21st Century Pacific Island Security Workshop

Conference Report

May 7 - 8, 2014

BANYAN ANALYTICS
An ANSER Institute

Informing Decisions that Shape the Nation's Role in the Asia-Pacific

Banyan Analytics is an institute focused on the Asia-Pacific region. The institute uses analysis to inform decisions that shape the Nation's role in the Asia-Pacific, aiding the U.S. government with the implementation of programs and initiatives involved in regional engagement efforts. The institute is a valuable partner to government offices and other organizations that operate in the Asia-Pacific, leveraging over five decades of ANSER experience supporting the U.S. government with objective research and analysis in addressing challenges that are inherent in coordinating and executing complex initiatives.

The research described in this report was produced by Banyan Analytics, and results from the investment of Analytic Services Inc. in research related to Informing Decisions that Shape the Nation's Future.

Cover photo source: iStockphoto

Contents

Acknowledgements

Banyan Analytics would like to thank the numerous stakeholders who shared their knowledge, experience and insights. Without their participation and support, this case study would not have been possible. We would also like to acknowledge Pacific Forum CSIS, which partnered with us to host a successful event.

I. Background

The U.S. Government engages the Pacific Island states via many channels and fora dating from the aftermath of World War II and the mandates of the United Nations Trusteeship Council. This relationship represents a special trust and legacy of support. In August 2012, Hillary Rodham Clinton was the first U.S. Secretary of State to attend a Pacific Island Forum[1], at the 43rd meeting, held in Rarotonga, Cook Islands. During the Post-Forum Dialogue, Secretary Clinton delivered remarks in which she underscored security as a priority for the United States in the Pacific. For instance, she noted that through the U.S. Coast Guard, the United States is working to expand existing security partnerships in the region in order to protect fishing, fight human trafficking, and ensure free navigation of the waters, among other things. In addition, the United States has been supporting the Compact of Free Association (COFA) and the Freely Associated States (FAS) with a variety of engagement tools, including military instruments and security guarantees to the COFA states in the event of a crisis.

However, other Pacific Island states are increasingly beset with numerous and evolving security challenges. Some of these challenges are common to states in the Pacific and generally fit into the category of "nontraditional security concerns," while others are of the "hard power" variety. The myriad of challenges facing these island nations is not easily surmounted or resourced without sustained assistance. The biggest of these challenges includes the disappearance of fishing grounds; smuggling and illegal commerce within the exclusive economic zones (EEZs) and territorial waters; rising sea levels and other climate-related problems; lack of food security; dwindling fresh water supplies; health (especially among the next generation); susceptibility to natural and man-made disasters; piracy; lack of effective maritime domain awareness; and finally, the potential to be caught in the middle of United States–China strategic competition in Asia. Indeed, as the U.S. Department of Defense looks at crafting a new widely distributed, politically sustainable, operationally resilient force presence in the region, access to the facilities of these island nations—for the purpose of engagement and training in a contingency response—will become critical. This has only served to reinforce the belief among governments in the region that the U.S. rebalance to the Asia-

[1] The Pacific Island Forum is made up of 16 nations, with Fiji serving as the standing Secretariat.

Pacific would bring them renewed attention, deeper engagement, advanced development, and more protection. However some have started to express concerns that they may be forgotten as the U.S. Presidential Administration rolls out the full extent of its rebalance policy.

Pacific Island security has been neglected by the United States, and an objective exploration of these issues was long overdue. To that end, Banyan Analytics and Pacific Forum CSIS co-hosted a two-day workshop in Honolulu, Hawaii, 7-8 May, 2014. Discussions were conducted under the Chatham House Rule, which allowed for an exchange of views on a not-for-attribution basis. The summary that follows distills key participant contributions and provides recommendations for the U.S. Government regarding its policy towards the Pacific Islands.

II. Key Findings

Experts, government officials, military officers, and academics gathered to discuss the reality of what the United States and other actors are doing in the Pacific. The workshop's purpose was to identify emerging and enduring challenges faced by Pacific Island states and to present recommendations for addressing these challenges in the long term. Indeed, high-level officials often say that the United States is a Pacific nation by virtue of its territory, but workshop participants noted the tendency among policy-makers is to pursue other more topical, more urgent problems (for example, Vietnam, the Philippines, Japan, and China) and to look at greater Oceania as a flyover territory, both intellectually and logistically. To provide a more comprehensive picture of this landscape, participants discussed the myriad of Pacific Island security challenges facing Island states in the 21st century and the significance of the region not only for the United States but for other actors in the region.

U.S. Perspective Findings

The COFAs are strategically significant for the United States, and they benefit the FAS by permitting unrestricted migration to the United States and by providing access to the trust fund and other domestic funding streams.

Economically and militarily, the United States has been, and will remain, a Pacific power. Historically, the United States has had a close relationship with the Asia-Pacific region, including the FAS, Guam, and the Commonwealth of the Northern Mariana Islands (CNMI). This history of U.S. administration of the Pacific Islands is a mixed story, with military security taking center stage. Traditionally, the United States has provided minimal assistance to the South Pacific, but it has also contributed federal funds to the Northern Pacific territories. Further, to guarantee the military utilization of some Pacific Islands, most of the area became part of the three COFAs between the United States and the FAS (Palau, the Republic of the Marshall Islands [RMI], and the Federated States of Micronesia [FSM]).

The objectives of the COFA are political independence (that is, it codifies the political status of the FAS as independent nations in close association with the United States); self-sufficiency (that is, advance economic development and self-sufficiency via direct U.S. funding and trust fund contributions); and security (that is, formal U.S. provision of security for the FAS). The original compacts (1986) were amended in 2003 to increase self-sufficiency and budgetary self-reliance. While the sector grants under the COFAs are scheduled to end in 2023, trust funds were set up to serve as an alternative source of revenue. To account for the 2023 sunset, current efforts focus on FSM and RMI development, implementation of long-term plans, and economic policy reforms. Additionally, to bolster trust fund viability, trust fund committees are seeking additional donors. Given this shared history and special relationship, the peoples of the North Pacific appear to remain positive towards the United States and are grateful for the financial assistance and close ties.

Permitting free migration of FAS citizens to the United States has contributed to the unintended depopulation of COFA states, and the exodus has allowed the FAS governments to ignore substantial social problems. This phenomenon of outmigration has also created challenges for other Northern Pacific Islands such as Guam and Hawaii that are responsible for managing and paying for the influx of migrants from the FAS. The $30 million in Impact Aid provided annually by the Compact to Hawaii, Guam, and CNMI is woefully inadequate to pay for the costs (for example, medical, educational, and social programs) associated with absorbing Micronesian immigrants. Increased immigration has strained social programs, forced island citizens to reexamine their health and education policies, and complicated the political and social relationships between Pacific Island societies and between their governments.

The United States needs to better engage Pacific Island nations beyond FAS and U.S. territories, as they play an important role in the world's economy.

Despite the special relationship the United States shares with Islands in the North Pacific, many have felt that other Pacific Island states (that is, non-FAS and U.S. territories) have, at times, been "strategically neglected" by the United States. This has led to a view that the United States considers the Pacific Island states less as equal partners and more as an available pathway and support network on the way to more troubled maritime regions in the Asia-Pacific. Participants agreed that on many occasions the island nations have not been considered actors with individual concerns, ambitions, or serious security challenges of their own. This viewpoint was prevalent in the 19th century and most of the 20th century, but there are signs that these small island states may become more active and attractive partners in the 21st century.

The drawdown of U.S. forces in the wars in Afghanistan and Iraq has enabled the United States to commit more political bandwidth and resources to support its foreign policy agenda in the Asia-Pacific. Their importance to America's future economic growth is underscored by the fact that the region hosts six of the ten fastest-growing export markets for the United States. Ensuring freedom of navigation is critical in a maritime domain where ships transport over 50% of the world's cargo containers and 70% of the world's fuel for energy. The Pacific Islands could play an enhanced strategic role in supporting foreign policy priorities in the Asia-Pacific, but more attention and investment are needed.

Despite an active interagency in the Asia-Pacific region, the U.S. Government still lacks a formal strategy and therefore lacks the visible means to coherently and efficiently implement this rebalance.

Participants feel that the United States urgently needs a new or modified paradigm for how it views its security relationship with the Pacific region. This paradigm should include an investment strategy directed at improving economies of the states in the region and increased participation of the U.S. interagency. It should also seriously consider the concerns of the Pacific Island states via a process of regular consultation and include them in the conversation. This new paradigm hinges on the U.S. Government and the Pacific Island states and territories' commitment to meet regularly and to participate more avidly in fora and organizations in the Pacific. Opportunities for the United States in the insular areas include promoting a whole-of-government and whole-of-society approach; engaging regional and international entities; pursuing public-private partnerships; and leveraging U.S. Pacific Command's (USPACOM's) Joint Interagency Coordination Group. Emphasis should also be placed on promoting insular area resilience via capacity building, economic development, critical infrastructure, energy security, food security, disaster preparedness, response, recovery, mitigation, natural resource management, and climate change.

To be effective, the rebalance strategy must have the support of Congress, which has been slow to align its focus with the administration's intention to take a closer look at the Asia-Pacific region.

Pursuing this line of effort, the U.S. House Armed Services Committee established a bipartisan panel to review the rebalance strategy in the region. This panel (the Asia-Pacific oversight series) aimed to develop a better understanding of the shifting security dynamics occurring in the region by focusing on the geostrategic impact of Chinese military modernization on U.S. allies and trade partners throughout the region. Upon completion of this series, a bill was drafted with the intent of ensuring the United States' continued relevance in the Asia-Pacific (that is, emphasizing sustainment of a favorable military balance, enhancing assessments in security trends, and emphasizing stability and peaceful cooperation in the region). Despite these changes, Congress's efforts to support the rebalance strategy largely ignore the security issues that Pacific Island nations are facing and the role such nations will play in creating greater security stability in the future.

Conveying the importance of Pacific Island priorities to their congressional counterparts in Washington, DC, is an ongoing challenge for Pacific Island legislators. The COFAs are a prime example of the challenges facing the congressional delegation from Hawaii and the Pacific territories as their continental counterparts often do not understand the importance COFAs have for the FAS and national security. Of the 435 members of the U.S. House of Representatives, only a small fraction represents constituencies that are directly impacted by the negative externalities created by the COFA provisions (that is, Compact Impact Aid money falls short of the hundreds of million dollars spent each year in support of COFA beneficiaries, a deficit that has to be absorbed by affected states and territories). Legislation was introduced to address these shortcomings and provide local governments with adequate funding to support COFA migrants through reimbursement. However, budget cuts and spending caps mandated by sequestration have led to a virtual "cash grab" by federal legislators and have fostered resistance to legislation that cannot show a direct benefit to the districts and states they represent. This illustrates the unwillingness of many legislators in Washington, DC, to understand the complex issues in the Pacific Islands and explains the resistance to attempts to revamp the COFAs post-2023.

Federal policies are not always inclusive of the territories or their unique circumstances (for example, geography, population, demographics), and territories have limited representation in the U.S. Congress (that is, in the form of a nonvoting delegates).

The mission of the Department of the Interior's Office of Insular Affairs is to coordinate the U.S. Government's relationship with its U.S. territories (that is, the U.S. Virgin Islands, Guam, American Samoa, and CNMI) and administer financial assistance to the FAS (that is, FMS, RMI, and the Republic of Palau). It's overall goals are to improve quality of life, enhance economic opportunity, and promote efficient and effective governance.

USPACOM views Guam, CNMI, and Palau as safe operating environments strategically located west of Hawaii and closer to the Asia-Pacific theater.

USPACOM's area of responsibility covers 52% of the Earth's surface, 36 countries, 16 time zones, more than half of the world's population, hundreds of languages, three of the world's largest economies, six of the world's largest armed forces, and five of the seven U.S. mutual defense treaties. The massive scope necessitates USPACOM's strategy of rotational forward presence, but many challenges come with such a vast area of responsibility. USPACOM is the only combatant command that borders all the other combatant commands and therefore must coordinate with them regularly. For example, USPACOM and U.S. Central Command work together on counterterrorism activities in places such as Pakistan. The threats emanating from the Asia-Pacific are some of the most varied and complex, including terrorism, weapons of mass destruction, transnational crime, fisheries, humanitarian assistance and disaster relief, cybersecurity, excessive Chinese maritime territorial claims, and non-transparent and rapid military buildup. Security cooperation programs are also an important part of USPACOM strategy in the Pacific Island region and support the goal of delivering and improving existing capabilities. USPACOM accomplishes these objectives through building strong relationships, assuring presence for allies and friends, and effectively communicating its intent and resolve.

Pacific Islands Perspective Findings

The Pacific Islands should develop models and policies that sustain more autonomous and secure societies and address their unique security concerns.

Pacific Island security concerns center on the economy and the environment and less on military power. The 2023 sunset of the COFA funding will challenge the ability of the northern Pacific Island states in particular to govern and prioritize available resources. Overall, the Pacific Island states face complex and evolving challenges, including illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing; weak maritime domain awareness; weak law enforcement capacity; out-migrations; natural disasters; human trafficking and transnational crime; donor dependency; energy dependency; and climate change. Although all these challenges are significant for the islands, there is a strong consensus that climate change and global warming present the most existential threat. The impacts of global warming are being experienced in all parts of the Pacific as coral bleaching increases, rainfall patterns become more erratic, sea levels rise, and natural disasters occur with greater frequency and intensity. All of this threatens the future of Pacific Island societies that depend on tourism, fishing stocks, and fresh water supplies. If the challenges posed by climate change are not addressed, low-lying islands will soon become uninhabitable and the prospect of climate refugees in the Pacific Islands will become a real possibility.

At the same time, economic survival remains an existential concern for Pacific Island states today. Leaders in the region are concerned about retaining their national status in an uncertain future,

which means figuring out how their countries can support themselves in a global economy when their natural resources are very few and donors are tired of writing checks. All of the economies in the region except Fiji rely on financing from donor countries, and it is difficult for Pacific Island leaders to fund their government operations (for example, education, health services, public safety, and infrastructure building and maintenance) without assistance. Therefore, the priorities of the Pacific Island countries are driven by this vital need to secure aid to supplement the revenues the countries are so hard pressed to raise on their own. Meanwhile, pressures are constantly on the rise as the international community pushes its own priorities (for example, Millennium Development Goals) that elevate standards but also elevate the expenses for the island nations.

The United States must consider policies to guide the provision of future aid to Pacific Island states.

Guaranteeing future funding for the Pacific Island states and moving towards a resolution of the ongoing political question for U.S. territories will ensure the goodwill of the island populations by easing economic concerns, while helping to ensure that the islands remain a safe strategic pathway across the Pacific for the United States. The promise of such funding is not without its downsides, as it can contribute to the redirection of priorities within these nations, just as foreign aid does everywhere. To prevent this shift from happening, the United States should harmonize its economic assistance policy in the Pacific as it phases out the Compact funding and do so in a way that puts the United States in a position of influence in the Islands where it can adequately provide for them.

Donor Nation Perspective Findings

As a leading donor and military and economic power in the Pacific, Australia is a powerful player in the security of the region.

As a donor nation, Australia is the most active in the Southwest Pacific, where its interests are dominant. Over the last three decades, Australia has exerted its influence in the Pacific and Melanesia using trade, tourism, defense assets, direct aid, and sports, as well as by leveraging its geography. Australia's policy priorities in the region are administered by public servants using diplomacy, official development assistance, defense cooperation, and police cooperation. More recently the Australian treasury and the attorney general's office have placed staff in Pacific Island country government agencies. The Australian 2013 national security strategy defined Australia's principal and enduring interests in the Pacific Islands region as security, stability, and economic prosperity. It further identified issues related to the economy, gender, social security, and governance as factors hampering sustainable development and having the potential to undermine the stability of the region. Australia has identified potential flashpoints that could risk the future stability of the region and demand an Australian response, and these include further breakdown in law and order in the Solomon Islands, internal conflict in the Southern Highlands of Papua New Guinea, civil unrest in Fiji, a potential return of anti-Chinese riots, and the social impacts of climate change. Australia's dominance in the region is supported by its status as a leading trading partner, primary aid donor, prominent investor, and large source of inbound tourism. In fiscal year 2013-2014 alone, Australia appropriated more than $7.5 billion to the Pacific Island states, the vast majority of which is being spent in Melanesia.

Australia is a superpower in the South Pacific, effectively ensuring regional security. While the United States retains primacy, it often looks to Australia to provide security for the region. For

instance, Australia spends $53 million every year on defense cooperation with Papua New Guinea and other Pacific Island states, and another $130 million on what is called "securing our neighborhood" through various exercises and other activities. The Australian peacekeeping operations in Bougainville, the regional assistance mission to the Solomon Islands, and the response to riots in Tonga in 2006 demonstrate the dominant security role and commitment of Australia towards its neighborhood. At a cost of $2.6 billion over ten years, its regional assistance to the Solomon Islands is the most striking example of Australian influence in the Pacific.

In the 21st Century, Australia still has a clear interest in remaining the dominant military power in the region—at least in the Southwest Pacific. Most Pacific Island states—with the possible exception of Fiji—are not seeking to change the status quo. In fact they continue to rely on Australia for their security needs, especially with responding to natural disasters. In the realm of nontraditional threats, Australia has been the driving force behind establishing a regional response to smuggling and other forms of transnational crime. Future challenges to Australia's influence in the region are expected to include changing labor migration laws that will allow more people from Melanesia to move to Australia to work.

Given its supporting role, New Zealand faces many near- and long-term challenges due to the economic and environmental issues in the South Pacific.

Cultural links between New Zealand and the rest of Polynesia are very strong, and a high priority is placed on these cultural bonds. The 2013 census showed that 7.4% of New Zealand's population is of Polynesian or Pacific Islands origin. The development of policy priorities takes into account the social and cultural relationships that form as a result of the large Polynesian population in the country. The New Zealand Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade identifies six priorities that incorporate its Polynesian heritage as it engages with the Pacific region: trade; environment (for example, oceans and climate change); regional security (for example, transnational crime) and internal stability; fisheries; health and social issues; and disaster relief. New Zealand addresses these priorities by integrating its foreign policy and delivery of foreign aid.

The fragile economic and environmental outlook facing the South Pacific over the near to long-term creates a complex operating environment for countries such as New Zealand and its defense force. The New Zealand military enjoys the consent and support of the Pacific Island states, and this helps to ensure the effectiveness of New Zealand's efforts to maintain safety and security in the region. Current efforts by the New Zealand Defense Force include surveillance flights into the region for maritime and fisheries monitoring; search and rescue in Polynesia; support for the Australian-based Pacific Patrol Boat Program; and contribution of troops to the region when invited. Recently, New Zealand appointed a roving ambassador for Pacific Island development with a portfolio strongly focused on fisheries. Underlying these efforts is a belief that development is a positive method for stabilizing governments and reducing the risk of regional instability.

New Zealand no longer seeks a leadership role in the region but wants to retain a low-level, supporting role. It seeks to promote sustainable economic activities that reduce poverty, because it wants to be seen as a good regional citizen and reduce risk to the island states themselves. In this context, New Zealand's strategic plan for 2012-2015 follows the motto "we are small, therefore we have to focus" and emphasizes areas for partnership and local ownership in the following areas: investing in economic development, promoting human development, improving resilience and response to disaster, and building safe and secure communities.

The Pacific Islands continue to be strategically significant to Japan because they allow access to fishing grounds in their EEZs while providing secure travel and trade routes.

Japan holds historic ties to the Pacific Island region, and relations remain strong to this day. For instance,

Japan established the Pacific Island Leader Meeting in 1997 to promote dialogue among the leaders of the region and to acknowledge the importance of Japan's relationship with the Pacific Islands. Pacific leaders from sixteen countries, including the Pacific Islands, New Zealand, Australia, and the United States, meet in Japan every three years. The most recent meeting, held in May 2012 in Okinawa, identified five "pillars for cooperation": response capabilities to natural disasters; environment and climate change; sustainable development and human security; personnel exchange; and maritime issues, including maritime security.

Japan supports many of the objectives identified at the Okinawa meeting by providing official development assistance to promote self-help and human security through education, capacity building, and sustainable development and infrastructure. In 2011, Japan provided $170 million in economic assistance to Pacific Island states. This stance is supported by Japan's National Security Strategy (December 2013) in which "strategic and effective official development aid" is identified as a critical instrument of state power. Other principles laid forth in the National Security Strategy underscore Japan's interests in promoting maritime security, supporting the development of coast guard capacity in the region, and reinforcing the disaster response capabilities of the Pacific Island states. To this end, Japan will pursue cooperative opportunities with Australia and New Zealand in peacekeeping.

China continues to expand its influence in the Pacific, building on a favorable image garnered with many Pacific Island nations.

China is expanding its presence in the Pacific, but it is difficult to discern what it seeks to gain from the Pacific Islands. Participants felt China's increased visibility in the islands cannot be easily explained by traditional factors such as military activity, aid, and culture. China appears to have limited military objectives in the region; it lacks a coherent aid strategy despite being one of the largest donors to the region; and its cultural impact appears smaller than that of Western nations. Alternative explanations for China's interest in the Pacific Islands are diplomatic competition with Taiwan; desire for natural resources and access to fishing grounds; protection of Chinese citizens; and fostering goodwill to gain support in regional, multilateral fora.

China has capitalized on the years of recent neglect by the United States and has come to be viewed more favorably in the Pacific Islands. In the past decade, China's trade with Pacific Island states has increased sevenfold, and although China provides a smaller amount of aid than some Western donor countries, its aid is more flexible, and it offers low-interest loans with relatively few strings attached. This flexibility is very attractive to the Pacific Islands when compared to packages offered by other countries that are often conditional on government reform. China's approach appears to be prioritizing goodwill over good governance, but its relationships with Pacific Island states have improved nonetheless.

The accessibility and flexibility of Chinese aid provide an attractive alternative to American aid, which has a tendency to promote a system of dependency, but it is not without its downsides. Chinese aid projects are executed using Chinese labor and specifications without any local input. This fails to bolster the local economy and does not expand the skill base of local workers who are responsible for upkeep and maintenance. The quality of Chinese construction projects in the islands has improved in recent years, but the projects have a reputation for being structurally unsound and marred by corruption. It is difficult to measure the effectiveness of Chinese and American development assistance to the islands, but some believe that the system is flawed and that it is the Islands that are caught in the middle of major powers.

China's foreign policy is expanding farther eastward, and the Pacific Islands are becoming more important for the realization of China's priorities. China seeks a friendly operational environment and ports in the Pacific Islands as it expands its territorial claims in the maritime domain. China's cultural impact in the islands may be small currently, but it seeks to develop a responsible "great power" image and promote

understanding of its culture and values using aid and personnel exchanges, and through these efforts, China hopes to build trust and reinforce bonds with Pacific Island nations.

Donor nations must avoid competition and instead promote cooperation in the Pacific Islands.

Current events in Northeast Asia and the South China Sea reflect a heightened level of competition over territorial resources and sovereign interests in the Asia-Pacific. Competition is not the best driver for shaping donors' policies and strategies because it pulls donors' focus away from the need of individual nations. The private sector is adept at mixing competition and cooperation, and the delivery of development assistance to the Pacific Islands can be strengthened through public-private joint business ventures. This situation is particularly true in the communication, energy, and environmental sectors, where advances in technologies have created opportunities for private-sector involvement in joint business ventures in the islands. An example of successful public-private partnerships is the Millennium Challenge Corporation, which is an independent innovation of the U.S. Agency for International Development created by Congress in January 2004. It focuses on good policies, country ownership, and results. Since its inception, it has approved more than $8.4 billion worldwide to support programs in agriculture, irrigation, transportation, water supply and sanitation, access to health, finance and enterprise development, anti-corruption initiatives, land rights and access, and access to education.

While a healthy level of competition among donor nations can be good for Pacific Island states, the African proverb "when elephants fight, it is the grass that suffers" is fitting to describe how the islands can be negatively affected when donor nations compete to provide aid. This adage speaks to a need for deeper aid coordination among international donors. Pacific Island states applying for aid are often burdened by large amounts of paperwork and incompatible systems used by competing donors. Unlike the U.S. process, China's process is simple and straightforward and does not require special training. Chinese aid is preferred by many Pacific Island states for its ease of use, and islanders would like Western donors to simplify their processes. Aid coordination is likely to remain challenged by competing international interests, but there other potential areas for international cooperation in the Pacific Islands: humanitarian assistance and disaster relief; counter-piracy; illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing; and infrastructure projects.

Against the backdrop of international competition in the islands, Pacific states have increasingly demonstrated a strong commitment to Pacific regionalism and a growing sense of shared identity that stems from greater independence and sovereignty.

The rapid growth in the number of regional and multilateral[2] organizations that coordinate interests and promote sustainable development has been positive, but there are concerns that servicing all these organizations will lead to increased fragmentation, overlap, and transaction costs. The proliferation of regional organizations is likely to continue so as to hedge against the current security environment as well as future complex transnational threats.

Pacific Island states are coming of age and experiencing a newfound assertiveness on the international stage. Evidence of this can be found in the emergence of the Melanesian Spearhead Group, the creation of the Pacific Islands Development Forum, Fiji's constitutional challenges to Australia and New Zealand, and the RMI's legal actions against the United States and the other eight nuclear powers. The islands are speaking more loudly using their own voices, and as a result they are starting to attract attention rather than having to ask for it. As a consequence, the rest of the world is starting to recognize, understand, and appreciate the significance of the Pacific Islands, and the United

[2] Pacific Island Forum, the Pacific Island Development Forum, the Melanesian Spearhead Group, the Secretariat of the Pacific, and the South Pacific Regional Environmental Program.

States will have to continue to keep pace with the evolving landscape as it rebalances its relationship with the Pacific Island states.

Nontraditional Security Challenges

The variety of the threats emerging necessitates an increased maritime domain awareness to ensure the long-term security of the Pacific Island states.

Maritime threats in the Pacific Islands are a diverse combination of natural and man-made threats. Natural disasters, climate change, and fisheries depletion are major island concerns that are complemented by other man-made threats, including armed conflict, the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction, maritime terrorism, piracy, and the illicit trafficking of drugs and people.

Pacific Island states' individual and collective capacity for maritime domain awareness is currently lacking, especially in collecting, integrating, and sharing data. The detection and interdiction of maritime crimes is nearly impossible because the islands lack the capacity to conduct real-time surveillance. Law enforcement capacity is also very weak because each nation has different laws and regulations applicable to the maritime domain and there is no coordination mechanism to facilitate the prosecution of maritime crimes. The security, development, and stability of the region depend on the islands' ability to enhance maritime domain awareness mechanisms in a timely manner.

Maritime domain awareness of the Pacific Island states can be augmented through cooperative arrangements with their neighbors, enabling them to leverage the regional capabilities provided by donor countries (for example, Australia, New Zealand, France, and the United States). A successful model is the multinational cooperation at the Strait of Malacca, which operates trilateral patrols in the straits to counter piracy, armed robbery at sea, and terrorism. Marine patrols combine with air patrols and shore radar stations to cover a wide area. The Malacca model offers a successful precedent that can be adopted for the needs of the Pacific Island states and the threats they face. The Pacific Island Forum is also a multinational cooperative mechanism in place in the Pacific Islands; it seeks to enhance maritime domain awareness, but its efforts face challenges of national sovereignty, very large EEZs, and limited domestic capabilities.

Modern assets such as automatic identification system[3] products should be leveraged by Pacific Island states and donor countries. There seems to be strong support for the technology and its applications to the commercial shipping industry as well as to freighters and fishing boats. This system requires a land-based network for collecting satellite data, interpreting it, and disseminating it to relevant law enforcement actors. Considering the vast body of water Pacific Island states cover, satellite monitoring has great potential for enhancing maritime domain awareness. Because of the costs associated with this enterprise, cooperation among Pacific Island states with the support of international actors is essential to the development of this capability.

There have been significant efforts to enhance international and regional cooperation in the management and protection of fisheries.

Food security in the Pacific Islands is threatened by high demand for fish, tuna in particular. This demand drives illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing; depletes fish stocks by using increasingly efficient technology; and upsets the balance of economic interests and subsistence in ways that threaten Pacific Island security in the 21st century.

The Pacific tuna fisheries are the most valuable on the planet. Tuna are a highly migratory species—with no territorial or political boundaries—presenting challenges for both resource management and food security in the region. Management of the tuna fisheries in the region is difficult because of the sheer size of the area, the large variety and

[3] Automatic identification system is a technology used on ships to identify and locate vessels.

magnitude of the catch, and the large number of stakeholders and interests involved. This resource is culturally, socially, and economically important to all the states operating in the region, especially to the Pacific Island states, which depend on the ocean resources for their diet, livelihood, and economic development. It is also important to note that the true economic value of tuna fisheries is not fully understood because it also includes sectors of the economy that are supported by the tuna industry, such as shipbuilding, equipment, fuel, processing, and transportation.

The survival of fisheries in the Pacific Islands is challenged by very strong competition. Over thirty countries compete for finite fish resources (principally tuna species), and among them eleven countries catch almost 90% of the tuna. This includes a diverse group of actors ranging from small islands to developing coastal states, many of which derive income from access agreements with other nations within their EEZs while building their own domestic fisheries. These potentially competing interests should be taken into account when considering which measures most effectively conserve and manage fisheries. Sub-regional fisheries organizations give regional actors an opportunity to converse on an equal footing with all of their neighbors to seek solutions to their common problems. Tuna is the most valuable resource in the Pacific Islands, and it is critical for the basic livelihood of islanders and the economic vitality of the islands writ large. The need is so great that many small island states are attempting to develop their own national tuna fleets at great expense to try to compete with large, well-financed, international fishing corporations.

Over the years, several regional institutions have formed in an attempt to manage fisheries and address competition. The Pacific Island Forum Fisheries Agency was established in 1979 as an international governmental organization to facilitate regional cooperation with respect to fisheries policies among the small Pacific Island states plus Australia and New Zealand. The Forum Fisheries Agency is an advisory body providing expertise, technical assistance, and other support to its members as they make decisions about their fishery resources and participate in regional decision making. It also administers multilateral fisheries treaties with the United States. The sub-regional Nauru Agreement of 1982 sets terms and conditions on tuna purse-seine fishing[4] licenses in the region while implementing decisions that regulate fishing in the members' EEZs. In the central South Pacific, a group of Pacific Island fisheries administrations collectively known as the Te Vaka Moana came together in 2010 to sign an arrangement to develop, manage, and protect South Pacific fisheries for the long-term benefit of their countries and people.

Pacific Island states have begun to recognize the implications of environmental security for their traditional security concerns.

There is no universally established definition of environmental security, but it generally encompasses one or more of the following: public safety from environmental dangers, natural resource availability and scarcity, maintenance of a healthy environment, and protection from environmental degradation and climate change.

Environmental security (fresh water, food, natural disasters, and diseases) has direct implications for traditional security because conflict can arise when there is insufficient access to clean water, food, medicine and health care, or shelter, and this instability threatens the capacity of weak or failing states in the Pacific Islands region to govern and protect their populations. According to the Australian government, "these factors, taken together, point to an increasing demand for humanitarian assistance, disaster relief and stabilisation operations over coming decades."[5]

Environmental challenges present an opportunity for the Pacific Islands to move beyond potential

[4] Purse seining uses a large net to encircle schools of fish while closing the bottom of the net to entrap them. Food and Agriculture Organization of the United Nations, http://www.fao.org/fishery/fishtech/40/en.

[5] Australian Government, Department of Defence. 2013. "Defence White Paper." p. 19.

fragmentation and conflict, and work together to mitigate the effects of climate change and natural disasters while managing access to resources and building resilience. This goal may be accomplished by improving education and training on environmental issues, fostering engagement with NGOs and the private sector, and strengthening region-wide cooperation on research and development national planning platforms. Regional organizations such as the Secretariat of the Pacific Community, the South Pacific Regional Environment Program, the Pacific Island Forum, and the Melanesian Spearhead Group have been very active in this area. However, "while worthy and sincere, most of these initiatives have failed to either inform Pacific Island people about the need for long-term sustainable adaptation or to develop and mainstream appropriate solutions."[6] Hence, to reach a new level of cooperation for environmental security, leaders in Pacific Island states must advocate more strongly for a global greenhouse gases mitigation agreement and focus on building institutions that manage complexity by enhancing capacity to support interagency and cross-sectoral activities. Lastly, security can be improved with knowledge creation and dissemination on environmental and science-based plans and policies.

Many Pacific Island states view their priority risk areas as food security (fish and agriculture), water security (drinking and irrigation), human security (migration and social breakdown), energy security (supply and infrastructure), ecological security (biodiversity), and territorial integrity, with climate change often viewed as more of an existential threat. However, rising sea levels have made climate change less existential, and an increased sense of urgency to address the threat has found many Islands devoting a great deal of energy, time, and money to get partners and allies around the globe to address short-lived climate pollutants. For instance, the FSM is one of only 18 countries that have enacted climate change legislation with the goal of phasing down the production of greenhouse gases.

[6] Patrick D. Nunn. 2012. Climate Change and Pacific Island Countries, United Nations Development Programme. p. 37.

Climate change will threaten food security by causing cascading damage starting with stagnating production, which will result in a greater reliance on imports that will bring in invasive pests and diseases while resulting in a shortage of veterinarians and agrarians (who are no longer needed for domestic production). Pacific Island states should raise public awareness and emphasize policies that create stronger market linkages and improve agriculture extension services while adopting subsistence farming methods that will help improve resiliency. Achieving effective prioritization and targeting of limited public and donor resources is critical, and cross-sectional and multifaceted public policy approaches must be emphasized in conjunction with the harmonization of disaster mainstreaming, the agriculture and health nexus, and pandemic preparedness plans.

Pacific Island states have difficulty mitigating risks they are naturally predisposed to, so they are emphasizing adaptation to help prepare for natural disasters.

Pacific Islands are very exposed and highly susceptibility to multiple hazards. "Pre-event" exposure of the Pacific Islands increases the region's susceptibility to the damaging effects of hazards: remoteness; weak governance; the impact of recent disasters, which are hard to recover from; and marginalization of some sections of the population.

The Pacific Islands are serving as a test bed for adaptation policies and helping to provide lessons learned to the rest of world in the process. Islanders have leveraged local knowledge to develop unique and diverse practices based on local geographies and culture to deal with localized risks and impacts. However, challenges remain: capacity to engage in adaptation varies greatly among the island jurisdictions; there are limited resources to address risks in multiple sectors and environments; and available resources are not always maximized to enable adaptation.

Lessons learned from the response to Typhoon Haiyan emphasize the importance of coordination,

communication, and logistical planning. Recommendations for improved response to future natural disasters include leveraging traditional and cultural knowledge (for example, community-based disaster cycle management) for adaptation and mitigation; targeting programs that reduce vulnerability and increase coping capacity using existing resources; and expanding warning availability.

Ultimately more emphasis should be placed on adding anticipation and assessment to disaster-cycle management programs ahead of the traditional focus on prevention, preparedness, response, and recovery. Disaster resilience must be built at each phase of the cycle. There is a need for a full-spectrum strategy that deploys a flexible variety of tactics throughout the disaster cycle to provide regional stability, encourage good governance, support human rights, restore public health protections, and strengthen community resilience. The goal in expanding the disaster cycle in the Pacific Island states is to reduce vulnerabilities and disaster-related risks and operationalize a systematic approach that improves resilience and builds capacity.

III. Recommendations

Through discussions on the status of Pacific Island security and future challenges that Pacific Island states and donor nations will face, participants in the workshop identified the following recommendations.

Congressional representatives and U.S. Federal agencies should create domestic programs to increase awareness about Pacific Island states in the United States.

The United States lacks a clear plan of action for the Pacific Island states, partly due to the states' low visibility to American citizens and their representatives in Congress. Participants agreed that the United States should recognize the Pacific Island states as individual nations with different needs and not a monolithic aggregate. To this end, the United States should consider offering full representation in Congress to Guam, the Northern Mariana Islands, and American Samoa.

The United States should demonstrate its commitment to Pacific Island states and their needs with a mutually beneficial plan of action.

New funding streams should support the needs and sustainability of the islands while limiting the stress on the U.S. budget. As the Compact funds are set to expire in 2023, the United States should consider a more traditional foreign aid process, which would be more cost-effective while still assisting the development of the islands. The United States should avoid unilateral action and focus on collaboration. To this end, it should emphasize the creation of connections between local experts and U.S. leaders to ensure that U.S. funding is distributed in a beneficial way.

The U.S. Government should create a working group to explore solutions for areas affected by rising water levels.

The Pacific Island states need support to reach economic and territorial security, as some Pacific Island states could be completely destroyed by rising water levels. The flooding of Pacific Island states will

force Pacific Islanders to seek refuge in surrounding countries, including the United States, increasing the saliency of the issue for the U.S. Government. Hence, addressing climate change issues with Pacific Island states and regional powers and allies such as Australia, Japan, China, and Taiwan is critical. Introducing legislation to create such a working group will also help demonstrate U.S. commitment in the region.

The United States should assist in improving the territorial integrity of Pacific Island states' EEZs.

Ensuring the integrity of Pacific Island states' EEZs is essential to maintaining their security in the long term, and thereby supports U.S. interests in the region. Various avenues to meet this goal exist, including assisting with capacity building in law enforcement to tackle transnational crime and internal stability. For instance, the United States could focus on strengthening regional coast guard cooperative programs to control illegal, unreported, and unregulated fishing in the region's EEZs and provide capacity-building assistance. Improving communication and coordination between Pacific Island states and nearby nations such as China, Japan, and Australia would also help. This includes encouraging more participation from Pacific Island donors such as China and Japan, as current donor meetings tend to be dominated by the United States, Australia, and European nations, and a lack of coordination allows for redundant and possibly wasteful activities.

To minimize distrust, the United States could also establish a joint Pacific Island crisis management and systematic notice mechanism to prevent and handle intrusions into Pacific Island EEZs. Other options include launching joint Pacific Island frameworks on territorial and EEZ dispute negotiations, through which the region can establish unified norms to mediate conflicts and reach innovative conflict resolution. The United States should also cooperate in the "innocent passage" issue and negotiate to reach agreements on the right of free access and key disputed provisions. In addition, the United States should work with partners to explore ways to increase Pacific Island states' cybersecurity by securing undersea Internet cables and wireless technologies that are at risk of structural damage.

Increased coordination with multilateral dialogues, such as the Pacific Island Forum, would also further U.S. interests in the region. To this end, the United States should expand on Post-Forum Dialogues with the Forum and 15 partner states, increasing track 1.5 and 2 dialogues to supplement tabletop exercises. Establishing a large-scale multidisciplinary joint program between the Pacific Islands and other nations would also enhance efforts to formulate a security framework plan.

The United States should diversify U.S. aid options to the Pacific Islands.

In view of the sunsetting of current funding arrangements, the United States should review options for providing aid and use an array of methods targeted for achieving the right results for the region. For example, aid for small businesses should increase to promote sustainable economic growth. The United States can also promote public-private partnerships by working with the private sector for long-term economic development of Pacific Island states. The Pacific Island states can move toward achieving energy security with help promoting and funding renewable and clean energy solutions (for example, solar power).

The United States could also assist in setting up social and educational programs in the Pacific Islands conducive to sustainability. To this end, expansion of medical education and training in the region could take the place of foreign residency (for example, "Pacific Basin Medical Officers Training Program"), and new outreach programs could combat growing threats such as diabetes and alcoholism. Additionally, the United States should consider setting up scholarship funds and study-abroad opportunities to bring students to Pacific Island universities and create study-abroad programs

in place of scholarships to U.S. universities for Pacific Island students.

The United States should not focus on being the largest sponsor of the Pacific Island states.

In light of China's continued donor activity, some have suggested that the United States should prioritize a role as the largest regional sponsor. Workshop participants felt that this was unnecessary, as the United States has allies that share great relationships with the Pacific Islands and that can lead development programs, such as Australia, New Zealand, and Japan. Similarly, the private sector can also facilitate the development of and aid for Pacific Island states. Moreover, the United States will and should confront Chinese military assertiveness in the South and East China Seas, reducing any need or desire for the Pacific Islands to serve as a proxy for this confrontation.

Appendix A: Agenda

21st Century Pacific Island Security Workshop

May 6 – 8, 2014, Pacific Beach Hotel, Honolulu, HI

Agenda

Q&A and discussions will follow each panel and keynote address

May 6, 2014

6:00 – 8:00 pm — **Workshop Kickoff Reception, Pacific Beach Hotel, Waikiki (*Neptune Room / 2nd floor)***

May 7, 2014

8:00 – 8:45 am — **Registration & Breakfast (*Ahi-Mahimahi Rooms / 3rd floor)***

8:45 – 9:00 am — **Introductions and Welcome**
David Hamon, Director, Banyan Analytics
Ralph Cossa, President, Pacific Forum CSIS

Purpose of Workshop
Lt. Gen. Chip Gregson, USMC (Ret), Chair, Banyan Analytics

9:15 – 10:30 am — **Morning Keynote Presentation**
"The Significance of Pacific Island Security to the United States in the 21st Century"
Robert A. Underwood, University of Guam, President

10:30 – 10:45 am — **Coffee Break**

10:45 – 12:30 pm — **Panel 1: Current U.S Government Engagement with Pacific Islands on Security within the context of the "Asia Rebalance"**
Norman H. Barth, PhD, Deputy Chief of Mission, U.S. Embassy Majuro
Kamakana Kaimuloa, Staff to Representative Colleen Hanabusa (D-Hawaii, 1st)
Kristen Oleyte, Senior Policy Advisor, Department of the Interior

This panel will address USG current engagements with Pacific Island countries within the context of the "rebalance" to Asia framework. The current USG programming in the Pacific Island region illustrate a significant political will and interest in a sustained engagement with pacific partners. For instance, in her remarks during the Post Forum dialogue in 2012, Secretary Clinton noted that the United States is working to expand existing security partnerships in the region in order to, among other things, protect fishing, fight human trafficking, and ensure free navigation of the waters. Secretary Clinton's attendance at that forum was also perceived as a strong signal of the USG renewed interest in the Pacific Islands region. The US interagency has become very active in that region, to include: the U.S. Department of Defense, the U.S. Department of State, the U.S. Agency for International Development, and the U.S. Department of the Interior. This panel will look at the Compact of Free Association (1986, renewed 2003) and associated Trust Fund and explore ways to further extend and expand the scope of the USG engagement in the Pacific Island region. Are trust fund-type mechanisms the most appropriate tools to support sustained USG engagement in the region? How can the USG better leverage the interagency capabilities and will to further engage with Pacific partners?

12:30 – 01:45 pm

Lunch / Lunch Keynote (*Aikane Room / 3rd floor)*
"Building Trust and Security through Economic Growth in the Pacific"
Curtis S. Chin, Managing Director, RiverPeak Group LLC; Former U.S. Ambassador to the Asian Develop Bank

1:45 – 3:15 pm

Panel 2: Pacific Islands Perspectives – Security Challenges and Balancing Relationships in the Pacific
Amb. Asterio R. Takesy, Ambassador of the FSM to the United States
Tarcisius Kabutaluka, Associate Professor, University of Hawaii at Monoa
Francis X. Hezel, S.J., Jesuit Priest; Senior Fellow, Pacific Islands Development Program

Past history has led Pacific Island countries to doubt the USG commitment to the region. The announcement of a "rebalance" to the Asia-Pacific has not completely reassured them. Pacific Island nations are looking for stronger assurances from the USG and other international partners that they are there for the long haul and that they are committed to bring these countries "renewed attention, deeper engagement, advanced development, and more protection." (Manyin et al, 2012) What are the expectations of the island nations relative to U.S. long term presence? On security issues (writ large)? On economic development? What is the future of the COFA? The Pacific Plan?

3:15 – 3:30 pm

Break

3:30 – 5:30pm

Panel 3: Donor Nation Perspectives – Interests, Priorities, and the Strategic Significance of the Pacific Islands
Jenny Hayward-Jones, Director, Myer Foundation Melanesia Program, Lowy Institute
Jim Rolfe, New Zealand Centre for Strategic Studies, Victoria University of Wellington
Xiujun Xu, Senior Research Fellow, Institute of World Economics & Politics, CASS
Komei Isozaki, Visiting Fellow, CSIS

The economies of small island nations of the Pacific are too small to sustain the necessary functions that are expected from a government today. Consequently, they have to rely on official development aid (ODA) from partner countries in order to properly function and deliver basic public services, including security. It is important to note that while reliance on ODA varies significantly across the region –with Fiji depending on it for 1% of its total income and the Federal States of Micronesia and the Republic of the Marshall islands relying on ODA for over half of their income – most countries will continue to need foreign assistance in the foreseeable future to provide for their citizens and ensure regional peace and stability. This panel will explore interests, priorities and the strategic significance of the pacific islands from the donor perspective, highlighting the role of regional powers in providing sustained assistance to the region. Panelists will focus on China, Japan, Australia, and New Zealand.

5:30pm

Adjournment

May 8, 2014

8:00– 8:45 am — **Breakfast (*Ahi-Mahimahi Rooms – 3rd floor)***

8:45 – 9:00 am — **Opening Remarks of the Day**
David Hamon

Introduction of Morning Keynote
Lt. Gen. Chip Gregson

9:00 – 10:00 am — **Morning Keynote Presentation: Defense and Security**
Brig. Gen. Mark McLeod, J4, U.S. Pacific Command

10:00 – 10:15 am — **Coffee Break**

10:15 – 12:15 pm — **Panel 1: Avoiding Competition, Promoting Cooperation**
Lt. Gen. Chip Gregson, Chair, Banyan Analytics
Graeme Smith, Research Fellow, Australia National University
Eric Shibuya, Professor of Strategic Studies, Command and Staff College, Marine Corps University

As the previous day's panel discussions illustrated, the Pacific Islands region is attracting mounting attention from foreign powers as its countries continue developing and integrating in the world economy. Currently, there is a perception that China's interest and influence in the Pacific Islands has grown, leading to potential competition with other major regional powers, to include Australia, Japan, and the United States. This panel will discuss this emerging great power competition in the Pacific Islands region and explore ways to promote cooperation among interested actors (i.e., Australia, China, Japan, New Zealand, and the United States). For instance, in addition to pursuing the full range of commercial interests, is China providing for sustainable development? Does China present a challenge to the other powers in Oceania? What strategies should the United States and its allies create to enhance cooperation and avoid competition?

12:15 – 1:30 pm — **Lunch (*Aikane Room / 3rd floor)***

1:30 – 3:30 pm — **Panel 2: Security Challenges (Part One)**
Yoji Koda, Vice Admiral (Ret), Japan Maritime Self Defense Force
Barry Choy, NOAA liaison to U.S. Pacific Command J9
Erin Hughey, Director, Disaster Services, Pacific Disaster Center

Pacific Island nations are facing numerous, rapidly evolving and increasingly complex security challenges. Some of these challenges are traditional and others less so and include: poor maritime domain awareness, the uncertain effects of climate change, high susceptibility to natural disasters, and pandemic diseases. Issues related to maritime domain awareness (e.g., piracy, armed robbery at sea, illicit trafficking of all sorts), fisheries (e.g., IUU fishing, over fishing) and disaster and emergency preparedness (e.g., emergency early warning) are the biggest concerns in the minds of both donor countries and Island nations. It is critical for Pacific Island countries to realize that while the waters surrounding them hold the key to their economic growth and development, their insularity also makes them vulnerable to complex threats. This panel will focus on security challenges associated to maritime domain awareness, fisheries, and disaster and emergency preparedness and discuss ways both donor countries and aid recipients can best address these rapidly emerging challenges.

3:30 – 3:45 pm — **Break**

3:45 – 5:00pm

Panel 3: Security Challenges (Part Two)
Michael Termini, MD, MPH, LCDR MC USN, Preventive Medicine Department Head CNRH Public Health Emergency Officer, Naval Health Clinic Hawaii
J. Scott Hauger, PhD, Asia Pacific Center for Security Studies
Garret Harries, USAID liaison to U.S. Pacific Command J9

This panel will build on the previous panel's discussion and address additional security challenges facing the Pacific Island nations. While issues related to economic development, health, and the environment are non-traditional security threats, they are important contributing factors to the peace and stability of the region. Panelists will emphasize the importance of this nexus for the security of the Pacific Island region in the 21st century.

5:00 pm

Closing Remarks, Next Steps, Adjournment
David Hamon, Director, Banyan Analytics
Ralph Cossa, President, Pacific Forum CSIS

Appendix B: Participants

21st Century Pacific Island Security Workshop

Hosted by
Banyan Analytics and Pacific Forum CSIS
May 6 – 8, 2014
Pacific Beach Hotel, Honolulu, HI

SPEAKERS & PARTICIPANTS LIST

Speakers

Mr. Norman H. Barth, PhD
Deputy Chief of Mission
U.S. Embassy Majuro, Republic of the Marshall Islands

Amb. Curtis S. Chin
Managing Director, RiverPeak Group LLC
(Former Ambassador of the U.S. to the Asian Development Bank)

Mr. Barry Choy
Liaison, U.S. Pacific Command, J9
NOAA

Mr. Ralph A. Cossa
President
Pacific Forum CSIS

Lt. Gen. Chip Gregson, USMC (Ret)
Chair
Banyan Analytics (Analytic Services Inc.)

Mr. David W. Hamon
Distinguished Analyst and Director
Banyan Analytics (Analytic Services Inc.)

Mr. Garret Harries
Liaison, U.S. Pacific Command, J9
USAID

Mr. J. Scott Hauger, PhD
Associate Professor
Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies

Ms. Jenny Hayward-Jones
Director
Myer Foundation Melanesia Program
Lowy Institute for International Policy

Francis X. Hezel, S.J.
Jesuit Priest; Senior Fellow
Pacific Islands Development Program

Ms. Erin Hughey, PhD
Director, Disaster Services
Pacific Disaster Center

Mr. Komei Isozaki
CSIS Visiting Fellow
Japan Ministry of Defense

Mr. Tarcisius Kabutaulaka, PhD
Associate Professor
Center for Pacific Island Studies
University of Hawai'i at Manoa

Mr. Kamakana Kaimuloa
Sr. Legislative Staff
Office of Representative Colleen Hanabusa
(D-Hawai'i 1st)

Mr. Kandhi A. Elieisar
Consul General
FSM Consulate Office in Hawai'i

Vice Admiral Yoji Koda (Ret)
Japan Maritime Self Defense Force

Brig. Gen. Mark McLeod, USAF
Director for Logistics, Engineering and Security Cooperation, J4
U.S. Pacific Command

Ms. Kristen Oleyte
Senior Policy Advisor
U.S. Department of the Interior

Mr. Jim Rolfe, PhD
Director
New Zealand Centre for Strategic Studies
Victoria University of Wellington

Mr. Eric Y. Shibuya, PhD
Professor of Strategic Studies
Command and Staff College
Marine Corps University

Mr. Graeme Smith, PhD
Research Fellow
State, Society & Governance in Melanesia Program
Australia National University

Amb. Asterio R. Takesy
Ambassador to the U.S.
FSM Embassy in Washington, D.C.

Mr. Michael Termini, MD
Preventative Medicine Department Head
Naval Health Clinic Hawai'i

Mr. Robert Underwood, PhD
President
University of Guam

Mr. Xu Xiujun, PhD
Senior Research Fellow
Institute of World Economics & Politics
Chinese Academy of Social Sciences

Participants

Mr. Seongjin James Ahn
Sr. Associate, Asia-Pacific Analyst
Banyan Analytics (Analytic Services Inc.)

Mr. Geoffrey Bannister
President
Hawaii Pacific University

Ms. Sharon E. Blanton, PhD
Vice President and Chief Information Officer
Hawaii Pacific University

Mr. David Brostrom
Manager, International Business Development
Boeing

Mr. Tai-Ho Chen, MD
Quarantine Medical Officer, Division of Global Migration Quarantine, National Center for Emerging and Zoonotic Infectious Diseases
Centers for Disease Control and Prevention

Mr. David DeLeo
Country Director, J53
U.S. Pacific Command

Mr. Robert L. Dyson
G5 Policy & International Affairs
U.S. Marine Forces, Pacific

Capt. Russ Gilbert
MFP Force Surgeon
U.S. Marine Forces, Pacific

Mr. Brad Glosserman
Executive Director
Pacific Forum CSIS

Mr. Jim Murphy
Join Requirements Officer Liaison Officer to U.S. Pacific Command
Analytic Services Inc.

Mr. Gregg Nakano
Recovery Coordinator
National Disaster Preparedness Training Center

Col. Nate Nastase
AC/S G5
U.S. Marine Forces, Pacific

Col. James Orbock
Civil Affairs
Interagency/All Hazards, J91
U.S. Pacific Command

Mr. Karl Semancik
Vice President, Joint Operations
Analytic Services Inc.

Mr. Herman Semes, Jr.
Sr. Research SME Analyst
Naval Postgraduate School (NPS) GPPAG

Maj. Brandon M. Stibb
G5
U.S. Marine Forces, Pacific

CDR Enrique Torres
MFP Force Health Protection Officer
U.S. Navy

Ms. Frances C. F. Veasey
Deputy Director
Banyan Analytics (Analytic Services Inc.)

Brig. Gen. Edwin "Skip" Vincent, USAF (Ret)
Chairman and Founder
Soft Power Solutions, LLC

Ms. Holly Warren
1st Secretary
New Zealand Consulate-General

Mr. Eric J. Weiner
Sr. Associate, Asia-Pacific Analyst
Banyan Analytics (Analytic Services Inc.)

Jesse Wolfe
Food Security Courses Program Manager
National Disaster Preparedness Training Center

Young Leaders

Malia Bowman
Young Leaders Program Intern
Pacific Forum CSIS

Michael Daniels
Non-resident WSD-Handa Fellow
Pacific Forum CSIS

Nicole Forrester
Director
Young Leaders Program
Pacific Forum CSIS

Erin Hoshibata
WSD-Handa Fellow
Pacific Forum CSIS

Stephanie Nayoung Kang
Kelly Fellow
Pacific Forum CSIS

Matthew Minot-Scheuermann
Freelance Writer and Telecommuting Intern
Hudson Institute's Center for Political-Military

LCDR James Morrow
C-130 Pilot
United States Coast Guard
Barber's Point

Tina Sablan
Master's student in the Department of
Urban and Regional Planning at UH Manoa

Aiko Shimizu
Sasakawa Peace Foundation Fellow
Pacific Forum CSIS

Nanae Yamashiro
Vasey Fellow
Pacific Forum CSIS

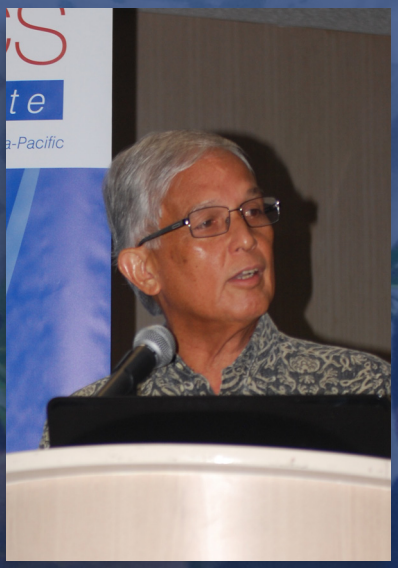
Peter Yemc
WSD-Handa Fellow
Pacific Forum CSIS

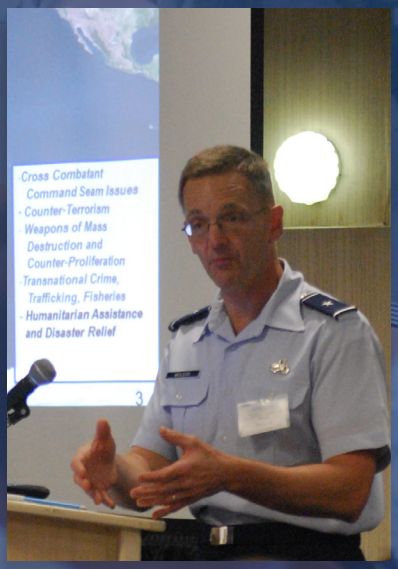
21st Century Pacific Island Security Work

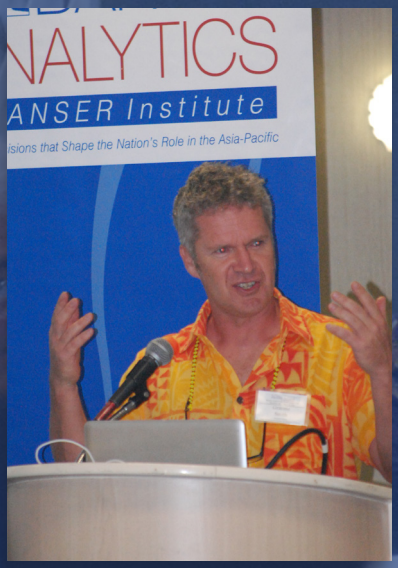
Hosted by

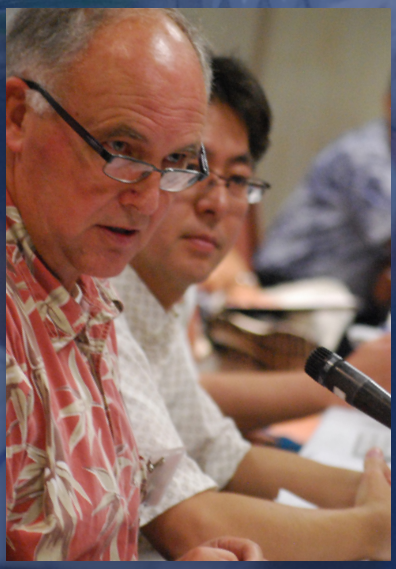
BANYANANALYTICS
An ANSER Institute

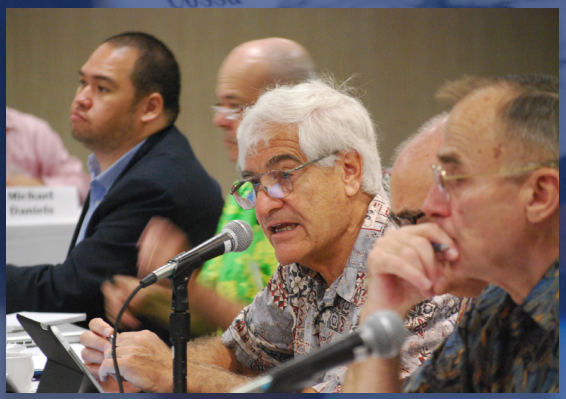
PACIFIC FORUM CSIS






NALYTICS
ANSER Institute
sions that Shape the Nation's Role in the Asia-Pacific





5275 Leesburg Pike, Suite N-5000 • Falls Church, Virginia 22041
www.anser.org/banyan_analytics