



Ministry of Foreign Affairs



# **ULAANBAATAR DIALOGUE ON NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY**

**THE REGIONAL SECURITY  
ENVIRONMENT TOWARDS 2025**

**THE FIFTH INTERNATIONAL CONFERENCE**

Ulaanbaatar  
2018

## ULAANBAATAR DIALOGUE ON NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY

### THE REGIONAL SECURITY ENVIRONMENT TOWARDS 2025

This book is the fifth Ulaanbaatar Dialogue International Conference proceedings (speeches and presented articles).

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## CONTENTS

Opening remarks by Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia, H.E. <i>Mr. TSOGTBAATAR Damdin</i> .....	4
Opening remarks by Director of Institute for Strategic Studies, <i>Dr. ENKHBAIGALI Byambasuren</i> .....	6
Remarks by Assistant Secretary-General, United Nations, <i>Mr. MIROSLAV JENČA</i> .....	8
PLENARY SESSION I: Perspectives on Fostering Regional Cooperation Through Mutual Trust and Understanding: Challenges and Opportunities.....	15
Security Issues of Northeast Asia and the Way to Promote «A Community of Shared Future» in the Region.....	16
International Community Should Warmly Welcome and Support to the Trend of the Favorably Developing Situation on The Korean Peninsula.....	19
Europe’s Role in Maintaining Peace on the Korean Peninsula: A Strategy beyond Sanctions?.....	22
Bilateral Dialogue Can Foster Multilateral Dialogue: Implications from the CSCE and Asian Experiences.....	26
The UB Dialogue at the Crossroads.....	29
Some Remarks on the Russian Far Eastern Policy and Situation in the Region.....	32
The Bumpy Road Ahead for US-DPRK Relations.....	35
The Northeast Asian Security Environment towards 2025: Focus on Korea.....	38
Moderator’s summary of the Plenary Session I.....	43
PLENARY SESSION II: Northeast Asian Security Environment Towards 2025.....	46
Where Does Northeast Asian Security Heading Towards 2025?.....	47
Building A Durable and Lasting Peace Mechanism on the Korean Peninsula is the Most Important Issue For Stability in the Region of Northeast Asia.....	48
The OSCE, Finland and Mongolia-Can Mongolia Play a Role Like Finland in the Northeast Asia?.....	50
Trilateral Cooperation Between Mongolia and South and North Korea.....	55
Northeast Asia Platform for Peace and Cooperation (NAPPC) and UB Dialogue: Cooperative Agendas and Tasks.....	56
The Korean Peninsula Turns from the War to Peace. What Does It Mean for the Northeast Asian Region?.....	62
Peace Through Strength:" The "Trump Formula" for Northeast Asia.....	64
Moderator’s summary of the Plenary Session II.....	66

<b>SUB-SESSION I: Prospects for Energy Cooperation in Northeast Asia</b> .....	67
Developments in Northeast Asia and India: Prospects of 2025 Energy Cooperation Scenario.....	68
Fostering Regional Energy Connectivity in Northeast Asia .....	71
Energy Security Through Integrating Wind and Solar District Heating.....	72
Asian Super Grid and Mongolia Renewable Energy Development Status .....	74
Strategy for Northeast Asia Power System Interconnection.....	80
Will the U.S. New Indo-Pacific Strategy Impact Northeast Asia’s Energy and Infrastructure Sectors? .....	81
<b>SUB-SESSION II: Promoting Cooperation in the Area of Environment and Humanitarian Assistance in Northeast Asia</b> .....	86
Promoting Cooperation in the Area of Environment and Humanitarian Assistance in Northeast Asia.....	86
Urbanization and Its Impacts on Regional Ecosystems: Transformation for Urban Sustainability .....	87
Humanitarian Assistance by Mongolia.....	89
Confidence Building in Northeast Asia through Forging Closer Cultural and Social Relations.....	90
Environmental security challenges in Mongolia with regional context.....	94
Role of Public Structures in Strengthening Cooperation in Northeast Asia.....	101
Moderator’s summary of Sub session II.....	103
<b>CLOSING REMARKS by Mr. DAVAASUREN Damdinsuren</b> .....	105
<b>CLOSING REMARKS by Dr. ENKHBAIGALI Byambasuren</b> .....	107

## OPENING REMARKS

### **H.E. Mr. TSOGTBAATAR DAMDIN**

*Minister of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia*



*Mr. Chair,  
Distinguished participants,  
Ladies and gentlemen,*

These days demonstrate a new critical importance of diplomacy. Just two days ago US President Donald Trump and the DPRK leader Kim Jong Un met face-to-face for the first time and signed a joint statement committing to build a lasting and robust peace regime on the Korean Peninsula and to work towards its complete denuclearization. Mongolia welcomes this historic summit.

The Ulaanbaatar Dialogue represents a good cause for celebrating diplomacy since we are the ones who kept on having a dialogue even when despair, tensions and confrontation were swallowing everything. Hence, I wish to congratulate you all, the UB Dialogue community, for your continued commitment to this process.

Couple of months ago it was impossible to foresee the direct talks between the leaders of the US and the DPRK, or the Inter-Korean Summit, held in April and May this year. However, despite all the odds the talks have taken place. It shows that dialogue and communication are always possible, that we never should give up hope. When we want peace nothing is impossible. This is the beginning of the end to the Cold War, which faded into history in the rest of the world some 30 years ago, but remained frozen in our part of the globe. Talking about the Cold War I would suggest that the scholars convened here do a research as to the cost of the Cold War and the cost of lost opportunities due to the Cold War. This would help us prevent the recurrence of the Cold War, or the suppression of it in case it is already knocking on our doors.

*Mr. Chair,*

The Ulaanbaatar Dialogue vividly demonstrates that talks are the only option. Mongolia has been firm in its belief that there is no solution other than talks and engagement.

Hence, since early 2000s we have been pursuing the policy of engaging and avoiding the isolation of North Korea. The continuation of this policy in context of failed six party talks and absence of channels of communication in Northeast Asia led to the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue in 2014. The dialogue has enjoyed broad support among the countries in the region. The number of participating countries has increased and their level has upgraded half step from Track II.

This year the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue will focus on ways forward to solidify the recent positive developments and share views on the short and long-term prospects of the security environment in the region.

As peace and prosperity go hand in hand, the agenda of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue covers not only peace and security but also energy, infrastructure, environment and humanitarian cooperation issues.

We should realize that prosperity of nations and lives of millions of ordinary people are hanging on what we call talks. Thus, talks are a life sustaining and life promoting art and it is the most serious business one could ever think of.

Resolution of the outstanding issues of and around the Korean Peninsula, including its complete denuclearization will require tireless effort of all the concerned. While we are celebrating the outcome of the recent summits, we should not forget that there are hard days ahead. Hard is no reason for quitting. The harder it gets the stronger we have to hang on to talks. Even when there is a breakup we should take it as another form of talks to resume the next round. We should not forget that there could be a «Silent» stage and form of talks. This may not be a preparation for aggression. Hence, without losing guard we should not rush into resorting back to swords or shields. We do believe that talks walk further than nukes. Therefore, we should be guided fervently by the appeal «Give Peace a Chance» pronounced by John Lennon decades ago. Indeed, we should just give Peace a Chance.

As a country with 2 decades-old nuclear-weapon-free-status, Mongolia views the decision by the DPRK to suspend its nuclear and missile tests and dismantlement of its Punggye-ri nuclear test site as an important step towards the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

To conclude my remarks, I would like to share with you a few lines that came across my mind after my meeting with Secretary of State Mike Pompeo last month in Washington DC.

Nukes or missiles – no more we want  
Neither are welcome in our East  
New solutions ought to be sought  
Never to have them in our nest.

*I thank you for your kind attention.*

## OPENING REMARKS

### Dr. ENKHBAIGALI BYAMBASUREN

*Director of the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia*



*His Excellency, Chairman of Foreign Affairs and security committee of Parliament, O.Sodbileg  
His Excellency, Minister of Foreign Affairs, Tsogtbaatar  
Distinguished guests and participants,*

Today we have been gathered for the Fifth international forum, Ulaanbaatar Dialogue in order to discuss issues related to future of Northeast Asia.

The new architecture of international relations has been emerging, shifting to multipolar and speedier changing environment, making our region focus of attention. As a region, Northeast Asia has significant promising potential. Meanwhile countries differ substantially with politics, culture, history, economy, defense capabilities, and natural resources. In order to achieve prosperity and peace, region should be peaceful and secure.

All of us remember well the recent tensions related to security of Northeast Asia. Circumstances were complex and uncertain, had negative impact on countries of region, both for their economies and security environment. The terms that used most often was 'isolated', war games, 'nuclear', 'dictator', 'sanction', 'provocative' and 'crisis'. Security tensions in Northeast Asia was high with nuclear and nonnuclear states, ideology differences, presence of countries from other regions. This is one of the most dynamic region with territorial conflicts, historical tensions, and new challenges, conflict was so close, and there are still many problems to be solved. The same is true for other regions too, Europe, middle-east and others still have risks of conflict.

Today we are applauding United States President Donald Trump and Kim Jong-Un, leader of Democratic People's Republic of Korea signing an agreement in Singapore. The statement 'Past does not have to define our future' clearly defines possibility of beginning of peaceful and new history for Northeast Asia.

Kim Jong-Un 'reaffirmed his unwavering commitment to complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula'. Cooperation in Olympic Games under one flag was very touching gesture. DPRK and Korea's commitments to stop hostile propaganda was an important milestone. The decisions to denuclearize Korean peninsula and destroying «missile engine testing site» is definitely leadership for peace of region, and peace of world.

We might be standing at the beginning of new and peaceful history, full of further challenges ahead, cyber-attacks, nuclear threats, terrorism, natural disaster, hostile information war and more on. This safe and bright future is only possible through mutual understanding and collaboration between states, between communities and between leaders. In this stage our discussion about future security of Northeast Asia until 2025 would open a page in history of the region and it is essential especially in current rapidly changing environment.

Mongolia is taking an active part in the process of initiating dialogues and negotiations on the issues of strengthening regional security and creating a collective security mechanism. Ulaanbaatar Dialogue initiated by Mongolia in order to strengthen Northeast Asia security is an example.

This dialogue is not a single option, but hopefully it can be multilateral mechanism that can provide opportunity to all participants to express their positions and understand each other, hence it can be foundation of cooperation for security, political mutual understanding and further collaboration of economic prosperity. We are strictly on the side of peace and eager to create environment that each side can listen and understand each other.

We have friendly relations with every country, especially countries in Northeast Asia. Such a position, independent foreign policy, combined with smooth relations with other regional powers allows Mongolia to have a role that no other country easily can. Mongolia nominated as USA-DPRK summit organizing country after Singapore. Apparently, no single country can help solve all of the threats of region, but we also do believe in international community, we do believe in future.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

In closing of speech, allow me once again to emphasize future of Northeast Asia, it also has untapped and huge potential of energy, infrastructure, technology, agriculture, tourism and industrialization. Could Northeast Asia secure its peace? Does region have mutual trust and political understanding? Is there working regional security mechanism?

Yes indeed, we are at beginning of the road, it depends on how we will prepare for next steps, next developments, for fostering effective collaboration of all Northeast Asian countries, mutual trust and understanding is essential. Let's discuss about our common understanding, common values and dreams of nations, also common challenges facing to us. We hope that in fifth year of UB Dialogue we will form solid foundation

On behalf of Institute for Strategic Studies, let me express our gratitude to our co-organizer of UB Dialogue, Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia, also for supporting our activities to organize this event Representative office of Friedrich Ebert Foundation, from Germany.

Thank you for experts, academics and participants for valuable contribution of our forum with fresh ideas and perspectives!



UNITED NATIONS



NATIONS UNIES

## REMARKS

## ASSISTANT SECRETARY-GENERAL Mr. MIROSLAV JENČA



NEW YORK, 14 JUNE 2018

*Minister for Foreign Affairs of Mongolia [Mr. Tsogtbaatar Damdin], Dr. Byambasuren [Director, Institute for Strategic Studies], excellencies, scholars and friends,*

I am pleased to greet the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security. I regret not being able to attend in person.

Secretary-General António Guterres has made prevention his highest priority. The United Nations is aiming for a «surge of diplomacy» and multilateralism to solve today's often intractable peace and security issues.

In this respect, the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue provides an important inclusive forum. The United Nations stands ready to support your collective efforts to enhance security and cooperation.

## 1. KOREAN PENINSULA

You convene at an historic moment on the Korean Peninsula. The Secretary-General has welcomed the holding of the Summit between the leaders of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea (DPRK) and the United States as an important milestone in the advancement of sustainable peace and the complete and verifiable denuclearization on the Korean Peninsula.

Implementing the latest and previous agreements reached, in accordance with relevant Security Council resolutions, will require patience and support from the global community. The Secretary-General urges all concerned parties to seize this momentous opportunity.

Relevant parts of the United Nations system stand ready to support this process in any way, including verification if requested by the key parties and support to confidence-building measures. We believe we add strategic value via our: impartiality; voice and norms for peaceful and diplomatic solutions, in line with international law.; and through offering channels of communication with all parties.

The Secretary-General's decision to deploy our then Under-Secretary-General for Political Affairs to Pyongyang from 4 to 9 December 2017 was viewed as having helped to pave the way towards the recent high-level talks between the two Koreas. The objective was to represent the Secretary-General and open channels of communication that could help avoid a catastrophic crisis.

## 2. NORTHEAST ASIA

Turning to Northeast Asia, we see a region continuing its rise while facing challenges that may pose risks to prosperity and stability. The Secretary-General welcomes the trilateral summit held among Japan, China and the Republic of Korea on 9 May in Tokyo, their support to the Panmunjom Declaration, and their cooperation for the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula.

Functional interaction on important topics such as energy cooperation, climate change, disaster management as well as humanitarian matters will drive the multi-layered engagement in the region forward. My Department is committed to supporting this constructive engagement in the region. Last month, we received positive feedback from Member States on workshops with regional representatives on Trust Building and Making Peace, as well as on Women, Peace and Security in Northeast Asia.

## 3. CONCLUSION

Peace and security is a collective responsibility. I wish you well in your deliberations and would like to acknowledge Mongolia's role as a gracious host and platform where nations can debate, agree, agree to disagree, find common ground and chart a joint way forward to attain peace and prosperity in the region and the world.

*Thank you.*

## MOMENTS FROM ULAANBAATAR DIALOGUE 2018















# PLENARY SESSION I

## PERSPECTIVES ON FOSTERING REGIONAL COOPERATION THROUGH MUTUAL TRUST AND UNDERSTANDING: CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

### Moderator:

**Col. MUNKH-OCHIR Dorjjugder**, Senior Fellow, National Institute for Security Studies, Mongolia

### Speakers:

Security Issues of Northeast Asia and the Way to Promote a Community of Shared Future in the Region

**Mr. YUAN Chong**, Deputy Director, Institute of Japanese Studies, China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations, China

International Community Should Warmly Welcome and Support to the Trend of the Favorably Developing Situation on The Korean Peninsula

**Mr. KIM Yong Guk**, Director-General, The Institute of Disarmament and Peace, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, DPRK

Europe's Role in Maintaining Peace on the Korean Peninsula: A Strategy beyond Sanctions

**Prof. Dr. Eun-Jeung LEE**, Director of the Institute of Korean Studies, Free University Berlin, Germany

Bilateral Dialogue can foster the multilateral dialogue: Implications from the CSCE and Japanese experience

**Prof. Noboru MIYAWAKI**, Professor, Faculty of Policy Science, Ritsumeikan University, Japan

Mongolia's Contribution to Strengthening Regional Cooperation

**Mr. MENDEE Jargalsaikhan**, Nonresident fellow, The Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia

Some Remarks on the Russian Far Eastern Policy and Situation in the Region

**Mr. Eugeny RUMIANCEV**, Center of Asia and Asia-Pacific Region, Russian Institute of Strategic Studies, The Russian Federation

A New Phase in US-DPRK Relations

**Ms. Jenny TOWN**, Research Analyst, The Henry L. Stimson Center, USA

## SECURITY ISSUES OF NORTHEAST ASIA AND THE WAY TO PROMOTE «A COMMUNITY OF SHARED FUTURE» IN THE REGION

**Mr. YUAN Chong**

*Deputy Director, Institute of Japanese Studies,  
China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations*



Although there are many security issues left to be resolved in Northeast Asia, the region remains relatively stable and peaceful in recent years. Northeast Asia caught the world's attention mainly for its economic power and rapid growth. It has about 1/5 of the population, 1/4 of the GDP, and 1/5 of the trade of the world total. Recently, the development of the Korean Peninsula issues implies that there could be some kinds of solution to this protracted issue and the security regime of the region may embrace some changes in the future. Also the recent development of the cooperation among China, Japan and South Korea suggests that the dynamics of regional cooperation are very strong.

The first issue of Northeast Asia regional security is about the Korean peninsula. There are many positive developments in recent days, which show that dialogue could help to ease the tension and promote cooperation. The leader of North Korea, Kim Jong Un, has been taking a very active diplomatic posture. He visited China and talked with President Xi Jinping twice, and also the talk between the leads of North and South Korea had very good outcomes. But situation of the Korean peninsula changes very fast, because the problem is very complex and the trust between North Korea and United States is at a very low level. Although there are signs that U.S. and North Korea are willing to negotiate and make some kinds of deal anyway, but it won't be easy.

1) There are still many doubts about the intention and objective of North Korea seeking diplomatic solutions. North Korea claimed that the goal of the denuclearization of Korea Peninsula will be reached, but more concrete measures should be taken to assure that the denuclearization process can actually take place. The demolition of the nuclear test sites is a good start for North Korea to demonstrate its resolve to the denuclearization process. But still many observers doubt that North Korea chooses to negotiation because of the tightening of sanction, and maybe it's hard for North Korea to give up its nuclear weapons without adequate benefits and security reassurance.

2) The process of the denuclearization can be protracted. There are no precedents to follow. North Korea had showed strong objection to the Libyan model of denuclearization. As many scholars familiar with the Korean peninsula affairs pointed out, if the United States is to make progress in the denuclearization of North Korea, it would be well to avoid any reference whatsoever to Libya. North Korea sees the Libyan Model as challenge to the safety of its administration. So the problem cannot be solved through one talk or one deal. According to South Korea president Moon Jae-in, during the second meeting of the two Korean leaders, North Korea leader Kim Jong Un expressed concern about whether he could trust the U.S. guarantee that he would remain in power following denuclearization.

The second issue of Northeast Asia security is that bilateral relations among regional countries are warming up. In the past few years, the relations among the major countries in the region were not well for various reasons. The phenomenon of «cold politics and hot econom-

ics» continued for a relatively long period. And as political relations became cold for a while, the economic relations are affected negatively too, which is described as «cold politics and cold economics». Partly because of the bad political relations, regional countries chose a different approach towards economic cooperation. For example, Japan, along with other economies, has been promoting a «China plus one» strategy, encouraging investors to divert investment to other countries, like ASEAN or South Asia countries. It's still too early to evaluate the outcome of the strategy, but it's true that the pace of regional economic cooperation is slowed down because of the political frictions. The recent trilateral summit among China, Japan and South Korea is a positive movement, which shows that regional security atmosphere is improving.

The reasons for the improvement of security environment are various, among which the following points are important. 1) The sensitive issues are kept in check. Previously, the sensitive issues, like history issues between Japan and other countries, mainly about history facts and interpretation, and territorial disputes among regional countries, were the main factors that made bilateral relations cold. When Prime Minister of Japan, Abe Shinzo, visited Yasukuni Shrine in the end of 2013, he was harshly criticized by the international society. After that, Japan has been relatively cautious about the history issues. According to the news report, the members of the Abe cabinet, including PM Abe himself, didn't pay a visit to the Yasukuni Shrine from the middle of last year till now. Also, there's no further escalation on the territory disputes, the related parties are willing to keep the situation under control. 2) The change of the U.S. policy increased the incentives of regional countries for cooperation. After U.S. President Trump came in power, the notion of «America First» has been taken by the Trump administration and Northeast Asian countries all can feel the impact of the policy. U.S. has been changing its policy in trade, security, global warming and other issues, very quickly. As Abe administration has been adopting «diplomacy following U.S.», Japan has been busy in coping with the changes. So Japan, along with other countries in the region, opts for a more balanced policy. Strengthening the cooperation among Northeast Asia countries becomes a more feasible option.

The third issue of regional security in Northeast Asia is the continuing military buildup without effective regional security mechanism. Three Northeast Asian countries, China, Japan and South Korea, are among the top 15 global military spenders. The increase of military spending shows that states are paying more attention on the defense issues, and want to deal with the change of security environment actively. The military budget of U.S. in 2018 reaches highest level in the recent decade, \$700 billion. It has a demonstration effect for the rest countries of the world. President Trump encourages the allies of U.S. to increase their defense spending and share more responsibilities. As a result, in Northeast Asia, Japan and South Korea is anticipated to buy more military equipment from U.S. to meet the requests of Trump administration. The defense budget of Japan in 2018 reached 5.19 trillion Yen, which is the highest level in recent years. The more serious issue with the increase of military spending is the lack of effective security mechanism in Northeast Asia. There're still relics of the Cold War, with U.S. and its allies trying to strengthen the alliance, which poses security challenges to other countries. The alliance mechanism of U.S. is not compatible with security needs of countries outside the system. The most obvious example is North Korea. The development of North Korea nuclear program has much to do with the perceived hostility from the U.S. side triggered by the strengthening of alliance. The lack of regional security arrangement foments distrust among regional countries, and makes security a scarce commodity.

China has been actively promoting regional cooperation and calling for a change of thinking about regional security. In May, 2014, President Xi Jinping elaborated on the new Asian

security concept, and called on Asian countries to rethink and take actions in order to keep pace with the changing circumstances and evolving times. «One cannot live in the 21st century with the outdated thinking from the age of Cold War and zero-sum game.» The key element of the new Asian security concept is to advocate common, comprehensive, cooperative and sustainable security in Asia.

After the concept was brought out, it has met with many questions, such as: it's a Monroe doctrine of Chinese version; China wants to take a lead or even to pursue hegemony in Asia; China wants to counter U.S influence in Asia, and so on. Most of the questions came from a misunderstanding of the concept and the foreign policy of China. Also, the questioning itself shows how hard it is to try to think in a relatively new or different way.

The new Asian security concept was brought out based on the following understandings: Asian countries cannot count totally on countries outside of the region to assure their security. The alliance of Japan or South Korea with U.S. doesn't make these two countries feel safe enough. Indeed, the way to make alliance to ensure safety itself should be questioned. The world is more connected than before, and the security issues become more complicated and interconnected, which requires the related countries to sit together, to deal with them together, instead of making blocs. The nature of the security issues, like territorial disputes, transnational crime, also requires the countries to cooperate.

So those who view the new Asian security concept as a Chinese version of «Monroe Doctrine» are still seeing the world through the old lens of power politics. China brought out of the concept because we are dissatisfied with the reality of the current security situation. But China is not promoting a grand action plan or strategy for the future. The new Asian security concept is more like an initiative that needs the understanding and support of the Asian countries. There's no need to worry about the possibility that China wants to seek leadership or even hegemony by promoting the concept.

By promoting the new Asian security concept, China wants to make Northeast Asia a community of shared future. In this process, the security of all Asian countries should be taken into consideration, instead of the absolute security of one country. Also, the security should be comprehensive; the traditional and non-traditional security issues should all be dealt with. About the way to realize security goals, China doesn't want to challenge the current international order and institutions fundamentally, but proposes to improve it to be more reasonable. China wants to promote bilateral and multilateral cooperation to realize a security environment that is built jointly, enjoyed commonly, and has win-win effects. And in the end, China pays attention on the sustainable security, for that the coordination between development and security is very important if durable security is wanted. In China, we say that «development is the key and foundation of solving all the problems». The development means not only economic development, but development of all spheres of the society together.

China as the initiator of new Asian security concept, will abide with the ideas in its foreign policy. The other countries in Asia are also welcomed to perform the concept in their foreign policy. The security issues can be solved better with dialogue and coordination than confrontation. Northeast Asian countries have been doing fairly well in economic development; there should be no problem for them to find a suitable way to enhance the security environment.

## INTERNATIONAL COMMUNITY SHOULD WARMLY WELCOME AND SUPPORT TO THE TREND OF THE FAVORABLY DEVELOPING SITUATION ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA

**Mr. KIM Yong Guk**

*Director-General, The Institute of Disarmament and Peace,  
Ministry of Foreign Affairs, DPRK*



Amid of the eye-opening events taking places with lightning speed on the Korean peninsula, I am glad to attend, for the first time, the fifth Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security in the capital of Mongolia.

I would like to express my gratitude to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Institute for Strategic Studies of Mongolia for inviting us to this annual international conference.

The development of the affirmative situation on the Korean peninsula has been picking up the speed within no more than six months starting from the New year.

In his New Year address, Kim Jong Un, Chairman of the State Affairs Commission of the DPRK, initiated the policy of making a decisive turn in the development of inter-Korean relations and created the atmosphere of defusing military tensions and aspiring for the national reconciliation and re-unification.

Thereafter, the 23rd Winter Olympics became one of the special significances which opened a new chapter of concord between the North and South of Korea, by dispatching of the high-level delegations, art groups, players, cheering squad and Taekwon-Do demonstration group and competing in games as a single team.

Chairman Kim Jong Un receive the delegation of special envoy of the south Korean president on March 5 and said to them to activate the north-south relations vigorously and write a new history of national reunification by the concerted efforts of our nation to be proud of in the world.

On April 27, the historic north-south summit meeting and talks were held in Panmunjom and the «Panmunjom Declaration for Peace, Prosperity and Reunification of the Korean Peninsula» was adopted.

The Panmunjom Declaration marked a new milestone to achieve comprehensive and epochal improvement and development in the north-south ties and thus rethink the severed blood vessel of the nation and bring earlier the future of common prosperity and independent reunification accord to the unanimous desire and requirement of all the Koreans for peace and reunification on the Korean peninsula.

During the summit meeting held for the first time in the south side in history of national division, the top leaders of the North and the South, hand-in-hand, crossed the Demarcation Line over and again without any constraint. This evoked the greatest emotion at the sight of destroying the wall of division, the forbidden line, in an instant.

Twenty-nine days later, the top leaders held a meeting again at Panmunjom. And this proved that the symbol of division and confrontation has certainly converted to the symbol of national reconciliation and unity, peace and prosperity.

Our sincere efforts for the dütente and ensuring peace on the Korean peninsula enjoyed proactive support from the international community.

Chairman Kim Jong Un in the 3rd Plenary meeting of the 7th Central Committee of the Worker's Party of Korea held on April 20, advanced the new strategic line to concentrate all efforts on the socialist economic construction.

This meeting adopted the resolution that nuclear test and inter-continental ballistic rocket test-fire would be discontinued from April 21, 2018 and the northern nuclear test ground of the DPRK would be dismantled to transparently guarantee the discontinuance of the nuclear test.

As a result, the ceremony for dismantling the nuclear test ground was performed transparently with the on-site coverage by the international press corps on May 24.

The favorable development was made in improving the DPRK-US relations which is directly linked up with the establishment of a durable and lasting peace mechanism on the Korean peninsula.

Chairman Kim Jong Un has reached a strategic decision to put an end to the unsavory history of the DPRK-US relations.

As you know well, Chairman Kim Jong Un and President Donald Trump held the first historic summit in Singapore on June 12, 2018.

Thanks to the fixed decision and will of the top leaders of the two countries to put an end to the extreme hostile relations between the DPRK and the US, which lingered for the longest period on the earth on terms of acute confrontation and to open up a new future for the sake of the interests of the peoples of the two countries and global peace and security, the first DPRK-US summit could be held.

The DPRK-US summit talks held in Singapore with success amid enthusiastic support and welcome of the whole world come to be a great event of weighty significance in further promoting the historic trend towards reconciliation and peace, stability and prosperity being created in the Korean peninsula and the region and in making a radical switch over in the most hostile DPRK-US relations as required by the developing times.

With the firm conviction to put the DPRK-China friendship on a fresh high stage as required by the developing era. Chairman Kim Jong Un visited China twice this year and met Xi Jinping, president of the People's Republic of China, and came to agreement to further develop the traditional China-DPRK friendship and to make joint efforts to make peace and prosperity of the Korean peninsula and the Northeast Asia.

Through the Russian Foreign Minister's visit to the DPRK on May 31st, the DPRK and Russia have agreed to continue to develop the strategic and traditional relations between the two countries in the interests of both sides and in keeping with the requirement of a new era.

Both sides agreed on the issues to invigorate high-level visits, activate exchange and cooperation in different fields and, especially, realize the meeting between the top leaders of the DPRK and Russia this year marking the 70th anniversary of the establishment of diplomatic relations developed in two countries.

Generally speaking, Kim Jong Un, chairman of the State Affairs Commission of the DPRK, embodied with the bold decision and will, has re-established the North-South relations as well as the relationship with the neighboring countries.

As a result, the situation on the Korean peninsula and region has been developed into the current stable phase.

Our people now concentrate their efforts on the socialist economic construction, upholding the resolution adopted in the 3rd Plenary Meeting of the 7th Central Committee of the Worker's Party of Korea.

In order to build a powerful socialist economic and to improve markedly the standard of people's living, all human and material resources of the country should be mobilized and the peaceful foreign environment is indispensable.

International Community should be encourage the development of the positive situation in the Korean peninsula and support our sincere efforts for the realization of peace and stability on the Korean peninsula, Northeast Asia and the rest of the world.

## EUROPE'S ROLE IN MAINTAINING PEACE ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA: A STRATEGY BEYOND SANCTIONS?

*Prof. DR. Eun-Jeung LEE*

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### 1. Introduction

The nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula not only complicated the EU's position in East Asia, but it is challenging the Union's capacity to act as a successful participant in international initiatives to bolster security in Northeast Asia. Implications go beyond the European Union's interest in a new 'pivot to Asia', and challenge its global role as a security provider. While the European Union has repeatedly announced its intention to be more proactive on the Korean Peninsula, the reality is that realistic options of a direct involvement by the EU in addressing the manifold challenges on the Korean peninsula are limited. At the same time, however, limited initiatives

by certain member states can and already did play a crucial role in upholding active channels of communication with the DPRK. While the EU last held an official bilateral summit with North Korea in 2015, informal meetings between EU and North Korean officials have continued between 2015 and 2018, embassies by EU member states in Pyongyang were maintained and several European countries hosted Track-2 dialogues involving officials from the DPRK. With the «return of diplomacy» in the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula, the EU must now find ways to revitalize the engagement component of its critical engagement strategy vis-a-vis the DPRK. The presentation will address both possible initiatives by the EU as well as the challenges that accompany a more active role by the EU and its member states in contributing to the maintenance of peace in Korea.

### 2. A Snapshot of the EU's Strategy vis-a-vis North Korea: From Active Engagement and Critical Engagement to Active Pressure

Officially, EU's relations with the DPRK is based on an approach labeled as 'critical engagement.' That is, Europe is willing to use both carrots and sticks, incentives and pressure in its relations with North Korea. Its goals are to support a lasting diminution of tensions on the Korean peninsula and in the region, to uphold the international non-proliferation regime and to improve the situation of human rights in the DPRK. While cooperation and engagement are considered a central element in this strategy, in more recent years the EU has placed its focus clearly on the 'critical' element of the critical engagement strategy. In fact, at least since 2013 sanctions have constituted the main element of the EU's strategy vis-a-vis North Korea, while its engagement initiatives have been dramatically reduced, leading some observers to assess that the EU's strategy vis-a-vis North Korea actually underwent three distinct phases: active engagement (1995-2002), critical engagement (2002-2013) and active pressure (since 2013). To distinguish these phases makes it possible to contrast the EU's earlier strategy, which, at times, saw a considerable degree of engagement. At the center of those activities have for long been various assistances to the DPRK. Explicitly designated as a contribution to regional stability, the European Commission has provided substantial food and humanitarian aid to North Korea, with the DPRK receiving roughly 370 million Euros from the EU between 1995 and 2005 alone (excluding further bilateral assistance initiatives by EU member states).



What's more, in the late 1990s Brussels began to establish initiatives with the DPRK that moved beyond assistance and aid. For instance, while consistently arguing that the Agreed Framework and KEDO would not provide a framework for EU policy towards North Korea and thus not replace a more comprehensive EU policy towards Pyongyang, following the signature of the Agreed Framework, the EU de facto recognized the role KEDO could play to secure peace and stability on the Korean peninsula. Consequently, Brussels became a member of the organization's Executive Board in September 1997. One year later, in 1998, the EU and North Korea established a political dialogue at the Senior Officials' level. Until its discontinuation in 2016, Brussels and Pyongyang held a total of 14 rounds of this particular dialogue. In EU Council resolutions from October and November 2000, the EU decided to pursue a more comprehensive approach towards relations with the DPRK in its efforts to expand its relations. This new approach led to the establishment of diplomatic relations between the EU and the DPRK in 2001, which was an important step towards establishing full-fledged political relations with the DPRK. In fact, as it became clear that a normalization of relations with the U.S. was all but certain following the inauguration of the George W. Bush administration, which took a more hardline approach to North Korea, Pyongyang indeed started to get more interested in expanding its political and diplomatic relations with the EU. The EU's initiatives in the early 2000s must also be placed in context of then South Korean president Kim Dae-Jung's own policy of engagement, the so-called Sunshine policy, who called upon EU members to support his new approach to North Korea. Between 2000 and 2001 alone, a total of eight EU member states established diplomatic relations with the DPRK: Netherlands, Belgium, Spain, Luxembourg, Greece, Britain (embassy), Germany (embassy), Sweden (embassy) EU (embassy). This development was paralleled by another major event in North Korea-EU relations, that is the visit of the so-called EU Troika to the DPRK in May 2001. During the visit of Swedish Prime Minister Göran Persson, EU Commissioner Chris Patten and High Representative for Common and Foreign Security Policy Javier Solana, the delegation managed to receive a commitment from Kim Jong Il to honor the inter-Korean Joint Declaration signed at the June 2000 summit and to maintain a moratorium on missiles testing until at least 2003. The EU's visit to the DPRK in May 2001 was significant, for the U.S. was, at that time, just in the process of «reviewing» its policy towards North Korea (Perry Process). In fact, some observers argued that the EU's May 2001 visit was to be understood as a sign of a possible beginning of an independent EU foreign policy. However, such hopes for a more independent EU policy and/or a more immediate engagement of Brussels in the security relations in the East Asia region were diminished after the outbreak of what became known as the second nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula in 2002.

This constituted a transformation of EU policy vis-a-vis North Korea from «active engagement» (1995-2002) to a more «conditional engagement» (2002-2013). This period could be described as Brussels attempt to balance political dialogue with increasing political pressure. The latter was reflected by Brussels move to issue a human rights resolution against DPRK at the United Nations in 2003 and the EU Parliament itself passed resolutions against the regime. Following the outbreak of the second nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula, the EU's role was limited to supplying verbal assurances and support for its regional partners. European countries seem to have defined their interests in Korea in commercial, rather than in political and strategic terms, and – as the passive stance during the second nuclear crisis has shown – they have at times been more disposed to quarrel among themselves than pull their weight jointly. In the longer term, such a limited role of the EU in the Northeast Asian security structure is not only problematic considering the high stakes of Europe in the region, but it also contradicts Europe's own ambition and stated goal of being a player, and not only a payer.

Such considerations notwithstanding, from 2013 onwards the EU followed a strategy of active pressure. Front and center of this strategy was the EU's comprehensive support of the U.N. sanctions regime, with Brussels even going beyond the UN sanctions – a phenomenon often described as «gold plating.» In this regard, the year 2013 set a milestone in Brussels foreign policy vis-a-vis North Korea, as it surpassed the U.N. in terms of number of sanctions passed against Pyongyang. With the successive broadening of the sanctions regime, trade relations between the EU and North Korea also plummeted. Hence, as a collective, the EU decreased its political initiatives dramatically, leaving by and large some informal dialogue channels. While the sanctions naturally had an immediate effect on the EU as a collective, some member states did continue careful engagement initiatives, with Sweden certainly leading the way (e.g. SIPRI Track II Dialogue).

### **3. Beyond Sanctions - A (Re-) New(ed) Role for the EU?**

Europe is a long way from the Korean peninsula, both geographically but more so with regard to Brussels strategic influence in the region. In fact, many European policymakers perceive the peninsula as a place where Brussels lacks leverage, and where their direct security interests are limited. This is a mistake. While Europe's influence in Northeast Asia clearly is not vital, its strategic interests are important. Although Brussels interest in the region are often described as being solely driven by economic considerations, they indeed go well beyond the economic sphere. For instance, the high stakes for international security and for the rules-based order, the legitimacy of the non-proliferation regime, human rights considerations, the strengthening of multilateral cooperation and the rapprochement of former adversaries are all among core European interest. Against this background it is important to discuss the way(s) forward for the EU with regard to its role in the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula now that the pendulum again swings towards diplomacy and dialogue. To be clear, in the foreseeable future the EU will most likely not play a strategic role in the region. In fact, one could argue that this would be neither realistic nor particularly helpful. However, the EU could and should still play a more active role within the realm of what is realistic and helpful. Given the high risks, and Europe's limited leverage, European governments, and the EU's European External Action Service (EEAS), should focus on two courses of action that add clear value, rather than setting their sights on unrealistic goals.

### **4. Re-Start the Political Dialogue with the DPRK**

In a first step the EU should work towards the resumption of the political dialogue with North Korea. The Union should also encourage the European Parliament to keep channels of communication open. The Parliament wants to maintain a firm line with North Korea but it has in the past had contacts with the DPRK's Supreme People's Assembly. Even if EU officials and MEPs are unlikely to get close to any of the real decision-makers in North Korea, such contacts would expose North Korean officials to European thinking and perhaps challenge their preconceptions about Western aims. However, for this to happen the EU has to pull some diplomatic weight behind this initiative and Brussels should consider the possibility to upgrade from a mere working-level to a higher level.

### **5. Establish and Host Track II Dialogues**

Europe may be well placed to draw out the differing risk perceptions of countries that are more directly involved in dealing with North Korean proliferation activities and provocations – namely the US, China, Japan, Russia, and South Korea. Expert meetings, eventually with officials attending, could be encouraged by the EU and/ or European states. Europe should help to move forward the debate on the steps that can be taken to mitigate risks, especially risks linked

to accident misunderstandings, and also division of the international community during crises because of mistrust. European governments should host «track 2» talks between policy experts and military analysts in the relevant countries. This could eventually evolve into confidential «track 1.5» talks – involving officials as well – about the risks of escalation, and contingency plans, starting with Europeans themselves and the coordinated evacuation of nationals from the Korean peninsula. Think-tanks and academic institutions in several European countries have acted as venues for discreet discussions between North Korean and Western experts and former officials. If the North wants to improve relations – an important caveat – then such fora could allow it to explore new approaches without commitment and without having to take public positions. A degree of official backing from European governments or the EU itself could help to convince the North Koreans that Europeans are also serious about helping to reduce regional tension and improve relations.

## **6. Strengthen Public Diplomacy and Academic Cooperation with North Korea**

The EU could strengthen people-to-people and cultural co-operation between Brussels and Pyongyang. The North Korean authorities do not make this easy, as the 2009 closure of the Goethe Institute reading room in Pyongyang showed. But there have been some successes, such as the visit of the Munich Chamber Orchestra in 2012 and the showing of ‘Bend it like Beckham’ on state television in 2010; and the British Council has a long-running program of teaching English teachers in North Korea, using a UK-focused curriculum. Without exaggerating their impact, such connections could help to expose some North Koreans to the reality of life outside, and implicitly encourage them to draw a contrast with official propaganda about the West.

## **7. Support Economic and Business Training**

Finally, Europeans should support economic and business training. In the long run, nothing in North Korea can improve much without a radical change of economic course. Where is the DPRK going to find the people to lead and manage such a process? Inevitably, China will have the greatest part to play, given its proximity and its own history of economic transformation. But Europeans – and especially, perhaps, those from the former communist countries – should offer their insights and expertise. According to Professor Susan Shirk of the University of California at San Diego, and a former senior State Department official, such low-key, non-political capacity building could strengthen the voices of economic rationality within the country.

## BILATERAL DIALOGUE CAN FOSTER MULTILATERAL DIALOGUE: IMPLICATIONS FROM THE CSCE AND ASIAN EXPERIENCES

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### 1. Cooperative Security Revisited

Cooperative security functions to create a no-enemy security situation, different from collective security or bilateral alliances. Making it effective and durable, the Organization of Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) experiences imply that beyond differences of political or economic regime states can agree the common goals and values, even it was in 1975, in the cold war era. Currently, NEA still stands for preparation of multilateral cooperative security. How can we explain why Northeast Asia has no effective solid security framework like the OSCE, while some multilateral talks on security issues have partly the feature of cooperative security of the vertex of realism and multilateralism, such as the CICA, SCO, NAPCI, the Six-Party talks, ASEAN+3+2+1, and UBD?

I here show the hypothesis on it, that lack of solid bilateral arc causes the insufficiency of multilateral cooperative security in this region; for example, hostile relation between DPRK and U.S, causes lack of effective multilateralism. We can follow the experiences of the CSCE/OSCE in the Cold War when the big two powers confronted each other, and new multilateralism of China and Japan. For understanding this argument, I here arrange the three ways of diplomacy; unilateralism, bilateralism and multilateralism and two theories of realism and idealism, to explain the current situation in NEA, as the Table 1 shows.

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**Table 1: Three ways of diplomacy and two theories**

Framework	Realism	Situation in NEA	Idealism
Unilateralism	Neo-conservatism diplomacy Balance of power	Big Stick Diplomacy Unilateral Sanction (based on multilateral agreements)	Negative pacifism
Bilateralism	Bilateral alliance	Alliance of US-Japan, US-South Korea, Strategic Partnership between China and Russia Mongolia-Japan EPA	Security community
Multilateralism	Cooperative secu- rity	Ub Dialogue, NAPCI, ARF, CICA	Ideal type of collective security

### 2. Bilateralism and multilateralism in NEA

As to multilateralism in NEA, the successful integration of ASEAN: based on good bilateral relationship between member states. Without solid bilateral relationship, the multilateralism looks vulnerable, because weak framework of hub-and-spoke cannot support the full arc. In general, we can see new multilateralism when a) hegemon declined or disappeared, or b) common interests are found. Typical answers for these questions are as follows:

The ARF was starting during the U.S. power shift in the end of cold war.

Vladivostok in September 2018, will be the first place where all six leaders of this region will meet for the first time, for participating in the Eastern Economic Forum.

These two points of typical multilateralism are based on strong bilateralism of leader state or host state. In this region, there are strong bilateral ties like U.S.-Japan alliance and 2+2 talks: e.g. Abe's cabinet tends to keep strong ties with Russia, and Russia has had the strategic partnership with China. Russia becomes the vertex of the two bilateral lines. The last missing arc of the circle which covers all of the related parties of this region is around the Korean peninsula, and in this month, we can see the foreseeable recover of the ties such as the Trump-Kim talk in June 2018.

The first historical explanation that bilateralism can spill over multilateralism is the case of the CSCE. In the mixture of explanation using these conditions, the CSCE, as the typical case of cooperative security based on multilateral diplomacy, can be explained with these points: In Helsinki in 1975, the CSCE process was fostered by the inter-German talk in early 1970s, and Ostpolitik of Willy Brandt. Ostpolitik started in the end of 1960s, and the FRG normalized the diplomatic relation with USSR in 1970, Poland, then with relationship with GDR in 1972. This contributes the appropriate bilateral relation between US-GDR from 1974, one year before the Helsinki Final Act of the CSCE signed by 35 participating states.

As the second example, China preferred to bilateralism when it perceived itself as a developing country in spite of its giant size of economy and population, and history. But from early 2000s, China might be seen to change its preference: from bilateralism to multilateralism, when it gave up to join the OSCE, and it started to build new regional IO: SCO, AIIB, and led RCEP, CICA with home-game diplomacy. These new multilateral character of Chinese diplomacy shows China had the solid traditional relationship with Russia, Pakistan, Thailand, DPRK, and these lines fostered the multilateral talk of CICA, SCO, then these regional organizations became solid, which will newly cover/has covered more member states like Mongolia, India(+Pakistan) and South Korea.

Japanese case is the third example of bilateralism promoting multilateralism. The multilateral security forum, ARF, its idea was originally coming from Nakayama proposal in 1991, while Japan actually tended to take the bilateral diplomacy more than multilateralism. The postwar Japan normalized its diplomatic relation with states in SEA in 1960s, with the war reparation, and these works produced the base of PM Tanaka visit and Fukuda to SEA states, and the future multilateralism of the ARF.

Through the three cases, bilateralism can promote multilateralism in the way of enhancing effectiveness, while multilateralism can promote durability. When a state emphasizes the first goal, it and other states need to commit to the endeavor [durability], even if it does not implement the norms of the multilateral talk, including the promotion of peace and security.

When a state (positive actor) emphasizes norm implementation in other countries, others (negative actors) criticize the harsh, one-way confrontational diplomacy. The difficulty of effectiveness emerged by high goals of multilateral talk can be eased by bilateralism, which the two understands the importance of durability of multilateral talk while the goals might be only partially implemented. Bilateral talks focus on keeping durability high, while multilateral talks keep effectiveness of the goals and framework itself.

For that harmonious combination of bi- and multi, it is important to build the sound bilateralism based on mutual trust and confidence building. The solid bilateralism can produce the spill-over effect of the regional international organization (multilateralism).

### 3. The cases of hopeful multilateralism based on fruitful bilateralism

#### 3.1. Korean Peninsula

From 1990s, four parties talk, the idea of KEDO, six-party talks were failing to be fully implemented because of mistrust among parties coming from lack of effectiveness. But the historical first bilateral summit talks between US-DPRK will foster the solid base of multilateralism. Japan has its special and humanitarian issues of abductees with DPRK, but Japan can refer to the case of the release of Americans before the Trump-Kim summit.

In comparison with the CSCE process, in 1975, in spite of the strong objections of Kissinger and public opinion, U.S. President Ford went to Helsinki to sign the Final Act of CSCE. At the time, the CSCE was thought as the winning result of Soviet Brezhnev diplomacy. The CSCE requests all states to recognize each state's border produced from 1945, and political regime Communists vs. Liberals. The media in US criticized Pres. Ford diplomacy as being defeated by the East. But his speech included the words that history would judge the effectiveness of the conference «not by the promises we made, but by the promises we keep.» This famous phrase by President Ford became important later, and its significance was overlooked at the time, but in reviewing the promise, the CSCE had three follow-up meetings in the 1970s and 1980s, to implement the promise, with help from, like the monitoring the Helsinki Commission in U.S. Congress, producing the effectiveness of the promise.

In 2018, in spite of strong skepticism, President Trump met with Chairman Kim Jong Un of DPRK. Media in U.S. criticized Trump diplomacy as just waiting the results and non-concreting results. But the U.S. and DPRK promised to «commit to hold follow-on negotiations, led by the U.S. Secretary of State, Mike Pompeo, and a relevant high-level DPRK official, at the earliest possible date, to implement the outcomes of the U.S.-DPRK summit.» The following-on negotiations of the joint statement will matter, because U.S. Congress will monitor what will be the outcomes of the summit. Actually, Pompeo stated just after the summit that major disarmament will be implemented in the two and half years.

#### 4. Greater Tumen Initiative (GTI)

Preventing NEA states from depending on single region (i.e. Middle East), related countries should strengthen bilateral ties with each other (Russia-Mongolia, Mongolia-South Korea, South Korea-Japan, and Japan-Russia). The multilateral development plan of GTI surely promotes the bilateral tie between Mongolia and Japan. For it, connectivity should be improved to promote freer movement and trade. This will contribute to more balanced trade with China, constituting the situation of mutual dependence. Multilateral framework on connectivity including the Great Tumen Area, manifests that we can produce wealthier region.

#### 5. The more durable UBD becomes, the more effective stability becomes

Mongolia started the UB Dialogue in 2014 as a security dialogue (1.5 track) in the NEA, which was regarded as the «New Helsinki.» The New Helsinki coincided with the expectation for a more stable region through confidence building. Recovering the missing arc of U.S.-DPRK will trigger not only the solid bilateralism but also the emergence of multilateralism without mis-confidence among nations. The UBD covers all of parties in NEA and fulfill the conditions of cooperative security. If the UBD will adopt the full text of joint statement of the US-DPRK summit, it means all seven nations might support the contents of the Trump-Kim summit, the goal of de-nuclearization will be achieved by monitoring as the goals not only of US-DPRK but also of all UBD parties. This means, the more durable UBD becomes, the more effective stability becomes.

## THE UB DIALOGUE AT THE CROSSROADS

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The designation of Singapore for the historic summit of US President Donald Trump and DPRK Chairman Kim Jong-Un probably relieved Mongolian government officials, security personnel, and capital city residents. It would not add any financial pressures like hosting the ASEM summit, which is still the under close auditing investigation. Instead of running the annual Khaan Quest peace-keeping exercise, the Mongolian military and security personnel would be mobilized for the additional security tasks for the summit. And, city residents would be distressed because of road blocks and increased traffic delays. Therefore, Mongolians, especially those in UB, are happy to be recognized as the only neutral destination for belligerent parties in Northeast Asia and watching the historic meeting in Singapore just before the much-awaited World Cup in Russia. Indeed, the Mongolia's bid for hosting the summit caused many to search Mongolia on the map and to wonder «why Mongolia?» Frankly, if the summit had scheduled in Mongolia, Mongolia's steadfast, modest initiative, which is known the «Ulaanbaatar Dialogue,» could be interrupted for this year. Since we're having another UB Dialogue at the interesting moment of International Relations, Mongolia needs to nurture its very own creation for the multilateral dialogue mechanism. A gradual, sustained, small effort would make contribution to the regional cooperation.

### 1. A Brief History of the UB Dialogue

In 2008, the Mongolian Institute for Strategic Studies along with the George Marshall Centre for European Security Studies organized a conference, titled «Ulaanbaatar as Helsinki?» The concept paper of conference (written by O Mashbat) drew an interesting analogy between Helsinki effort and potential Ulaanbaatar initiative.

After multiple failed attempts at creating a bridging dialogue between Western Europe and Eastern Europe, including the Soviet Union in the 1950s and 60s, the Finnish government offered Helsinki as a venue for conference for such purpose. As a result of a series of negotiations, 35 nations of divided Europe signed the Final Act for the Conference for Security and Cooperation in Europe (CSCE) in 1975. Later, this conference was transformed into the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE), which operates in Vienna, Austria. Why did Finland make such an offer? First, Finland, because of its troubled relations with its two powerful, populous neighbours (Sweden and Russia), had always attempted to be a part of the larger European region. Second, Finland maintained a policy of neutrality to any issues and conflicts between Western Europe and Communist Bloc. Therefore, the neutrality and dream of regional integration had resulted in an innovative policy of hosting multilateral dialogue.

Like Finland, Mongolia is a small state between two powerful, populous, and nuclear powers. This 'regionless' fate pushes Mongolia to reach out countries in the closest region, which is Northeast Asia. At the same time, Mongolia has avoided to be a part of conflicts between two neighbors as well as proximate region. This requires the country pursue neutral, friendly foreign policy. Probably, with this logic in mind, several small workshops and discussions were followed. In 2013, the President endorsed the 'venue for multilateral dialogue' idea and coined

the UB Dialogue – as a part the wider foreign policy initiatives to engage all Northeast Asian countries, including those in tenuous relations.

## **2. Why Is Mongolia So Eager to be the Host?**

For one, the geographical fate dictates its foreign policy move to increase its international and regional visibility. This is quite self-explanatory. The other important reason is historic. From 1911 to the present, Mongolia always made efforts to reach out to states in Asia Pacific in general, Northeast Asia, in particular. Its attempts had often hindered by geopolitical competitions and behaviors of Great Powers. However, Mongolia was a part the Asian community of communist countries in 1950s. It invited many newly independent small states of the Asia Pacific Region in 1960s-70s to share its experience of the CMEA-aided economic development. It was a hub for the Asian Buddhist Conference for Peace. In 1980s, it pursued a quite aggressive policy for offering itself as a dialogue venue for peace and cooperation in Asia. Regretfully, its attempt to advance itself as the Northeast Asian Dialogue venue in 1989, at the 50th anniversary of Khalkhyn Gol Battle (Nomonhan), was failed as the country experience domestic political turmoil and economic crisis. Nevertheless, Mongolia's desire to be the host for multilateral dialogue recharged from the early 2000. Therefore, Mongolia's multilateral approach to Northeast Asia is recurrent.

## **3. Tangible Results?**

Capitalizing on its successful foreign policies and neutrality, Mongolia facilitated bilateral talks between hostile parties of Northeast Asia. On May 23, 2014, Mongolia first-ever hosted the track 1.5 meetings between the United States and DPRK. This event was attended quite senior level officials from both governments along with scholars. And, of course, Mongolia was shortlisted and recognized the most neutral country for the US and DPRK summit in Northeast Asia. Similarly, like Vietnam, Malaysia, and China, Mongolia provided the venues for the Japan – DPRK intergovernmental meetings twice (2007 and 2012).

Besides hosting the bilateral talks, Mongolia became the only place which welcomes military personnels of China, Japan, South Korea, and United States for an annual peacekeeping exercise, Khaan Quest. At the Five Hills Peacekeeping Training Centre, these militaries join for the UN peacekeeping spirit and collaborate through the command post and tactical exercise and humanitarian drills. More interestingly, Northeast Asian countries, excluding North Korea, have been supporting the Mongolian military's peacekeeping capacity building efforts. For example, Russia provides armoured vehicles, China renovates the recreational facility for peacekeepers and provides equipment for the engineering units, and the United States gives funding for the development of the peacekeeping training centre, training and education, deployable hospitals, and other necessary equipment. Moreover, Japanese Self Defense Force engineers build roads for the peacekeeping training centre whereas South Korean companies built some training facilities. This makes the peacekeeping is one of the most tangible results of Mongolia's multilateral cooperation with Northeast Asia.

## **4. What's Next for the UB Dialogue?**

The UB dialogue is arriving at the crossroads – whether it would continue or disappear like many other multilateral initiatives. Even though unlikely, major powers would transform the six party talk as a new regional security dialogue mechanism or re-energize the Asian Regional Forum. Or, trilateral forms (e.g., Russia – North and South Korea, China – North and South Korea) emerge. Most of regional players want to be visible and agenda-setters. Within this larg-



er, competitive regional security dialogue initiatives, the UBD must find its place and continue its modest contribution. Because of the geographical pressure ('regionless' fate) and foreign policy patterns of projecting itself as a multilateral dialogue venue would never disappear. It may wane at one point, but recur quite often. Therefore, Mongolia needs to set a vision, roadmap, and plan for longer term beyond the presidential and parliamentary elections. In that way, the UB dialogue would represent the country's foreign policy continuity and attempts to be a part of the Northeast Asian region. This requires a sustained modest funding and resources to take a complete ownership and agenda-setting either alone or with partners. With a lead agency (i.e., Institute for Strategic Studies and Ministry of Foreign Affairs), the UB dialogue could pursue a specific niche topic or theme and seek partners to collaborate over 3 or 5 years. For instance, the recent decision of the de-nuclearization process of the Korean peninsula opens an interesting area for the academic cooperation on the nuclear weapon free zone – stretching from Mongolia to Korean Peninsula to Japan. This dialogue on Northeast Asian nuclear weapon zone discussions could be rotated between the UB dialogue and potentially, Pyongyang Dialogue. Or, Mongolia further expands its UN peacekeeping experience by inviting the Korean People's Army for the dialogue and research – which would eventually result in KPA peacekeeping deployments or even establishing Northeast Asian peacekeeping standby force. Similarly, building on Mongolia's current disaster-relief exercise, Gobi Wolf, which already have international participants, Mongolia should welcome and share experience with Northeast Asian partners. All these themes could be discussed, investigated, and developed at the UB dialogues. Therefore, the UB dialogue could present modest contribution for bringing Mongolia together with Northeast Asia and Northeast Asian states closer to UB.

## SOME REMARKS ON THE RUSSIAN FAR EASTERN POLICY AND SITUATION IN THE REGION

*Mr. Evgeny RUMYANTSEV*

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*Mister Chairman,  
Ladies and gentlemen,*

I am very pleased to visit Mongolia, a beautiful and fascinating country, and to take part in this event. Russia and Mongolia have a long history of friendship and cooperation. Russia has always supported Mongolia's peaceful and independent development.

My colleagues from the Russian Institute for Strategic Studies see the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue as an important international forum for the students of political science and international relations. I am authorized by the director of our Institute Dr Fradkov to relay best wishes to our hosts and all participants of the Dialogue.

Dear colleagues! It is widely known that the relations between Russia and Western countries are not in the best shape at the moment. In some respects, the situation is worse than during the Cold war.

I'm not inclined to go into specifics today. It seems to me that there is a general problem, that is: from 1985 on, the West got out of the habit of seeing Russia as a strong and independent state. Some countries even behave as if Russia does not have own interests and their naughty pupil who failed to provide his homework. Under such circumstances, my country has to implement certain measures that could be construed as a sort of damage control.

In recent years the Russian government has made some progress in internal stabilization, economic development and recovering of territorial integrity. As it is well known, some political forces are not happy about it.

The Russian President in 2014 characterized the situation using the old Latin proverb about Jove and a bull. And then he added something about the bear who would not give his forest to anyone else».

The international position of Russia and her foreign policy, including in Northeast Asia, is first of all influenced by policy of the United States. And here is one more general problem I would like to mention. As you probably remember, the previous US President had claimed that Russian economy was in tatters, and immigrants were not rushing to Moscow.

If the US President can really believe that Russian economy is in tatters, that's the problem. And the problem is an international one. It seems that one of the tasks for the scholars working in the field of world politics is to rule out such misunderstandings between countries and peoples.

By the way, it can be noted that such fake information is being disseminated by the most powerful propaganda machine in the world. And that's why these fakes have a certain effect. For instance, shortly after the sanctions had been imposed on Russia, I received an e-mail message from a Chinese friend of mine. He wrote: «I've heard that Russia is in a very difficult situation.

Can I be of any help? Maybe I should send you some food?» As a human being I was sincerely moved.

As to the 45th US President, Mr Trump, I used to read some articles by Western gentlemen of the press who characterized his foreign policy as «convulsive». I could not agree with this. His policy has a certain inner logic, it is rather consistent, and President Trump in some regards favourably differs from some of his predecessors. He delivers on his electoral promises. Indeed, he promised to deal with Iran problem, and he is dealing with it. He promised to deal with the Korean problem, and he is dealing with it too. His methods and aims though are another story.

The long-awaited Trump – Kim summit has just ended in Singapore. As such, it is a development of historical importance and its participants and the leadership of South Korea should get the due credit for this achievement, there is no doubt about it.

The Russian position is that Russia does not want to interfere in the diplomatic efforts of the US. In general, Moscow's position on the Korean nuclear problem is that:

Russia supports the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula,

Russia supports and implements sanctions imposed on a state by the United Nations Security Council. Still, Russia does not support sanctions imposed by the leadership of one country, even if it is a very big and strong country, by the group of countries or by an international block,

Russia promotes peaceful resolution of international problems,

Russia is resolutely against military hostilities near the Russian border.

Maybe, the time is ripe for President Trump to meet the Russian President. There were media reports that the preparations for such a meeting were under way. It's good news.

It is an open secret that President Trump is not free to conduct his policy towards Russia. Still, let us hope that the US – Russia summit in the foreseeable future will take place and will produce concrete results.

However, for Russians it is perfectly clear that the US foreign policy has a bipartisan nature. Besides, frankly speaking, the historic experience tells us that in the long run who is the chief executive officer in the US, bears little difference for my country.

Under such circumstances, Russian politicians and experts some time ago put forward the idea of the Russian pivot to the East. They insist on maximum activation and further development of relations with Asian countries, including Northeast Asia. The idea was supported by Russian public opinion.

It is well known that Russia is not only European, but also an Asian country; that the Asian part of the Russian territory borders with some highly developed countries and so on.

Still it should be mentioned that there are different perceptions both on the role of Asia in the contemporary world and the meaning of Asia for Russia in my country. There is a lot of talk about the XXIst century as an Asian century, about Asian tigers, the great rejuvenation of Chinese nation and so on. These statements are perfectly correct.

But, there also exists another perception in my country according to which the US and other Western countries remain the leader in the economic and technological field, they determine the pace in banking, ideology and mass culture of the world, and there are no signs of cardinal changes of the situation.

There are also different views on a possible role of Asia in the Russian development. Some Russian people believe that the future of Russia lies in Asia, the others think that, from historical point of view, Russia first of all is an European country which for several centuries cultivated close economic and cultural relations with Europe.

There is one more point of view, which stipulates that activization of Russian relations with Asia cannot be seen as a completely new development, it is simply the continuation of cooperation with Asian countries which had already existed.

At present, despite the sanctions, trade and economic relations between Russia and West European countries continue to grow. As President Putin stated before his visit to Austria, the EU still is Russia's most important commercial and economic partner. There is also some engagement in the political field, joint discussions of international problems, as it was at recent Saint Petersburg economic forum.

At the same time, it became clear that the Russian pivot to Asia has not brought considerable results up to now. So, the support of this pivot in the Russian public became less enthusiastic. Though certainly there are some positive results, and interest for the cooperation with the Asian countries is still big.

For example, the Russian relations with China got a new impulse. The recent visit to China by President Putin, as far as I know, has been a complete success. Before the visit, Mr Putin's assistant on foreign policy issues Mr Ushakov pointed out that President Putin and Chairman Xi Jinping have been maintaining close contacts with each other. Last year, they met five times, and the overall number of their personal meetings reached 25. There is also a number of important contacts at lower levels. For instance, Chinese representatives often come to Russia. During one of such visits, Vice-Chairman Wang Qishan attended the Saint Petersburg International Economic Forum. At the meeting with the Russian President Wang Qishan said that the strategic partnership was very important for the both sides. Mr Putin, on his part, stated a visible improvement in the structure of trade between our two nations.

As you maybe know, the structure of trade is one of the stumbling blocks in our bilateral relations with China.

I would also like to highlight the fact that the top-level dialogue between Russia and Japan is under way. It is contacted on the basis of mutual respect. The Prime Minister Abe also visited Saint Petersburg and had talks with President Putin, I hope that they were fruitful.

And still there is one more perception in the Russian public opinion that Russia should not either too rely on the West or hope for especially big bonuses from the East.

All in all, there are a lot of changes going in modern world, but as a saying goes, «The more things change, the more they stay the same».

## THE BUMPY ROAD AHEAD FOR US-DPRK RELATIONS

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To say that these are unconventional and unpredictable times would be an understatement. Just six months ago, tensions were high, patience was in short supply, the ultimate brinkmanship was at play with insults being hurled back and forth and concerns growing that conflict was imminent in this densely populated, nuclear neighborhood. The impact of war would have been devastating not just to Korea, but to the region and with disruptive global political and economic implications. But today is a definitively different political space. Not only have tensions been reduced, but the mood is rather festive for Kim Jong Un's diplomatic debut.

The main event, of course, was the US-DPRK summit held in Singapore in June. A historic meeting between Kim Jong Un and Donald Trump—the first time a North Korean leader has met a sitting US president. Leading up to Singapore, it was clear both leaders were both committed and personally invested in making the summit happen, but since the summit, there have been a flurry of questions about whether the fanfare was solely focused on holding the meeting itself, or on actual substance of creating the conditions for peace, at the heart of which is the status of North Korea's nuclear program?

With unclear and ever evolving objectives for the summit, conveyed by the Trump administration to the general public, the summit outcome became the ultimate foreign policy Rorschach test: everyone saw a different picture based on their own biases and expectations. Some were encouraged by the tangible effort to establish a seemingly different approach to US-DPRK relations, one that is more cooperative than confrontational and engaging at the highest level. Some were relieved that the sort of all or nothing negotiation approach that had been touted in the presummit planning days, seemed to be set aside, opting for a more pragmatic and longer-term process to achieving mutually beneficial goals. Some were disappointed that more tangible gestures were not secured during what was viewed as a critical moment. Many were disappointed with how bare bones the declaration actually was, lacking any sense of clarity on what the US considers the core issues: that is, establishing a mutual understanding of what «denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula» actually means, especially with respect to the US-ROK alliance and US extended deterrence in the region, and how we get there. What is it that the US and North Korea actually committed to? And at what point during this process will we gain that understanding? How do we measure success if we have not set clear goals?

The declaration signed by the two leaders offered only broad stroke commitments to peace, denuclearization and redefining the overall nature of US-DPRK relations. This was not an agreement or deal, as Trump was want to call it during his post-summit press conference, but a joint declaration/statement that laid out the overarching agenda of what now needs to be negotiated. This language certainly covers the underlying issues encompassed in North Korea's definition of US hostile policy, but the lack of detail and the mirroring of past commitments but with even less detail and resolve, was concerning. So understandably, criticism and skepticism within the US as to what was actually achieved was high.

This is not how the US traditionally does diplomacy – starting with a high level summit before the work is done. Normally, working level meetings would have taken place to hash out an actual agreement beforehand and a summit would follow only after substantial and tangible progress toward implementing that agreement had been made. That process removes the pressure of the summit to achieve a tangible outcome, but instead treats it as a signal of support for an improved relationship. Consequently, starting with a high level summit is uncomfortable for the US, especially given the poor expectation management. The vagueness of the summit declaration only fed that anxiety, leaving those invested in this process wanting more detail as to where the relationship is at and where it is heading.

The post-summit press conference only exacerbated these anxieties, as Trump alluded to more specific measures that had been discussed or perhaps agreed to in principle, but without the context of how they fit into a larger agreement. What was the exchange? What was on the table? If certain concessions, such as halting military exercises, were part of an action for action arrangement, what was the reciprocal action? These teasers out of context worked to undermine support, as there was no fair way to evaluate the situation without the bigger picture. How do these measures fit together in a road map or strategy? What was the cost of these concessions?

The fast pace, the circus of publicity, the lack of clarity on what diplomatic efforts were trying to accomplish, have all been factors that have led to resistance in the US to the Trump's unconventional approach to North Korea.

But perhaps breaking convention is what has been needed. Because of the frustrations built up over stops and starts in US-DPRK diplomatic history, a huge credibility deficit has grown on both sides and there has been too little interest in the US to address this situation directly and work toward resolving what is a core security interest in Asia and which poses real challenges to the global world order. Instead, in recent years, the US has wanted negotiations to be short, quick, and basically guaranteed results before even being willing to start. There has been little political will to weather diplomatic ups and downs and setbacks, and the idea of starting a negotiation only to have it fall apart for one reason or another has been simply unappealing, especially for those who had already experienced the humiliation of failed attempts.

Convention has kept the US stuck in entrenched views and biases too long. While Trump's approach to North Korea has been somewhat haphazard and uncomfortable to watch, it has opened the possibility of trying a new approach. Starting with a high level summit holds high risks, but also new opportunities. A process of this fashion ensures that this issue remains high priority on the US national security agenda, despite the frustrations and disinterest that has been built up over time among working level officials, and can create a top down mandate on both sides to actually put in the work to negotiate a solution.

Perhaps, with so much personal capital from the leaders involved being invested in getting a result, this new round of negotiations may be more durable than past attempts, potentially being able to weather highs and lows in the process along the way.

Of course, with this cast of actors leading our countries, there are certainly numerous challenges that could derail this diplomatic mood. Not least of which is a lack of discipline and consistency of messaging coming from the White House. Competing and conflicting narratives coming from Cabinet Members about what US policy is on sensitive political issues has plagued the Trump administration from the beginning. It quickly undermined Tillerson's credibility when he was Secretary of State. Bolton's competing narrative of the US seeking the so called Libyan model of denuclearization brought up questions early in Pompeo's tenure as Secretary

of State, calling into question who was really setting US strategy for North Korea. This political row caused Trump to cancel the summit once, only for the decision to be quickly reversed and Bolton sidelined in North Korea negotiations. The summit performance, with Bolton present but silent and Pompeo center stage with Trump seems to have restored some credibility in Pompeo, but one has to wonder how long Bolton will be willing to sit quietly on the sidelines.

It doesn't help that in the course of holding multiple high profile, dramatic made for tv summits, where big commitments are being made with few details on implementation, expectations for what comes next are dangerously inflated. The Singapore Summit did not solve the problems at hand, to the contrary of Trump's tweets claiming there was no more threat from North Korea. At most, it established an agenda, secured top level support for that agenda, and solidified channels of communication going forward. A loose framework is there, but the negotiations must now take place. There were no details for immediate actions in the summit declaration, only commitments to finding solutions. In order to carve out space now for those negotiations to happen, more efforts are needed to manage expectations during this highly publicized complex negotiation.

As the process moves forward, another key challenge will be finding the right balance of cooperation, inclusion, and transparency. While bilateral negotiations are easier and more effective for kick starting diplomacy and streamline the interests being addressed, there is the real risk of efforts in one bilateral process to undermine or contradict those in others. For instance, in Trump's post-summit press conference, he announced that US-ROK joint military exercises would be suspended while negotiations were ongoing. However, the reaction out of Seoul regarding this announcement seemed to indicate that despite Trump's call with ROK President Moon just before the summit, the Blue House was once again caught off guard. This lack of coordination, or at least communication, with our allies during negotiations, can cause rifts that can be exploited in parallel negotiation processes and can weaken both US and ROK negotiating power over time. Even with smaller multilateral forums, such as trilateral, quadrilateral or other formats, there is also great potential for outside actors to disrupt the process if feeling sidelined. Finding the right combination of coordination, consultation and communication will be necessary to achieving success.

Overall, both North and South Korea have engineered incredible momentum to redirect what was once a move toward conflict, now toward peace and reconciliation. Without that energy, the prospects of US-DPRK talks in 2018 were very low; there was little political will in Washington to try to engage in a difficult negotiation where success was uncertain. But now that the process is underway, the test is on the Trump administration to see if they have the political will and ability to sustain this process and move the negotiation past broad commitments toward a durable and sustainable solution to the security challenge that has plagued the Korean Peninsula for decades.

## THE NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY ENVIRONMENT TOWARDS 2025: FOCUS ON KOREA

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*Hegemony, alliances, and options for attaining national security*

When thinking about the Northeast Asian security environment, first of all we need to remind ourselves of the well-known fact that the current mega-trend in international relations is the rise of China. Depending on which theoretical school one subscribes to, we expect such a massive deviation from the unipolar post-Cold War situation to either result in some form of a win-win scenario, or in a major shift in the global balance of power with winners and losers. If such a zero-sum game is indeed being played, then a gain in Chinese power will necessarily have to come at the expense of the current global hegemon, the United States. This essay is based on such a premise.

All nation states are the same in the sense of pursuing their national interests. For non-hegemonic countries, this includes the need to define and manage their relationship with so-called Great Powers – actors who have a much larger economy, a stronger military and the ability to shape agendas and to set values. Even under the conditions of a relatively stable international environment, this is a complex and dynamic process of continuous negotiation, balancing and adjustment. However, this complexity increases dramatically if a major shift in the global balance of power is taking place, and so does the associated risk of making decisions that are harmful for the national interest.

For one group of non-hegemonic countries («stable allies»), such a changing international environment simply means that their main partner is gaining or losing power. Consequently, this leads to an increase or a reduction in their own capacity to achieve their national goals. Such self-denying loyalty does not necessarily have to be voluntary; a country can be forced to enter and maintain an alliance because of hard geo-political or geo-economic facts and/or because of a dramatically inferior level of relative power.

For a second group of countries («unstable allies»), the challenge is much more essential and of a principal nature: they are faced with the question of maintaining or changing alliances. This option can emerge as an opportunity in the sense of a voluntary choice, or it is posed in a more aggressive way as a demand by a potential new big ally.

A third group of countries (non-aligned) will have the chance to become or stay neutral and to have a high level of self-determination. This can be the case when a formerly existing major ally is significantly weakened and if a new hegemon shows no or little interest to take over that position.

The answer to questions about the coming security environment in Northeast Asia depends on how we evaluate the process of the power transfer from the US to China, and how we evaluate the position of each country with regard to the three groups as discussed above.

<sup>1</sup> Dr. Rüdiger Frank sent his article, unfortunately was not able to attend due to circumstances.



It seems that most non-hegemonic countries would be interested in the third option – a maximization of independence, no fixed alliance membership, and a functionalist on-off approach to international relations based on specific issues and interests. However, membership in one of the three groups is not a matter of choice; it is determined by the level of flexibility that a single nation state possesses. This flexibility is a function of factors such as geopolitical position, economic dependency, and military strength. After a short excursion into the actual position of the two Koreas in this regard, an option for actively modifying the above said flexibility level will be discussed.

### 1. The Position of North and South Korea

Korea has historically faced the problem of the first group of countries, the «stable allies», due to its geopolitical situation. It is defined by being a direct neighbor of China, and by being sandwiched between China and Japan. After the end of centuries of close cooperation with the Chinese empire in 1910 and liberation from Japanese colonialism in 1945, national division and the Cold War allowed Korea to follow two different strategies.

The Democratic People's Republic of Korea (North Korea) is an example for a country that has tried to maximize its flexibility by minimizing economic dependency on external partners and by building a strong military. In the early 1960s, it managed to move from «stable ally» to «non-aligned» status by pursuing a strictly neo-realist approach, focused on little more but interest and power. There are many terms for this in Korean, starting with puguk kangbyong («rich and strong country», a carbon copy of Japan's fukoku kyohei) in the late 19th century, chuch'e («master of one's own body», including versions for the economy, foreign policy, and defense charip, chaju, and chawi) since the late 1950s, kangsong taeguk («strong and rich great country») under Kim Jong-il since the beginning of the 21st century, and finally pyongjin (parallel development of the economy and nuclear weapons) under Kim Jong-un since 2013.

Such an approach, even if it turns out to be successful, is very costly. Hegemonic states will use their power to demonstrate that their preferred option «stable allies» is the most advantageous choice. The DPRK has responded to such hegemonic pressure by applying two counter-strategies.

In the 1950s, it successfully played the two hegemonic contenders China and Soviet Union against each other. However, such a strategy only works if both hegemons can be persuaded to stay in the game. As soon as one side loses interest, the balancing act fails. The DPRK's reaction to this crisis in the early 1960s (following Khrushchev's De-Stalinization, the Sino-Soviet split and the Cuban missile crisis) was a shift towards a maximization of independence and self-sufficiency under the general label of chuch'e. The consequence of this refusal to form a stable alliance and the failure to sustain the lucrative option of cherry picking has led to the expectable result: A slowdown of economic growth that reached its lowest point with the so-called arduous march of the mid-1990s.

The decision to build nuclear weapons which gained speed after 9/11 and the resulting atmosphere marks the military side of a strategy that is aimed at the maximization of independence. The costs are political (isolation) and economic (sanctions), but also include a certain military risk if one hegemon perceives the development of such weapons as a threat to his own security or as a challenge to an established set of rules.

As of 2018, it seems that North Korea is shifting back to a balancing policy, this time as a nuclear weapons state. These weapons play a double role: they keep the hegemonic powers

interested and make it harder – if not impossible – for them to exit the game, and they serve as an insurance policy against an attempt at forcibly converting North Korea into an ally through a military intervention.

The Republic of Korea (South Korea) is in a completely different situation. It has been a stable ally of the US since its foundation in 1948. Hegemonic competition during the Cold War led to massive direct and indirect economic support and subsequent hyper-growth according to the East Asian model of state-led and export-oriented economic development. On the military side, South Korea benefited from protection by the US and its nuclear umbrella. The price it had to pay was a lack of flexibility and the growing potential for conflict with the PR China, exemplified recently by Beijing's economic de facto sanctions as a reaction to the establishment of THAAD on Korean territory.

The above-mentioned massive change in the global dynamics of power is, not surprisingly, particularly heavily felt in China's neighborhood, including Northeast Asia. On the Korean peninsula, it affects both Koreas since China is trying to re-establish its hegemonic position in the region. However, the two Koreas react to this from a very different standpoint. North Korea was and is a non-aligned country that is trying to stay out of any alliance. South Korea, on the other hand, faces implicit demands to quit an existing alliance and to join a new one. It thus is on the move from «stable ally» to «unstable ally», with a thin hope to make it into the «non-aligned» group. Such a process takes years, if not decades, and is not linear. The public debate in South Korea illustrates this, with terms such as «Middle Power» and «balancer» emerging frequently, as well as issues like the status and the future of US military forces on the peninsula.

This paper focuses on Korea. Nevertheless, it has to be mentioned that the US-sponsored tripartite military alliance structure including Seoul and Tokyo is under a heavy strain due to the ongoing global power shift, too. Dissonances resulting from the unresolved past relationship between Korea and Japan could for a long time be suppressed. However, territorial disputes and the question of atrocities committed during the colonial period are now more present than ever in the public discourse. The weakening of the cohesive role played by Washington can eventually lead to serious fissures, if not a complete breakup. This must be seen in combination with Chinese attempts at courting and coercing South Korea, as well as pan-Korean nationalism that provides a rare common ground for inter-Korean rapprochement. Japan's response to this major challenge has so far been inadequate.

The disregard of Donald Trump of existing and planned agreements such as TPP and his new economic nationalism have served as catalysts for a process that had for many years been taking place slowly and often imperceptibly. The latter – that Trump's policy is not new, just faster and more obvious – is important to understand because it dampens hopes for an easy solution. Simply waiting until President Trump's term ends in 2020 or in 2024 and then returning to the status quo ante might not work out.

## **2. A Cooperative Security Mechanism: The East Asian Union**

Against the background of the situation as discussed above, we need to re-think the conventional options for security. One of them is the preservation of the current alliance structure. This would eventually result in a Cold War 2.0 where two blocs, formed around China and the United States, confront each other in the region. In such a setting, peace is secured through deterrence and mutually assured destruction (MAD). The dividing line of such an arrangement would run horizontally right across the Korean Peninsula as it did since 1945, thus shattering any

hopes for a Korean reunification and making Korea the most likely theatre of a military conflict if deterrence fails and the situation gets out of control.

The second option could be called Acheson-Line 2.0, implying a withdrawal of the United States to Japan. After a brief period of non-aligned status, South Korea would be recruited as an ally by China, either independently or in the context of a Korean unification. Consequently, a united Korea would be a frontline state, the dividing line between the blocs running vertically through the East Sea.

Both scenarios imply some form of confrontation and relegate the non-hegemonic countries to mere pawns in a game played by Great Powers.

There is a third option for those countries that oppose being in a stable alliance with any Great Power and who believe that a non-stable alliance is not serving their national interest either. The key issue is to find a way to make up for the dramatic power difference vis-a-vis hegemonic powers. The obvious solution is an alliance of non-hegemonic powers.

Such an alliance has two advantages. It subadditively accumulates power and thus makes it easier for the new entity to match an external hegemon. At the same time it avoids a strict and continuous hierarchical relationship within the alliance because none of the members is powerful enough to assume such a position.

Such an alliance, which could for example be called East Asian Union, would have to include as many non-hegemonic states as possible to accumulate a maximum amount of power.

### **3. How to make an EAU operational and effective?**

In order to be able to serve its goal of providing independent security for its members, an East Asian Union needs to accumulate a critical mass of economic, military and soft power. It takes a lot to match such giants as China and the United States; membership must therefore be as broad as possible.

For Northeast Asia, this includes the two Koreas, Mongolia, and Taiwan. To be functional, Japan has to become a member, too. This is obviously a difficult issue for all the known reasons but if seen objectively, Japan and Korea are natural allies who face the same set of problems. Looking at Europe, the once seemingly impossible alliance between Germany and France could serve as an inspiration. The two former enemies now form the backbone of the EU. Russia, a country with a similar set of problems but also with a somewhat dangerous hegemonic potential, could be included as a strategic partner.

It does not need much imaginative power to understand that China and the US will do their utmost to prevent such an alliance from emerging. If they fail to do so, they will nevertheless always try to sabotage that alliance in the same way how every cartel is broken up: by offering special conditions to single members and by utilizing existing bilateral frictions within the alliance. The example of the «special relationship» between the UK and the United States can serve as an example, or the 16+1 talks organized by China in Europe. The reasons why the EU has not immediately fallen apart like a house of cards despite Brexit and the many disagreements amongst its members are complex. One of them is the huge number of member states that gives the alliance a certain resilience even if one or more of them are embarking on a deviant path.

With only five members and one strategic partner, the EAU would be an easy victim to external break-up efforts. To have a chance to be operational, it needs to expand its membership to countries that face similar challenges. This implies the inclusion of all ten member states of

ASEAN. In fact, ASEAN with its long history, existing institutions and as an established brand image could function as a nucleus for the EAU, which could then carry the name Association of East Asian Nations (AsEAN). Australia should be invited to join. A strategic partnership with India would further strengthen the new alliance.

#### 4. The Security Environment of NEA Towards 2025

There are many strong arguments that make such an EAU/ASEAN scenario look very unlikely and unrealistic. They include the known difficulties in bridging the wide gap between Korea and Japan, the non-existing willingness of ASEAN members to expand their alliance, the difficult inter-Korean relationship, the huge gap in the level of development as well as cultural differences between the concerned countries, and the efforts by the two hegemonic powers to define the game of regional security and to set its rules.

If there is any chance at all to overcome these hurdles, this would only be possible if the existing security environment will further deteriorate. This means that the United States continue destroying its own decades-old alliance structures, and that China proceeds further on the path of giving up Deng Xiaoping's strategy of «hide your capabilities, bide your time» and becomes more openly aggressive in pursuing its interest.

#### 5. Policy Recommendations: Inputs by the Non-Hegemonic Countries of Northeast Asia

Stable alliances have their advantages. They are transparent and thus avoid the risk of miscalculation, something that led the European countries into World War 1. They reduce the costs for defining, defending and negotiating the status of a country as this is typically the case in a more open and flexible setting. The countries in the region of Northeast Asia could thus choose the strategy of stabilization and engage actively in a policy of saving or strengthening the existing alliances.

The second option for non-hegemonic countries would be to evaluate the advantages and disadvantages of the currently two hegemonic alliance options, to decide how they expect this assessment to develop in the next decades, and to consider switching alliances (South Korea) or joining one (North Korea).

Regardless, it would be advisable to pursue a parallel strategy and to enhance communication on all levels with other non-hegemonic states.

- 1) To keep the third non-aligned option open, the resolution of bilateral issues must be actively pursued. For the two Koreas, this means to keep the process of reconciliation going, and to be open to a resolution of the territorial and historical issues with Japan. The Japanese would be well advised to learn from the German example and show a more active concern over the colonial past, as well as develop an understanding for the virtue of trading short-term tactical losses against long-term strategic gains.
- 2) Observer or strategic partner status within ASEAN should be acquired or expanded by the two Koreas, Mongolia, Taiwan and Japan. Chances to act jointly in international organizations such as the UN or the WTO should be utilized to develop joint experiences and mutual appreciation.
- 3) Economic and military dependency on one of the hegemonic states should be minimized. A diversification of trade and supply chains, as well as financial cooperation such as the Chiang-Mai Initiative should be strengthened. In particular, stable cooperation with third parties such as the EU or the countries of Africa and Southern America should be more actively pursued.

- 4) Political and economic representation among non-hegemonic states should be expanded, language training should be intensified, and people-to-people-exchanges should be promoted. Careful steps towards forming a joint pan-Asian cultural identity should be taken. The fact that this approach has been discredited by Japan's policies concerning the Greater East-Asian Co-Prosperity Sphere should not stand in the way of realpolitik. Common cultural values that could be promoted in this regard include the Confucian and Buddhist heritage, martial arts, the rice culture, as well as pop-music, TV dramas, manga/manhwa comics etc.

## MODERATOR'S SUMMARY OF THE PLENARY SESSION I

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The first plenary session of the Fifth International Conference Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security was held on June 14, 2018 under the theme «Perspectives on Fostering Regional Cooperation through Mutual Trust and Understanding: Challenges and Opportunities.» The panel included eminent scholars and practitioners representing China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, Germany, Japan, Mongolia, the Russian Federation and the United States of America. Each panelist gave the utmost valuable contribution to the plenary session and to the success of the entire UB Dialogue.

Dr. Yuan Chong from China underlined that in Northeast Asia there are many security issues despite rapid growth in economies of nations in the region. Recent development on the Korean Peninsula concerning security regime may embrace some changes in the future. Also, recent development of cooperation among China, Japan and South Korea suggests that regional dynamism remains strong. He also stressed that warm economic relations tend to transform into a cold economic relations, as an effect of cold political relations among countries, including, but not limited to, continued military buildup of individual countries without effective regional security mechanism, lack of which prevented trust among regional countries. Dr. Yuan also mentioned about President Xi Jinping's announcement of a new Asian security concept, focusing on comprehensive approach to collective security simultaneously promoting economic and security cooperation.

Mr. Kim Yong Guk of the DPRK elaborated on the positive situation developed on the Korean peninsula in last six months. However, there are challenges endangering this affirmative situation. As Chairman Kim Jong Un has taken bold decision and demonstrated strong will to strengthen the inter-Korean relations and the relations with other regional countries, DPRK is concentrating its efforts in building prosperous socialist economy, with all human and material resources to be mobilized for peaceful development of the country. Mr. Kim expressed his hope that the international community should encourage this development of positive situation on the Korean Peninsula and support the DPRK's sincere efforts for the realization of peace and stability in Northeast Asia and the rest of the world.

Prof. Eun Jeung Lee of Germany suggested that the nuclear crisis on the Korean peninsula not only complicated the EU's position in East Asia, but it is challenging the Union's capacity to act as a successful participant in international initiatives to bolster security in Northeast Asia. Implications go beyond the European Union's interest in a new 'pivot to Asia', and challenge its global role as a security provider. With the latest return of diplomacy in the nuclear issue on the Korean peninsula, the EU must now find ways to revitalize the engagement component of its critical engagement strategy vis-a-vis the DPRK. She addressed both possible initiatives by the EU, such as the hosting of Track-1 and Track-2 crisis management talks, as well as the challenges that accompany a more active role by the EU and its member states in contributing to the maintenance of peace in Korea.

Prof. Noboru Miyawaki of Japan underscored that Northeast Asia has some multilateral talks on security issues, and has the feature of cooperative security of the vertex of realism and

multilateralism, with UBD as one of them; and there are strong bilateral ties. He stressed that the last missing arc of the circle which covers all of the related parties of this region are around the Korean peninsula, and in this month, we can see the foreseeable recover of the ties such as U.S.-DPRK talk. Northeast Asia should look at the example of European collective security architecture, the CSCE, the forerunner of today's OSCE, which has been launched in the security environment of the détente and based on many bilateral talks such as U.S.-USSR summit, inter-German BRD-DDR bilateral talks triggered by the Ostpolitik of FRG. In this role, Japan's diplomacy can lead the multilateral talks.

Col. Mendee Jargalsaikhan of Mongolia pointed out his country's contribution to regional cooperation in Northeast Asia, built on its sustained, albeit modest, foreign policy outreach to Asia Pacific Region and Northeast Asia. Building on amicable bilateral ties with all states and neutrality, Mongolia has often attempted to project itself as a venue for multilateral dialogue and cooperation, ever since the end of the World War II. It hosted several bilateral meetings between hostile parties, all involved in the Six Party Talk. Furthermore, Mongolia provides the only annual venue for belligerent militaries of China, Japan, South Korea, and United States to exercise for the objectives of the UN peacekeeping, all these parties, plus Russia, provide generous support for developing the Mongolia's peacekeeping capability. The UB dialogue is a potential and promising venue for regional experts to collaborate. He stressed that at this interesting moment, the UB dialogue needs a vision, roadmap, and modest plan for transforming itself as an important venue to discuss new, creative ways for sharing Mongolia's experience of nuclear weapon free zones, inclusive peacekeeping and humanitarian cooperation, and/or paving a ways for building the Asian equivalent of the OSCE.

Dr. Yevgeny Rumyantsev of Russia began by stressing that Russia's relations with Western countries, to some extent, is worse than during the Cold War era, stemming from the Western habit to treat Russia as an independent and strong state. He also expressed his understanding of the inner logic of the policies undertaken by US President Donald Trump, which can be called consistent. Although the US President himself strives to fulfill his electoral promises, his aims and methods, though, sometimes should be examined more carefully. The Singapore summit is an event of historic dimensions, and its participants and the leadership of South Korea should get the due credit for this achievement. And perhaps it is time for President Trump to consider meeting the Russian President. Dr. Rumyantsev concluded that the idea of the Russian «pivot to the East» is not a novelty; it is the continuation of the policy already existed previously. Just as Europe remains the most important commercial partner of Russia, Russia's interest with Asia is big, demonstrating consistency of Russia's global policy.

Ms. Jenny Town of the United States shared her vision of the new phase in the development of US-DPRK relations. After an intense worsening of relations between the United States and the Democratic People's Republic of Korea last year, bringing the two countries near the brink of war, a wave of intense diplomacy seems to be moving relations in a new strategic direction. The diplomatic opening triggered by Kim Jong Un's New Year's Speech and Moon Jae-in's Olympic opportunity, has led to a flurry of high level summits. While this is not the traditional diplomatic process, breaking convention may be what was necessary to turn the tide from confrontation to cooperation. While top-down mandates for negotiations and diplomacy can certainly help ensure this new path is fully explored, it also raises the stakes for both success and failure. With unconventional leaders spearheading this very public process, and expectations rising, the challenges of bringing about sustainable solutions are numerous though hopefully, not insurmountable.

During the question and answer session that followed the panelists' presentations, questions and subsequent discussions focused on two main topics. One portion of the discussion addressed the future of the UBD long term vision, its format and participation, including whether or not this and similar multilateral dialogues should serve as venues to discuss possible new themes including cyber security issues in Northeast Asia, territorial and maritime disputes and even historical issues among regional countries, whether the three-basket approach of the OSCE be adopted as a model for future's institutionalized collective security mechanism in Northeast Asia. Another bulk of questions and ensuing discussions revolved around the follow-up of the Trump-Kim summit and denuclearization efforts, whether human rights concerns be part of the equation, various interpretations of the notion of «complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula,» possibilities and expected timeframe of full or partial lifting of US sanctions currently imposed on DPRK, and communication and messaging gaps already evident in few days following the summit, gaps between the US and North Korean vision and interpretation of the Joint Declaration, as well as internal communication discrepancies within the US administration and political establishment.

The speakers stressed the importance of solid bilateralism that can pave the foundations for effective multilateralism in addressing common security issues. The recent development on the Korean Peninsula has momentum on enhancing collective security among countries in the region despite existing differences. At the same time, it is advisable to keep the sensitive issues, such as historic, territorial and maritime disputes from influencing security dialogue, while address them through talks only. Northeast Asian nations should pursue collective, sustainable and durable approach with a mind that a single country cannot tackle security challenges by its own. Even a small engagement such as training and capacity building in the DPRK can have a lasting effect on fostering such attitude.

There is great prospect for UB Dialogue as Mongolia enjoys solid bilateral relations with all countries in the region and its sustainable and persistent foreign policy has laid neutral ground for talks even between the most hostile parties. And the UB Dialogue might take an example of the Helsinki Process to evolve into an institutionalized, Asian conference on security and cooperation, following in the footsteps of the OSCE, of which Mongolia is also a participating State. Issues addressed at future UB Dialogues can be broadened to include, for example, cyber security-related themes, among others.

The first plenary session has therefore fulfilled its objective to provide the scene-setting for the second plenary and two side sessions of the 2018 Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian Security, to examine the perspectives on fostering regional cooperation through mutual trust and understanding, assess challenges and opportunities to this process, and provide a podium for frank exchange of opinions and individual and national perspectives, share common visions and differing positions in the spirit of openness and civility, as described by one of our panelists and as agreed by all participants of the session as the «Ulaanbaatar Spirit.»



## PLENARY SESSION II

### NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY ENVIRONMENT TOWARDS 2025

#### Moderator

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

#### Speakers

Where Does Northeast Asian Security Heading Towards 2025?

**Dr. RUAN Zongze**, Executive Vice President, China Institute of International Studies, China

Building A Durable and Lasting Peace Mechanism on the Korean Peninsula is the Most Important Issue For Stability in the Region of Northeast Asia

**Mr. JU Wang Hwan**, Director of the Disarmament Division, Institute for Disarmament and Peace, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, DPRK

The OSCE, Finland and Mongol-Can Mongol Play a Role Like Finland in the Northeast Asia?

**Dr. Masataka TAMAI**, Associate Professor, Tohoku University of Community Service and Science, Japan

Trilateral Cooperation Between Mongolia and South and North Korea

**Dr. BATTUR Jamiyan**, Associate Professor, School of International Relations and Public Administration, National University of Mongolia, Mongolia

Northeast Asia Platform for Peace and Cooperation (NAPPC) and UB Dialogue: Cooperative Agendas and Tasks

**Dr. SUH Dong-joo**, Senior Research Fellow in Foreign Strategy Division, Institute for National Security Strategy, ROK

The Korean Peninsula Turns from the War to Peace. What Does It Mean for the Northeast Asian Region?

**Dr. Alexander VORONTSOV**, Head of the Department for Korean and Mongolian Studies, Institute of Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, The Russian Federation

Peace Through Strength: The "Trump Formula" for Northeast Asia

**Dr. Alexandre MANSOUROV**, Adjunct Professor of Security Studies, Georgetown University, USA

## WHERE DOES NORTHEAST ASIAN SECURITY HEADING TOWARDS 2025?

*Dr. RUAN Zongze*

*Executive Vice President, China Institute of International Studies, China*



In today's world where profound transformations are happening at a rapid pace and uncertainties are on the rise, Northeast Asia, however, is set to usher in more dynamic peace and prosperity for the first time in years. This presentation will identify three important developments, which will shape the future Northeast Asian security scenario towards 2025 and beyond.

1. "Shanghai Spirit" helps build community with shared future for SCO members. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) is anticipated to play a much more influential and substantial role in promoting regional security, peace and prosperity. Qingdao summit, the first after a membership expansion to include India and Pakistan last year runs from June 9 to 10, happens at a moment when the world is in need of concerted action to meet challenges and threats ranging from regional conflicts to spreading terrorism, from protectionism to unilateralism, and must advance economic globalization and improve global governance to benefit all.
2. Korean Peninsula is at a historical juncture for denuclearization, peace and prosperity. A dramatic turnaround of the situation has been brought to the Korean Peninsula that had been harassed by confrontation and rising tension for decades. For Pyongyang and Washington, a shift from hostile and unilateral moves to dialogue and consultation addressing each other's key concerns is a much-needed step in the correct direction. The DPRK and the United States have recently made progress on the summit, an important effort to addressing the Korean Peninsula issue politically. It brings hope for transforming the once highly militarized and divided Korean Peninsula into a peaceful and prosperous one.
3. China-Japan-ROK trilateral cooperation kindles new hope for regional prosperity, stability. Leaders of China, Japan and South Korea met for the first time since 2015 in Tokyo in May, to reboot interaction between the three Asian nations. Such a move helps cement friendly cooperation and brightens the prospects of regional peace, stability and economic prosperity. In particular, the successful trilateral meeting is about to boost a new cooperation paradigm of «China-Japan-ROK+X» in the future.

## BUILDING A DURABLE AND LASTING PEACE MECHANISM ON THE KOREAN PENINSULA IS THE MOST IMPORTANT ISSUE FOR STABILITY IN THE REGION OF NORTHEAST ASIA

**Mr. JU Wang Hwan**

*Director of the Disarmament Division,  
Institute for Disarmament and Peace, Ministry of Foreign Affairs, DPRK*



Easing a military tension and eliminating of danger of war is not only a fundamental problem directly affecting destiny of the Korean nation but a main factor guaranteeing peace and stability and lasting economic development of the Northeast Asia.

Until the Korean Armistice agreement with more than 60 years history is in place the economic potential of the Northeast Asia will be under restraint because of unstable situation and lack of transportation etc.

It is historic task which brooks no further delay to terminate the present abnormal armistice situation and to establish a firm peace mechanism on the Korean peninsula.

We are making all sincere effort in order to build durable peace mechanism on the Korean peninsula which is pressing task for all of us.

Chairman of the State Affairs Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea Kim Jong Un had the north-south summit talks with President of the Republic of Korea Mun Jae In at Panmunjom on April 27, 2018 at the significant time when a historic turn is being made in the Korean peninsula, reflecting the unanimous desire of all the Koreans for peace, prosperity and reunification.

The top leaders of the north and south solemnly declared before the 80 million Koreans and the whole world that there would be no longer war and a new are of peace has opened on the Korean peninsula.

They issued the Panmunjom declaration reflecting the firm will to put an end to division and confrontation, an outcome of the Cold War, at the earliest date, courageously open up a new era of national reconciliation, peace and prosperity and more actively improve and develop the north-south ties.

The north and south agreed to make joint efforts to defuse the acute military tensions and to substantially defuse the danger of a war on the Korean peninsula.

The North and South will closely cooperate with each other to build a durable and lasting peace mechanism on the Korean peninsula.

It is an urgent to terminate the present abnormal armistice situation and establish a firm peace mechanism on the Korean peninsula.

The North and South agreed to reconfirm the non-aggression agreement on non-use of any form of armed forces and strictly abide by it and agreed to realize disarmament in a phased manner depending on the removal of military tension and the substantial building of military confidence between the two sides.

The North and South agreed to declare the end of was this year, the 65th anniversary of the Armistice agreement, replace the AA with a peace accord and actively promote the holding of North-South-US tripartite or North-South-China-US four party talks for the building of durable and lasting peace mechanism.

In the historic Singapore summit, the DPRK and the US committed to join their efforts to build a lasting and stable peace regime on the Korean peninsula.

Chairman of the State Affairs Commission of the Democratic People's Republic of Korea. Kim Jong Un in the Third Plenary Meeting of the Seventh Central Committee of the Worker's Party of Korea took place on April 20, proclaimed great victory of the line of simultaneous development of economic construction and building of nuclear force and put forward new strategies line for concentrating all efforts on building a powerful socialist economy.

In order to make positive contributions to the building of the world free from nuclear weapons in conformity with the aspiration and desire common to mankind, the DPRK already has taken important steps such as discontinuation of nuclear test and inter-continental ballistic rocket test-fire and dismantlement of the nuclear test ground.

In the joint declaration of the Singapore summit reaffirming the April 27, 2018 Panmunjom Declaration, the DPRK committed to work toward complete denuclearization of the Korean peninsula.

The DPRK will facilitate close contact and active dialogue with neighboring countries and the international community in order to create international environment favorable for the socialist economic construction and peace and stability on the Korean peninsula and the region.

## THE OSCE, FINLAND AND MONGOL-CAN MONGOL PLAY A ROLE LIKE FINLAND IN THE NORTHEAST ASIA?

*Dr. Masataka TAMAI*

*Associate Professor, Tohoku University of Community Service and Science, Japan*



### 1. Introduction

Both Mongolia and Finland are neighbors of Russia (formerly the Soviet Union). However, Finland and Mongolia differ greatly in terms of their security situations.

The Europe was formerly divided into three camps: the communist states of the East, the democratic states of the West, and the neutral states. However, this conflict disappeared after the Eastern European revolutions. In Asia, on the other hand, the conflict still exists, as seen in the tensions between South Korea and North Korea, between Japan and China, and between China and Taiwan, as well as in the problems of the South China Sea. In addition, there are historical problems such as those between South Korea, China and Japan regarding «comfort women.»

Under diplomatic pressure from the Soviet Union, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe (CSCE) was one of Finland's most important attempts to reduce the political tensions between two opposing camps in Europe. The original idea for the CSCE was not Finland's; the Soviet Union proposed it at a summit held in Geneva in 1954. In the late 1960s, Finland was focused on the idea of fostering East-West dialogue. It played an important role in the dialogue leading up to the 1975 Helsinki Final Act, which was signed by thirty-five participating States including all European States, the USA and Canada except Albania at Finlandia Hall in Helsinki. During the Cold War, the CSCE played an important role in the dialogue among the East, the West and the neutral states.

The CSCE became the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Europe (OSCE) in 1995. China established Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) in 2001 as a successor to the Shanghai Five, which had been founded in 1996. However, not all of the member states of the SCO are Asian states, so the SCO does not provide an easy blueprint for becoming a regional international organization like the OSCE.

In this paper, I analyze Finland's role in the CSCE/OSCE and explain why Finland was able to play such an important role. I also explain the Asian perspective on the Conference for Security and Co-operation in Asia and Mongolia's role in it.

### 2. The CSCE, the OSCE and European security

The OSCE plays an important role in European security. The participating states are not just European states; they include CIS states, the United States, Canada and Mongolia. It consists of 57 participating states and 11 partnership states (Japan, South Korea, Thailand, Afghanistan, Israel, Jordan, Egypt, Algeria, Morocco, Tunisia and Australia).

The OSCE acts as a mediator and fosters dialogue. The Permanent Council, which meets weekly in Vienna, includes representatives of every participating state and partnership state. In this council, representatives from, for instance, Russia and Ukraine or Armenia and Azerbaijan, can meet and engage in dialogue.

In the Ukrainian conflict, the OSCE plays an important role as a mediator among the Ukrainian government, the pro-Russian Ukrainian militia, and the Russian government. The European Union on at the side of the Ukrainian government, and it has imposed economic sanctions against Russia, so it cannot act as a mediator of the conflict. The system of dialogue originated with the CSCE. In Europe, Finland has been one of the major actors in the CSCE's process.

## 2. Finland's role in the CSCE

On August 1, 1975, 35 heads of delegations (almost all from Europe, the United States and Canada) signed the Helsinki Final Act. Before this, Finland's government had to mediate between two camps, the Warsaw Treaty Organization and North Atlantic Treaty Organization (NATO).

From a geographical perspective, Finland's government has had to be aware of its neighbor state, formerly the Soviet Union and now the Russian Federation. The Soviet Union interfered in Finland's internal affairs, including in the Finnish Civil War, the Winter War and the Continuation War. This mediation between the East and the West was one of the primary duties of Finnish diplomats.

From 1968 to 1970, negotiations between Finland and the Soviet Union were held. The main purpose of this negotiation was to ratify Finland's neutral status, but these two nations could not do this on their own because of article 2 of Agreement of Friendship, Cooperation, and Mutual Assistance (FCMA). However, Brezhnev, the head of the Soviet Union, recognized Finland's neutral status as a state of mediator on April 24, 1967<sup>2</sup>. By May 5, 1969, the Finnish Memorandum had been sent to all European states (including both German states), as well as the United States and Canada. In this memorandum, the Finnish government said that it was ready to serve as the host state for a preparatory meeting regarding multilateral talks. After that, the CSCE talks started. It was a great victory for the conference between the East and the West to be held in Helsinki. Finland was finally recognized for its neutral status and for acting as a mediator to both camps<sup>3</sup>.

After starting the CSCE process, the East and the West held follow-up meetings in Belgrade, Madrid and Vienna during the Cold War era, and Finland submitted some proposals about the security situation in Europe. During the Cold War era, the advance of the CSCE process was one of the main diplomatic aims in maintaining the peaceful situation in Europe and preserving the good relationship between Finland and the Soviet Union. Today, the OSCE (the successor of the CSCE) remains one of the most important diplomatic organizations in Finland .

2 Thomas Fischer (2009) *Neutral Power in the CSCE: The N+N States and the Making of the Helsinki Accords 1975*, Baden-Baden: Nomos Verlagsgesellschaft, p.p.100-101.

3 See also John J.Maresca (2016) *Helsinki Revisited*, Ibidem-Verlag, Jessica Haunschild U Christian Scho; UK ed. Edition, pp.19-49., Patric G.Vaughan (2008) *Zbigniew Brzezinski and the Helsinki Final Act*, in Leopoldo Nuti (2008) *The Crisis of Dütente in Europe: From Helsinki to Gorbachev 1975-1985*, Routledge, pp.11-25.

Figure 1. Proposals submitted by Finland in Vienna Follow-up Meeting

Doc.No	Submit country					Theme
WT.15	Denmark	Finland	Iceland	Norway	Sweden	concerning the further development of environmental protection
WT.16	Denmark	Finland	Iceland	Norway	Sweden	concerning further development of concerted measures against air pollution within the framework ECE
WT.17	Denmark	Finland	Iceland	Norway	Sweden	concerning further development of efforts to protect and enhance the marine environment against pollution
WT.18	Denmark	Finland	Iceland	Norway	Sweden	concerning precautionary measures to protect the ozone layer
WT.44	Austria	Cyprus	Finland	Liechtenstein	Malta	
	San Marino	Sweden	Switzerland	Yugoslavia		
WT.98	Finland	Hungary	Denmark	Greece	Iceland	Promotion of the translation, publication and dissemination of literature produced in less widely-spoken language
	Norway	Poland	Sweden	Turkey		
WT.110	Austria	Finland	Sweden	Switzerland		concerning dissemination of information about human rights and fundamental freedoms and remedies in the event of violations of such rights
WT.125	Austria	Cyprus	Finland	Liechtenstein	Malta	the peaceful settlement of disputes
	San Marino	Sweden	Switzerland	Yugoslavia		
WT.126	Austria	Cyprus	Finland	Liechtenstein	Malta	Terrorism
	San Marino	Sweden	Switzerland	Yugoslavia		
WT.128	Austria	Denmark	Finland	FRG	Iceland	Progressive elimination of capital punishment
	Luxembourg	Norway	Portugal	Spain	Sweden	
WT.135	Austria	Cyprus	Finland	Liechtenstein	Malta	the continuation of the work of the Vienna Follow-up Meeting
	San Marino	Sweden	Switzerland	Yugoslavia		
WT.137	Austria	Cyprus	Finland	Liechtenstein	Malta	Draft Concluding Document of the Vienna Meeting 1988
	San Marino	Sweden	Switzerland	Yugoslavia		
WT./H.4	Hungary	Finland	GDR			Co-operation in the art education of youth
WT./E.11	Austria	Cyprus	Finland	Liechtenstein	Malta	
	San Marino	Sweden	Switzerland	Yugoslavia		

Figure 2. Proposals submitted by Finland in the Copenhagen/Moscow Human Dimension Meeting

1990 Copenhagen Human Dimension Meeting (Proposal)		1991 Moscow Human Dimension Meeting (Proposal)	
Doc.No	Theme	Doc.No	Theme
CHDC1	CHD mechanisms	CHDM.1	Human rights and fundamental freedoms during a state of public emergency
CHDC13	Abolition of the death penalty	CHDM.7	On the expansion of the CSCE Human Dimension Mechanism
CHDC16	The rule of law system of freedoms	CHDM.13	Equality men and women
CHDC30	Transfer of Sentenced Persons	CHDM.14	Rights of Indigenous People
CHDC31	Rights of the child		The role of the independent Non Government Organizations
CHDC39	NGO and media	CHDM.16	in a Pluralistic, democratic society
CHDC40	Council of Europe	CHDM.34	Abolition of the death penalty

### 3. The Shanghai Cooperation Organization and northeast Asia

#### - Can we learn from Finland's experiences in Europe?

The SCO was established in 1996 as the Shanghai Five, which consisted of five states: the People's Republic of China, Kazakhstan, the Kyrgyz Republic, the Russian Federation and Tajikistan. Afterward, Uzbekistan (2001), India and Pakistan (2016) joined as member states; Figure 3. Proposals submitted by Finland in the Helsinki Follow-up Meetings

Afghanistan, Belarus, Iran and Mongolia became observer states; Armenia, Azerbaijan, Cambodia, Nepal, Sri Lanka and Turkey became dialogue partners; and ASEAN, the CIS and

Turkmenistan were allowed to attend as guests. The SCO aims to foster dialogue about security issues such as terrorism among member states

1992 Helsinki Follow-up Meeting (Proposals)	
Doc.No	Theme
HM.1	CSCE High Commissioner for Minorities
HM.4	Meaningful involvement of non-governmental organizations
HM.7	Agenda for the CSCE Helsinki Summit Meeting 1992
HM.8	organizational framework, work programme and other modalities
HM/WG3/1	Rights of indigenous populations
HM/WG3/3	Abolition of the death penalty
HM/WG3/4	Co-operation between the ODIHR and the Council of Europe
HM/WG3/8	National Minorities
HM/WG3/22	CSCE Seminar on "Education: Structures, Policies and Strategies in the CSCE Area"
HM/WG3/25	CSCE: Human Dimension Handbook
HM/WG3/26	Promotion of Equal Opportunities for Persons belonging Romani and Traveller Communities
HM/WG4/6	Economic Forum

Although this aim is similar to that of the OSCE, nations such as the United States, Japan and South Korea are not members or observer states of the SCO. The United States has three main alliances in this region, with Japan, the Republic of Korea and the Republic of China (Taiwan; unofficial). Because of the conflict between the United States and China in the Asia-Pacific region, the United States, Japan and the Republic of Korea might opt not to participate in the SCO, as it is led by China.

The security situations in Asia and in Europe are quite different. In the OSCE region, comprehensive security is a close relationship among democracy, human rights and security, as declared at the Istanbul summit of 1999. Although some participating states in the OSCE have been criticized for having nondemocratic regimes, none of these states oppose democracy. In northeast Asia, on the other hand, there are several types of regimes. Japan, the Republic of Korea and Mongolia are democratic states, the People's Democratic Republic of Korea and the People's Republic of China are communist states, and Russia is an authoritarian state. For this reason, it is not easy for the OSCE to establish a regional mechanism for the northeast Asian states.

The CSCE's Helsinki Final Act was signed in 1975, during the Cold War. At that time, the European continent was divided into the East, the West and the neutral states. These political regimes were all distinct, especially the East and the West. A similar situation applies today in northeast Asia.

Mongolia is the only state that maintains a good bilateral relationship with every other northeast Asian state, as Finland has done for Europe since the Cold War. Finland has long wanted to have good multilateral relationships with other camps because of its geographic circumstance. Mongolia is in a similar situation, and it is beneficial not only for Mongolia but for all the northeast Asian states for Mongolia to have these good multilateral relationships with its neighbor states in the fields of diplomacy, economics, ecology and security.



#### 4. Conclusion

The security circumstances of the northeast Asian region are complex because of the security system. Unlike Europe, northeast Asia remains divided into two camps, as the Cold War has continued in this area. However, even as late as 1975, no one could have imagined the end of the Cold War in Europe. Now, Mongolia has a chance to establish the Organization for Security and Co-operation in Asia and become a leading diplomatic state, just as Finland was in Europe.

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## TRILATERAL COOPERATION BETWEEN MONGOLIA AND SOUTH AND NORTH KOREA

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In this presentation, the author discusses and describes about the political and economic relations between Mongolia and DPRK and ROK in terms of historical view since the Korean war in 1950. Further, post-communist period relations between Mongolia and South Korea has also included.

The main point of this presentation is to discuss the importance of setting up mutually beneficial free trade area between Mongolia and DPRK and ROK.

The researcher concludes that there is a great opportunity to develop such collaboration with trilateral contributions, such as Mongolia contributes with land and infrastructure, south Korea contributes with technologies and investment, while DPRK contributes with labor.

The most possible area for this collaboration is Choir, which is located not so far Ulaanbaatar city.

## 'NORTHEAST ASIA PLATFORM FOR PEACE AND COOPERATION' (NAPPC) AND UB DIALOGUE: COOPERATIVE AGENDAS AND TASKS

*Dr. SUH Dong-Joo*

*Senior Research Fellow, INSS, ROK*



### Introduction

International political scientists describe the Korean Peninsula as a typical textbook of international politics. However, in order to understand the recent development on the Korean peninsula, it is necessary to rewrite the textbook.

Trump's twitter and a series of summits such as the inter-Korean summit and the US-DPRK, China-DPRK, ROK-US, US-Japan summit are acting as important variables. It seems as if the masters of deal makers are playing a game of foreign policy on the diplomatic stage, because we are witnessing the events unfold in reality just as in fast-paced drama series. Also, like the drama and the roller coaster, a dynamic diplomatic game appears in reality. Therefore, we should rewrite a new textbook that reflects the current situation.

Recently, the international order and the security environment in Northeast Asia are at a major turning point. High-level talks between South and North Korea has resumed after the 2018 PyeongChang Winter Olympics, and Inter-Korean summit and DPRK-China summit have been held twice since then.

In particular, US-DPRK summit has a historical implication for transforming the Cold War system into a peace regime and suggests new challenges and opportunities for the future of multilateral security order in Northeast Asia. In this context, the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue is an important milestone in figuring out a mechanism of the security multilateral cooperation in Northeast Asia towards 2025 and developing action plans.

Focusing on the changes in the international environment of the Korean Peninsula and re-shaping of the order in the region, the present paper deals with the theme of the second session proposed by the organizers of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue, "The Northeast Asian Security Environment for 2025". Specifically, the following four questions were given;

First, what kind of cooperative security mechanisms could enjoy the support of the countries in Northeast Asia?

Second, how to make it operational and effective?

Third, how the participants envisage the security environment of NEA towards 2025?

Fourth, what could be inputs by the countries concerned in that regard?

### ROK-Mongolia Summit in Vladivostok.

Meanwhile, in September 2017, President Moon Jae-in and President Battulga held the ROK-Mongolia Summit in Vladivostok. At this meeting, the two leaders shared their personal friendship and intimacy, discussed the strengthening of real cooperation between South Korea and Mongolia, the North Korean nuclear issue, the security situation on the Korean peninsula, and regional security and economic cooperation measures.

Especially, President Moon explained the establishment of a "Northeast Asia Platform for Peace and Cooperation"(NAPPC) to discuss security cooperation measures among the major nations in the region. President Battulga expressed his hope that the Mongolian government would actively contribute to the resolution of security problems in Northeast Asia, such as the North Korean nuclear issue, based on his personal experience of visiting North Korea several times. (Cheong Wa Dae 'Briefing on Hanmong Summit' (June 6, 2017). (<http://www1.president.go.kr/articles/928>))

At this presentation, I'd like to tackle the above questions and examine the cooperation measures and tasks of the Korean Northeast Asian Platform for Peace and Cooperation and the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue including a mechanism for multilateral security cooperation in Northeast Asia.

### **Foreign policy of ROK: basis and characteristics**

The new Korean government's foreign policy trend and direction, which was launched on May 9, 2017, can be seen in several key words emphasized as the following.

In the case of Northeast Asian and Asian policies, Moon Jae-in administration pursues "dignified international cooperation," including the realization of responsible defense, denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, and development of inter-Korean relations. Lim Sung Bin, the first Vice Minister of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, expressed the four principles in the Jeju Forum(31 May 2017). His key words were 'peace', 'responsibility', 'cooperation' and 'democracy'. It was meant as 'Peaceful Asia, Responsible Asia, Cooperative Asia and Democratic Asia'. We can see where the emphasis of foreign policy lies.

More specifically, if we look at the direction of the foreign and security policy, it is within the following framework. The national vision of the Moon Jae-in government is "A nation of the people, A Republic of Korea of Justice" and the policy objective is «the Korean Peninsula of Peace and Prosperity". The following are key diplomatic policy tasks;(www.mofa.go.kr/eng/wpge/m\_5727/contents.do)

- Peaceful resolution of North Korean nuclear issue and the establishment of lasting peace
- Promotion of national interest through public diplomacy and people-centered diplomacy
- Pursuing confident cooperation diplomacy with neighboring countries
- Establishment of a Northeast Asia(+)+Plus Community of Responsibility
- Strengthening trade diplomacy and development cooperation to increase national interest
- Protecting the safety of Korean nationals residing abroad and supporting overseas Koreans

In addition, Moon Jae-in's policy on the Korean peninsula emphasizes peace and prosperity. It consists of three goals, four major strategies, and five principles.

The three goals are the pursuit of 'peace first', spirit of 'mutual respect', and 'open policy' with the people.

The four strategies are: (1) taking a step-by-step and comprehensive approach, (2) tackling the issues of Inter-Korean relations and the North Korean nuclear threat simultaneously, (3) ensuring sustainability through institutionalization, (4) laying the foundation for peaceful unification through mutually beneficial cooperation.

The five principles are: (1) Korea-led initiative, (2) strong defense, (3) mutual respect, (4) interaction with the people, (5) international cooperation.

### **Berlin Concept and Position on the North Korean Nuclear Issue**

On July 6, 2017, President Moon Jae-in announced his plans for North Korea through the Berlin Declaration and made four proposals to North Korea<sup>4</sup>

First, the five principles of the North Korea policy are; (1) to exclude attempts of artificial reunification such as unification by absorption and to pursue peace, (2) to pursue denuclearization of the Korean peninsula to ensure stability of the North Korean system, (3) to promote the conclusion of a peace treaty on the Korean Peninsula, (4) to promote the economic community on the Korean Peninsula, (5) to support non-governmental private exchanges separate from political and military situations.

There are four proposals to North Korea: (1) Chuseok family reunion; (2) participation in the PyeongChang Winter Olympics; (3) mutual interdiction of hostilities in the military demarcation line; and (4) inter-Korean contact and resumption of dialogue.

The Berlin Initiative was a roadmap for North Korea to conclude a comprehensive agreement on the denuclearization of the Korean peninsula and a peace treaty. The conceptual diagram is as follows; (1) Step 1: principle of pursuing peace, (2) Step 2: seeking denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, (3) Step 3: economic cooperation, (4) Step 4: establishing a peace system. (Donga Ilbo, July 7, 2017.)

It emphasizes dialogue unlike the former administration and shows resolve to play a leading role in creating a peaceful reunification environment on the Korean peninsula. To that end, it has been paying a great deal of attention and efforts to open dialogue with North Korea.

### **Northeast Asia Plus(+) Community of Responsibility and Northeast Asia Platform for Peace and Cooperation(NAPPC)**

The Moon Jae-in government is pursuing a 'Northeast Asia plus(+) community of responsibility' as a key foreign policy. This is going to create an environment for peace and prosperity around the Korean Peninsula and Northeast Asia through its mid-to long-term regional vision. It is composed of two pillars, one the "pillar of peace" and the other, the «pillar of prosperity»([www.mofa.go.kr/www/wpge/m\\_20373/contents.do](http://www.mofa.go.kr/www/wpge/m_20373/contents.do)).

The fundamental goal of this policy is to lay the foundations for sustainable peace and common prosperity. Specifically, there are three core contents;

- (1) Seeking progress and institutionalization of multilateral cooperation in Northeast Asia;
- (2) Expanding the reach of peace and prosperity by enhancing relations with ASEAN and India;
- (3) Increasing connectivity between the Korean Peninsula and Eurasia.

The 'platform' in the Northeast Asian Platform for Peace and Cooperation (NAPPC) means a framework in which many members can freely gather and discuss as needed regardless of form or agenda. The platform will provide a forum for interested parties to freely gather and discuss various cooperation agendas for peace and cooperation in Northeast Asia.

Overall, NAPPC has succeeded NAPCI, which was promoted by the government of Park Geun-hye, and has developed it further. It is considered to correspond to the so-called NAPCI 2.0. It shows that there is a willingness to maintain consistency in its policy.

<sup>4</sup> <http://www.unikorea.go.kr/unikorea/policy/koreapolicy/berlin/>.

The difference between the two policies is that NAPCI focuses on soft security, while NAP-PC also includes security and economic issues and is expanding its geographical scope and participants. The Korean Government wants to expand its partnerships with other countries in the region such as Mongolia, the US, China, DPRK, Japan and Russia, as well as the EU, ASEAN, Australia, and other international and regional organizations. It is intended that the various existing partnerships will be able to function as a flexible and organically linked platform.

In addition to energy security, environment, disaster management, health, and cyberspace that have been promoted, the main agendas further deal with various agendas for cooperation such as security, economy, society and culture.

Key directions of implementation are as follows.

Seeking to institutionalize multilateral consultations in the region and to hold them on a regular basis.

Broadening its horizon of cooperation by promoting, in tandem with cooperation in the public sector, cooperation in the private sector.

Deepening functional cooperation in various fields.

A representative example of this is the annual 'Northeast Asia Peace Cooperation Forum'. Its core key words are 'Comprehensive', 'Connected', and 'Common'. Mongolia is also participating in this forum, and it seems to be able to cooperate with the 'Ulaanbaatar Dialogue' in the future as well as sharing the advantages of each.

### **Cooperative ideas between NAPPC and UBD**

#### ***Synergistic Cooperation***

Let's look in detail. NAPPC and Ulaanbaatar Dialogue have a lot in common. In other words, both policies have a positive goal of achieving peace, stability, prosperity and development in Northeast Asia. In addition, mutual cooperation is essential for both Korea and Mongolia, which are middle-power states, to lead their foreign policies, and it is desirable to pursue them from a mid- to long-term perspective.

Another common point is that both policies emphasize multilateral cooperation and dialogue. This raises the possibility of cooperation between the two policies and provides a chance to develop a comprehensive partnership between Korea and Mongolia. Both policies will be better implemented through complementary and synergistic effects.

The following issues should be considered before considering the cooperation between NAPPC and UBD.

First, it is desirable to cooperate in the direction of enhancing mutual understanding of the fields that can have substantial effects between NAPPC and UBD. It is not a competition of policies, but should complement one another, where cooperation should be given priority, and win-win effect should be achieved.

Second, it is desirable to focus on areas that can easily lead to dialogue and cooperation, such as energy, cyberspace and environment fields, which are agendas of common interest. This will enable us to create successful cases, and we can refer to the policy implications of the existing policy implementation process.

Third, it is necessary to prepare for continuous and steady policy cooperation in the light of the fact that it will take a long period of time.

Finally, we should pay attention to the format of the 'post' six-party talks after the actual six-party talks. It is also related to the establishment of a peace regime that might develop after the US-DPRK summit. We will have to create confidence-building measures that will bring peace and prosperity to the region in common.

### **Specific Cooperation ideas**

The following are a few specific ideas that NAPPC and UBD could work on and which would also help build confidence for multilateral security cooperation.

First, it is important to promote bilateral cooperation between Korea-Mongolia. All of the concerned countries should build a bilateral relationship and should a virtuous cycle.

For both Korea and Mongolia, it is desirable to further deepen the "comprehensive partnership" between the two countries. In other words, it is necessary to develop a comprehensive partnership between Korea and Mongolia, including strengthening bilateral cooperation in various fields such as diplomacy, economy and social culture.

Above all, we must make good use of the achievements of the summits of the two countries held in May and July 2016 and September 2017. It will also shape the level of cooperation in the energy sector, such as promoting new and renewable energy, power plant projects, and eco-friendly energy town model projects agreed at the summit.

Second, countries in the region will invite experts to various international conferences, seminars, and forums held by them to enliven the network of experts. As we have seen above, the Korean side is holding 1 track and 1.5 track meetings related to NAPPC as a regular basis. We need to exchange high-level experts and build networks between Korea and Mongolia through the instruments of NAPPC and UBD.

Third, it is also important to invite them to cooperative meetings at each agenda and to promote exchanges. It will also actively participate in bilateral and multilateral cooperation such as in the fields of nuclear energy, prevention of desertification, prevention of particulate dust, and also medical welfare, disaster management, and multilateral consultation.

Korean experts have regularly attended meetings held as part of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue. The Institute for Strategic Studies (ISS) in Mongolia also hosted the commemoration ceremony for the 25th anniversary of Korea-Mongolia diplomatic relations in March 2015 and is holding expert meetings on NAPPC and UBD together with Korea National Diplomacy Academy (KN-DA). This can be appreciated as positive.

Fourth, NAPPC and UB dialogue should play a central role in leading the network of multilateral security cooperation and building of platform. It is also critical to make efforts to strengthen the participation and cooperation of related countries by utilizing international organizations, international seminars, symposiums, and forums such as SCO, CICA, CSTO, ARF among others.

Fifth, it is also necessary to consider establishing an online platform, mobile application or online networking secretariat jointly established by Northeast Asian countries in relation to multilateral security cooperation.



It would be helpful to build trust in the long term if we could introduce and share information online and inform about the accumulation of data and the current situation of exchanges.

Finally, mini-multilateral economic cooperation involving three or four parties in the region should be promoted. Northeast Asia includes various such bodies such as ROK-DPRK–Russia, ROK-DPRK–Mongolia, Mongolia–China–Russia, ROK-US-China, US-China-Russia and so on. We should have a deep interest in this.

In the future, it is essential to discover the agenda for cooperation and networking so that the mini-lateral frameworks can take on nature of cooperation. Some good examples are ROK-DPRK-Russia participation in the Belt and Road project with China, Korea-US-Russia joint maritime disaster relief training, and GTI promotion. We also need to examine how to engage North Korea on the basis of mini-multilateral cooperation.

### **Conclusion**

All East Asian countries hope for stability, peace and prosperity. They seek to promote national development based on regional stability and peace. The international security environment in the region is creating a new shape with intricate inter-regional interests.

Korea and Mongolia share strategic interests in maintaining peace and stability on the Korean peninsula and in Northeast Asia and contribute to the common prosperity of Northeast Asia.

I hope that the positive synergy with Mongolia's "Ulaanbaatar Dialogue" will be fully utilized and that the NAPPC will be more institutionalized and well-developed so that the planned goals can be implemented.

Furthermore, if we raise our eyes a little, the PyeongChang Winter Olympic Games in February this year have been successfully held as a festival of peace, and then, FIFA Russia World Cup will start on June 14, 2018. In addition, world peace events will be held in Northeast Asia such as the 2020 Summer Olympics in Tokyo and the 2022 Winter Olympics in Beijing. I hope these events will be successful as a global sports festival.

All countries in the region need to make a symbolic picture of peace and prosperity. I hope that Korea and Mongolia, as well as all the countries in the region, will play a big role as key peace makers. I look forward to the day when the system of multilateral security cooperation will take shape in the near future and advance in the direction of more peaceful and common prosperity.

## THE KOREAN PENINSULA TURNS FROM THE WAR TO PEACE. WHAT DOES IT MEAN FOR THE NORTHEAST ASIAN REGION?

**Dr. Alexander VORONTSOV**

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Russian Academy of Sciences, The Russian Federation*



In the second half of 2017 the war on the Korean peninsula looked as almost inevitable reality. In mid-November 2017, I spent several days in Pyongyang talking to DPRK foreign ministry officials. Their calculation was «only one question remains: when will war break out?» In this respect, our counterparts emphasized, «our soldiers have long been sleeping without removing their boots.»

Indeed, North Koreans see the US-ROK exercises as anything but routine; to the contrary, there was a sense among them that the Pentagon has launched the contact reconnaissance phase of a military operation it is planning to undertake on the peninsula. They noted that the geographical features of the Korean Peninsula provide no opportunity for the gradual, methodical build up of troops to create a superior strike force—as was the case before the US attacked Iraq—and that North Korea would immediately notice such actions and naturally regard them as a *casus belli*. In their eyes, the Pentagon is rehearsing elements of a coordinated military operation one step at a time.

The North Korea strategy sometimes looked as the way to the dialogue through nuclear parity achieving.

North Korean experts reiterated that they are striving to reach some kind «nuclear parity» with the US, but not in order to use it in an unprovoked first strike against the American mainland.

At the same time my interlocutors remained a hope to establish a US-DPRK dialogue that would allow Pyongyang to clarify its real intentions and reach consensus with the US on a plan to resolve the nuclear issue.

As is well-known, the this year has started off with crucially important positive changes first to the North-South Korean relationship, and a little bit later in the USA-DPRK ties. Two Inter-Korean summit meeting already took place and now all of us are waiting for historical summit meeting between the USA President D. Trump and the DPRK leader Kim Jong Un but the analysis of these significant and encouraging events on the Inter-Korean agenda is subject of a separate article. How they will affect the overall US-DPRK relationship is yet to be seen.

Sure due many objective and subjective reasons the preparation for the summit is not smooth.

In the own particular manner on May 24 Donald Trump cancelled the meeting would on the appointed date, pointing to the rigidity and even "hostility" that sounded from Pyongyang in recent days and noted the inexpediency of the meeting at the moment.

Many politicians and media hastened to report happily that this meeting was from the very beginning unnatural and finally "died."

However trying to remember what preceded this event we understood that Donald Trump clearly said that the meeting would not take place on the appointed date, pointing to the rigidity and even "hostility" that sounded from Pyongyang in recent days and noted the inexpediency of the meeting at the moment.

For a long time, Washington energetically presented Kim Jong-un's initiative for the summit solely as its own victory, as a result of harsh sanctions, military and political pressure, which finally frightened the DPRK leadership and almost forced it to surrender. Of course, Pyongyang understood all this quite differently - as an attempt to reach, by means of equal negotiations, a historic solution that could satisfy the DPRK security concerns and the fundamental interests of national development.

Yes, there was a manifestation of goodwill from Pyongyang: the announcement of a unilateral moratorium on nuclear missile tests before the summit and the destruction of the nuclear test site.

Unfortunately, many US officials traditionally continue to believe that all these goodwill gestures are forced concessions from the North, and they became possible only thanks to the powerful pressure from the United States. The US logic is simple and primitive - "if it works, it must be continued and increased". So it is better to demand categorically, that the final outcome of the talks can only be the complete, verifiable, irreversible denuclearization of the DPRK, quickly and now.

From the very beginning of this "saga" it was difficult to imagine that this time Kim Jong-un agreed to accept the American ultimatum. Yes, the DPRK now is really ready for serious steps in the sphere of freezing and reducing its nuclear arsenal, but only in exchange for adequate reciprocal steps by Washington.

The capitulation "according to the Libyan scenario," which some influential figures in the White House consider very attractive, was not in the plans of Pyongyang from the very beginning.

And what happened was to happen.

DPRK surprisingly long, for almost two months, demonstrated unusual restraint and complete silence. When the Singapore summit appeared on the horizon, Pyongyang made a statement that it considers the agenda of negotiations with the Americans not in a unilateral format, but intends to bring into discussion its reasonable security concerns and topical aspects of national interests.

This was followed by loud statements from Washington about the "almost" cancellation of the summit.

The situation around the Trump-Kim summit is developing in a difficult, dramatic, but not tragic way. It was impossible to imagine the "cloudless" beginning of this process. Both leaders want to meet with each other, but, of course (this applies above all to Kim Jong Un), on mutually friendly conditions.

Donald Trump did not close the door of the talks even at that "emotional" written message to Kim Jong Un.

Therefore, yesterday's events are not the end of the story, but the continuation of preparations for negotiations with a more realistic view of Pyongyang's concerns, which it (after the

most recent meeting of Kim Jong-un and Xi Jinping in Dalian) openly revealed. The preparation is likely to be continued through the channels of special services, and we will not learn much about this, as before, for the time being.

The situation continues to be very dynamic. On May 25 the DPRK declared that Kim was ready to hold the summit "any time and in any format" and D. Trump also agreed to restore the summit schedule.

It's of course very difficult to forecast the summit result but the very fact of such meeting would undoubtedly have a great importance for the peaceful trends on the Korean peninsula and would influence considerably the international situation at the Northeast Asia towards positive directions.

## PEACE THROUGH STRENGTH: "THE "TRUMP FORMULA" FOR NORTHEAST ASIA

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The Indo-Pacific region witnesses an intensifying geopolitical competition between free and repressive visions of world order. While power continues to play the central role in world affairs and sovereign states remain the best hope for peace, hardening competing nationalisms increase international tensions, drive states apart, and fuel arms build-ups and protectionist trade policies, creating new pressures and fractures within existing multilateral regimes and international institutions. From the U.S. perspective, it is the revisionist great powers like China and Russia that challenge American prosperity and security in the long run, while the rogue regimes like North Korea and Iran destabilize, respectively, Northeast Asia and the Middle East through the pursuit of WMDs and sponsorship of terrorism in the short-to-mid-term.

To meet the challenge of intensifying strategic competition and great power revisionism, the Trump administration pursues the whole-of-government «America First» strategy based on the «principled realism» that aims at protecting the U.S. homeland, American people, and American way of life, promoting American prosperity, preserving «peace through strength,» and advancing American influence globally. President Trump has recently reshuffled his national security team by replacing the moderates with internationalist views with the like-minded conservative nationalist hardliners who vigorously defend and execute his «America First» agenda in foreign affairs, trade, national security and defense.

Northeast Asia is divided: it is home to two close allies (Japan and ROK), two revisionist powers challenging the US-led liberal democratic world order (China and Russia), the rogue regime destabilizing the region (North Korea), and two aspiring partners (Mongolia and Taiwan). The Trump administration's «shock and awe» approach to the divided Northeast Asia stipulates that the United States simultaneously pursue six courses of action:

- (1) Modernize the U.S.-Japan alliance by encouraging Tokyo to re-arm, reconstitute its national security apparatus, and increase its contribution to the alliance burden-sharing;
- (2) Rebalance the U.S.-ROK alliance by renegotiating the KORUS Free Trade Agreement, reconsidering the options for reduction or even removal of the U.S. Forces in Korea, and insulating the U.S. policymaking from ROK government influence, while «holding the line with our ally» across the DMZ;
- (3) Emasculate China by «cooperating whenever possible while competing vigorously where we must», while exploiting fissures in the PRC-Russia «soft alliance» and pressuring Beijing to abandon its traditional ally DPRK;
- (4) Deter and isolate Russia, while warning it not to be the «spoiler» on the Korean peninsula;
- (5) Escalate pressure and engage the DPRK diplomatically towards the strategic objective of the «complete, verifiable, and irreversible denuclearization of the Korean peninsula» by putting «all options are on the table»: from «fire and fury» and the threat to «decimate» DPRK to the promise of the «excellent deal» that would make Kim Jong Un «very happy»;

- (6) Expand engagement with Taiwan through Trump's 2016 telephone call with President Tsai Ing-wen, increased arms sales, inauguration of a new 250-million U.S. dollar office building of the American Institute in Taiwan, and lifting of restrictions on official travel between U.S. and Taiwanese officials while opposing any unilateral efforts to alter the status-quo across the Taiwan Straits.

At present, it is the genuine fear of the U.S. military attack that appears to fuel Kim Jong Un's newly found interest in re-engaging Washington, Seoul, and Beijing. Among various alternative futures, the most worrisome are those «nightmare scenarios» that involve the risk of miscalculation in Pyongyang as its WMD capabilities are growing while the international tolerance of DPRK's «bad behavior» is declining. Although strategically crystal-clear, the Trump administration prefers to be operationally unpredictable, and, therefore, it remains to be seen how Washington will play its hand on the Korean peninsula in the context of the on-again, off-again U.S.-DPRK dialogue, escalating U.S.-China tensions, worsening confrontation between the United States and Russia, and deepening divide between the neocons in the White House and liberal neophytes in the Blue House.

## MODERATOR'S SUMMARY OF THE PLENARY SESSION II

*Ms. Sonja BACHMANN*

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



This session focused on discussing the evolving security environment in Northeast Asia, a region which despite its geostrategic importance and economic growth and due to lack of trust and historic divisions lacks an overall security mechanism. Several concurrently ongoing security initiatives across Northeast Asia were mentioned such as the Trilateral between Japan, RoK and China, the Shanghai Cooperation Organization, the ASEAN Regional Forum, the Ulaan Baatar Dialogue and the Northeast Asia Platform for Peace and Cooperation (NAPCC); some cooperation mechanisms such as the Belt and Road Initiative or the Mongolia, ROK and DPRK trilateral economic cooperation initiative are shaped by economic and infrastructure links. Assumption is that building linkages between initiatives and institutionalizing cooperation can build trust and lead to cooperative security outcomes. In that context, the cooperative agendas and tasks between the UB Dialogue and the NAPCC were highlighted. The OSCE which was institutionalized as a model of security cooperation amidst opposing camps in Europe, including its human dimension was also repeatedly mentioned as a model to look at in its own unique context. It was also highlighted that geopolitics as seen by major actors, will influence cooperation.

Following the recent Inter-Korean and DPRK –US Summits, there is hope that new habits of cooperation could be fostered for a peaceful and stable Northeast Asian security environment. In this context, the importance of a durable and lasting peace mechanism on the Korean Peninsula as well as commitments to defusing tensions, building confidence and declaring the end of the Korean war as mentioned in the Panmunjom Declaration was highlighted as a centre piece as well as the supportive role of the International Community in achieving complete denuclearization.





## UB-SESSION I

### PROSPECTS FOR ENERGY COOPERATION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

#### Moderator:

**H.E. Ambassador Michael REITERER**, Ambassador of the European Union to the Republic of Korea

#### Speakers:

Developments in Northeast Asia and India: Prospects of 2025 Energy Cooperation Scenario

**Prof. Jagannath Prasad PANDA**, Research Fellow and Centre Head, East Asia, Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, India

Fostering Regional Energy Connectivity in Northeast Asia

**Dr. David BENAZERAF**, China Program Deputy Manager, International Energy Agency

Energy Security Through Integrating Wind and Solar District Heating

**Dr. Tetsunari IIDA**, Chairperson, Institute for Sustainable Energy Policy, Japan

Asian Super Grid and Mongolia Renewable Energy Development Status

**Mr. BAVUUDORJ Ovgor**, Head of renewable energy division of Strategic policy planning division, Ministry of Energy of Mongolia

Strategy for Northeast Asia Power System Interconnection

**Mr. ITGEL Bold**, CEO, Nova Terra LLC, Mongolia

Will the U.S. New Indo-Pacific Strategy Impact Northeast Asia's Energy and Infrastructure Sectors?

**Dr. Alicia CAMPI**, President, The Mongolia Society, USA

## DEVELOPMENTS IN NORTHEAST ASIA AND INDIA: PROSPECTS OF 2025 ENERGY COOPERATION SCENARIO

*Prof. Jagannath Prasad PANDA*

*Research Fellow and Centre Head, East Asia, Institute for Defense Studies and Analyses, India*



### 1. Intellectual Investment Must be India's Arc in Ulaanbaatar

Dialogues are a prelude to building consensus on decisions and forming directives in international relations discourse. States in international relations use dialogue forums to their advantage not only to put forward ideas through national security idioms but also to mark a new beginning in their respective foreign policy objectives. The Ulaanbaatar Dialogue (popularly known as UBD), hosted by Mongolia, is one such dialogue forum in which India must aim to intellectually invest in and participate in to enhance its Northeast Asia outreach.

UBD is a foreign policy public diplomacy peace initiative by the Mongolian government to debate security issues among experts and scholars in Northeast Asia. Propounded in 2013 by Tsakhiagiin Elbegdorj, President of Mongolia, UBD was officially announced at the 7th Ministerial Conference of the Community of Democracy in Ulaanbaatar not only to promote peace but also aiming to offer centrality to Mongolia's outreach in Northeast Asia or Greater Eurasia region. With the completion of its fifth round from 14-15 June 2018, UBD has emerged as another dialogue forum in Northeast Asia along the lines of Jeju Forum, which is the architecture of the South Korean government to address Indo-Pacific security and global affairs with special focus on the Korean Peninsula.

### 2. Mongolia's Strategic Pledge

Considered as Northeast Asia's Geneva, Ulaanbaatar is emerging fast as a regional security dialogue platform in recent years. Mongolia's main intent behind initiating UBD is to create an amicable strategic ambience in Northeast Asia to maintain a strategic balance among all the actors such as China, Russia, Japan, South Korea and North Korea, and the United States.

Mongolia has not only hosted a number of bilateral meetings between the Six-Party Dialogue members that were involved a few years ago to find a solution to the denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula but also hosted the OSCE Parliamentary Assembly in September 2015 and ASEM Summit in 2016. For India, this is an opportune forum to participate in to advocate Indian interests in Northeast Asia while solidifying relations with Mongolia. Given India's growing relationship with Mongolia, UBD should be considered as a strategic platform for open advocacy of foreign policy positioning and participatory frameworks. This will not only strengthen India's relations with Mongolia but also improve India's image as a forward-looking power in the region.

### 3. Characterizing India-Mongolia Ties

India shares a content relation with Mongolia on various spectrums. Prime Minister Narendra Modi's visit to Mongolia in May 2015 brought a new context to India-Mongolia ties, making it the first ever such visit by an Indian Prime Minister. The visit marked a «dawn of a new era» in India-Mongolia relations, where the two sides agreed to enhance bilateral ties from a «Comprehensive Partnership» to a «Strategic Partnership». The pledge to have a «strategic partner-

ship» cannot be achieved in a vacuum. Both sides must encourage their strategic communities to engage in dialogues and debates that will promote their bilateral relations. The Joint Statement released during Prime Minister Modi's visit promises to encourage institutional linkages between the two countries. Think-tank interactions, civil society meetings and visits of media personnel to business communities must be encouraged at length to strengthen this much-needed bilateral relationship.

Above this bilateral spectrum, India must have an open spectrum of outreach towards Mongolia if New Delhi envisions having a greater partaking in the Northeast Asian peace architecture. India and Mongolia have agreed to promote the drive for an «open, balanced and inclusive security architecture» in Asia-Pacific. The onus to promote such architecture through bilateral understanding is more on India than Mongolia. Given its strategic positioning between the two big powers – Russia and China – Mongolia would be careful in its foreign policy approach to engage with other powers, including India. Mongolia sees India under the purview of its «third neighbour» policy. That, however, should not discourage India from engaging regionally and consider Mongolia more intently and purposefully as a regional partner. India would require Mongolia's support in its quest for UN Security Council (UNSC) permanent membership in the future.

#### **4. A Platform for Orthodox Belief**

India must view UBD as an intellectual strategic exercise forum to strengthen its outreach in Northeast Asia. One of UBD's prime objectives is to uphold peace and harmony in the region, since Mongolia wants to pursue a neutral and equi-cordial foreign policy towards all the major powers in the region. For India, the aim therefore should be to invest intellectually in UBD by sending more experts and scholars who could possibly advocate India's interests in Northeast Asia.

Given the geographical distance between India and the Northeast Asian region, New Delhi has not really factored this region as an important constituency in its Act East policy. The time has come for India to have a progressive approach to engage in intellectual debates and discussions that would encourage the countries in the region to realize India's importance as a power. Northeast Asian security is under transition with a number of developments such as the Donald Trump-Kim Jong-Un meeting in Singapore, inter-Korean summit, Pyeongchang Olympics, and DPRK's decision to suspend its nuclear and missile tests. In the light of such developments, India must seek fresh opportunities to participate in dialogues and discussions. Given the strategic objections that New Delhi might have to face from China and other countries in the region, participating officially in dialogue forums in Northeast Asia may not always be a practical proposition. That however should not discourage India from seeking new opportunities and pursuing smart diplomatic measures that would position Indian interests better. Soft-power strategy is an effective tool in diplomacy.

#### **5. Channelling Greater Participation**

A more purposeful participation in UBD would only exemplify India partaking in other Northeast Asian mainstream security dialogue mechanisms. UBD in some ways complements the spirit of the Russia-India-China (RIC) trilateral forum and Shanghai Cooperation Organization (SCO) and also complements the South Korean administration's Northeast Asia Platform for Peace and Cooperation (NAPPC). While India partaking constitutes an important aspect of the RIC framework, New Delhi's full membership recently in the SCO equally has strengthened Indian outreach in Central Asia. Under South Korea's «New Southbound policy», India has been

factored highly in NAPPC. To take advantage of its growing stature as a power, New Delhi should consider getting involved and invest intellectually in UBD.

South Korea's NAPPC framework involves the US, Japan, China, Russia, DPRK and Mongolia. India is yet to have any credible dialogue mechanisms or multilateral forums where either DPRK or Mongolia is involved directly. UBD is a forum where the DPRK has regularly sent its officials and experts to participate. Participating more intensively in UBD will provide an opportunity for Indian scholars and experts to get accustomed with the mainstream security thinking in Northeast Asia. This is an opportune period for India to expedite further its strategic reach by connecting strongly with Mongolia. That means a multilateral contact with Russia and China under the RIC and SCO, stronger contacts with South Korea and an opportunity to capitalize the relationship with Mongolia will solidify the broader Indian outreach in Northeast Asia.

## 6. Capitalizing on Infrastructure to Energy

India must also ponder over multilateral security dialogue both officially and non-officially. Northeast Asia is currently having a number of economic collaborative infrastructure projects such as Asia Super Grid Network, Greater Tumen Initiative (GTI), and Trans-Railway projects such as the TKR+TSR+TCR+TMGR linkages, in which India must officially aim to participate. This will enhance India's foothold in the region.

Northeast Asia, which accounts for almost one-fifth of the world economy, is a key unexplored energy-reserve region. Energy infrastructure is an important area which India must aim to explore. Prospects for energy cooperation have been a dominant discussion issue in UBD. After the Fukushima nuclear disaster, the proposition for renewable energy through the Asian Super Grid (ASG) project is yet to take off. This is one key project that India must aim to capitalize for participation, specially given India's membership advantage in bodies like the AIIB, SCO and BRICS Development Bank (NDB) of the BRICS. A purposeful participation through these bodies could be foreseen for energy infrastructure development and resource exploration in the region. At a bilateral level, India must seize its opportunity with Mongolia where both sides have forged a Memorandum of Understanding (MoU) on energy resources cooperation. The fifth UBD had a special session on «Prospects of Future Energy Cooperation» too.

To see from an open spectrum, the UBD may appear as just another dialogue forum in a rapidly changing Indo-Pacific environment where trilateral, quadrilateral and multilateral dialogues have been the order of the day. A smart power strategy must employ different spectrums of engagement. India's full membership in the SCO should also encourage India to visualize the issue from a wider geopolitical perspective. The time has come to bring a special «north» component to India's East Asia campaigning. Mongolia would fit appropriately into this new endeavour to which India must nurture with care and constructively.

## FOSTERING REGIONAL ENERGY CONNECTIVITY IN NORTHEAST ASIA

***Dr. David BENAZERAF***

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Energy security, including electricity security, is of critical importance to economies around the globe. The issue is becoming more pressing as countries seek to decarbonise their economies. In this context, electricity security includes four broad areas: fuel security, resource adequacy, operational security, and governance.

Regional integration of electricity systems and cross border electricity trade entail opportunities the balance national systems and take best advantage of available resources, including variable renewable energy.

The presentation will look at the current situation in Northeast Asia and highlight examples from other regions of the globe.

## ENERGY SECURITY THROUGH INTEGRATING WIND AND SOLAR DISTRICT HEATING

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### Abstract

• In electricity sector, energy transition has been accelerating last decade especially because wind and solar PV development all over the world, which Mongolia has a huge opportunity to develop and produce renewable electricity.

• On the other hand, heat demand constitutes about a half of national energy consumption in many countries. Mongolia, in particular, has a large heat demand throughout year where climate is very harsh and ambient temperature sometime gets even minus 40°C. The country, however, still largely depends on coal for its heat source which leads to

air pollution, GHG emissions, and health hazard. Mongolian Government is quite aware of this issue and taking various legal and technical measures including improving existing CHP facilities for better efficiency and promoting renewable energies.

- Due to its cold climate, district heating networks are well developed in major cities of Mongolia. For renewable electricity, feed in tariff (FIT) law is in place as well.
- Recently modernized district heating concept, so-called «4th generation district heating», or «4DH» has been proposed from Denmark, where has a long history of district heating which enjoys abundant, proven and established technologies and European Union recently adopted Denmark's system as a model in EU Strategy on Heating and Cooling<sup>5</sup>. ISEP has been conducting a technical exchange program for the past 3 years.
- This paper propose to adopt 4DH concept with centralized solar thermal in order to modernize Mongolian district heating with integrating renewable electricity such as wind and solar PV.
- Current countermeasures are limited to mitigation of adverse effect of coal such as by improvement of existing coal-fired CHP for better efficiency. Heat sector is behind in this sense compared to electricity sector. Introducing renewable energy source to substitute coal is yet to be seen.
- To substitute coal-fired heating plant, partially of eventually totally, with state-of-arts solar district heating technology of 4DH with solar centralized solar thermal technology and its seasonal storage technology.
- Major reduction in air pollution, health hazards, and GHG (CO<sub>2</sub>) emissions, Long-term cost reduction in heat generation using free natural resources, sunlight. Not only solar heat but also other various heat sources, even at low temperature, can be integrated if the project scope includes 4DH.

5 <http://www.europarl.europa.eu/legislative-train/theme-resilient-energy-union-with-a-climate-change-policy/file-eu-strategy-on-heating-and-cooling>

## ASIAN SUPER GRID AND MONGOLIA RENEWABLE ENERGY DEVELOPMENT STATUS

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### Abstract

The Asia Super Grid initiative aims to interconnect power-grid systems of the North Asian countries to enabling renewable energy generated clean power mutual beneficial trade. Mongolia is on of the actors to facilitate discussion of the Northeast Asian Super grid talks.

Mongolia as country with abundant renewable energy resources the Government of Mongolia is set target to increase the renewable energy share in total energy. The state energy policy paper adopted by Parliament of Mongolia set target to reach 20 share of renewable energy in total installed capacity of Mongolia by 2020 and 30 percent share by 2030. As result of support policy to renewable energy sector the policy target set for 2020 is expected to reach by end of 2019. As the present the absorption capacity of the national power-grid system of intermittent renewable energy is reaching its maximum allowable value.

### Introduction

The Government of Mongolia implementing multiple projects in development of renewable energy in recent years. The Parliament of Mongolia and the Government of Mongolia adopted several policy documents to support renewable energy such as:

- «Comprehensive development policy based on millennium development targets /2008-2021/»
- «Mongolia energy sector sustainable development strategy»
- «Unified energy system»
- «National renewable energy program /2006-2020/».

As the Government of Mongolia prioritized renewable energy sector development the

Parliament of Mongolia adopted the National renewable energy program by its resolution dated on 9th June 2005. Furthermore, in order to facilitate favorable legal environment for renewable energy development the Parliament of Mongolia adopted the Renewable energy law in 11th January, 2007.

As result of the adoption these renewable energy sector development policy documents many foreign companies expressed interest and even made investment in Mongolian renewable energy sector such as Japanese Softbak, Sharp, French Engie group, German Ferrostaal and others.

The state energy sector development policy paper set target to increase share of renewable energy in total energy by 3-5% by year 2010 and 20-25% by year of 2020.

As presently the share of renewable energy in total energy generation is reached about 4.01%.

### **Wind Energy Resource**

The distribution of annual average wind resources in Mongolia varies considerably and is controlled by several factors. The primary factor influencing wind resource potential is the westerly jet stream flowing several kilometers above sea level and its interaction with the topography of the country, such as the large mountain ranges in western and central Mongolia and the plains in the south. Exposed ridge-top locations in north-central Mongolia have the highest wind resource levels in the country because they are exposed to the strong jet stream. At these sites, wind power density can be greater than 600 watt per square meter (W/m<sup>2</sup>); however, these areas are scattered throughout mountainous regions making it difficult to take advantage of wind resources due to infrastructure limitations. The distribution of wind resources in the valleys, plains, and basins in the western region varies, with few areas of good-to-excellent wind resource potential. The areas with the best wind resources are the plains of Unugovi, Dundgovi, Dornogovi, and Sukhbaatar, all more or less located in the South Gobi region.

More than 160,000 square-kilometers (km<sup>2</sup>) of land area in Mongolia, or 10% of total land area, has been estimated to have good-to-excellent wind potential for utility-scale applications (power density of 400-600 W/m<sup>2</sup>). According to conservative assumptions made by NREL, at a capacity rate of 7 MW per km<sup>2</sup> this area of Mongolia has the potential to support more than 1,100,000 MW of installed capacity, and potentially deliver over 2.5 trillion kWh per annum, or 12% of global electricity consumption in 2009.

### **Solar Energy Resource**

Mongolia has enormous solar resource potential, particularly in the South Gobi region. The number of sunny days averages 270 to 300 days per year, corresponding to 2,250 to 3,300 sunshine hours. Annual solar radiation is estimated to be 1,200 to 1,600 kW per m<sup>2</sup> and intensity is estimated at more than 4.3 to 4.7 kW per hour. More than two-thirds of the country receives high levels of incoming solar radiation in the range of 5.5 to 6.0 kWh/m<sup>2</sup> per day. According to NREL, the solar energy potential is 1,500 GW. According to their estimates, Mongolia can, on average, produce 66 MW/km<sup>2</sup> from solar energy for a production of 4,774,000 GWh per annum.

### **Hydro Energy Resource**

There is significant potential in Mongolia for hydropower generation that is, as of yet, almost entirely untapped. In 1994, the Institute of Water Policy of Mongolia estimated the gross theoretical hydropower production capacity for all rivers with a runoff of more than 1 cubic meter per second (m<sup>3</sup>/s) at 6,400 MW, delivering a potential 56.2 million MWh of electricity per year. According to the Ministry of Green Development Water Management Report published in 2013, the actual hydropower potential is between 20% to 60% of this estimate, i.e. between 1,280 MW and 3,840 MW. There are 13 hydropower stations in Mongolia, of which nine are currently operational. There are three large and ten small hydropower plants (HPP) with a total capacity of 28 MW. The large plants are connected to local grids while the others serve isolated grids of soums. Only Taishir and Durgun operate year-round, while the small HPPs operate during the summer season only.

### **Currently implemented renewable energy projects**

The first Mongolian wind farm with 50MW installed capacity was launched in 2012 in Salkhit hills (Windy hills) located in Sergelen soum of Tuv aimag. Next 50MW wind farm project is under construction in Tsogttsetsii soum of Umungobi aimag and it is expected to start commercial operation by September 2017.



The first Mongolian grid connected solar power PV plant located in Darkhan city was commissioned in 2017. The power plant is owned and operated by Solar power international Co.,Ltd of Mongolia. The solar power plant build by 17.5 million USD investment from Japanese Sharp and Shigemitsu shoji.

According to the feasibility study the Darkhan 10MWp solar power PV plant expected to deliver 15.2 million kW\*hour electric energy annually and mitigate 14.746 tones of green house gas emission. With launch of this solar power plant over 20,000 households in Darkhan city area will be supplied by clean energy.

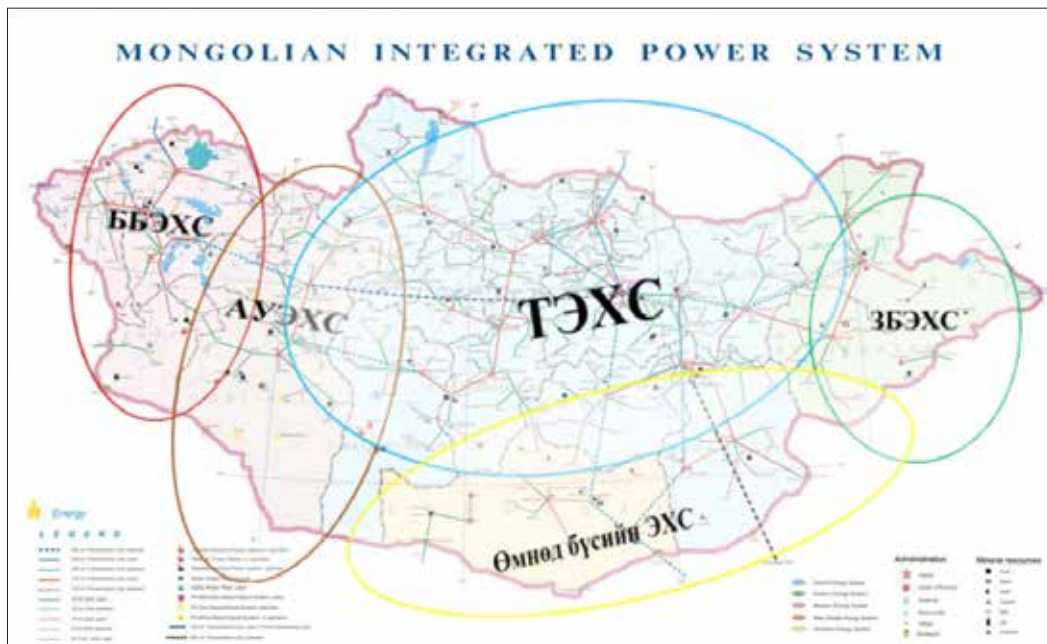
The Japanese «Farm Do» Co., Ltd and Mongolian «Bridge group» Co.,Ltd invested in Monaran 10MWp solar power PV plant by the order of Mongolian «Everyday Farm» Co.,Ltd. The solar power plant is located in territory of Songino kharikhan district of Ulaanbaatar city. The power plant construction works started in August, 2016. The solar PV plant is expected to start its commercial operation in August 2017.

The project received investment support under the Joint credit mechanism agreement concluded between the Government of Mongolia and the Government of Japan.

### Energy System of Mongolia

The reliable energy supply is main factor for successful development and industrialization of any given country. Any country plans own energy system based on own specifics. As for Mongolia, presently adopted energy sector development master plan was prepared by the support of Asian development bank project TA No.7619-MON «Energy sector development master plan update». The document covered policy planning for the period to 2030.

**Figure 1. The unified energy system schematics**



Presently the energy system of Mongolia consisted from five subsystems such as the Western energy system, the Altai-Uliastai energy system, the Central energy system, the South region energy system, and the Eastern energy system.

In total, there are eight thermal power plants, Durgun (12MW), Taishir (11MW) hydro power plants, Salkhit Wind Farm (50MW), diesel stations for Altai and Uliastai cities, and the number of small capacity renewable energy sources are operating in Energy system of Mongolia. Also the system consists from 220/110kV high voltage transmission lines and main substation with voltage levels of 35/10/(6)/0.4 kV. Presently there are any solar PV power plant is operating in the system.

There 331 soum centers exist in Mongolia from which 309 is connected to the centralized energy system, 14 soum centers connected to either Chinese or Russian energy system and remaining 8 soum centers getting power from renewable energy sources.

Regarding to the solar power plant in the energy system of Mongolia presently only one 10MWp installed capacity PV plant is under operation. That is Darkhan 10MWp solar power PV plant which started its commercial operation in 19th January 2017.

As end of 2017 the total installed capacity of the energy system of Mongolia reached 1,120.2MW (Table 1). The energy system utilizes 8 thermal power plants, 3 hydro power plants and other sources. The Russian energy system is playing frequency matching and back-up capacity role for central energy system of Mongolia. In 2017 the power import from Russian Federation reached 245MW during peak load demand hours.

**Table 1. The installed capacity of Mongolian energy system**

Energy system	Power plant	Installed capacity, MW
Central energy system	TPP-2	21.5
	TPP-3	186
	TPP-4	603
	Darkhan TPP	48
	Erdenet TPP	28.8
	Salhkit wind farm	50
	Darkhan solar power PV plant	10
	Total	1024.3
Eastern energy system	Dornod TPP	36
	Total	36
Southern region energy system	Dalanzadgad TPP	9
	Ukhaa khudag TPP	18
	Total	27
Western region energy system	Dugrun HPP	12
	Total	12
Altai-Uliastai energy system	Taishir HPP	11
	Bogdiin HPP	2
	Esunbulag energy DP	8.5
	Ulaistai energy DP	7
	Other small capacity renewables	1.22
	Total	29.72
Total installed capacity		1120.02

The central energy system covers over 90% of total energy consumption of Mongolia. As end of 2017 over 80.4% of electric energy demand was covered by domestic thermal energy production, 19.6% import from Russian Federation, 4.01% by domestic renewable energy generation and about 0.06% by diesel power plants.

### **Planned Projects and Challenges**

According to the statistical data by end of 2018 the total installed capacity of the Central region energy system will reach 1255.8MW from which 87.2% or 1095.8 MW will be thermal power plants and remaining 12.74% or 160MW will be wind and solar power plants.

With built of favorable tariff and tax policy environment for renewable energy development same challenges arouse in the sector. As of today the Energy regulatory commission issued special license for construction of solar power PV plant to 29 entities with total installed capacity of 727MWp, wind farms to 5 entities with total installed capacity of 502.4MW and other renewables such as biomass to 5 entities with total installed capacity of 299.4MW. In total 39 entities received special license for construction of renewable energy generation source with total capacity of 1,528.8 MW.

Such rapid delopment of the renewable energy project the energy systems face three types of challengess which are: grid operation regime maintenance with significant intermittent power source, fiancing tariff gap difference between renewable energy FiT and conventional power generated power tariff, and power transmission line capacity.

As of winter peak load of 2018 the Central region energy system of Mongolia had import reserve of 100MW. As of today the renewable energy sources with total installed capacity of 100MW is operating. The renewable energy is intermittent type of source and it is resulting in system instability with around 100MW variation. Presently operating 2 wind farms and 2 solar PV plants causing 90-70MW variation from scheduled generation during day-time. But during evening peak load hours the wind farms causing 80-60MW variations from scheduled generation.

If all generation sources with special licenses for construction will be constructed and start their commercial operation than the renewable energy support tariff will reach 136.37 MNT/kWhour which could cause significant problems in financial stability of the energy sector. Therefore there is a clear need for change of law on renewable energy on feed in tariff level.

The «Choir -Airag-Sainshand-Dzamiin-Uud» 110kV overhead transmission line has one circuit with AC-150/24 type conductor, the «Airag-Sainshand-Dzamiin-uud» overhead transmission line has AC-120/19 type conductor. During summer time the transmittable capacity of the «Choir-Airag» 110kV line is 60MW, the «Airag-Sainshand-Dzamiin-Uud» 110kV line is 50MW. The winter time transmittable capacity of the «Choir-Airag» 110kV line is 80MW. The load demand of the «Airag-Sainshand-Dzamiin-Uud» area in summer time is 8MW and winter time 18MW. With the commissioning of Naranteeg 15MWp solar PV plant and Sainshand 55MW wind farm the summer time transmittable capacity of the overhead lines will reach maximum in 2018-2019.

### **Northeast Asian Power Interconnection**

The Asia Super Grid initiative aims to interconnect power-grid systems of North Asian countries to enabling renewable energy generated clean power mutual beneficial trade. Mongolia is one of the actors to facilitate discussion on the Northeast Asian Super grid talks.

The well interconnected power systems will not only improve system flexibility and efficiency but would also allow system optimization capturing resource complementarities, bring economies-of-scale in investments, improve fuel security, enable greater renewable energy penetration, and decarbonize power system. Such an interconnected system will provide more reliable and affordable electricity to the consumers, enhance their economic activities, and improve competitiveness of economies and will underpin regional sustainable growth as demonstrated from a number of successful interconnected regional power systems like. Yet, there is no such interconnected power market in Northeast Asia sub-region, which is home to some of the world's largest and most prosperous economies. Mongolia is in a unique position to spur its economic growth by developing its vast energy resources to meet the power demand of its more prosperous neighbors through power exports. But without an interconnected power system, it does not have access to neighboring large markets for investments to flow in its energy resources and power system development. There is a need to undertake a comprehensive analysis and chart out a clear strategy for Mongolia for power system interconnections in the Northeast Asia. Along with rapid economic growth, the Peoples Republic of China, in particular, has shown tremendous power demand growth. Its power demand is projected to double by 2040. Japan and the Republic of Korea rely on imported fossil fuels and will need low-carbon energy import to meet their climate change targets. On the other hand, Mongolia has tremendous renewable energy potential, especially wind and solar. Both wind and solar power potential are estimated to be equivalent to 2,600 gigawatt (GW) installed capacity or 5,457 TWh of annual power generation. Even if 30% of such wind and solar potential is exploited, Mongolia could annually supply about one third of electricity demand in Republic of Korea, Peoples Republic of China, and Japan. Using abundant and diversified resources, Mongolia could serve as a core power supplier to neighboring countries, while improving power security and driving sustainable prosperity. Power system interconnection would be an ideal and comprehensive solution in the Northeast Asia sub-region. The Government of Mongolia hosted the first regional conference on the power system interconnection in November 2012, which was attended by non-governmental organizations, research institutes, and private sectors from the sub-region.

The some of the major progress for Power interconnections should be noted. Which are:

- September 2015: the Proposal to Establish Global Energy Internet by President Xi Jinping during UN Sustainable Development Summit
- March 2016: MOU by Global Energy Interconnection Development and Cooperation Organization (GEIDCO), Korea Electric Power Corporation, ROSSETI of Russia and SoftBank Group of Japan for grid interconnection study
- September 2016: the proposal for «East Asia Super Energy Ring» and an Intergovernmental Working Group by the Russian President Putin during the Eastern Economic Forum
- October 2016: Northeast Asia Regional Power Interconnection Mechanism Initiative first meeting (RPIC) by the China State Grid Corporation and China Electricity Council
- October 2016: Northeast Asia First Energy forum, hosted by Korea energy economic institute. Former Intergovernmental Collaborative Mechanism on Energy Cooperation in Northeast Asia (ECNEA):
- June 2017: first workshop of «Strategy for Northeast Asia Power System Interconnection» project is organized in Ulaanbaatar sponsored by Asian Development Bank

## Conclusion

NEA countries has rich solar, wind and hydro energy resources and potential of renewable energy resources are sufficient to power all Northeast Asia several times.

In order to harness the full potential of RE sources and realize ASG:

- the governments of the countries in the region needs to have high level political commitment and agreement for energy cooperation and integration
- a better policy and regulatory framework for cross- border energy trade, as well as consolidated regional and national transmission network planning for energy integration is needed to be developed

Power system interconnection in Northeast Asia is one of the key driver to develop renewable energy in regional level.

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## STRATEGY FOR NORTHEAST ASIA POWER SYSTEM INTERCONNECTION

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As part of the Asian Development Bank (ADB) country operations business plan for 2015, the Government of Mongolia sought ADB technical assistance (TA) to prepare a strategy for Northeast Asia power system interconnection (NAPSI) using Mongolia's abundant renewable energy. To reduce the carbon footprint, a low carbon transformation is needed as the power sector is the single largest source of greenhouse gas emissions in the region. Although the region has sufficient renewable sources to meet demand, limited connectivity, unique power utility ownership, tariff policies, market design and regulations and other institutional frameworks that are not well coordinated pose challenges to prevent against energy shortage and high energy cost.

NAPSI work has begun from May 2017 and De France (EDF), leading European electricity utility company, is leading it. With the progression of this TA, six workshops will be held in various countries, engaging the relevant stakeholders from the People's Republic of China, Japan, Republic of Korea, Mongolia and the Russian Federation.

The impacts of the TA will be reduction of carbon footprints of the power system in Northeast Asia, optimization of the power system and consensus among the stakeholders. The outcome of the TA will be a strategy detailing an action plan and road map utilizing Mongolia's vast energy resources.

## WILL THE U.S. NEW INDO-PACIFIC STRATEGY IMPACT NORTHEAST ASIA'S ENERGY AND INFRASTRUCTURE SECTORS?

**Dr. Alicia CAMPI**

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Today we are discussing ways to increase Northeast Asian integration and institution building in order to build a more peaceful future for all. Mongolia, in particular, has promoted energy and transit infrastructure with its two border neighbors and linkage to the greater Northeast Asian community as a concrete way to achieve this goal and to build regional trust. Yet, at the same time there it appears there may be a new challenge to Northeast Asian energy policymaking, which may diverge from the interests of Northeast Asian regionalization. More than one year into the Presidency of Donald Trump, a new brand of U.S. foreign policy is emerging known as the «free and open Indo-Pacific» strategy. Will this new policy on Asia as it is operation-

alized contribute or not to confidence and physical infrastructure building in Northeast Asia, particularly as related to energy?

### 1. Trump's Indo-Pacific Strategy

The «free and open Indo-Pacific» strategy is incorporated into the Trump administration's National Security Strategy for a New Era (NSS),<sup>6</sup> which provides a vision of how the President wants to shape U.S. engagement with the rest of the world. The document is a translation of President Trump's campaign promise of «America First» into national strategic goals under the framework of an «America First National Security Strategy.» Some maintain that this is not a new concept articulated by Trump, but rather has its origin in the mid-2000s in the concept of an open trading system for Pacific Rim countries, which President Barack Obama later codified for American policymakers under the term the 'Asia-Pacific pivot.' However, this previous version did not emphasize as strongly the role of India, which now has a policy to look East<sup>7</sup> towards China, ASEAN, and Northeast Asia. Today, India, Japan, Indonesia and Australia also use the terminology of 'Indo-Pacific,' which by definition has a maritime focus because it emphasizes the connection between the Indian and Pacific Oceans.

The Trump Indo-Pacific strategy has been called strongly oriented towards strategic and military aspects with an economic component that is de-emphasized and under-resourced; this contrasts with the earlier Pacific Rim concept which was economic based. This change of focus likely is due to the rise of maritime issues with China and territorial disputes over the South China Seas, and the lack of an economic institutional architecture which represents all countries in the greater region and causes them rather to concentrate on strategic concerns.<sup>8</sup> For U.S. allies

<sup>6</sup> "A New National Security Strategy for a New Era" (December 18, 2017), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-announces-national-security-strategy-advance-americas-interests/>.

<sup>7</sup> Indian Prime Minister Modi renamed India's existing 'Look East' policy to 'Act East'. It highlighted India's renewed focus on ASEAN states, and shifted the emphasis of what had previously been an economic and trade-based policy to nurturing political and security relationships.

<sup>8</sup> Oral comments of Dr. Amy Searight, Senior Advisor and Director of the Southeast Asia Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), on May 16, 2018 during the IISS Shangri-La Dialogue 2018 Discussion Series presentation at Washington, DC organized by the International Institute for Strategic Studies--Americas (IISS-Americas).

and partners in the Indo-Pacific region, the NSS signals that the Trump administration considers the Indo-Pacific region the most strategically important geographical area—ahead of the Middle East, which has dominated past U.S. administrations’ strategic attention. Some observers are reassured that «the ‘America First National Security Strategy’ laid out in the NSS is a welcome articulation of this administration’s commitment to ensure that the United States can still play a leading role on the international stage, even though some of the approaches it takes may be unconventional.»<sup>9</sup> For the countries in the Indo-Pacific region, the NSS might be both a positive step reaffirming American commitment to peace and security in the region and a response to increasing pressure from China on security and economic issues.

A corollary, but not precisely the same principle as the Indo-Pacific strategy, is the Quad-rangle Security Dialogue among the U.S., Australia, India, and Japan. This relationship affirms the U.S. leadership role in the Quad group, while expecting Japan and India to take on greater responsibilities in the Asian region. The Quad is about balancing and democratic nations holding similar values, but its cooperative framework is only in the early stages and the potential of this new relationship is not known. One reason is that although «it has been four years since India’s Prime Minister Narendra Modi chose to shift the emphasis of his country’s flagship regional policy from economics and trade to nurturing political and security relationships,»<sup>10</sup> it is not clear if his vision for the ‘Indo-Pacific’ region is similar to Trump’s, and at present, for example, there is no concrete plan among the Quad to counter China’s OBOR.

## 2. Trump Administration’s View of Multilateralism and the Impact on Northeast Asia

It is true that the Trump administration’s foreign policy team<sup>11</sup> led by John Bolton, Peter Navarro, and Trump himself, are dismissive of the multilateral international economic organizations of the 2nd half of the 20th century as outmoded and inherently unfair to the U.S. (even though established originally with much American input). Thus, the team prefers conducting relations bilaterally to solve specific disputes in a results-oriented foreign policy. It is a strategy that rejects the post-Westphalian ‘doctrine of the international community’ and globalization.<sup>12</sup>

Rather, President Trump negotiates via «linkage», both «vertically» and «horizontally». «Vertical linkage,» which is especially useful in bilateral relations, means that diverse problems, such as military, are coupled with economic or political issues, and not fragmented into different negotiating streams. Trade negotiations with a particular country are often coupled with other unrelated matters of particular importance to the U.S., such as the NAFTA negotiations with Mexico linked with Mexican immigration and border control policies, and U.S.-China trade deficit discussions coupled with Chinese cooperation on North Korea.

«Horizontal linkage» by the Trump administration is its form of multilateralism. It will negotiate with many nations at the same time over the same issue with the mindset of taking ad-

9 Yuki Tatsumi, “The US National Security Strategy: Implications for the Indo-Pacific,” *The Diplomat* (December 21, 2017), <https://thediplomat.com/2017/12/the-us-national-security-strategy-implications-for-the-indo-pacific/>.

10 Rahul Roy-Chaudhury, “Understanding Modi’s vision for the Indo-Pacific,” *International Institute for Strategic Studies* (May 14, 2018), <https://www.iiss.org/>.

11 National Security Council adviser John Bolton, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross, Secretary of the Treasury Steven Mnuchin, U.S. Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer, Director of White House Trade Council Peter Navarro, and Secretary of Defense James Mattis.

12 In 1999 British Prime Minister Tony Blair gave a speech in Chicago where he “set out a new, post-Westphalian, ‘doctrine of the international community,’ where he argued that globalization had made the Westphalian approach anachronistic. See Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping*, Polity Press 2010, p. 37.



vantage of internal tensions and fissures within the opposing group. This stratagem encourages some countries to break from the larger group to approach the U.S. bilaterally. The American aim is to reduce the negotiating strength of the organized group and bend it more towards U.S. positions, which is very disorienting.<sup>13</sup> This is how the U.S. is handling the problem of NATO countries paying their promised dues or reducing EU trade tariffs on U.S. goods.

It has become obvious that President Trump is rejecting the typical Washington, DC policymaking elite's emphasis on multilateral arrangements. Also, there are indications that the new Indo-Pacific strategy has moved the U.S. focus from Northeast Asia to Southeast Asia. Yet, there has not been any American retreat from the world. Rather, Trump is disrupting the established norms of international foreign policy for his own nationalistic goals. What are therefore the implications of the new strategy for the United States in Northeast Asia? The U.S. President is willing to devote his time and resources towards settling Korean peninsula issues and assisting American and Northeast Asian companies in opening up the North Korean market. However, it seems unlikely that Trump and his Indo-Pacific Strategy have a special vision for Northeast Asia. The American vision appears to be confined to a bilateral one, but it can contribute to removing the impediments to infrastructure and trade development by bettering U.S.-DPRK relations. This means that space will be given to the nations of the region to move forward at their own pace to establish the necessary peaceful institutional frameworks.

### 3. U.S. Interest in Northeast Asian Energy Network Development

In this new *laissez faire* U.S. formulation for Northeast Asian framework integration, is there a special opportunity for nations of the region to develop their energy resources and infrastructure to enhance the economic development of the region? Is this development more likely to proceed multilaterally, or through bilateral or trilateral formulas? It must be acknowledged that a significant impact on regional cooperation will be determined by how the Korean peninsula situation evolves. The progress that has been made to date was mainly driven by the bilateral exchanges between the United States and the DPRK. Each side was supported or advised by the different NEA countries, but the multilateral mechanism of the Six Party Talks was abandoned in favor of more direct discussions. However, it is not certain that the necessary follow-up to the bilateral Summit will stay in bilateral channels. It is more likely that both parties will see benefit in creating new or expanding multilateral mechanisms, such as the Greater Tumen Initiative, wherein South Korea, China, Japan, Mongolia, and Russia will have the ability to play significant roles from financial to advisory to educational.

However, the United States will not absent itself from the Northeast Asian integration process. The Trump administration will be intimately involved in any new security arrangements, and, I predict, also pay increasingly closer attention to the economic, including energy, configurations. This will not be out of acceptance of the efficacy of the multilateral system, but rather as an extension of the 'America First' strategy. The United States government's attitude towards traditional energy resources is profoundly different today from that of previous administrations. Trump domestically has promoted the expansion of the shale oil industry and the return of coal production. U.S. coal exports surged by 60 percent in 2017 to 97 million tons with double- or triple-digit growth to every continent, and two of the top buyers of U.S. coal are in

<sup>13</sup> This is exemplified by Poland and Latvia's military and immigration policies that diverge significantly from that of larger NATO countries and support the Trump administration's viewpoints.

the greater Asian region--India and South Korea.<sup>14</sup> Three of the Northeast Asian nations (Japan, China, and South Korea) are major clients of American LPG.

Trump's repeated calls for other countries to buy U.S. energy as a way to help correct trade imbalances has been heard especially in Asia and Europe.<sup>15</sup> Increasing efficiency in U.S. shale oil production has made it competitively priced in comparison to West African and Asian sweet crude oil, and U.S. exports are redrawing the world's energy map.<sup>16</sup> Virtually no crude oil was sent to Asia in 2015, but between January and November 2016 the figure rose to 50,000 barrels per day, according to U.S. Energy Information Administration figures. When U.S. oil exports appeared in 2016, the first cargoes went to free trade agreement partners South Korea and Japan, and few expected China to become a major buyer. However, U.S. crude shipments to China went from nothing before 2016 to a record 400,000 barrels per day (bpd) in January 2018, worth almost \$1 billion, motivated mainly by the low prices. The U.S. oil supplies will help reduce China's huge trade surplus with the U.S. and may be increased by the Chinese to counter allegations from President Trump that Beijing is trading unfairly: «With the Trump administration, the pressure on China to balance accounts with the U.S. is huge... Buying U.S. oil clearly helps toward that goal to reduce the disbalance.»<sup>17</sup> With the forecast by the International Energy Agency that the United States will become the world's largest crude oil producer within the next 5 years,<sup>18</sup> and the fact that the U.S. is now the largest LPG exporter in the world,<sup>19</sup> any new Northeast Asian energy production consortium, regardless of which energy mineral, would be a competitor and thus of great economic and strategic interest to the United States.

These are the additional factors that must be part of the calculations of promoting NEA energy development. The complementarities of regional producers and consumers may not be as straightforward as it was even five years ago. The two Asian energy superpowers, Russia and China, may be strategic partners, and may find that the trilateral partnership with Mongolia is attractive as a way of reducing transit pipe and rail costs, but the Trump Administration likely will press bilaterally for the protection and promotion of the interests of American companies with the various Northeast Asian nations--in the name of its Indo-Pacific strategy. Additionally, developing energy mineral producers such as Mongolia or North Korea, which are counting on Russian investors in order to diversify their market away from China, are hampered by the international sanctions, led by the United States, placed on Moscow for political reasons not

14 According to statistics published by the U.S. Energy Information Administration, 2017 coal exports are close to the record 2012 export numbers, when the domestic market for coal nosedived. The other major coal customers were the Netherlands and Brazil. Johnson, *ibid*.

15 Opinion of Kevin Book, the head of ClearView Energy Partners, an energy consultancy, which published a 2018 detailed study of how the U.S. energy boom is driving greater energy exports. See Keith Johnson, "Trump Makes American Coal Great Again — Overseas," *foreignpolicy.com* (April 4, 2018).

16 Ed Adamczyk, "U.S. crude oil sales to Asia quickly growing," *www.upi.com* (March 10, 2017).

17 Marco Dunand, CEO of commodity trading house Mercuria, as quoted in Henning Gloystein, "How soaring U.S. oil exports to China are transforming the global oil game," *reuters.com* (February 9, 2018).

18 "U.S. crude oil production is expected to reach a record of 12.1 million barrels a day in 2023, up 2.8 million barrels a day from current levels due to technological advances, improved efficiency, and an oil price recovery that has shale oil companies ramping up their drilling. American oil production would then surpass Russian oil production, currently the world's largest crude producer at about 11 million barrels a day." Institute for Energy Research (March 12, 2018), <https://instituteforenergyresearch.org/analysis/united-states-worlds-largest-producer-oil-2023/>.

19 "U.S. exports of liquefied petroleum gases projected to continue through 2040," U.S. Energy Information Administration (May 2, 2013), <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=11091>. And, Jake Fells, "US LPG EXPORTS BOOMING," *BTU Analytics* (July 11, 2017), <https://btuanalytics.com/us-lpg-exports-booming/>.

directly connected with Northeast Asia.<sup>20</sup> This continues to be a major barrier to Japanese, South Korean, and other foreign investment in energy projects throughout the region, and the lifting of these sanctions will be necessary to permit significant energy infrastructure development. Hopefully, unfreezing the Korean peninsula impasse and military changes on the ground in Syria and the rest of the Middle East may lead to the relief of these sanctions. These two factors also are governing U.S. mineral companies' interest in partnership and FDI in regional bilateral or multilateral energy projects.

To date, Northeast Asia has been slow to develop new energy infrastructure, and financing options have been extremely limited. In this atmosphere China as the major energy consumer dictates the type and pace of energy cooperation. Nevertheless, the new Trump foreign policy strategy, which seeks economic benefits for American business throughout the Indo-Pacific and links this principle to other forms of bilateral relations, can be utilized by Northeast Asian nations to re-engage the United States in future energy integration frameworks.

- «A New National Security Strategy for a New Era» (December 18, 2017), <https://www.whitehouse.gov/briefings-statements/president-donald-j-trump-announces-national-security-strategy-advance-americas-interests/>.
- Indian Prime Minister Modi renamed India's existing 'Look East' policy to 'Act East'. It highlighted India's renewed focus on ASEAN states, and shifted the emphasis of what had previously been an economic and trade-based policy to nurturing political and security relationships.
- Oral comments of Dr. Amy Searight, Senior Advisor and Director of the Southeast Asia Program at the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), on May 16, 2018 during the IISS Shangri-La Dialogue 2018 Discussion Series presentation at Washington, DC organized by the International Institute for Strategic Studies--Americas (IISS-Americas).
- Yuki Tatsumi, «The US National Security Strategy: Implications for the Indo-Pacific,» *The Diplomat* (December 21, 2017), <https://thediplomat.com/2017/12/the-us-national-security-strategy-implications-for-the-indo-pacific/>.
- Rahul Roy-Chaudhury, «Understanding Modi's vision for the Indo-Pacific,» *International Institute for Strategic Studies* (May 14, 2018), <https://www.iiss.org/>.
- National Security Council adviser John Bolton, Secretary of State Mike Pompeo, Secretary of Commerce Wilbur Ross, Secretary of the Treasury Steven Mnuchin, U.S. Trade Representative Robert Lighthizer, Director of White House Trade Council Peter Navarro, and Secretary of Defense James Mattis.
- In 1999 British Prime Minister Tony Blair gave a speech in Chicago where he «set out a new, post-Westphalian, 'doctrine of the international community,' where he argued that globalization had made the Westphalian approach anachronistic. See Alex Bellamy and Paul Williams, *Understanding Peacekeeping*, Polity Press 2010, p. 37.
- This is exemplified by Poland and Latvia's military and immigration policies that diverge significantly from that of larger NATO countries and support the Trump administration's viewpoints.

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20 *Foreign Minister Damdin Tsogtbaatar at a meeting with his Russian counterpart Sergey Lavrov stated: "We are waiting for Russian investors in Mongolia. For the Russian business this is a well-known market, for example our energy sector. We have great opportunities for cooperation." In "Mongolia welcomes Russian investors in its market," TASS (Moscow: May 16, 2018), <http://tass.com/economy/1004549>.*

- According to statistics published by the U.S. Energy Information Administration, 2017 coal exports are close to the record 2012 export numbers, when the domestic market for coal nosedived. The other major coal customers were the Netherlands and Brazil. Johnson, *ibid*.
- Opinion of Kevin Book, the head of Clear View Energy Partners, an energy consultancy, which published a 2018 detailed study of how the U.S. energy boom is driving greater energy exports. See Keith Johnson, «Trump Makes American Coal Great Again — Overseas,» [foreignpolicy.com](http://foreignpolicy.com) (April 4, 2018).
- Ed Adamczyk, »U.S. crude oil sales to Asia quickly growing,» [www.upi.com](http://www.upi.com) (March 10, 2017).

Marco Dunand, CEO of commodity trading house Mercuria, as quoted in Henning Gloystein, «How soaring U.S. oil exports to China are transforming the global oil game,» [reuters.com](http://reuters.com) (February 9, 2018).

- «U.S. crude oil production is expected to reach a record of 12.1 million barrels a day in 2023, up 2.8 million barrels a day from current levels due to technological advances, improved efficiency, and an oil price recovery that has shale oil companies ramping up their drilling. American oil production would then surpass Russian oil production, currently the world's largest crude producer at about 11 million barrels a day.» Institute for Energy Research (March 12, 2018), <https://instituteeforenergyresearch.org/analysis/united-states-worlds-largest-producer-oil-2023/>.
- «U.S. exports of liquefied petroleum gases projected to continue through 2040,» U.S. Energy Information Administration (May 2, 2013), <https://www.eia.gov/todayinenergy/detail.php?id=11091>. And, Jake Fells, «US LPG EXPORTS BOOMING,» BTU Analytics (July 11, 2017), <https://btuanalytics.com/us-lpg-exports-booming/>.
- Foreign Minister Damdin Tsogtbaatar at a meeting with his Russian counterpart Sergey Lavrov stated: «We are waiting for Russian investors in Mongolia. For the Russian business this is a well-known market, for example our energy sector. We have great opportunities for cooperation.» In «Mongolia welcomes Russian investors in its market,» TASS (Moscow: May 16, 2018), <http://tass.com/economy/1004549>.

## SUB-SESSION II

### PROMOTING COOPERATION IN THE AREA OF ENVIRONMENT AND HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IN NORTHEAST ASIA

#### Moderator:

**Lt. Col. BAASANSUREN DembereInyam**, Director, Disaster Risk Management Department, The National Emergency Management Agency of Mongolia

#### Speakers:

Urbanization and Its Impacts on Regional Ecosystems: Transformation for Urban Sustainability

**Dr. LU Yonglong**, Deputy Director, Research center for Eco-Environmental sciences, Chinese Academy of Sciences, China

Cooperation in Humanitarian Assistance in Northeast Asia

**Mr. Pierre DORBES**, Head of Regional Delegation for East Asia, International Committee of the Red Cross

Humanitarian Assistance by Mongolia

**Col. ARIUNAA Chadraabal**, Head of Foreign Cooperation Division, National Emergency Management Agency of Mongolia

Confidence Building in Northeast Asia through Forging Closer Cultural and Social Relations Ms. **BYAMBAKHAND Luguusharav**, Researcher, the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia

Environmental security challenges in Mongolia with regional context

**Ms. NOMINBOLOR Khurel**, Head of Department for Environmental Policy, Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia

Role of Public Structures in Strengthening Cooperation in Northeast Asia

**Dr. Elena BOYKOVA**, Senior Researcher, Institute for Oriental Studies, Russian Academy of Sciences, The Russian Federation

## URBANIZATION AND ITS IMPACTS ON REGIONAL ECOSYSTEMS: TRANSFORMATION FOR URBAN SUSTAINABILITY

**Dr. LU Yonglong**

*Deputy Director, Research center for Eco-Environmental sciences,  
Chinese Academy of Sciences, China*



The proportion of China's population living in cities has risen steadily since the 1970s with rapid urbanization and the incremental change in household registration system which has restricted the people to move from rural areas to cities by changing their permanent residence. But the urban populations concentrate in the eastern part of the mainland with advanced economy. Rapid urbanization has brought about some environmental challenges including promotional effects on growth of residential energy consumption, increase in total urban water demand, increasing risk of soil pollution through waste disposal and acid deposition, loss of agricultural land, habitat and species loss, ecosystem service and function degradation, and landscape

homogenization. For example, in terms of soil pollution, the southern region is more serious than the northern region, and it is most serious in the three most urbanized regions including the Yangtze River Delta, Pearl River Delta, and Northeast Old Industrial Base.

Beijing city and its surrounding region is taken as an example to illustrate how increasing urbanization has generated resources (water, soil, energy) scarcity, environmental impacts on agricultural ecosystem, and emissions from domestic and industrial sources. There are major scientific issues of policy relevance: What is the environmental carrying capacity for water supply? What is a good transboundary water transfer and compensation mechanism? How to build an objective oriented water quality management system? What is optimum or appropriate model for high efficiency water use? What is most cost-effective approach for good coordination between different sectors?

It is imperative to identify the interactions within urban systems, and it is hoped that real-world policy can be changed to improve the health of cities. Sustainable land use and urban design, sustainable transportation through promoting energy-efficient and environment friendly transport options, protecting the existing species, habitats and ecosystems in the city by creating ecologically valuable green spaces, and building renewable energy and waste management systems are essential for developing sustainable urban ecosystems. For a sustainable city, it is indispensable to create a sustainable economy, environmental justice, and social equity through improving public health and welfare by managing natural capital and social capital in an equitable manner. For transformation towards urban sustainability, systems solutions have to be explored in terms of economic development, social progress, environmental governance, and resource efficiency.

## COOPERATION IN HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE IN NORTHEAST ASIA

### **Mr. Pierre DORBES**

*Head of Regional Delegation for East Asia,  
International Committee of the Red Cross*



The International Committee of the Red Cross (ICRC) Regional Delegation for East Asia, located in Beijing, covers China, the Democratic People's Republic of Korea, the Republic of Korea and Mongolia. The main orientations and priorities of the Regional Delegation can be summarized in three clusters, as follow:

- Humanitarian diplomacy through an open dialogue on major humanitarian crisis, international humanitarian law and Policy issues.
- Contingency planning and emergency preparedness in case of large-scale disaster, conflict, and other situation of violence in the region.
- Response to the needs of adversely affected and vulnerable populations

The ICRC, together with the National Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies, and the International Federation of Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies constitute a worldwide humanitarian Movement, whose mission is to prevent and alleviate human suffering wherever it may be found, to protect life and health, and ensure respect for the human being, in particular in times of armed conflict and other emergencies, to work for the prevention of disease and for the promotion of health and social welfare, to encourage voluntary service and a constant readiness to give help by the members of the Movement, and a universal sense of solidarity toward all those in need of its protection and assistance.

To respond with speed, flexibility and creativity to the needs of all those calling for impartial humanitarian protection and assistance, the various components of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement must join their forces and capitalize on their diversity. This requires observance of Fundamental Principles guiding its action and a synergetic cooperation, coupled with a clear division of labor, among components having distinct but closely related and complementary roles and competencies. In times of non-emergency situations, large scale emergencies and protracted crisis, the Red Cross and Red Crescent Movement components coordinate and cooperate in areas of preparedness, operational response, communication and resource mobilization at global, regional and country levels. All components bring an added value to our operations for the benefit of those we assist. Strengthening Movement coordination and cooperation in North-east Asia will ensure that the collective impact of all the Movement components is greater than the sum of their individual efforts.

## HUMANITARIAN ASSISTANCE BY MONGOLIA

**Col. ARIUNAA Chadraabal**

*Head of Foreign Cooperation Division,  
National Emergency Management Agency of Mongolia*



Asia is the region most affected by natural and man-made disasters. According to UN ESCAP statistics, East and Northeast Asia reported 1,900 fatalities, 14 million people were affected and damage reached \$65 billion from earthquakes, floods, storms, droughts, extreme temperatures and landslides only in 2016. From 2006 to 2015, countries in Asia and the Pacific received approximately \$5 billion in international humanitarian assistance. However Mongolia is one of the beneficiary countries, we provide humanitarian assistance to the disaster-affected countries in sub-region. This presentation will show how Mongolia assists to other countries in case of emergency or disaster.



## CONFIDENCE BUILDING IN NORTHEAST ASIA THROUGH FORGING CLOSER CULTURAL AND SOCIAL RELATIONS

*Ms. BYAMBAKHAND Luguusharav*

*Researcher, the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia*



*Distinguished guests, Ladies and Gentlemen,*

Today, I am pleased to present at this session of the international conference on Ulaanbaatar Dialogue on Northeast Asian security. My presentation is structured into three parts. Firstly, I will briefly talk about how closer cultural and social links would affect confidence building in the Northeast Asian region. Then, I will examine this type of cooperation which is evident among the regional countries and finally, I will introduce my ideas and thoughts on strengthening cultural and social links in the region.

Northeast Asia is one of the world's most economically vibrant regions, since the region has abundant natural resources and enormous economic potential. The region comprises of two of the world's largest economies (China and Japan), while South Korea is one of the world's resilient economies. Undeniably, they will be the key driving forces for the world economy in the years to come, while Russia, Mongolia and North Korea have rich natural resources. In this sense, there are both the world's largest supplier and consumer in Northeast Asia. It demonstrates that the region has great economic and development capacity.

All these positive trends in Northeast Asia are largely shadowed by existing challenges that the region is facing. Northeast Asia is one of the regions where the Cold War legacies are still persistent. The region is also challenged by nuclear proliferation and territorial disputes. In addition to these traditional security issues, environmental degradation, natural disaster, poverty, widening inequality gap and rapid urbanization are imminent challenges to the regional stability.

With these challenges in mind, regional cooperation is clearly needed in Northeast Asia. Like other nations, Mongolia is interested in a more economic cooperation in the region. However, the region is considered as one of the few regions that are under-institutionalized. Many initiatives to create regional integration and security community are mainly hampered by historical animosities and mutual distrust.

In terms of culture, Northeast Asia is home to several ancient civilizations, to scores of highly sophisticated literary and cultural traditions, and to ethical and spiritual movements that correspond to three major religions of the world: Confucianism, Orthodox-Christianity and Buddhism. Famously, Samuel Huntington wrote that «fundamental source of conflict in this new world will not be primarily ideological or primarily economic. The great divisions among humankind and the dominating source of conflict will be cultural... The clash of civilizations will dominate global politics.» Such culture-based arguments are rejected by the homogenizing effects of globalization.

There is a more popular view, arguing that culture is declining as determinant of domestic and international politics in the context of globalization. The convergence of political and economic practices and the spread of democracy have similarly led to arguments of growing similarities which have implications for cultural differences. Francis Fukuyama argued that the spread of free market economics and democratic politics is a process which «guarantees an in-

creasing homogenization of all human societies, regardless of their historical origins or cultural inheritances». Russett, Oneal and Cox (2000) found that civilizational differences tell us little about the likelihood that disputes would escalate to violence. Furthermore, it has been found that ethnic conflicts are likely to be much less lethal in places that are receptive to globalization (Sadowski 1998). In this sense, it can be concluded that due to the globalization force, cultural difference is being blurred making easier to understand each other.

Meanwhile, as a region, we share several commonalities. One of the commonalities is ethnically homogeneous society. Cindy R. Jebb, Professor of the U.S. Military Academy West Point examined state behavior of an ethnically divided state versus that of ethnically homogenous state. This study demonstrated that an ethnically divided state has different alignment behavior than that of an ethnically homogenous state. Ethnic homogeneity provides a wealth of legitimacy, thereby allowing that state's leader to have more maneuver room for foreign policy. Consequently, that leader is able to take risks, which leaders of ethnically heterogeneous states are unable to do. In this sense, based on their ethnically homogenous society, Northeast Asian states' leaders will be able to forge stronger cultural and social links underpinning trust and confidence in the region.

Furthermore, an ethnically fragmented state tends to be prone to internal conflicts. The lack of homogeneity is frequent cause of intra-state communal conflict that can be easily transferred to the inter-state level. In his book entitled «The International Dimensions of Internal Conflict», Michael Edward Brown argued that ethnically fragmented states are more prone to conflict. This trend is seen in the cases of South East Asia and Central Asia.

Deepening economic interdependence among Northeast Asian countries is not something new, but it adds the most important dimension to Northeast Asian regionalism. Under the increasing pressure of economic interdependence, any decisions to jeopardize the benefit of economic prosperity may become irrational. In this sense, economic interdependence is the basis of a stable regional architecture and potentially the biggest factor to forge mutual understanding and trust. On the other hand, big economic programs and projects are being hampered by the lack of trust and confidence. For example, «Eurasian Initiative» proposed by South Korea involving two Koreas and Russia was stalled due to the deteriorating regional confidence, even though it is replaced by President Moon's «New Northern Policy».

In order to build trust and increase confidence among the regional countries, cultural and social interdependence should be increased. In recent years, South Korea, China, Japan and Russia are pursuing active soft power policy in the region. In particular, educational exchange is significant soft power aspect since a higher education affects the minds and hearts of people in not immediate, but in-depth ways. As a consequence of active soft power policy, a number of foreign students who are studying in these countries are gradually increasing. At the same time, these countries are ones of the top 20 countries of international students according to UNESCO Institute for Statistics. For example, in 2014, Russia, Japan, China and South Korea ranked 6th, 7th, 9th and 13th in terms of total number of foreign students that they are receiving (Please refer to table 1).

**Table 1. Top 20 countries for international students**

Destination country	Total number of students
1. US	740,482
2. UK	427,686

3.	France	271,399
4.	Australia	249,588
5.	Germany	206,986
6.	Russia	173,627
7.	Japan	150,617
8.	Canada	120,960
9.	China	88,979
10.	Italy	77,732
11.	South Africa	70,428
12.	Malaysia	63,625
13.	South Korea	59,472
14.	Austria	58,056
15.	Netherlands	57,509
16.	Spain	55,759
17.	United Arab Emirates	54,162
18.	Singapore	52,959
19.	Egypt	49,011
20.	Saudi Arabia	46,566

As a Mongolian participant, I would like to elaborate on Mongolia as a case. According to the Mongolian statistics, 29,600 Mongolia students are studying in abroad for long and short terms. Of them, 9488 students are studying in China, which is the highest number of Mongolian students studying abroad. Meanwhile, 3722 students are studying in South Korea, 2781 students in Russia, while 1936 students are in Japan (Please refer to Table 2).

**Table 2. Top 10 destinations for Mongolians students studying abroad**

Destination country	Total number of students
1. China	9,488
2. US	3,900
3. South Korea	3,722
4. Russia	2,781
5. Japan	1,936
6. Australia	1,100
7. UK	1,084
8. Germany	950
9. Turkey	703
10. India	503

Moreover, these countries are also increasing the quota of government scholarship given to Mongolian students. Since 2014, the Chinese government started to offer grants for 1000 students per year for five consecutive years to study at the universities in China. In 2014, the Government of Russian Federation offered a scholarship to 383 Mongolian students for studying at the universities in Russia. Judging from these numbers and facts, it can be concluded that we already have good basis for strengthening cultural and social links in Northeast Asia. Even though some argue these countries' policies are intended to expand their sphere of influence, here I would see this development in a positive manner.

Mongolia has no territorial disputes, no major crossed interests and no unresolved issues with other countries. Furthermore, unlike many countries in the region, Mongolia maintains friendly relations with all countries in Northeast Asia, including two Koreas. Using these advantages, Mongolia is able to play a more active role in the region. In this sense, Mongolia aims to contribute in building an overarching security mechanism in the Northeast Asian region as it is stated in its Foreign Policy Concept.

I believe that the power of people-to-people ties should not be underestimated as formal diplomacy is complemented by non-governmental interaction. With the peace process that started at the 2018 Winter Olympic Games in Pyeongchang, tensions between the two Koreas are gradually declining as dialogues and talks among state leaders were held in last April and this June. Three days ago, we witnessed an unprecedented meeting between Chairman Kim and President Trump, resulting a historic joint statement to establish new U.S.-DRPK relations and to express Chairman Kim's firm and unwavering commitment to complete denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula. It truly proves us that people-to-people links have a significant impact on formal and political relations.

Certainly, cultural commonalities positively matter to increase people-to-people exchanges. In recent years, Mongolia has been actively pursuing various types of people-to-people engagements involving all regional countries, including academic exchanges, forums, sports and cultural activities. In November, 2013, Mongolia hosted a Regional Forum of NEA Women Parliamentarians, while Northeast Asian Mayors' forum has organized twice since 2014. This year, Ulaanbaatar is hosting Northeast Asian Mayors' Forum once again from July 18-19, 2018. Sports and cultural events in the past years have included boxing matches with boxers from all Northeast Asian countries. Youth cultural exchange programs including NEAEF are annually organized in one of the Northeast Asian cities. For example, one of the NEAEF young leadership programs was organized in Ulaanbaatar in 2010. These events are important channels of cultural and social relations for strengthening regional confidence. Therefore, these events should be continuously organized in each country. It is because that cultural, sports and academic exchanges including programs for youths are important as political and security dialogues are.

## Conclusion

In conclusion, there are more opportunities than challenges in Northeast Asia. However, all positive developments of cooperation are hindered by historical animosities and mutual distrust. It requires the regional states to take intangible and tangible efforts in forging closer and cooperative relations.

The region is also characterized by cultural diversity. However, culture is declining as determinant of domestic and international politics in the context of globalization. Meanwhile, Northeast Asian countries share several commonalities including similar homogenous structure of society. It will certainly lead regional countries to closer cultural and social interdependence.

Deepening economic interdependence is becoming more evident in the context of Northeast Asia. This is also the basis for our region to forge closer cultural and social relations. In return, closer cultural and social relations are the formidable ground for bolstering economic interdependence.

Thank you for your attention. During the Q&A, I'm happy to go into greater detail or discuss any other issues you may be interested in.

## ENVIRONMENTAL SECURITY CHALLENGES IN MONGOLIA WITH REGIONAL CONTEXT

**Mrs. NOMINBOLOR Khurel**  
*Head of Department for Environmental Policy,  
 Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia*



### Abstract

Mongolia faces a number of serious environmental security challenges, of which causes and effects are local and regional in character. Main environmental issues that are predominantly local but regional in terms of their transboundary consequences and which, therefore, necessitate particularly close cooperation among the countries of the region to deal with include climate change, dust and sand storms (DSS) resulting from desertification, water scarcity and trans-boundary and cross-nations migration of risks. For instance, the main cause of DSS is the rapid expansion of desertification, which has affected 78 percent of Mongolia's territory and accelerated by the degradation of land from overgrazing by livestock, deforestation, and mismanagement of water resources. This paper discusses further about Mongolia's environmental challenges and shows the necessity of enhanced environmental cooperation in Northeast Asia for defusing environmental threats in the region.

### 1. Environmental challenges in Mongolia

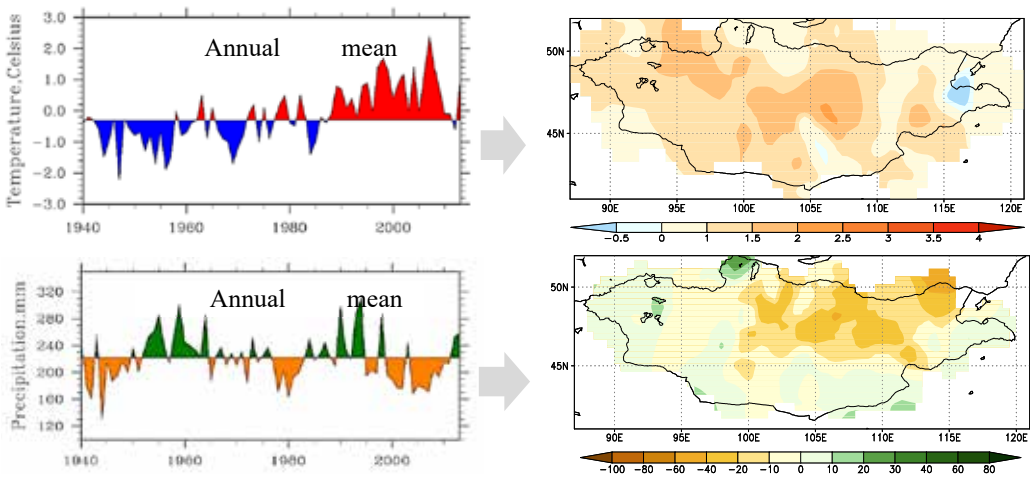
#### *Climate change and its impacts*

Mongolia is one of the most vulnerable countries to climate change in the world because of its specific geographical and climate conditions as well as the structure and development level of the economic sectors, and lifestyle of its people.

The average temperature in Mongolia has risen by 2.1C since the measurements started in 1940's, three times the global average of 0.850C. The warming trend is observed in all ecological zones of the country during the last four decades and is relatively synchronous despite the spatial difference<sup>21</sup>. The annual precipitation pattern is characterized by the precipitation in warm seasons, especially by the summer precipitation which constitutes 70% of the annual total precipitation. Although the future under changing climate conditions is uncertain, climate models predict a decrease in river water levels, higher seasonal variations, and a decrease in groundwater levels due to reduced recharge.

21 Batjargal, Z. and Enkhjargal, B. (2013). *Interference Impact of Global Warming and Globalization on the Society and Ecosystem in Mongolia*. In brochure: "The Mongolian Ecosystem Network. Environmental issues under climate and social changes", edited by Yamamura N., Fujita A., Maekawa A., Springer: Tokyo, Heidelberg, New York, Dordrecht, London. p.295-313

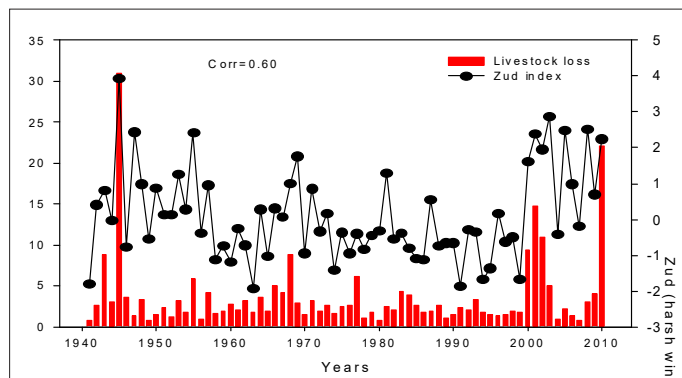
Figure 1. Present climate change in Mongolia, 1940-2013. Source: MARCC (2014).



**Natural disasters**

Climate change impacts are characterized by increased desertification, more frequent droughts and *zud*<sup>22</sup>, water resource scarcity, and biodiversity loss. The frequency and spatial extent of forest and steppe fires have increased since the 1950s. The frequency of extreme weather events has doubled in the last two decades, and occurrence is expected to increase by 23%–60% by the middle of the 21st century. Winter snow cover in Mongolia reached 90% of the territory by the end of 2009, while it was only 50% during the winter of 1999-2000 when Mongolia experienced one of the worst *zud* situations in the country, which killed several millions of domestic animals<sup>23</sup>. As a result of the 2009-2010 winter *zud* disaster, over 10 million, or about 22% of the country’s entire livestock was lost and the livelihoods of over 200 thousand rural herdsmen living in the affected regions were severely threatened. The social impacts and associated costs of the *zud* are enormous.

Figure 2. Climate extreme and livestock loss. Source: National Statistical Office of Mongolia



22 *Zud* is a Mongolian term for an extreme harsh winter that deprives livestock of grazing, and a specific phenomenon that takes its toll in winter and spring with a high number of livestock dying of starvation.

23 Ministry of Environment and Green Development of Mongolia (2014). *Mongolia Second Assessment Report on Climate Change (MARCC) 2014*.

### ***Water resources and their dynamics***

Water sources are unevenly distributed within the country, 76% of the surface area contains only 36% of all water resources with abundant surface water resources located in northern Mongolia, but are inaccessible for the drier central and southern parts of the country that lack water sources. Mongolia's total surface water resources are derived mainly from lakes at the rate of 500 km<sup>3</sup><sup>24</sup> and glaciers of 19.4 km<sup>3</sup><sup>25</sup>. The glaciers in the western Mongolia are retreating at a rapid speed; the total glacier area in the Mongolian Altay decreased by 27.8 percent in the last 70 years. According to some estimates, by 2040 western Mongolia might no longer have glaciers. During the last few decades, the permafrost, concentrated mainly in mountainous regions and in northern Mongolia, has not only been warming, but also disappearing due to global climate warming. During the 1960-1970, around 63 percent of Mongolia's land area was covered by permafrost, which has now shrunk twice.

One-third of Mongolia's provinces fall below the 600 m<sup>3</sup> per capita water use that defines water scarcity. As a result, Mongolia has a high reliance on groundwater resources, which accounts for more than 80 percent of all freshwater consumed. Moreover, state inventories for surface water, conducted in 2007 and 2011 reveal that water resources are rapidly becoming scarce, many lakes, rivers and streams being dried due to recent droughts. Water is crucial not only for daily consumption by the people and for herders to maintain their livestock, but also for Mongolia's economic development as an essential resource for industries such as the mining sector, which has driven the country's economic growth. Reconciling these competing interests is a challenge, and conflicts over water can put increasing pressure on the already limited resources.

Mongolia faces many localized water-stress situations. Two major water stress areas are:

#### ***Ulaanbaatar city:***

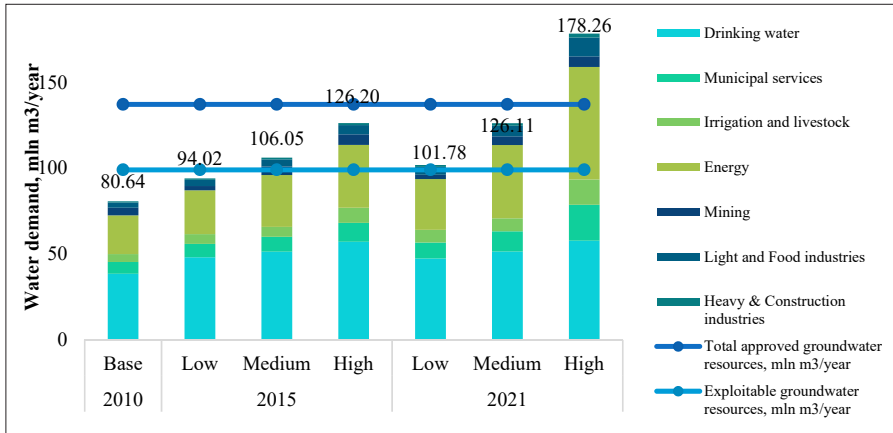
As an economic and urban hub inhabiting almost one half of Mongolia's population of 3 million, ensuring that there is sufficient and safe water for everyone is a challenge in Ulaanbaatar city. As a result of climate change and increased water subtraction, the streamflow of the Tuul river, which feeds the aquifer that supplies most of the water for Ulaanbaatar, is shrinking. There is an increasing dependence on recharged groundwater resource for the water supply with potential problems during winter and spring months (direct use from surface water is less than 1% of the total water usage). There have been warnings by government bodies and independent studies that given current consumption rates, Ulaanbaatar will begin suffering water shortages in 2020.<sup>26,27</sup>

24 Ministry of Environment and Green Development of Mongolia (2014). *Mongolia Second Assessment Report on Climate Change (MARCC) 2014*.

25 Davaa G. et al. (2012). *Buyant river basin modelling: results of hydraulic and hydrological modelling, project co-financed by WWF Mongolia programme office and Swiss Agency for Development and Cooperation, Coping with Desertification project, Ulaanbaatar, 2012. Economic Assessment of the Impact of Climate Change in the Ulz and Kharkhiraa/Turgen River Basins, Ecosystem Based Adaptation Approach to Maintaining Water Security in Critical Water Catchments in Mongolia, MON/12/301 Project report, 2013 (in Mongolian language)*

26 Dettoni, J. (2014). "Is Ulaanbaatar Running Out of Water?" *The Diplomat*. May 20, 2014.

27 Asian Development Bank (2014). "Mongolia Needs to Integrate Water into Energy and Mining Plans," *Press release, Sept. 3, 2014*. <http://www.adb.org/news/mongolia-needs-integrate-water-energy-and-mining-development-plans>

**Figure 3. Actual and projected water supply and demand gap in Ulaanbaatar**

Source: Ministry of Environment and Green development, 2012. Part 4: Water Supply Hydro construction, Water use and demand. Integrated water management national assessment report. Vol 2.

### **Gobi region:**

In the South Gobi, where water is scarcer and several large mines including Oyu Tolgoi copper mine, and Tavan Tolgoi coal mine operate, the pumping of groundwater could create water conflicts by decreasing the amount of water available for local agriculture and increasing the risk of desertification.<sup>28</sup> Even so, the shortage of water may limit Mongolia's ability to process or exploit its mineral wealth.

### **Desertification and grassland degradation**

Mongolia suffers from desertification which has been linked mainly to climate change and the overgrazing of livestock. It has been estimated that desertification affects 77.8% of the country's territory. By some estimates the Gobi Desert expands by more than 10,000 square kilometers per year, threatening many villages and livestock herders. If degradation processes continue gradually and barren land increases, the precipitation and evapotranspiration will also decrease, resulting in intensive aridification of the climate. Researchers reported that an increase in aridity may be significant in Central and Eastern parts of the country, in accordance with regional climate model outputs<sup>29</sup>.

Grassland animal husbandry is the basic industry of Mongolia, accounting for 20% of the total national production. The traditional production mode has been long connected to its ecological fragility. The accelerating pace of economic growth, increase of grassland and rangeland use intensity, especially the increase of goat breeding, all advance the grassland degradation, leading to grassland degradation and soil erosion. Mining industry has developed rapidly by becoming a pillar industry of the country, but the process of development also caused great damage to the environment, with bad or unsatisfactory restoration. Under the dual effects of natural factors and human activities, the grassland ecology in Mongolia is deteriorating.

<sup>28</sup> Asian Development Bank (2014). *Demand in the Desert: Mongolia's Water-Energy-Mining Nexus*.

<sup>29</sup> Ministry of Environment and Green Development of Mongolia (2014). *Mongolia Second Assessment Report on Climate Change (MARCC) 2014*.



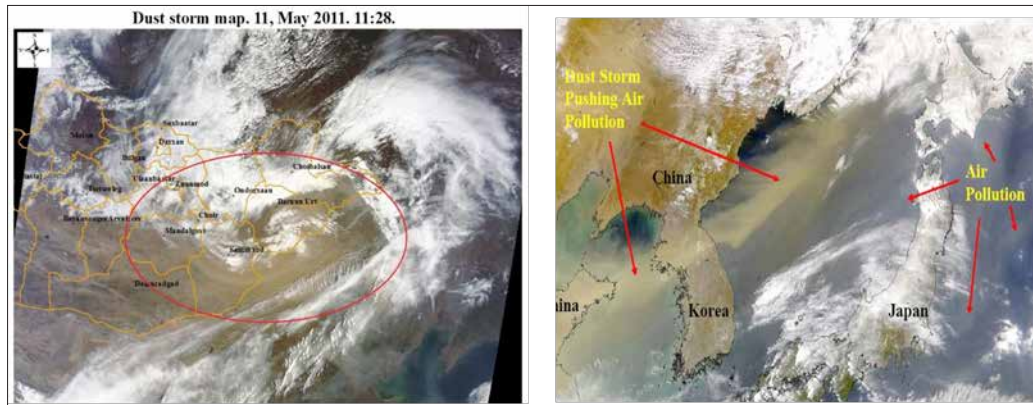
## 2. Implications of environmental challenges at regional level

### *Dust and sandstorms (DSS)*

Dust and sand storm are one of the major environmental concerns in the Northeast Asia region. Originating principally in arid areas including Gobi Desert in Mongolia (as well as increasingly north-western China), wind-borne dust particles are carried east affecting not only China, but also the Korean Peninsula and Japan. Main cause of DSS is rapid expansion of desertification in Mongolia and China.

Synoptic observation data of 49 meteorological stations in Mongolia from 1960 to 2007 shows that the number of days with dust events is more than 30 days in the Gobi and more than 60 days in the Desert area. Dusty days had gradual increasing trend in 1960-1980, with periodical changes since 1981. Dust events have increased in the arid and semi-arid regions of Mongolia and China during the last decade.

**Figure 4. DSS image by satellites. Source: Information and research institute of meteorology, hydrology and environment of Mongolia, NASA**



DSS have significant impacts on human health (they are linked to respiratory and skin diseases), the environment, and the economy; such storms may damage buildings and land, as well as paralyze infrastructure such as transportation hubs (in particular airports), communication networks, and power and water supply systems. This is further exacerbated when combined with anthropogenic air pollutants such as sulfur oxides, nitrogen oxides, and heavy metals.

Efforts to address DSS can be categorized into two fields; the monitoring and forecasting of DSS outbreaks; and efforts to prevent DSS. Since monitoring and forecasting can achieve visible outcomes in a short period of time with a small amount of funding, Northeast Asian countries are focusing their regional cooperation efforts on the monitoring and forecasting area. Japan, Korea and China established dust monitoring sites in Mongolia in 2007-2010. New measurements of dust concentrations (PM10, PM2.5, PM1.0) and vertical distributions of dust events by Lidars were begun in Mongolia in 2007. Mongolia collaborates on dust monitoring and researches with Korea, Japan and China.

### 3. Regional environmental cooperation

#### *Multilateral cooperation*

Several multilateral environmental cooperation has been established since the early 1990s to deal with threats and challenges in NEA. Of these cooperation initiatives, Mongolia is a party to the Northeast Asian Sub-regional Programme for Environmental Cooperation (NEASPEC) and Acid Deposition Monitoring Network in East Asia (EANET). As a party to NEASPEC, Mongolia has been participating and implemented several joint projects in environmental protection. Mongolia was one of the first countries to engage with the EANET activities. Now this network considers best examples of cooperation not only in NEA but also in Asia as a whole.

At the request of the governments of China and Mongolia, the ADB, UNCCD (convention to combat desertification), UNESCAP (economic and social commission for Asia and the Pacific) and UNEP initiated a project for the Prevention and Control of Dust and Sandstorms in Northeast Asia. The Regional Master Plan for the Prevention and Control of Dust and Sandstorms in Northeast Asia was developed from 2002 to 2003.

The environmental ministers from Korea, China and Japan have been holding the Tripartite Environmental Ministers Meeting (TEMM) among Korea, China and Japan on an annual basis since 1999. The three countries aim to strengthen cooperation through dialogues on regional and global environmental issues. Although the Mongolian government has expressed its interest to become an observer, TEMM is otherwise quite exclusionary in terms of cooperating with Mongolia. Mongolia's exclusion from the TEMM suggests that the group's permanent members view Mongolia as too politically and materially weak to support their efforts.

#### *Bilateral cooperation*

Bilateral environmental cooperation between Northeast Asian countries began in the early 1990s.

##### *China- Mongolia:*

The junction of China and Mongolia from West to East, mainly desert, grassland and forest areas are the major animal husbandry district for both nations, facing with similar ecological environmental problems of desertification, vegetation degradation, water scarcity, and air pollution, thus the common governance of environmental problems is practicable. In 1990, China and Mongolia signed cooperation agreement on protecting natural environment based on the China-Mongolian Friendship and Cooperation Treaty in 1960. The cooperation includes the technique of control of quicksand and soil weathering and erosion, protection and rational use of Gobi Desert and grassland pasture, preventing surface water resource depletion, environmental assessment of natural conditions and basic research and applied research of natural protection<sup>30</sup>. In 1994, an agreement was signed between Mongolia and China on the protection of trans-boundary water resources concerning Lake Buir, the Kherlen, Bulgan, Khalkh rivers, and 87 small lakes and rivers located near the border<sup>31</sup>. In 2012, the two sides signed a memorandum of understanding on cooperation in environmental protection between the two countries, in order to strengthen cooperation in ecological protection and biodiversity protection, dust storms and desertification monitoring and control, and pollution prevention and other fields. The two sides also agreed to carry out cooperation in the protection of rare wild animals Mongolian Gobi Bear.

Mongolia initiated to sign the agreement between Mongolia, Russia, and China on the establishment of linked network of protected areas. First international network was established in

1994 in area close to the Amur river basin, mainly for migratory birds. This approach has been further applied to other parts of these countries for other species and ecosystem. Since China and Mongolia share a limited number of relatively small river basins, their water management relationships have less prominent political status. However, recently, Sino-Mongolian transboundary water management has also witnessed a transboundary dispute on water allocation in the same Amur River Basin.

*Russia- Mongolia:*

Mongolia and Russia share an international effort to manage Selenge River, a primary contributor of water to Russia's Lake Baikal, to improve water quality and sustain the water resource. In 1995, Russia and Mongolia signed an agreement on Use and Protection of Transboundary Waters. The agreement has been extended to the coverage of areas including over 100 small rivers and streams located in the different part of the country. It does not include the explicit restriction of water use (in contrast to the previous single body, namely, Selenge river related agreement, signed before the 1990th) but added new commitment for both sides on monitoring of water quality, exchange of information for prediction of flood and others.

Recently, Eg and Shuren hydropower dams on Selenge river, and another dam on Orkhon river, also a tributary to Selenge river, all planned by the Mongolian government have become the source of «tension» between Mongolia and Russia, with growing concern in parliaments, multiple agencies and scientific institutions of two countries. Some international environmental groups like Earth Island Institute, Greenpeace, WWF and others have voiced also their concern.

*South Korea- Mongolia:*

In 2007, South Korea signed a Memorandum of Understanding with Mongolia on the monitoring, research, and conservation of nature reserves. South Korea's bilateral efforts are particularly evident in regard to the DSS threat. The Korea Forest Service, for instance, has launched small-scale forest plantation projects in China and Mongolia. In March 2012, the two countries held a bilateral meeting to reach an agreement on cooperative projects on water supply and sewerage and collaboration on international environmental education.

*Japan- Mongolia:*

Since 2007, Ministry of the Environment and Tourism of Mongolia has been engaging in Japan-Mongolia Environmental Policy Dialogue with the Mongolian Ministry of Natural Environment and Tourism for the purpose of exchanging information and discussing the direction of cooperation in the field of environment. During the 8th dialogue in 2013, the two countries exchanged ideas and opinions on cooperation for climate change, air pollution and eco-tourism, and agreed to promote environmental cooperation.

In sum, Northeast Asian countries have developed a variety of forms of environmental cooperation over the past decades to address the challenges facing the region, and some progress has been accomplished especially in joint monitoring and data-sharing projects, which forms the basis for understanding the challenges and developing policies to mitigate them. However, progress has generally been slow, with implementation of region-wide reduction targets and standards, for example on air pollutant emissions and water quality absent, and many of the environmental challenges such as transboundary air pollution having gotten worse.

#### 4. Conclusion

To address emerging environmental challenges, including climate change, desertification and DSS, Northeast Asian countries need to enhance their joint efforts towards full implementation of climate instruments like Kyoto protocol and Paris agreement. Environmental industry and technology are also an emerging area for purposes of cooperation. South Korea and Japan can, for example, strengthen assistance to Mongolia and China to enhance their air pollution management capacity through offering technological education or investment in environmental facilities. As the former are significantly affected by China's air pollution, it is a win-win measure for all sides.

Northeast Asian countries can expand environmental cooperation in enhancing dust monitoring sites in dry regions in Mongolia and combating wind erosion and desertification, by collaborating on afforestation on sand dunes and construction of wind-break shelter forest with better irrigation, which are the major strategy to tackle dust emission. Encouraging conservation of ecosystem in the Gobi Desert is also important.

Expanding participation of countries in some cooperation mechanisms are important. There is a need to improve the coordination of multilateral cooperation particularly, NEASPEC and TEMM, and to include Mongolia and Russia in TEMM for better environmental cooperation and introduction of binding regimes.

## ROLE OF PUBLIC STRUCTURES IN STRENGTHENING COOPERATION IN NORTHEAST ASIA

**Dr. Elena BOYKOVA**

*Senior Researcher, Institute for Oriental Studies,  
Russian Academy of Sciences, The Russian Federation*



International relations are a specific type of social relations. Interstate relations play a dominant role in international relations. However, in contemporary world, interstate relations are constantly expanding their participants, subjects of international relations, when along with the state, intergovernmental and non-governmental organizations, political parties and movements, as well as social groups and individuals, play an increasingly active role in them. Thus, the system of international political relations, along with the state, includes interstate associations, unions and organizations that ensure security of peoples.

In modern international relations, Northeast Asia occupies a special place. This region is extremely important in terms of ensuring geostrategic stability on our planet. International relations in Northeast Asia, as well as all over the world, are the space where various forces - state, military, economic, political, social and intellectual, collide and interact.

In contemporary world, international authority of a country is determined not only by the results of the activity of its political leaders and state structures, but also by actions of civil society institutions aimed at forming a positive perception of the foreign policy pursued by the state.

Civil society participated in social relations (economic, social, cultural, moral, spiritual, religious, etc.) arising when citizens realize their rights and freedoms. These rights and freedoms are outside state and personal relations, but within the framework of national legislation.

Representatives of civil society are united in various non-governmental organizations. Lately, various associations of civil society have become increasingly active in foreign policy positions; at the same time, new organizations and associations, the main activity of which is foreign policy, are being formed.

From this point of view, the experience of interaction among Russia, China and Mongolia, which has developed in recent years, is of particular interest.

The idea of building a new Silk Road, creating the Economic Corridor among China, Russia and Mongolia, which should connect them with European countries and consolidate cooperation with Asia and Africa, has become a unifying idea for the three countries. For each of them, firming partnership with each other in the multilateral context is important primarily from the point of view of the realization of their national interests. Not less important is the task of strengthening foreign policy positions of each of three countries and all of them together and, accordingly, expanding their belt of influence in the Eurasian space.

The economic content of tripartite cooperation should be reinforced by further development of political interaction. Priority spheres of cooperation are politics, national and regional security, cross-border inter-regional contacts, science and technology, humanitarian sphere, as well as regional and international relations.

Common tasks formulated by Russia, China and Mongolia for the implementation of the project imply clear, verified activity of each of these states. At the same time, not less important is the position of the public, its consistent support of the state policy.

Economic modernization during the implementation of the Economic Corridor project involves mainly external factors: investments, modern technologies, management, froth putting of foreign experience, etc. Russia, China and Mongolia will have to coordinate their activity to implement the project; they will not be able to withdraw into own interests only. In such a configuration of their relations, each of three states will have to take into account the opinion of civil society, which, in turn, will have to act in accordance with the rules of political democracy and the rule of law.

In order to achieve more successful implementation of the Economic Corridor project it is necessary to create a stable Russian-Chinese-Mongolian public interaction that can support the project with non-political methods. The most interesting are expert political science communities, such as the Think tank of Russia, Mongolia, and China, established in 2015 in Ulaanbaatar. Nowadays, wide and diverse dialogue and partnership among experts, as well as culture and religious figures, is necessary for the development of civil society initiatives. Primarily, non-governmental organizations of foreign policy orientation should be engaged in the implementation of civil society initiatives, while the state, for its part, will fully promote their wide participation in the activity of experts and political science forums in humanitarian cooperation.

It is important to form common information space that will help to strengthen mutual understanding. One of the tasks of such a space is to create an image of the partner, first of all, from the point of view of its reliability.

From the perspective of international experience (for example, such an organization is International Foreign Policy Association), Russia, Mongolia and China could create an association of former heads of diplomatic administrations and their deputies to use political and professional experience productively to achieve better mutual understanding between countries and people, to develop international cooperation in solving regional and global problems.

Diplomats are well aware of the international situations; they can professionally evaluate it and give necessary consultations and recommendations for state and business structures. Such a specialized association, in fact, foreign policy elite, could accomplish expert, analytical and constructive-critical functions. It should be said here that Russian-Chinese forums of the representatives of foreign policy and business circles of two countries are already being held, therefore, I speak about trilateral cooperation in this field.

As noted in the Foreign Policy Concept of the Russian Federation (2013), "soft power" is an integral part of modern international policy that is a comprehensive tool for solving foreign policy problems supported by the opportunities of civil society, by information, communicative, humanitarian and other methods and technologies alternative to classical diplomacy.

Taking into account the growing role of such a form of foreign policy strategy as "soft power", it is important to try to form a public toolkit aimed at perceiving the tripartite project, as well as other initiatives of the three countries, both in the region and in the world. Here one can even talk about a trilateral "soft power", which is usually interpreted as a means of influencing a country through language and culture to world politics and business. Each of three countries - both Russia, and China, and Mongolia - individually successfully use soft force of influence. Now, probably, it would be worthwhile to think about the development of a three-sided form

of influence. The main task is to find the best possible combination of national and common interests in tripartite cooperation, taking into account both international experience and national specifics and relying on the mechanisms of interaction between the state and civil society.

According to the Minister of Foreign Affairs of Russia, S.V. Lavrov, non-governmental organizations and civil societies of different countries can make a significant contribution to ensuring inter-civilizational, intercultural and inter-religious harmony, promotion of projects aimed at unification of countries and peoples. As we can see, Russian power structures consider the involvement of civil society institutions in foreign policy process as an important task; they realize the importance of participation of civil societies in international integration processes. More and more attention is paid to promoting civil initiatives on the international arena through people's diplomacy. At the same time, systematic, not situational, use of the resources of people's diplomacy is important.

The tripartite cooperation of Russia, China and Mongolia at regional, national and local levels is one of the features of contemporary development in Northeast Asia. The further development of this cooperation dictates the need for a three way and wider - a multiple operational regulatory structure of integration.

## MODERATOR'S SUMMARY OF SUB SESSION II

*Lt.Col. BAASANSUREN Demberehnyam*



In the sub session, we had diverse representative from countries and international organizations including Mongolia, Russia, China, Japan, Germany, Sweden, ICRC, and UNDP. Discussions and presentations reflected the importance of fostering bilateral and multilateral cooperation in the Northeast Asian region to cope with climate change and environmental emergencies. Humanitarian assistance mechanism is one of the crucial preparedness in the region for post emergency recovery and rehabilitation.

- Common challenges encountering the sub region is the impact of rapid urbanization and industrialization on the ecosystem (by Lu Yonglong)
- Research and development is the key in responding environmental challenges. NE Asian countries can optimize its engagement in the regional and international science and technology cooperation mechanisms.
- Social justice, equity and good governance
- In the region, security cooperation requires

There is no security mechanism in the Northeast Asian region. Humanitarian coordination mechanisms in the region is also very loose. Emergency response plans are often confidential in the countries which undermines the effort of rapid response in time of civil and military emergencies.

We need to strengthen cooperative mechanism in the region through dialogue and consultation with the aim to build confidence and trust. If necessary, in order to be well prepared for the times of emergency, the countries could start thinking about forming closed forums where the parties feel comfortable to share the confidential data and information such as how countries are planned to respond to the emergency.

Within the red cross movement, there is a platform of East Asian RC societies convening every year. We need to encourage this dialogue.

Positive developments which happened in April and in June 12th, has paved the way to address the long standing humanitarian issues in the sub region particularly in the Korean peninsula. There is a need to stepping up humanitarian assistance for DPRK for confidence and trust building

- Given the trans-boundary nature of emergency response, all the countries share common responsibility in the disaster mitigation, response and recovery. Mongolia supported the post disaster recovery in Sendai, and California.
- Mongolia has cooperation agreements with four countries of the sub region in disaster management including the DPRK which we signed in February of this year.
- Mongolia is reaffirming its proposal to establish Northeast Asian disaster risk platform.
- Closer cultural and social cooperation in the Northeast Asian countries can contribute to



build confidence.

- We saw that the ROK and DPRK relations are warmed up since the 2018 winter olympic games. It is confirming that cultural, sport, academic links and exchanges are important for broader regional cooperation.
- Environmental challenges in Mongolia, recognizing the importance of environmental security as one of the key dimension of sustainable development, we need to optimize tthe existing regional mechanisms of climate change and environmental.
- Former diplomatic officials associations between the countries in the region
- NGOs and civil societies are very valuable resources can be very important mechanisms.

*Thanks to everyone, organizers and others.*

## CLOSING REMARKS

**MR. DAVAASUREN DAMDINSUREN**

*State Secretary, The Ministry of Foreign Affairs of Mongolia*



*Madame Chair,  
Distinguished participants,  
Ladies and Gentlemen,*

Over the last two days we have had an active dialogue and intensive brainstorming sessions on the changing peace and security environment of Northeast Asia following the recent milestone events.

Based on the discussions I would like to highlight the following points:

**First**, on the recent summits and related events. It is true that we voiced varying opinions on the results of the recent Summits, namely the Inter-Korean summits, DPRK-China summit meetings and the US- DPRK summit and articulated different predictions and scenarios on further development of peace and security issues on and around the Korean Peninsula.

Some of us were optimistic, some – less optimistic or «cautiously optimistic». But, it is natural as we are gathering right after the Singapore Summit. Despite the plurality in opinions, we had a general consensus on the facts that the Summits were historical milestones in themselves, a turnaround in the global security dialogues and negotiations.

Now the implementation of the agreed measures is of critical importance. Suggestions were made to complement the bilateral follow-up between DPRK-ROK, and DPRK-US agreements with regional and/or multilateral efforts.

**Second**, on the idea of cooperative security mechanism and prospects for NEA security environment towards 2025. A wide array of topics and opinions not only on regional opportunities and threats but also on bilateral, multilateral and global scenarios, applications, mechanisms and strategies were discussed.

An interesting idea was also raised at this session that the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue could take up on the Helsinki process building regional multilateral collective security mechanism. The issue of addressing security concerns in Northeast Asia has been long on our agenda and we have proposed a number of initiatives in the past, including the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue. Of course there are other forums in Northeast Asia that could evolve as a cooperative security mechanism in the region. In this regard, features of an effective and solid security mechanism presumably will be the topic of our future deliberations. Complementarity between the various processes like UBD, NAPCI, CICA and Zermatt settings was highlighted.

**Third**, I would like to underscore the importance of trust, mutual understanding and confidence-building. Presentations made at the yesterday's plenary sessions emphasized that the main essence for building a robust and lasting peace in Northeast Asia is trust and confidence-building. Effective bilateral inter-action based on mutual understanding could lead to strengthening multilateralism in our region and beyond.

The importance of economic integration and cooperation throughout the region was also highlighted. I consider this as an integral part of a more fortified and active global role the NEA region could play in future. Energy and environmental cooperation, networking in disaster risk reduction and humanitarian assistance in NEA were also the subject of our morning discussions.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

This year the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue conference was held for the second time at the level of Track 1.5 gathering both academicians and government representatives. The round table meeting at Track I level proved the importance of engaging and exchanging relevant viewpoints to better understand each other's position on current security environment and prospects for future action.

It is my pleasure to note that the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue, enjoying broad support among the countries in and out of the region, is developing into a habit of dialogue, into a platform for candid exchange of views and quest for possible ways forward.

Ideas and proposals were made to develop vision and roadmap for future settings of the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue. We truly appreciate your thought-provoking ideas and valuable insights to this end, including striving toward being a New Helsinki and developing cooperation with similar regional dialogues and mechanisms.

Moreover, we need to reflect on future topics, format of the discussions, follow-up activities, possible events in-between the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue conferences. Here, I would like to mention Dr. Tamai's idea of developing the Ulaanbaatar Dialogue's framework and scope into a much broader one. As a country enjoying friendly relations with all Northeast Asian states Mongolia is a natural venue to actually realize this vision. It is an intriguing thought to further elaborate. On the other hand, conducting substantive discussions focused on hard core issues among small audience is also an appealing idea to yield concrete recommendations from our deliberations. We will seriously consider all these proposals in preparations of the next UBD.

*Ladies and Gentlemen,*

In conclusion, I would like to express our sincere gratitude to the Institute for Strategic Studies of Mongolia for co-organizing this conference, to the United Nations Department of Political Affairs, Friedrich Ebert Foundation for their kind cooperation and support, and our high appreciation to eminent scholars and government representatives for their active participation in the fifth Ulaanbaatar Dialogue conference.

*Thank you for your kind attention.*

## CLOSING REMARKS

**DR. ENKHBAIGALI BYAMBASUREN**

*Director, the Institute for Strategic Studies, Mongolia*



*Distinguished guests,  
Ladies and gentlemen,*

I would like to thank you all for your valuable opinions and ideas in contribution to Ulaanbaatar Dialogue. We believe that this event will be a historical print stamp in the Northeast Asian future.

Every country has different perspectives, opinions and ideas depending on their own interest and faces different challenges and threats. It has been well proved from this dialogue that talking openly and listening each others concerns and challenges will enhance and will deepen our understanding of essence of problems and opportunities to collaborate. We believe that discussing region's future security and possible cooperation among countries will widen regional vision.

Northeast Asian region is a very promising region, will be one of the most dynamic regions in future. For future regional security, multilateral mechanisms and multilateral talks will play a vital role. Mongolia will continue its endeavor to contribute regional peace and security through understanding, hence we will organize VI Ulaanbaatar Dialogue next year, in 2019.

This year in V Ulaanbaatar Dialogue, scope of dialogue has been broadened widely, we have raised many issues in many different fields starting from security issues, humanitarian issues, cultural exchanges and other issues. There are plenty of opportunities and unused potentials we can collaborate together, so many areas that need cooperative efforts, furthermore coordination and better understanding between countries. As mentioned during the Dialogue, Helsinki process might have utmost importance in order to make Ulaanbaatar dialogue more solid mechanism, or more solid institutionalized initiative.

We would like to thank again for experts who presented here, for their valuable contribution to Ulaanbaatar Dialogue, through their spectacular perspectives, fresh ideas and well prepared speeches. It was amazing to observe and feel cooperative, warm and friendly atmosphere that we created together. We hope that this peaceful atmosphere will hegemony whole region of North East Asia, and definitely we will remember that it has begun with Ulaanbaatar Dialogue.

We will appreciate your feedbacks and ideas about next Ulaanbaatar dialogue in 2019.

*Thank you*