



Maluhia

2023

Promoting a Collaborative
Policy Environment

25-27 APRIL 2023 | HONOLULU, HI

DANIEL K. INOUE ASIA-PACIFIC CENTER FOR SECURITY STUDIES

Maluhia
2023

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DKI APCSS Guiding Principles

Transparency
Mutual Respect
Inclusion



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Non-Attribution Policy

To encourage open dialogue, DKI APCSS has a strict non-attribution policy. Each person attending this workshop agrees that he or she will not quote by name or country without permission, now or in the future, remarks made during this workshop.



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Administrative notes

- Name cards
- Travel receipts/pay outs in C103
- Accessing the WiFi
- Registration sheet
- Secretariat in C106
- Dinner options on Wednesday
- Link or QR code
- Feedback form
- Participant notes



Introductions

My name is _____

My “go by” name is _____

I am from _____

My current job is _____

One thing not in my biography is _____



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Opening Dinner

*Please follow the DKI APCSS team to the Kalia
Room at the Hale Koa Hotel*



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Opening & Overview

Pete & Lori



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Intended Outcomes

- Share perspectives on prioritization of regional issues, challenges, and trends as reflected in the current Indo-Pacific strategies of allies and partners in the region and beyond;
- Prioritize areas for expanded integration and collaboration; and
- Identify policy requirements for expanding collaborative efforts.

Workshop plan

WEDNESDAY
Interactive polling
Survey results
Enablers
Backbriefs & discussion
Working lunch
Inhibitors
Backbriefs & discussion

THURSDAY
Reflections
U.S. Government perspectives
Polling
Working lunch
Scenarios
Backbriefs & discussion
Commentary & closeout

Social hour @ Barefoot



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Pre-Workshop Survey

Mike

0915-0925



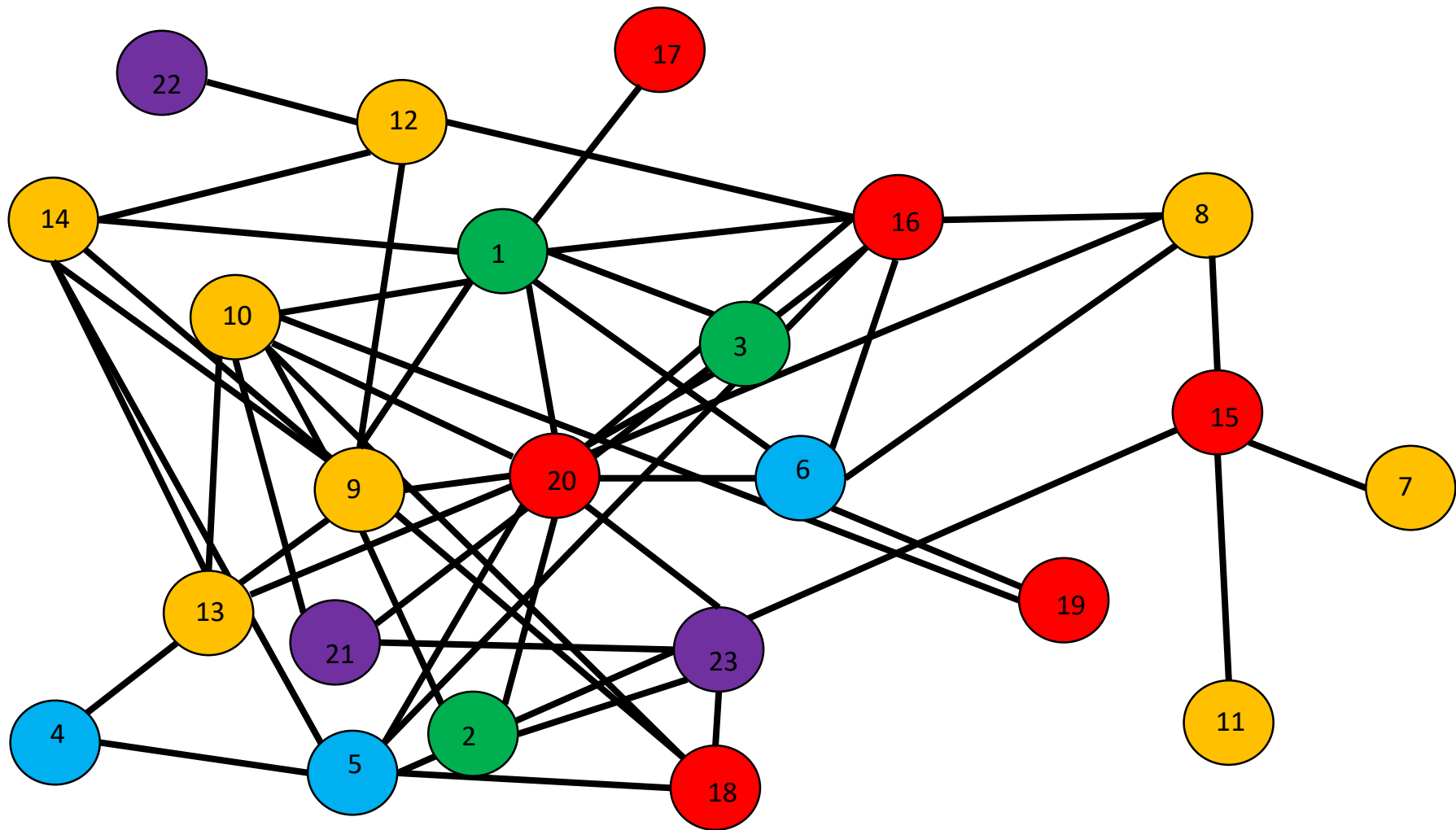
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Survey Overview

- Three survey questions asking about cooperation and policy inhibitors affecting:
 - Security Cooperation
 - Malign Influence
 - Other Topics
- 18 participants responded
- 55 discrete inputs across Security Cooperation, Malign Influence, and Other topics



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Security Cooperation Topics

PKO Training

Maritime Security

Policy Coordination

Security Governance

Capacity Building

Regional Issues

Civil Defense

Training & Exercises

Subject-Matter Expert Exchange

Tech Cooperation

Security Dialogue

Resilience

MOU Implementation

South China Sea Disputes

Security Cooperation

PKO Training

Maritime Security

Policy Coordination

Capacity Building

Regional Issues

Civil Defense

Training & Exchange

Subject-Matter Expert Exchange

Security Dialogue

Resilience

South China Sea Disputes

- Resources
- Commitment
- Establishing Dialogue Mechanism
- Not Member of Regional Dialogue
- Scope of Discussions
- Stakeholder Consultations
- MOU on Defense Cooperation
- Geographic Distance
- One China Policy
- Willingness to Discuss Sensitive Topics
- Border Control

Malign Influence Topics

Terrorism & Radicalism
Foreign Influence Operations

Disinformation
Cyber Security

Clandestine Pol-Mil Activities
Corruption to Enable Foreign Influence
Managing China's Influence

Malign Influence Topics

Terrorism & Radicalism
Foreign Influence Operations

Disinformation
Cyber Security

Clandestine Pol-Mil Activities
Corruption to Enable Foreign Influence
Managing China's Influence

- Commitment
- Corruption
- No Framework to Counter Malign Influence
- MOU on Defense Cooperation
- Unwillingness to Confront
- Development Gap
- Differences in Political System/Culture
- Lack of Awareness
- No Capability to Address
- Right-Sizing Military
- Slow Progress to Build Capacity
- Cross-Regional Sharing Expertise is Limited
- Capacity/Availability to Engage Experts

Other Topics of Interest

Regional Infrastructure & Connectivity

FONOPS

Combating Malign Influence in Global South

East Asian Security

Connectivity--Undersea Cables & Digital

Digital & Technology

ASEAN-EU Relations

Security Assistance

Capabilities

Counter Terrorism

Strategic Autonomy

Other Topics of Interest

Regional Infrastructure & Connectivity

FONOPS

Combating Malign Influence

East Asian Security

Connectivity--Undersea Cables

Digital & Tech

ASEAN-EU Relations

Capabilities

Counter Terrorism

Strategic Autonomy

- Development Gap
- Partner's Capacity Constraints
- Foreign Policy
- Lack of Commitment/Interest from Larger Countries
- Lack of Framework to Identify Capability Needs
- Bilateral Challenges
- Resources
- Scale of Necessary Investment
- Terrorist Financing

Conclusion

- High degree of interest in addressing policy gaps among respondents, including across sub-regions
- Country-internal issues, resource constraints, development gaps, etc. are mentioned repeatedly, but probably not able to address at this workshop
- Lack of MOUs and frameworks to address issues, and difficulties scoping requirements and discussions are all policy inhibitors that are common across topic areas





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Enablers

Working groups: Session 1



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Enablers

1. What features of your policy framework have been particularly effective in enhancing collaboration?
2. What features of another country's policy framework appeal to you?



Defense A	Defense B	Foreign Affairs	Foreign Affairs +
C101	C103	C104	C105
Pete/Alex L	Carleton/Lukas	Seth/Jackie	Alex V/Srini
Alex	Adi	Afreen	Ben
Alice	Akipe	Byamba	Berly
Anto	Bakhari	Geetika	Camille
Hide	Harsha	Gus	Deb
Jennifer	Ignacio	Martin	Dilip
Ludovic	Jed	Masud	Michael
Pun	Peter	Odette	Paki
Scott		Rick	Samnang
		Roy	Shiuneen
		Tim	Stan
		Zoong	Teck Hean
			Weldon



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Briefbacks

Working group session 1: Enablers

1115-1215



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Enablers – FA+OA

- Economic Engagement
- (IUU, Cyber, Maritime, climate)
- Responsiveness to regional needs
- Connectivity
- Regional architecture
- Non-regional relationships
- Patchwork of multilats, minilats, flexible, & functional groupings
- Open, inclusive, flexible, consultative nature of arrangement
- Equal opportunity assessment of new, flexible, less open groupings



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Enablers- Foreign Affairs

1. Established public frameworks for the Indo-Pacific
2. Value of transparency
3. Dialogues /Results oriented groupings based on shared issues i.e. economics/climate change/mobility
4. Ability to prioritize mechanisms
5. Cross regional cooperation on measurable issues
6. Interpersonal relationships, leadership, and commitment



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Enablers – Defense A

- “Free and open Indo-Pacific”, common values
- MOUs (emphasis on “understanding”, defense cooperation, high level and lower level engagement, builds trust
- Informal relationship building
- Alliances: longstanding relationships, bilateral exercise programs, interoperability
- Multilateral (and where necessary minilateral): dialogue/sharing information about Indo-Pacific strategies, iterative, inclusive environment, network, sharing implementation process, partners within and external to the I-P region, exercises
- Alumni network, dialogue platforms, leveraging existing frameworks
- Capacity building, sharing capabilities
- Areas of common interest: multidomain awareness, shiprider agreement, HA/DR, Women, Peace, and Security, all domain awareness
- Countries taking the lead in certain areas (based on priorities), finding alignment



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- Strategic communications and messaging to build public support, transparency
- Multilateral exercises that send a message
- Reset in the Pacific
- Leadership – clarifying values, reframing the discussion
- Agreements between countries in the region
- Highlighting unsafe behavior/actions that go against intl norms
- Features of Russia's influence? Filling a need/vulnerability of a country
- Cross governmental approach, ability to leverage all elements of national power
- Leveraging economy strategically
- Providing multinational dialogue/fora (e.g. Shangri La, ADMM+), Track 1 and Track 2 (influence/inform policy)



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What features of your policy framework have been particularly effective in enhancing collaboration?

Defense B

- Existing security architectures & frameworks enhance collaboration, info sharing, transparency...but regional Security situation has changed, equilibrium altered, architectures need to evolve
- "non-alignment, friends to all" but is this still effective?
- Wide range of mechanisms & options work well....multilateral, bilateral, minilateral but also create new challenges to transparency, which is essential for trust
- Economics are critical for state survival, Indo-Pacific nations, esp smaller ones, need more choices as "release valve" for coercion & aggression
- Reliability also critical enabler for smart decisions...how do we stand up for each other under coercion?
- More attention & support by larger nations, including those out of region





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Inhibitors

Working groups: Session 2



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Inhibitors

1. Discuss/expand on the pre-workshop survey to identify areas where new or expanded collaboration is needed to “develop, combine, and coordinate our strengths to maximum effect”.
2. What factors currently inhibit collaboration on these areas?



Defense A	Defense B	Foreign Affairs	Foreign Affairs +
C101	C103	C104	C105
Pete/Alex L	Carleton/Lukas	Seth/Jackie	Alex V/Srini
Alex	Adi	Afreen	Ben
Alice	Akipe	Byamba	Berly
Anto	Bakhari	Geetika	Camille
Hide	Harsha	Gus	Deb
Jennifer	Ignacio	Martin	Dilip
Ludovic	Jed	Masud	Michael
Pun	Peter	Odette	Paki
Scott	Steve	Rick	Samnang
		Roy	Shiuneen
		Tim	Stan
		Zoong	Teck Hean
			Weldon



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Briefbacks

Working group session 2: Inhibitors

1520-1620



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Inhibitors

- Bureaucracy: competing interests, loosing sight from the big picture
- Information manipulation: disconnects between policy structures, e.g., wrt strategic messaging & countering disinformation;
- How to enable/maintain transparency? (Who owns the media? Corrupted or coercive processes)
- Use of corruption and crime as a weapon
- Domestic audience: public voices put gov't in a dilemma
- (Constant pressure from the common people who demand tangible benefits)

Inhibitors

- Q: Are minilateral groupings inhibitors in the long term?
- Logistics
- Limited bandwidth
- Government/Donor coordination: Duplication; Recognition; Active disengagement (Tension b/t recognition vs. efficiency)
- Disconnect between different resourcing & budget cycles
- Mismatch of expectations
- Lack of a unified vision; lack of a common understanding

Inhibitors – Foreign Affairs

Priority areas for collaboration

- Diversify defense cooperation
- Diversity and expand economic cooperation
- Collaboration on maritime security issues
- Education / Counter-misinformation
- Identifying achievable results through transparent information sharing, e.g. infrastructure development
- Long term commitment to regional projects



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Inhibitors – Foreign Affairs

Inhibitors to collaborating on those issues

- Need to balance strategic priorities
 - Between strategic competitors
 - Alignment of national priorities?
- Staying at 30,000 feet – discussions at the superficial level/differences in leadership and bureaucracy
- Domestic politics impact on foreign policy
- Disinformation /Misinformation
- Lack of cultural understanding
- Lack of current information supporting Great Power Competition



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Inhibitors – Defense A

Discuss/expand on the pre-workshop survey to identify areas where new or expanded collaboration is needed to “develop, combine, and coordinate our strengths to maximum effect”.

Priority areas for collaboration

- Define scope and goal of collaboration: e.g. Taiwan Strait, climate, nukes, cyber, HADR, Maritime domain challenges
- Examine what works and doesn't work
- Challenges on information sharing (e.g. cyber security)
- Grey zone activity that undermine acceptable behavior, rules and norms
- Don't have a shared level of understanding of “consequences”: lack of pre-existing body of work to raise awareness across board; in a crises – indivisible effort to work together
- Varying views of definition of “security” e.g. – Climate Change as a security priority?
- Create “new platforms” on common areas of interest
- Understanding other countries needs; relevance of existing sec architecture



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Inhibitors – Defense A

What factors currently inhibit collaboration on these areas?

Inhibitors to collaborating on those issues

- Challenge of interoperability – confidence in securing info sharing and managing connectivity
- aligning perceptions of problem to solve; information security and classification; getting after cyber-security challenge
- Characterization of China differs per country
- Maritime Law enforcement cooperation in all domains – what inhibitors Indonesia has?
- Existing EEZ regulation or enforcement - inadequate to protect resources; interpretation of countries on regulation is inconsistent: countries formally call-out inappropriate behavior – is this adequate?
- Malformation, misinformation that muddies the issue to hide reality (e.g actions against UNSCR sanctions on DPRK)
- Lack of understanding of defense tools to help in mitigating climate change
- Coordination of messaging – use of different forums (e.g. ADMM+, South Pacific Ministerials)



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Inhibitors – Defense A

What factors currently inhibit collaboration on these areas?

Inhibitors to collaborating on those issues

- Policy-level implications not being discussed (e.g. health pandemic) – leverage multilateral
- forums that make Climate change the primary discussion; perception - not being addressed whereas traditional threats more visible priority
- including military in the discussion for solutions; military focus to be more green-conscious
- Lack of mechanism to synchronize all national elements of power to help
- Lack of urgency and prioritization issue



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Discuss/expand on the pre-workshop survey to identify areas where new or expanded collaboration is needed to “develop, combine, and coordinate our strengths to maximum effect”.

- Cybersecurity tools – interoperability, affordability, info sharing, trusted suppliers
- Strategic Comms
 - lack of coordinated counternarrative (eg should not use term "grey zone"...call it "violation"), complicated by respective political sensitivities
 - Differing interpretations of strategic visions/terms (eg "Free" in FOIP)
 - Better job explaining logic&motive behind actions (eg tech transfer)
- Rule of Law emphasis
 - "Have to Choose" - response by provide more good, rule-based options from which to choose (eg VNM+Indo EEZ agreement)
- Coordination Disconnect – building blocks (eg 2+2 Dialogues)
- Consensus building is slow but powerful
- Transnational crime (trafficking, IUU, terrorism)
 - Law enforcement vs military problem & ops (grey zone ambiguity)
- Maintain & Operate gifted defense capacities
- Defense Industrial resources vs processing capacities



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Closing Remarks

Lori & Mike

1620-1630



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Want to ask the group a polling question?

Write your question(s) on the notecard provided and
hand to Srinu by the end of today.



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Reflections

Carleton

0835-0905



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Inhibitors to Collaboration: U.S. Perspectives

Jed, Stan, Camille, Rick, Afreen

0905-1030



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Scenario Application

Working groups: Session 3

1125-1130



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Scenario

1. Identify a near-term security scenario of major concern to the group that requires expanding collaboration with other countries or organizations.
2. Confirm or amend the list of enablers and inhibitors to collaboration on this scenario.
3. Prioritize which inhibitors should be addressed first.

South Asia	Northeast Asia	Southeast Asia	Pacific Islands	Regional & Extra-Reg	United States
C101	C102	C103	C104	C105	C106
Pete/Srini	Seth/Jackie	Alex V/Lukas	Carleton/Scott	Alex L/Mike	Matt/Jay
Dilip	Alex	Adi	Akipe	Ben	Afreen
Geetika	Byamba	Anto	Alice	Ludovic	Camille
Harsha	Hide	Bakhari	Berly	Martin	Jed
Masud	Roy	Ignacio	Deb	Michael	Jennifer
Shiuneen		Pun	Gus	Peter	Rick
		Samnang	Paki	Tim	Stan
		Teck Hean	Odette	Weldon	
		Zoong			



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Briefbacks

Working group session 3: Scenario Application

1430-1530



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Scenario – SOUTHEAST ASIA

Options:

- PRC use force Taiwan
- PRC occupies Taiwan island (Kinmen, Matsu, Itu A)
- Maritime Militia coercion in other (disputed?) EEZ
- **PRC declares SCS ADIZ & 9-dash line maritime EEZ enforcement**
- PRC seizes SE Asia flagged merchant/fishing ship
- PRC occupies disputed SCS island (Mischief Reef, Fiery Cross, 2nd Thomas Shoal)

Scenario selected:

Cambodia
Indonesia
Thailand
Brunei
Singapore
Philippines
Vietnam
Malaysia

Scenario – SOUTHEAST ASIA PRC declares SCS ADIZ & 9-dash line EEZ enforcement

- Inhibitor
- Controversial
- Doable

Actions

1. Engage/protest PRC
2. ASEAN – ask for support from ASEAN nations, ignore ADIZ, statement of condemnation (even if action impacts only “some” ASEAN), military/action out of scope, state vs collective interests
3. UN Security Council – PRC & Russia veto power
4. Ask other nations for diplomatic support
5. Bilateral Options.....?
6. Unilateral Actions...? ...collective vs unilateral actions from any ASEAN
7. Enable increased foreign military response
 - a. No hosting policy – Cambodia, Indonesia, Vietnam, Thailand
 - b. No change from Status Quo - Singapore, Philippines



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Scenario – Northeast Asia

Scenario selected: North Korea ballistic missile launch impacts a Mongolia flagged commercial ship leased to Taiwan sailing in Japan's EEZ carrying a multinational crew resulting in catastrophic loss of life necessitating search and rescue coordination.



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Scenario – Northeast Asia

Additional inhibitors:

- Lack of existing coordination mechanisms (ROK-JPN established but not ROK/TWN/Mongolia)
- Differing national policies and strategic priorities (in responding to DPRK missile launches)
- Differing strategic communication stance based on national interests (active v passive response)
- One China Principle (China resistance to multilateral coordination with Taiwan)
- Misinformation/Disinformation adds confusion (DPRK denies BMs launch)
- Public pressure on leadership for coherent response due to loss of civilian life
- Interagency coordination and delays while countries confirm unilateral intelligence
- Lack of multilateral information sharing - misaligned/mistimed/uncoordinated responses
- Strategic competition (pressure from PRC for Mongolia to not cooperate w/ TWN)
- Structural problems with United Nations related to TWNs involvement (DPRK launch violates UNSCR)
- Differing unilateral goals for end-state resolution (end with rescue operation or continue punitive action on DPRK)



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Scenario – Pacific Islands

Scenario selected:

- Natural Disasters (typhoon, earthquake, volcano, tsunami)
- Climate Change and HADR (pandemic)
- Maritime crime (IUU fishing, human trafficking, smuggling, poaching, drugs, transnational crime)
- Geopolitical competition and tension
- Connectivity - infrastructure – sustainability - communications



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Climate Change/HADR

Maritime Security

- Maintaining and repairing craft
- Maritime and air awareness to identify location of craft (blue boats)
- Absence of data
- Information sharing
- Equipment (tracking)
- Maritime borders
- Linkages between formal agreements and non-state actors
- Time horizon
- Resource constraints and competing demands

INHIBITORS

Climate Change/HADR

- Communication redundancy
- Timeline for aid
- Supply chain challenges
- Energy challenges

Maritime Crime

- Maintaining and repairing craft
- Maritime and air awareness to identify location of craft (blue boats)
- Absence of data
- Information sharing
- Equipment (tracking)
- Maritime borders
- Linkages between formal agreements and non-state actors
- Time horizon
- Resource constraints and competing demands

ENABLERS

CLIMATE CHANGE/HADR

- Drought - Solar powered desalination plants (partner assist)
- Partners in country (embassy's aid in response time)
- IO/NGO offices located in country

MARITIME SECURITY

- Regional organization support for national priorities
- What partners are available?
- What does each partner bring?



The Ask

1. Physical presence of US in country (permanent embassy)
2. Technology/information sharing for EEZ patrolling and management (satellite, MDA)
3. US facilitate partner engagement (world bank and financial institutions) and streamline funding routes



Scenario – SOUTH ASIA

Scenario selected: Terrorism **What/When/Why Endstate**

How to improve the timely, relevant, and actionable information sharing mechanism with respect to Terrorist Financing, Movement, Threat Assessment



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Scenario – SOUTH ASIA

Inhibitors:

- 1. Agreeing to the scope, categories, and responsibilities**
- 2. No established protocols or SOP's for sharing information**
3. Many agencies such as defense, law enforcement, & intelligence - Interagency coordination
4. Information sharing across the border (timely, relevant, and actionable information)
5. Resource constraints: Manpower, tech, finance, training, and capacity



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Scenario – SOUTH ASIA

Enablers :

- 1. Political Will**
- 2. Mutual understanding and cooperation with regards to Terrorism**
- 3. Existing terrorism regulations in place**
- 4. Common historical context**



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Scenario – Regional & Extra Regional Partners

Scenario selected: Oil tanker collision causing oil spill into contested maritime area in South China Sea

Inhibitors:

- Coordination mechanism is unclear – who is in charge?
 - Will dissuade countries from expending large effort to assist
- Contested legality through competing territorial claims
 - Appeal through IMO framework?
 - Does UNCLOS provide a solution?



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Scenario – Regional & Extra Regional Partners

Inhibitors:

- PRC coercion to prevent claimant state involvement
- Uncoordinated requests for assistance, and uncoordinated response
- Information sharing
 - Quick clearing of information – not necessarily classified
- Mis/disinformation
 - Counter with transparency
 - Focus and disseminate actions as consistent with international law
 - Anticipate disinformation

Scenario – Regional & Extra Regional Partners

Prioritized Inhibitors:

1. Determine coordination mechanisms in advance for a range of challenges
2. PRC coercion to prevent claimant state involvement



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Closeout Comments

Jed & Pete

1530-1550



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Workshop Feedback

Lori

1550-1600



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Social Hour

*Please join us at the Hale Koa Hotel's Biba's
Bar for beverages & conversation*



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