

# ANNUAL REPORT 2024



# Vision

The Pacific Forum envisions an Indo-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.



# Mission

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



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# MESSAGE FROM OUR PRESIDENT

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## ALOHA!

2024 was a good year for Pacific Forum. We continued to expand our existing programs and implement strategies to diversify our portfolio of programs. We finished the fiscal year in a strong position, expanding our involvement in topical areas of strategic significance for the Indo-Pacific, including economic security, cyber security, and defense industry collaboration.

Geographically, we increased our engagement in South Asia and facilitated European engagement in the Indo-Pacific. We also further developed our longstanding programs on strategic relations, nuclear policy, regional security architecture, and public diplomacy.

Looking ahead into 2025 and beyond, we plan to continue this trajectory and deepen and expand our programs, as well as exploring new opportunities related to the emerging Indo-Pacific security environment. I envision growth in three substantive areas. The first is functional and entails further growing our emerging programs and exploring other related fields, including a broadened perspective on economic security and expanding the range of issues related to artificial intelligence and cybersecurity.



# MESSAGE FROM OUR PRESIDENT

The second area of growth is regional. Second, in addition to continuing our work on multilateral and bilateral strategic dialogues, the Pacific Forum plans to advance programs to include South Asia, the Pacific Islands, and Europe. The third area of growth is the expansion of the Honolulu Defense Forum to include more partnerships with defense officials and organizations from around the world.

Beyond our substantive portfolio, I also intend to further adapt Pacific Forum as an organization to strengthen our competitiveness in the industry. Doing so will involve conducting more policy-relevant research and better integrating it into our multiple dialogue processes, as well as ramping up our online presence and podcast activities.

The pages that follow provide information about our 2024 activities: our publications including our PacNet Commentary series, Issues & Insights Studies series, and the final volume of our Comparative Connections journal; our fellowship programs – Lloyd and Lilian Vasey, James A. Kelly Korean Studies, WSD-Handa, Korea Foundation, and Women, Peace, and Security – all providing research

opportunities on regional and international affairs;

Our Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program (APAL) and its local community-centered engagement with students and young professionals, underscoring the connection between Hawaii and the Indo-Pacific; and our Intern Program, which offers opportunities to undergraduate and graduate students interested in gaining research or management skills through practical experience in a think tank.

Across these lines of effort lies Pacific Forum’s enduring commitment to help advance peace, prosperity, and security in the Indo-Pacific and, as our founder Admiral Joe Vasey liked to say, “find a better way” to resolve or manage problems.

As a member of the Pacific Forum since 2011, I am thrilled to continue pursuing this mission and help further grow the organization.

MAHALO FOR YOUR UNWAVERING SUPPORT



David Santoro



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*The Board of Directors oversee and direct the business and affairs of Pacific Forum.*

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# FINANCIAL STATEMENT

US\$	FY24	FY23
Operating Revenue	\$3,174,172.76	\$4,095,530.48
Investment Income	\$ 1,035,827.11	\$527,932.58
Expenditures	\$3,617,694.01	\$4,170,803.90
Net Income	\$592,305.86	\$452,659.16
Total Assets	\$6,603,016.36	\$6,032,979.64

# PACIFIC FORUM FOCUS AREAS



Pacific Forum is a private, non-profit, non-partisan foreign policy research institute. We conduct policy-relevant research while connecting and informing Indo-Pacific stakeholders and specialists in an effort to contribute to peace and stability in the region. We meet these objectives by offering resident and non-resident fellowships; mentoring next-generation leaders; hosting conferences, lectures, and dialogues; and publishing opinion, analysis, and reports addressing current and emerging issues affecting regional security.

The Pacific Forum is guided by the belief that bilateral and multilateral solutions to regional problems are the most effective ways to promote enduring peace and stability. To this end, we bring together current and former government officials, retired military leaders, next-generation experts, and other thought leaders to meetings. Informed by those interactions, we pursue policy-relevant research and share our insights and analysis through community events, briefings to government leaders, and publications.

We also recognize that it is vital to have the next generation in the room and at the table. Our next-generation initiatives distinguishes Pacific Forum from other

organizations by providing opportunities for young experts to engage in policy-relevant exchanges. Our programs provide unparalleled access to decision-makers and peers, ensuring that fresh voices and perspectives contribute to the regional security discourse.

Our objective is to enhance understanding by promoting sustainable, cooperative solutions to common security challenges to prevent or mitigate conflict.

Although much of our work centers on promoting peaceful relations between and among states, we recognize that other factors, including the well-being of all segments of society within individual states and the sustainability of natural resources, play important roles in the maintenance of a safe, peaceful, and secure Indo-Pacific.

Our work dynamically addresses both longstanding and emerging security issues. We characterize our programs under umbrella “Focus Areas.” While not inclusive of all our activities, these Focus Areas showcase the exciting initiatives underway at Pacific Forum.

## **FOCUS AREAS AT PACIFIC FORUM INCLUDE :**

- Nonproliferation, Disarmament and Nuclear Security
- Strategic Relations
- Maritime Security
- Cybersecurity and Critical Technologies
- Economic Statecraft
- India and Indian Ocean
- International Exchanges
- Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP)



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# NONPROLIFERATION, DISARMAMENT, AND NUCLEAR SECURITY



The Pacific Forum regularly convenes dialogues and conferences and conducts research in support of nonproliferation, disarmament, and nuclear security.

Weapons of mass destruction (WMD) are widely recognized to be a threat to international peace and security. Efforts to prevent and counter their proliferation, promote disarmament, as well as ensure the peaceful uses of nuclear technology are important mutually reinforcing goals.

These are the three pillars of the Nuclear Nonproliferation Treaty (NPT) and have special significance in the Indo-Pacific region, which includes several nuclear-armed states, expanding nuclear energy programs, growing quantities of fissile and radioactive materials, and an increasing

number of biotech and chemical industries.

Through its various initiatives, the Pacific Forum advances nonproliferation and disarmament goals as well as ensuring the peaceful uses of nuclear technology. Beyond promoting full implementation of NPD treaties and other agreements, specific goals of Pacific Forum's efforts related to nonproliferation include ensuring the safe, secure, peaceful use of nuclear technology, preventing WMD illicit trafficking, encouraging effective and appropriate management of sensitive goods, promoting implementation of UN Security Council Resolution 1540, and promoting implementation of the Bangkok Treaty (and, in particular, encouraging dialogue between ASEAN and nuclear-weapon states on its protocol).

One particularly important venue for this work, and explained in more detail below, is the Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia-Pacific (CSCAP). Pacific Forum (as the Secretariat for USCSCAP) co-chairs with Vietnam the CSCAP Study Group on Nonproliferation and Disarmament and with Singapore the CSCAP Nuclear Energy Experts Group (NEEG).

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## STRATEGIC RELATIONS



The Pacific Forum's Strategic Relations focus area deals with grand strategy, geopolitics, and issues pertaining to deterrence, extended deterrence, assurance, strategic stability, as well as crisis management and arms control. While typically centered on

nuclear weapons, the program also addresses the role of other weapons, emerging technologies, and new domains, including cyber and space.

The program examines US relationships with China and Russia, the place and role of US alliances and new strategic partnerships, and the future of the Asian and global security orders. It is anchored in the belief that while other theaters (notably Europe) will remain of paramount importance to the United States, the strategic future will be written primarily in the Indo-Pacific.

# MARITIME SECURITY



The Indo-Pacific is a predominantly maritime region. Stretching from the Sea of Japan to the South China Sea, this maritime domain plays a central role in the region's economic, political, and security dynamics. In recent years, Asia's maritime spaces have become arenas for geopolitical competition and expressions of national ambition. As maritime challenges multiply—from offshore territorial disputes and overlapping EEZ claims to illegal, unreported, and unregulated (IUU) fishing—strengthening the rule of law and enhancing regional cooperation have become imperative. To support a free, open, and rules-based maritime order, Pacific Forum has conducted research projects and co-hosted Track 1.5 and Track 2 dialogues in collaboration with policy experts and academics across the region. In 2024, Pacific Forum completed a study examining the weapons of mass destruction (WMD) landscape in maritime Southeast Asia over a 5–10 year horizon. The study, which included a workshop in Singapore, focused on how the five key US maritime partners in Southeast Asia—Indonesia, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, and Vietnam—perceive China's growing nuclear and missile capabilities, the prospect of US-China nuclear parity and competition, and their preferences regarding US nuclear arms control and risk reduction policies.

Pacific Forum also co-organized the Manila Dialogue on the South China Sea; a new Track 1.5 initiative aimed at promoting rules-based approaches to managing and resolving maritime disputes in the highly contested South China Sea.

As part of its 2024 programming, the Pacific Forum's Maritime Security Program published several Issues & Insights reports, including:

- Nuclear Weapons and Related Security Issues in Southeast Asia: Understanding Regional Views and Preferences
- Advancing a Rules-Based Maritime Order in the South China Sea
- Keeping One at Arm's Length: The Missile & Nuclear Dimension of China's Counter-Intervention Strategy in the Western Pacific
- Attaining All-Domain Control: China's Anti-Access/Area Denial (A2/AD) Capabilities in the South China Sea
- Game Theory: Negotiation Reputation, Payoffs, and Impact on the SEANWFZ

# CYBERSECURITY AND CRITICAL TECHNOLOGIES



Cybersecurity and emerging technologies are taking center stage in the conduct of statecraft, with profound effects on international affairs. The Indo-Pacific is at the forefront of a technology revolution as deployment of critical and emerging technologies (CET), such as artificial intelligence (AI) will create trillions of dollars of value. Indo-Pacific countries will also play a pivotal role in the realignment of supply chains essential to CET industries, particularly semiconductors.

The nexus of cybersecurity, emerging technologies, national security, and economic security has become and will continue to be a driver of geopolitics in the Indo-Pacific. But technology collaboration in the Indo-Pacific is enormously complex. Collaboration and governance occur on multiple interacting levels, including bilateral, regional, and multilateral groups and institutions. There is a limited understanding of how these interactions affect cross-border research and development (R&D), investment, and commercialization. Examining the challenges and opportunities facing CET actors in the Indo-Pacific offers a means to identify best

practices for enhancing Indo-Pacific tech cooperation while building trust between stakeholders.

In response to the urgency and uncertainty that technological innovation creates, the Pacific Forum established the Cybersecurity and Critical Technologies program to explore the opportunities and challenges of the Fourth Industrial Revolution amid deepening geostrategic and technological competition. Through this initiative, the Pacific Forum is pioneering efforts in the region to bridge policy and practice to better achieve cybersecurity and tech policy coordination among like-minded partners and stakeholders and, ultimately, illuminate the long-term implications of technological disruptions. Several projects convene leading thinkers and innovators from government, academia, industry and civil society across the Indo-Pacific. Through a close collaborative partnership among in country and regional interlocutors, the Pacific Forum is adopting a unique approach to policy and dialogue that harnesses local and international perspectives to advance insightful and impactful policymaking.

## Converge: Indo-Pacific Critical Tech Forum



In one venue, the Pacific Forum, in partnership with the Research Center for Advanced Science and Technology at the University of Tokyo, held CONVERGE: Indo Pacific Critical Tech Forum in October 10-11, 2024, in Tokyo, Japan. Organized with support from the US State Department, CONVERGE pursued a pragmatic approach to research and dialogue by emphasizing research, policy and industry perspectives from thought leaders from government, industry, academia, and civil society in the US, Japan, Australia, India, Singapore, and the Philippines. to ensure that the insights and recommendations generated are feasible in the real-world setting.

## Cyber ASEAN: Advancing resiliency and capacity in Southeast Asia



In 2022, Pacific Forum, in partnership with Australia's Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, launched Cyber ASEAN: Advancing Cyber Competency and Resiliency in Southeast Asia. A flagship project of Pacific Forum's Cybersecurity and Critical Technologies program, Cyber ASEAN is a capacity building and development initiative that aims to support the region's development of a homegrown cybersecurity assessment framework to

protect and strengthen critical national infrastructure.

From 2022 to 2023, Pacific Forum conducted local and regional workshops and in-depth research. Adopting a participatory-design approach, Cyber ASEAN's team of senior advisors and country experts engaged key stakeholders from government, private sector, academia, and civil society groups in the Philippines, Vietnam, Indonesia, and Malaysia.

Cyber ASEAN held back-to-back launch events in Jakarta, Indonesia in partnership with the Australian Mission to ASEAN in March 2024 and later in Canberra with the Australian National University's Philippine's Project. A six-part special podcast series featuring country experts and senior advisors reflected on the project's outcomes and impact.

## Developing an AI capability framework for the trilateral security dialogue : US, Australia and Japan



Supported by the Australian Department of Defence's Strategic Policy Grants Program, the Pacific Forum, in partnership with RMIT University, produced "Developing an AI

Capability Framework for the Trilateral Security Dialogue (TSD): US, Australia, and Japan," an analysis of the three countries' perceptions of and inclinations for AI cooperation. The product of high-level consultations among experts, practitioners, and professionals in Canberra, Tokyo, Honolulu, and Washington DC, the report explores the prospects for a common approach to AI development and innovation among the three countries. It was released at special event at the Australian Embassy in Washington D.C. in July 2024.

## US-Japan Cyber Forum: Defense, diplomacy, and development



The Pacific Forum's "US-Japan Cyber Forum" evaluated the state of cybersecurity

cooperation between the two allies amid drastic changes in the international environment. The project analyzed how recent geopolitical and technological changes impact the US-Japan alliance from a cybersecurity perspective. A three-part webinar series clarified the challenges and uncovered opportunities for greater cyber policy coordination the US and Japan and a closed-door seminar assessed those discussions.

## Strengthening US-ROK science and tech partnership on critical technologies



This project, held with support from the Consulate-General of the Republic of Korea in Honolulu and in partnership with George Mason Korea's Center for Security Policy Studies, included a three-part webinar and a two-day workshop that examined US-South Korea cooperation in artificial intelligence, robotics, semiconductors, cybersecurity and 5G/6G.

## ECONOMIC STATECRAFT



The Economic Statecraft Initiative studies the use of economic tools—trade policy, industrial policy, investment, and export controls—to achieve strategic foreign policy and national security objectives. Researchers at the Forum publish white papers and organize critical sector-specific fellowship programs.

The COVID-19 pandemic, Russia’s invasion of Ukraine and the subsequent disruptions in global supply chains brought resiliency of supply chains to the forefront of national security discussions. The Economic Statecraft program examines vulnerabilities in sectors deemed critical to national security interests.

Akhil Ramesh, director of the program, along with Rob York, director of Regional Affairs, co-authored four white papers examining friend-shoring critical supply chains of pharmaceuticals, critical minerals, EV batteries and semiconductors in 2023. In May 2024, York traveled to Philadelphia to speak on reshoring pharmaceutical supply chains at the CPHI Americas conference.

In early October, over 20 semiconductor industry leaders joined Pacific Forum in Bengaluru, India for discussions of these vital supply chains. A similar program is examining this same issue with a focus on Southeast Asia. In November, Executive Director Carl Baker organized a discussion on economic security in partnership with the Institute of International Relations at the National Cheng-chi University.

Over the year, Pacific Forum published 15+ short form pieces as PacNets, covering various topics related to economic statecraft.

As commercial and trade relations take center stage in the United States’ bilateral relationships, economic statecraft will gain significance. The discourse on critical infrastructure has significantly changed over the last few years. This initiative will become timelier and more necessary as ports, critical minerals, data centers, and large infrastructure will not simply be areas of commercial activity but increasingly national security priorities.

## INDIA AND INDIAN OCEAN



Two years since its inception, the India and Indian Ocean program has swiftly grown to become the largest program at Pacific Forum. From dedicated fellowships on US-India relations to media workshops in India and high-level track 1.5 discussions, the India and Indian Ocean program encompasses a wide range of work. With consecutive administrations in Washington describing the India partnership as “most consequential” and the “most important relationship of the 21st century,” there is always more to do on the US- India partnership.

The year started with President David Santoro outlining the importance of the Indian Ocean to officials and think tankers at the Indian Ocean Conference in Perth, Australia. In April, Pacific Forum launched a dedicated fellowship for Indian nationals to conduct policy- relevant research on US-India semiconductor cooperation. Later in the year, Santoro and Akhil Ramesh, director

of the India Program, in partnership with the Confederation of Indian Industries (CII), chaired a semiconductor industry outreach event in Bengaluru. Pacific Forum also hosted several workshops across India to train next-generation journalists. In early November, Pacific Forum convened a closed-door discussion on the India, Israel, U.A.E. and U.S. group -- the I2U2 -- in Los Angeles with experts and government representatives to discuss its future. Pacific Forum also organized the inaugural US-India Indo-Pacific track 1.5 dialogue.

Throughout the year, Pacific Forum published both long-form (Comparative Connections chapters on US-India relations) and short-form (PacNet) analyses of topics affecting the partnership.

Pacific Forum looks forward to riding the momentum of successful programmatic work on US-India relations and continue expansion of this program. Mahalo and Namaste!

# INTERNATIONAL EXCHANGES

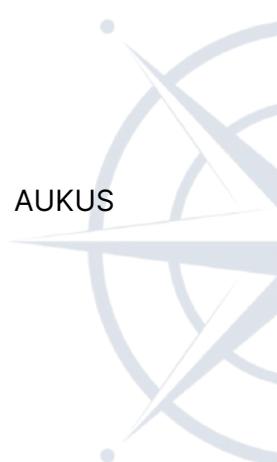


In 2024, Pacific Forum joined the Global Ties US network as the local programming partner in Honolulu for the US Department of State's International Visitor Leadership Program (IVLP).

Through short-term visits, the IVLP program provides current and emerging foreign leaders in a variety of fields the opportunity to experience the United States firsthand and cultivate lasting relationships with counterparts in the US.

In 2024, we welcomed the following IVLP groups to Honolulu:

- Understanding US Indo-Pacific Policy (Indonesia)
- Cultivating Scholarship in Central Asia (Central Asia)
- Economic Development of Coastal Cities (Papua New Guinea)
- Accelerating Clean Energy Deployment (Japan)
- Independent Journalism in the US (Pacific Islands)
- Building the Future of Japan's Cybersecurity (Japan)
- Cooperation in Marine Scientific Research (Pacific Islands)
- Strengthening Partnerships and Developing Critical Technologies in Support of AUKUS (Australia & UK)



## THE COUNCIL FOR SECURITY COOPERATION IN THE ASIA PACIFIC (CSCAP)



The Council for Security Cooperation in the Asia Pacific (CSCAP) was established in June 1993 by strategic studies institutes from 10 countries for the purpose of providing “a more structured regional process of a non-governmental nature to contribute to the efforts toward regional confidence building and enhancing regional security through dialogues, consultation and cooperation.” CSCAP now includes a member committee from nearly every country in the region as the original 10 (Australia, Canada, Indonesia, Japan, Korea, Malaysia, the Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, and the United States) have been joined by New Zealand, Russia, North Korea, Mongolia, China, India, European Union, Vietnam, Cambodia, Brunei, Myanmar, and Laos. The Pacific Island Forum Secretariat is an associate member. Pacific Forum serves as the Secretariat for the US CSCAP Member Committee.

CSCAP has provided a forum for scholars, officials, and other professionals in their private capacities to discuss a range of political and security issues and challenges facing the region. Its Study Groups have achieved noteworthy successes, including a definition of preventive diplomacy adopted by the ARF, and a number of agreements and policy recommendations on a wide range of topics, especially in the areas of maritime governance and nonproliferation of weapons of mass destruction. A significant number of these CSCAP recommendations have been passed on to the ARF and have attained an important place on the latter’s cooperative security agenda.

USCSCAP has been a co-chair for numerous CSCAP Study Groups and is currently co-chair with CSCAP Vietnam of the Nonproliferation and Disarmament (NPD) Study Group and co-chair with CSCAP Korea, CSCAP Japan, and CSCAP China of the Northeast Asia Peace and Security Cooperation Study Group. As part of the NPD Study Group, USCSCAP also chairs two subordinate experts’ groups related to export controls and nuclear energy. In 2021, USCSCAP helped launch a new Study Group on Women, Peace, and Security (WPS), with USCSCAP, CSCAP Indonesia, and CSCAP New Zealand as co-chairs. The WPS Study Group focuses on the advancement of the WPS agenda in the Asia Pacific, particularly within Southeast Asia. By demonstrating the value and utility of a gender perspective, this study group hopes to apply a gendered lens throughout CSCAP studies, providing timely and relevant insights on longstanding policy and security issues.

Pacific Forum, as part of the consortium of CSCAP-affiliated institutes, has collaborated with other affiliates to undertake research efforts focused on specific issues. These include a collaboration with the Rajaratnam School for Strategic and International Studies (RSIS), the Secretariat for CSCAP Singapore, on a comprehensive study of best practices and lessons learned by selected international and regional organizations and which provided a series of recommendations for moving from confidence building to preventive diplomacy a study that was accepted by the ARF as the guiding reference for the development of the 2011 ARF Work Plan on Preventive Diplomacy and work with Indonesia’s Centre for Strategic and International Studies, the Secretariat for CSCAP Indonesia, on a workshop on cybersecurity that developed the framework for the ARF Inter-sessional Meeting (ISM) work plan for information and communication technologies (ICTs).

# Honolulu Defense Forum



The Honolulu Defense Forum (HDF) is the premier annual security conference hosted by the Pacific Forum in Waikiki, dedicated to strengthening defense cooperation and enhancing deterrence across the Indo-Pacific region. Established in 2024 as a conference on “Operationalizing Integration in the Indo-Pacific,” the HDF has quickly evolved into a venue that brings together key stakeholders from government, industry, and partner nations to address critical regional security challenges. The 2025 forum, held February 12-14, included more than 400 people, among them senior officials from nearly 20 nations across the Indo-Pacific, Europe, and North America. It focused on leveraging geography, private-public partnerships, and alliance structures to strengthen resilience and enhance deterrence against growing threats in the region, particularly from what participants described as an emerging “axis of autocracy” among China, Russia, North Korea, and Iran.

Participation consisted primarily of US government officials (27.8%), foreign government representatives (24.7%), industry stakeholders from both US and international companies (33.4%), nongovernmental organizations and academia (11.3%), and media (2.8%).

Notable participants included Admiral Samuel Paparo, commander of US Indo-Pacific Command, members of Congress, and defense officials from partner nations such as Australia, Japan, South Korea, Canada, New Zealand, the Philippines, the United Kingdom, France, and Germany.

The goal of the Honolulu Defense Forum is to facilitate dialogue and solutions between public and private stakeholders to accelerate integration across policy, doctrine, technology, and equipment domains in support of Indo-Pacific security. To do so, the HDF addresses a wide range of themes, including operationalizing urgency in regional security, building and sustaining integrated defense capabilities, harnessing critical technologies at scale, driving innovation and competitiveness in security initiatives, building a robust industrial base, and promoting regional security through effective policies.

The 2025 conference featured extensive discussions on improving defense stockpiles, accelerating acquisition systems, scaling production of unmanned systems, strengthening industrial cooperation with allies, and enhancing capabilities in emerging domains such as space, cyber, and cognitive warfare. A significant initiative announced during the 2025 forum was the Partnership for Indo-Pacific Industrial Resilience (PIPIR), which focuses on embedding standardization and interoperability into procurement planning, enabling sustainment work at the point of need, revitalizing US shipbuilding, removing licensing barriers to technology transfer, and reinforcing external security controls.

Next year’s annual Honolulu Defense Forum will be held in January 2026. For more information contact [HDF@pacforum.org](mailto:HDF@pacforum.org) or Kimberly Lehn, Senior Director of the Honolulu Defense Forum, at [kim@pacforum.org](mailto:kim@pacforum.org).

# NEXT-GENERATION PROGRAMS

The Pacific Forum is committed to developing and engaging the next generation of leaders in Hawaii, the US mainland, and throughout the region and beyond. For over 20 years, we have enriched the careers of young security specialists by engaging them in the practical aspects of policymaking, from attendance at senior-level dialogues to publishing opportunities to in-residence research fellowships that provide them with the opportunity to research a specific area in depth.

Pacific Forum began its fellowship program in 2002 with a single Vasey Fellowship for young scholars working on East Asian issues. Since then, we have created additional fellowships and have hosted over 100 resident fellows from 21 countries. We also have non-resident fellows. Currently, Pacific Forum maintains three “Legacy Fellowship” programs: the Vasey Fellowship, the James A. Kelly Korean Studies Fellowship, and the WSD-Handa Fellowship. We have two “Partner-sponsored Fellowship” programs: the Korea Foundation Fellowship and the Nonproliferation Fellowship.

## Internships

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Pacific Forum offers full- and part-time internships for students and recent graduates who are interested in gaining practical experience at an international think tank. Pacific Forum has MoUs with Pomona College, the Walsh School of Foreign Service’s Asian Studies Program, and the Center for Indo-Pacific Affairs at the University of Hawai’i to mentor interns who assist in Pacific Forum programming and original research and we also other students who express interest in working with us. We hosted 12 interns throughout 2024 for stays of various duration.

# Young Leaders Program



Established in 2004, the Young Leaders Program (YLP) is a global community of emerging experts and is widely recognized as one of the preeminent career development programs in the world. The program has helped more than 1,500 Young Leaders from over 60 countries realize their full potential through network building, publishing, and attending Pacific Forum conferences and dialogues and next-generation specific programs. In 2024, the YLP celebrated its 20th year anniversary, gathering current Young Leaders (YLPs) and Alumni for a special

roundtable session held during Pacific Forum's annual dinner in April. Discussion summarized the successes of the past two decades while focusing on the future direction of the YLP. Also in 2024, YLP chapter groups were relaunched and expanded in countries where YLPs are based to include Bangkok, Canberra, DC, Hanoi, Honolulu, Jakarta, Manila, New Delhi, New York, Seoul, Singapore, Taipei, and Tokyo.

Last year, YLPs attended events in Malaysia, the Philippines, Japan, Taiwan and the United States. Of special notes, Pacific Forum partners with the Center for Global Security Research (CGSR) in Livermore, California, which regularly invites Young Leaders to attend its workshops. YLPs published extensively in Pacific Forum outlets and several of those articles were picked up and republished by other institutions such as Asia Times, Japan Times, Diplomatie (France), and the Asia New Zealand Foundation.

# The Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program (APAL)



The Hawaii Asia-Pacific Affairs Leadership Program (APAL) mentors local students and young professionals from a diverse set of backgrounds through seminars and networking events with experts and practitioners.

The program provides an introduction to Indo-Pacific affairs from a multidisciplinary set of tools and perspectives. APAL scholars build upon their understanding of the region and assess how these issues affect Hawaii's community by weaving topics into their research interests, professions, and extracurricular initiatives.

The 2024 APAL program concluded with a study tour to Japan in February. Five participants traveled to three cities – Tokyo, Kyoto, and Hiroshima – where they engaged in discussions at universities, site visits to US/Japanese government institutions, and sightseeing at spots of cultural significance.

# Fellowships

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## LLOYD AND LILIAN 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 wife Lilian. The fellowship affords promising young Asian scholars the opportunity to serve as researchers at the Pacific Forum and to develop hands-on expertise in US-Asia policy issues. We had two 2024 resident Vasey fellows in 2024. **Aung Thura Ko Ko** (MMR; 2024-25) who is researching political issues in Myanmar. An Oxford Graduate Scholar, Aung holds a Master of Public Policy from the University of Oxford and He was also a 2024 Salzburg Global Fellow on peace innovation. **Yerin Yoon** (ROK) was a Resident Vasey fellow in 2023-24. She served in the ROK Navy as a surface warfare officer and worked in the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Korean National Diplomat Academy as a researcher. We had seven nonresident Vasey fellows as well.

## JAMES A. KELLY KOREAN STUDIES FELLOWSHIP

The Kelly Fellowship Program consolidates, enhances, institutionalizes, and builds upon Pacific Forum's Korea-oriented programs. The fellowship recognizes the exemplary efforts of former Assistant Secretary of State and Pacific Forum President Emeritus James 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. Kendrick Farm (USA; 2024) was a resident Kelly fellow in 2024. He is involved with a US-South Korean Joint Venture with an emphasis on Artificial Intelligence (AI). We had five nonresident Kelly Fellows as well.

## WSD-HANDA FELLOWSHIP

Through the generosity of the Worldwide Support for Development and Dr. Handa Haruhisa, the Pacific Forum 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. Jamie Lee (USA; 2024) was the Resident WSD/Handa Fellow in 2024. Recipient of an MA in Political Science from the University of Hawai'i at Mānoa, she worked as Research Officer at the Australian Consulate-General in Honolulu after her stint at Pacific Forum. Pacific Forum had ten nonresident Handa Fellows in 2024; they came from countries across the globe, represented a wide range of professions and worked on a diverse array of issues.

## THE INDIA TECHNOLOGY POLICY (ITP) FELLOWSHIP

The ITP Fellowship is a 12-month hybrid policy research fellowship focused on semiconductor technologies supported by the Department of State's Export Control and Related Border Security (EXBS) Program. During the year, eight fellows engaged in research and analysis of India's policy and legal frameworks' impacting semiconductor technology protections. Following months of research and guidance under the supervision of Pacific Forum experts and mentors, the Forum organized a tour of a fabrication facility in Austin, and meetings with industry leaders and academics in Washington D.C., San Jose and Phoenix. To the end of their fellowship, fellows authored policy papers with actionable recommendations for the US and Indian governments.

# ENGAGING THE HAWAII COMMUNITY

To promote understanding of the Indo-Pacific and foster dialogue about regional issues, Pacific Forum runs several programs and events targeting our home community in Hawaii. At these forums, students, professionals, members of the military, educators, and executives engage in discussions that emphasize the interconnectivity between Hawaii and the region.

## Honolulu International Forum

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The Honolulu International Forum is a private, off-the-record breakfast seminar series is one of Pacific Forum's most popular Honolulu programs. HIF members attend small, closed-door roundtable sessions with prominent experts, analysts, and diplomats from the policy-making community.



# Pacific Forum Executive Staff



**David Santaro**  
President and CEO



**Carl Baker**  
Executive Director



**Brooke Mizuno**  
Director of  
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Grants Management



**Rob York**  
Director for  
Regional Affairs



**Mark Bryan  
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Director of  
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Critical Technologies



**Ralph A. Cossa**  
President Emeritus  
& WSD-Handa  
Chair in Peace  
Studies



**Akhil Ramesh**  
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# Pacific Forum Program Staff



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Outreach



**Kula Kukonu**  
Program Manager



**Chrissy Fisher**  
Program Manager



**Belle Rudge**  
Program Manager



# PUBLICATIONS

Pacific Forum has a robust publications program that includes in-depth research and shorter political commentary on timely topics and issues of enduring concern. In 2024 Pacific Forum published 96 PacNets, two issues of Comparative Connections: A Triannual E-journal of Bilateral Relations in the Indo-Pacific, and 12 editions of Issues & Insights, all of which examine major players and developments in the Indo-Pacific region.

Pacific Forum's PacNet series has for decades provided a forum for experts to share insight on Indo-Pacific security in a rigorous, short-form, and accessible format. East Asia is the most popular subject, with more than 30 articles devoted to it; 15 concerned Southeast Asia, including six on the Myanmar civil war, while another 12 concerned India and South Asia, six covered the Pacific Islands, and four addressed Australia. The remainder dealt with broader trends in the region.

In its Issues & Insights series, Pacific Forum published nine working papers featuring long-form analysis by long-time collaborators and experts, and three special reports on the findings of Pacific Forum programs.

Comparative Connections, featuring in-depth coverage of 14 regional relationships in the Indo-Pacific, published its final three issues in January, May, and December 2024, with the latter concluding the e-journal's run by evaluating the anticipated outcomes of the November US presidential election. Published since 1999, Comparative Connections gave experts on the region a platform to track and analyze trends in key bilateral relationships among the most important Indo-Pacific actors and institutions. Though its run concluded in 2024, Pacific Forum looks forward to carrying forward its mission by providing the best in-depth, insightful, and fast-breaking commentary on developments across the region.



# COMMUNICATIONS

In 2024, Pacific Forum strengthened its global presence and visibility through strategic communications, creative marketing, and targeted public relations efforts. We focused on amplifying our thought leadership, expanding our reach to new audiences, and fostering trust with key stakeholders through compelling, consistent storytelling.

This year, we launched coordinated media campaigns around flagship events such as the Operationalizing Integration in the Indo-Pacific, engaged international press partners to broaden our global footprint, and elevated Pacific Forum's voice in critical geopolitical conversations through op-eds, expert commentary, and media interviews.

Our digital strategy was refined to support both brand growth and program visibility — with increased engagement across social media platforms, website traffic, and newsletter performance. We deepened collaboration with like-minded institutions and media outlets. From daily content creation and executive messaging to event branding and media outreach, communications at Pacific Forum plays an essential role not only in sharing our work but in shaping how we are perceived as a thought leader around the world.

## Measurable Impact Across Social Media

### LinkedIn

**358%**

Post Impressions  
(108,940 views)

**12,155**

Followers in total,  
with a net gain of 46

**415%**

Public Engagement  
(1,642 interactions)

**2,340**

Clicks

**948%**

Link Clicks

**14.3%**

CTR on top post

### MailChimp

● **45.2%**

Average Open Rate reached by main newsletter, well above the nonprofit industry benchmark (~25%)

● **8.6%**

Average Click-through rate (CTR), with spikes around major publications and events

# 2024 EVENTS

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**Jan. 8:** Honolulu International Forum featuring James A. Kelly and Ralph Cossa (Honolulu)

**Jan. 16-17:** Operationalizing Integration in the Indo-Pacific (Honolulu)

**Jan. 30-31:** Gender in Health and Climate Security (Virtual Event)

**Jan. 31-Feb. 2:** Managing the Future WMD Environment in Southeast Asia (Singapore)

**Feb. 6-7:** Cross-Border Cooperation on WPS & Maritime Environmental Crimes: Workshop #1 (Virtual Event)

**Feb. 10-16:** Japan Study Tour (Tokyo, Kyoto, Hiroshima)

**Feb. 16-17:** US-India Media Training Workshop (Hyderabad)

**Mar. 7-8:** China-US Strategic Nuclear Dynamics Dialogue (Shanghai)

**Mar. 26-28:** CSCAP Nuclear Energy Experts Group (Singapore)

**Mar. 27:** Launch Event: Cyber ASEAN: Advancing Cyber Resiliency and Capacity in Southeast Asia (Jakarta)

**Apr. 17:** Honolulu International Forum featuring Brad Glosserman (Honolulu)

**Apr. 16:** Pacific Forum 2024 Annual Dinner (Honolulu)

**Apr. 23-25:** Cross-Border Cooperation on WPS & Maritime Environmental Crimes in the Coral Triangle: Workshop #2 (Bali)

**Apr. 29-May 2:** Gender in Health and Climate Security: Workshop #2 (Bali)

**May 2-8:** The Friends, Partners, Allies Program for Journalists (Honolulu)

**May 10:** Workshop on Strengthening Nonproliferation Norms in Southeast Asia (Kuala Lumpur)

**May 13:** Honolulu International Forum featuring Lieutenant General (RET.) In-Bum Chun (Honolulu)

# 2024 EVENTS

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**June 14-15:** US-India Media Training Workshop (Chennai)

**June 24-25:** US-India Indo-Pacific Track 2.0 Dialogue (Kauai)

**June 26:** Honolulu International Forum featuring Dr. Ram Madhav (Honolulu)

**July 8:** Honolulu International Forum featuring Brad Glosserman (Honolulu)

**Aug. 5-6:** CSCAP Study Group on Nonproliferation and Disarmament in the Asia-Pacific (Bangkok)

**Sep. 5-6:** US-Taiwan: Celebrating 45 Years of the Taiwan Relations Act (Virtual Events)

**Sep. 12:** Dialogue on United States-Vietnam Comprehensive Strategic Partnership (Hanoi)

**Sep. 25:** Honolulu International Forum featuring David Santoro (Honolulu)

**Oct. 3:** Honolulu International Forum featuring Rear Admiral Tim Woods (Honolulu)

**Oct. 4:** Strengthening US-India Semiconductor Synergies: Cooperation, Security, and Regulation (Bengaluru)

**Oct. 4-5:** US-India Media Training Workshop (Goa)

**Oct. 5:** CLE International Law Seminar (Honolulu)

**Oct. 10-11:** CONVERGE: The Indo-Pacific Critical Tech Forum (Tokyo)

**Oct. 22:** Honolulu International Forum featuring Satu Limaye (Honolulu)

**Nov. 6-8:** The Manila Dialogue on the South China Sea (Manila)

**Nov. 12-14:** Indo-Pacific Response to Geostrategic and Tech Rivalry (Taipei)

**Dec. 5:** Pacific Forum Leadership Breakfast featuring Zack Cooper (Honolulu)

**PACIFIC FORUM**  
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