

THE ULAANBAATAR DIALOGUE ON NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY

The Tenth International Conference  
5–6 June 2025

“Grand Venue” Hall, “Ulaanbaatar” Hotel

AGENDA

4 June 2025, Wednesday

15:00-18:00 Early registration (*East gate, Ulaanbaatar Hotel*)

5 June 2025, Thursday (Day 1)

08:00- 09:00 Registration

09:00 - 09:45 **OPENING SESSION**

**Chair:**

**Ms. Mandkhai Batsuren**

*Director General, Department of Multilateral Cooperation, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia*

**H.E. Ms. Battsetseg Batmunkh**

*Member, State Great Khural and Government Cabinet, Acting-Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia*

**Dr. Mendee Jargalsaikhan**

*Director, Institute for Strategic Studies, National Security Council of Mongolia*

**Message of the United Nations Under-Secretary-General** delivered by Mr. Peter Due, Director, Asia and Pacific Division, Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs, UN Secretariat

09:45 - 10:00

- Photo Session (*all participants, outside the main gate of the Ulaanbaatar Hotel*);
- Coffee Break (*“Event Hall” Ulaanbaatar Hotel*)

10:00 - 12:30 **SESSION 1: NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES**

While global attention is often drawn to crises in East Europe and the Middle East, security tensions in Northeast Asia remain persistent and complex due to ongoing geopolitical and geo-economic rivalries among major powers, as well as continued uncertainty on the Korean Peninsula. The region faces a delicate balance of power, shaped by US-China strategic competition, Japan’s evolving security policies, Russia’s regional influence, and North Korea’s nuclear ambitions.

This session will serve as a platform for regional experts, policymakers, and academics to analyze and discuss key security challenges and emerging opportunities in Northeast Asia. Discussions will address a range of pressing issues, including the evolving dynamics of US-China relations, Japan's security posture, Russia's role in the region, the implications of North Korea's nuclear ambitions, inter-Korean relations, diplomatic efforts for peace and denuclearization, rising military expenditures, regional arms races, and the impact of alliances such as the US-Japan and US-South Korea partnerships.

While security risks remain high in Northeast Asia, the opportunities for diplomatic engagement, regional confidence-building, and economic cooperation are also present. This session will explore policy recommendations and potential pathways toward a more stable and secure Northeast Asia, drawing on regional expertise and comparative global perspectives.

## **Moderator:**

### **Dr. Mendee Jargalsaikhan**

*Director, Institute for Strategic Studies, National Security Council of Mongolia*

## **Panel:**

### **Prof. David Curtis Wright**

*University of Calgary, Canada*

### **Dr. Yoko Iwama**

*Professor of International Relations, Director, Strategic Studies Program, Associate Director, Global Governance Program, GRIPS (National Graduate Institute for Policy Studies), Japan*

### **Mr. Munkh-Ochir Dorjjugder**

*Head, Department for Strategic Policy and Analysis, Executive Office of the National Security Council, Mongolia*

### **Dr. Zhuo Zihan**

*Associate Professor at China Institute, Fudan University, PRC*

### **Dr. Byun, Sang-jung**

*Director, Department of North Korean Studies, Institute for National Security Strategy, ROK*

### **Dr. Kirill Babaev**

*Director, Institute of China and Contemporary Asia of Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian Federation*

### **Ms. Jenny Town**

*Director, 38 North, Senior Fellow, Stimson Center, USA*

## **Q&A**

12:30 - 13:30 Lunch

*Venue: ("Event Hall" Ulaanbaatar Hotel)*

## 13:30 - 15:30 **SESSION 2: MULTILATERAL COOPERATION IN NORTHEAST ASIA**

Unlike other regions with established security frameworks, Northeast Asia lacks a formal, overarching security mechanism. However, various state and non-state actors have consistently sought to build confidence and trust through confidence-building measures (CBMs) aimed at reducing tensions, preventing conflicts, and fostering cooperation.

This session will bring together experts, policymakers, and scholars from the region and beyond to assess the role of CBMs, examine past and ongoing CBM initiatives, identify challenges to multilateral cooperation, and explore practical and sustainable measures. Discussions will focus on realistic steps for designing and implementing long term confidence-building mechanisms and drawing lessons from other regions such as Europe's OSCE framework and ASEAN's cooperative models.

While security rivalries and historical grievances remain significant obstacles, there are growing incentives for dialogue and cooperation in Northeast Asia. This session aims to generate innovative policy recommendations and identify concrete pathways toward a more stable and predictable regional security environment.

### **Moderator:**

#### **Ms. Egiimaa Tsogt**

*International News Journalist, Mongolia*

### **Panel:**

#### **Dr. Arnaud Leveau**

*Associate Professor in Political Science, Paris Dauphine University, France*

#### **Mr Régis Savioz**

*ICRC Regional Director for Asia Pacific*

#### **Prof. Shin Beom Shik**

*Department of Political Sciences and International Relations, Seoul National University, ROK*

#### **Dr. Adrian Ang**

*Research Fellow and Coordinator, the United States Programme, Institute of Defense and Strategic Studies (IDSS), RSIS, Singapore*

#### **Hon. Bryon Wilfert**

*MacDonald Laurier Institute, Canada*

#### **H.E. Amb. Dr. Enkhsaikhan Jargalsaikhan**

*Chairman of Blue Banner NGO, Mongolia*

### **Q&A**

14:00 - 17:00 **TRACK I ROUNDTABLE MEETING (CLOSED SESSION/BY INVITATION ONLY)**

*Venue: "Consensus" Hall, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia  
(Address: Peace Avenue-7a, Sukhbaatar District, Ulaanbaatar 14210)*

15:30 - 15:45 Coffee Break ("*Event Hall*" Ulaanbaatar Hotel)

15:45 - 17:15 **SESSION 3: CLIMATE CHANGE AND SECURITY CHALLENGES IN NORTHEAST ASIA**

This session, jointly organized with the Geneva Center for Security Sector Governance and Mongolian Academy of Sciences, will welcome government representatives, regional experts, academics, and other relevant stakeholders to share their views on how to address climate change and security challenges in Northeast Asia. Climate change is a salient issue for Northeast Asia countries in terms of adapting to and mitigating its impact.

Climate change and extreme weather events have significantly affected the region, leading to notable natural disasters that have caused widespread human and economic costs, displacing communities, driving migration, and potentially triggering political destabilization and insecurity. Currently, there are urgent calls to prepare for better preparation to deal with these harmful climate change impacts, and, importantly, to prevent further environmental disasters, involving national and regional actors, including security sectors.

There are also urgent calls for large greenhouse gas emitters in the region to make great strides in reducing their carbon footprint. Vulnerable to climate change-related risks and responding to the global calls for action, countries in Northeast Asia are raising their ambitions and accelerating the transformation of development pathways towards a low carbon, resilient future, and in preparing to manage more effectively the negative impacts that are already unfolding. The session hopes to collaboratively tackle national and regional climate change challenges, with the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue offering a common and neutral ground for cooperation in the region.

## **Moderator:**

### **Dr. Albrecht Schnabel**

*Head, Asia-Pacific Unit, DCAF, Switzerland*

## **Panel:**

### **Dr. Saruulzaya Adiya**

*Head, Division of Permafrost Research, Institute of Geography and Geoecology,  
Mongolian Academy of Sciences, Mongolia*

### **Mr. Zhang Junshe**

*Senior Researcher and Director of Center for Maritime Security Studies, the Global  
Governance Institute, PRC*

### **Mr. Karki Rohit**

*Senior Project Officer, DCAF, Switzerland*

## **Prof. James Hammond**

*NERC Knowledge Exchange Fellow, Director, “Mount Paektu” Research Centre, University of London, UK*

## **Q&A**

18:30 - 20:30 Reception co-hosted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia and the Institute for Strategic Studies of Mongolia ( “Event Hall”, Ulaanbaatar Hotel)

**6 June 2025, Friday (Day 2)**

## **09:00 - 10:50 SESSION 4: REGIONAL COOPERATION BETWEEN NORTHEAST ASIA AND CENTRAL ASIA**

This session explores opportunities and challenges of fostering regional cooperation between Central Asia and Northeast Asia by welcoming leading scholars and experts from both regions. Given Mongolia’s unique geopolitical position- not only between China and Russia, but also between two dynamic regions-Mongolia could serve as a multilateral platform for academics from Central and Northeast Asia.

Participants will engage in discussions on key issues related to peace and security, economic cooperation, and share their insights, experiences, and best practices. While both regions have distinct historical trajectories, they also share common strategic interests for peace and prosperity.

Northeast Asia boasts strong economies but lacks a formal regional economic mechanism, whereas Central Asia is more economically fragmented yet benefits from Russia and China-led frameworks such as the Eurasian Economic Union (EAEU) and the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI). This session aims to identify pathways for deeper regional cooperation, addressing institutional gaps and exploring synergies between the two regions.

## **Moderator:**

### **Mr. Buyandelger Davaajantsan**

*Research Fellow, Institute for Strategic Studies, National Security Council, Mongolia*

## **Panel:**

### **Prof. Xu Bo**

*The Northeast Asian Studies Center at Jilin University, China*

### **Mr. Zhumabek Sarabekov**

*Head of Center, Institute of World Economy and Politics under the Nursultan Nazarbayev Foundation, Kazakhstan*

### **Dr. Yamazoe Hiroshi**

*Head of America, Europe, and Russia Division, National Institute for Defense Studies (NIDS), Japan*

## **Mr. Altankhuu Badarch**

*Senior Research Fellow, Institute for Strategic Studies, National Security Council, Mongolia*

## **Prof. Jung Gi Woong**

*Center for International Areas Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, ROK*

## **Mr. Sotiboldiev Bakhromjon Usmanovich**

*Head, Department, Institute for Strategic and Regional Studies, Uzbekistan*

## **Q&A**

10:50 - 11:10 Coffee break ("Event Hall" Ulaanbaatar Hotel)

## **11:10 - 13:00 SESSION 5: ENERGY RESILIENCE AND CLIMATE CHANGE IN NORTHEAST ASIA**

The energy sector is the lifeblood of modern society and a key driver of economic development. The impacts of climate change, including an increasing number of severe weather events, are posing an array of challenges for the energy sector. This is especially the case for clean and renewable energy resources such as hydro, wind and solar, which are vital enablers of energy transition. Northeast Asia is one of the most vulnerable regions to global warming and climate change. Extreme weather events like heavy precipitation, strong winds, and extended periods of drought are already affecting energy infrastructure and disrupting services in countries in the region.

Building resilience throughout the energy sector to withstand the impacts of climate change is a key strategy for ensuring energy security and achieving national energy goals. Understanding the climate riskscape, both in current and future scenarios at the local level will help countries to develop adaptation options and policy responses to climate change, particularly for the energy sector.

Building off ongoing experiences in Mongolia, this session will explore opportunities and the benefits of building resilience in the energy sector to climate change. Participants will share knowledge and best practices aimed at shaping a secure and resilient energy future in Northeast Asia and beyond.

## **Overarching Questions:**

1. What are the best practices in strategic planning that integrate multi-scenario risk assessment toolkits to enhance energy resilience and support evidence-based policymaking?
2. How does regional energy connectivity contribute to addressing natural hazards while advancing energy transition?
3. How can joint efforts among international organizations, multilateral financiers, governments, enterprises be leveraged to mobilize financing for resilient energy infrastructure and innovation?

## **Moderator:**

## **Mr. Matthew Wittenstein**

*Chief, Energy Connectivity Section, Energy Division, ESCAP*

**Scene Setting Presentation by: Mr. Zixuan Guo**

*Expert on Energy Connectivity, Energy Connectivity Section, Energy Division, ESCAP*

**Panel:**

**Mr. Lei Xiaomeng**

*Former Chief Expert, China Electricity Council, PRC*

**Mr. Ganbat Enkhbayar**

*Head of R&D department, National Dispatching Center, Mongolia*

**Prof. Tae Young JIN**

*Department of Mineral Resources and Energy Engineering, Jeonbuk National University, ROK*

**Mr. Ivan Nikolaevich Bazhenov**

*Leading expert, Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, Russian Federation*

**Ms. Khishigjargal Enkhbayar**

*Co-founder, UN Association of Mongolia*

**Q&A**

13:00 - 14:00 **Lunch**

*Venue: "Bayanzurkh", "Songino khairkhan", 2nd floor, Ulaanbaatar Hotel*

14:00 - 15:00 **CLOSING SESSION**

**Chair:**

**Dr. Khandsuren Beejin**

*Dean of Research, Institute for Strategic Studies, National Security Council, Mongolia*

**Moderators' Summary:**

**Session 1. Dr. Mendee Jargalsaikhan**

*Director, Institute for Strategic Studies, National Security Council of Mongolia*

**Session 2. Ms. Egiimaa Tsogt**

*International News Journalist*

**Session 3. Dr. Albrecht Schnabel**

*Head, Asia-Pacific Unit, DCAF, Switzerland*

## **Session 4.**

**Mr. Buyandelger Davaajantsan**

*Research Fellow, Institute for Strategic  
Studies, National Security Council, Mongolia*

## **Session 5.**

**Mr. Matthew Wittenstein**

*Chief, Energy Connectivity Section, ESCAP*

## **CLOSING REMARKS BY:**

**Mr. Munkhtushig Lkhanaajav**

State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia

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