

## GIVING THANKS AFTER A PRODUCTIVE 2022

Pacific Forum thanks all its supporters in the United States, in Asia and the Pacific, and around the world as 2022 comes to a close.

After nearly three years of challenges posed by the COVID-19 pandemic Pacific Forum's staff and leadership continued their work, hosting more than 20 events locally, virtually, and internationally, continuing in the implementation of Track 1.5/Track 2 dialogues, and publishing timely original research, edited volumes, and commentary. In 2022, as the Indo-Pacific security community was rocked by events with little recent precedent—Russia's invasion of Ukraine, the assassination of long-serving Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo, or House Speaker Nancy Pelosi's Taiwan visit—Pacific Forum's extensive network demonstrated its value, providing timely, prompt commentary on these events from angles that challenged conventional narratives.

Furthermore, Pacific Forum remains committed to mentoring emerging voices in foreisgn policy professionals through the Young Leaders Program, Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership (APAL) Program, and our fellowship opportunities. Through these programs, we continue to provide the next generation of diplomats, policymakers, academics, and other professionals with the analytical skills, research perspectives, and guidance needed to contribute to the development of practical policy solutions.

We remain heartened by the support of our international network who share in our goals of promoting innovation, dialogue, and security across the Indo-Pacific.

Below you will find examples of our timely research and commentary from the past year. Links to more than 80 online publications have been included for your reference, and recordings from a host of timely webinars conducted in partnership with institutions across the Indo-Pacific can be accessed on our <u>YouTube</u> channel. More detail on our programs in 2022 may be accessed via our <u>calendar of events</u>.

Looking ahead to 2023, we encourage you to follow us on <u>Facebook</u> and <u>Twitter</u>, and to subscribe to our <u>mailing list</u>, to receive the latest updates from the organization in the coming year.

We look forward to engaging with you and continuing our work. Happy New Year and Mahalo!

## PacNets

- 1. The limits of a securitized Japanese FOIP Vision by Stephen Nagy
- 2. Balancing accessibility and quality in Blue Dot Network infrastructure finance by John Taishu Pitt
- 3. <u>Abe was key to the Indo-Pacific's evolution</u> by Brad Glosserman
- 4. Comparative Connections Summary: January 2022
- 5. AUKUS' opportunities and risks for India by Manpreet Sethi
- 6. What happens in Ukraine will not stay in Ukraine by Sergiy Korsunsky
- 7. China's growing confidence in drone warfare by Loro Horta
- 8. Back to the past: The significance of Russia and China's joint statement by Yu Bin
- 9. Biden struggles as China advances in Southeast Asia by Robert Sutter
- 10. Is the US capable of shaping a rules-based international order?' by Robert A. Manning
- 11. Nuclear submarines for our Pacific allies: When to say yes by Henry Sokolski
- 12. Ukraine: China's latest strategic blunder by Ralph A. Cossa

- 13. <u>What the Indo-Pacific sees in Ukraine</u> by Stephen Nagy
- 14. What the war in Ukraine means for Taiwan by Denny Roy
- 15. <u>Ukraine: A turning point in Japanese foreign policy?</u> by Kristi Govella
- 16. <u>South Korea's presidential election aftermath: Ukraine as test for a "global pivotal state"</u> by Mason Richey
- 17. Ukraine: After invasion, what? by David Santoro
- 18. Ukraine and the decoupling of space cooperation with Russia by Philip Citowicki
- 19. <u>Myanmar: Words like "genocide" have consequences</u> by David I. Steinberg
- 20. <u>After Ukraine Enacting a realistic Japanese diplomatic security policy</u> by Hideshi Futori
- 21. India's strategic autonomy: A lesson for Japan by Tomoko Kiyota
- 22. <u>Feminist foreign policy and Ukraine: For now, Japan leads the way</u> by Hannah Cole, Maryruth Belsey-Priebe and Tevvi Bullock
- 23. May is a major opportunity for US relations with Asia—especially economically by James A. Kelly
- 24. Why it's so hard to quit Chinese steel by Akash Sahu
- 25. <u>A Black Sea humanitarian food corridor to Odessa</u> by Charles E. Morrison
- 26. <u>Why South Koreans see little difference in Biden's North Korea policy</u> by Timothy S. Rich, Ian Milden and Mallory Hardesty
- 27. What Yoon Suk Yeol's election means for minority rights in South Korea by Eun A Jo
- 28. Comparative Connections Summary: May 2022
- 29. <u>Hints of a new North Korea nuclear strategy</u> by Brad Glosserman
- **30.** <u>Australia's election: Quad continuity and climate alignment, with nuclear disagreements</u> by Graeme Dobell
- 31. <u>Should the United States acknowledge mutual vulnerability with China?</u> by David Santoro
- 32. Scholarships in the Pacific Islands are an urgent US national security issue by Kimery Lynch
- 33. China cannot hinder international navigation through Taiwan Strait by Tran Đinh Hoanh
- 34. Why ASEAN should heed the distant tolling of bells by Patrick O'Connor
- 35. Abe Shinzo and the Japan-South Korea relationship: Near- and long-term legacies by Jada Fraser
- 36. <u>Post-Abe Indo-Pacific regional dynamics: A legacy beyond the man</u> by Stephen Nagy
- 37. Abe's death creates a void in Japan by Brad Glosserman
- 38. China's "containment" policy against America by Denny Roy
- 39. Abe Shinzo's legacy in Southeast Asia by Kei Koga
- 40. Abe Shinzo: How to handle an unpredictable America by Rob York
- 41. <u>Another "hotline" with China isn't the answer</u> by Lyle J. Morris and Colonel Kyle Macrum
- 42. Their money our way: Influencing highly capable allies and partners by Lieutenant Colonel Jason Kim
- 43. Post-Abe India-Japan ties: Does Kishida have what it takes? by Jagannath Panda
- 44. "Hybrid multilateralism" and the Yoon pursuit of middle power strategy by Shin-wha Lee
- 45. The prescience of Abe's vision for Taiwan by Shihoko Goto
- 46. <u>Correcting the Narrative on China's "New Era-gance": Taipei, Washington, and many are angry at</u> <u>Beijing's bullying</u> by Shirley Kan
- 47. Time for difficult choices on Myanmar by Gregory B. Poling
- 48. Are small modular reactors the solution to growing energy and climate problems? by David Santoro
- 49. <u>Continued evolutions in the regional architecture of the Indo-Pacific by Thomas Wilkins</u>
- 50. China's new (old) Taiwan white paper: What's the point? by Jake Steiner
- 51. Five years after the Rohingya exodus, no significant development by Mufassir Rashid
- 52. The first year of Japan's Digital Agency: In pursuit of coherence and identity by Raymond Yamamoto
- **53.** <u>How the United States can build a chip alliance in Northeast Asia without decoupling</u> by Major Jessica Taylor and Jonathan Corrado
- 54. <u>Comparative Connections Summary: September 2022</u>
- 55. Understanding Japan's defense debate by Brad Glosserman
- 56. Employing "smart power" to counter PRC efforts in Oceania by Peter C. Oleson
- 57. <u>What Indo-Pacific countries should do about Taiwan</u> by Huynh Tam Sang
- 58. <u>The strategic importance of the Pacific Islands to Taiwan</u> by Michael Walsh and John Hemmings
- 59. How the new National Security Strategy transforms US China policy by Brad Glosserman

- 60. The Myth of Taiwan as a Pacific Nation by Michael Walsh, Wen-Chi Yang, Adam Morrow
- 61. The new National Security Strategy in the context of an unstated "cold war" by John Hemmings
- 62. Myanmar's emerging national identity could change everything by Wayland Blue
- 63. <u>AUKUS: Stepping boldly into space</u> by Philip Citowicki
- 64. The Biden-Xi summit: Not revolutionary, but still necessary by Daniel R. DePetris
- 65. <u>To change Taiwan's conscription system, change the culture</u> by Claire Tiunn (Chang)
- 66. Finally at the table, not on the menu: Canada launches its Indo-Pacific strategy by Stephen Nagy
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- 68. South Korea's role in a Taiwan contingency: Indirect but essential by Sungmin Cho

## **Issues & Insights**

- 1. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, WP1 Progress and Challenges to Implementing Women, Peace and</u> <u>Security in Southeast Asia</u> by Jennifer Howe
- 2. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, WP2 Compound Gender-Climate-Security Threats and Vulnerabilities</u> within the Indo-Pacific by Maryruth Belsey Priebe
- 3. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, WP3 Feminist Peace and Security and The Other ASEAN Way</u> by Maria Tanyag
- 4. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, WP4 Trouble on the Rocks: US Policy in East China Sea and South China</u> <u>Sea Disputes</u> by Akhil Ramesh
- 5. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, SR1 Resilient Alliance: Moving the US-Philippines Security Relations</u> Forward Edited by Jeffrey Ordaniel and Carl Baker
- 6. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, SR2 US-China Mutual Vulnerability: Perspectives on the Debate</u> Edited by David Santoro
- 7. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, SR 3 South Korea's Place in the Indo-Pacific: A Research Showcase for</u> <u>Pacific Forum's Korea Foundation Fellows</u> Edited by Rob York
- 8. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, SR4 Small Modular Reactors: The Next Phase for Nuclear Power in the</u> <u>Indo-Pacific?</u> Edited by David Santoro and Carl Baker
- 9. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, SR5 US-Singapore: Advancing Technological Collaboration and</u> <u>Innovation in Southeast Asia</u> Edited by Mark Bryan Manantan
- 10. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, WP6 Chinese Cyber Nationalism During the Pandemic: A Discourse</u> <u>Analysis of Zhihu</u> by Talkeetna Saiget
- 11. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, SR6 AUKUS: A Look Back at The First Analyses</u> Edited by David Santoro and Rob York
- 12. Issues & Insights Vol. 22, SR7 Abe Shinzo: In Memoriam Edited by Rob York
- 13. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, SR8 Next Steps for the US-China Strategic Nuclear Relationship</u> Edited by David Santoro
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- 15. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, WP7 Rising from the Ashes: The Future of Arms Control</u> by Victor Mizin and Yue Yuan
- 16. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, CR1 Getting Past Constraints: Deepening US Security Relations with</u> <u>Vietnam and Indonesia</u> by Jeffrey Ordaniel and Carl Baker
- 17. <u>Issues & Insights Vol. 22, CR2 US-Taiwan Deterrence and Defense Dialogue: Responding to</u> <u>Increased Chinese Aggressiveness</u> by Ralph Cossa

## **Comparative Connections**

- 1. Volume 23, Issue 3
- 2. <u>Volume 24, Issue 1</u>
- 3. <u>Volume 24, Issue 2</u>