



MINISTRY OF FOREIGN
AFFAIRS OF MONGOLIA



INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC
STUDIES OF MONGOLIA



ULAANBAATAR DIALOGUE ON NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY

THE VII, VIII INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE

ULAANBAATAR, MONGOLIA
2023



Organizers:



The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of
Mongolia



The Institute for Strategic Studies
National Security Council of Mongolia

Supported by



The Asia Foundation



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ISBN: 978-9919-0-2204-4

Published by © Institute for Strategic Studies of Mongolia.

Printed by “Uran gar” company

ULAANBAATAR DIALOGUE
on
NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY

The VII International Conference

23-24 June, 2022
Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia



THE ULAANBAATAR DIALOGUE ON NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY

As a country maintaining friendly relations with all the countries in the Northeast Asia, Mongolia adheres to and promotes dialogue in the region for resolving pressing issues. Building on the country's foreign policy endeavor and taking the Helsinki process as an example, the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue was first proposed in April 2013 as a foreign policy initiative that aims to contribute to the establishment of a dialogue mechanism within the region.

Within the endeavor for building confidence and promoting regional cooperation in Northeast Asia, the International Conference on Northeast Asian Security has been annually held since 2014 and successfully engaged both academics and government officials of the region and beyond to share their insights. The Ulaanbaatar Dialogue has not only provided an opportunity to voice opinions and concerns on regional peace, and security issues, but it also has served as a platform for bridging the gap in mutual understanding while strengthening trust and paving the way for future cooperation.



OPENING SESSION

OPENING REMARKS
BY H.E. MS. B. BATTSETSEG,
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF MONGOLIA

Good morning,

Distinguished guests and participants,

Ladies and gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure for me to welcome you all to the Seventh International Conference of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security (UBD). I want to thank everyone here today for taking part in the conference, a mechanism aimed at strengthening regional security, cooperation and mutual trust. I would like to offer my appreciation to all those who have been involved in organizing this important event.

In consistent pursuit of its peaceful, open and multi-pillar foreign policy, Mongolia has been striving to contribute to global and regional peace and security. With this ultimate purpose, Mongolia initiated the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue back in 2013 and has hosted a series of conferences and meetings focused on the region since 2014.

The forum intends to resolve and end a myriad of problems in Northeast Asia, where Cold War remnants persist. When bilateral efforts to address the existing challenging issues and build confidence between conflicting nations have largely failed, more active engagement and multilateral venues for diplomacy and cooperation are acutely needed. That is why the importance of the UBD is growing when the region still lacks an established security mechanism.

As an inclusive process that brings together the voices of government officials, academics and civil society to address a broad range of issues, including security, energy, infrastructure, green development and opportunities for humanitarian cooperation, Ulaanbaatar Dialogue is well-positioned to make a vital contribution to defusing and preventing tensions on the Korean Peninsula and promoting confidence-building in Northeast Asia.

Distinguished participants,

It should be noted that the definition of security or insecurity has drastically changed over the past two years, during which the Seventh UBD was postponed due to the COVID-19 pandemic. Furthermore, the emergence of new military technologies and capabilities



threatens the already precarious status quo, insecurity in the shape of a virus that disrupts people's lives and jeopardizes international cooperation.

But there is no guarantee that the COVID-19 pandemic will end soon. The traditional and non-traditional security challenges have remained relentless in Northeast Asia and beyond. Amid growing arms buildups, trade rivalries and military conflicts, the states in the region are grappling with an increasingly complex web of perceived security imperatives.

As this year marks the 30th anniversary of its nuclear-weapon-free status, Mongolia reiterates its principled position on the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula and views that the concerned parties should display restraint, resolve accumulated disputes, and de-escalate the evolving tensions solely through means of dialogue and negotiations.

As we witnessed a series of high-level talks and summits between the DPRK and the United States, as well as between the DPRK and the Republic of Korea held in 2018 and 2019, it is our sincere hope that negotiations on complete, verifiable, and irreversible denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula will continue and succeed. However, the political will of the parties concerned will be the key to bringing lasting peace and stability in the region and beyond.

Distinguished participants,

In conclusion, let me express Mongolia's firm commitment to contributing to strengthening peace and security, cooperation and mutual trust in Northeast Asia and beyond. We believe that the current Ulaanbaatar Dialogue, with its Track I and Track II discussion channels, will be an important event in reinvigorating the multilateral peace process in the absence of a sustained official dialogue channel and easing tensions in the region.

I wish you fruitful deliberations and a pleasant stay in Mongolia.

OPENING REMARKS
BY PROF. B. DAVAADORJ, DIRECTOR,
THE INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, MONGOLIA

Your Excellency Ms. B.Battsetseg, the Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Distinguished guests and participants,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

It gives me great pleasure to welcome you all to the seventh “Ulaanbaatar Dialogue” – the international conference on Northeast Asian security.

In the midst of the ongoing pandemic and geopolitical tensions, we assembled together once again, in person, to discuss the security challenges and opportunities to cooperate in the region.

Although many of us may have been in contact online, it did not give us the desired level of satisfaction; as we surely missed the face-to-face interactions. We have all realized, more than ever, how important it is for us to meet in person during the conference. After all, these people-to-people interactions add more value to our understanding and partnership.

The pandemic is not over. Many of our friends in China, and the Democratic People’s Republic of Korea (DPRK) could not join us in person because of the pandemic restriction. And, some of them will join us via Zoom – which has become the most valuable communication tool during the last two years. Still, as organizers, we decided to go forward with the UBD as the restrictions have been lifted thanks to the overall improvement of the situation in Mongolia – so you can visit Ulaanbaatar and interact with each other in the vast spaces of my country.

I would like to extend a special gratitude to all participants and guests for accepting our invitation and making their way here despite the travel difficulties and remaining pandemic-related restrictions.

Also, I would like to thank the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia –our true partner on this journey to make the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue one of the viable international platforms to discuss the issues of Northeast Asian security and economy.



Over the past years, we gained new partners to support our effort.

With the United Nations Department of Political Affairs, we invited youth from Northeast Asia to share their views about the future of our region. Please listen to their voices this afternoon at the youth session.

Also, the Business Council of Mongolia and the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific put together very insightful panels to talk about the post-pandemic cooperation and energy connectivity in Northeast Asia.

I also like to highlight the Asia Foundation for providing valuable support for the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue. All this cooperation makes the UBD – special and insightful.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We still live in a dramatically changing world – experiencing both traditional and non-traditional security challenges. No single country can alone cope with the challenges and threats that humankind faces today. Life itself confirms us that all countries and people, despite differences and disagreements, are bound by a common destiny and must jointly seek responses to the challenges, prevent the emergence of new dividing lines.

As a country located between the two regions, Northeast Asia and Central Asia, Mongolia has already started sensing the emerging tensions and competitions among the great powers.

The nuclear threat still exists – as a steadfast supporter of non-proliferation and a country recognized by a unique nuclear-weapon-free status, Mongolia continues to contribute to the cause of nuclear non-proliferation and promote regional confidence.

The pandemic showed us the importance of regional cooperation to develop the preventive capacity and to fight together against any non-traditional security threats. We are connected yet vulnerable in the face of new security threats.

Just a few days ago, Mongolia hosted the annual multinational peacekeeping exercise Khan Quest 2022 and an international conference on women, peace, and security – welcoming 60 female military personnel from 28 countries to increase our cooperation for the common goal of world peace and security.

Amidst geopolitical tensions and increasing security challenges, we need to cooperate, promote mutual understanding, and find practical solutions. Here lies the importance of the dialogue – such as UBD.

Distinguished guests and participants,

A line of multiple security challenges remains in Northeast Asia – from the Korean



Peninsula southwards to the situation regarding the cross-strait relations, and even continuing further to another sub-region, namely South China Sea. But we cannot give up our hopes for a cooperative and prosperous region because it possesses an enormous economic and energy potential and developmental capacity.

Here we are joining one another to address challenges, discuss opportunities, and discover solutions together. We are delighted to welcome so many experts from Europe, North America, and the wider Asia Pacific Region to share their wisdom, knowledge and experience with us.

I would like to welcome our colleagues from the Kyrgyz Republic for joining the first time in the UBD – as a state with similar challenges, we are expecting their active and priceless contribution and looking forward to learn from our colleagues in Central Asia.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We hope that the UBD continues to be a platform where individual scholars and countries can debate, agree, and agree to disagree, which will play a pivotal role in finding common ground, and charting a joint way forward to achieve creative and harmonious resolution. After all, that is the meaning of the UBD logo, which is the Mongolian traditional puzzle. The puzzles are meant to be solved in a creative and harmonious way.

I encourage all participants to actively engage in our discussions and debates, and not to hesitate to engage in truly interactive and lively conference.

I wish you all an informative and enjoyable experience.

Thank you for your attention.

SESSION I

SESSION I: SECURITY CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN THE REGION

Despite the ramifications of the pandemic, security tensions remain high in Northeast Asia due to ongoing geopolitical and geo-economic competition among the great powers and uncertainty on the Korean Peninsula. This session provides regional experts, policy-makers, and academics with a platform to discuss security related challenges and opportunities in the sub-region. That is, topics that include questions such as “*What are the most pressing security challenges and their trends? What are the short, medium, and long-term implications for the region and beyond?*”.

Moderator:

Dr. MENDEE Jargalsaikhan, *Deputy Director, the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia*

Panelists:

- **Mr. MUNKH-OCHIR Dorjugder**, *Chief of Strategic Policy and Analysis, Executive Office of the National Security Council of Mongolia*
- **Hon. Bryon WILFERT**, *Former member of Parliament, Canada*
- **Dr. FAN Xiaoju**, *Research Professor, Director, Institute of Northeast Asian Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (Online)*
- **Prof. Dr. Ruediger FRANK**, *Professor of East Asian Economy and Society, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Vienna (Online)*
- **Dr. Mimura MITSUHIRO**, *Senior Research Fellow, Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia, Japan*
- **Dr. Ki-Jung KIM**, *President of the Institute for National Security Strategy, ROK*
- **Mr. Konstantin ZATULIN**, *Director of the Institute of CIS countries, Russian Federation*

MODERATOR'S SUMMARY

Notwithstanding the consequences of the pandemic, security tensions remain high in Northeast Asia due to ongoing geopolitical and geo-economic competition among great powers, as well as the uncertainty of the Korean Peninsula and cross-strait tensions between China and Taiwan. We asked our presenters to share their views along with the following questions: (1) What are the most pressing security challenges and their trends? (2) What are the short, medium, and long-term implications for the region and beyond?

The session was joined by seven distinguished speakers, including Mr. MUNKH-OCHIR Dorjjugder, Chief of Strategic Policy and Analysis, Executive Office of the National Security Council of Mongolia, Honorable Bryon Wilfert, former member of the Canadian Parliament, Dr. Fan Xiaoju, Research Professor, Director of the Institute of Northeast Asian Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations, Dr. Ruediger Frank, Professor of East Asian Economy and Society, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Vienna, Dr. Mimura Mitsuhiro, Senior Research Fellow, Economic Research Fellow, Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia of Japan, Dr. Ki-Jung Kim, President of the Institute for National Security Strategy of South Korea, and Mr. Konstantin Zatulin, Director of the Institute of CIS Countries of the Russian Federation.

Representing the host nation, Mr. Munkh-Ochir concluded that Northeast Asia still has a reminiscence of the Cold War mentality, whilst other parts of the world, particularly, Eurasia has a long way to overcome the respective phenomenon. He introduced the concept of a morality-based approach to explain Mongolia's foreign policy towards the Korean Peninsula as well as the ongoing armed conflict between Russia and Ukraine. Further, he mentioned the need of revitalizing the worldwide non-aligned movement (i.e., Third Way) during a time of heightened geopolitical tensions. The honorable Bryon Wilfert argued that Canada is a Pacific Nation with growing ties with Northeast Asia and thereof, promoting multilateralism in the region. Despite the near impossibility of achieving a multilateralism in Northeast Asia, the continued engagement of the concept is vital for keeping peace in the region. Sharing Chinese perspectives on regional security, Dr. Fan Xiaoju explained how the revival of geopolitical competition is negatively impacting economic security and undermining efforts for cooperation. As far as China perceives, the US security and defense policies and actions in the region are pushing countries to focus on military capacity building. Representing the Institute of CIS Countries, Mr. Konstantin Zatulin argued that Russia's interests in Asia are constructive, and that regional peace and stability in Northeast Asia are important for Russia's security. Furthermore, he presented Russia's justifications for the war in Ukraine and interpreted it in a wider context, along the lines of a great power geopolitical competition. Relatedly, Dr. Mimura Mitsuhiro shared his assessment of regional security in the wake of the Ukraine war and discussed the implications that fuel the "dare impact" between the interactions of states.

Despite the absence of DPRK delegates, Professor Ruediger Frank, a long-time North

Korea expert, presented how the nuclear issue and regime stability have been impacting regional security, and argued that there is a low likelihood of immediate political instability in North Korea and/or military conflict between the two Koreas. Dr. Ki-Jung Kim used an analytical framework to describe key factors that are causing confrontation or integration in the region. Through this analytical exercise, he concluded that the likelihood of confrontation would grow, whereas integration in the near future would be unlikely, therefore strengthening the notion that regional integration is impossible without resolving the stalemate on the Korean peninsula.

The session concluded with an overall agreement that security circumstances in the region still remain same. All sources of potential conflicts are present in the region and this list includes security dilemma, historical memories of past conflicts, lingering mistrust, territorial disputes and so forth. Panelists agreed that great power politics matters the most, especially the competition between China and the US/its allies in the region.

The Korean peninsula is still considered the most pressing security challenge for Northeast Asia. Since the concept of security has become global and intertwined, the reach and impact of the Ukraine war have been felt in all regions of the world. Even though parties in this armed conflict have provided different explanations, all participants, excluding the Russian delegates, expressed their concerns and their mutual stance for the immediate cease-fire and peaceful resolution. An important lesson to be learned from this ongoing conflict is that regional countries should always leave room for cooperation; if states fail to cooperate, Northeast Asia can become another fragile ground for future armed conflicts. Therefore, it is important to promote confidence building measures without advocating any political and ideological agenda. Although it is not necessary to like one another, it is vital to keep the channels for communication open to engage, talk, meet, and exchange. By doing so, policy practitioners and academics are able to reduce misperceptions and misunderstandings while steadily building mutual trust. For example, denuclearization issues should always remain on the table, to further institutionalize the prevention of nuclear war and other types of weapons of mass destruction.

In conclusion, it is important to promote multilateral dialogue even though it is difficult to establish a regional security mechanism. Inclusive engagements are desired by all parties. The Ulaanbaatar Dialogue, albeit small, is an important international event, welcoming delegates from around the world, to focus on challenges and opportunities for Northeast Asian security and economy. The latest inclusion of youth panels has been opening new ways of facilitating inter-generational discussions in the region.

SESSION II

SESSION II: MULTILATERAL COOPERATION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

Although the Northeast Asian region lacks an overarching security mechanism, numerous efforts that have been made to build confidence and trust. State actors as well as even non-governmental organizations have put forward and tried to promote various types of confidence-building measures (CBMs). This session welcomed experts from the sub-region and beyond to share their perspectives on successful CBMs, examine past and current examples, and explore practical steps for sustainable CBMs in the region. *How can countries contribute to effective CBM? What are the best practices for CBM?*

Moderator:

Mr. Jonathan Berkshire MILLER, *Director and Senior Fellow, Indo-Pacific Program, Macdonald-Laurier Institute, Canada*

Panelists:

- **Mr. MASHBAT Otgonbayar**, *President, National Institute for Security Studies, Mongolia;*
- **Dr. Sunghoon LEE**, *Senior Research Fellow, the Institute for National Security Strategy, ROK;*
- **Ms. Yulia KRYACHKINA**, *Senior Research Fellow, Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, Russian Federation;*
- **Dr. Albrecht SCHNABEL**, *Head, Asia-Pacific Unit, Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance (DCAF);*
- **Dr. Gregory GLEASON**, *Professor, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies;*

MODERATOR'S SUMMARY

During this session, the panel looked at the considerable security challenges in Northeast Asia and highlighted some of the key challenges and opportunities for states to mitigate risks of conflict, enhance confidence building measures, and manage strategic competition. The panelists all agreed that the region continues to lack an overarching security architecture like the Transatlantic or the ASEAN-related bodies in Southeast Asia. With that being said, it is not to say that the lack of a concrete multilateral architecture on security is always a negative trait. Some panelists emphasized that the growth of multilateral and bilateral security arrangements have managed security challenges up until this point.

Indeed, although the Northeast Asian region lacks an overarching security mechanism, there are numerous efforts that have been made to build confidence and trust. State representatives/bodies and non-governmental organizations have put forward and tried to promote various types of confidence-building measures. The panel also highlighted the need to look at best practices and current engagements that are positive models of CBMS. One example was the use of crisis communications hotlines between Japan and China, or ADIZ-related communications. Other areas discussed the benefit of broader geo-economic initiatives and cooperation to ameliorate security concerns.

SESSION III

SESSION III: FUTURING PEACE IN NORTHEAST ASIA

This session was jointly organized with the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA) and provided a platform for youth representatives to share their views and recommendations on regional peace and security with policymakers. Youth representatives discussed ways to strengthen ties between youth in the region, create common narratives, promote confidence-building measures, and bridge gaps between generations. Consequently, discussing problems of “*How could policymakers better hear young people’s voices and allow for contributions to policymaking? In what areas should youth expertise be prioritized?*”

Moderator:

- **Dr. Sonja BACHMANN**, *Team leader, Northeast Asia and the Pacific, Department of Political Affairs, United Nations*

Panelists:

- **Ms. Ijun KIM**, *ROK*
- **Mr. TENGIS Batbayar**, *Mongolia*
- **Ms. Yukako BAN**, *Japan*

MODERATOR’S SUMMARY

Three regional youth representatives participated in an online dialogue series “Futuring Peace in Northeast Asia,” which was organized by the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA) and the United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) in partnership with Shared Studios. During the UBD dialogue, they presented outcomes of their dialogues aimed to provide a platform for youth to share their views on regional peace, and collectively imagine the future with policy makers. The dialogues were co-designed and facilitated by five youth, with over forty youth from or living in China, Japan, Mongolia, or the Republic of Korea participating. A special methodology currently pioneered by UNESCO was applied to this virtual dialogue, known as

Futures Literacy, which is described as a “... skill that allows people to better understand the role of the future in what they see and do.” Four main themes emerged from the discussions. Youth for Regional Collaboration, Regional Education, Intergenerational Relations, and Connectivity in the Region.

The role of young people in building regional collaboration was a popular topic. Participants described youths as progressive and capable of looking past national borders and ideologies, and strongly believed this could greatly contribute to improving international relations. Young people, in addition, were seen as having an improved understanding through cross-cultural experiences. When discussing the current state of youth participation in regional matters, some criticized the restrictions caused by traditional structures of hierarchy and limited opportunities. Some proposed new or improved mechanisms by deconstructing conventional expectations and providing opportunities to continuously learn, plan, implement and evaluate initiatives that contribute to regional collaboration and peacebuilding. There was also an interesting discussion about the gap between youth participation and youth-led endeavors, and the desire for change and tangible call-to-actions.

Regional education, the second topic, revolved around two main points. The first was building a single system as a region and participants developed cornerstones to help envision this. Participants discussed the value of education and agreed support from developed countries was necessary to improve it. The next point highlighted was digital competency, which participants believed was essential to give everyone equal chances to thrive, find employment and become engaged citizens. Lastly, regional teachers were expected to play an essential role in education. Participants suggested themes or subjects for regional education, most emphasizing the significance of history and spaces to build shared memories across the region. Lastly, education on sustainability was an important idea for regional learning. People of all ages were encouraged to learn to live more sustainably, change patterns of consumption and contribute to a greener future.

Participants were also greatly interested in intergenerational relations, particularly the generational gap and sharing of responsibilities. There was an awareness of discord between past experiences and current realities. Many also pointed to aging populations as a common challenge in most Northeast Asian countries. Some participants stressed the need to adapt education, health care, and social protection systems to provide a public safety net for this growing age group, while others imagined a future in which older people could participate more actively in society, taking advantage of technological developments. In addition, some respondents said that young people were at a disadvantage due to decreased access to higher education, increased costs, growing unemployment, and reduced incomes. The different realities and experiences between generations were identified as a main factor that would cause a shift in responsibility and increase generational gaps. The need for intergenerational cooperation was recognized and some proposed that life-long education could be a key to accelerate collaboration.



For regional connectivity, there were contradicting perspectives among youth. Optimistic opinions revolved around the establishment of a regional union, but few were able to paint a detailed picture, including specific roles or forms of collaboration. Pessimistic views included the possibility that current conflicts within the region could deteriorate. The meaning of regional identity and regional narratives, as well as its significance, was often discussed as a sub-topic. Few youth participants believed that the region has a common identity or narrative, and therefore, they were considered as possible means to contribute to collaboration and peace. One important question that arose from this was how we could create a more inclusive identity, and many agreed it was ideal to unite the people in the region under a common goal rather than focusing on divisions and differences.

The second phase of this dialogue series continued this year including the engagement with policy makers such as at the Ulaanbaatar dialogue, aimed to collect more insights that will eventually contribute to creating tangible solutions and policies. The youth's commitment to regional peace has only begun. We would like to gather more people, regardless of their background, position, or interests, around central questions, such as the meaning of being Northeast Asian and the shared future of this region.

SESSION IV

SESSION IV: THE POST-COVID ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN THE REGION

The pandemic has had a strong impact on trade, investment, and financial markets while impacting all communities, and individuals. International financial institutions and countries have implemented substantial policy measures and stimulus programs to reduce the impacts of the pandemic. *How can regional countries and international financial organizations cooperate to stabilize regional economies, improve connectivity, and prepare for future crises?*

Moderator:

- **Mr. BYAMBASAIKHAN Bayanjargal**, *Vice-Chair of the Business Council of Mongolia*

Panelists:

- **Mr. Rustam ASIZBAEV**, *Director, the National Institute for Strategic Studies of the Kyrgyz Republic*
- **Mr. DULGUUN Baasandavaa**, *CEO, New Recovery Policy Accelerator under Cabinet Secretary, Mongolia*
- **Mr. ENKHBAYAR Namjildorj**, *Head of the Economic Security Research Center, the Institute of Strategic Studies, Mongolia*
- **Dr. ENKHBAYAR Shagdar**, *Senior Research Fellow, Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia*
- **Mr. Yasin JANJUA**, *Economist, The United Nations Development Programme*
- **Mr. Jean-Pascal NGANO**, *Senior Economist for Mongolia, World Bank*

MODERATOR'S SUMMARY

The pandemic has taken a toll on economic growth, global value chains and other sectors.

Much of Asia and the Pacific, particularly North and Central Asia, has not fully recovered from the COVID-19 pandemic, and now the consequences of Russia's war against Ukraine are adding to the risk and uncertainty. For example, energy prices, supply disruptions, food security, high inflation, policy uncertainty;

China's "Zero-Covid" policy increases risk through border closures and supply.

Inflation is expected to rise sharply from mid-2020 lows, adding to supply bottlenecks and rising food and energy prices.

A tightening global monetary policy cycle poses additional challenges for emerging markets.

"What will the world be like after the Covid pandemic?" to the question of ways to achieve economic growth, increasing jobs, reducing poverty, developing rural areas, digitalization, trade, transition to a low-carbon economy, energy conservation, energy efficiency, strengthening the private sector, disaster risk management. There are many important issues that need to be addressed, including climate change.

Therefore, in order to achieve a sustainable recovery in light of existential threats such as climate change, we need to think about ways to solve the above problems. Central Asia is vulnerable to climate change and other natural disasters such as droughts, floods, earthquakes, and landslides. In the past 30 years alone, about 500 floods and earthquakes have occurred in the region, affecting more than 25 million people and causing economic losses of US\$80 billion.

Central Asian countries' increasing dependence on carbon-based energy will have a negative impact on the environment.

As the war drags on, the foreign and fiscal balances may worsen. While it is too early to fully assess the duration of the war, countries need to cut unnecessary spending and implement targeted social protection measures to reduce the impact of rising food and energy prices on the poor and on inflation. In stagflation, monetary policy may become ineffective.

As countries are likely to be at high risk of debt burden, there is a need for prudent fiscal spending and diversification of the tax base, such as increasing tax revenues through environmental taxation and spending the revenues on poverty reduction programs.

Each country needs proper diagnosis in areas such as energy, transportation logistics,



budget regulation, rural development, green growth issues, and industrial reform.

International partners should engage in discussions between countries to address certain economic issues (such as the effects of debt) that require cooperation.

SESSION V

SESSION V: POWER GRID CONNECTIVITY FOR THE ENERGY TRANSITION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

This session was jointly organized with the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific to welcome government officials, regional experts, and academics on energy cooperation. Participants shared their views on energy policies, sustainable development, best practices, and future trends in Northeast Asian countries as well as emerging challenges the region might face in the coming years. The session also encouraged participants to focus on challenges and opportunities for addressing the interlinked targets of Sustainable Development Goal 7 (SDG 7) as well as how to promote regional energy integration through bilateral and multilateral cooperation. *What is the potential impact of energy infrastructure integration in fostering economic cooperation? How can regional cooperation in this area be more effective and aligned with the sustainable development goals? What are the major challenges and solutions to close the gap of SDG7? How can regional cooperation achieve energy transition and SDG7?*

Moderator:

- **Ms. Yejin HA**, *Programme Officer, the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific*

Panelists:

- **Mr. Matthew WITTENSTEIN**, *Chief, Energy Connectivity Section, Energy Division, the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific* “Energy transition and the potential for power system connectivity in North-East Asia: Towards a green power corridor”
- **Mr. LUVSANTSEREN Ichinkhorloo**, *Director General, Fuel Policy Implementation Coordination Department, Ministry of Energy, Mongolia*
- **Mr. DULGUUN Damdin-Od**, *Executive Director, International Think Tank for Landlocked Developing Countries*
- **Mr. David Michael WOGAN**, *Assistant Vice President, Asia Pacific Energy Research Centre (Virtual)*



- **Dr. Seiichiro KIMURA**, *Senior Researcher, Renewable Energy Institute, Japan*
- *Ms. Sujata GUPTA, Director, Sustainable Infrastructure Division of the East Asia Department (Virtual)*
- **Mr. Jie TANG**, *Practice Manager, Energy and Extractives Global Practice, World Bank (Virtual)*
- **Dr. Olga DYOMINA**, *Senior Researcher, Economic Research Institute, Russian Academy of Sciences (Virtual)*
- **Mr. Xiaosong FANG**, *Director, International Business Department, Electric Power Planning and Engineering Institute, China (Virtual)*

MODERATOR'S SUMMARY

The session opened with a presentation by UNESCAP on the need for energy transition in North-East Asia and the potential role of power system connectivity in supporting the deployment of higher shares of renewable energy, through the development of a “green power corridor” for the region. This was followed by a series of presentations describing the potential for energy transition and the role of power system connectivity from both national and regional perspectives.

One common thread throughout the presentations was the high potential for renewable energy in the region, and in particular in Mongolia. Many of the countries in North-East Asia have set ambitious decarbonization goals, but renewable energy resources are unevenly distributed. Power system connectivity can enable countries like Mongolia, which has significantly more domestic RE potential than it could potentially utilize with domestic demand alone, to develop wind and solar PV resources for export.

Currently, however, the region relies heavily on fossil fuel-based generation, a significant source of carbon emissions. Renewable costs have declined to the point where they are competitive even with the existing generation, but there is still a question as to how to securely and efficiently phase out existing coal generation (for example) while simultaneously increasing the share of RE. Here again, power system connectivity can play a role, allowing cross-border resources to help balance variable renewable power.

It was also highlighted, however, that power system connectivity is not only about the development of cross-border transmission lines. Grid development within countries is also important. Mongolia currently has a fragmented domestic grid, and efforts are underway to develop transmission lines to fully integrate it. Doing so will be important not only for enabling access to renewable resource rich locations in the country but will also allow Mongolia to act as a transit country for power traded between China and the Russian Federation. Doing so, however, requires not only investments in grid infrastructure, but also



a mechanism to enable multilateral power trade, which currently does not exist. Instead, trade is currently entirely bilateral, and relatively limited in terms of capacity. In Japan, which is not currently connected with any other country, development of the domestic grids is also a priority, as there is already a relatively high share of domestic solar PV and wind generation that is unable to reach parts of the country with high levels of demand.

Finally, panelists addressed a question about the role of natural gas in energy connectivity. Given the relatively high share of natural gas resources in the region, and the need to phase down the use of coal, it seems clear that natural gas trade will have some role to play in the energy transition. However, to the extent that it requires the development of new infrastructure to deliver, countries should be cautious about the potential for stranded assets. It is also useful to consider the potential role hydrogen and other low-carbon fuels as an alternative to natural gas, in particular in sectors that are hard to electrify and where other carbon abatement strategies may be difficult.

CLOSING SESSION

CLOSING REMARKS
BY MR. N. ANKHBAYAR, STATE SECRETARY,
THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF MONGOLIA

Chair,

Dear participants,

Ladies and gentlemen,

I am honored and delighted to deliver the concluding remarks to the Seventh Conference of Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security (UBD), which is being held after two subsequent years of its postponement due to the extraordinary conditions generated by the COVID-19 pandemic.

We successfully hosted the conference as the thematic sessions and Track I roundtable meeting were delivered as planned. Let me extend my sincere appreciation to you all, the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue community, for your meaningful engagement and active participation. I believe that during these two days, we had insightful and thought-provoking deliberations on the changing peace and security environment in Northeast Asia. I hope that you have also enjoyed the networking opportunities, throughout the conference, for carrying out our efforts to further strengthen peace and security in the region and beyond in a more concerted way.

It should be emphasized that the ultimate purpose of the UBD initiative is to defuse tensions on the Korean Peninsula and promote confidence-building in Northeast Asia, which is home to one-fifth of the world's people and still grappling with historical disputes and emerging insecurities. Indeed, the priority purpose of the initiative is to denuclearize the Korean Peninsula.

Allow me to bring the following points to your attention in addition to the summaries given by the moderators of the sessions of the conference.

First, it is worrying that the insecure status quo of the Northeast Asian region, including historical and territorial disputes, has remained unchanged and even further worsened by the deepening traditional and emerging non-traditional insecurities. It is also compounded by growing geopolitical friction between powers and the emergence of new military technologies and capabilities.



Northeast Asian countries and our dialogue partners ought to effectively exploit diplomacy and arrange formal and informal mechanisms to regularize dialogue to strengthen peace and security, mutual trust and confidence in Northeast Asia. In this regard, it should be duly noted that cooperation in fields of common interest like public health and climate change could have positive effects and ramifications in other domains in the future.

Second, I wish to stress that Track 1.5 and Track 2 channels have been the most effective instruments for promoting mutual understanding and greater confidence during the last four conferences, including the current one. The roundtable Track I meeting, at which government officials and diplomats expressed their positions and exchanged their views on security issues in the region, was an essential part of the event.

Now that we have come to the end of the conference. I wish to extend my sincere gratitude to our co-organizer, the Institute for Strategic Studies of Mongolia. A special thanks go to the United Nations Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs and the Asia Foundation for their kind cooperation and support. Thank you all, eminent scholars and government representatives. Also, I want to thank the interpreters for the great work. The conference would have not been such a success without your active participation and valuable support.

Thank you, and see you next year!

CLOSING REMARKS
BY DR. J. MENDEE, DEPUTY DIRECTOR,
THE INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, MONGOLIA

Ladies and Gentlemen,

Distinguished Guests,

It is my honor to make a closing remark on behalf of my Director, Brigadier General Davaadorj – who was called by the presidential office for a special ceremony. And, he asked me to pass on his apology and to thank all participants for being with us during last two days.

Despite the pandemic and geopolitical tensions, the UBD is back in 2022. And, from now on, it will be in every second week of June – as suggested by many of our participants and supporters. This was also supported by colleagues at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Our dialogue consists of four major sessions – or platforms to enable us to discuss challenges and opportunities to enrich our understanding and to find ways to cooperate. These major sessions are (1) security, (2) economy, (3) youth, and (4) track I. With a close collaboration with the UN Department of Political Affairs, we now officially welcome youth to voice their opinions, concerns, and dreams.

As Mr. Ankhbayar highlighted – the track I meeting was a success and we have no doubt that this closed session helped our diplomats to discuss many issues openly in the closed session.

Here we should be proud of the UBD – it is now on our busy calendar and it has its structure.

Taking this opportunity, I would like to highlight – UBD is not only Mongolia's, ITS OURS.

At all levels of our Ministry of Foreign Affairs, including our Embassies and diplomats abroad, and all diplomatic missions and embassies in Ulaanbaatar have worked together

to promote the UBD and to welcome policy practitioners and diplomats to Ulaanbaatar for this event.

Our institute (Institute for Strategic Studies) worked together with, not only, our Mongolian researchers and think tanks, but also international colleagues and research institutes.

Our colleagues at the United Nations, UNESCAP in Bangkok, and UNDP in Mongolia worked with us. And, many other international organizations Geneva Centre and Open Nuclear Network supported our event by sending their delegates.

The Business Council of Mongolia, a private business entity, co-organized our economic session.

The UBD is a vivid example of cooperation and collaboration; therefore, the UBD is not only of Mongolia's – it is ours and we truly appreciate collaboration and support.

On behalf of our Institute, I would like to extend my sincere gratitude to our co-organizer, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia, especially, to Ambassador Gerelmaa, her successor Mandkhai, and Mr. Otgonbaatar tirelessly overcoming many challenges we had since last November.

We would like to thank the UNDP, UNESCAP, Business Council of Mongolia for organizing three special, insightful sessions – those enriched our dialogue. I like to recognize the continuous support of The Asia Foundation for the UBD. Thank all moderators and panelists – without you all – we could not have a successful, memorable UBD.

Please join me to thank our ISS UBD Team – a core team and support team – who all worked so hard with great dedication. Finally, we wish all the best to our student interns – soon they will be in charge of another successful UBD in the future.

Thank you so much!

AGENDA

THE ULAANBAATAR DIALOGUE ON NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY

The Seventh International Conference

23-24 June 2022

Date: 23-24 June 2022
Venue: Consensus Hall, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia
Languages: English, Mongolian

23 June 2022, Thursday (Day 1)

08:30 - 09:00 Registration

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

Chair: Ms. MANDKHAI Batsuren, Director General ad-interim, Department of Multilateral Cooperation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia

- Remarks by **H.E. BATTSETSEG Batmunkh**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mongolia;
- Remarks by **Prof. DAVAADORJ Begz**, Director, the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia;
- Video remarks by **Ms. ROSEMARY DiCarlo**, Under-Secretary-General of the UN for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs;
- Photo Session

09:45 - 10:00 Coffee break (“Nomin” Hall, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia)

10:00 - 12:30

SESSION I: SECURITY CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN THE REGION

Despite the ramifications of the pandemic, security tensions remain high in Northeast Asia due to ongoing geopolitical and geo-economic competition among the great powers and uncertainty on the Korean Peninsula. This session will provide a platform for regional experts, policymakers, and academics to discuss security challenges and opportunities in the sub-region. *What are the most pressing security challenges and their trends? What are the short, medium, and long-term implications for the region and beyond?*

Moderator: Dr. MENDEE Jargalsaikhan, Deputy Director, the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia

- **Mr. MUNKH-OCHIR Dorjugder**, Chief of Strategic Policy and Analysis, Executive Office of the National Security Council of Mongolia;
- **Hon. Bryon WILFERT**, Former member of Parliament, Canada;
- **Dr. FAN Xiaoju**, Research Professor, Director, Institute of Northeast Asian Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR) (Online);
- **Prof. Dr. Ruediger FRANK**, Professor of East Asian Economy and Society, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Vienna (Online);
- **Dr. Mimura MITSUHIRO**, Senior Research Fellow, Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia (ERINA), Japan;
- **Dr. Ki-Jung KIM**, President of the Institute for National Security Strategy (INSS), ROK;
- **Mr. Konstantin ZATULIN**, Director of the Institute CIS countries, Russian Federation;
- Q&A

12:30 - 13:30 Lunch (“Nomin” Hall, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia)

13:30 - 15:30

SESSION II: MULTILATERAL COOPERATION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

Although the Northeast Asian region lacks an overarching security mechanism, there are numerous efforts that have been made to build confidence and trust. State actors as well as even non-governmental organizations have put forward and tried to promote various types of confidence-building measures (CBMs). This session will be welcoming experts from the sub-region and beyond to share their perspectives on successful CBMs, examine past and current examples, and explore practical steps for sustainable CBMs in the region. *How can countries contribute to effective CBM? What are the best practices for CBM?*

Moderator: Mr. Jonathan BERKSHIRE Miller, Director and Senior Fellow, Indo-Pacific Program, Macdonald-Laurier Institute, Canada

- **Mr. MASHBAT Otgonbayar**, President, National Institute for Security Studies, Mongolia;
- **Dr. Sunghoon LEE**, Senior Research Fellow, the Institute for National Security Strategy (INSS), ROK;
- **Ms. Yulia KRYACHKINA**, Senior Research Fellow, Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, Russian Federation;
- **Dr. Albrecht SCHNABEL**, Head, Asia-Pacific Unit, Geneva Centre for Secu-



riety Sector Governance (DCAF);

- **Dr. Gregory GLEASON**, Professor, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies;
- Q&A

15:30 - 15:45 Coffee break (“Nomin” Hall, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia);

15:45 - 17:00

SESSION III: FUTURING PEACE IN NORTHEAST ASIA

This session will be jointly organized with the UN Department of Political and Peace-building Affairs (DPPA) and will provide a platform for youth representatives to share their views and recommendations on regional peace and security with policymakers. Youth representatives will discuss ways to strengthen ties between youth in the region, create common narratives, promote confidence-building measures, and bridge gaps between generations. *How could policymakers better hear young people’s voices and allow for contributions to policymaking? In what areas should youth expertise be prioritized?*

***Moderator: Ms. Sonja BACHMANN**, Team leader, Northeast Asia and the Pacific,*

- Department of Political Affairs, United Nations
- **Ms. Ijun KIM**, ROK
- **Mr. TENGIS Batbayar**, Mongolia
- **Ms. Yukako BAN**, Japan
- Q&A

18:30 - 20:30 Reception Jointly hosted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia and the Institute for Strategic Studies (Soyombo Hall, 5th floor, The Best Western Tuushin hotel)

24 June 2022, Friday (Day 2)

08:30 - 09:00 Registration

09:00 - 11:00 **TRACK I Roundtable meeting:** A closed session for government representatives (Room 101, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia)

09:00 - 10:00

SESSION IV: THE POST-COVID ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN THE REGION

The pandemic has had a strong impact on trade, investment, and financial markets while impacting all communities, and individuals. International financial institutions and countries have implemented substantial policy measures and stimulus programs to reduce

the impacts of the pandemic. This session will provide a platform for economists, policy-makers, and business representatives from Asian countries and international financial institutions to engage in constructive discussions about the post-COVID-19 economic collaboration. *How can regional countries and international financial organizations cooperate to stabilize regional economy, improve connectivity, and prepare for future crises?*

Moderator: Mr. BYAMBASAIKHAN Bayanjargal, Vice-Chair of the Business Council of Mongolia

- **Mr. Rustam ASIZBAEV**, Director, the National Institute for Strategic Studies of the Kyrgyz Republic;
- **Mr. DULGUUN Baasandavaa**, CEO, New Recovery Policy Accelerator under Cabinet Secretary, Mongolia;
- **Mr. ENKHBAYAR Namjildorj**, Head of the Economic Security Research Center, the Institute of Strategic Studies, Mongolia;
- **Dr. ENKHBAYAR Shagdar**, Senior Research Fellow, Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia (ERINA);
- **Mr. Yasin JANJUA**, Economist, The United Nations Development Programme (UNDP);
- **Mr. Jean-Pascal NGANOU**, Senior Economist for Mongolia, World Bank
- Q&A

10:00 - 10:10 Coffee break (“Nomin” Hall, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia)

10:10 - 12:00

SESSION V: POWER GRID CONNECTIVITY FOR THE ENERGY TRANSITION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

This session will be jointly organized with the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific to welcome government officials, regional experts and academics on energy cooperation. Participants will share their views on energy policies, sustainable development, best practices, and future trends in Northeast Asian countries as well as emerging challenges the region might face in the coming years. The session will also encourage participants to focus on challenges and opportunities for addressing the interlinked targets of Sustainable Development Goal 7 (SDG 7) as well as how to promote regional energy integration through bilateral and multilateral cooperation. *What is the potential impact of energy infrastructure integration in fostering economic cooperation? How to make regional cooperation in this area be more effective and aligned with the sustainable development goals? What are the major challenges and solutions to close the gap of SDG7? How to make the regional cooperation to achieve energy transition and SDG7?*

Moderator: Ms. Yejin HA, Programme Officer, UN ESCAP



- **Mr. Matthew WITTENSTEIN**, Chief, Energy Connectivity Section, Energy Division, ESCAP “*Energy transition and the potential for power system connectivity in North-East Asia: Towards a green power corridor*”
- **Mr. LUVSANTSEREN Ichinkhorloo**, Director General, Fuel Policy Implementation Coordination Department, Ministry of Energy, Mongolia;
- **Mr. DULGUUN Damdin-Od**, Executive Director, International Think Tank for Landlocked Developing Countries (LLDCs);
- **Dr. Seiichiro KIMURA**, Senior Researcher, Renewable Energy Institute, Japan;
- **Ms. Sujata GUPTA**, Director, Sustainable Infrastructure Division of the East Asia Department (Online);
- **Mr. Jie TANG**, Practice Manager, Energy and Extractives Global Practice, World Bank (Online);
- **Dr. Olga DYOMINA**, Senior Researcher, Economic Research Institute, Russian Academy of Sciences (Online);
- **Mr. Xiaosong FANG**, Director, International Business Department, Electric Power Planning and Engineering Institute (EPPEI), China (Online)
- Q&A

12:00 - 13:00 Lunch (“Nomin” Hall, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia)

13:00 - 13:45 **CLOSING SESSION**

Chair: Dr. MENDEE Jargalsaikhan, Deputy Director, the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia

Moderators’ summary

- **Dr. MENDEE Jargalsaikhan**, Deputy Director, the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia
- **Mr. Jonathan BERKSHIRE Miller**, Director and Senior Fellow, Indo-Pacific Program, Macdonald-Laurier Institute, Canada
- **Ms. Sonja BACHMANN**, Team leader, Northeast Asia and the Pacific, Department of Political Affairs, United Nations
- **Mr. BYAMBASAIKHAN Bayanjargal**, Vice-Chair of the Business Council of Mongolia
- **Ms. Yejin HA**, Programme Officer, the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN ESCAP)



Closing Remarks:

- **Mr. ANKHBAYAR Nyamdorj**, State Secretary Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia
- **Dr. MENDEE Jargalsaikhan**, Director, the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia

14:30 - 15:30 Photo with **H.E. KHURELSUKH Ukhnaa**, the President of Mongolia
(International participants)

18:00 - 20:00 Cultural Event for International Delegates (Invitation only)

PARTICIPANTS



H.E. Ms. Battsetseg Batmunkh

Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mongolia

Ms. Battsetseg Batmunkh graduated the National University of Mongolia with Bachelor's Degree in International Relations. Also, she graduated with Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration at the Institute of Finance and Economics in Mongolia and Master's Degree in Business Administration in Maastricht School of Management in the Netherlands. Ms. Battsetseg Batmunkh worked as Vice Minister of the Foreign Affairs of Mongolia between 2016-2020, and has been currently working as the Minister of the Foreign Affairs of Mongolia since January 2021. She speaks English and Russian.



Mr. Ankhbayar Nyamdorj

State Secretary, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia

Mr. Ankhbayar Nyamdorj graduated the School of Law at the National University of Mongolia with Bachelor's Degree in Legal Studies and later graduated the Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand with Master of Laws (LLM), specializing in law and legal affairs. Mr. Ankhbayar Nyamdorj worked as part of the Assistant Staff of the Secretariat Office of Parliament and has been working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia since 2007 as an officer, attaché, Deputy Director-General and Director-General. Mr. Ankhbayar Nyamdorj has been working as the State Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia

since July 2020.



Prof. Davaadorj Begz

Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies

The director of the Institute for Strategic Studies B.Davaadorj was born in West Mongolia. He holds bachelor degree and professional military education from the Military Institute in Soviet Union in 1982, the Military Diplomatic Academy of the Soviet Union in 1986. Later in 1999, he graduated Japanese National Institute for Defense Studies and earned Master's degree on Military and Strategic studies. Prof. B. Davaadorj began his career as an Army officer in 1982, served in various positions from platoon to company at field military units, from officer to department head at Military intelligence agency HQ and Deputy

Chief of General Staff. He also served as aide-de-camp of the Minister of Defense of Mongolia. During his career prof. Davaadorj appointed twice as Defense Attache of Embassy

of Mongolia to People's Republic of China. He also served as Military adviser and Counselor to the Permanent Mission of Mongolia to the United Nations. As an academic, prof. Davaadorj appointed twice as a director of the Institute for Strategic Studies in 2009 and 2021, and the Institute for Defense Studies. His research area is security and foreign policy studies, especially Northeast Asia, China and Russia.



Mr. Rustam Emiljanovich ASIZBAEV

Director, National Institute for Strategic Studies of the Kyrgyz Republic.

Mr. Rustam Emiljanovich ASIZBAEV is a director of the National Institute for Strategic Studies of the Kyrgyz Republic. He obtained his Bachelor of Agronomy in Kyrgyz National Agrarian University and Bachelor of Finance and Credit in Kyrgyz State National University with the highest honours. Mr. Rustam Emiljanovich ASIZBAEV received his master degree at Kyrgyz Research Institute of Innovation and holds a PhD in Economics.

Mr. Rustam Emiljanovich ASIZBAEV worked as a Head of Panfilov and Alamudun District of Social Fund of the Kyrgyz Republic between 2003 and 2008. He was a Head of the Department of Science at the Kyrgyz Economic University (KEU) and was a vice-rector Academic Affairs at AGUP KR. Prior to becoming the director of NISS of Kyrgyz Republic, he was a Professor at Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Kyrgyz Republic.



Dr. Sonja BACHMANN

Team leader on Northeast Asia and the Pacific in the Department of Political Affairs, United Nations

Dr. Sonja Bachmann is Team leader on Northeast Asia and the Pacific in the Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs with a focus on peace and security issues on the Korean Peninsula as well as engagement with the Pacific Islands Forum member countries. Ms. Bachmann served with the UN mission in Afghanistan, the UN Envoy in the Cyprus Negotiations, the Nepal peace process and as a Senior Peace and Development Adviser in

the UN multi-country office in Fiji. Prior to joining the United Nations, Ms. Bachmann has worked in the World Bank on community driven development and advised the Government of Peru on investment promotion and sustainable tourism. Dr. Bachmann holds a Master of Law and Diplomacy from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, MA, and a PhD in political science from the University of Vienna, Austria.



Ms. Yukako BAN

Japan

Yukako is a Learning Designer, Master's candidate, and content director. She joined as an early member at Tiger Mov, Inc. an education startup in Tokyo. She is involved in various core projects, including providing global opportunities to students and young professionals to be next-generational leaders. Her Master's research at Wits University, South Africa... focuses on people living on the thresholds of identities. She holds a Bachelor of Arts -from International Christian University in Tokyo- where she researched the economy under occupation in the West Bank, Palestine. As a content director at Charitsumo, Inc, she raises awareness of social issues in Japan through web media. Previously, she worked as a management consultant at Hitachi consulting, advising public sector clients in Japan and Southeast Asia. She is a yogi, a dancer, and an art lover. She grew up in Tokyo and now lives in South Africa with her amazing husband.



Ms. Veronika BEDENKO

Regional Issues Strategist, Analysts, Open Nuclear Network

Veronika is a regional issues strategist at the Vienna based NGO Open Nuclear Network. Veronika works in close coordination with the Regional Issues Manager and the Analyst Team to closely align research and analysis work with ONN's outreach efforts, by developing proposals for analytical products, assisting in the production of such products and identifying opportunities for ONN's strategic network to feed into the ONN analytical processes. Veronika is an expert in the use of open-source information to understand military capabilities and support nuclear risk reduction. Prior to joining ONN, during her MA studies, Veronika worked at the Vienna Center for Disarmament and Nonproliferation (VCDNP), James Martin Center for Nonproliferation Studies (CNS) and at the Russian Center for Political Research (PIR Center).



Mr. Jonathan BERKSHIRE Miller

Director and Senior Fellow, Indo-Pacific Program, Macdonald-Laurier Institute, Canada

Jonathan is an international affair professional with expertise on security, defense, intelligence and geo-economic issues in the Indo-Pacific. He has held a variety of positions in the private and public sector. Currently, he is a senior fellow with the Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA). Miller is also director and senior fellow of the Indo-Pacific program at the Ot-

tawa-based Macdonald Laurier Institute, Senior Fellow on East Asia for the Tokyo-based Asian Forum Japan and the Director and co-founder of the Council on International Policy. Previously, he was an international affairs fellow with the Council on Foreign Relations, based in Tokyo. Jonathan also held a fellowship on Japan with the Pacific Forum CSIS from 2013-16. At the Pacific Forum CSIS, he chaired a ten-member group focused “ on Japan-Korea relations, in the context of the US balance to Asia. Other former appointments and roles include terms as a Distinguished Fellow with the Asia-Pacific Foundation of Canada, and Senior Fellow on East Asia for the New York-based East West Institute. Miller has held a number of other visiting fellowships on Asian security matters, including at JIIA and the National Institute of Defense Studies (Ministry of Defense – Japan). In addition, Miller previously spent nearly a decade in the public sector in Canada working on geopolitical and security issues pertaining to the Asia-Pacific. He regularly attends track 1.5 and track 2 dialogues across the Asia-Pacific region on security and intelligence issues, and is one of Canada’s representatives on the Association of Southeast Asian Nations (ASEAN) Eminent and Expert Persons Group. He also regularly provides advice and presents to universities, corporations, multilateral organizations and government on regional geopolitics. Jonathan is a regular contributor to several academic journals, magazines and newspapers on Asia-Pacific security issues including Foreign Affairs, Foreign Policy, the Nikkei Asian Review, the Japan Times and The Economist Intelligence Unit. He has also published widely in other outlets including the World Affairs Journal, Forbes, the Boston Globe the Globe and Mail, the National Post, the Mainichi Shimbun, the ASAN Forum, Jane’s Intelligence Review and Global Asia. Miller has been interviewed and quoted on Asian security and geopolitical issues across a wide range of media including the New York Times, the Washington Post, Reuters, CNN, CNBC, Bloomberg, the Wall Street Journal, the Globe and Mail, Le Monde, the Japan Times, Asahi Shimbun, the Voice of America and ABC news.



Mr. BYAMBASAIKHAN Bayanjargal

Vice-Chair of the Business Council of Mongolia

Bayanjargal Byambasaikhan, Vice-Chair, the Business Council of Mongolia Mr. Byambasaikhan was elected as vice-chair of the Business Council of Mongolia (BCM) in July 2021. He served as the chair of the BCM from 2012-2020. He is the founding partner at NovaTerra LLC, a UB based investment and project management firm. NovaTerra develops clean energy projects, and advises domestic and international clients in financing complex deals. Mr. Byambasaikhan is a business executive specialized in energy, infrastructure, mining investments. In 2015-2016, he was the chief executive of Erdenes Mongol, Mongolia’s sovereign wealth management company where he chaired multiple mining company boards and was the director of Oyu Tolgoi LLC. From 2010-2013, Mr.Byambasaikhan served as the chief executive and managing director of Newcom, a Mongolian technology investor where he managed and built Clean Energy (\$120mln), the

first wind farm/IPP in Mongolia. From 2004-2010, he was an energy banker with the Asian Development Bank, where he financed power and energy efficiency transactions in Central Asia, including the region's largest CCGT power plant (\$1.3bln) in Uzbekistan. He is a trustee of the National University of Mongolia, and a board director of the Arts Council of Mongolia. He also serves as the honorary consul of South Africa in Mongolia. Mr. Byambasaikhan has keen interest in regional economic and infrastructure connectivity and is a believer in clean energy development. He was elected as the president of the Future Energy Mongolian Hydrogen Council in November 2021. In 2014, he was recognized as a Young Global Leader by the World Economic Forum. Mr. Byambasaikhan is the graduate of the National University of Mongolia and the George Washington University



Mr. DULGUUN Baasandavaa

CEO, New Recovery Policy Accelerator under Cabinet Secretary, Mongolia

Mr. Dulguun Baasandavaa is the CEO of the New Recovery Policy Accelerator, the Prime Minister's Delivery Unit. He is also a member of the Economic Council which advises the Prime Minister. Before joining the delivery unit, he worked as the advisor to the acting Minister of Economy and Development. He was the Deputy Chairperson of the National Development Agency between 2020 and 2022. Previously, he served as a Board Mem-

ber of the Mongolian Business Development Association, as Vice President at Tenger Capital, an investment banking arm of the Tenger Financial Group. Mr. Baasandavaa has over 10 years of experience in the financial market in Mongolia. Mr. Baasandavaa holds a Master of Public Administration in International Development from the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University (2018) and a Bachelor of Arts in Economics and Mathematics from the Connecticut College (2007). He is a co-author of two books: *Business Planning and Sun Tsi* (2006) and *An Opportunity to Enter the EU Market* (2007). He also co-translated six books from English to Mongolian: *Audacity of Hope* by President Barack Obama (2009), *Hot, Flat, and Crowded* by Thomas Friedman (2010), *Energy Autonomy* by Hermann Scheer (2011), *1 Hour China* by Jonathan Woetzel (2015), *Good Economics in Hard Times* by Abhijit Banerjee and Ester Duflo (2020) and *Building State Capability* by Matt Andrews, Lant Pritchett and Michael Woolcock (2022).



Dr. Olga DYOMINA

Senior Researcher, Economic Research Institute, Russian Academy of Sciences (Online)

PD in Economics. Senior Research Fellow at the Economic Research Institute FEB RAS, Khabarovsk, Russia. Research area: energy complex of the Russian Far East, Energy cooperation in NEA, energy economics. The science experience is 12 years as

a participant and a head of research projects of Far Eastern Branch of the Russian Academy of Sciences, Russian Foundation for Humanities, Russian Foundation for Basic Research and The Nautilus Institute for Security and Sustainability. Published more than 100 papers.



Mr. ENKHBAYAR Namjildorj

**Head of Economic Security Research Center,
Institute of Strategic Studies of Mongolia**

Work Experience:

1992-2006: Economist and Director of the Fiscal Policy Department and Macroeconomic policy Department, Ministry of Finance. 2006-2011 and

2016-2019: Economic advisor to the Prime Minister of Mongolia.

2011-2015: Advisor to the Executive Director for Mongolia, at the World Bank, in Washington DC, U.S.A.

2019-2021: Associate professor of the Department of Policy and Politics Studies, National Academy of Governance, Mongolia.

Since October 10,

2021: Head of Economic Security Research Center, Institute of Strategic Studies of Mongolia.

Foreign language: Good in English and Russian.

Degree: Master of Business Administration.



Dr. ENKHBAYAR Shagdar

Senior Research Fellow, Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia

Enkhbayar Shagdar is a Senior Research Fellow at the Research Division and Business Support Division of the Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia (ERINA), Niigata, Japan. She has Ph.D. in Economics from Niigata University, MA in International Development from the International University of Japan (IUJ) and earned a Diploma of Mechanical Engineering from Moscow Technological Institute of Light Industry. Her research

interests are economic development, trade policy, environment, climate change and energy in Northeast Asia. She is a member of the GTAP (Global Trade Analysis Network) and conducts various CGE analyses using GTAP Models. She is the Focal point at ERINA for the UNFCCC. In addition, she actively engages in cooperative projects between Niigata Prefecture of Japan and Mongolia on technology transfer projects in environmental, indus-

try and infrastructure fields. Formerly, she worked at Mongolia's ministries in charge for industry, trade, agriculture and business entities holding managerial positions.



Dr. FAN Xiaoju

Research Professor, Deputy Director of Institute of Japanese Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (Online)

Dr. FAN Xiaoju is Director and Research Professor of the Institute of Northeast Asian Studies at the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR). She got her Ph.D. from Peking University in 2007, majoring in International Relations. She was a visiting scholar at Waseda University, Japan from December 2011 to October 2012. Her research covers Japanese foreign policy, Sino-Japanese relations, and Northeast Asian regional issues.



Mr. Xiaosong FANG

Director, International Business Department, Electric Power Planning and Engineering Institute, China (Online)

Mr. Fang Xiaosong is a senior engineer and work as the director of International Department of China Electric Power Planning & Engineering Institute. He has rich experiences in researches on energy and power policies, energy development planning, power system planning, and energy international cooperation. He has led 13th Five-Year Power Planning Research of China, and has been awarded numerous times for his excellent work in the field of energy and power engineering consulting.



Dr. Lori FORMAN

Professor and Development Advisor, Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies

DR. LORI FORMAN joined the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in 2011, bringing a unique international background in corporate, government, academic and non-profit sectors. An expert on international economic development and foreign aid, civil society and public-private partnerships, Dr. Forman earned a Ph.D. from Keio University, and a Master in Public Policy from Harvard University. Prior to joining APCSS Lori held senior

corporate positions with Microsoft and Dubai Holding. In government she held senior positions including the U.S. Alternate Executive Director on the Board of Directors of the Asian Development Bank and Assistant Administrator for Asia and Near East of the US Agency for International Development. Dr. Forman also served in the NGO sector for 11 years, as the Director of the Japan Program of The Nature Conservancy. Dr. Forman began her post-graduate career in Washington D.C., serving as the Senior Political Analyst for the White House pollster.



Prof. Dr. Ruediger FRANK

Professor of East Asian Economy and Society, Department of East Asian Studies, University of Vienna (Online)

Professor of East Asian Economy and Society, University of Vienna. Born and raised in socialist East Germany and lived for five years in the Soviet Union, experienced German Unification first hand as a 21-year-old, and shortly thereafter spent one semester as a language student at Kim-Il-Sung University in Pyongyang in 1991/1992. He holds an MA in Korean Studies and International Relations, and a PhD in Economics. On the basis of these skills and experiences, he has written extensively on various topics related to North Korea, including economic history during the 1950s, the connections between ideology and economic reform after the 1990s famine, the transformation of state-socialism, tourism and trade, the political economy of unification, etc. He has been working with the World Economic Forum 2011~2021 and was named one of the 50 most influential German economists by the Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung in 2012. He tweets as @RFrankVienna.



Prof. Gregory GLEASON

Professor, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies

Gregory Gleason works in the areas of comparative foreign policy and political economy. Gleason's teaching, research and practical work focuses on the countries of the former USSR. Gleason served as U.S. Advisor to the Uzbekistan Ministry of Defense in 2018-2019 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. Gleason joined the Marshall Center in September of 2007. Prior to joining the Marshall Center, Gleason taught international relations and comparative politics at the University of New Mexico, where he continues to be Professor Emeritus of Political Science. Gleason was a research fellow at the Kennan Institute of the Woodrow Wilson Center. Gleason's research has been sponsored by the National Science Foundation, the National Academy of Sciences as well as other public and private foundations. Gleason graduated from the University of California, Irvine (1974) and completed graduate studies at the University of California, Davis (1984).



Prof. Jang Jae-HYUK

Research Professor

Jaehyuk Jang is an assistant professor at the Hankuk University of Foreign Studies (HUFS), in the College of Asian Languages and Cultures, in the Department of Mongolian, Seoul, in South Korea. Jaehyuk Jang is the author of *The Role of Mongolia in Multilateral Security Cooperation in the Twenty-first Century Northeast Asia: The Relevance of the ‘Ulaanbaatar Dialogue (UDB) Initiative*, one of the papers in *Asian Perspective* journal’s volume 46, number 2 (Spring 2022). His Ph.D. dissertation deals with the role of Mongolia on the process of international regime building in Northeast Asia in the 21st Century. His primary research and teaching interests are the role of Mongolia on regional cooperation in Northeast Asia in the 21st century and a shift in Mongolia’s geopolitical identity. Also, his major research themes include Mongolian foreign policy and international relations in the region, based on international relation (IR) theory.



Mr. Yasin JANJUA

Economist, The United Nations Development Programme

Mr. Mohammad Yasin Janjua is an Economist with UNDP. Prior to joining UNDP, he has worked as an Economist with the Government of Canada, Canadian international Development Agency, Environment and Climate Change Canada, and as macroeconomics consultant with the World Bank, European Union, GIZ, DFID, and as a visiting faculty member with premier universities in Canada, including York University, Ryerson University, and University of Toronto at Mississauga. As an executive at UNDP’s Centre for Poverty Research and Social Policy Development in Pakistan, he led work on Pakistan’s Economic Growth Framework 2010 and Pakistan Millennium Development Goals Report 2010. Janjua holds a master’s degree in Economics from Kansas State University in USA and a Certificate in Economics of Environment and Innovation Policy from University of Ottawa.



Dr. Jean-Baptiste JEANGINE VILMER

Director, Institute for Strategic Research (IRSEM), French Ministry of Defense

Dr. Jean-Baptiste Jeangine Vilmer is director of the Institute for Strategic Research (IRSEM) at the French Ministry for the Armed Forces, and a nonresident Senior Fellow at the Atlantic Council, Washington DC. He is also an Adjunct Professor at the

Paris School of International Affairs (PSIA) and an Honorary Ancien of NATO Defense College. He served previously as a Policy officer on “Security and Global Affairs” at the Policy Planning Staff (CAPS) of the French Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Trained in three disciplines—philosophy (Bachelor, Master, Ph.D.), law (Bachelor, LL.M., post-doctorate) and in political science (doctorate)—, he held positions at the Faculty of Law at McGill University in Canada, at the department of War Studies of King’s College in London, at the MacMillan Center for International and Area Studies of Yale University, at the French Embassy in Turkmenistan and at the University of Montreal.



Ms. Ijun KIM

ROK

Ijun Kim is a strong advocate of peacebuilding and sustainable development. She has cultivated an interest in such topics since a young age, growing up overseas with unique opportunities to immerse herself in culturally diverse environments. Her work experience spans from not-for-profit organizations to solar technology startups, a wide range that has allowed her to better understand the complex nature of international matters. With the hopes of deepening her knowledge about peacebuilding to later contribute to creating an environment in which more young people can be part of relevant endeavors, she participated in various projects organized by the United Nations Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs. The most recent initiative, named *Futuring Peace in Northeast Asia*, is a virtual dialogue series in which she joined as a co-designer and facilitator, working alongside professionals and youths alike to further the Youth, Peace and Security Agenda.



Dr. Ki-Jung KIM

President of the Institute for National Security Strategy, ROK

Dr. Ki-jung Kim is currently the President of the Institute of National Security Strategy (INSS). Before joining the INSS, he taught and conducted research in the field of International Relations, East Asian international history, and foreign policy at the Department of Political Science and International Studies, Yonsei University. He received Ph.D. from the University of Connecticut in 1989. He served as policy advisor for the Korean government: for Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Unification, and National Defense during 2004~2008. He served as Dean of the Graduate School of Public Administration at Yonsei University. He worked as Second Deputy of the Office of National Security in 2017. He has written many books and articles on Northeast Asian regional politics, American foreign policy, Korean-American relations, and strategic designing for the Korean peninsula.



Dr. Seiichiro KIMURA

Senior Researcher, Renewable Energy Institute, Japan

Seiichiro Kimura (Ph.D., P.E.jp) joined Renewable Energy Institute in 2018. Specializes in cost-benefit analysis, techno-economic analysis with market penetrating simulation in the energy system. He started his career at Mitsubishi Heavy Industries in 2004, and was engaged in development of hydrogen energy until 2010. After working for International Institute for Carbon-Neutral Energy Research of Kyushu University, he became an associate at the Matushita Institute of Government and Management between 2014 and 2018, where he was engaged in research on interconnecting electric power systems with the aim of increasing energy self-sufficiency through its own resources and eventually becoming a nation capable of supplying energy to other countries (energy-exporting nation). He received B.Sc. from Tokyo University of Science, M.Sc. from Tokyo Institute of Technology, and Ph.D. from Kyushu University. At Renewable Energy Institute, his research focuses on interconnectors and market design for electricity system reform.



Ms. Yulia KRYACHKINA

Senior Research Fellow, Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, Russian Federation

Yulia Kryachkina is a senior expert at the Russian Institute for Strategic Studies, where she has been working since 2011. She is also a senior research fellow at the Institute of Far Eastern Studies of the RAS. Received B.A. in American Studies and M.A. in Asia-Pacific Studies from St-Petersburg State University, School of International Relations. Her research interests include the security problems in Asia-Pacific region, Eurasian integrational processes, Russia-Japan relations, defense policy of Japan, US policy in Asia-Pacific region.



Dr. Sunghoon LEE

Senior Research Fellow, the Institute for National Security Strategy, ROK

Senior Research Fellow of INSS
 Former Dean of Joint Forces Staff College
 Former Professor for the Korea National Defense University
 Former Director of the Center for the Korea National Defense University
 Former Research Fellow in the RAND Co. Asia-Pacific center.



Ms. Rachel LEE

Regional Issues Manager and Senior Analyst, Open Nuclear Network

Rachel Minyoung Lee is the Regional Issues Manager and Senior Analyst for Open Nuclear Network (ONN), a program of One Earth Future. Rachel oversees the creation and development of ONN's strategic network and works closely with analysts to identify strategies and products that can best meet partners' and consumer's needs. Rachel is also a Nonresident Fellow with the Stimson Center's 38 North Program, where she is conducting research on North Korea's economic policy-making. Rachel was a North Korea open-source collection expert and analyst with the US government from 2000 to 2019. She researched and wrote on the full range of North Korean issues, from leadership, domestic politics and economy, and foreign policy to social and cultural developments. As Analysis Team Lead, Rachel managed the entire collection-to-analysis cycle, leading a team of analysts in the collection, curating and baselining of data and the analysis of North and South Korean issues.



Mr. LUVSANTSEREN Ichinkhorloo

Director General, Fuel Policy Implementation Coordination Department, Ministry of Energy, Mongolia

Mr. Luvsantseren Ichinkhorloo, Director General of the Fuel Policy Implementation Coordination Department of the Ministry of Energy of Mongolia has been working in the energy sector for 12 years. He holds a bachelor's degree from Moscow Power Engineering University in High voltage electrical equipment engineering and a master's degree in Energy policy and green energy from the University of Korea in the Republic of Korea. Participated in long-term and short-term professional development trainings in Japan, India and Korea.



Mr. MASHBAT Otgonbayar

President, National Institute for Security Studies, Mongolia

Mr. Mashbat Otgonbayar is President, National Institute for Security Studies, Mongolia. He is a professional of national security and foreign policy of Mongolia, specialized in Tibetan and North Korean affairs. He has started his career as Assistant to Chair of the Standing Committee on National Security and Foreign Policy, Parliament of Mongolia in 1996-1998, after which he have worked for the Institute for Strategic Studies for fifteen years from a staff researcher to a vice-director. In ISS, he has effectively worked for National Security Council, MoD and MFA. In 2013, he has served for Minister of Foreign Affairs as Strategic Policy Adviser. In October 2014, he was appointed as Consul General of Mongolia in San Francisco, USA. He made his L.L.M. in Law School,

National University of Mongolia in 1998 in the field of comparative constitution and MA in National Security Affairs in Naval Postgraduate School, Monterey, CA, USA in 2007.

Mr. MENDEE Jargalsaikhan

Deputy Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies



Dr. Mendee graduated from the Mongolian National Defense University and received his MAs from the US Naval Postgraduate School and the University of British Columbia. He obtained his PhD in political science from the University of British Columbia. Mendee served as political science and language instructor at the National Defense University, the Chief of the Foreign Cooperation Department of the Ministry of Defense, Defense Attaché at the Embassy of Mongolia in Washington, DC, senior

expert at the Institute for Strategic Studies and Deputy Director of the Institute for Defense Analysis. He was the first Senior National Representative at the US Central Command in Tampa, Florida, the Asia Studies Visiting Fellow at the East West Center in Washington, and Post Graduate Research Fellow at the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada.

Dr. Mimura MITSUHIRO

Senior Research Fellow, Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia, Japan



MIMURA, Mitsuhiro is a Senior Research Fellow at the Economic Research Institute for Northeast Asia (ERINA) in Niigata, Japan. His specialty includes North Korean law and economy, Northeast Asian cooperation mainly in economic field. He is one of the rare Japanese scholars who regularly exchanges thoughts directly with North Korean scholars in Pyongyang. Supported by colleagues in both Koreas, China, Russia, the U.S., the E.U.

and Japan, his research has deep insight on Northeast Asia. His recent research can be accessed through: <https://researchmap.jp/mimura?lang=en>

Mr. MUNKH-OCHIR Dorjjugder

Chief of Strategic Policy and Analysis, Executive Office of the National Security Council of Mongolia



Munkh-Ochir Dorjjugder (Colonel, Mongolian Army) is a career military officer, security practitioner, academic and former intelligence officer. Since 2021 he has been affiliated with the Executive Office of the National Security Council of Mongolia as its Deputy Chief and Director for Strategic Policy and Analysis. Prior to that, he served as senior fellow/military analyst at

the National Institute for Security Studies (NISS) (2018-21). His previous assignments include a number of key positions in the Mongolian military and intelligence community, notably Director of Military Intelligence (J2) (2015-17), Director for Administration, Ministry of Defense (2012-15, 2017-18) and Director for International Cooperation, Ministry of Defense (2009-2010). Col. Munkh-Ochir was also actively involved in academic community; besides NISS, he was Director of the Institute for Defense Studies (2011-12), senior fellow at the Institute for Strategic Studies (ISS) (2000-01, 2003-07) and visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution (2010). In 2015, he was posted as military advisor to Permanent Mission of Mongolia to UN and other international agencies in Vienna and was involved with Mongolia's chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Forum for Security Cooperation (OSCE FSC). He is a graduate of the National University of Mongolia (1996) and the US Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, CA (2003) and completed the senior-level course at the NATO Defense College in Rome (2017). Col. Munkh-Ochir is an active supporter and contributor to the annual Ulaanbaatar Dialogue conferences – he served as moderator of first sessions in three consecutive UBD preceding the COVID-19 lockdown, in 2017, 2018 and 2019.

Mr. Jean-Pascal NGANOU



Senior Economist for Mongolia, World Bank
 Jean-Pascal N. Nganou, Ph.D., is the World Bank Senior Economist for Mongolia, based in Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia since August 2017. He leads the macroeconomic and fiscal analysis and forecasting and coordinates the World Bank's policy and institutional advice for Mongolia. Dr. Nganou recently led the preparation of the Mongolia Mines and Minds (3M) report which argues that mines represent Mongolia's present while minds (i.e., people and institutions) are its future. Moreover, the latest Mongolia

Economic Update, *Navigating Stronger Headwinds* (April 2022), describes the daunting challenges that Mongolia faces in its Post pandemic recovery. Dr. Jean-Pascal Nganou joined the Bank in 1998. Following two years of work on private sector development issues in several Latin American and Asian countries, he worked as the country economist for Burundi, and Uganda, either in Washington or in the field. His assignment in Burundi was focused on public finance management, private sector development, and poverty reduction in a post-conflict country. In Uganda, he mainly helped the government reflect on alternative approaches to the management of future oil and mineral resources, which were described in the country's growth report. Dr. Nganou has a special interest in macroeconomic and econometric modeling as well as issues pertaining to economic diversification for development, especially in resource-rich countries. He is an external research associate at the Info-Metrics Institute at American University, Washington DC. He holds a master's degree in Economics from George Washington University and a Ph.D. in Economics from American University in Washington, DC., USA.



Dr. Byung Kwang PARK

Senior Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Strategy, ROK

Park, Byung Kwang is Director of Center for International Cooperation and a Senior Research Fellow at the Institute for National Security Strategy (INSS) in Korea. Dr. Park received his Ph.D. in Political Science from Fudan University, China. He is a Member of the Advisory Committee for Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Member of the Evaluation Committee for Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Member of the Advisory Committee for Korean Joint Chiefs of Staff, Member of the Advisory Committee for Korean Air Forces, Standing Committee Member of the National Unification Advisory Council (NUAC). He was a Post-doctoral Fellow of Seoul National University, Visiting Research Fellow at the Institute for Oriental Culture of Tokyo University, Visiting Research Fellow at the Institute of International Relations at National Chengchi University (NCCU), President of the Korean Association of Area Studies (KAAS). His main research field focuses on China's foreign policy toward North-East Asian Countries, and East Asian Security Issues.



Mr. Pavit RAMACHANDRAN

The Country Director at the Mongolia Resident Mission with the Asian Development Bank

Mr. Ramachandran serves as the Country Director at the Mongolia Resident Mission with the Asian Development Bank. He is responsible for overall country program, operational portfolio and knowledge management. Leads operations in Mongolia managing an active portfolio of around \$2 billion. Supervises the implementation of the ADB's Country Operations Business Plan in line with the current Country Partnership Strategy, 2017-2020 and the next Country Partnership Strategy to be developed. Primary liaison for ADB with government, private sector, development partners, and civil society in Mongolia. He has a diverse and multifaceted background with more than twenty-six years of international development experience, covering over twelve countries in the Asia-Pacific region. His experience spans both public and private sectors in developing and managing complex country and regional programs. He is skilled in strategic visioning, program development, building partnerships, operational planning and delivery. Mr. Ramachandran possesses strong operational expertise including investment projects as well as policy and knowledge support covering rural development, environment, energy, agriculture, and water sectors. Mr. Ramachandran joined ADB in May 2009 and has progressed through different positions in charge of programming, processing and administration of projects and knowledge work. In his previous role, as a Principal Environment Specialist of ADB's East Asia Department, he was leading policy dialogue and program lending operations in Mongolia including the

preparation of the Ulaanbaatar Air Quality Improvement Program. Mr. Ramachandran has led efforts to facilitate and enact policy reforms, mobilize financing, and promote capacity development across multiple countries in Asia and the Pacific. Educational qualifications include a Master's in Public Management from the University of Maryland, College Park and a Masters from the Delhi School of Economics.



Dr. Albrecht SCHNABEL

Head, Asia-Pacific Unit, Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance

Albrecht SCHNABEL is Head of the Asia-Pacific Unit at DCAF "Geneva Centre for Security Sector Governance. His research, advisory and capacity-building activities focus on security sector governance and reform, particularly in the Asia-Pacific region. Prior to joining DCAF in 2008, he held research and teaching appointments at the American University in Bulgaria, the Central European University/Budapest, United Nations University/

Tokyo, Swiss Peace Foundation, and the University of Bern. Further experiences include military service in the German Federal Armed Forces, OSCE election monitoring missions, a term as President of the International Association of Peacekeeping Training Centre's, and serving as an external faculty member on regional security sector development courses at the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu. He studied comparative politics and international relations at the University of Munich, the University of Nevada, and Queen's University, Canada, where he received his PhD in Political Studies in 1995.



Mr. Mike STEVENS

Faculty Associate for Research, Department of Defense Analysis, Naval Postgraduate School

Michael has been on the faculty at the Naval Postgraduate School since 2010. His research and teaching focuses on comprehensive defense as a means of strategic deterrence for countering attacks

on national sovereignty.



Mr. Jie TANG

Practice Manager, Energy and Extractives Global Practice, World Bank (Online)

Jie Tang, Practice Manager for the Energy and Extractive Global Practice of the World Bank, is in charge of the Bank's energy programs covering 26 countries in East Asia and Pacific Region. He joined the World Bank in 2001 as a Young Professional and has recently held the positions of Lead Energy Specialist, Pro-

gram Leader for energy/transport/ICT, and Practice Manager. Before joining the World Bank, he worked for 15 years on China Three Gorges Dam Project, at various technical and managerial positions including senior power engineer, Division Director for mechanical and electrical engineering and the assistant to the Vice Chairman of the State Council Three Gorges Project Committee. He holds a BSc in Electric Engineering from the Hydropower College of Wuhan University, China in 1985, and a MBA from University of Cambridge, England in 2001.

Mr. TENGIS Batbayar

Mongolia



He is working in Mongolian of Northeast Asian Security and Strategy (MINASS) as a fellow researcher, also coordinator of MINASS club which is club of young researchers. During his time, he organized couple of online dialogues with international student from foreign universities such as like Hokkaido, Kyoto from Japan, Johns Hopkins University from US. He also wrote a book called “Indo-Pacific Concept: The position of the quad countries” which is the first book about Indo-Pacific strategy in

Mongolian, with colleagues. His chapter is US policy on Indo-Pacific strategy. His research area is Security studies, Peace studies and International investment law.

Professor Wade TURVOLD

CAPT, USN, (Ret), Professor, Daniel K. Inouye Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies



Captain Wade Turvold, United States Navy (Retired) serves as a Professor at the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in Honolulu, Hawaii. He has extensive operational and flight experience in the Indo-Pacific region. He was privileged to serve in two educational assignments during this time, as the U.S. Navy Senior Service Representative and Director National Security Studies at the U.S. Army War College, and the U.S. Navy Exchange Directing Staff at the Joint Services Command and Staff College, Defense Academy of the United Kingdom in Shrivenham, England. He focuses on maritime security, Russia, Japan, and Northeast Asia. He leads the Maritime Security Working Group and has organized numerous courses and workshops on the topic. He also focuses on Russia in the Indo-Pacific region, as well as on Japan and Northeast Asia.



Hon. Bryon WILFERT

Former member of Parliament, Strategic Advisor, Macdonald Laurier Institute, Canada

The Honourable Bryon Wilfert served for 26 years of elected political office both as a Municipal Councillor and as Member of Parliament. He served as Junior Minister of the Environment, as well as Shadow Minister for Foreign Affairs and National Defence. He served as Vice President of APPECD Asia Pacific Parliamentarians Environment Conference Development) based in Korea. Bryon holds a Master of Arts in Political Economy (U of T), Institute of Corporate Directors designation (ICD.D) (U of T – Rotman School), and holds an Accredited Municipal Clerk and Treasurer (AMCT) in Municipal Administration from St. Lawrence College. He was awarded the Order of the Rising Sun – Gold/Silver Star from His Imperial Majesty and the Prime Minister of Japan for his tireless work on Canada/Japan relations. He holds the Queen’s Gold and Diamond Jubilee Medals. He has received three times Rotary International Paul Harris Fellow awards. He is Senior Associate at Tactix Government Relations & Public Affairs in Ottawa, Vice President – International Relations with Emission Technologies International Inc., and Honorary Consul General for the Republic of the Union of Myanmar. Bryon serves as Chair of the Canada/Pakistan Business Council and Advisor to the Canada/Vietnam Trade Council. Bryon is a Member of Board of Director of the NATO Association of Canada; a member of Advisory Board of Macdonald Laurier Institute; and an Oversight Committee Member of Global Organization of Parliamentarians Against Corruption (GOPAC). Bryon played an active role during Canada’s mission to Afghanistan. He is a Vice Chair of the Special Canadian Committee on Afghanistan of Shadow Minister of National Defense; Vice Chair of the National Defense Committee, Member of the Special Afghan Documents Committee. He had three trips to Afghanistan in 2006, 2008, 2010 and had meetings with Former President Karzai, MPs of the Afghan Parliament, Tribal Elders, Canadian Allied Forces and Afghan Soldier. Bryon also visited to Kabul, Kandahar and Zhari District. The Honourable Bryon Wilfert, has spoken on International Relations in various universities. He has also been a Master of Ceremonies at various events over the years.



Mr. Matthew WITTENSTEIN

Chief, Energy Connectivity Section, Energy Division, United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific

Matthew Wittenstein is Chief of Section for Energy Connectivity at the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN ESCAP). In his role, Matthew supports

member States in their efforts improve the sustainability and security of their energy systems through increased cross-border power system integration. Recent work includes capacity building for energy regulators and utilities in South East Asia, an assessment of the potential to develop a green power corridor in North-East Asia, and supporting increased cooperation on sustainable energy among the countries of the Pacific. Prior to joining the UN, Matthew was a Senior Electricity Analyst at the International Energy Agency (IEA), where he focused on the economics of generation, the challenges of encouraging investment in clean energy technologies, and electricity market design. From 2011 to 2014, he was a Fellow at the US Department of Energy. Matthew holds a Master of International Affairs from Columbia University, with a concentration in international economic policy.



Mr. David M. WOGAN

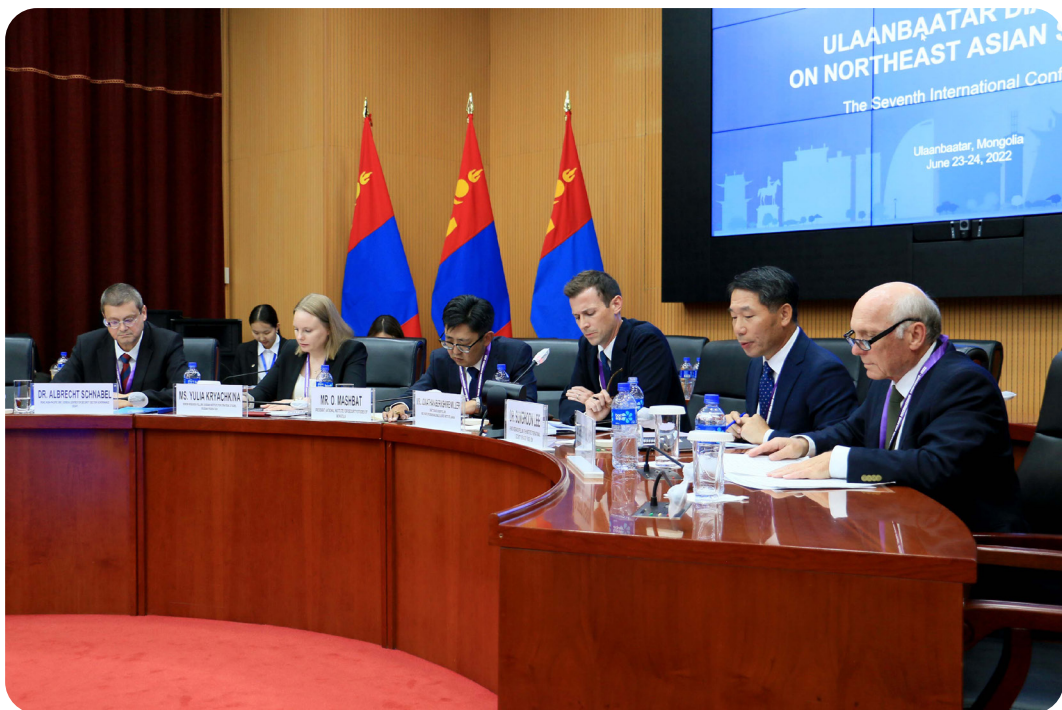
Assistant Vice President Asia-Pacific Energy Research Centre

Dr. David Wogan is Assistant Vice President and a Senior Visiting Researcher at APERC. He coordinates the APEC Energy Outlook, which provides supply and demand projections for the 21 economies of APEC. In addition, David leads data science and energy economic modelling research activities. Previously, David was a Senior Research Associate at the King Abdullah Petroleum Research Center (KAPSARC) in Riyadh, Saudi Arabia. There he led projects on energy subsidy price reform, low carbon transition pathways, and integrating the electricity systems of GCC member states. David served in the White House Council on Environmental Quality in 2010, and at Austin Energy, the municipally-owned electricity utility for the city of Austin, Texas, USA. David holds a PhD in Energy Economics from the University Paris Nanterre; a Master of Science (M.S.) in Mechanical Engineering; and a Master of Public Affairs (MPAff) from The University of Texas at Austin.

PHOTOS











ULAANBAATAR DIALOGUE
on
NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY

The VIII International Conference

15-16 June, 2023
Ulaanbaatar, Mongolia



THE ULAANBAATAR DIALOGUE ON NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY

As a country maintaining friendly relations with all the countries in the Northeast, Mongolia adheres to and promotes dialogue in the region for resolving pressing issues. Building on the country's foreign policy endeavor and taking the Helsinki process as an example, the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue was first proposed in April 2013 as a foreign policy initiative that aims to contribute to the establishment of a dialogue mechanism within the region.

Within the endeavor for building confidence and promoting regional cooperation in Northeast Asia, the International Conference on Northeast Asian Security has been held annually since 2014 and successfully engaged both academics and government officials of the region and beyond to share their insights. The Ulaanbaatar Dialogue has not only provided an opportunity to voice opinions and concerns on regional peace, and security issues, but it also has served as a platform for bridging the gap in mutual understanding while strengthening trust and paving the way for future cooperation.

The Eighth International Conference of Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security was held on June 15-16, 2023.



OPENING SESSION

OPENING REMARKS
BY H.E. MS. B. BATTSETSEG,
MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF MONGOLIA

Distinguished Guests and Participants,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

I am delighted to warmly welcome you all to the Eighth International Conference of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security. First and foremost, I would like to extend my sincere appreciation to all the distinguished participants and esteemed guests for taking part in this annual gathering.

This year marks the 10th anniversary of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue Initiative. Mongolia has been endeavoring to contribute to global and regional peace and security in persistent pursuit of its peaceful, open, and multi-pillar foreign policy. With this primary purpose, Mongolia initiated the “Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security” in 2013 and has hosted a series of conferences and meetings since 2014. We believe that the initiative’s format allows government officials and experts to meaningfully engage in substantive discussions on security issues in the region.

As an inclusive process, which brings together the voices of government officials, academics, and civil societies to solve a wide range of issues, including security, energy, agriculture, infrastructure development, green growth, and humanitarian cooperation, the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue is well-positioned to make a substantial contribution to neutralizing and avoiding tensions on the Korean Peninsula, and encouraging confidence building in the Northeast Asian region.

Nuclear disarmament, non-proliferation, complete elimination of nuclear weapons and establishment of nuclear-weapon-free zones are the best and effective means of creating a world free of nuclear weapons. Therefore, Mongolia declared its nuclear-weapon-free status in 1992. Indeed, the international recognition of Mongolia’s nuclear-weapon-free status is a tangible contribution and effort to strengthening regional peace, security and stability. Furthermore, in the last 30 years of its nuclear-weapon-free status, Mongolia has reiterated its principled position on the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula that the concerned parties should display restraint, resolve accumulated disputes and de-escalate the evolving tensions solely through talks and negotiations.



Distinguished participants,

Recent trends in global and regional security call for further discussion of the security situation in Northeast Asia. Building on the positive experiences of the previous conferences held since 2014, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia has strived to focus on ways forward to solidify the recent decent developments and share views on the short and long-term prospects of the security issues in the region. This year's discussions will review developments and challenges in Northeast Asia in light of the broader international security context.

We are confident that continued dialogue among all stakeholders is essential for building trust. Therefore, Northeast Asian countries should determine their security policies and priorities toward the foremost aspects, including non-proliferation, dealing with climate change, developing regional and sub-regional cooperation for building more connected, prosperous, secure, and resilient sub-region, and further stabilization of the current geopolitical situation.

I am pleased to note that the current conference provides an excellent opportunity for its participants to have constructive discussions on security issues of the Northeast Asian region, share their views and identify further possible ways to interact with other substantial fields such as energy, green development, infrastructure and opportunities of humanitarian cooperation. It is widely known that Northeast Asia has untapped and huge potential in the areas of energy, green growth, technology, agriculture, and tourism. It is also important for Northeast Asian countries to carry out joint training and exchange good-practices in the fields of disaster risk reduction and prevention and emergency response as the region is prone to natural disasters.

Following the COVID-19 pandemic, economic challenges as well as other factors such as climate change, desertification, international geopolitical tensions and rapid population growth in the region have compelled Northeast Asian countries to a divert their attention to food security. Mongolia is firmly committed to strengthening cooperation on food security through the implementation of joint projects, programs and studies related to agricultural and animal husbandry in line with the specific interests and needs of the countries. The food security program launched by the Government of Mongolia to supply its food demand with domestic goods is well underway.

We are offering a setting to foster frank and open dialogue on various topics related to Northeast Asian security issues. The session "Promoting Energy Cooperation in Northeast Asia" of the conference is a great platform to discuss views on energy policies, sustainable development, best practices, and future trends in Northeast Asian countries as well as challenges the region might face in the coming years, and its solution to promote regional energy integration through bilateral and multilateral cooperation.



It is a firm belief that youth make an important and positive contribution to lasting peace and economic prosperity in all parts of the globe, in particular Northeast Asia. Therefore, Mongolia fully supports the “Futuring Peace” initiative by the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA), which is dedicated to strengthening opportunities for Northeast Asian youth to share their unique observations for regional peace and security with policymakers, as a step towards broader representation of youth in high-level policy fora. In this regard, we are pleased to organize, with the UN DPPA, the session “Futuring Peace in Northeast Asia” to provide a platform for youth representatives to share their views and recommendations on regional peace and security with government officials and experts.

Dear guests,

It is clear that the livelihood of millions of citizens in that region and the prosperity of the countries are hanging on what we call talks, dialogues and negotiations. Hence, I believe that productive discussions and interesting presentations are to take place here and the dialogue will be fruitful.

I was told that this time some of you would have more time to get acquainted with Mongolia and its people. Enjoy your stay and discover our proud history and culture. It is my pleasure to inform you that the Government of Mongolia announced 2023–2025 as the year of “Welcome to Mongolia”.

I wish you fruitful deliberations and a pleasant stay in Mongolia.

OPENING REMARKS
**BY H.E. MS. IZUMI NAKAMITSU, UNITED NATIONS UN-
DER-SECRETARY-GENERAL OF DISARMAMENT AFFAIRS**

Your Excellency, Minister Battsetseg,

Your Excellency, Minister Saikhanbayar,

Director General Batsuren,

Professor Davaadorj Begz,

Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

It is a great pleasure to join you today at the opening session of the Eight International Conference of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security. Personally, it has been a memorable first visit to Mongolia, learning and enjoying the rich history and culture and the amazing nature of this country.

I would like to take this opportunity to express my appreciation to the Government of Mongolia for hosting this event in the capital city of this nuclear weapons free country, at a time when Northeast Asia is facing multiple challenges - increased geopolitical competition, rising tensions on the Korean Peninsula and economic challenges.

Today, I want to talk to you about two inter-related issues, both key components for international security. First, I want to lay out the rising global and regional risks from a disarmament perspective. Second, I want to discuss the importance of transparency and confidence-building in uncertain and volatile times like today.

At the outset, I'd like to touch upon the global and regional risks we are facing today. On a global level, the international security landscape is becoming increasingly complex, contentious, fragmented and challenging. Heightened geopolitical tensions, the progressive modernization of weapons systems and the lack of transparency, trust and dialogue have brought the world to a critical juncture.

These trends are evident in the conventional arms space where States are undertaking expensive military build-ups, implementing large procurement plans and developing more sophisticated conventional weapons driving military expenditures upward. In 2022, global military expenditures have reached a new record high of \$2.24 trillion US dollars, and that



figure is further expected to rise in coming years as States are further looking to boost their military budgets in response to the current security landscape.

Regional risks also abound. This region provides an intersection for multiple nuclear-armed States and major military powers and is the venue for some dangerous military flashpoints. The increasing accumulation of sophisticated weapons systems, delivery vehicles and qualitatively improved nuclear weapons is an alarming cocktail. It has the potential to lead to serious mistake or miscalculation that could have catastrophic consequences. The region also does not have a history of institutions capable of addressing these challenges. The absence of those guardrails further increases the chances of miscalculation.

The DPRK's increased launches of missiles has contributed to increasing regional and international tensions. The latest attempt by the DPRK to launch what it described as a military reconnaissance satellite on 31 May further fed into that tension, despite Security Council resolutions prohibiting the DPRK from conducting any launches using ballistic missile technology. On 30 May, the day before the launch, the Secretary-General strongly condemned the DPRK's satellite launch using ballistic missile technology. He also called on the DPRK to refrain from conducting further satellite launches using such technology and to swiftly resume dialogue to achieve the goal of sustainable peace and the complete and verifiable denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

Furthermore, the DPRK's continued references to the possible use of nuclear weapons exacerbates the fragility of the security context in the region. And nuclear risks are not limited to the DPRK. There has been a disturbing trend of regional nuclear-armed States increasing the role and significance of nuclear weapons in their security doctrines, contrary to decades of efforts by the international community to reduce and eliminate nuclear risks.

In that regard, I welcome Mongolia's initiative – through the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue – to seek to complement existing security and coordination mechanisms and explore ways to bridge gaps, especially through building confidence and trust. **In this context, I'd like to talk about the importance of transparency and confidence building measures for the maintenance of international peace and stability, particularly in times of uncertainty and volatility.**

Starting with transparency, this is a prerequisite for arms control, disarmament and non-proliferation and also acts as a confidence-building measure with the potential to contribute to the prevention and reduction of ambiguities and tensions among States. It can pave the way for international cooperation and decrease the chances of mistake or miscalculation. Transparency can also encourage mutual restraint in arms transfers and military budgeting and decelerate military build-up.

To promote transparency in military matters, the UN General Assembly established two universal instruments, the UN Report on Military Expenditures (UNMilEx) and the



UN Register of Conventional Arms (UNROCA). UNMilEx, established in 1980, is aimed at reducing excessive military spending and provides an opportunity for States to share information on their annual military expenditures with other Member States and the broader public. The UNROCA instrument was born out of conflict to identify the dangerous and excessive accumulation of arms, help track the diversion of equipment and serve as an early- warning mechanism back in 1991. But both these tools remain under-utilized. I would like to take this opportunity to emphasize the effectiveness of these two instruments as confidence- and trust-building measures and invite States to submit annual reports to UNROCA and UNMilEx.

And in the context of nuclear weapons, transparency in areas such as doctrine, posture, arsenal size and fissile material stockpile size help create predictability, which in turns helps to ensure stability and the reinforcement of the norm against use. It is of critical, and I would say urgent importance for the global as well as regional stability that nuclear weapon states engage in serious dialogues to increase transparency on all these aspects of their nuclear weapons.

Confidence-building measures, or CBMs, are also essential to the maintenance of international peace and security. The development and implementation of CBMs aim at correcting faulty perceptions of motive, reducing misunderstanding about military activity, and building security cooperation and even interdependency. As the confidence-building measures take effect over time, they can stabilize bilateral and regional relationships, and help clarify shared security interests, further opening the space for trust and cooperation. Ultimately CBMs can serve as a baseline for the pursuit of legally binding measures and agreements on arms control and disarmament.

During the Cold War, the United States and the Soviet Union developed a range of CBMs intended to prevent nuclear war, including information exchanges on matters such as missile launches and the use of crisis communication tools such as hotlines aimed at providing predictability in case of accidents that could lead to an escalation spiral. Such CBMs should be further invested in, especially at the regional and sub-regional levels to augment the safety, sustainability and security of day-to-day operations, to reduce and prevent ambiguities, doubts and suspicions on military matters.

For its part, the United Nations has consistently underscored the value of confidence-building measures. In the past years, the UN Disarmament Commission adopted recommendations on the practical implementation of transparency and confidence-building measures in outer space activities and in the field of conventional arms, respectively in 2023 and 2017. The value of CBMs is also recognized within the framework of the Biological Weapons Convention.

However, it is important to note here that military CBMs should not be completely isolated from efforts in other fields. CBMs are not standalone measures but should be seen



as a continuous process that includes a multitude of aspects. Non-military CBMs including economic, political, human, cultural or environmental measures can be used as a bridge to start a dialogue among parties and progress to more sensitive military and security issues once a certain level of trust and confidence has been established. As such, military transparency and confidence-building measures should not be siloed but be fully integrated into wider mediation efforts to address specific security challenges.

Excellencies,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

The unique strategic dynamics and challenges in Northeast Asia can only be addressed through cooperation among stakeholders in the region. Transparency and confidence building is a critical step to ensure that we leave our future generations a peaceful and prosperous Northeast Asia.

I would like to appeal to the political leaders of the countries in the region, as well as of those military powers that have stakes in the region, to exercise courage and real leadership to course correct from arms race to dialogue and negotiations. History shows it is possible. Months following the 1962 Cuban Missile Crisis, President Kennedy and Premier Khrushchev shared the sense of acute risk and engaged in a series of exchanges which led to the decision to re-open negotiations on banning nuclear testing. In less than one year after the Cuban Missile Crisis – the closest point to a nuclear war in history of the world – the 1963 Partial Nuclear Test Ban Treaty was signed.

I trust that regional events like this will provide the region with the opportunity to contextualize issues of relevance for the region and provide opportunities to address issues of peace and security and beyond, including through the development and implementation of transparency and confidence-building measures. Coupled with courage and leadership, it will bring real possibilities of international arrangements which is “safer by far than an unlimited nuclear arms race” to borrow from President Kennedy’s words. My office, the Office for Disarmament Affairs, including through its Regional Centre for Asia and the Pacific, UNRCPD, stands ready to assist in this endeavor.

I thank you very much for your attention.

OPENING REMARKS
BY PROF. B. DAVAADORJ, DIRECTOR,
THE INSTITUTE FOR STRATEGIC STUDIES, MONGOLIA

Your Excellency Ms. B. Battsetseg, the Minister for Foreign Affairs,
Your Excellency Mr. G. Saikhanbayar, the Minister of Defense
Distinguished guests and participants,
Ladies and Gentlemen,

On behalf of the Institute for Strategic Studies of Mongolia, ISS, I am pleased to welcome you to the eighth “Ulaanbaatar Dialogue”- the International Conference on Northeast Asian Security.

Thank you for joining us afar to participate in this year’s UB Dialogue. I am particularly grateful for participants and experts coming from different parts of the world.

Now, at this moment, I would like to thank all our partners for their cooperation and support in making this dialogue happen.

The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia – our true partner on this journey to make the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue one of the viable international platforms that address the issues of Northeast Asian security and the economy.

Over the past years, we have gained new partners and friends who support our efforts in this regard. With the United Nations Department of Political Affairs, we have been organizing the Youth session from Northeast Asia to share their views on the future of our region.

The Business Council of Mongolia and the UN Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific are our important partners who put together very insightful panels on the post-pandemic economic cooperation and energy connectivity in Northeast Asia.

I also would like to highlight the valuable support and cooperation from the Asia Foundation for the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue.

Please allow me to share a few words about ISS before delving into welcome remarks.



We were founded under the Defense Ministry and last year marked the foundation of our 30th birthday. Now, ISS is a governmental think tank, under the National Security Council, that conducts policy research concerning core national security matters and provides analysis.

Today, we are delighted and grateful to have you all with us at UBD2023.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We all came together here in Ulaanbaatar to discuss the security challenges, solutions to problems, and opportunities for cooperation in our Northeast Asia region.

Our efforts for peace, security, and international cooperation could not be successful without a network between officials, experts, and scholars through diplomatic dialogue. Thus, these two days are a great opportunity for all of us to share our views and listen to each other on the common concern of security and prosperity in the region.

Last year, we successfully convened our dialogue despite the Covid pandemic being active around. Now we all have already overcome it and adapted to it as it became our new norm of living. No threat of a pandemic is around, now you all are welcome to enjoy the life of Ulaanbaatar, we encourage you to take a chance during your free time to visit the countryside around Ulaanbaatar to experience the sense of nomadic life.

Dear colleagues,

We are still living in a dramatically changing and unexpected world. Change is now the new norm, but is so fast thus requiring us to be adaptable and resilient to any common traditional and untraditional threats. Someone's security should not necessarily be someone else's insecurity.

At this time, no single country will be able to cope with the challenges and threats that we all face today because the nature of the threat is global and transnational. We are connected more than ever yet vulnerable in the face of growing new security threats.

Geopolitical tensions and conflicts are becoming a pressing issue not only in the region but in wider Europe and Asia. Multiple security challenges and risks still remain in Northeast Asia – from the Korean Peninsula southwards to cross-strait relations and further to the East and South China Sea.

The nuclear threat still exists. As a resolute supporter of non-proliferation and a country recognized by a unique Single-state nuclear-weapon-free status, Mongolia continues to contribute to the causes of nuclear non-proliferation and promote trust in the region.

In times of increasing geopolitical tensions and security challenges, the need for coop-



eration, mutual understanding, and practical solutions is more than ever now. Here lies the significance of dialogue like UBD.

We cannot give up our hopes for a cooperative and prosperous region as this region possesses an enormous economic and energy potential and developmental capacity, and prosperity for a large piece of the world population. We must continue to make our contribution to the cooperation and dialogue amongst us for the larger security and prosperity interests of the region.

Next week, Mongolia is hosting the annual multinational peacekeeping exercise Khaan Quest 2023, and around the 29-30 of this month, we are also hosting the Female Foreign Ministers Meeting- an international conference. Female foreign ministers from 42 countries and high-level UN and international organizations' representatives are coming to Mongolia to discuss urgent issues of international peace, climate change, and food security.

Ladies and Gentlemen,

We hope that the UBD continues to be a platform where individual scholars and countries can debate, agree, and agree to disagree. I am sure that all our efforts in this regard will play a pivotal role in finding a common ground and charting a joint way forward achieving a creative and harmonious solution for any problems we face.

By sharing our insights and perspectives on common security issues, we will make one step forward in our security cooperation. It might not be the final and once-for-all solution, but I'm sure that it will be good progress toward our mutual understanding.

We are grateful to have all your expertise and experience to tackle this task. Thank you.

SESSION I

SESSION I: SECURITY CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN THE REGION

Despite the ramifications of the pandemic, security tensions remain high in Northeast Asia due to ongoing geopolitical and geo-economic competition among the great powers and uncertainty on the Korean Peninsula. This session will provide a platform for regional experts, policymakers, and academics to discuss security challenges and opportunities in the sub-region.

What are the most pressing security challenges and their trends? What are the short, medium, and long- term implications for the region and beyond?

Moderator:

Dr. Mendee Jargalsaikhan, Deputy Director, Institute for Strategic Studies of Mongolia

- **Dr. Noboru Miyawaki**, Professor, Faculty of Policy Science, Ritsumeikan University, Osaka, Japan;
- **COL Munkh-Ochir Dorjjugder**, Head of Department for Strategic Policy and Analysis, Executive Office of the National Security Council, Mongolia;
- **Dr. Sun Ru**, Research Professor, the Institute of World Political Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), PRC;
- **Dr. Bomi Kim**, Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Strategy, ROK;
- **Dr. Vladimir Evseev**, Head, Division for Eurasian Integration and SCO, Institute of CIS Countries, Russian Federation;
- **Dr. Satu P. Limaye**, Vice President, East-West Center, and Director of Research, East-West Center in Washington, USA

MODERATOR'S SUMMARY

The session posed the most traditional questions of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue – (1) What are the most pressing security challenges and their trends? (2) What are the short, medium, and long-term implications for the region and beyond?

The session featured insightful and candid presentations from six speakers: COL Munkh-Ochir Dorjjugder, Head of Department for Strategic Policy and Analysis, Executive Office of the National Security Council, Mongolia; Dr. Sun Ru, Research Professor, the Institute of World Political Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), PRC; Dr. Noboru Miyawaki, Professor, Faculty of Policy Science, Ritsumeikan University, Osaka, Japan; Dr. Bomi Kim, Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Strategy, ROK; Dr. Vladimir Evseev, Head, Division for Eurasian Integration and SCO, Institute of CIS Countries, Russian Federation; and Dr. Satu P. Limaye, Vice President, East-West Center, and Director of Research, East-West Center in Washington, USA.

Representing the host nation, Mr. Munkh-Ochir highlighted the importance of widening our outlook to the foundations of the international security architecture and pointed out three main risks for the international security architecture: (1) erosion of international security, institutions, and norms, (2) polarization of great powers and their allies, and (3) diminishing of arms control agreements and mechanisms. He explained the current ambiguity between the right of states for territorial integrity and the right of self-determination and advocated dropping the latter for the benefit of the former. Interestingly, Mr. Munkh-Ochir argued the Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia (CICA) – a possible candidate – as it aims to define the overarching areas of cooperation and strengthen the results-oriented and consensus based multilateral cooperation in the region. Dr. Sun Ru shared an insightful view of Sino-American relations while explaining why and how the US policies and alliance architecture (especially, US-Japan-South Korea) impact regional peace and security and even triggering the arms race. Dr. Noboru Miyawaki presented his arguments on how the OSCE encourages dialogue and pointed out some practical implications or applicable lessons for resolving conflicts in East Asia. Dr. Bomi Kim shared South Korean perspectives on regional security matters while providing insightful explanations and views on North Korea's nuclear programs and negative implications for regional security. Dr. Vladimir Evseev shared interesting technical perspectives on nuclear weapons and development in North Korea and ways to reduce the nuclear threat for the region. Dr. Satu Limaye shared his observation of the security situation of the region while explaining the free and open Indo-Pacific strategies. Dr. Satu also reasoned security challenges concerning the bilateral relations with China, Russia, and North Korea.

In general, panelists agreed that the regional security situation is not getting better. Mistrust among nations is on the rise while geopolitical tensions and competitions over technology, resources, and influence are growing. International institutions remain weak. A region could be on the brink of war at any time. Moreover, all panelist shared similar con-



cerns about the conflict from their perspectives. For instance, Chinese scholar explained why the trilateral cooperation between the Japan, South Korea and United States is raising the security concern for China. Overall, all panelists agreed the security situation in Northeast Asia is worsening. The panelists also provided their diagnosis of key security challenges, ranging from Korean peninsula, Great Power competitions, competitive alliance building and arms race. However, one concern resonated throughout the speeches and discussions was the lack of will to conduct inclusive, constructive dialogues – which is considered as a key ingredient.

During the question-and-answer period, panelists also proposed different approaches to prevent the situation is getting worse. Some panelists hinted the example of the OSCE/CSCE could be useful for strengthening the confidence building measures. Others suggested bilateral and mini-lateral (i.e., trilateral) arrangements as the most practical solution. However, a few panelists argued these pairs or trilateral relations would contribute negatively, if these are exclusive in their nature. That's why the inclusive, pan-regional mechanism could be the solution – for this purpose, Conference on confidence building measures in Asia (CICA) could be a model.

All panelists highlighted the importance of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue – particularly, during this time of heightened geopolitical tensions and a period of growing mistrust and uncertainty. One of the panelists suggested promoting Ulaanbaatar Dialogue at the ministerial level or even pushing forward to serve as a base for the future regional consultative mechanism. In a nutshell, although our panelists have shared their wary of the geopolitical uncertainty, the session ended on a positive note – the increased importance of inclusive dialogue and cooperation.

SESSION II

SESSION II: MULTILATERAL COOPERATION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

Although the Northeast Asian region lacks an overarching security mechanism, there are numerous efforts that have been made to build confidence and trust. State actors as well as even non-governmental organizations have put forward and tried to promote various types of confidence-building measures (CBMs). This session will welcome experts from the sub-region and beyond to share their perspectives on successful CBMs, examine past and current examples, and explore practical steps for sustainable CBMs in the region.

How can countries contribute to effective CBM? What are the best practices for CBM?

Moderator:

Mr. Paul Dziatkowicz, Head of Diplomatic Dialogue, Geneva Centre for Security Policy

- **Dr. Antoine Maire**, Research Associate, Foundation for Strategic Research (FRS), France;
- **Mr. Aidar Kurmashev**, Head, Department of Asian Studies, Center for International Studies, ISS, Kazakhstan;
- **COL Altankhuu Badarch**, Research Fellow, Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia;
- **Dr hab. Michal Lubina**, Jagiellonian University, Institute of Middle and Far East, Poland ;
- **Dr. Huseyin Bagci**, Professor, Middle East Technical University, Türkiye

MODERATOR'S SUMMARY

Our broad theme in Session 2 was Multilateral Cooperation in Northeast Asia. Within that theme, we explored the concepts of trust and confidence between states and more concretely CBMs.



Namely, what CBMs exist, what works and doesn't work, and what should come to exist in the future to ensure sustainable peace and prosperity for the region.

We talked about fragmentation in Northeast Asia along the emerging geopolitical faultiness, and explored in some depth the existing international security and confidence-building architecture in the region, including:

- The Shanghai Cooperation Organization;
- Conference on Interaction and Confidence-Building Measures in Asia;
- Trilateral Cooperation Secretariat and their respective merits.

We also assessed Mongolia's role as a middle power and niche player in the region. Given its geography and geopolitical situation, we heard that CBMs are, by necessity, at the heart of Mongolia's foreign policy and strategic thinking.

This is driven by the need to achieve equilibrium between Russia and China. This posture is exemplified among others by:

- Mongolia's nuclear-weapons-free status;
- The 'third neighbors' policy, which refers to relationships with other partners beyond the immediate two neighbors, including the US, Japan, the Republic of Korea and the EU;
- Promotion of dialogue: for example, the UB Dialogue, and other examples where Mongolia plays the role of an intermediary between the DPRK and other states in the region.

Also, we heard the perspective of other important states beyond this immediate region, namely Kazakhstan and Turkey. In Kazakhstan, we learned that the sense of identity has evolved with generational change, and that that sense of identity is an important shaper of the country's foreign policy. The emerging identity is that of a 'bridge state' between East and West - and as a bridge, Kazakhstan by definition is a strong promoter of regional CBMs.

Elsewhere, Turkey apparently sees itself as a 'modified regional power' - a self-assured country that uses a diverse toolkit in its international engagements: soft power, public diplomacy, military, and others.

As for Northeast Asia, in terms of international security, we now have a regional dynamic that is shaped largely by US-China relations and the knock-on effects of the Ukraine



war. These factors have hampered the effectiveness of global institutions like the UN from playing an effective conflict management role.

We reflected in some depth on the transformative moment that we're in - particularly since Russia's attack on Ukraine, which shattered many assumptions regarding international norms, sovereignty, inviolability of borders, and the international security order. This has brought us into an era of unpredictability, for which we're not adequately prepared. We are not helped by the fact that it is all happening in an environment of little trust, and increasing fear (of each other).

We agreed that the post-1945 world order has been dramatically altered (if not rendered irrelevant) and the future order is yet to be shaped - but most likely it will be defined primarily by security interests over all other interests.

How do we adapt to this?

Some ideas included being more mindful that we increasingly face non-traditional security threats that require new thinking about what type of security architecture can address such threats; avoiding the trap of basing CBMs on old assumptions about how the great powers behave (because that can change); and instead of copying earlier cases completely, cherry-picking from different models. The states of the region also need to invest in cultivating a creative and constructive younger generation, refocusing on other types of diplomacy (cultural, academic, people-to-people links in general), and rethinking how our multilateral organizations function and make decisions.

We concluded that the UB Dialogue is one useful vehicle for pursuing these ideas, and a place where effective CBMs can be crafted and promoted in the region.

SESSION III

SESSION III: FUTURING PEACE IN NORTHEAST ASIA

This session will be jointly organized with the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA) and will provide a platform for youth representatives to share their views and recommendations on regional peace and security with policymakers. Youth representatives will discuss ways to strengthen ties between youth in the region, create common narratives, promote confidence-building measures, and bridge gaps between generations.

How could policymakers better hear young people's voices and allow for contributions to policymaking? In what areas should youth expertise be prioritized?

Moderator:

Ms. Sonja Bachmann, Team Leader, Northeast Asia and the Pacific, UN Department of Political Affairs, United Nations

- **Ms. Ijun Kim**, Youth Peacebuilder, UNDPPA's 'Futuring Peace in Northeast Asia'; UNICEF Youth Foresight Fellow, ROK;
- **Ms. Yuefeng Shi**, Youth Peacebuilder, UNDPPA's 'Futuring Peace in Northeast Asia', PRC;
- **Ms. Khishigjargal Enkhbayar**, Youth Peacebuilder, UNDPPA's 'Futuring Peace in Northeast Asia'; Secretary General of the NGO 'United Nations Association of Mongolia', Mongolia;
- **Mr. Tengis Batbayar**, Youth Peacebuilder, UNDPPA's 'Futuring Peace in Northeast Asia', Mongolia

MODERATOR'S SUMMARY

Futuring Peace in Northeast Asia is an initiative by the United Nations Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (UNDPPA) co-designed by youth peacebuilders from China, Japan, Mongolia, and the Republic of Korea. It is dedicated to strengthening oppor-

tunities for Northeast Asian youth to share their unique observations for regional peace and security with policymakers, as a step towards broader representation of youth in high-level policy fora in line with UN Security Council Resolutions 2250 (2015), 2419 (2018) and 2535 (2020) on Youth, Peace and Security (YPS).

The first phase of the project in 2021 was implemented in partnership with UNESCO, the results of which were presented during the Ulaanbaatar Dialogues in 2022. Building on the recommendations, the second phase of the future Peace initiative set out to develop concrete policy recommendations for a peaceful future in the region, utilizing strategic foresight tools. In 2022, the initiative was implemented in collaboration with the Swiss foreign policy think-tank Foraus and co-designed and co-facilitated by Northeast Asian youth. Throughout four workshops, youth imagined how **education, new technologies, and innovative approaches** could be used to build new regional narratives for Northeast Asia. Questions were framed using the “Futures Triangle” approach, probing participants to think about future outcomes by looking at three dimensions: the push of the present, the pull from the future, and the weight of the past. Four interrelated areas for policymaking were identified and developed into a set of recommendations in a youth-drafted policy report titled “**Future of Regional Narrative Building in Northeast Asia: Policy Recipes by Youth Peacebuilders**”. Recommendations include:

- **Public-Private Sector Collaboration for Digital Literacy Programs** in Northeast Asia to address the growing presence of hate speech, prejudice, misogyny, and antagonism online, and enable the creation of safe and inclusive online spaces for regional cultural exchanges through developing 1) in-school digital literacy programs for students, 2) out-of-school digital literacy programs for the public, 3) digital space policies for safety and inclusiveness.
- **Furthering Educational and Technological Cooperation** for Northeast Asian youth to promote intra-regional dialogues, learning from other cultures and exposure to different perspectives through increasing 1) funding for language study abroad programs and regional exchange student programs, 2) exchanges through intra-regional forums driven by the private sector, 3) participation of CSOs and NGOs in ensuring citizens’ access to information.
- **Creation of an independent Northeast Asian Youth Parliament for Climate Action** to allow youth to directly influence environmental policies in the region through a cooperative approach. The Parliament could serve as an instrument for meaningful youth participation and a real impact on decision-making nationally and regionally.
- **Obtaining an inclusive metaverse in Northeast Asia** by enhancing awareness of climate-focused initiatives as well as reimagining the future of learning, while addressing regulatory challenges such as accessibility, interoperability, and privacy.



This year at the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue for Northeast Asian Security (UBD), the presenters focused primarily on the recommendation for the creation of a **Youth Parliament for Climate Action**, to communicate its potential to promote regional cooperation and explore partnerships to realize the vision. The aim of the Youth Parliament is to create a platform in which youth can directly influence environmental policies in the region through multi-stakeholder cooperation. Despite challenges linked to the heightened geopolitical tensions, youth identified climate change and action as an opportunity to foster regional advocacy and cooperation.

After the presentation at the UBD, audience members offered valuable feedback and suggestions for the realization of the Youth Parliament for Climate Action. Some models to which the Northeast Asian youth could look when designing the regional parliament include the Environmental Climate Change Youth Council of Canada, the Mongolian Teen Parliament for Climate Change, and the European Youth Parliament. The Global Conference of Young Parliamentarians, convened by the Inter-Parliamentary Union, was noted as a platform to interact with other youth leaders in organizing a decision-making body. The audience highlighted the importance of identifying the right partners in establishing and maintaining the Youth Parliament, such as organizations to fund the operations of the parliament, media channels to deliver and amplify key messages, and youth allies to facilitate the work of young leaders.

Some areas that require further consideration are the election or nomination process of the parliamentarians, mechanisms to hold partners accountable in their support of the parliament, and the solution to the free-rider problem in the context of collective action for environmental sustainability. It was also noted that the Youth Parliament must have a clear and short list of priorities to ensure its members can remain focused on the task at hand to deliver maximum impact. Despite such challenges, many agreed the Youth Parliament has great potential to be a platform for advocacy and regional cohesion, placing young people at the forefront of positive change.

SESSION IV

SESSION IV: THE POST-COVID ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN THE REGION

The pandemic has had a strong impact on trade, investment, and financial markets while impacting all communities, and individuals. International financial institutions and countries have implemented substantial policy measures and stimulus programs to reduce the impacts of the pandemic. This session provided a platform for economists, policymakers, and business representatives from Asian countries and international financial institutions to engage in constructive discussions about the post-COVID-19 economic collaboration.

Moderator:

Mr. Tumentsogt Tsevegmid, Chairman of the Business Council of Mongolia

- **Dr. Mimura Mitsuhiro**, Professor, Economic and Social Research Institute for Northeast Asia, University of Niigata Prefecture (ERINA-UNP), Japan
- **Dr. Gregory Gleson**, Professor, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, USA
- **Mr. Yesukhei Enkhuvshin**, Director, Investment Research Center, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia
- **Mr. Hannes A. Takacs**, Head of Mongolia, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
- **Mr. Rufat Alimardanov**, Resident Representative for Mongolia, IFC
- **Ms. Lakshmi Bojoo**, Director, Economic Policy and Competitiveness Research Center, Mongolia

SESSION V

SESSION V: POWER GRID CONNECTIVITY FOR THE ENERGY TRANSITION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

This session will be jointly organized with the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN ESCAP) inviting government officials and regional experts on energy cooperation. Participants will share their views on the potential for power interconnections in Northeast Asia based on the “Green Power Corridor Roadmap” proposed by UN ESCAP and the preliminary outcomes of scenario modelling on cross-border grid connectivity using renewable sources of energy. The session will also encourage participants to focus on challenges and opportunities for addressing the interlinked targets of Sustainable Development Goals 7 (SDG 7) and 13 as well as how to promote regional energy integration through bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

Opening Remarks and Progress on the “Green Power Corridor Road Map”

Mr. Ganbold Baasanjav, Head, Subregional Office for East and North-East Asia, ESCAP

Modeling Scenarios for the Green Power Corridor

Mr. Jason Vesey, Stockholm Environment Institute

Panel Discussion with Government representatives and Sub-regional experts on the Green Power Corridor Road Map

Moderator:

- **Mr. Matthew Wittenstein**, Chief, Energy Connectivity Section, ESCAP
- **Mr. Xun Wang**, National Energy Administration, PRC
- **Mr. Enkhuvshin Ganbaatar**, Head of Investment and Production Division, Ministry of Energy, Mongolia
- **Ms. Anna Pribylova**, Counsellor, Department of International Cooperation, Ministry of Energy, Russian Federation



- **Dr. Dongil Lee**, Secretary-General, CIGRE Korea
- **Mr. Baldorj Chimeddorj**, Solar Engineer, World Bank PMO
- **Mr. Seiichiro Kimura**, Renewable Energy Institute
- **Dr. Xinzhi Xu**, Senior Engineer, GEIDCO
- **Mr. Yanqin Song**, Senior Energy Specialist, World Bank, Mongolia

MODERATOR'S SUMMARY

The Session was organized with two main goals in mind: to present the draft findings of ESCAP's project on the "Green Power Corridor Roadmap for Northeast Asia" and to identify opportunities for increased energy cooperation in North-East Asia, with a particular focus on the power system.

The Session began with opening remarks from Ganbold Baasanjav, Director of the United Nations ESCAP East & North-East Asia Office. In his remarks, Mr. Baasanjav noted the unique platform that UB Dialogue provides to enable open and constructive conversation among a wide range of relevant stakeholders in North-east Asia. He then highlighted the draft Green Power Corridor Roadmap, which seeks to create a common vision for North-East Asian countries to cooperate on power grid connectivity and energy transition, to better leverage the region's vast renewable energy resource potential. Mr. Baasanjav also emphasized the importance of accelerating progress on the energy transition in North-east Asia, to be in line with Paris Agreement commitments, and the potential role that increased connectivity can play in helping countries of this region affordably and securely develop and utilize renewable energy resources.

Next, Mr. Jason Veysey, Senior Scientist at the Stockholm Environment Institute, presented the draft modeling of the various Green Power Corridor scenarios. A set of connectivity scenarios are being modeled and compared, to help assess various pathways toward decarbonization and the potential impacts of increased connectivity. One key takeaway of the modelling done so far is that enhanced connectivity promotes low-cost renewable power generation, and that the benefits increase with the greater transmission. In addition, all the various transmission development proposals have been found to be economically viable under current policy, technology, and cost assumptions. Therefore, increased connectivity can be seen as a potential "no-regrets" option for North-east Asia.

The session next presented different perspectives on energy transition and power system connectivity. Panelists representing China, Mongolia, and the Russian Federation presented national updates on power system developments, with each highlighting the important role of increased cross-border power system connectivity. Then, speakers from NGOs,

research institutes, and the World Bank presented their views of the challenges to and potential opportunities for increased collaboration.

The consensus view of the panel was that power system connectivity has a role to play in supporting economic development, the integration of renewable energy, and increased energy security. Nevertheless, the Panel also identified a number of short- and long-term challenges to progress, including the current geopolitical situation, negative perceptions of the public toward increased connectivity, the challenge of securing sufficient low-cost financing, and various technical and regulatory hurdles.

Notwithstanding these challenges, the Panel agreed that the shared urgency for climate action can be a strong driver for increased power connectivity in Northeast Asia, and proposed the following concrete measures as the way forward to strengthen regional cooperation, building in particular off of the draft recommendations of the Green Power Corridor Roadmap. During the first phase of the Road Map's development, ESCAP could work with Member States to establish a forum for active collaboration, for example by supporting the revitalization of the task force between China, Mongolia and the Russian Federation. Memorandums of Understanding have already been signed between Erdenet in Mongolia, GEIDCO in China, and Rosseti in THE Russian Federation, but the task force lost momentum due to the pandemic. Working with the World Bank and others, ESCAP could also support stronger engagement with the private sector as an enabler and driver of regional interconnection.

It was also emphasized that, in some instances, focusing on bilateral connectivity may help create an enabling environment for wider regional cooperation. Therefore, bilateral connectivity agreements should be pursued while at the same time considering the broader North-east Asian context.

At the same time, it is important that countries consider domestic development as well. Connectivity in the power sector also means focusing on domestic needs. Domestic grid development can unlock domestic renewable energy potential, while at the same time opening potential pathways to cross-border power system integration, if and when countries decide to move in that direction. Deepening collaboration on research and knowledge sharing among all stakeholders will contribute to advancing dialogue and evidenced-based policy-making, regardless of the level of cross-border connectivity, and therefore should be supported across the region, especially at the working level.

There was clear alignment among panel participants that increased energy cooperation can bring real benefits to North-east Asia. Therefore, the question is not whether to work more closely together, but how. The Green Power Corridor Roadmap will articulate a vision for an increasingly interconnected North-east Asia, but ultimately it is up to the stakeholders in the region to define their vision and to transform that vision into reality.

CLOSING SESSION

CLOSING REMARKS
BY MR. N. ANKHBAYAR, STATE SECRETARY,
THE MINISTRY OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF MONGOLIA

Distinguished Participants,

Ladies and Gentlemen,

With great honor and gratitude, I hereby bring this momentous conference to a close. I firmly believe that this is not the end, but rather the beginning of a new chapter in the expansion of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue Initiative on Northeast Asia. Let us carry forward the momentum gained, foster deeper partnerships, and work together to build a safer and more secure future for our region and beyond.

We acknowledge the significance of the year 2023, as it commemorates the remarkable 10th anniversary of the “Ulaanbaatar Dialogue” initiative. This milestone serves as a testament to our unwavering commitment toward a denuclearized Korean Peninsula and the peaceful resolution of outstanding issues through dialogue and negotiations. Back in 2013, Mongolia took the proactive step of proposing the establishment of a dialogue mechanism for Northeast Asia. Within this framework, Mongolia has organized the international conference “Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security” since 2014.

The maintenance of lasting peace and stability in Northeast Asia, the realization of the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, and the normalization of relations between North and South Korea are crucial prerequisites for predictability, prosperity, and development in Asia and the world at large.

The Ulaanbaatar Dialogue is well-positioned to make a substantial contribution to neutralizing and avoiding tensions on the Korean Peninsula, and encouraging confidence building in the Northeast Asian region. Hence, Northeast Asian countries should outline their security priorities toward the foremost aspects, including non-proliferation, dealing with climate change, and further stabilization of the current geopolitical situation.

In today’s 8th international conference, over 150 participants from not only Northeast Asian countries but also Estonia, Netherlands, Norway, Philippines, Turkiye, the USA, and Vietnam as well as international organizations are in attendance. This clearly demonstrates that number of participants is growing from conference to conference. As peace and pros-



perity go hand in hand, the agenda of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue covers not only peace and security, but also energy, infrastructure and environmental cooperation issues.

Throughout these two days, it has been inspiring to see how participants have intensively worked to exchange views, analyze the current state, and put forward a set of recommendations for strengthening peace and security. We have heard many new ideas on how to strengthen the co-operative security through joint efforts. I am encouraged by your willingness to share and openly discuss actions, experiences, and challenges.

In the context of improving regional peace and security, we need to regularize formal and informal dialogues by adhering to the principle of non-interference and mutual respect, to uphold creative and flexible negotiation processes and mechanisms to mitigate the source of tension. We are only at the beginning of our way. The success depends on how we will prepare for the next steps and progress for fostering effective collaboration in all Northeast Asian countries, mutual trust and understanding is essential. You all have been fundamental to that progress. But, once again, we are only a beginning. We need to go further and deeper.

Dear guests,

I would like to bring your attention to several critical points that complement the summaries provided by the conference session moderators.

Firstly, the current state of insecurity in Northeast Asia is a significant cause for concern. Despite ongoing efforts to address historical and territorial disputes, there has been limited progress and, in some cases, even deterioration. This lack of substantial resolution contributes to persistent tension and instability within the region. To promote lasting peace and security, renewed attention and concerted efforts are required.

Secondly, the security landscape in Northeast Asia is heavily influenced by escalating geopolitical friction among major powers. The competition and rivalries characterized by strategic competition, trade disputes and political confrontations pose a significant risk to regional stability.

Thirdly, addressing these challenges necessitates prioritizing constructive dialogue, cooperation and confidence-building measures among stakeholders in the Northeast Asian region. Diplomatic channels should be effectively utilized to address historical and territorial disputes.

By actively engaging in these endeavors, we can work towards mitigating tensions, promoting cooperation, and ultimately creating a safer and more stable environment in Northeast Asia. Such efforts are not only crucial for the region's well-being but also have broader implications for the global community.



Ladies and Gentlemen,

Now that we have come to the end of the conference. Let me express my gratitude to our co-organizer of Ulaanbaatar Dialogue, the Institute of Strategic Studies of Mongolia, also our sponsors the Asia Foundation, and the Business Council of Mongolia for supporting our activities to organize this event. My special thanks also go to my team for their great job.

Last but not least, I would like to extend my genuine gratitude to all the eminent scholars and government representatives who have dedicated their time and effort to participate in this conference. Your presence and contributions have been invaluable in making this event both practical and successful.

We Mongolians say – “If the purpose is same their future will be same. If the word is same their power will be same” like the English proverb “A fisherman sees another fisherman from a far”. Our talks have been held an open-hearted friendly and mutually trusted atmosphere. It is efficient to evaluate achievements in our efforts since its initiative and exchange views on further cooperation and development in the regional and multilateral arena.

With this, I now declare the Eighth International Conference of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security formally closed.

Thank you for your participation.

Have a safe journey back home.

See you next year!

AGENDA

THE ULAANBAATAR DIALOGUE ON NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY

The Eighth International Conference 15-16, June 2023

Date: 15-16 June 2023
Venue: Consensus Hall, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia
Languages: English, Mongolian

15 June 2023, Thursday (Day 1)

08:30 - 09:00 Registration

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

Chair: Ms. MANDKHAI Batsuren, Director General, Department of Multilateral Cooperation, the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia

- Remarks by **H.E. BATTSETSEG Batmunkh**, Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mongolia;
- Remarks by **Prof. DAVAADORJ Begz**, Director, the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia;
- Video remarks by **Ms. ROSEMARY DiCarlo**, Under-Secretary-General of the UN for Political and Peacebuilding Affairs;
- Photo Session

09:45 - 10:00 Coffee break (“Nomin” Hall, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia)

10:00 - 12:30

SESSION I: SECURITY CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES IN THE REGION

Despite the ramifications of the pandemic, security tensions remain high in Northeast Asia due to ongoing geopolitical and geo-economic competition among the great powers and uncertainty on the Korean Peninsula. This session will provide a platform for regional experts, policymakers, and academics to discuss security challenges and opportunities in the sub-region.



What are the most pressing security challenges and their trends? What are the short, medium, and long-term implications for the region and beyond?

Moderator: Dr. MENDEE Jargalsaikhan, Deputy Director, the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia

- **Col MUNKH-OCHIR Dorjugder**, Chief of Strategic Policy and Analysis, Executive Office of the National Security Council of Mongolia;
- **Dr. Sun Ru**, Research Professor, the Institute of World Political Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR), PRC;
- **Dr. Noboru Miyawaki**, Professor, Faculty of Policy Science, Ritsumeikan University, Osaka, Japan;
- **Dr. Bomi Kim**, Research Fellow, Institute for National Security Strategy, ROK;
- **Dr. Vladimir Evseev**, Head, Division for Eurasian Integration and SCO, Institute of CIS Countries, Russian Federation;
- **Dr. Satu P. Limaye**, Vice President, East-West Center, and Director of Research, East-West Center in Washington, USA;
- Q&A

12:30 - 13:30 Lunch (“Nomin” Hall, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia)

13:30 - 15:30 **TRACK I ROUNDTABLE MEETING** (CLOSED SESSION/BY INVITATION ONLY)

13:30 - 15:30

SESSION II: MULTILATERAL COOPERATION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

Although the Northeast Asian region lacks an overarching security mechanism, there are numerous efforts that have been made to build confidence and trust. State actors as well as even non-governmental organizations have put forward and tried to promote various types of confidence-building measures (CBMs). This session will be welcoming experts from the sub-region and beyond to share their perspectives on successful CBMs, examine past and current examples, and explore practical steps for sustainable CBMs in the region. *How can countries contribute to effective CBM? What are the best practices for CBM?*

Moderator: Mr. Paul Dziatkowicz, Head of Diplomatic Dialogue, Geneva Centre for Security Policy

- **Dr. Antoine Maire**, Research Associate, Foundation for Strategic Research (FRS), France;
- **Mr. Aidar Kurmashev**, Head, Department of Asian Studies, Center for International Studies, ISS, Kazakhstan;



- **COL Altankhuu Badarch**, Research Fellow, Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia;
- **Dr hab. Michal Lubina**, Jagiellonian University, Institute of Middle and Far East, Poland;
- **Dr. Huseyin Bagci**, Professor, Middle East Technical University, Türkiye
- Q&A

15:30 - 15:45 Coffee break (“Nomin” Hall, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia);

15:45 - 17:00

SESSION III: FUTURING PEACE IN NORTHEAST ASIA

This session will be jointly organized with the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA) and will provide a platform for youth representatives to share their views and recommendations on regional peace and security with policymakers. Youth representatives will discuss ways to strengthen ties between youth in the region, create common narratives, promote confidence-building measures, and bridge gaps between generations. *How could policymakers better hear young people’s voices and allow for contributions to policymaking? In what areas should youth expertise be prioritized?*

Moderator: Ms. Sonja Bachmann, Team Leader, Northeast Asia and the Pacific, UN Department of Political Affairs, United Nations

- **Ms. Ijun Kim**, Youth Peacebuilder, UNDPPA’s ‘Futuring Peace in Northeast Asia’; UNICEF Youth Foresight Fellow, ROK
- **Ms. Yuefeng Shi**, Youth Peacebuilder, UNDPPA’s ‘Futuring Peace in Northeast Asia’, PRC
- **Ms. Khishigjargal Enkhbayar**, Youth Peacebuilder, UNDPPA’s ‘Futuring Peace in Northeast Asia’; Secretary General of the NGO ‘United Nations Association of Mongolia’, Mongolia
- **Mr. Tengis Batbayar**, Youth Peacebuilder, UNDPPA’s ‘Futuring Peace in Northeast Asia’, Mongolia
- Q&A

18:30 - 20:30 Reception Jointly hosted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia and the Institute for Strategic Studies (Soyombo Hall, 5th floor, The Best Western Tuushin hotel)

16 June 2023, Friday (Day 2)

08:30 - 09:00 Registration



09:00 - 10:00

SESSION IV: THE POST-COVID ECONOMIC COOPERATION IN THE REGION

The pandemic has had a strong impact on trade, investment, and financial markets while impacting all communities, and individuals. International financial institutions and countries have implemented substantial policy measures and stimulus programs to reduce the impacts of the pandemic. This session will provide a platform for economists, policymakers, and business representatives from Asian countries and international financial institutions to engage in constructive discussions about the post-COVID-19 economic collaboration.

How can regional countries and international financial organizations cooperate to stabilize regional economy, improve connectivity, and prepare for future crises?

Moderator: Mr. Tumentsogt Tsevegmid, Chairman of the Business Council of Mongolia

- **Dr. Mimura Mitsuhiro**, Professor, Economic and Social Research Institute for Northeast Asia, University of Niigata Prefecture (ERINA-UNP), Japan
- **Dr. Gregory Gleson**, Professor, George C. Marshall European Center for Security Studies, USA
- **Mr. Yesukhei Enkhtuvshin**, Director, Investment Research Center, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia
- **Mr. Hannes A. Takacs**, Head of Mongolia, European Bank for Reconstruction and Development
- **Mr. Rufat Alimardanov**, Resident Representative for Mongolia, IFC
- **Ms. Lakshmi Bojoo**, Director, Economic Policy and Competitiveness Research Center, Mongolia
- Q&A

10:40 - 11:00 Coffee break (“Nomin” Hall, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia)

11:00 - 12:40

SESSION V: POWER GRID CONNECTIVITY FOR THE ENERGY TRANSITION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

This session will be jointly organized with the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN ESCAP) inviting government officials and regional experts on energy cooperation. Participants will share their views on the potential for power interconnections in Northeast Asia based on the “Green Power Corridor Roadmap” proposed by UN ESCAP and the preliminary outcomes of scenario modelling on cross-border grid connectivity using renewable sources of energy. The session will also encourage



participants to focus on challenges and opportunities for addressing the interlinked targets of Sustainable Development Goal 7 (SDG 7) and 13 as well as how to promote regional energy integration through bilateral and multilateral cooperation.

11:00 – 11:05 Opening remarks and Progress on the “Green Power Corridor Road Map” **Mr. Ganbold Baasanjav**, Head, Subregional Office for East and North- East Asia, ESCAP

11:05 – 11:20 Modelling Scenarios for the Green Power Corridor **Mr. Jason Vesey**, Stockholm Environment Institute

11:20 – 12:40 Panel Discussion with Government representatives and Sub-regional experts on the Green Power Corridor Road Map

***Moderator: Mr. Matthew Wittenstein**, Chief, Energy Connectivity Section, ESCAP*

Panel:

- **Mr. Xun Wang**, National Energy Administration, PRC;
- **Mr. Enkhtuvshin Ganbaatar**, Head of Investment and Production Division, Ministry of Energy, Mongolia;
- **Ms. Anna Pribylova**, Counsellor, Department of International Cooperation, Ministry of Energy, Russian Federation;
- **Dr. Dongil Lee**, Secretary-General, CIGRE Korea;
- **Mr. Baldorj Chimeddorj**, Solar Engineer, World Bank PMO;
- **Mr. Seiichiro Kimura**, Renewable Energy Institute;
- **Dr. Xinzhi Xu**, Senior Engineer, GEIDCO;
- **Mr. Yanqin Song**, Senior Energy Specialist, World Bank, Mongolia;
- Q&A

12:00 - 13:00 Lunch (“Nomin” Hall, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia)

13:00 - 13:45 **CLOSING SESSION**

*Chair: **Dr. MENDEE Jargalsaikhan**, Deputy Director, the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia*

Moderators’ summary

- **Mr. Paul Dziatkowicz**, Head of Diplomatic Dialogue, Geneva Centre for Security Policy;
- **Ms. Sonja Bachmann**, Team Leader, Northeast Asia and the Pacific, DPA, United Nations;



- **Mr. Tumentsogt Tsevegmid**, Chairman of the Business Council of Mongolia;
- **Mr. Matthew Wittenstein**, Chief, Energy Connectivity Section, Energy Division;
- Remarks by **Mr. Ankhbayar Nyamdorj**, State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia



PARTICIPANTS



H.E. Ms. Battsetseg Batmunkh

Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mongolia

Ms. Battsetseg Batmunkh graduated the National University of Mongolia with Bachelor's Degree in International Relations. Also, she graduated with Bachelor's Degree in Business Administration at the Institute of Finance and Economics in Mongolia and Master's Degree in Business Administration in Maastricht School of Management in the Netherlands. Ms. Battsetseg Batmunkh worked as Vice Minister of the Foreign Affairs of Mongolia between 2016-2020, and has been currently working as the Minister of the Foreign Affairs of Mongolia since January 2021. She speaks English and Russian.



Mr. Ankhbayar Nyamdorj

State Secretary of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia

Mr. Ankhbayar Nyamdorj graduated the School of Law at the National University of Mongolia with Bachelor's Degree in Legal Studies and later graduated the Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand with Master of Laws (LLM), specializing in law and legal affairs. Mr. Ankhbayar Nyamdorj worked as part of the Assistant Staff of the Secretariat Office of Parliament and has been working at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia since 2007 as an officer, attaché, Deputy Director-General and Director-General. Mr. Ankhbayar Nyamdorj has been working as the State Secretary of Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia since July 2020.



Prof. Davaadorj Begz

Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies

The director of the Institute for Strategic Studies B.Davaadorj was born in West Mongolia. He holds bachelor degree and professional military education from the Military Institute in Soviet Union in 1982, the Military Diplomatic Academy of the Soviet Union in 1986. Later in 1999, he graduated Japanese National Institute for Defense Studies and earned Master's degree on Military and Strategic studies. Prof. B. Davaadorj began his career as an Army officer in 1982, served in various positions from platoon to company at field military units, from officer to department head at Military intelligence agency HQ and Deputy Chief of General Staff. He also served as aide-de-camp of the Minister of Defense of Mongolia. During his career prof. Davaadorj appointed twice as Defense Attache of Embassy

of Mongolia to People's Republic of China. He also served as Military adviser and Counselor to the Permanent Mission of Mongolia to the United Nations. As an academic, prof. Davaadorj appointed twice as a director of the Institute for Strategic Studies in 2009 and 2021, and the Institute for Defense Studies. His research area is security and foreign policy studies, especially Northeast Asia, China and Russia.



Ms. Mandkhai Batsuren

Ms. Mandkhai Batsuren is the Director-General of Department of Multilateral Cooperation of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia. Ms. Mandkhai Batsuren entered the foreign service in 2008. Since then, she has been serving at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia and has been working in different capacities in the Ministry, and in diplomatic Missions abroad. Ms. Mandkhai Batsuren holds a BA in International Relations from the Moscow State University of International Relations (MGIMO), and a MA in International Relations and Diplomacy from the United Nations Institute of Training and Research

(UNITAR) and the Open University of Catalonia (UOC).



COL Munkh-Ochir Dorjjugder

Munkh-Ochir Dorjjugder is a career military officer, security practitioner, academic and former intelligence officer. Since 2021 he has been affiliated with the Executive Office of the National Security Council of Mongolia as its Head of Strategic Policy, Analysis department. Prior to that, he served as senior fellow/military analyst at the National Institute for Security Studies (NISS) (2018-21). His previous assignments include a number of key positions in the Mongolian military and intelligence community, notably Director of Military Intelligence (J2) (2015-17),

Director for Administration, Ministry of Defense (2012-15, 2017-18) and Director for International Cooperation, Ministry of Defense (2009-2010). Col. Munkh-Ochir was also actively involved in academic community; besides NISS, he was Director of the Institute for Defense Studies (2011-12), senior fellow at the Institute for Strategic Studies (ISS) (2000-01, 2003-07) and visiting fellow at the Brookings Institution (2010). In 2015, he was posted as military advisor to Permanent Mission of Mongolia to UN and other international agencies in Vienna and was involved with Mongolia's chairmanship of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe Forum for Security Cooperation (OSCE FSC). He is a graduate of the National University of Mongolia (1996) and the US Naval Postgraduate School in Monterey, CA (2003) and completed the senior-level course at the NATO Defense College in Rome (2017). Col. Munkh-Ochir is an active supporter and contributor to the annual Ulaanbaatar Dialogue conferences – he served as moderator of first sessions in four sessions of UBD preceding the COVID-19 lockdown, in 2017, 2018, 2019, 2022.



Dr. Mendee Jargalsaikhan

Dr. Mendee graduated from the Mongolian National Defense University and received his MAs from the US Naval Postgraduate School and the University of British Columbia. He obtained his PhD in political science from the University of British Columbia. Mendee served as political science and language instructor at the National Defense University, the Chief of the Foreign Cooperation Department of the Ministry of Defense, Defense Attaché at the Embassy of Mongolia in Washington, DC, senior expert at the Institute for Strategic Studies and Deputy Director of the Institute for Defense Analysis. He was the first

Senior National Representative at the US Central Command in Tampa, Florida, the Asia Studies Visiting Fellow at the East West Center in Washington, and Post Graduate Research Fellow at the Asia Pacific Foundation of Canada.



Dr. Mimura Mitsuhiro

Dr. MIMURA, Mitsuhiro is a Professor at the Economic and Social Research Institute for Northeast Asia, University of Niigata Prefecture (ERINA-UNP) in Niigata, Japan. His specialty includes North Korean law and economy, economic cooperation in Eurasia. He is one of the rare Japanese scholars who regularly exchanges thoughts directly with North Korean scholars in Pyongyang. Supported by colleagues in both Koreas, China, Russia, the U.S., the E.U. and Japan, his research has deep insight on Northeast Asia. His recent research can be accessed

through <https://researchmap.jp/mimura?lang=en>



Mr. Adrian Tan

Mr. Adrian Tan is the Executive Coordinator, Policy Research Office; Head of Strategic Planning, Coordination and Projects, and Deputy Director of Institute of Defence and Strategic Studies (IDSS), S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. Prior to joining RSIS, Adrian was with the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA) for two decades. His current research interests relate to the politics of Southeast Asia. He has a Masters in Arts from Stanford University and a Bachelor of Arts in History from the National University of Singapore.



Dr. Satu P. Limaye

Dr. Satu P. Limaye is Vice President of the East-West Center and Director of Research, East-West Center in Washington, and interim director of the Professional Development Program. He created and directs the Asia Matters for America initiative and is the founding editor of the Asia Pacific Bulletin. He is also a Senior Advisor at CNA Corp (Center for Naval Analyses). He is a graduate of Georgetown University and received his doctorate from Oxford University (Magdalen College) where he was a George C. Marshall Scholar. He publishes and speaks on Indo-Pacific regional issues and supports various US government, foundation, fellowship, and professional organizations. He recently served on the Center for New American Security (CNAS) Task Force on the US-Philippines Alliance, United States Institute of Peace (USIP) Senior Study Group on the North Pacific, Project 2049 Study Group on the US-Australia Alliance, and Global Taiwan Institute-Taiwan Asia Exchange Foundation project on Taiwan's New Southbound Policy. He serves on the Korea Economic Institute (KEI) Advisory Council and editorial board of East Asian Policy and regional editor of Global Asia.



Ms. Sarah Soh

Sarah Soh is Associate Research Fellow with the Regional Security Architecture Programme at the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies (RSIS), Nanyang Technological University, Singapore. She graduated from the National University of Singapore with a Bachelor of Arts in History. She also holds a Postgraduate Diploma in Education from the National Institute of Education, Singapore, and a Master of Science in International Relations from RSIS. Sarah had previously worked for the Ministry of Education and the National Heritage Board prior to joining RSIS. Her research interests include Singapore and geopolitics in the Asia-Pacific, Singapore foreign policy, small states diplomacy and security.



Dr. Leszek Buszynski

Leszek Buszynski is an Honorary Professor with the Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University, Canberra Australia. From 1994 to 2010, he was professor of International Relations in the Graduate School of International Relations at the International University of Japan. Prior to this appointment, he was director of the Graduate Program in Strategic Studies with Strategic and Defence Studies Centre at the Australian National University from 1988-1994. His first appointment was as a lecturer in the Political Science Department of the National University of Singapore where he taught from

1980-1987. He completed a master's degree in international relations from the London School of Economics and Political Science in 1975 and graduated with a Ph.D. from the same School in 1980. He was coeditor with Do Thanh Hai of *Maritime issues and Regional Order in the Indo Pacific* Palgrave Macmillan 2021, and *The South China Sea: from Regional Maritime Dispute to Geostrategic Competition* (Routledge 2020). He was the sole author of *The Geopolitics of the Western Pacific: China Japan and the United States* (Routledge 2019).



Mr. Nicholas Millward

Yokosuka Council on Asia-Pacific Studies Mongolia Connect Director, Friends of Mongolia US Co-Director, Rotary Peace Fellow



Mr. Peter Borup

Chairman of NCSD, board member at aprendio.io and The Shipping Collective. Former CEO at Norvic Shipping, J. Lauritzen and Norden Shipping. Also various roles at AP Moller Maersk. Furthermore advisor to Niels Brock Business and Computer Science departments, Copenhagen.



Mr. Noboru Miyawaki

Noboru Miyawaki is a professor of Ritsumeikan University. His work focuses specifically on the geopolitical review of Eurasian politics. He gained the Award of Excellence from Japan Association of Simulation and Gaming in 2020, and published the single-authored book of *The CSCE Human Rights Regime* (Kokusai shoin, Tokyo, 2003), *International Politics on War and Democracy* (Nihon Keizai Hyouron sha, Tokyo, 2021). He was a vice president of Japan Public Policy Studies Association from 2020 to 2022, and a visiting researcher of National

University of Mongolia from 2017 to 2018, IERES, George Washington University from 2009 to 2010, and Institute fuer Friedensvorshung und Sicherheitspolitik an der Universitaet Hamburg from 2000 to 2001.



Mr. Matthew Wittenstein

Matthew Wittenstein is Chief of Section for Energy Connectivity at the United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN ESCAP). Matthew supports member States in their efforts improve the sustainability and security of their energy systems through increased cross-border power system integration, and by enabling efforts to ensure secure and sustainable supplies of critical raw materials. Recent work includes capacity building for energy regulators and utilities in South East Asia, an assessment of the potential to develop a “green power corridor” in North-East Asia, and supporting increased cooperation on sustainable energy among the countries

of the Pacific. Matthew is also ESCAP’s focal point for the global Working Group on Transforming the Extractive Industries for Sustainable Development. Prior to joining the UN, Matthew was a Senior Electricity Analyst at the International Energy Agency (IEA), where he focused on the economics of generation, the challenges of encouraging investment in clean energy technologies, and electricity market design. From 2011 to 2014, he was a Fellow at the US Department of Energy. Matthew holds a Master of International Affairs from Columbia University, with a concentration in international economic policy.



COL Tamas Kisvari

Colonel Tamas Kisvari is the Defence, Military and Air Attaché at the Embassy of Hungary in Beijing and Accredited to China, South-Korea and Mongolia (OF-5). He graduated “Zalka Mate” Military Technical College, Budapest as Signal Intelligence and commissioned as 1LT. He also graduated “Zrinyi Miklos” National Defence University, National Defence College of Romania and the Chinese People’s Liberation Army Foreign Language Institute. Prior to diplomatic service, he served in military intelligence and Military National security service in his country.



Dr. Ganbold Baasanjav

Dr. Ganbold Baasanjav is the Head of United Nations Economic and Social Commission for Asia and the Pacific (UN ESCAP) East and North-East Asia Office based in Incheon, Republic of Korea. Prior to joining ESCAP in 2019, Dr. Ganbold worked extensively for the government of Mongolia as a career diplomat, serving as Ambassador to the Republic of Korea (2013-2018) and Vietnam (2004-2008), and more recently as the Ambassador-at-large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Sustainable Development. Earlier he served as the State Secretary of the

Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Director-General of the Departments of Public Affairs and Asia and the Pacific respectively, and in the Embassy of Mongolia in Pyongyang, DPR of Korea. He earned his BA in International Relations from Moscow State Institute of International Relations (MGIMO), Russia, MA in Political Science from University of Hawaii at Manoa, USA, and PhD in Law from Hankuk University of Foreign Studies, Republic of Korea.



Mr. Christopher Green

Christopher Green is senior Korean peninsula consultant for International Crisis Group and an assistant professor in the Korean Studies department of Leiden University in the Netherlands. A former manager of the Seoul-based Daily NK, Christopher has published widely on North Korean politics, economy, ideology and culture, as well as contemporary South Korean broadcast media portrayals of resettled North Korean migrants.



Dr. Bomi Kim

Dr. Bomi Kim is a Research Fellow at the Institute for National Security Strategy. Her research interests are in North Korean military, with a focus on nuclear and missile program, party-military relations, and military diplomacy. Currently, she is a member of various government committees, including the Ministry of Unification advisory committee, the Republic of Korea Joint Chiefs of Staff, and the Peaceful Unification Advisory Council. Dr. Kim is also a non-executive director of Korea Institute for Nuclear Nonproliferation and Control (KINAC). She holds a Ph.D. in North Korean Studies from

University of North Korean Studies and a B.A. in Political Science from University of Michigan at Ann Arbor.



Ms. Yejin Ha

Ms. Yejin Ha works at UN-ESCAP East and Northeast Asia Office as a Programme Officer responsible for Energy Cooperation and Power Interconnection projects in North-East Asia. Ms. Ha also serves as the secretary to the North-East Asia Power Interconnection and Cooperation Forum (NEARPIC). Prior to joining UN-ESCAP, Ms. Yejin Ha worked in UN-OCHA in Geneva as an administrative officer providing administrative support to OCHA field offices in Africa. She also worked in

UN-HABITAT (Nairobi, Kenya) as a human settlements officer responsible for conducting research on urban economic growth and development and carried out projects on building private public partnerships for poverty reduction.



Mr. Michal Lubina

Michal Lubina is Associate Professor of Political Science at Jagiellonian University, Poland. His research he mostly focuses on Russia-China relations and on Burma/Myanmar.



Dr. Sun Ru

Dr. Sun Ru is research professor of China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR). She currently focuses on international strategic situation and Asia Pacific security. She was a visiting scholar at University of Groningen and Columbia University. She co-authored *Humanitarian Intervention: Western Theory and Practice* (2003) and authored *Ad Hoc Multilateralism: Regional Cooperation on North Korean Nuclear Issue* (2009). She also wrote many book chapters, papers and articles in leading Chinese journals and newspapers. Her recent publications include “NATO’ Pivot to Asia Pacific in China-U.S. Global Rivalry” “US-ROK Alliance’s Cooperation Related to China”.



Mr. Antoine Maire

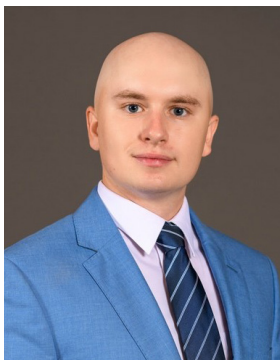
Antoine Maire holds a doctorate in political science and is an associate fellow at the Foundation for Strategic Research (FRS). He has developed expertise in the Indo-Pacific and more particularly in Northeast Asia. He also has a solid knowledge of the political and economic developments in Mongolia since 1990. He has notably published *Les Mongols, Insoumis* at Atelier Henri Dougier (2016) and *La Mongolie Contemporaine. Chronique politique, économique et stratégique d’un pays nomade* at CNRS Editions (2021).



Mr. Jason Veysey

Jason Veysey is a Senior Scientist at the Stockholm Environment Institute (SEI) and the Deputy Director of SEI's Energy Modeling Program. He leads energy and greenhouse gas emissions modeling, policy analysis, and capacity building projects; contributes to the technical development of SEI's modeling tools, such as the Low Emissions Analysis Platform (LEAP) and the Next Energy Modeling system for Optimization (NEMO); and conducts research on modeling methods, GHG emissions mitigation, the water-energy-food nexus, grid integration of variable renewable energy, and communicating modeling results. He

has significant experience building integrated energy system models and using long-run scenarios to inform climate and energy policy, including evaluating issues of path dependence, policy interactions and robustness, and energy transitions. Mr. Veysey served as an Expert Reviewer for the mitigation volume of the Intergovernmental Panel on Climate Change's Sixth Assessment Report. He is currently leading SEI's global Initiative on Integrated Climate and Development Planning, a program that is helping lower-income countries produce integrated plans for NDCs and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDGs).



Mr. Erik Danielsson

Erik Danielsson is director of the Nordic Centre for Strategic Dialogue and is passionate about leveraging research on Trans-Atlantic-Pacific geopolitics to help key stakeholders' best position themselves in the complex and ever evolving global security environment. Mr. Danielsson holds a Master of Arts in Asian Studies concentrating in Politics and Security from Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. He also holds a BSc degree in Political Science from the Swedish Defense University and a BA degree in Asian Languages and Cultures, with a focus on Korea, from Stockholm University. His main research interests

are disaster risk reduction in the DPRK, Swedish-Mongolian bilateral relations and the security environment on the Korean peninsula.



LTG Jaromír ZUNA

Lieutenant general Jaromír Zuna is the Defense Attaché of the Czech Republic in Beijing. He graduated Army College at Vyskov, speciality in command-engineer cavalry, Canadian Forces Academy of Leadership and Languages, Camp Borden, Ontario, Canada, Command and General Staff College, Fort Leavenworth, Kansas, USA, National Defense University, National War College, Washington, D.C., USA and the Joint and Combined Warfighting School (JCWS), Joint Forces Staff College,

National Defense University, Washington, D.C., Norfolk, USA. Prior to foreign service, he served various positions from platoon commander to first deputy chief of the Czech Armed forces General Staff

Dr. Sonja Bachmann



Dr. Sonja Bachmann (Austrian) Dr. Sonja Bachmann works in the UN Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (UNDPPA) Asia and the Pacific Division, leading the Team on Northeast Asia and the Pacific with a focus on peace and security issues on the Korean Peninsula, engagement with Pacific countries and the Pacific Islands Forum. Ms. Bachmann has previously worked as Deputy in the regional field office of Kandahar, in the UN Mission in Afghanistan, as Senior Adviser to the UN Envoy in the Cyprus Negotiations, the Nepal peace process and as a Senior Peace and Development Advisor in the UN Multi-Country Office in Fiji. Prior to joining the United Nations, Ms. Bachmann has worked in the World Bank on community driven development. She also spent a year in Peru advising the Peruvian Government on investment promotion and sustainable tourism. Dr. Bachmann holds a Master of Law and Diplomacy from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, MA, and a PhD in political science from the University in Vienna, Austria. She is a national of Austria.

Mr. Yuefeng Shi



Yuefeng Shi is a Master's candidate in American University SIS (School of International Service). His major research interests are International Relations theories (such as Constructivism, Global IR, etc), Northeast Asia, and International Organizations. In 2021, Yuefeng became a youth member of the Futuring Peace in Northeast Asia project, which was held by the UN DPPA. (Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs)

Ms. Emma Coic



Emma Coic is policy officer for North-East Asia (Japan, Korea, Mongolia) at the Directorate General for International Relations and Strategy (DGRIS) of the French Ministry for Armed Forces. She holds two MA in Political Science (Sciences Po Aix and the University of Freiburg in Germany) and has previous work experiences in South Korea, Vietnam and Hong Kong.



Mr. Xun Wang

Program Officer from International Cooperation Department of National Energy Administration of China. He holds degree of Master of Science, Cranfield University.



Mr. Pyungrae Lee

Pyungrae Lee graduated from Department of History, Dankook University with Bachelor of Arts. In 1989, he graduated from Department of History, Dankook University with degree of Master of Arts. In 1997, he defended doctor of history from Institute of History (Institute of History and Ethnology), Mongolian Academy of Sciences. Currently he is a research professor, at the Institute of Central Asian Studies, Hankuk University of Foreign Studies.



COL Altankhuu Badarch

Colonel Altankhuu Badarch is an expert at the Institute for Strategic Studies, National Security Council of Mongolia. Altankhuu graduated from the Mongolian National Defense University, received his LLM in International Law at the University of Glasgow, UK and Master in Defense and Strategy, National Defense University, PRC. He studied national security and strategy at US Army War College. Altankhuu worked as an inspector at Immigration office of the International Exit and Entry checkpoints, officer, senior officer, head of section, division, and department in Border Protection service and deputy head of the General Authority for Border Protection. He worked at the Executive office of National Security Council of Mongolia. Altankhuu is working towards his PhD in national security at National Defense University of Mongolia.



Dr. Lori Forman

Dr. Lori Forman joined the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies in 2011, bringing a unique international background in corporate, government, academic and non-profit sectors. An expert on international economic development and foreign aid, civil society and public-private partnerships, Dr. Forman earned a Ph.D. from Keio University, and a Master in Public Policy from Harvard University. Prior to joining APCSS Lori held senior corporate positions with Microsoft and Dubai Holding. In government she held senior positions including the U.S. Alternate Executive Director on the Board of Directors of

the Asian Development Bank and Assistant Administrator for Asia and Near East of the US Agency for International Development. Dr. Forman also served in the NGO sector for 11 years, as the Director of the Japan Program of The Nature Conservancy. Dr. Forman began her post-graduate career in Washington D.C., serving as the Senior Political Analyst for the White House pollster.



Prof. Gregory Gleason

Gregory Gleason works in the areas of comparative foreign policy and political economy. Gleason's teaching, research and practical work focuses on the countries of the former USSR. Gleason served as U.S. Advisor to the Uzbekistan Ministry of Defense in 2018-2019 in Tashkent, Uzbekistan. Gleason joined the Marshall Center in September of 2007. Prior to joining the Marshall Center, Gleason taught international relations and comparative politics at the University of New Mexico, where he continues to be Professor Emeritus of Political Science. Gleason was a research fellow at the Kennan Institute of the Woodrow

Wilson Center. Gleason's research has been sponsored by the National Science Foundation, the National Academy of Sciences as well as other public and private foundations. Gleason graduated from the University of California, Irvine (1974) and completed graduate studies at the University of California, Davis (1984).



Mr. Paul Działkowiec

Paul Działkowiec was appointed Head of Diplomatic Dialogue in 2021. Prior to that, for nearly a decade he served as Project Manager in various roles at the Centre for Humanitarian Dialogue (HD), an organization that mediates between protagonists in armed conflicts. At HD, Paul was involved in mediation efforts in diverse conflict settings including Nigeria, Myanmar, Thailand and most recently Ukraine, where he led HD's efforts to help find a solution to the conflict in Donbas. He was also

engaged in various regional and geopolitical dialogue initiatives. Also at HD, for five years Paul managed the Oslo Forum, the leading international mediation event that convenes peacemakers, world leaders (up to head of state level), peace process actors and conflict parties. Paul had previously served in the Australian diplomatic service for over a decade. He was Australia's Deputy Ambassador in Nairobi and, as Deputy and Acting Ambassador, covered a range of countries including Kenya, Somalia, Tanzania, Rwanda, Uganda and Burundi. Concurrently, he was Australia's Deputy Permanent Representative to the United Nations in Nairobi. During his diplomatic career, Paul engaged in various multilateral negotiations at the UN, in Geneva, New York, and Nairobi, which included negotiating resolutions and delivering statements on behalf of Australia, on political, security, human rights, and environmental questions. Previously Paul was posted to the Australian Embassy in Tel Aviv, and acted periodically as Australian's Representative to the Palestinian Authority in Ramallah, during the second intifada. Paul has also represented the International Service for Human Rights in Geneva, and worked as a Human Rights Officer in the Australian Foreign Service, both during the formative years of the UN Human Rights Council. Earlier, after the signing of the Bougainville Peace Agreement he deployed as a Peace Monitor to Bougainville, Papua New Guinea, where he was involved in raising public awareness of the agreement, following up ceasefire violations, and arranging weapons disposal and community reconciliation processes. Paul has a Bachelor's degree in International Business from Queensland University, as well as three Master's degrees in International Law, International Relations, and International Policy Studies from the Australian National University, the University of New South Wales, and the University of Sydney respectively. He has written a number of articles and publications on various aspects of mediation, humanitarian and human rights issues.



Mr. Aidar Kurmashev

Head of the Department of Asian Studies at Kazakhstan Institute for Strategic Studies under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Studied at L.N. Gumilyov Eurasian National University with a degree in International Relations, Bachelor (2007 - 2011), Master (2012 - 2014), PhD (2016 - 2019). Defended his thesis on the topic "Transformation of Kazakhstan's Foreign Policy Behavior" in 2020 at the Institute of Diplomacy of the Academy of Public Administration under the President of the Republic of Kazakhstan. Worked as Chief Analyst at Media Development Fund (2020-2022), Director of Department for Information, Analysis and Monitoring at N.Nazarbayev Center for Development of Interfaith and Intercivilization Dialogue (2019-2020), Chief Specialist for Planning and Control at JSC Kazcontent (2019), Project Coordinator at RTRC Qazaqstan seconded to Ministry of Information and Communications (2017-2018), Lecturer Faculty of International Relations at Eurasian National University (2014-2016). Has over 20 publications scientific journals mainly in Kazakhstan, Russia, Turkey, etc. Focused on middle power foreign policy behavior, soft

power incl. information and communication policy, political technologies.

Ms. Jeongshin Park



Jeongshin Park is a Political Affairs Officer in the Asia Pacific Division of the United Nations Department of Political and Peacebuilding Affairs (DPPA), covering China and Japan. Prior to this, she was part of the Afghanistan Team of DPPA. Before joining the United Nations, she worked as a Security Council Researcher at the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations, responsible for the Middle East and the North Africa region. She also spent time working for the International Rescue Committee in New York, assisting the resettlement of refugees and conducting MENA regional conflict analysis. She has a Bachelor's degree in Political Science from New York University and a Master's degree in Conflict, Peace and Security Studies from Universitat Oberta de Catalunya.

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Mr. Mark Tokola



Mark Tokola is Vice President of the Korea Economic Institute of America (KEI). He retired as a U.S. Senior Foreign Service Officer in September 2014 after a 38-year career with the U.S. Department of State. He served as Deputy Chief of Mission at the American Embassies in Ulaanbaatar, Seoul, and Reykjavik. Mark Tokola received the State Department's Superior Honor Award for his work on implementing the Dayton Peace Accords while serving in Sarajevo, Bosnia-Herzegovina. Mark Tokola holds a BA in International Relations from Pomona College in Claremont, California, and an LL.M. in European Community Law from the University of Edinburgh, Scotland.

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Ms. Ijun Kim



Ijun Kim is a Future Generations Global Ambassador at the Office of the Future Generations Commissioner for Wales, a Leader to the Future at the United Nations Office for Disarmament Affairs, and a Strategic Advisory Committee Member for the Global Cooperation Futures Initiative at Cooperation Canada. She is working to apply foresight to policymaking to better address issues of intergenerational equity and peacebuilding, which was her focus during the Youth Foresight Fellowship at UNICEF Innocenti. She further explored this topic through the Master of Jurisprudence program at the University of Washington School of Law. She aims

Master of Jurisprudence program at the University of Washington School of Law. She aims

to continue engaging various stakeholders in open dialogue to represent the perspectives of youth and future generations in critical matters such as peace, human rights, and climate change.



Dr. Seiichiro Kimura

Seiichiro Kimura (Ph.D., P.E.jp) joined Renewable Energy Institute in 2018. Specializes in cost-benefit analysis, techno-economic analysis with market penetrating simulation in the energy system. He started his career at Mitsubishi Heavy Industries in 2004, and was engaged in development of hydrogen energy until 2010. After working for International Institute for Carbon-Neutral Energy Research of Kyushu University, he became an associate at the Matsushita Institute of Government and Management between 2014 and 2018, where he was engaged in research on interconnecting electric power systems with the aim of increasing energy self-sufficiency through its own resources and eventually becoming a nation capable of supplying energy to other countries (energy-exporting nation). He received B.Sc. from Tokyo University of Science, M.Sc. from Tokyo Institute of Technology, and Ph.D. from Kyushu University. At Renewable Energy Institute, his research focuses on interconnectors and market design for electricity system reform.



Mr. Frank Aum

Frank Aum is the senior expert on Northeast Asia at the U.S. Institute of Peace. He oversees the Institute's work on Northeast Asia and focuses on ways to strengthen diplomacy to reduce tensions and enhance peace and stability on the Korean Peninsula. From 2010 to 2017, he worked at the Department of Defense, including as special counsel to the Army General Counsel, special assistant to the assistant secretary of defense for Asian and Pacific Security Affairs, and senior advisor on North Korea in the Office of the Secretary of Defense. During this time, he advised four secretaries of defense on issues related to Northeast Asia and the Korean Peninsula. Aum also served as head of delegation for working level negotiations with the Republic of Korea on U.S.-ROK Alliance matters, and received the Secretary of Defense Medal for Outstanding Public Service. Aum previously worked as a corporate attorney, and also has extensive experience in the public and non-profit sectors. He completed a Fulbright Scholarship in Jeju Island, South Korea and worked as a speechwriter in the South Korean Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. In addition, he worked to strengthen the Koreatown community in Los Angeles at the city's Department of Neighborhood Empowerment and the Korean American Coalition (KAC). Aum received his bachelor's from Dartmouth College, his master's from Harvard University's Kennedy School of Government, and his Juris Doctorate from the University of California, Berkeley.



Mr. Yesukhei Enkhtuvshin

Yesukhei has spent last 14 years in the diplomatic service, and has been recently appointed as Director of the Investment Research Center of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia on 5th of November, 2021. Upon obtaining Bachelor's Degree in International Relations in 2009, he started his career at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs as officer at Diplomatic Protocol Department, where he coordinated various official visits, including VVIP visits at level of Head of State and Government. He was also credited for his contribution in organizing number of international conferences and events. In 2012, he was promoted to Third Secretary and was transferred to Department of Europe, and later appointed as Deputy Director of the same Department in 2015. In 2016, Yesukhei was assigned as Minister Counsellor at the Embassy of Mongolia in Paris, where he was also tasked to serve as Deputy Permanent Delegate of Mongolia to UNESCO. Following completion of his mission in France, he was returned to the Head Quarters and was appointed as counsellor at the Department of Asia and Pacific, MFA. At the Department of Asia and Pacific, he was responsible for Mongolia-India, Mongolia-Australia and Mongolia-New Zealand relations. He holds Master's degree in International Relations from University of Business and international Studies in Geneva. He had been previously elected as President of Young Diplomats Club within the MFA.

PHOTOS









