



Pacific Forum CSIS



"2nd Myanmar-US Retired Military-to-Military Dialogue"

11-12 May, 2015

Kandawgyi Palace Hotel, Yangon, Myanmar

# 2016

# PACIFIC FORUM CSIS ANNUAL REPORT

PACIFIC FORUM CSIS





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## **Our Vision**

The Pacific Forum CSIS envisions an Asia-Pacific region where all states contribute to peace and stability, and all people enjoy security, prosperity, and human dignity while governed by the rule of law.

## **Our Mission**

To enhance mutual understanding and trust, promote sustainable cooperative solutions to common challenges, mitigate conflicts, and contribute to peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific, the Pacific Forum CSIS conducts policy-relevant research and promotes dialogue in the Asia-Pacific region through a network of bilateral and multilateral relationships on a comprehensive set of economic, security, and foreign policy issues. The Pacific Forum's analysis and policy recommendations help create positive change within and among the nations of the Asia-Pacific and beyond.

## MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT



Aloha!

2015 was a remarkable year for the Pacific Forum CSIS. In addition to celebrating our 40th anniversary, we embarked on our most ambitious program schedule to date, holding more than 90 conferences, dialogues, roundtables, and seminars throughout the world. On average, we held an event once every four days – an accomplishment all the more impressive considering we operate on an annual budget equivalent to roughly half the cost of a 30 second Super Bowl commercial.

In the pages that follow, you'll learn more about the programs – and the people – of 2015. Although our programs take different shapes and bring together different groups, all activities center on what the Pacific Forum does best – conducting policy-relevant research and promoting regional dialogue.

Last year, we also began a major project to improve the quality and delivery of our Young Leaders Program. As part of this effort, we also overhauled our fundraising and outreach activities. We conducted a wide range of listening and feedback exercises, from Young Leaders focus groups in cities throughout the region, to confidential in-person interviews of current and prospective supporters, to an informal survey of our Honolulu International Forum members.

We've already begun implementing many of the suggestions for improvement, but the overall consensus was clear – the Pacific Forum's reputation as a leading institution in the Asia Pacific is stronger than ever. We'll continue to stay the course and build a foundation for the next 40 years.

With thanks,

A stylized, handwritten signature in black ink, consisting of a series of fluid, connected strokes.

Ralph Cossa  
President

## BOARD OF GOVERNORS



*Governors in attendance at the 2015 Board Meeting*

### Co-Chairmen

**Richard L. Armitage**, President, Armitage International; former US Deputy Secretary of State. (Washington)

**Joseph S. Nye, Jr.**, Distinguished Service Professor, John F. Kennedy School of Government; former Assistant Secretary of Defense for International Security Affairs (Boston)

### President

**Ralph A. Cossa**, President, Pacific Forum CSIS (Honolulu)

### Vice Chairmen

**Thomas B. Hayward**, Admiral USN (Ret.); President, Hayward Associates, Inc.; former Chief of Naval Operations and member of the Joint Chiefs of Staff (Seattle)

**L. R. Vasey**, Rear Admiral USN (Ret.); Founder and Senior Advisor for Policy, Pacific Forum CSIS; former Chief of Strategic Plans and Policies for US Pacific Command (Honolulu)

### Chairman Emeritus

**Brent Scowcroft**, Lieutenant General USAF (Ret.); President, The Forum for International Policy; former Assistant to the President, National Security Affairs (Washington)

## Governors

**James F. Armington**, Vice President, East Asia and Pacific, International Business Development, Boeing Defense, Space, and Security (Arlington)

**Mary G. F. Bitterman**, President, The Bernard Osher Foundation; former President, James Irvine Foundation (Honolulu and San Francisco)

**Brunhilde K. Bradley**, Commander, USN (Ret.) (Honolulu)

**Choi Shin-won**, Chairman and CEO, SK Networks; former Vice Chairman and CEO, SK Distribution (Seoul)

**Brenda Lei Foster**, Executive-in-Residence, Shidler College of Business, University of Hawaii; former President, American Chamber of Commerce in Shanghai (Honolulu)

**Haruhisa Handa**, Chairman, Worldwide Support for Development (Tokyo)

**Ronald J. Hays**, Admiral USN (Ret.); International Business Consultant; former Commander, US Pacific Command (Honolulu)

**David A. Heenan**, Trustee, Board of Trustees, The Estate of James Campbell (Honolulu)

**Lee Howell**, Managing Director, World Economic Forum (Geneva)

**Hong-Choo Hyun**, Attorney-at-Law, Kim and Chang; former ROK Ambassador to the US (Seoul)

**Irene Hirano Inouye**, President, US-Japan Council; Trustee, Ford Foundation (Washington)

**Raymond F. Johnson**, Chairman Emeritus, Caltex Petroleum (Dallas)

**Amos A. Jordan**, Counselor and President Emeritus, Pacific Forum CSIS; former President, CSIS (Bountiful, Utah)

**James A. Kelly**, Counselor and President Emeritus, Pacific Forum CSIS; former Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs (Honolulu)

**Jin-Hyun Kim**, Senior Research Advisor, Korea International Trade Association; former ROK Minister of Science and Technology (Seoul)

**Charles D. Lake II**, President, Aflac International Inc.; Chairman, Representative in Japan, Aflac Japan (Tokyo)

**Warren K.K. Luke**, Chairman and CEO, Hawaii National Bank (Honolulu)

**Yoshihiko Miyauchi**, Chairman and CEO, ORIX Corporation (Tokyo)

**Lauren Kahea Moriarty**, Principal, Aloha Visions; former Ambassador, Asia-Pacific Economic Cooperation (APEC) (Honolulu)

**Robert M. “Skipp” Orr**, former Ambassador/US Executive Director, the Asian Development Bank; former President, Boeing Japan (Kamakura, Japan)

**Torkel Patterson**, Principal, Group Pacific Inc.; former President, Raytheon International; former National Security Council Senior Director for Asian Affairs (Washington)

**R.T. Peng**, President, Taiwan Transportation Machinery Corp. (Taipei)

**Rex C.A. Reyes**, Chairman and CEO, Galaxy Group (Manila)

**Jean E. Rolles**, Vice President, Community Relations, Outrigger Enterprises, Inc. (Honolulu)

**Charles B. Salmon**, Foreign Policy Advisor, Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies; former Ambassador to Laos (Honolulu)

**James J. Shinn**, former Assistant Secretary of Defense for East Asia (Princeton, NJ)

**H. Howard Stephenson**, former Chairman, Executive Committee, Bank of Hawaii (Honolulu)

**Barbara Tanabe**, Partner, Ho’akea Communications (Honolulu)

**Sarasin Viraphol**, Executive Vice President, Charoen Pokphand Group; former Thai Ambassador to the Philippines (Bangkok)

**Jusuf Wanandi**, Chairman, Supervisory Board, Centre for Strategic and International Studies (Jakarta)

**Alfonso T. Yuchengco**, Head, Yuchengco Group of Companies; former Philippine Ambassador to the UN, to Japan, and to China (Manila)

**R.J. “Zap” Zlatoper**, Former Commander of US Pacific Fleet; Trustee, Estate of James Campbell (Honolulu)

## FINANCIALS

	<b>Projected FY2016</b>	<b>Actual FY2015</b>	<b>Actual FY2014</b>
• Balance from Prior Year	831,822	511,289	340,666
• Fiscal Year Revenue	2,521,955	3,077,222	2,755,243
• Total Revenue	3,353,777	3,588,511	3,095,909
• (Balance carried forward)	(16,581)	(831,822)	(511,289)
• Funds Available	3,337,196	2,756,689	2,584,620
• Expenditures	3,242,900	2,585,478	2,324,095
• Transfer to Endowment		170,000	231,653
• Net Surplus/Deficit	93,296	1,211	28,872
• Foundations/Institutions	31%	41%	32%
• Corporations/Individuals	3%	2%	10%
• U.S. Government	57%	48%	36%
• Foreign Governments	3%	2%	11%
• CSIS Allocations	1%	1%	1%
• Endowment Income	5%	6%	10%
• <u>Breakdown of Expenses</u>	3,243,900	2,585,478	2,324,095
• Salaries	726,282	731,003	728,087
• Fringe Benefits	153,452	158,236	156,267
• Rent	95,493	98,970	92,089
• Travel/Conferences	1,331,965	1,061,648	912,942
• Other Expenses	669,785	328,458	244,576
• To CSIS (10%)	266,923	207,163	190,134



## ENDOWMENTS

	<b>Corpus</b>	<b>Draw</b>
<b>Kelly Fellows</b>	\$2,000,266	\$75,012
<b>Vasey Fellow</b>	1,505,591	65,496
<b>Young Leaders/Scowcroft Chair</b>	399,551	8,594*
<hr/>		
<b>Total (since 2002)</b>	\$3,905,408 =====	

\* reinvested

## PACIFIC FORUM CSIS REGIONAL ENGAGEMENT PROGRAMS



The Pacific Forum’s work to promote peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region rests on three pillars: Strategic Security Dialogues, Security Cooperation Efforts, and Next Generation Programming.

In each area, we are pursuing policy-relevant research and promoting the exchange of ideas through our extensive network of experts and officials. While we focus on the Asia Pacific, our work

sometimes takes us to Europe or brings European experts and officials to our programs. Our objective in each endeavor is the enhancement of trust and understanding and the promotion of sustainable cooperative solutions to common security challenges to ultimately mitigate and prevent conflict.

To achieve these goals, we identify trends, build greater understanding of national policies, promote peaceful solutions, prioritize action to reduce tensions, accelerate development of cooperative policies to address common security concerns, develop norms and standards for cooperative interaction, and promote compliance with international treaties and conventions.

While stable and peaceful relations among states is a vital concern, we recognize that other factors, including the well-being of all segments of society within individual states and the sustainability of resources and the environment, play increasingly important roles in the maintenance of a safe, peaceful, and secure Asia-Pacific region. In other words, while traditional security concerns dominate our work, we remain sensitive to and ever ready to engage with new and emerging non-traditional security challenges.

The Pacific Forum’s next generation initiatives integrate young experts into these efforts. We plan to educate the next generation of scholars and experts on these issues but we are also eager to hear their voices and introduce fresh perspectives to the regional security discourse. Inclusion of this next generation into the foreign and security policy community will facilitate efforts to “find a better way” while continuing to build on the work of their predecessors.

## STRATEGIC STABILITY DIALOGUES



Since its inception, the Pacific Forum CSIS has worked to advance strategic stability in the Asia-Pacific region. These efforts have explored the many dimensions of US relations with allies, partners, and even with current or potential adversaries. While these discussions have included many interlocutors and tackled an ever-expanding array of issues, they have all had two things in common: the goal to increase understanding of each side's perspective and the search for common

ground so that the parties can build trust and confidence and build a safer and more stable region.

In recent years, our strategic stability programs have had two strands: one focuses on the viability of the US extended deterrent and the reassurance of allies in Northeast Asia while the other examines US-China strategic nuclear dynamics.

The first program is the outgrowth of a two-decade long US-Japan discussion that examined key issues in that relationship and tried to identify long-term future issues for the alliance. A decade ago, our Japanese partners demonstrated some unease about the state of the US extended deterrent and the US commitment to Japan's defense. With support from the Department of Defense, we launched a bilateral discussion to hone in on that issue; within a year, a parallel US-ROK discussion commenced. A small, informal US-Japan-ROK trilateral dialogue bridged those two conversations. Three years ago, that intimate discussion developed into a full, three-way dialogue that brought all three allies to the same table to share perspectives and concerns about US extended deterrence in Northeast Asia. The last two years of that dialogue featured a tabletop exercise that probed in depth the three countries' reactions to a nuclear weapons related contingency in the region. (A US-ROK bilateral has been held on the backend of the trilateral meeting for the past three years.)

The results have been educational and sobering. The meetings are now eagerly awaited by all participants – the next round is tentatively scheduled to be held in August – as well as key constituencies in the Departments of State and Defense, along with the Pacific Command, who receive extensive briefings on the results shortly after the dialogue. Similar outreach takes place

in Tokyo and Seoul. In November 2015, Ralph Cossa and Brad Glosserman joined local participants in Tokyo and Seoul to discuss the Strategic Dialogues at events hosted by the American Center in each city.

The second strand of the strategic stability program consists of two US-China Strategic Nuclear Dynamics Dialogues. The first meeting is a track-two dialogue that Pacific Forum CSIS runs in conjunction with the Naval Postgraduate School. This convenes in Honolulu each year; the last round was held in September. The second component is a track 1.5 meeting that is held in Beijing; our partner for that



program is the China Foundation for International and Strategic Studies (CFISS). The ninth round of that discussion was held in February 2015; the 10<sup>th</sup> round was scheduled to have been held in early March 2016, but the PLA reforms obliged us to postpone that meeting. It will now be held in mid-June.

Both tracks look deeply at the two countries' views of nuclear weapons. While most time is devoted to the role of those weapons in their bilateral relations, increasing attention has been paid to their thinking about and their potential for cooperation in addressing challenges posed by third countries' possession of such arsenals. Given the importance of the US-China relationship and the many uncertainties surrounding it, we anticipate that this dialogue will continue to receive funding. As in the extended deterrence dialogues, these meetings are followed by briefings for stakeholders and interested parties in Honolulu, Washington, Tokyo, and Seoul.

We also held several “one-off” events that endeavored to promote strategic stability. In 2015, they included a roundtable with representatives from the China Energy Fund Committee to discuss issues in the US-China relationship, a meeting with officials from Taiwan's National Security Bureau, and a discussion in Washington, DC on a new LDP Study Group proposal to expand Japanese contributions to East Asian security.



Pacific Forum CSIS is being increasingly recognized for this work. Our briefings are well attended events and senior officials in both the Departments of State and Defense are eager to hear the results. In addition, our staff are invited to share their views at conferences around the world. For example, Executive Director Brad Glosserman spoke to the 2015 Carnegie Nuclear Policy Conference (“The Nukefest” to aficionados) about Pacific Forum’s work on extended deterrence, and summarized that work in September when the Brookings Institution hosted their semi-annual discussion of projects funded by the Project on Advanced Systems and Concepts for Countering WMD (PASCC), which supports the extended deterrence dialogue and the strategic stability dialogues with China. He published articles that drew on those programs in *The National Interest* (with Senior Fellow for Nuclear Policy David Santoro), *The Diplomat* (with fellow John Warden), as well as in assessments of Japanese developments in *The Asan Forum*, the *East Asia Forum*, and *PacNet*. Pacific Forum CSIS’s ongoing work on Japan and the ROK was integral to his book, co-authored by Scott Snyder, *The Japan-South Korea Identity Clash: East Asian Security and the United States*, published in 2015 by Columbia University Press.

Drawing from those extended deterrence discussions, David Santoro, our senior fellow for nuclear policy, briefed the UK Foreign and Commonwealth Office and the French Ministry of Defense on deterrence and assurance in Northeast Asia and its implications for Europe in January 2015. During that trip he also lectured on this topic at King’s College London. He participated in the US Strategic Command’s Nuclear Deterrence Symposium in August 2015 and co-organized, in collaboration with Lawrence Livermore National Laboratory and the Carnegie Endowment for International Peace, a workshop on “Thinking about US Extended Deterrence Globally,” which took place in Washington, DC in November 2015. In 2015, he, with John Warden, published “Assuring Japan and South Korea in the Second Nuclear Age” in *The Washington Quarterly* and “European and P5 Responses to Iran’s Nuclear Program” in Jeffrey Knopf’s edited volume *International Cooperation on WMD Proliferation* (University of Georgia Press, 2015), as well as a number of policy pieces in *The National Interest*.

## SECURITY COOPERATION IN THE ASIA PACIFIC



Pacific Forum CSIS programs on security cooperation in the Asia Pacific are extensive and expanding. The growth of this work is a testament to the hard work of Pacific Forum staff and the high regard that funders – governments and foundations alike – have for our efforts in this field.

The cornerstone of our security cooperation effort is the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP). Formed in 1993, CSCAP promotes regional security through dialogue and collaborative study group projects related to security issues of common concern among its 20 member committees (Australia, Brunei, Cambodia, Canada, China, European Union, India, Indonesia, Japan, Malaysia, Mongolia, New Zealand, North Korea, Philippines, Russia, Singapore, South Korea, Thailand, United States, and Vietnam). The Pacific Forum CSIS, under then-President Amos Jordan, was instrumental in setting up CSCAP and serves as the secretariat for the USCSCAP member committee. President Ralph Cossa serves as international co-chair of the CSCAP International Steering Committee. The network of officials, media, military, and academic representatives that make up the membership of CSCAP provides Pacific Forum with an

opportunity to influence attitudes and debates in the region on a range of foreign policy issues. It also aids our effort to ensure that the United States remains actively engaged in Asian regional processes.

Pacific Forum's work in CSCAP has focused on countering the proliferation of weapons of mass destruction and it has for over a decade chaired a study group on this topic (which itself is an outgrowth of another decade of work on security and confidence building measures). This group helps raise awareness of the proliferation threat and enhances the international and regional regimes that help counter it. The program has focused on setting priorities for better implementation of key nonproliferation instruments and building nonproliferation capacity in states that need it. Another core component is an examination of the relationship between nonproliferation dynamics and the associated goals of disarmament and the peaceful uses of nuclear technology. Our work in this field has been instrumental in establishing the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) Inter-Sessional Meeting on Nonproliferation and Disarmament. The Pacific Forum CSIS, through our leadership in CSCAP, has helped to set and inform the agenda of this track-one governmental effort.

In 2015, the Study Group on Nonproliferation and Disarmament met in Kuala Lumpur, while expert subgroups on Nuclear Energy and Export Controls met respectively in Singapore in October and in Taipei in November. In addition to these programs, Pacific Forum CSIS held a USCSCAP meeting in Washington, DC in March and hosted a workshop on maritime security in Honolulu that was held in conjunction with an ARF meeting on the marine environment. Pacific Forum CSIS also represented USCSCAP at International Steering Committee meetings in Kuala Lumpur and Mongolia. At the Mongolia meeting, Pacific Forum representatives, along with Young Leaders, met a delegation from two North Korean organizations – the Institute for Disarmament and Peace and the Institute for American Studies – to discuss respective views of the bilateral relationship and identify possible means of cooperation or dialogue. Two junior researchers also took part in Young Leader activities, North Korea's first participants in the program.



Our work on export controls has won growing attention in Washington: the Departments of State and Energy are now funding strategic trade controls workshops in Southeast Asia – the inaugural meeting was held in Phnom Penh last year – and Yangon. Another program, to focus on Vietnamese capacity building, is scheduled to be launched in 2016.

Myanmar is a growing focus of Pacific Forum's work on security cooperation. With generous support from the Department of Energy, we are now conducting four different programs in that country: a general nonproliferation dialogue cohosted by the Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies, which is in its third year (and also enjoys support from the UK Foreign Office); training courses that are helping Myanmar meet its international non-proliferation obligations; the aforementioned strategic trade controls program that includes workshops and training courses; and a bilateral dialogue among retired military officials from the two countries.

In 2015, Pacific Forum CSIS continued to enjoy support from the US Embassy in Tokyo to bring experts to Japan for week-long tours that expose speakers to thinking outside the capital and bring expert views to audiences that rarely have the chance to hear them. In July, Brad Glosserman led US, Japanese, and South Korean experts on a four-city program to discuss US-Japan-ROK energy cooperation, and in October he led a group of US and Japanese experts to discuss the new US-Japan Bilateral Defense Guidelines. The highlight of that trip was a helicopter tour of the Tohoku region that took the group over the Fukushima Daiichi nuclear complex.

Finally, Senior Fellow for Nuclear Policy David Santoro convened the second in a series of three meetings on US-China cooperation on nonproliferation and nuclear safety. This meeting, held in Seoul, also included participants from South Korea and Japan. The third and final meeting in the series, supported by the Department of Energy, will convene in Singapore in the summer of 2016.

Carl Baker, our director of programs, spent considerable time analyzing regional security issues and promoting security cooperation, with a specific focus on preventive diplomacy and maritime security. He gave a presentation at a CSCAP workshop in Kuala Lumpur titled "The Emerging Framework for Implementing Preventive Diplomacy in ASEAN." He spoke about the security implications for ASEAN states resulting from major power competition in the South China Sea at a conference in Singapore co-sponsored by the S. Rajaratnam School of International Studies and the Australian Strategic Policy Institute. He served as a control team member for a CSIS-sponsored crisis simulation of a contingency in the South China Sea that included experts from the United States, China, and the Philippines. His assessments of security issues in the Asia-Pacific were cited by news media around the world, including *The Wall Street Journal*, *Los Angeles Times*, *Christian Science Monitor*, *CCTV News*, *Forbes Asia*, *Voice of America*, *Reuters*, *Segye Times*, *Sputnik News*, *Stars and Stripes*, *Marine Corps Times*, and the *Honolulu Star-Advertiser*.

Pacific Forum CSIS President Ralph Cossa was busier still. In addition to serving as the lead US member of the ARF's Experts and Eminent Persons Group, a job that took him to Helsinki in March on behalf of the State Department, he continued his tenure as International Co-Chair of CSCAP, presiding over steering committee meetings in Kuala Lumpur and Ulaanbaatar. He also joined delegations that examined US-China and broader US-Asia relations in New York, Washington DC, Seoul, Tokyo, Canberra, and elsewhere, while chairing Pacific Forum events



around the globe, including our ground-breaking table top exercise involving next-generation young professionals from China, Japan, Korea, and the United States. He also published extensively and is frequently quoted in the US and international press.



## NEXT GENERATION PROGRAMS



Next generation initiatives are one of Pacific Forum CSIS's most important activities. Efforts to reach out to the next generation of regional security specialists and include them in our programming have been a hallmark of Ralph Cossa's tenure as president of the Pacific Forum and have grown steadily throughout that time. Our next generation programs take four forms: the Young Leaders program, the Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program (APAL), fellowships, and internships.

### Young Leaders Program

The Pacific Forum Young Leaders program is a global community of emerging experts who have demonstrated interest in and aptitude for Asia-Pacific regional affairs. We seek to ensure that bridges between East and West grow stronger and peace prevails in the Asia-Pacific region and do this by bringing together several generations of experts in Asian affairs at Track 1.5 and Track 2 dialogues. We groom these next-generation leaders and help them to realize their potential through scholarship, mentorship, and partnership. Members – more than 1,000 in number, from more than 57 countries – are professionals and students from a wide range of fields, including government, academia, the private sector, the military, and think tanks, all between the ages of 25 and 35. Since the program was launched in 2004, 1,114 spaces have been offered at YL programs in 19 different countries.





In 2015, Young Leaders were especially busy, attending more than 20 seminars and conferences around the world. Highlights included three Young Leaders-only events: a program commemorating the 70 years of the US-Japan partnership after the end of World War II (in Honolulu); the second Northeast Asia Regional Young Leaders Security Seminar, which was held in Seoul with the generous support of Board Member Choi Shinwon; and an Inter-Parliamentary Union Forum and WSD-Handa Fellows/Young Leaders event in Tokyo under the inspirational guidance of Board Member Handa Haruhisa. In addition, Young Leaders are organizing their own networking activities, such as a panel on US-India relations held by the Washington, DC chapter and programs hosted by the Singapore chapter, one of which featured a former YL who now teaches at the Yale-NUS College. In a reminder of the quality of our Young Leaders, two alumni – Eric Sayers (USA) and Elina Noor (Malaysia) – provided expert commentary at Honolulu International Forum breakfasts.

Much of the time and energy of YL Program Director Julia Cunico Gardner and YL fellows Petra Kubalkova and Sarah Henriët in 2015 were devoted to



implementation of a grant given to Pacific Forum by the Hewlett Foundation to review the YL program. Those efforts took Julia to New York, Seoul, Maui, Cambodia, and Singapore to meet Young Leaders and partner organizations to ascertain needs and opportunities. The result has been a constant honing and improvement of all aspects of YL administration and programming. Among the most important in 2015 was progress toward development of a secure, customized website where Young Leaders can connect with each other, exchange ideas, and collaborate on projects. The Omidyar Fellows program has graciously donated their website code to the Pacific Forum to allow us to create a password-protected website with features such as user profiles, blog posts, and a searchable user directory. A second notable development was the creation of a Young Leader of the Year award: Former SPF resident fellow Justin Goldman was nominated for this honor by fellow Young Leaders for his work in the Singapore chapter.

## HAWAII ASIA-PACIFIC AFFAIRS LEADERSHIP PROGRAM



As a Hawaii-based organization, the Pacific Forum believes that we should devote special attention to the development of an informed and interested cadre of young people at home. Launched in 2013, the Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership (APAL) Program provides undergraduates, graduate students, and young professionals with the opportunity to learn about Asia-Pacific affairs from leading senior and emerging policy experts affiliated with the Pacific Forum CSIS. This interactive program helps the next generation of Hawaii's business,



government, and community leaders to develop a solid knowledge base of political, economic, and security issues in the Asia Pacific and to think critically and strategically about Hawaii's role in the region. Additionally, participants develop a local and international peer network that will serve them and Hawaii as they advance in their careers.

The 10 APAL participants are chosen after a rigorous application process. They attend monthly meetings, take field trips, join select Pacific Forum events such as Honolulu International Forum meetings, and write a research paper that applies their knowledge of Asia-Pacific affairs, cultivates leadership skills, develops relationships with community stakeholders, and makes a positive impact on Hawaii. The primary vehicle for the APAL program is a monthly meeting that has featured speakers such as Retired Ambassadors James Moriarty (to Bangladesh and Nepal) and Lauren Kahea Moriarty (APEC, and Pacific Forum Board Member), Pacific Command Assistant Foreign Policy Advisor Scott Linton, Australian Deputy Consul General Damien Donovan, and Hawaii State Sen. Donovan Dela Cruz.



In 2015, the APAL program concluded its partnership with Congresswoman Tulsi Gabbard on her Youth Leadership Council (YLC). In a note to Pacific Forum CSIS thanking us for the partnership, Rep. Gabbard's office noted that "The APAL-YLC members brought a wealth of knowledge and experience and were a dedicated, impassioned and highly skilled group of individuals. Their ability to think critically about complex challenges and to later

articulate proposed solutions that considered current capability as well as future possibilities was inspiring. The APAL-YLC members are truly leaders, both in thought and in action. It has been a privilege and an honor to learn alongside each of them and I feel confident that they will do well in their future endeavors."

## FELLOWSHIPS

### ***James A. Kelly Korean Studies Fellowship***

The Kelly Fellowship Program consolidates, enhances, institutionalizes, and builds upon our Korea-oriented programs. Kelly Fellows focus on Korean Peninsula studies through participation in the Young Leaders program as Non-Resident Fellows and through in-residence research at the Pacific Forum as Resident Fellows. The fellowship recognizes the exemplary efforts of former Assistant Secretary of State and Pacific Forum President Emeritus Jim Kelly to improve US-ROK relations and encourage the DPRK to denuclearize and join the international community. The program encourages the study of Korean economic and security issues with particular focus on raising awareness among the next generation of scholars and officials in the US, ROK, and worldwide about the vital role the Korean Peninsula plays in regional and international affairs.



**Ms. Woojin LEE (ROK)** is an assistant director in the Americas Division of the Ministry of Trade, Industry and Energy in Korea, where she is in charge of trade issues and economic cooperation between Korea and Colombia as well as operating commerce sub-committee of Status of Forces Agreement (SOFA) between Korea and the United States. She previously worked in the Overseas Korean Division, Human Resources Division, and Western Europe Division of the Korea Ministry of Foreign Affairs and Trade. She graduated from Yonsei University majoring in Political Science and International Relations.



**Ms. Nahee KIM (ROK)** was a 2015 resident Kelly Fellow at Pacific Forum CSIS and a recent graduate from the Graduate School of International Studies, Yonsei University, where she focused on development cooperation and trade & economic development. She is also a Research Assistant in the field of international security. Previously, she interned at Asia-Pacific Centre of Education for International Understanding under the auspices of United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization (UNESCO) and Korea Trade-Investment Promotion Agency (KOTRA). She has a keen interest in developing cooperative relations in the Asia-Pacific region and political economy dynamics of Northeast Asia. She received her BA in Human Ecology from Seoul National University, Korea.



**Ms. Kelly WADSWORTH (USA)** is a PhD candidate in International Security Studies at the University of Pittsburgh Graduate School of Public & International Affairs. Her research interests include North Korea, Northeast Asian Security, nuclear weapons and cruise missile proliferation. Wadsworth holds an MA from the University of Washington, Jackson School of

International Studies with focus on Korea, where she was awarded the Foreign Language and Area Studies (FLAS) Fellowship to study Korean language. She also earned an MBA in marketing and global management from the Foster School of Business at the University of Washington. Her bachelor's degree in International Relations and Japanese language is from the University of California at Davis.



**Mr. Yoonjae LEE (ROK)** was a resident James A. Kelly Fellow at the Pacific Forum CSIS. Previously, he worked at the Peacekeeping Operations department in the Permanent Mission of the Republic of Korea to the United Nations and is a member of the Pacific Forum Emerging Leaders Program. Yoonjae has two patents authorized by the Korean Intellectual Property Office and received the silver medal in the 19th International Environmental Project Olympiad. He is currently pursuing his bachelor's in environmental studies at the New York University.

### ***Korea Foundation Fellowship***

In partnership with the Seoul-based Korea Foundation, this fellowship, exclusively for Korean nationals, is designed to assist graduate and PhD students obtain research and professional experience at the Pacific Forum CSIS. One fellow will be selected from a competitive applicant pool to research in residence for six months. The Korea Foundation Fellowship was suspended in 2015 but will resume again in 2016.

### ***Nonproliferation and Nuclear Security Fellowship***

Pacific Forum CSIS offers a Nonproliferation and Nuclear Security Fellowship for young professionals to conduct research and analysis in the area of nonproliferation, nuclear security, and other related topics and present research results at relevant conferences and workshops. The program provides fellows an opportunity to develop and manage programs, participate in conferences, and interact with officials and experts in the US, Asia, and beyond.



**Ms. Federica DALL'ARCHE (ITA)** joined Pacific Forum CSIS as a Nonproliferation and Nuclear Security Fellow. After graduating Summa Cum Laude in Political Science at the University of Roma Tre, Italy, and winning a full merit scholarship for an exchange program at Macquarie University in Sydney, Australia, Federica recently obtained her Master's degree in Nonproliferation and Terrorism Studies and a Certificate in Conflict Resolution at the Middlebury Institute of International Studies at Monterey (MIIS), California. She won a prize for the best paper on Human Trafficking, concluded an internship at the Asian-Pacific Center for Security Studies, a US Department of Defense academic institute, and a Fellowship as

United Nations Security Council Monitor at PeaceWomen. She also worked as Graduate Research Assistant at the James Martin Center for Nonproliferation, at the William Tell Coleman Library, and as a freelance collaborator for the online magazine Geopolitica.info.



**Mr. Hyuk KIM (ROK)** is a resident fellow for Nonproliferation and Nuclear Security and James A. Kelly Korean Studies programs. Prior to joining Pacific Forum CSIS, Hyuk served as a guest researcher at the Dual-use and Arms Trade Control Programme of the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute, a research assistant at the Export Control and Non-proliferation Program of the James Martin Center for Non-proliferation Studies, and international trader at Daewoo International Corporation. His research interests cover non-proliferation issues in East Asia, export controls, sanctions, and trade data analysis. He holds an MA in Non-proliferation and Terrorism Studies, BS in Nuclear Engineering, and University Diploma in International Nuclear Law.

**Mr. Aung Ko Min (MYN)** is an Assistant Director from the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and joined the Myanmar Institute of Strategic and International Studies (ISIS) in March 2015. He has a BA in Education (Yangon) and he worked as a translator before joining the foreign service in 2010. He



studied International Relations at the Victoria University of Wellington, New Zealand and received a Graduate Diploma in Arts in 2013. In 2014, he was selected to study for his Masters in International Relations at the same university and graduated in 2015. He married in 2013; his wife is also a diplomat and works as a First Secretary at the Myanmar Embassy in Ottawa, Canada. He is interested in international affairs and Myanmar's political developments. Currently, he is working on a series of research papers for the Myanmar ISIS and journal articles for Myanmar periodicals.

### ***Sasakawa Peace Foundation (SPF) Fellowship***

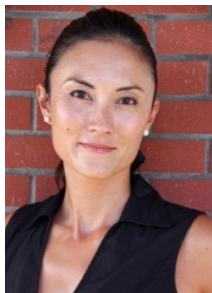
The SPF Fellowship Program was created to nurture and promote the next generation of leaders from Japan and the United States who are committed to broadening and strengthening the two countries' alliance. Through the fellowship, up-and-coming young professionals in the US and Japan are engaged and exposed to innovative bilateral security initiatives and other topics of the Japanese-US relationship.



**Mr. Akira IGATA (JPN)** is the Aoi Global Research Award Scholar at Cambridge University for the academic year of 2015-2016. He is currently on leave as a doctoral student at the Department of Law, Keio University. He received his undergraduate training at Georgetown University and International Christian University as a Heiwa Nakajima Foundation scholar and Chris-Wada scholar. As



a Japanese government fellowship scholar, Mr. Igata earned his MA in International Relations from Columbia University. He was a recipient of the security studies fellowship from the Research Institute for Peace and Security (RIPS), contributed to various projects as a Research Assistant at the Center for the Promotion of Disarmament and Non-Proliferation, Japan Institute of International Affairs (JIIA), and has been involved in several projects as a Researcher by the Rebuild Japan Initiative Foundation (RJIF). He notably contributed research to “The Fukushima Daiichi Nuclear Power Station Disaster: Investigating the Myth and Reality” (Routledge, 2014) and wrote the chapter entitled, “The Gulf War and Japan’s National Security Identity” (Routledge, 2015, co-authored with Michael J. Green), for a book on Japan’s lost decades.



**Ms. Crystal PRYOR (USA)** is a Political Science PhD Candidate at the University of Washington. Her SPF project investigates the recent shift in Japan’s arms export policy and the role of the US-Japan alliance in these changes. She contrasts Japan’s more proactive arms export policy with the contemporaneous changes in its outer space security policies. Ms. Pryor’s dissertation is on strategic trade controls in Japan, the United States, and the United Kingdom, with a focus on high-tech, militarily-sensitive exports to China. During her PhD tenure, she has been a fellow with the East-West Center in Washington, the Japan Foundation, and the Japan Society for the Promotion of Science, and recipient of a UW European Center of Excellence grant. She has completed fieldwork in the United Kingdom, Sweden, France, Japan, and Washington, DC. Ms. Pryor holds Master’s degrees in Political Science from the University of Washington and the University of Tokyo, where she was a Japanese government scholar. She also has public sector experience working at the US Embassy in Tokyo. She received her BA from Brown University in International Relations with Honors.

### **WSD-Handa Fellowship**

Through the generosity of the Worldwide Support for Development and Dr. Handa Haruhisa, the Pacific Forum CSIS operates the WSD-Handa Fellowship Program. This fellowship allows resident and non-resident fellows from the Asia Pacific, North America, and Europe to participate in our programs. WSD-Handa Fellows are also invited to participate in exclusive “Handa Forum” activities.



**Capt. Adam GREER (USA)** is working on East Asian Security issues, such as regional alliances and the US-China military-to-military relationship. He is an active-duty Captain in the United States Air Force and an instructor pilot with over 1,300 hours in the T-6, T-38, and KC-135 aircraft. In addition to his flying career, Captain Greer speaks Mandarin and Cantonese Chinese, and has worked in official capacities in Beijing, Nanjing, Hong Kong, and Chengdu.

Captain Greer holds a Master's Degree in Negotiation, Conflict Resolution, and Peacebuilding from California State University Dominguez Hills, and is currently a Master's candidate at Georgetown University's School of Foreign Service. Following his time at the Pacific Forum he is serving as an academic and flight instructor at the United States Air Force Academy in Colorado Springs, where he earned his BS in Foreign Area Studies in 2008.



**Ms. Jessica LEE (USA)** conducted research on regional responses to the US rebalance to the Asia Pacific and issues affecting US-Japan-South Korea trilateral cooperation. Previously, Ms. Lee was Director of Strategic Partnership at the Impact Center in Washington, DC, where she led business development on the Impact Center's advisory services in gender inclusive leadership and women's leadership. Prior to joining the Impact Center, Ms. Lee was Senior Manager and Chief Philanthropy Officer at The Asia Group, LLC, a strategy and capital advisory group to corporations and organizations with business interests in the Asia-Pacific region. From 2008 to 2013, Ms. Lee was a Professional Staff Member handling the Asia-Pacific region for Chairman Howard Berman (D-CA) of the House Committee on Foreign Affairs and a Senior Legislative Assistant on national security issues for Congressman Jim McDermott (D-WA) in the US House of Representatives. Ms. Lee has participated in numerous security studies programs, including the Woodrow Wilson Center's Foreign Policy Fellowship Program, Munich Young Leaders Program, German Marshall Fund's Young Researchers Program in Japan, and Friedrich Ebert Stiftung's Global Atlanticists Program in Germany. Ms. Lee received an MA in Regional Studies-East Asia from Harvard University and a BA in Political Science from Wellesley College, and is now Director of Policy and Advocacy at the Council of Korean Americans in Washington, DC.



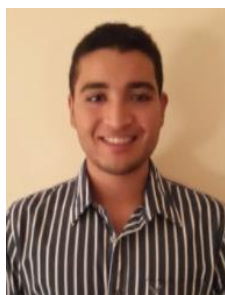
**Ms. Virginia MARANTIDOU (GRC)** was most recently a Chinese Government Scholarship recipient, studying Mandarin Chinese at Hunan Normal University. Her research interests revolve around defense and security issues in the Asia Pacific, including China's naval power and strategy. Most recently, she worked as an editor at the International Relations and Security Network, ISN, CSS, Zurich; previously, she cooperated with various international relations institutes in Greece. She has also worked as a freelance business consultant for European firms engaged in the Chinese market. Ms. Marantidou has a keen interest in languages and speaks Greek, English, French, and Mandarin Chinese. She holds an MSc in Asian Politics from the School of Oriental and African Studies, University of London and a BA in International and European Studies from Panteion University of Athens. She also spent a year at Sciences Po Bordeaux, specializing in Political Science and International Relations. She is now the Asia program coordinator for the German Marshall Fund of the US in Brussels.



**Mr. John WARDEN (USA)** was a 2014-15 resident fellow working on Northeast Asian security issues including US alliances, Japan's island disputes, extended deterrence, and nonproliferation at the Pacific Forum CSIS. He received his MA in security studies from Georgetown University, where he served as a research assistant and as editor-in-chief of the Georgetown Security Studies Review (GSSR). Previously, Mr. Warden worked as a program coordinator and research assistant at the Center for Strategic and International Studies, contributing to projects on nuclear deterrence, arms control, and US alliances. He served as executive director for working groups on US-Russian arms control and US-China nuclear relations, managed a project on forging a consensus on the US nuclear posture, coordinated a US-Japan-ROK dialogue, and twice directed the Nuclear Scholars Initiative, including editing the accompanying journals. Mr. Warden has published articles in *The Diplomat*, *Infinity Journal*, *The National Interest*, *PacNet*, and *Proceedings Magazine*. He earned his BA in political science and history from Northwestern University. He is currently a strategic analyst at Scitor Corporation.



**Capt. ZHANG Bo (PRC)** was a 2015 WSD-Handa fellow at Pacific Forum CSIS. Zhang Bo is a lecturer in the Department of Military Education at the National University of Defense Technology, China, LTC. His academic interests mainly focus on military history, military thought, and relations between China and the United States, especially their communication and interaction in the Asia-Pacific region. During his 18 years of service in the PLA, he has worked as staff officer, commanding officer, and military instructor. At the same time, working in different units, including at the Ministry of National Defense of China, has given him understanding of the difference between China's and other countries' military systems. Zhang Bo researched military communication and cooperation between China and the United States for peace and stability in the Asia-Pacific region, which was sponsored jointly by NUDT of China and Pacific Forum CSIS.



**Mostafa Hisham BADR (EGY)** is a graduate student at the American University in Cairo majoring in Economics. Before receiving his International Baccalaureate Diploma from the International School of Geneva - La Grande Boissiere in Switzerland, Moustafa lived in Japan for four years. He interned at the European Organization for Nuclear Research (CERN) for two consecutive summers, successfully designing a code that will be used in a computed tomography volumetric reconstruction analysis software package. He also participated in the quality assurance of high reliability supply cabling and electronics for the ATLAS Pixel Detector. Moustafa accumulated work experience in the World Intellectual Property

Organization, the Arab League, and Misr Asset Management. He is active in helping to coordinate several programs at AUC, including the Entrepreneurs Society, the Model United Nations, the Model Arab League and the National Professional Foreign Service Fraternity Delta Phi Epsilon.

### ***Vasey Fellowship***

The Pacific Forum's original fellowship, now well into its second decade, is named after founder RADM (USN, Ret.) Lloyd R. "Joe" Vasey and his late wife Lilian. The endowment-supported fellowship affords promising young Asian scholars the opportunity to serve as junior researchers at the Pacific Forum and to develop hands-on expertise in US-Asia policy issues.



**Ms. Guanpei MING (PRC)** is a PhD candidate in the Department of Political Science at the University of Hawaii at Manoa. She specializes in international relations and Chinese foreign policy. Her dissertation research deals with Chinese territorial governance of Hong Kong, Taiwan, and the South China Sea. Ms. Ming received a BA in English and Economics from the Nanchang University of Aeronautics, an MA in International Politics from Peking University, and an MBA from the Seoul School of Integrated Science and

Technologies. Her research has been funded by the Konosuke Matsushita Memorial Foundation, the University of Hawaii Foundation, and the Calebe Foundation. She is also a graduate of the Middlebury College Hebrew Language School, where she was a Kathryn Davis Fellow and learned to speak Hebrew.



**Ms. Maile PLAN (USA)** is researching East Asian Security issues, including maritime security in Southeast Asia, Chinese foreign and military policy, nuclear deterrence, and the arms industry. She earned her MA in security studies from Georgetown University where she focused on Chinese security and East Asian regional issues (including study abroad in Taiwan). Previously, Ms. Plan worked as a legislative correspondent for US Senators Brian Schatz and Daniel K.

Inouye in their Washington, DC offices where she contributed to foreign relations, defense, energy, and trade policy issue areas. She also studied abroad in Beijing while pursuing her bachelor's degree in Asian Studies from Whitman College.



## Young Leaders Program Fellowship



**Ms. Petra G. KUBALKOVA (USA)** worked on improving the Young Leaders program by assisting with data and systems analysis, travel, and event logistics. Previously, Petra served as an assistant to the Dean of Graduate Education at the University of Hawaii, where she was also the Coordinating Officer managing prominent federal fellowships and private scholarships. She interned as a research analyst with an NGO, Emergency Peace Teams, which offers nonviolent intervention services focusing primarily on conflict coaching, de-escalation, and mediation. She received her BA from University of California, Berkeley in Political Science with an emphasis on International Relations and is currently pursuing a PhD in Political Science at the University of Hawaii, Manoa where her research focuses on a substantive analysis of global politics and the interlinking relations of East Asia and US foreign policy. Her research interests include East Asia, cross-strait relations, political and critical theory, and coercive diplomacy. Ms. Kubalkova is currently a research assistant at the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies.



**Ms. Sarah Soo-Kyung HENRIET (USA)** is the Young Leaders Program Fellow at Pacific Forum CSIS. She assists the director of the Young Leaders Program with daily program activities, conference logistics, and developing strategies to improve the program. Previously, Sarah was a Program Manager at International Student Conferences (ISC), a non-profit organization based in Washington DC. At ISC, Sarah managed the Korea-America Student Conference (KASC), an intense leadership program that organizes month-long conferences in both Korea and the US. In this capacity, she worked with numerous universities as well as private and public sector partners in the US and Korea, and launched a trilateral symposium bringing together KASC and its sister program JASC (Japan-America Student Conference). She also has experience working at the National Assembly in South Korea, an IT company in Beijing, and a non-profit organization based in Honolulu. Sarah earned her BA in International Relations with a focus on East-Asia from American University in Washington DC. Born in France and raised in South Korea, Sarah speaks French, Korean, English, and Mandarin Chinese.

## INTERNSHIPS

Pacific Forum offers select undergraduate and graduate students the opportunity to gain practical experience working in a think tank environment. Internships are offered across the organization, including in development, marketing, and programs.



human rights actors.

**Mr. James HAMADA (USA)** is pursuing a BA in International Studies with a political specialization at Pepperdine University. He is currently a casework intern at Congresswoman Tulsi Gabbard's office, and has previous experience at the Equal Employment Opportunity Commission in Los Angeles and the Hawai'i Red Cross Communications Department. He is president of the Pepperdine Japan Student Union and senior advisor for the Hawai'i Club. His policy interests include multilateral cooperation in the Asia-Pacific region and



**Mr. Eric JACOBSON (USA)** is a second year graduate student at Columbia University, where he is pursuing a degree in International Affairs, focusing on Sino-Russian relations, nonproliferation of WMD, and perfecting his Russian. His research interests include Eurasian regional studies and nuclear policy. He received his BA and BS from Southern Methodist University. After graduating from Columbia, he hopes to pursue a career in international policy and learn Mandarin.



**Mr. Julian JUAREZ (USA)** is a senior at Willamette University, where he is pursuing a degree in Politics. His research interests include Southeast Asia, migration, and climate change. He has worked as a Congressional Intern in Washington, DC and interned for First Hawaiian Bank in Honolulu, Hawaii. Last spring he studied Sustainable Development at American University and in the summer participated in the Public Policy and International Affairs Fellowship Program at the University of Michigan. He also traveled to Europe and Southeast Asia. Julian is a graduate of Punahou School, class of 2012.



**Ms. Seulah SONG (ROK)** is a member of the Korea Emerging Leader Program and is currently finishing her degree in Economics with a double minor in business studies and media, culture, and communications at New York University. Growing up in South Korea has prompted her interest in

peacekeeping and international relations. Her professional experiences have taken her around the world, including South Korea, Japan, and Singapore. Previously, she worked as a Public Relations Coordinator at Give Orange, an organization that promotes a strong donating culture among Korean international students in the US. She plans to attend a graduate program to further her studies in international relations.



**Mr. Donovan SABOG (USA)** is an undergraduate at Yale University. A graduate of Punahou School, he previously interned for Senator Brian Schatz. Currently, he is a *kumu* for the Clarence T.C. Ching PUEO Program at Punahou School, where he served as a teaching assistant for the Performing Arts, SAT/ACT Test Prep, AP English Prep, and Global Studies classes. Donovan has advanced-level knowledge of the Japanese language and has an interest in East Asian Foreign Policy. As a member of two Yale singing groups, he has traveled to Spain, Turkey, Colombia, South Africa, and Japan.



**Mr. Takashi YOSHIDA (JPN)** is a graduate student at Columbia University, School of International and Public Affairs where he is pursuing a Masters degree in International Affairs. His research interests include Japan-China relations and Japan-Russia relations. Takashi received his BA in Russian studies from Tokyo University of Foreign Studies. He has previously worked for Japan's Ministry of Justice.

## PUBLICATIONS



The Pacific Forum's publications are directly emailed to readers in 68 countries and accessed by thousands more in countries around the globe on our website.

In 2015, the Pacific Forum CSIS published

- 99 *PacNets*
- 14 *Issues & Insights*
- 3 issues of *Comparative Connections*

We also are happy to promote the study on *The Japan-South Korea Identity Clash: East Asian Security and the United States* by Brad Glosserman and Scott Snyder, which grew out of a Pacific Forum project.



## HONOLULU INTERNATIONAL FORUM



The Honolulu International Forum continues to be a key stop when foreign policy experts and practitioners pass through Honolulu. These off-the-record briefings are an important venue for the city’s government, military, business, and academic leaders to hear firsthand about issues and trends in the Asia Pacific directly from the players themselves. Attendance at these briefings is also considered a primary benefit of membership in the Pacific Forum.

In 2015, we held 17 off-the-record HIF meetings on topics ranging from “The New Congress and Asia-Pacific Security Policy” to “The US-Indonesia Expanded Strategic Partnership.”

Featured speakers include US Ambassador to Indonesia Robert Blake; China expert Gordan Chang; Taiwan Admiral Chen Yeong-Kang; former Six-Party Talks negotiator Joe Detrani; CSIS President and former Deputy Secretary of Defense John Hamre; Japan Railway Chairman Emeritus Toshiyuki Kasai; Japanese Parliamentarian and Special Advisor to Prime Minister Abe, Katsuyuki Kawai; former US Ambassador to Singapore Frank Lavin; Sir James McLay (New Zealand); Pacific Forum Co-chair and “Soft Power” advocate Joe Nye; North Korea Defector Yeonmi Park; Assistant Secretary of State Frank Rose; Assistant Secretary of Defense Robert Scher; among others.

While the majority of our discussions focus on traditional defense and security topics, we plan to make a stronger effort to include topics of greater relevance to the Hawaii business community, based on feedback from our local supporters.

## 2015 CALENDAR OF EVENTS



**Jan. 10: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program – Language Immersion Programs Information Session** (Honolulu)

APAL alumni Michael Calistro and Kelly Park, along with Jessica Lum, shared their experiences with language immersion programs including the Critical Language Scholarship, MOSAIC Taiwan, and the JET Program.

**Jan. 16: Honolulu International Forum featuring Ralph Cossa and Brad Glosserman** (Honolulu)

Annual Asia overview featuring Ralph Cossa, President, and Brad Glosserman, Executive Director, of Pacific Forum CSIS.

**Jan. 29: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program – Nuclear Nonproliferation** (Honolulu)

Senior Fellow for Nuclear Policy David Santoro shared his insights on nuclear nonproliferation and security in the Asia Pacific, as well as how current trends impact larger regional and global security.

**Jan. 29: Young Leaders Alumni and Friends Chapter “Panel on the Future of US-India relations”** (Washington, DC)

Rick Rossow, Wadhwani Chair in US-India Policy Studies at CSIS, and Vikram Singh, Vice President for National Security and International Policy at Center for American Progress, shared their thoughts on the opportunities and challenges of the US-India strategic relationship.

**Feb. 9: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program – Cybersecurity in the Asia-Pacific Region** (Honolulu)

Dr. Lora Saalman from the Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies provided an overview of the major cybersecurity issues facing the region.

**Feb. 9-10: 9th China-US Dialogue on Strategic Nuclear Dynamics** (Beijing) [*+Young Leaders Program*] Off-the-record discussions covered comparative assessments of the strategic landscape, nonproliferation and nuclear security cooperation, ways to address regional nuclear challenges, and crisis management and security-building measures.

**Feb 20: Honolulu International Forum featuring Eric Sayers** (Honolulu)

Eric Sayers, Professional Staff Member with the majority staff of the Senate Armed Services Committee, discussed “The New Congress and Asia-Pacific Security Policy.”

**Feb. 25: Honolulu International Forum featuring Frank Lavin** (Honolulu)

Frank Lavin, former US Ambassador to Singapore, covered key questions regarding China’s economic performance, leadership cohesion, social stability, and foreign policy.

**Feb. 27: “A Legacy of Peace: The US-Japan Partnership After 70 Years”** (Honolulu) [*Young Leaders Program*]

This special Young Leaders meeting brought together young US and Japanese scholars to examine the meaning and importance of the US-Japan relationship, as well as the political legacies of the war. Participants also developed ideas to improve the alliance.

**Mar. 3: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program – US Foreign Policy** (Honolulu)

Assistant Foreign Policy Advisor Scott Linton from US Pacific Command discussed US foreign policy key members and processes, US rebalance and implementation, and regional flash points.

**Mar. 4: Roundtable discussion with Kerry Gershaneck** (Honolulu)

Kerry Gershaneck, Distinguished Visiting Professor with the Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy, met with Pacific Forum CSIS resident fellows to discuss recent developments in Thailand and the state of the Thai-US alliance.

**Mar. 13: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program – Special Roundtable with Dr. Amos Jordan** (Honolulu)

Dr. Amos Jordan, president emeritus of CSIS and the Pacific Forum CSIS, held a special roundtable discussion with Pacific Forum CSIS resident fellows and members of the Hawaii APAL program.

**Mar. 17: Honolulu Internatioal Forum Featuring Dr Joseph Nye** (Honolulu)

Conversation with Dr. Joseph Nye, Pacific Forum Co-chair and “Soft Power” advocate.

**Mar. 17: 40th Anniversary Celebration of Pacific Forum and Annual Board of Governors' Dinner Fundraiser** (Honolulu)

The Board of Governors' dinner and fundraiser for the Young Leaders Program, featuring keynote speaker Richard L. Armitage.

**Mar. 18: Honolulu International Forum featuring Dr. John Hamre** (Honolulu)

Special breakfast briefing for Pacific Forum CSIS board members and key donors, featuring Dr. John Hamre, President and CEO of CSIS.

**Mar. 18: Roundtable discussion with the China Energy Fund Committee** (Honolulu)

A 10-member delegation of the China Energy Fund Committee met with Pacific Forum CSIS experts and fellows for a candid, off-the-record discussion on the US-China relationship. The meeting featured keynote speeches from Deng Zhenghui and James Kelly.

**Mar. 25: USCSCAP Meeting** (Washington, DC) [*+Young Leaders Program*]

This one-day meeting provided an update on ASEAN Regional Forum and ADMM+ activities, and featured a panel discussion chaired by Brad Glosserman.

**Mar. 27-28: US-Japan Security Seminar** (Washington, DC) [*+Young Leaders Program*]

The 2015 US-Japan Security Seminar, the 21<sup>st</sup> in a series initiated by the Pacific Forum, hosted by the Japan Institute for International Affairs and CSIS, covered topical issues in the US-Japan alliance.

**Mar. 30: USCSCAP Workshop on Maritime Security** (Honolulu) [*+Young Leaders Program*]

The workshop examined the relationship between maritime security and the marine environment in the Asia Pacific.

**Apr. 4: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program – US-Thailand Relations** (Honolulu)

Professor Kerry Gershaneck, Distinguished Visiting Professor with the Chulachomklao Royal Military Academy, met with APAL members to discuss recent developments in Thailand and the state of the Thai-US alliance.

**Apr. 6-7: CSCAP Study Group on Nonproliferation and Disarmament in the Asia-Pacific** (Kuala Lumpur) [*+Young Leaders Program*]

The study group examined recent developments in nonproliferation and disarmament, the impact of proliferation financing, biological threats, and recent Korean Peninsula developments. It also looked at the ASEAN Regional Forum (ARF) Work Plan on NPD and discussed future study group priorities, focusing on capacity building to strengthen the nonproliferation regime.



**Apr. 15: Honolulu International Forum featuring Ambassador Joseph DeTrani** (Honolulu)  
Ambassador Joseph DeTrani shared his insights on “Dealing with an Unpredictable North Korea.”

**Apr. 16: Honolulu International Forum featuring Gordon Chang** (Honolulu)  
Gordon Chang, author of *Nuclear Showdown: North Korea Takes On the World*, spoke on “China's Plunging Economy, Incomplete Leadership Transition, and New Strategic Arc. ”

**Apr. 21: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program – US-Japan Relations** (Honolulu)  
Pacific Forum CSIS executive director Brad Glosserman discussed the role of Japan in the Asia Pacific, the US-Japan relationship, and also offered tips on problem-solving and policy writing.

**Apr. 29: Honolulu International Forum featuring David Arnold** (Honolulu)  
David Arnold, president of The Asia Foundation, delivered a talk on “Subnational Conflicts in Asia: Beyond Myths to Solutions.”

**May 11-12: Myanmar-US Retired Military-to-Military Dialogue** (Yangon)  
The dialogue covered a range of topics including threat perceptions, strategic outlooks, and opportunities for enhanced cooperation to build trust and confidence with the military in Myanmar and to facilitate the integration of the Myanmar military the US efforts to promote security cooperation in Southeast Asia.

**May 17-21: NCAFP Quadrilateral Meeting** (New York) [+*Young Leaders Program*]  
The conference focused on managing the power transition in East Asia, coordinating policy toward North Korea, and working toward comprehensive regional security architecture with participants from the United States, China and Japan.

**May 18: Honolulu International Forum featuring Yeonmi Park** (Honolulu)  
North Korean defector Yeonmi Park spoke about “The Reality of Inside North Korea and Human Rights.”

**May 23: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program – Farewell Dinner** (Honolulu)  
Program participants and Pacific Forum staff and fellows concluded the 2014-2015 APAL Program with a celebratory dinner at Ryan’s Grill.

**May 28-31: WSD-Handa/Inter-Parliamentary Union Young Parliamentarians Meeting on International Development Aid** (Tokyo) [+*Young Leaders Program*]  
This forum convened YLs from around the world for a discussion on international development aid.

**June 1-4: APR/CSCAP SCM (Kuala Lumpur)**

The Asia-Pacific Roundtable is convened annually on behalf of the ASEAN Institutes of Strategic and International Studies (ASEAN-ISIS), a network of Southeast Asia's leading think-tanks. This year's roundtable was followed by the 43rd CSCAP Steering Committee Meeting.

**June 16: Roundtable discussion with Robert Scher (Honolulu)**

Special breakfast meeting featuring US Assistant Secretary of Defense Robert Scher.

**June 22-23: Nonproliferation Training Course (Yangon)**

Course lecturers covered topics including an introduction and overview of the WMD nonproliferation regime, global health security, proliferation and illicit trafficking networks, and UN Security Council Resolution 1540.

**June 24-26: Interagency Awareness and Cooperation Workshop on Strategic Trade Management in Myanmar (Yangon)**

Participants looked into the future of nonproliferation implementation after the Myanmar election; the Additional Protocol, the modified Small Quantities Protocol, and radioactive source management; the Biological and Chemical Weapons Conventions; strategic trade controls; and the Hague Code of Conduct against Ballistic Missile Proliferation.

**June 26: US-Japan-India Trilateral Dialogue (Honolulu)**

Hosted by the US State Department and the Center for Strategic and International Studies, this discussion was co-chaired by US Assistant Secretary of State for South and Central Asian Affairs Nisha Biswal and US Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs Daniel Russel.

**July 5-12: US Embassy-sponsored Japan tour**

With support from the US embassy in Tokyo, Pacific Forum CSIS convened a group of experts on energy policy from the US, Japan and South Korea to discuss modalities of energy cooperation among the three countries. The group did presentations in Fukuoka, Hiroshima, Shizuoka, and Tokyo.

**July 17: Honolulu International Forum featuring Yeong-Kang Chen (Honolulu)**

Admiral Yeong-Kang Chen discussed Taiwan's security prospects and opportunities in the Asia Pacific.

**July 19-21: US-ROK-Japan Trilateral Strategic Dialogue (Maui) [+Young Leaders Program]**

Participants from the US, ROK, and Japan addressed concerns about the capacity of the three countries to sustain and strengthen their deterrent in the face of new and enduring challenges. The conference also featured a tabletop exercise in which teams responded to a crisis on the Korean peninsula and articulated next steps to move trilateral cooperation forward.

**July 22: US-ROK Strategic Dialogue (Maui) [+Young Leaders Program]**

Participants from the US and ROK discussed new North Korean challenges, China's rise and regional security architecture, and the ROK-US global partnership.

**July 23: The Japan-South Korea Identity Clash (Honolulu)**

A public discussion and book signing by Brad Glosserman and Scott Snyder on their newly-released book, *The Japan-South Korea Identity Clash*, published by Columbia University Press. An invitation-only cocktail reception was held that evening for Young Leaders to meet the authors.

**July 30: Young Leaders Program Alumni and Friends Chapter in Singapore (Singapore)**

Program on "China's Economic Initiatives and Territorial Disputes in Southeast Asia: Irreconcilable Ambitions?" with Dr. Chin Hao Huang, Young Leader Alumnus and Assistant Professor of Politics at Yale-NUS College.

**July 28: Japan Security Policy Meeting (Washington, DC)**

The Pacific Forum CSIS hosted a meeting at CSIS at which LDP member Fukuda Mineyuki explained to US policy makers and experts a new LDP study group that seeks to diversify Japan's contributions to regional security.

**Aug. 5: Honolulu International Forum featuring James McLay (Honolulu)**

The Honorable Sir James McLay shared his thoughts on "A Small State at the Big Table: New Zealand and the United Nations Security Council." This event was cosponsored by the Consulate General of New Zealand in Hawaii.

**Aug. 6-7: Quadrilateral US-Japan-ROK-China Nonproliferation and Nuclear Security Cooperation Dialogue (Seoul) [+Young Leaders Program]**

The four countries discussed perspectives and priorities on nonproliferation and nuclear security, the Nuclear Security Summit process, the nuclear security centers of excellence, the prevention and management of a nuclear accident or incident, strategic trade controls, and onward proliferation from North Korea.

**Aug. 12: Honolulu International Forum featuring Hazel Smith (Honolulu)**

Professor Hazel Smith drew from her book *North Korea: Markets and Military Rule* to discuss the major socio-economic transformation of North Korea since the famine of the mid-1990s.

**Sept. 1: Young Leaders Program Alumni and friends social (Honolulu)**

A happy hour featuring former resident Sasakawa Peace Foundation Fellow Justin Goldman.

**Sept. 4: Roundtable discussion with the Taiwanese National Security Bureau (Honolulu)**

A delegation from the Taiwanese National Security met Pacific Forum CSIS experts and members for an off-the-record roundtable discussion titled “Taiwan’s Efforts and Potential Role in US Rebalancing toward Asia.”

**Sept. 9-10: US-China Strategic Dialogue (Honolulu) [+Young Leaders Program]**

This Naval Post-Graduate School co-hosted, DTRA-sponsored track 2 dialogue focused on strategic military relations between the US and China. This year’s dialogue also included hypothetical scenario discussions on: 1) South Asia nuclear use in a war and 2) a North Korea nuclear crisis.

**Sept. 17: Honolulu International Forum featuring Frank A. Rose (Honolulu)**

Frank A. Rose, Assistant Secretary for Arms Control, Verification, and Compliance discussed “Strategic Stability and Extended Deterrence in the East Asia Pacific Region.”

**Sept. 24-25: EXBS Workshop on Strategic Trade Controls in Continental Southeast Asia (Phnom Penh) [+Young Leaders Program]**

The workshop discussion looked at international trade and strategic goods, the core components of an effective system of strategic trade controls, the role of national legislation, control lists and licensing procedures, detection and enforcement, interagency coordination and industry outreach, and capacity-building and assistance.

**Sept. 28: Honolulu International Forum featuring Elina Noor (Honolulu)**

Elina Noor, Director of Foreign Policy and Security Studies at ISIS Malaysia and a Pacific Forum CSIS Young Leader Alumnus shared her insights on “ASEAN and the US-China Competition in Southeast Asia.”

**Sept 28: Young Leaders Program Alumni and Friends Singapore Chapter program**

“What is the state of US-China relations?” with Mr. Paul Haenle, founding director Carnegie Foundation for International Peace Beijing office.

**Oct. 1: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program – 2015-2016 Cycle Program Orientation (Honolulu)**

A welcome orientation for the Hawaii APAL Program’s 2015-2016 cohort, featuring alumnus Michael Calistro. Ellise Fujii led a discussion and brainstorming exercise on the current and desired role of Hawaii in the Asia-Pacific region.

**Oct. 5-10: US Embassy-sponsored Japan tour**

With support from the US embassy in Tokyo, Pacific Forum CSIS convened a group of experts from the US and Japan to discuss the impact of the new US-Japan Defense Guidelines. The group spoke in Tokyo, Sendai, Nagoya, and Osaka.



**Oct. 14-15: CCNY Nuclear Energy Expert Group (Singapore)**

Experts from throughout the Asia-Pacific and beyond discussed the Nuclear Security Summit process, nuclear governance after 2016, radioactive sources management, and ways to respond to nuclear accidents and incidents. This year's meeting also included discussion of a tabletop exercise involving a nuclear accident in Vietnam.

**Oct. 16: Young Leaders Program Alumni and Friends Singapore chapter Meetup Session w/ David Santoro and John K. Warden (Singapore)**

Singapore-based Young Leaders met with Senior Fellow for Nuclear Policy David Santoro and Senior Fellow for National Security Policy John Warden to discuss general Asia-Pacific security issues, with a focus on nuclear non-proliferation and disarmament.

**Oct 20: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program – US Foreign Policy and Diplomacy (Honolulu)**

Assistant Foreign Policy Advisor Scott Linton from US Pacific Command discussed US foreign policy key members and processes, US rebalance and implementation, and regional flash points.

**Oct. 20-23: CSCAP Steering Committee Meeting and General Conference (Ulaanbaatar) [+Young Leaders Program]**

The theme of the CSCAP Steering Committee Meeting and General Conference was “Confidence Building in the Asia Pacific: The Security Architecture of the 21<sup>st</sup> Century.” Session topics included “Challenges and Postures in the Asia Pacific” and “Asian Regional Cooperation on Humanitarian Assistance and Disaster Relief.”

**Oct. 23: US-DPRK Dialogue (Ulaanbaatar) [+Young Leaders Program]**

Participants from Pyongyang's Institute for Disarmament and Peace and Institute for American Studies meet privately with a Pacific Forum team to discuss US-DPRK relations and Korean Peninsula security.

**Oct. 27: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program – Economic Diplomacy, Human Security, and Diplomatic Careers (Honolulu)**

Retired Ambassadors James Moriarty (to Bangladesh and Nepal) and Lauren Kahea Moriarty (to APEC) discussed economic diplomacy, human security, and diplomatic careers.

**Oct. 30: Honolulu International Forum featuring U.S. Ambassador to Indonesia Robert O. Blake (Honolulu)**

US Ambassador to Indonesia Robert O. Blake, discussed Indonesian President Joko Widodo's visit to Washington.

**Nov. 3: Challenges and Prospects for Women in International Affairs (Honolulu)**

An informal, intergenerational discussion facilitated by WSD-Handa Fellow Jessica Lee who provided brief remarks on inclusive leadership, barriers facing women in international relations, and ways that those barriers can be addressed.

**Nov. 4-6: Workshop on Strategic Trade Controls (Taipei)**

The workshop covered recent STC developments; control lists and trade management of strategic goods; free trade zones; transit, transshipment, and brokering; intangible transfers of technology ; the interface between licensing and detection; and regional cooperation on STC issues.

**Nov. 5: Public Panel Discussion at the American Center (Tokyo)**

Ralph Cossa and Brad Glosserman were joined by Gen. Yamaguchi Noboru and Dr. Kotani Tetsuo to discuss US extended deterrence and trilateral cooperation among the US, Japan, and South Korea.

**Nov. 8-11: Northeast Asia Regional Young Leaders Security Seminar (Seoul)**

This exclusive Young Leaders-only conference, sponsored by SKC Chairman Choi ShinWon, was held at the Sheraton Grande Walkerhill Seoul. Young Leaders from China, Japan, Korea, and the US participated in a tabletop exercise based on a North Korean cyber attack on a nuclear power plant.

**Nov. 9: “Real People Talking” Public Panel Discussion at the American Center Korea (Seoul)**

Ralph Cossa and Brad Glosserman, joined by fellow panelists Dr. Choi Kang and Dr. Myong-Hyun Go of the Asan Institute, addressed the meaning and use of extended deterrence in Northeast Asia and the viability of trilateral cooperation against shared threats.

**Nov. 13: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program – Growing Hawaii’s Economy and Creating Jobs (Honolulu)**

Senator Donovan Dela Cruz shared his perspective on Hawaii’s brain drain, his strategy to create more jobs in Hawaii, and his advice on how young people can help the community.

**Nov. 18: Young Leaders Alumni and Friends Singapore Chapter**

“The US-China Divide in Intellectual Property and the TPP,” a discussion with Dr. June Park, former Korea Foundation non-resident fellow.

**Nov. 20: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program - Overview of the Asia Pacific from an Australian perspective (Honolulu)**

APAL members were treated to a special meeting at the home of Australian Deputy Consul-General Damien Donovan.

**Nov. 24: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program – Travel Immersion Programs Information Session** (Honolulu)

APAL alumni Michael Calistro, Kelly Park, and Petra Kubalkova gave presentations on travel experience programs: Northeast Asia Economic Forum, MOSAIC Taiwan, and the Critical Language Scholarship. Special Guest Christina Lee also introduced the JET Program.

**Dec. 1: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program – US-Japan Relations** (Honolulu)

Pacific Forum Executive Director Brad Glosserman provided an overview of Japan since World War II and the current challenges Japan faces, including Abenomics and problems reconciling over the South Korean comfort women issue.

**Dec. 3: Women in International Affairs** (Honolulu)

A continuation of the Nov. 3 “Challenges and Prospects for Women in International Affairs” discussion, attendees addressed ways that institutions can support mid-career women professionals to ascend to leadership positions.

**Dec. 8: Honolulu International Forum featuring Yoshiyuki Kasai and Katsuyuki Kawai** (Honolulu)

Special breakfast meeting featuring Japan Railway Company Chairman Emeritus, Yoshiyuki Kasai and Katsuyuki Kasai, a special adviser to PM Shinzo Abe.

**Dec. 9-10: 3rd Myanmar-US/UK Nonproliferation Dialogue** (Yangon)

Participants addressed questions about the future of efforts to burnish Myanmar’s nonproliferation credentials through a discussion of nonproliferation implementation issues as well as strategic trade controls.

**Dec. 17: Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program/Young Leaders Program – Holiday Networking Social** (Honolulu)

APAL members met with Pacific Forum staff, fellows, community members, and Young Leaders at Hukilau in downtown Honolulu.

## **SUMMARY OF 2015 EVENTS**

**35 Senior-level Conferences, Seminars, and Workshops** (19 cities; 10 countries)

**22 Young Leader Events** (14 cities; 10 countries, providing 227 seats for next generation participants from 22 countries)

**17 Honolulu International Forum Meetings**

**16 Hawaii Asia-Pacific Leadership Affairs Program Meetings**

**5 Special Events** (Board Dinner, Myanmar Training Courses, Book Signing)

**19 Resident Fellows** from 8 different countries

**6 Interns**

**Annual Budget: \$2.5 million**