Asia-Pacific, for this reason there are countries that positive experiences of transitions may serve as models.

Session III: Role of Leadership in Social Movements

Overview: This session explores the role of leadership in social movements given the increase of movements aided by new media in recent years. It tackles how far these movements go in engaging the difficult task of building and sustaining democracy, and how important it is for these mobilized groups to work with political institutions and organized social groups. The session also examines the key qualities of a leader to facilitate successful transitions and how can political leadership and citizen movements reinforce each other based on experience of Mongolia, Indonesia and the Philippines.

Panelists:

- Zolzaya Batkhuyag, Co-Founder and Director, Women for Change NGO, Mongolia
- Randolph David, Emeritus Professor of Sociology, University of the Philippines
- Fadli Zon, Chair, Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC), Indonesia

Moderator: Edna E.A. Co, Executive Director, Center for Integrative and Development Studies, University of the Philippines

Highlights:

The session focused on three compelling issues of democratic transitions:

- 1) inclusiveness – defined as the role and processes of social movements in terms of engagement between those who govern and their constituents
- 2) leadership – creating a vision, and the persistence and openness to compromise in facilitating societies undergoing transitions, and
- 3) citizenship – the sense of commitment and responsibility of citizens to contribute to shaping a country's governance.

How these three factors in social movements or defined as “democracy from the ground” that has been challenging formal democratic processes. The Asia-Pacific have experienced several social movements in recent years from the Hong Kong protesters, Taiwan sunflower protests, Thailand's yellow and red shirt movements, among others. Indeed, social movements are no longer a phenomena that could be ignored, especially with its growing youth's participation.

The panelists agreed that leadership in social movements is a very significant factor in its success to initiate transitions. In the Philippines, social movements are rooted in causes or advocacies and often, are short term. The advantage is that they are agile, active and have a high sense of commitment; however it is fleeting. For those that were able to transform causes into parties, it does not easily translate into a successful political machinery for the lack of leadership, structure and support. According to David, what is needed are modern political parties, but movements are not easily transformed into one. He also stressed that a leader who can unify the efforts of social movements is crucial. A leader who has moral ascendancy and integrity to transform causes into long term visions and unite populations is required in order to build accountability.

For Zon, Indonesia's experience with social movements started with student movements suppressed by the government, which then NGOs took over. The promise of democracy also created challenges for hundreds of parties emerged after the transition, direct democracy up to the smallest political unit thus citizens more critical. These created gaps in the system. For Zon, social movements are only tools to transform into political parties. The challenge then lies in citizenship – once social movements transform into political entity, the ideology can often change and thus compromise the moral force behind its advocacy.

After the transition, the civil society movement in Mongolia has made its mark in advocating for certain causes to ascertain citizens' rights through coalition-building and participation in political processes. Zolzaya said that there is still a lot of challenges along the road for civil society. However, they are optimistic with legal frameworks in place. She affirmed that a leader who can unify, appease political conflicts and mainstream social oriented groups is indeed crucial to transform into political institutions.

Session IV: Role of Women in Democratic Transitions

Overview: Like all political processes, transitions are gendered – men and women play different roles within them- consequently these processes often have different impacts on men and women. Women have played significant roles in many Asian transitions. This session explored women's involvement in fostering transitions and in promoting policies to strengthen women's rights and gender equality. It also discussed various strategies to ensure participation and engagement of women based on experience of Mongolia, Fiji, Indonesia and the Philippines.

Panelists:

- Urantsooj G., Head, Human Development Center of Mongolia
- Michelle Reddy, Program Director, Fiji Women's Rights Movement
- Sri Danti Anwar, Senior Advisor to the Minister for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection of Indonesia

- Miriam Coronel-Ferrer, Former Chair of the Government Negotiating Panel for Talks with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front (MILF) and Professor, Department of Political Science, University of the Philippines

Moderator: Naranjargal, President, Globe International NGO, Mongolia

Highlights:

The session presented the range of women's participation in transitions. Some countries such as the Philippines and Indonesia have more advanced role and opportunities in political processes as compared to the other countries. Despite their differences, the experiences of these countries showed similar obstacles women faced towards the achievement of common goals and objectives.

In the case of the Mongolia, while women in political representation is low even after the transition, there is slow progress in terms of opportunity. While gender equality is new, citizens are realizing the value of women's role thus there has been increase in their participation as well as the emerging strength of civil society and support from international community. Urantsooj said that gender mainstreaming is still a challenge and it should be incorporated in the planning and budgetary levels of government.

With Fiji's turbulent history, there has been limited spaces for women. Women's groups in Fiji however are vibrant; they create spaces themselves at the national and international level, build coalitions with like-minded organizations and utilizes media. Reddy agreed that legislation is important as legal basis, but more important is how it is implemented in the system - how it influences cultural barriers of women's perceived role outside the political sphere. Political parties' role is equally important that women are given ample space and capacity to lead.

Indonesia's constitution guarantees equal rights to women and men. Before the country's transition, women's role were traditional to being homemaker and mother. After the transition they played a more active role, pushing for women's rights and gender equality. Interestingly half of Indonesia's population are women thus their potential in nation building should not be taken lightly. Indonesia's strategy was to ensure inclusiveness such as human rights in refined political laws, increased women participation in election laws, and adopted relevant frameworks such as CEDAW and Beijing Declaration.

For the Philippines, the turbulent transition to democracy was led by a woman president. The population has elected two women presidents since the country's transition in 1986. In many aspects, women's role in both and public and private sectors is high. In the peace process, women's role is more crucial as they amplify the voices of those sectors not often provided space to engage in political discourses. They ensure inclusiveness and meaningful participation. Ferrer said that this is a country that accepts women in a political role and is open to see how far they are able to contribute. Similar to her co-panelists, Ferrer mentioned that women often focus on projects that promotes women's rights and tries to bridge advocacy work to political spectrum. While they have made headways in role of women, there are still struggles for women relating to cultural and religious issues.

Session V: Role of International community in transitions

Overview: International actors can sometimes help to ensure that democracy has taken root in society after it has become the accepted way to contend for power. They, however, cannot take the place of domestic actors. In this session, the panelists discussed the varying role of international community in transitions and lessons learned in democratic assistance.

Panelists:

- Ambassador Sergey Kapinos, Head, Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan
- Nicholas Haysom, Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General for Sudan and South Sudan, United Nations and Member, International IDEA Board of Advisers
- Alexander Shlyk, Acting Head of the OSCE/ODIHR Election Department

Moderator: Beate Trankmann, UN Resident Coordinator, UNDP Resident Representative, Mongolia

Highlights:

The panelists in this session have the mandate of long-term investment in supporting democratic processes. What they can offer are technical advice, sophisticated knowledge of international pacts and advocate for democratic best practices. However overall change and impact very much depends on national ownership and the readiness of national authorities to embrace democracy. It was highlighted that the key role of international actors are systematic support and ensure sustainability. What is also significant is firstly to differentiate the level of distrust among actors. International actors should also understand the national context, in fact, in some cases, outsiders try to assist but they become participants in national affairs not understanding the divisiveness, the culture, and other issues.

International actors' good intention should have checks and balances. It must be recognized that one model does not fit for all. Besides, if eventual failure occurs, the approach must be evaluated and analyzed. In addition, it also pays to invest in establishing dialogues, in building capacities of civil society groups, of political movements and other actors who could make their leaders accountable to the citizens.

Synthesis delivered by Yves Leterme, Secretary-General of International IDEA (Annex C)

Closing remarks**Ambassador Elias Genting, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia**

On behalf of the Non-Aligned Movement Centre for South-South Technical Cooperation (NAM - CSSTC)

Ambassador Genting expressed appreciation to the Government of Mongolia and to International IDEA for the opportunity to partner for this ADF. The extensive discussions in democratic transitions in Asia-Pacific offered opportunity to better understand that democratic values may not be prevailing in local context, as what most would assume. The experiences shared however gave a sense of hope that democracy is very much alive and barriers to transitions have solutions. Genting expressed hope that this dialogue will continue in respective countries, to inspire and to collectively engage various stakeholders.

Batmunkh Battsetseg, Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mongolia

The deputy minister acknowledged success of the forum. She also pointed out the Mongolia while has been successful in its transition, still has work to do in terms of increasing women's participation in political processes and improvement of election laws so that Mongolia may be a model for democracy in Asia. She expressed appreciation to the co-organizers.

II. List of Participants

About 100 people participated in the 2016 Annual Democracy Forum. They were comprised of representatives from Mongolia's national government, the academe, national and local NGOs, and students. Panelists comprise of experts from Mongolia and neighboring countries Bhutan, Fiji, Indonesia, Nepal, and the Philippines International IDEA Member State Brazil and international organizations including the UN and OSCE. Other Member States also represented were Botswana, Finland, India, Indonesia, Norway, Spain and Sweden.

List of participants attached (Annex D)

III. Information dissemination and Media coverage



Annual Democracy Forum website:
www.adf.idea.int



Op-ed:
Thinking about democracy in Mongolia –
by Randy David for *Inquirer*
<http://opinion.inquirer.net/96858/thinking-about-democracy-in-mongolia>



How democracy can offer the 'best system' to achieve development – Interview with International IDEA Secretary-General Yves Leterme

<https://www.devex.com/news/how-democracy-can-offer-the-best-system-to-achieve-development-88716>



Building democracy and development – Interview with Ambassador Nicholas Haysom

<https://www.devex.com/news/building-democracy-and-development-in-conflict-situations-88762>



Lessons on democratic transitions and its development impact

<https://www.devex.com/news/10-lessons-on-democratic-transitions-and-its-development-impact-88738>



Video coverage from Fadli Zon's communications team

<https://www.youtube.com/watch?v=zgCGzNCsAQU>



Interview of International IDEA Secretary-General Yves Leterme with *Daily News* (in Mongolian)

IV. Photo Gallery



Attachments:

1. Annex A: Opening Remarks by Tsend Munkh-Orgil, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mongolia
2. Annex B: Opening Remarks by Yves Leterme, Secretary-General, International IDEA
3. Annex C: Synthesis by Yves Leterme, Secretary-General of International IDEA and former Prime Minister of Belgium
4. Annex D: List of participants in the ADF 2016

**REMARKS BY
H.E. MR.TSEND MUNKH-ORGIL, MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF MONGOLIA
AT THE OPENING OF THE ANNUAL DEMOCRACY FORUM
“LEARNING FROM DEMOCRATIC TRANSITIONS”**

Ulaanbaatar, 25 August 2016

Secretary-General Mr.Leterme,

Excellencies,

Distinguished delegates,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I would like to extend a particularly warm welcome to all the guests, who have flown from distant lands, who have flown thousands of miles to be here with us today. Let me assure you that myself and my staff will do anything that we can to make you feel at home and to make the work of the Forum a success.

As Chair of the Council of Member States of International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance (IDEA) for 2016, Mongolia is honored to host this Forum in Ulaanbaatar city. I also want to extend our sincere gratitude to Secretary-General, Mr. Leterme and his team of dedicated professionals for the help and support so generously extended to us while we chaired the Council of the Member States for this year, without your help and support none of this would have been possible today.

As a theme for our Chairmanship and theme for this Annual Forum, Mongolia has chosen the topic of “Learning from Democratic Transitions in Asia and the Pacific: An Inter-Generational Dialogue” in order to facilitate an open discussion not just between different actors, but also between different generations on what we have accomplished so far and what we have still to do in the years ahead. Why an emphasis on inter-generational dialogue, because we learn from our own experience, the younger generation of Mongolians have much more to teach us than we have to teach them. In many ways the younger generation of Mongolians, learn themselves, they learn spirit and the ideals of democracy and teach us each and every day on how they can and we collectively together can put it into practice. We also believe that it is important to share our experiences to appreciate the work done by the previous generations, and take a collective assessment on our failures and successes.

26 years ago, Mongolia embarked on the path of democratic reforms with its free and contested elections, market regulations and private ownership of capital. Few of us envisioned or anticipated that it would be such a long and arduous process. At the time, we planned to wrap up the transition in 5, at most 10 years. Few cautious souls and minds who warned about the difficult and capricious nature of the work ahead were ridiculed and labeled “non-believers”. Now we know better, now we know that it is not enough what we know proclaim in the Constitution or in the law, there must be upheld each and every day by hard-working and honest Government at every level. We now know that non-governmental organizations and civil society at large must learn not just to hold the Government accountable but also learn how to self-regulate. Now we know that democracy stands for discipline, responsibility and accountability, be it political, moral or financial. And more importantly, we now know that transition is not over until we have not just free and fair elections, but also prosperous and healthy people enjoying the fruits of their labor in an open and just society. On more spiritual level few of us begin to suspect that transition to democracy can best be described as a never ending quest for the fullest possible liberation of human spirit, creativity and compassion. But then again maybe it’s only a reflection of our Buddhist heritage. Maybe on the other hand, for us, for Mongolians, the transition is over and now we are laboring to develop the democracy to Mongolian realities.

We have chosen the theme of Democratic Transition not because we have fully mastered or completed it, far from it, we had our failures, we wasted opportunities and time. But in my opinion, we have succeeded in our main task we were steadfast to our constitution and our commitment to human rights, we kept our national unity in the face of many troubles and refused to fall victim to temptation of quick solutions and strong individuals. We believe that painstaking daily efforts to strengthen such democratic institutions as multiparty Parliament, free and contested elections, free and responsible media, vibrant civil society and accountable and discipline Government are the answers to the present and future challenges.

We have chosen the theme of Democratic Transition precisely because we still have so much to learn from all of you, and we have so much to discuss and debate. The subject of the first session alone “Constitutional reforms” crucifies to make this Forum acutely relevant for today’s Mongolian. I also look forward to learn from your findings on the role of women and the role of international community in democratic transitions as well. In a

traditional nomadic society, Mongolian women have always occupied special place of importance and respect in the political, social and economic areas, but we want to learn how we can secure even more prominent role for our women in our society and how we can make their life happier each and every day.

As a Foreign Minister, I am interested to know how the international community and organizations can contribute to our efforts to strengthen democracy in Mongolia. And of course we are anxious to know whether and how Mongolia can contribute its share to democratic transitions for Asia and the Pacific.

Let me assure you that this and future Governments of Mongolia will continue to value the cooperation of international community in general and International IDEA in particular, and we stand ready to work with all of you for noble cause of human rights.

It gives me a pleasure to inform you that recently the Government of Mongolia put a decision to establish a regional center for election observers in Mongolia. And we welcome the cooperation of international community and developing this center into true champion.

I am confident that this Forum will succeed in its main objective of inspiring an open dialogue between generations on democratic transitions and will lead better understanding of its complexity and consequences. Once again on behalf of the Government of Mongolia, I wish all of you a pleasant and memorable stay in my city and I wish the Forum all its success and work.

Thank you very much.



Annual Democracy Forum

“Learning from Democratic Transitions in Asia and the Pacific: An Inter-Generational Dialogue”

25-26 August, Ulanbataar Mongolia

Opening Remarks of Secretary General Yves Leterme

Distinguished Guests,

It is my pleasure and honour to deliver the opening address at the Annual Democracy Forum 2016, here in Ulanbataar, the capital of Mongolia. Mongolia which holds the Chairship of International IDEA in 2016.

Before I continue, I would like to extend a warm thanks to the President of Mongolia, the Government of Mongolia and to its Ministry of Foreign Affairs. I am not only pleased, but also very proud of having Mongolia as a Member State of International IDEA and for the strong partnership we have established since Mongolia joined IDEA in 2011, and for its excellent chairmanship of the institution in 2016. In addition to the Government of Mongolia, I would also like to extend my thanks to the other key partners in this annual democracy forum: the Open society forum in Mongolia and the NAM Centre in Indonesia, who have greatly contributed to enable this forum.

The quality and breadth of the programme developed for this Annual Democracy Forum testifies to the strong commitment that Mongolia has to the principles that

International IDEA embodies and the willingness to take the lead in enabling this pioneering forum for sharing experiences of democratic experiences across the Asian region.

As many of you know, International IDEA is an intergovernmental organization with support for sustainable democracy worldwide as its sole mandate. This has made us a leading global actor on electoral processes, constitution building, political participation and representation, and democracy and development. The theme of democratic transitions cuts across all of our work and we have built a knowledge base and expertise during the twenty years of our existence that we hope can contribute to the sharing of experiences during this forum.

This forum comes at a very opportune moment, as Asia is a region in transition. However, the Asian experience is diverse, and includes both consolidated democracies, countries that underwent democratic transitions twenty or thirty years ago, more recent transitions, those that have experienced democratic progress coupled with periods of democratic stalling and reversals and those that are yet to embark on the democratic path.

Mongolia and Indonesia are examples of countries that underwent transitions to democracy nearly thirty and twenty years ago and are facing the challenges of democratic consolidation, providing good examples of institutional resilience. More recent transitions include Myanmar, where watershed national elections were held last year, ending nearly 50 years of military rule. Fiji conducted democratic elections after a period of military coup. There has been an initiation of constitutional reforms in the Philippines, Thailand and Sri Lanka, and also here in Mongolia; as well as the emergence of a new constitution in Nepal. There is a lot that we could learn from these various transitions and this forum provides just that: an opportunity to share experiences, learn from each other, discuss lessons learned and ways forward in the

process of consolidating Asian democracy, with a view to making democracy sustainable and able to deliver on the commitment to Agenda 2030 and its Sustainable Development Goals for the region.

What the diverse Asian experiences show is that there is no unilinear and predictable path to democracy. Democracy building is complex and unpredictable. Gains can be achieved, only to be backtracked and reversed, to later re-emerge. And one of International IDEA's roles is to analyze those diverse democratic experiences, distill the lessons learned from them, collect and document good practices in democracy building and share its knowledge on reform processes with democratic reform champions in the state and civil society, across the world.

International IDEA aims to be a trusted partner in democracy building and reform. And we are proud that we can partner with the Mongolian government in organizing this Annual Democracy Forum to enable the sharing of these diverse and rich Asian experiences. We hope that each one of you will go home with some new insights that will be useful as your countries continue their democratic paths and that we can continue to support each of you in its own process, on its terms and in its own time and from its own democracy building perspective.

One of International IDEA's most recent publications speaks to the theme of this forum. It is entitled "Democratic Transitions: Conversations with World Leaders" and documents interviews with world leaders that have led transitions to democracy in their own countries.

The book contains interviews with 13 former presidents and political leaders from 9 countries worldwide, representing 5 different continents. These leaders (who come from Indonesia, the Philippines, South Africa, Ghana, Poland, Spain, Mexico, Brazil and

Chile) have all led transformations from authoritarian rule to consolidated democracy in their countries, over the past three decades.

The inspiration for the book came from International IDEA's experience on the ground in many of the countries covered by the book.

The result of the interviews and their personal reflections, provide a wealth of wisdom, of which I would like to share some today as I believe they can be useful for all you today, independently of what stage of transition your country finds itself.

This wide range of insights into democratic transitions, personal reflections by the political leaders who were at the center of these processes, of countries that are now considered consolidated democracies, converts this book a unique historical overview of democratic transition processes:

Firstly, we have witnessed the **importance of moving forward incrementally.**

The interviewed leaders often benefitted from taking advantage of partial opportunities whenever possible, to gain ground through small steps rather than waiting for major change to occur. Sometimes they agreed on only partly fulfilling what was viewed as a vital priority. At other times they even cooperated with factions within the dominant regime, who could be convinced of the need for change.

Lesson 1 thus shows us that transition from authoritarianism to democracy may work best when moving slowly yet steadfastly.

Secondly, it is crucial to **project a positive and inclusive vision.**

Any transition to democracy will have costs and disappointments – not least for the country's citizens. To combat public fear and avoid disillusion amongst the people, it is

important to present a hopeful vision of the transition. Both by showing a vision of long-term future gains, and by making modest promises of immediate gains, leaders can show the way forward, away from current grievances.

A third lesson focuses on **building convergence and coalitions**.

Within opposition forces, it is important to create a common vision that provides a credible alternative to the regime. Equally important is the building of coalitions between political opposition forces and social movements. Transitions should integrate groups like workers, students, religious movements and women's rights groups. These groups have often played a crucial role in democratic transitions, and need to be included in post-transition processes of building constitutions, and strengthening political parties and civil society organizations. During transitions, bridges also need to be built across sectors, for example the business sector and with reformists within the regime. Most importantly though, the general population needs to be included. Transition leaders should focus on what unites people, and – with patience and persistence – signal to all actors that they will have a stake in the new regime.

Fourthly, leaders should **create and protect spaces for dialogue**.

Dialogue can increase trust between the opposition, the regime, civil society organizations and citizens, which in turn will affect the transition's success. It is important for dialogue not to focus on past disputes, but on future common goals. Taking the time to clarify all issues on the table and define reform programmes through discussions, may ensure a better cooperation between all actors involved in the transition.

A fifth lesson focuses on **constitution building**.

Drafting the new constitution should be a truly inclusionary process, engaging a wide range of participants. Leaders should work hard to accommodate to the extent

possible the core demands of all contending groups. This may also include assuring actors of the old regime that their interests will be protected. To avoid public anger, the negotiations on such issues should be made transparently and democratically. It is also important to note that a good-enough, but broadly-supported constitution might be preferred over a perfect but less legitimate text. Constitution building after transitions should focus on securing broad agreement on the way forward.

Next, it is important to **manage economic tensions** after a transition.

In many cases, economic problems were a major cause behind popular mobilization and often acted as a trigger to many transitions. Afterwards however, the new regime needs to make the same economic issues a priority. This entails balancing fiscal reforms with alleviating poverty and addressing inflation and unemployment. Ideally, economic growth is combined with a focus on equity, including through special measures for the most vulnerable in society.

Lesson 7 emphasizes the importance of **political parties**.

From the early days of the transitions, leaders should invest in building and institutionalizing vibrant political parties. Under autocratic regimes, political parties may have been downright illegal, repressed and discredited. If official “opposition” parties were allowed to exist, their access to media airtime and funding might be severely restricted. Yet parties play a crucial role in providing networks, training candidates, organizing elections and developing transition strategies. To ensure the opposition is strong enough to compete with the existing regime, leaders should focus consistently on building, reviving and strengthening political parties.

Another important lesson is dealing very carefully with the **military and security and intelligence forces**.

Usually these forces are highly connected to the authoritarian regime. It is thus necessary to act firmly to achieve democratic, civilian control over these services.

Sensitivity is required though: while high-ranking officers responsible for torture or brutalities may need to be removed, ordinary cadres might require protection from reprisals. Leaders should recognize the responsibilities of the military as well as security and intelligence forces, while simultaneously ensuring they refrain from political comments or partisan involvement. As long-standing mistrust might exist between civilians and the military, this process can be a long, difficult task for new regime leaders.

Finally, the necessity for **reconciliation and transitional justice**.

As systematic corruption, repression and outright human rights violations might have occurred before a transition, there can be intense pressure to hold the perpetrators accountable. Naturally, this is an extremely sensitive and difficult challenge. Yet ignoring unresolved issues is more problematic in the long-run. Leaders thus need to provide truth and justice, while simultaneously assuring the safety of those leaving power. Victims need to be recognized, without preventing the growth of mutual tolerance in society. Through transparent legal processes or the installation of a Truth and Reconciliation Commission, justice can be achieved through dialogue rather than through revenge, blaming and shaming.

Finally, it is of critical importance to bring in a gender lens to the analysis of democratic transitions. In all transitions studied in the book, women played critical roles leading change through social movements, the state bureaucracy, political parties, the legislature and civil society. A number of lessons can be drawn from the various experiences: for women activists, it is of utmost importance to organize early in the transition process; form a range of alliances both within civil society and across sectors; participate actively in all phases of the transition process; develop platforms that can unite different groups of women and maintain momentum during the implementation and consolidation phases. It is also critical that political leaders open up spaces for

women to participate fully in the transition process and make sure that post-transition constitutions, policies and institutional designs reflect equality concerns.

As you can see, the 10 lessons I mentioned are no easy challenge for leaders of transitions. The Mongolian case is in this sense striking: the priorities set out by the President are clear: promoting the rule of law, fostering social justice, fighting poverty, combating corruption and supporting participatory democracy.

The Mongolian President actively sought membership of International IDEA, and the Council warmly welcomed Mongolia as its 26th Member State in December 2010. As the chair of the Community of Democracies, President Elbegdorj launched a number of initiatives, which are vital to both mature and emerging democracies around the world. These include Zero Tolerance for Corruption and Education for Democracy.

This is why International IDEA is working to ensure our work on Democratic Transitions does not end with the book publication. Instead, we are exploring how to make the lessons practically relevant for current and future transitions, such as those we will be discussing during this forum.

To end, I would like to emphasize how this book is about leadership. Successful democratic transitions depend on many factors inside and outside of the state, domestically and externally. However, transitions can only succeed if political leaders have the will for change and a great sense of duty and responsibility. Leaders who are not afraid to lose power, in order to win freedom and democracy for their country. By gathering here today at this regional workshop, each and every one of you is illustrating that will to change. You have come here because you believe that democracy matters. Because you want to make Asia a frontrunner in this field.

When asked how Mongolia will impact democracies around the globe, President Elbegdorj answered: *“We do not have anything to teach, but we have something to share with the rest of Asia and the world”*.

The joint project of the Electoral Observation Training Centre will provide an excellent opportunity for Mongolia to do that. The Center will contribute to the professionalization of the electoral field by allowing Mongolia to share its knowledge on electoral observation with its regional counterparts and thereby contributing with expertise to consolidating and deepening democracy in the Asian region. International IDEA is strongly committed to the joint implementation of this project and we welcome the opportunity it provides to continuing to deepen our partnership with Mongolia, as well as with the OSCE and the Community of Democracies and the Council of Europe, who will be joint partners in this project.

I would just like to end by saying how important it is for democracy worldwide and for organizations such as IDEA working in the area of democracy to have leaders step up and tell the world that democracy cannot just be the work of politicians, international civil servants or professional NGO workers.

It must be the responsibility of every citizen, and they must be involved to make democracy deliver. Such **locally rooted democracy** is crucial. Such locally rooted democracy is what Mongolia’s experience is inspiring.

I look forward to engaging with you – so that we may all become leaders of democratic progress.

THANK YOU



Annual Democracy Forum

“Learning from Democratic Transitions in Asia and the Pacific:

An Inter-Generational Dialogue”

25-26 August, Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia

Synthesis by Secretary General Yves Leterme

Distinguished Participants of the Forum,

I have the honour to deliver a synthesis of the Annual Democracy Forum 2016, where two keynote speakers and seventeen panelists have expressed their views and shared their experiences over five sessions in these past one and a half days. Commendations to the moderators who had ably extracted the vast knowledge and perspectives from our speakers.

As the Foreign Minister of Mongolia explained yesterday, the theme of this year’s Annual Democracy Forum is Learning from Democratic Transitions: An Intergenerational Dialogue. In this Forum, we have witnessed exchanges not only between the younger and the older generations from a personal point of view, but also between the younger and older democracies. Views of the young brought fresh ideas into the older generation’s minds, while the younger democracies reflected upon the experiences and challenges faced by the older democracies in their transitions to democracy.

To come back to the different panels, I would say that transitions require high quality constitutions. Democratic transitions more often than not require constitutional reform. Asia and the Pacific countries such as the Philippines, Mongolia, Indonesia, Bhutan, Myanmar, Nepal, Fiji and most recently, Thailand, changed their constitutions to give way to their new democratic systems. These constitutional changes were essential to give way to the establishment of institutions and processes under a new democratic system.

We learnt again that constitution building is a slow and gradual process. Panelists of this Forum have testified different paces and processes in their respective countries. They observed that it is important to ensure wide consultations took place with the people. Open discussions should take place with different groups that bring their specific perspectives and interests, thus allowing the constitution to have accommodated the different views. Rushing promulgation of the constitution may put the transitional process to a halt due to significant opposition. Given the slow and gradual process, some countries opted to create interim constitutions allowing the country to continue being governed under transitional arrangements.

During this sometimes long transitional period, peace and security in the country is of paramount importance. During such a period, the country is in a vulnerable state when the future of the country is being written, sometimes with a lot of tension. Both state and non-state security sector support are crucial towards ensuring a smooth democratic transition. Panelists from Nepal, Indonesia and Fiji shared their perspectives on how the security sectors in their respective countries acted during the transitional period. The Forum here observed that the military's support or at least, non-opposition, was helpful in allowing the transition to move forward into more advanced stages.

In Nepal, neither the military nor the Maoist fighters won the war. Henceforth, both agreed to support the transition into democracy with the downfall of the monarchy.

The military of Indonesia had started its own reform, gradually withdrawing itself from politics before political reform was concluded. When the democratic transition started, the military was already in place, both physically and mentally, to support it. Fiji's recent return to democracy has been different. In history of Fiji, elections were followed by ineffective governance, followed by coup, followed by elections and then another coup, with the cycle continuing and Fiji's overall situation worsening. However, it was the military that drove the process of general elections taking place in September 2014, and we hope that the situation is now stabilizing and the democratic transition moving forward. In many Asian countries, it has taken repeated confrontations over several years between democratic governments and elements of the armed forces and/or police to firmly, some highly visible, others not- to firmly establish civilian control. All of these experiences we discussed, however, showed how security forces have been enablers and played a constructive role in transitions, which should not be underestimated.

The bottom-up drive towards democracy was also examined at this Forum. Experiences in Mongolia, the Philippines and Indonesia had shown that social movements resulted in the downfall of the authoritarian regime and paved the way to democracy. Leaders have also emerged from these movements, but the experiences of entering into politics have been mixed, we learnt. Most of the times, social movements could not turn into political parties, thus allowing existing political elites to continue their power after democracy was formally installed. At times, individual movement leaders became political leaders, however, other problems emerged. The panel concerned also discussed some of the dilemmas social movements confront. Is it a role of social movement leaders to get involved in political formal processes, for instance, and if they indeed do so, what is the price to pay, both at the individual level as well as for the movements themselves? The Panel

also discussed the negative influence of money in politics. More there are elections, more expensive democracy becomes in many countries.

In Mongolia, social movement leaders also became prominent politicians. Mongolia's transition process was therefore smooth and consistent, albeit a bit slow. Democratic leaders were also able to provide the right environment for civil society organisations (CSOs) to nurture. Based on a study, Mongolia's CSOs are maturing. However, financial resources for CSOs are scarce and are sometimes being taxed like corporations. This is a challenge that needs to be addressed to achieve sustainable democracy in Mongolia. The willingness of leaders to converse with CSOs and the people are encouraging and crucial, however, the CSOs require better environment to continue their existence sustainably.

As with anything that happens in life, both men and women play a part in democratic transitions. A session of this Forum was therefore dedicated to examine the role of women in democratic transitions. While traditionally, men dominates political power in many Asia and the Pacific countries, particularly under authoritarian regimes, transitions to democracy have provided more opportunities for women to take part in the democratic processes. More women participate in elections, both as candidates and as independent voters, although it is still a long way towards equal participation. Women participate in the peace process in the Philippines, for example. More women hold high-level government, legislative or judiciary positions. The principle of gender equality enshrined in democracy has helped provide more opportunities for women to become leaders.

All of the country experiences showed the need to provide specific measures, be it legal or educational, to enable more women to be represented in democratic institutions and processes. Countries like Nepal and Indonesia, quota for women in parliament and on candidates' lists exist respectively. In Fiji, traditionally, women have no space in dialogues and other public discussion fora, thus requiring the

creation of new spaces. The rise of CSOs plays an important role in supporting this effort as the Mongolian experience has also showed. In the Philippines, women have played important roles in the transition and therefore, have opened the eyes of the people on the capabilities of women that in other countries are sometimes being underestimated. Continued challenges are indeed observed in the Forum where the legal and educational measures are still insufficient. The concepts of gender mainstreaming and gender equality are still new and hence, require awareness rising among the people. The capacity of women in certain contexts is still required to be developed, including in bearing the expense of running in elections as Indonesia experiences. And, the willingness of women to participate and to support affirmative action needs to be enhanced as Bhutan has observed.

Finally, we live in a globalized world where democracies help each other during transitions. Indeed, intergovernmental organisations such as International IDEA, the United Nations, the Community of Democracies and the OSCE, are mandated by its member states to provide support and assistance to countries in democratic transitions. The international community, while it should acknowledge that transitions into democracy is a bitter and divisive process where elections are often the trigger of conflict, the international community should help ensure that the sharing of common values and the development of capacities will overcome the potential relapse that can occur.

International organisations, we heard, can provide technical advice and sophisticated comparative knowledge to a country as well as fully supporting the country's first elections, but in the long run, the overall impact depends on national ownership and the preparedness of the national authority to embrace this. The national leaders and authorities should be invested in democracy from the start. As consequence, partnership building between international and national institutions from the very beginning is essential with a good understanding of each others' roles.

Let me end this synthesis with these five conclusionary statements:

1. Contrary to common expectations, transition to democracy is a slow and gradual process with constitutional changes and elections as important initial milestones, but surely not the only ones.
2. The security sector is considered as enablers and therefore has a constructive role in democratic transitions.
3. Social movements are catalysts towards democracy and produce democratic leaders, but there are questions to sustainability, thus more support is needed.
4. Women as well as men have vital roles to play in ensuring successful democratic transitions and more support is required to achieve more balanced positions.
5. International and national actors should understand each others' roles and the limits of those roles in providing support and assistance. A clear understanding on the bones and banes to the transition is a prerequisite to sustainable democracy support that should always be based on domestic ownership and sustainability.

On this positive note, I would like to express my thanks to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia for their efforts and commitments in making this Annual Democracy Forum possible and to the NAM Centre for South-South Technical Cooperation along with other partners. Last but not least, my sincere thanks to the young people that managed the catering, that handed out the materials or that made sure the microphones were working. All of them ensured that we all could focus on the substantive discussions at this Forum.

THANK YOU

ANNUAL DEMOCRACY FORUM
Learning from Democratic Transitions in Asia and the Pacific: An Inter-Generational Dialogue
25-26 August 2016
Participants

Country	Name	Position	Organization
Mongolia	Tsend Munkh-Orgil	Minister	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Mongolia	Ms Batmunkh Battsetseg	Deputy Minister	Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Sweden	Yves Leterme	Secretary General	International IDEA
Australia	Leena Rikkila Tamang	Regional Director	Asia and the Pacific, International IDEA
Poland	Maria Leissner	Secretary General	Community of Democracies
Fiji	Chen Bunn Young	Chairman	Fijian Electoral Commission
Nepal	Mohna Ansari	Member	The National Human Rights Commission (NHRC) of Nepal
Bhutan	Dasho Kunzang Wangdi	Member	Royal Research and Advisory Council
Mongolia	P.Ochirbat	First Former President of Mongolia	
Brazil	Sergio Victor	Chief Advisor	Superior Electoral Court of Brazil (TSE)
Nepal	Bhojraj Pokharel	Former Chief Commissioner	Election Commission of Nepal
Indonesia	Agus Widjojo	Member, Board of Advisers	Institute for Peace and Democracy
Fiji	Vijay Naidu	Director and Professor	School of Government, University of the South Pacific
Philippines	Randolf David	Professor Emeritus	Department of Sociology, University of the Philippines
Mongolia	Zolzaya Batkhuyag	Co-Founder and Director	Women for Change NGO
Indonesia	Fadli Zon	Chairman	Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC)
Philippines	Edna Co	Executive Director	Center for Integrative and Development Studies, University of the Philippines
Mongolia	Naranjargal	President	Globe International NGO
Fiji	Michelle Reddy	Program Director	Fiji Women's Rights Movement
Philippines	Miriam Coronel-Ferrer	Former Chair	Government Peace Negotiating Panel with the Moro Islamic Liberation Front
Indonesia	Sri Danti Anwar	Senior Advisor	Minister for Women's Empowerment and Child Protection
Mongolia	Urantsooj G.	Head	Human Development Center
Mongolia	Beate Trankman	Resident Representative	UN Office in Mongolia
Kyrgyzstan	Ambassador Sergey Kapinos	Head	Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), Bishkek, Kyrgyzstan
Sudan and South Sudan	Nicholas Haysom	Special Representative of the UN Secretary-General's Special Envoy for Sudan and South Sudan	United Nations
Poland	Alexander Shlyk	Acting Head of the OSCE/ODIHR Election Department	OSCE
Indonesia	Ambassador Elias Ginting		Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Indonesia
Finland	Tarja Kangaskorte	Deputy Head of Mission	Embassy of Finland in Beijing
India	R.S.Goel	SS and Head of Chancery	Embassy of India in Ulaanbaatar
Indonesia	Fen Zamzari	Third Secretary for Political Section	Embassy of Indonesia in Beijing
Norway	Kristin Hefre	Senior Adviser	Section for Human Rights and Democracy, Royal Norwegian Ministry of Foreign Affairs
Spain	Lourdes Sangróniz	Deputy Head of Mission	Embassy of Spain in Sweden
Sweden	Stefan Eriksson	Ambassador, Department for International Law, Human Rights and Treaty Law, Section for Democracy and Development	Ministry for Foreign Affairs, Sweden
Indonesia	Hamdhani	Member of the House of Representatives of the Republic of Indonesia (DPR-RI)	Member of GOPAC
Indonesia	Warsiti Alfiah		Member of GOPAC/ Indonesian House of Representatives' Delegation

Country	Name	Position	Organization
Indonesia	Muhammad Asrian Mirza	Adviser to Mr Fadli Zon	Member of GOPAC/ Indonesian House of Representatives' Delegation
Indonesia	Arief Rahman Hakim	Adviser to Mr Fadli Zon	Member of GOPAC/ Indonesian House of Representatives' Delegation
Indonesia	Nurbani Yusuf Jacob	Journalist	Member of GOPAC/ Indonesian House of Representatives' Delegation
Indonesia	Muchlis Fadjarudin	Journalist	Member of GOPAC/ Indonesian House of Representatives' Delegation
Indonesia	Titi Anggraini	Executive Director	Perludem (Association of Elections and Democracy)
Indonesia	Veri Junaidi	Chairman	Indonesian Democracy Initiative
Indonesia	Subandiyo	Assistant Director for Finance and Administration	Indonesian Non-Aligned Movement Center for South South Technical Cooperation
Indonesia	Amri	Staff/ Aide-de-Camp	LEMHANNAS
Philippines	Lean Alfred Santos	Development Reporter	DEVEX
Australia	Adhy Aman	Senior Programme Officer	Asia and the Pacific, International IDEA
Australia	Nyla Grace Prieto	Programme Officer	Asia and the Pacific, International IDEA
Bhutan	Karma Dema	Project Coordinator	Bhutan Country Programme, Asia and the Pacific, International IDEA
Mongolia	Ms.Oyumaa B.	Head, Division of Information, Research and Methodology	General Election Commission
Mongolia	Unurtsetseg Ts.	Administration Officer	
Mongolia	Uyanga B.	Administration Officer	
Mongolia	Erdenechimeg L.	Former MP	
Mongolia	Burmaa R.	Former MP	Women Social Progress
Mongolia	Bayartsetseg J.	Former State Secretary of the Ministry of Justice	
Mongolia	Erdenejargal P.	Executive Director	Open Society Forum
Mongolia	Enkhtsetseg D.	Manager of Governance Programme	
Mongolia	Ayush	Manager	
Mongolia	Myagmarsuren A.	Researcher	Institute for Strategic Studies
Mongolia	Ariunbold Ts.	Researcher	
Mongolia	Naranjargal Kh.	Head	Globe international NGO
Mongolia	Sarantuya B.	Manager	
Mongolia	Khaliun Ts.	Manager	
Mongolia	Enkhbayar Ch.	Manager	
Mongolia	Altantsetseg S.	Executive Director	Mongolian Journalists' Union
Mongolia	Narangerel P.	Director	Civil Education Center NGO
Mongolia	Gunsen B.	Executive Director	EBI Institute
Mongolia	Tsetsenbileg Ts.	Head of Department of Sociology and Social Psychology	Mongolian Academy of Science
Mongolia	Khatanbold O.		
Mongolia	Tur-Od L.	Executive Secretary & Dean	Transparent Ulaanbaatar Academy
Mongolia	Undral G.	Director	Democracy Education Center
Mongolia	Solongo M.		Public Administration New Initiatives
Mongolia	Casey Ann Seaniger		Women for Social Progress/ Vote Education Centre
Mongolia	Munkhtsetseg		Political Communication Institute
Mongolia	Zolzaya L.	National Programme Officer	Swiss Cooperation Office of the Embassy of Switzerland
Mongolia	Tsolmontuya N.	Political Scientist	Mongolian Management Academy
Mongolia	Chuluunbat P.	Former Lecturer	National University of Mongolia
Mongolia	Narmandakh	Dr.ass. Prof	Graduate University of Mongolia
Mongolia	Khishigjargal D.	Officer	Mongolian Youth Union
Mongolia	Zoljargal G.	Administration and Cooperation Division	National Human Rights Commission of Mongolia

Country	Name	Position	Organization
Mongolia	Gerelmaa D.	Deputy Director	Department of Multilateral Cooperation Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia
Mongolia	Enkhtsetseg B.	Third Secretary	Department of Multilateral Cooperation Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia
Mongolia	Bulgaa A.	Expert	Department of Multilateral Cooperation Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia
Mongolia	Bayasgalan Ts		NUM, School of International relations and public administration
Mongolia	Boldoo B.		
Mongolia	Ariunbold G.		
Mongolia	Uranchimeg J.		
Mongolia	Molor-Erdene D		
Mongolia	Odonchimeg B.		
Mongolia	Enkhbayar B.		
Mongolia	Nyamkhuu B.		
Mongolia	Oyunsuren D.		
Mongolia	Dulguunsuren S.		
Mongolia	Ninjbuyan B.		
Mongolia	Odgarjin O.		
Mongolia	Battumur B.		
Mongolia	Pendoo C.		
Mongolia	Namuun Kh.	Assistant coordinator	Democratic Heritage Foundation
Mongolia	Amirdai G.	Assistant coordinator	
Mongolia	Gerelt-Od E.	Assistant coordinator	
Mongolia	Tselmuun Ts.	Assistant coordinator	