

Strategic Competition &
Security Cooperation
in the Blue Pacific

Strategic Competition & Security Cooperation in the Blue Pacific

Edited by
Deon Canyon

with a Foreword by Alfred Oehlers



Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies

Strategic Competition & Security Cooperation in the Blue Pacific

Published in 2022 by the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, 2058 Maluhia Rd, Honolulu, HI 96815

(www.apcss.org)

For reprint permissions, contact the editors via pao@apcss.org

Printed in the United States of America

Cover design by DKI APCSS Visual Information

Library of Congress Cataloging-in-Publication Data

Name: Deon Canyon, editor

Title: Blue Pacific Security Volume 3: Strategic Competition & Security Cooperation in Ocean/ Deon Canyon, editor

Call number: UA876.O3 S773 2022

Subject headings:

National security--Oceania.

Oceania--Politics and government.

Oceania--Strategic aspects.

ISBN: 978-0-9773246-7-5

The Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies is a U.S. Department of Defense executive education institution that addresses regional and global security issues, inviting military and civilian representatives of the United States and Indo-Pacific nations to its comprehensive program of resident courses and workshops, both in Hawaii and throughout the Indo-Pacific region. Through these events the Center provides a focal point where military, policy-makers, and civil society can gather to educate each other on regional issues, connect with a network of committed individuals, and empower themselves to enact cooperative solutions to the region's security challenges.

The views expressed in these chapters are those of the authors and do not necessarily reflect the opinions of the Daniel K. Inouye Asia-Pacific Center for Security Studies, the U.S. Department of Defense, or the U.S. Government.

Strategic Competition & Security Cooperation in the Blue Pacific

Table of Contents

Foreword – <i>Alfred Oehlers</i>	vi
Author biographies	vii
PART 1: GEOPOLITICAL DYNAMICS IN OCEANIA	
Current Pressures on the Pacific Island Regional Security Architecture <i>Richard Herr</i>	17
Associations and Agency: US-Pacific Island Relations Since 2015 <i>Eric Shibuya</i>	37
New Zealand and Pacific Security: Re-engagement in the Face of Strategic Competition - <i>Rouben Azizian</i>	49
The Pacific Dimension of France’s Indo-Pacific Policies on Security Cooperation - <i>Amb. Christian Leclercy</i>	69
Evolving Security Framing in the Pacific: Connecting the Local with the Regional - <i>Meg Keen and Henry Ivarature</i>	91
PART 2: SECURITY CHALLENGES IN OCEANIA	
The Impact of COVID on Security in the Pacific Islands <i>Sebastian Kevany and Deon Canyon</i>	113
Climate Security and the Pacific Island States <i>J. Scott Hauger</i>	126
Security of Water and Food Resources on Small Pacific Islands <i>Ethan Allen</i>	146
Maritime Piracy, Fisheries Crime and Drug Smuggling in Papua New Guinea - <i>Joelson Maodina Anere and Deon Canyon</i>	158
Strengthening Collective Security Approaches in the Pacific <i>Anna Powles and Jose Sousa-Santos</i>	173
Maritime Challenges and Opportunities of the Pacific Island Countries <i>Mike Long, Wade Turvold and Kim McCann</i>	195

Foreword by Dr. Alfred Oehlers

Good ideas, it is often said, possess an uncanny timelessness. Those found in this book are no exception. Conceived at possibly one of the most tumultuous times in the history of the Pacific, the themes addressed nonetheless carry an enduring resonance, addressing matters that both trouble, but also, inspire. Though the incessant drumbeat of headline-grabbing developments may distract, there remains much to reward the reader with an eye to deeper fundamentals and trajectories shaping the future of the region.

This catalog of troubles is well known, and as the contributors to this volume ably remind us, comprise a daunting spectrum. Pressing challenges associated with Covid-related health and economic crises demand immediate attention, alongside risks to sovereignty and security from transnational criminal syndicates and other malign actors. Meanwhile, persistent threats such as those posed by climate change and the insecurities in food and water occasioned, hover menacingly over the very future viability of states. The unity of the region - once widely celebrated and apparently assured - in more recent times has frayed. And finally, the broader geopolitical backdrop has shifted dramatically, with still uncertain implications for interrelationships among the region, its identity, and very soul.

But yet, as disturbing as this catalog might appear, there is hope. Seemingly inspired and catalyzed by the magnitude of the challenge posed, the region has rallied at several pivotal junctures. In the depths of the pandemic, a Pacific Humanitarian Pathway was created. Economic adversity was courageously weathered, and as transitions now occur out of Covid lockdowns, vital discussions are occurring not only about recovery, but the future shape of economic configurations nationally and regionally. The region's global leadership and voice on climate change have been burnished further. Deeply divisive issues centered on the organizational symbol of unity in the region - the Pacific Islands Forum - were reconciled the Pacific Way, wholly by Pacific leaders themselves. The entreaties of greater powers in the complex geopolitical milieu now encountered were handled confidently, deftly and politely by Pacific leaders, with a sharp reminder the region shall be engaged only on its terms, in its ways, and with its interests foremost. And almost encapsulating this admirable journey

towards a future defined by the Pacific itself, came the release of the *2050 Strategy for the Blue Pacific Continent* this year.

Far from telling a tale of woe, our present juncture speaks to a future of opportunity and potential. For what appears to be emerging are the contours of a fresh departure point for development in the region at an elevation and trajectory qualitatively higher than in the past. A departure point that holds promise of a more resilient and bolder economic integration. One that reflects and captures a more profound unity that can only come from a healing of that so nearly lost. And one that is born of a greater clarity and certainty of identity and purpose, that can illuminate a path forward for the region, but also, undergird principled conversations with the wider world.

The realization of such a tantalizing potential, of course, is not the job of the authors in this present volume. They have done their job commendably, offering penetrating analysis, insight and suggestions. Instead, that job will fall to us, as beneficiaries of these labors, who now must harness these ideas to developments fast unfolding giving shape to that future to come.

Our task is urgent. We are poised at a unique and critical moment. Pacific leaders have thrown down the challenge by cogently and emphatically articulating a unified vision for a resilient region enjoying peace, harmony, security, social inclusion and prosperity, for all Pacific peoples to lead free, healthy and productive lives. There can be none other more powerful affirmation of our shared commitment to such universal values than success in the accomplishment of that vision. Our time to act in support of these aspirations, is now.

Honolulu,
August 2022.

Author Biographies

Ethan Allen, PhD, joined DKI APCSS in August, 2019. His work focuses on topics such as: (1) reciprocity among science, technology, and the myriad aspects of human security; (2) Oceania; (3) water, climate, and environmental security; and (4) learning and cognitive sciences. Previously, he led science education programs at Pacific Resources for Education and Learning, including a five-year project that engaged residents of U.S.-affiliated Pacific islands in building their drinking water security. Dr. Allen earned his doctorate (systems and integrative biology) from the University of Oregon, and did postdoctoral neuroscience research there and at the University of Texas at Austin. Outside of his formal work, for the past seven years, Dr. Allen hosted a weekly live-streamed Internet TV show, *Likable Science*.



Joelson Maodina Anere, BA, is the eldest son of the late Dr David L. Anere, PhD, and the late Elizabeth nee-Kila Anere, and nephew of the late Fulbright Dr Ray Anere, PhD. His parents served Milne Bay Province, Central Province and represented the nation overseas in sports and as diplomats. Mr. Joelson Anere holds a Bachelor of Arts Degree with a major in International Relations and Diplomacy. He was the 2005 winner of the Mineral Resource Development Corporation academic excellence award in International Relations and Diplomacy at Divine Word University and has written papers for several academic journals abroad.



Rouben Azizian, PhD, joined Massey University's Centre for Defence and Security Studies in December 2015 and served as its Director until December 2021. His major areas of expertise are Asia-Pacific security environment and architecture, diplomacy and conflict resolution, security sector governance and Russia's foreign relations. He is also an Honorary Professor of the New Zealand Defence Force Command and Staff College and Editor-in-Chief of National Security Journal. Previously he taught at DKI APCSS (2002-2015) and at the University of Auckland

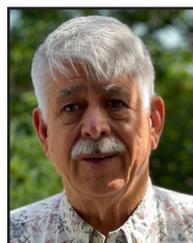


(1994-2001). Prior to becoming a full-time academic, Dr. Azizian had an extensive career in the Soviet and later Russian Foreign Service, which included assignments in Nepal (1972-1978) as Attaché and Third Secretary; Sri Lanka (1980-1985) as Second and First Secretary; and New Zealand (1991-1994) as Counsellor and Deputy Chief of Mission.

Deon Canyon, PhD DBA MPH FACTM, joined DKI APCSS in 2016 after working at the University of Hawaii, Curtin University and James Cook University on leadership, management, environmental health, and disaster management. He currently focuses on crisis management, security in Oceania, and gray-zone wargaming and has over 200 publications on a broader array of security topics. As a tertiary educator since 1996, Dr. Canyon enjoys thought-provoking discussions and critical, cross-disciplinary analysis of complex issues that improve understanding, management, control and prevention of crisis-laden situations. His transnational security wargames involve 10-110 people and require abductive reasoning and fast-paced decision-making in geopolitically-charged, crisis-laden environments. A Hawai'i resident since 2011, Dr. Canyon speaks Melanesian languages and was raised and educated in Papua New Guinea, South Africa, UK, US, Israel and Australia.



J. Scott Hauger, PhD, is founder of Climate and Environmental Security, LLC, which he established in June 2021 to provide a vehicle for collaborative research and consulting upon his retirement from DKI APCSS. Current projects include consulting as senior advisor to the USIN-DOPACOM Climate Change Impacts Program and research into the security impacts of Mongolian dust storms in collaboration with the Chinese Academy of Sciences' Northwest Institute for Eco-Environment Resources. Dr. Hauger has a 45-year career as a researcher, teacher, program manager, and entrepreneur in areas related to science, technology and policy. For the last 15 years, his work has centered on issues of climate change and environmental security.



Richard Herr, PhD, is the academic director for the Faculty of Law's Parliamentary Law, Practice and Procedure course at the University of Tasmania since his appointment in January 1973 including Head of Department. He co-founded the Australasian Study of Parliament Group (ASPG) 1979, drafted the treaty that established the South Pacific Applied Geo-Science Commission as an autonomous agency in 1985, and drafted the first national candidates' manual for Fiji's return to democracy in the 2014 general election. Dr. Herr was adjunct professor of Governance and Ethics, Fiji National University (2009-2016), Hon. Director and adjunct professorial fellow at the Centre for International and Regional Affairs, University of Fiji (2010-2015); visiting scholar, French University of the Pacific, Noumea, New Caledonia (1997); and professional associate, Pacific Islands Development Program, East-West Center (1984).



Henry Ivarature, PhD, is from Papua New Guinea and is the Pacific Fellow at the Australia Pacific Security College in Australia. His 1994 PhD from Victoria University of Wellington focused on health and human security issues in Tonga. As a senior research fellow with the PNG National Research Institute, He taught at the University of the South Pacific Centre in Tonga. Later, he served in the PNG Department of Prime Minister and was PNG's Senior Official to APEC. After 2006, Henry was the Regional Governance Adviser for six years at the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat in Fiji. Following this, Dr. Ivarature worked with the International Institute for Democracy and Electoral Assistance and on institutional strengthening at the Pacific Institute of Leadership and Governance.



Meg Keen, PhD, is the Pacific Islands Program Director at the Lowy Institute. She has also held the positions of inaugural Director of the Australia Pacific Security College at the Australian National University (ANU) and senior fellow with the Department of Pacific Affairs, ANU. Her research focuses on regional security policy, human and environmental security, and resilience in the Pacific islands. She has worked across the Pacific islands' region with governments, NGOs, and regional agen-



cies. Prior to returning to the ANU in 2015, Meg was a senior analyst on Pacific island geopolitics at the Office of National Assessments (now Office of National Intelligence) and a senior policy adviser, including with the Regional Assistance Mission to Solomon Islands (RAMSI).

Sebastian Kevany, PhD, joined DKI APCSS in January 2021. Dr. Kevany's areas of expertise include epidemics, pandemics, health security, health diplomacy, health as foreign policy, international relations, and military global public health interventions. Within these realms, he has gained extensive experience in monitoring and evaluation; cost-effectiveness analysis; diplomacy; national and international security; and the use of public health and epidemic control programs as a means of preventing or resolving international conflict. Dr. Kevany has also gained extensive fieldwork experience via 100+ missions to the Middle East and Northern Africa, the South Pacific, and sub-Saharan Africa. His in-country experience has taken place in partnership with the United Nations, the Global Fund to Fight AIDS, Tuberculosis and Malaria, and the World Health Organization.



Amb. Christian Lechery, PhD, is currently France Ambassador to Myanmar and previously Advisor for Strategic Affairs and Asia to the French President, and former Deputy Director of the Policy Planning Staff for the French Foreign Office. He was also France Ambassador to Turkmenistan (2006-2009), Deputy Director of the South-East Asia section for the Foreign Office (2002-2006), Diplomatic advisor on International Affairs for the Minister of Defense, Sir Alain Richard (1997-2002) and Chief Clerk of the Asia-Pacific section at the Delegation for Strategic Affairs for the Department of Defense (1992-1996).



Captain Michael Long, US Coast Guard, joined DKI APCSS as a Military Professor in July 2021. He was commander of Sector Honolulu where he led Coast Guard missions throughout the Hawaiian Islands and American Samoa. Captain Long's other operational assignments include deputy commander of Sector Miami, Senior Defense Official / defense attaché at the US Embassy to Barbados and the Eastern Caribbean, Response Department Head and Search and Rescue Mission Coordinator at Sector Puget Sound, Port Operations at Marine Safety Office New Orleans, and Assistant Operations Officer at the Gulf Strike Team.



Captain Kim McCann, US Navy, joined DKI APCSS in March 2019 as a Military Professor. A native of Lubbock, Texas, Captain McCann graduated in 1998 with a Juris Doctor and Master of Business Administration from Texas Tech University and School of Law and is a member of the Texas Bar. She was commissioned in 1999 and shortly thereafter completed the Basic Lawyer Class at Naval Justice School. In 2017, she earned a Master of Laws in National Security Law (with distinction) from Georgetown University Law Center.



Alfred Oehlers, PhD, is a specialist in the political economy of economic growth and development, with reference to the countries of the Indo-Pacific region. His teaching has ranged widely during his career, spanning courses as diverse as international business, economics, politics, public policy, international relations, Asian studies, history, and other social sciences. He has taught at Massey University in New Zealand, Macquarie University, the University of Sydney in Australia, and the Institute of Development Studies at the University of Helsinki, Finland.



Anna Powles, PhD, is a Senior Lecturer at the Centre for Defence and Security Studies at Massey University, New Zealand. Her research and publications focus on geopolitics, security and conflict in the Pacific Islands region; specifically, how state and non-state actors are shaping regional security, strategic competition and the intersection of geopolitics and local security dynamics. She is a non-resident Fellow at the National Bureau for Asian Research (2022-2026) and an associate scholar, MacMillan Brown Center for Pacific Studies, University of Canterbury. She was previously a visiting scholar at the East-West Center in 2019; and is a DKI APCSS alumni.



Eric Shibuya, PhD, is professor of Strategic Studies, Command and Staff College, Quantico, Virginia. He joined Marine Corps University in February 2007, serving as Security Studies Department Head from 2016-2019. He was previously at DKI APCSS from 2000-2006, where among other duties he served as Program Director for the Junior Executive Course (now known as the Indo-Pacific Orientation Course) and cofounded the Comprehensive Security Responses to Terrorism Course. Dr. Shibuya has traveled extensively through Asia and the Pacific, and also has been part of Transnational Security Education teams in Kenya and Kosovo. Dr. Shibuya holds degrees from the University of Hawaii, University of Oklahoma, and Colorado State University, and is a 1999 Fulbright Fellow at the Australian National University, Canberra.



Jose Sousa-Santos is the Pacific Policy Fellow at the Australia Pacific Security College. His area of expertise and research is transnational crime, regional security, grey zone activities and non-state actors in the Pacific Islands and Southeast Asia. He has held roles as a subject matter expert with the US Indo Pacific Command and Special Operations Command Pacific executive education programs and as an analyst with the United Nations Integrated Mission in Timor-Leste. He sits on the Global Initiative against Transnational Crime panel of experts. His PhD examines the nexus between transnational crime and climate security in the Pacific Islands.



Wade Turvold, US Navy, Captain (Ret.), joined the DKI APCSS for Security Studies in June 2019 after a 30-year career in the US Navy. He served as a Naval Flight Officer during his career and has extensive experience flying P-3C and P-8A aircraft. He commanded Patrol Squadron FOUR in Kaneohe Bay, Hawaii, and Air Test and Evaluation Squadron ONE in Patuxent River, Maryland and has deployed throughout the world. He was privileged to serve in two educational assignments, as the U.S. Navy Senior Service Representative and Director National Security Studies at the U.S. Army War College, and the U.S. Navy Exchange Directing Staff at the Joint Services Command and Staff College, Defence Academy of the United Kingdom in Shrivenham, England.

