



PACIFIC
PEACE & SECURITY
DIALOGUE

2026 REPORT

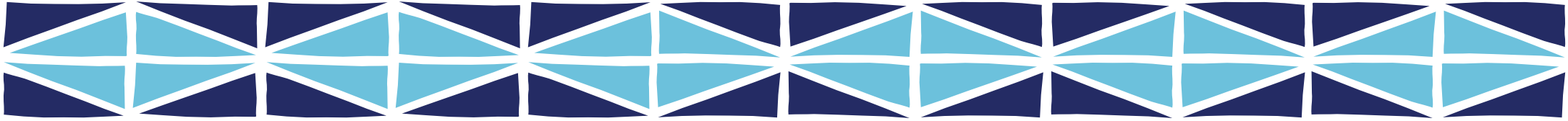
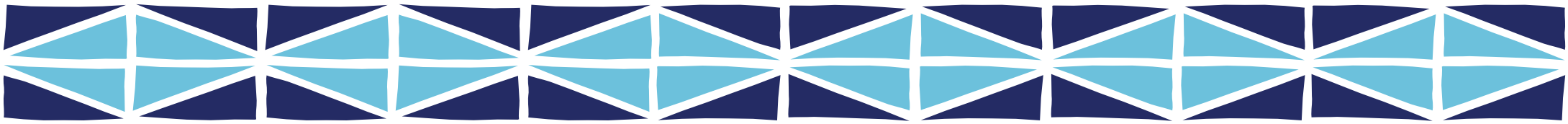
“As Pacific Leaders, our vision is for a resilient Pacific Region of peace, harmony, security, social inclusion and prosperity, that ensures all Pacific peoples can lead free, healthy and productive lives.”

2050 Strategy for the Blue Pacific Continent

2026 REPORT

“Asia has the Shangri-La Dialogue.
But this is where we will build our mighty
drua or *waka*, for the great journey ahead.”

Prime Minister of Fiji
The Honourable Sitiveni Rabuka



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A MESSAGE OF THANKS

Representatives from across the Pacific gathered in Suva for the Pacific Peace and Security Dialogue from 15 to 17 June. We were honoured to welcome our political leaders and national and regional officials. We were also grateful for the engagement of voices that have not always been part of traditional security conversations but offer critical insight and knowledge, including delegates from civil society, churches, national universities and youth representatives.



Guided by the theme ‘Safeguarding a peaceful Blue Pacific together’, the Dialogue aimed to contribute to the important regional discussions on the *Blue Pacific Ocean of Peace Declaration* and the *Regional Peace and Security Action Plan*. Over the first two days, we discussed the topics in the *Boe Declaration on Regional Security*; how we can all support national and regional security; and what the experience of other regional organisations can offer. On the third day we explored the voyage to 2050 and how we can collaborate to achieve a shared vision.

My thanks and gratitude to the Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat and the Government of Fiji for their kind and gracious hosting; the 12 partner organisations who made the Dialogue possible; our moderators and panellists for their wisdom and expertise; and our participants for your camaraderie and contributions.

This report is a souvenir of our time together, and a resource for the voyage ahead. But more than that, it is a reminder that we are stronger together, and it is our ability to work in partnership that will help us shape a peaceful and prosperous future to 2050.

With much gratitude,

A handwritten signature in blue ink that reads 'Dave Peebles'.

Professor Dave Peebles
Director
Pacific Security College
August 2026







KEYNOTE SPEECH

The Honourable Simon Kofe
Minister for Transport, Energy,
Communication and Innovation, Tuvalu

Salutations

- Honourable Ministers
- The Secretary General, Mr Baron Waqa
- Secretaries and Heads of Government delegations
- Distinguished representatives
- Colleagues
- Friends
- Ladies and gentlemen

I am delighted to speak to you in this significant and important regional convening.

I thank Professor Dave Peebles for his gracious invitation to share some reflections that will hopefully help set the tone and direction of this important gathering.

I note that this convening builds on the successful 2024 and 2025 Pacific Regional and National Security Conferences.

While our discussions over the coming days will focus on security, they take place within a much larger regional vision. The *2050 Strategy for the Blue Pacific Continent* reminds us that security is not an end in itself, but part of a future we are deliberately shaping, one grounded in our shared values, identity, wellbeing, and responsibility to future generations.

Values as the foundation of security

The 2050 Strategy is often described as a development strategy, but at its heart it is a values-based vision for our region. What makes it distinctive is that it begins not with economics, infrastructure or trade, but with our people, cultures and identities. It recognises that development is ultimately a means of safeguarding the values that define us as Pacific peoples.





These values include stewardship of our environment, respect for one another, collective responsibility, solidarity, reciprocity, and a commitment to the wellbeing of present and future generations. They are values that have sustained Pacific societies for centuries and that continue to shape how we understand leadership, governance, development, and our relationships with one another. Particularly, our Pacific value of collective responsibility and collectivism has often guided and moulded us as a stronger region.

In this sense, our values are more than aspirations. They are the compass that guides our decisions and informs the systems we build. The question before us, therefore, is not simply how we respond to security threats, but whether we have the wisdom and conviction to allow our values to guide our collective response to an increasingly complex and uncertain future.

Our ancestors faced their own uncertainties. They crossed vast oceans in small vessels, navigating unfamiliar waters, changing weather and unknown horizons. Yet they did so with courage, wisdom, and an unwavering belief that beyond the *sikulagi* – the horizon – lay opportunity and a better future for their people.

They were guided by the knowledge, values and traditions passed down through generations. Today, as we confront new challenges, from climate change and transnational crime to technological disruption and geopolitical competition, we are called to demonstrate that same resolve. The horizon before us may look different, but the compass remains the same.

The challenges confronting our region today are not merely technical or policy challenges. They are, in many respects, tests of leadership, tests of institutions, tests of unity and ultimately tests of values.

Climate change, for example, is often described as an environmental crisis. But at its core, it is also a crisis of values and ethics. It forces us to confront questions of responsibility, stewardship, intergenerational justice, and our obligations to those who are most vulnerable. It asks whether our responsibility to future generations will prevail over short-term interests. It also highlights the necessity of unified global solutions.

Transnational crime presents a different challenge. It is not only a test of law enforcement capacity. It is a test of the integrity of our leadership, systems and institutions. Criminal networks thrive where governance is weak, where information is not shared, where borders are poorly coordinated, and where public trust is eroded. The success of these networks often depends not on their strength, but on our fragmentation.

While climate change and transnational crime may appear very different, both reveal the same underlying lesson. Climate change exposes the costs of fragmented global action. Criminal networks exploit fragmented national responses. In both cases, our vulnerability is often found not in the threat itself, but in the gaps between us.

Likewise, technological disruption and geopolitical competition challenge our judgement, our resilience and our ability to remain anchored to our values and each other while adapting to a rapidly changing world.

Viewed through this lens, the question is not simply whether we can respond to these challenges. The question is whether the values we proclaim are sufficiently strong to shape the systems we build and the decisions we make.

For if values are the compass of the Blue Pacific, then our institutions, policies and regional arrangements are the vessels with which we navigate. One without the other is inadequate.

Regionalism in an interconnected world

In Tuvalu, we are taught from an early age that membership in a family comes with responsibilities. We are expected to contribute, to show respect, to exercise discipline, and to place the wellbeing of the collective alongside our own interests. Similar values can be found across the Pacific, expressed differently in different cultures, but reflecting a common understanding that individual wellbeing is inseparable from the wellbeing of the community.

I believe these same principles can be elevated beyond the national level to the regional level. Because regionalism is not simply a political arrangement. It is the application of Pacific values at a larger scale.

But the environment we are operating in today forces us to go further in our reflection. The challenge is no longer simply whether we cooperate. The challenge is whether our cooperation is structured in a way that prevents fragmentation from weakening us.

Fragmentation is now one of the most persistent strategic vulnerabilities facing our region. It appears in differences in rules and standards, in uneven enforcement across jurisdictions, and in the ability of external players, whether criminal networks, commercial interests or geopolitical actors, to exploit these gaps. Fragmentation rarely announces itself as a threat. Yet over time it erodes effectiveness, weakens resilience, and diminishes our collective influence.

This is where we can draw useful lessons from the experience of the Parties to the Nauru Agreement or the PNA. Formed to manage fisheries, specifically for skipjack tuna, the PNA recognised that fisheries could never be simply a national matter in the Pacific due to the movement of fish across national maritime boundaries. I do not suggest that the PNA is a perfect model, nor that its arrangements can be directly transplanted into other areas. Rather, its significance lies in the values and principles that underpin it. By examining those foundations, we can identify patterns of success that offer useful insights for how we approach security challenges across our region.

The success of the Parties to the Nauru Agreement was not simply the result of cooperation. It was the result of deliberate choices made to harmonise conservation and management measures, coordinate access arrangements, establish common benchmarks, strengthen enforcement, and share information.

In doing so, the PNA reduced the ability of external actors to exploit differences between states and strengthened their collective position.

Most importantly, the PNA demonstrated that in an interconnected world, sovereignty is often strengthened, not diminished, when states act collectively. The Parties to the Nauru Agreement increased their strategic influence by aligning their efforts around common rules, shared responsibilities, and a unified purpose.

That lesson extends far beyond fisheries. It has relevance for aviation, labour mobility, border management, maritime surveillance, immigration, cybersecurity, and regional security cooperation. In each of these areas, fragmentation creates vulnerability, while coordination creates strength.

“Fragmentation is now one of the most persistent strategic vulnerabilities facing our region. It appears in differences in rules and standards, in uneven enforcement across jurisdictions, and in the ability of external players, whether criminal networks, commercial interests or geopolitical actors, to exploit these gaps. Fragmentation rarely announces itself as a threat. Yet over time it erodes effectiveness, weakens resilience, and diminishes our collective influence.”

The Hon Simon Kofe
Minister for Transport, Energy, Communication and Innovation, Tuvalu

We are already beginning to see this principle reflected in emerging regional initiatives such as the Pacific Blue Shipping Partnership, which was formally established in the Republic of the Marshall Islands just last week. The Partnership works alongside Pacific Transport Ministers to advance the decarbonisation of domestic shipping across the region and catalyse large-scale climate finance investment to transition to low-carbon shipping. While focused on maritime transport, its significance extends beyond shipping itself. It represents a recognition that many of the challenges facing our region can no longer be addressed effectively through isolated national responses alone.

By pursuing common standards, shared objectives and coordinated action, Pacific countries are demonstrating how regional cooperation can strengthen resilience while respecting national sovereignty.

This is why regionalism must be understood as more than an aspiration. In an increasingly interconnected and contested world, it is becoming a practical necessity for safeguarding both our interests and our independence.

Navigating the Blue Pacific future

The 2050 Strategy challenges us to think beyond immediate pressures and short-term responses. It asks us to consider what kind of region we are building, what values will guide it, and what responsibilities we owe to those who will inherit it.

Security therefore cannot be measured solely by the absence of conflict or the strength of enforcement institutions. True security is found in resilient communities, trusted institutions, effective governance, environmental stewardship, and a region capable of acting collectively when confronted with shared challenges.

The Pacific has never lacked courage. Our history is proof of that. The question before us is whether we can match that courage with the discipline, foresight, and unity required to navigate the challenges of this century.

Our ancestors understood that survival at sea depended on more than a destination. It required a clear sense of direction, confidence in the vessel, trust among the crew, and the wisdom to adapt to changing conditions without losing sight of the horizon.

The same is true for our region today.

The compass remains our values.

The vessel is the system of institutions, partnerships, and regional arrangements we build together.

The voyage is the future of the Blue Pacific.

And the test before us is whether we have the leadership to ensure that our values are not merely spoken, but translated into the systems, decisions, and actions that will carry our peoples safely through the uncertainties ahead.

If we succeed, future generations will inherit more than secure borders, stronger institutions, or greater prosperity. They will inherit a region that remained true to its values when those values were tested most severely.

Fakafetai Lasi, Tuvalu mo te Atua.



WELCOME SPEECH

Baron Waqa
Pacific Islands Forum Secretary General

Salutations

- Honourable Ministers from across the Blue Pacific Continent
- Members of the diplomatic corps
- Representatives of CROP and regional security organisations
- Regional security officials
- Traditional leaders
- Civil society representatives
- Members of the media
- Representatives from Pacific universities
- Youth leaders
- Ladies and gentlemen

Ni sa bula vinaka and a warm welcome to the 2026 Pacific Peace and Security Dialogue.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, we meet at a time of genuine uncertainty.

The global strategic environment is increasingly fragmented. International rules and norms that we once considered enduring are now being routinely challenged and disregarded.

Conflicts around the world are reshaping alliances, disrupting economies, and placing increasing strain on the rules-based order on which we depend.

The Pacific is not insulated from these pressures.

External actors are working to expand their influence and presence across our countries.

Transnational organised crime continues to threaten our economies, our societies, and our communities. Many of our jurisdictions are contending with the corrosive effects of methamphetamine and other illicit drugs.



Our ocean resources and marine environment are under increasing pressure. The Pacific Ocean remains central to our identity, our economies and our survival. Yet it is increasingly contested. Strategic competition in our maritime domain will continue to shape the regional security landscape in the years ahead.

And all of this unfolds against the backdrop of climate change, a challenge for which the Pacific continues to fight, to defend our sovereignty, our lands and our ocean.

Taken together, these pressures require us to continually assess whether our regional peace and security architecture remains coherent, flexible and fit for purpose.

Yet I remain confident about our future.

Our leaders have demonstrated the political will to act when it matters. The recent triggering of the *Biketawa Declaration* in response to the regional fuel emergency is evidence of that. The Pacific moving collectively, decisively, and in accordance with its own frameworks.

We also have the right policy foundations in place. The *Biketawa Declaration* gives us the mandate to act collectively in times of need.

The Boe Declaration expands our concept of security to encompass climate, human, economic and transnational security challenges. And the Ocean of Peace articulates what we are working towards: a region whose peace and security are shaped by our own priorities and interests.

The political will exists. The policy frameworks are in place.

What we need now is action. Delivery. Implementation.

My team is finalising the *Regional Peace and Security Action Plan 2026-2030* to ensure our collective security commitments translate into coordinated and tangible action.

The plan will help ensure that our agencies work together more effectively, that resources are directed where they are needed most, and that national efforts are aligned behind shared regional priorities and vice versa.

The plan will strengthen our efforts to combat transnational organised crime, respond to climate change, enhance human security, and ensure that our Pacific communities are secure, now and into the future.

It is the combination of political will, regional vision and practical action that gives me confidence.

Confidence that we can realise our vision of a resilient Pacific region; one that is prepared for the challenges of today and empowered to shape a peaceful, secure, and prosperous future for generations to come.

It is in this context that the 2026 Pacific Peace and Security Dialogue is a critical fixture in our regional security calendar, providing a rare opportunity for reflection, discussion and forward-thinking.

What makes this Dialogue distinctive is its breadth. Our participants come not only from policing and defence backgrounds, but also from community organisations, civil society, academia and youth networks.

That breadth brings to life the expanded concept of security reflected in the Boe Declaration, where security is built across the whole of society, not only within security institutions.

The Dialogue's overarching theme of regional integration is right for this moment.

The pressures we face have not only intensified, but have become increasingly interconnected, requiring responses that are regional, integrated and collaborative.

This Dialogue provides a valuable opportunity to think ambitiously about how we can deepen our regional cooperation and strengthen our collective response to shared challenges.

Excellencies, ladies and gentlemen, in closing, let me encourage you to make full use of this opportunity.

Speak frankly. Engage deeply with the challenges before us. And be bold in proposing the solutions that you believe are necessary, even when they are not easy.

In these uncertain times, it is critical that we explore every avenue to strengthen peace and security across our region. This Dialogue gives you that space.

I look forward to the discussions ahead. May this Dialogue generate the ideas, the partnerships and the practical actions our Blue Pacific Continent needs.

Vinaka vakalevu and thank you.

DR. MANUMATAVAI TUPOU-ROOSEN, MRS. OLIVIA BARO, HON. SIMON KOFE & MR. BARON WAQA

WE ARE NOT HERE JUST TO
TALK ABOUT PEACE & SECURITY,
BUT TO SHAPE IT.



IT IS NOT THE RESPONSIBILITY
OF ONE SECTOR...

WHEN WE SPEAK TOGETHER,
WE ARE HEARD

STRUCTURE, PARTNERSHIPS,
STRATEGIES & POLICIES
ARE OUR VESSELS

THE VOYAGE IS OUR FUTURE



POLITICAL
WILL



REGIONAL
RESPONSIBILITY



POLITICAL
ACTION

NOT JUST COLLABORATION,
BUT DELIBERATE CHOICE
TO ACT COLLECTIVELY



COMMON
RULES



SHARED
PURPOSE



COORDINATED
ACTIONS

THE HORIZON MAY CHANGE...
BUT THE COMPASS STAYS THE SAME



OUR VALUES ARE
OUR COMPASS



PEOPLE



CULTURE



IDENTITIES

COLLECTIVE RESPONSIBILITY

WE CAN BRING OUR VALUES
TO THE GLOBAL SCALE

WE HAVE COURAGE... WE
NEED COORDINATED ACTION

PACIFIC OWNED,
PACIFIC LED.



OUR VULNERABILITIES ARE NOT IN THE THREATS,
BUT THE SPACES BETWEEN US
FRAGMENTATION = WEAKNESS, COORDINATION = STRENGTH



WE ARE STEWARDS OF THE PACIFIC

OBSERVATIONS FROM THE DIALOGUE

Pacific Peace and Security Dialogue
15-17 June 2026
The Grand Pacific Hotel /
Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat
Suva, Fiji

Ni sa bula,

Overview

1. In a spirit of cooperation and unity, the Pacific peace and security community gathered for the 2026 Pacific Peace and Security Dialogue, in Suva, Fiji from 15 to 17 June 2026.
2. The Dialogue brought together political and official-level representatives from across the Pacific Islands Forum membership, as well as senior leaders from partner regional organisations, including the Forum Fisheries Agency (FFA); Joint Heads of Pacific Security Secretariat (JHOPS); Melanesian Spearhead Group (MSG); Oceania Customs Organisation (OCO); Office of the Pacific Ocean Commissioner (OPOC); the Pacific Community (SPC); Pacific Aviation Safety Office (PASO); Pacific Fusion Centre (PFC); Pacific Immigration Development Community (PIDC); Pacific Islands Chiefs of Police (PICP); Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat (PIFS); Pacific Islands Law Officers' Network (PILON); Pacific Security College (PSC); the Secretariat of the Pacific Regional Environment Programme (SPREP); and the University of the South Pacific (USP) – highlighting the strength, breadth and solidarity of the Pacific's peace and security architecture.
3. The Dialogue also brought together a significant number of senior representatives from universities and research institutions from across the Pacific including: the University of the South Pacific; the Auckland University of Technology; the Australian National University; the College of Micronesia (Federated States of Micronesia); the College of the Marshall Islands; Fiji National University; Lowy Institute; the National University of Samoa; the National University of Vanuatu; Palau Community College; Pasifika Communities University; Solomon Islands National University; Tonga National University; the University of Auckland; the University of Canterbury; the University of Papua New Guinea; Papua New Guinea National Research Institute; Tangintebu Theological College; and the Compass Point Institute.

CONFERENCE STATEMENT



4. The Dialogue also welcomed numerous representatives from civil society, the media, youth, faith-based and community-based groups from across the Pacific, further reflecting the breadth of stakeholders who contribute to the Pacific's expanded concept of security as set out in the *Boe Declaration on Regional Security*.
5. The Dialogue was honoured to welcome His Excellency Dr Chem Widhya, Secretary-General of the ASEAN Inter-Parliamentary Assembly (AIPA), and Ms Elizabeth Solomon, Assistant Secretary-General for Foreign and Community Relations at the Caribbean Community (CARICOM) Secretariat. Participants valued the opportunity to learn from the experiences of Southeast Asia and the Caribbean in advancing regional cooperation, collective diplomacy and institution-building in an increasingly complex global environment.
6. At the same time, the Dialogue was privileged to welcome three former Secretaries General of the Pacific Islands Forum: Mr Henry Puna, Dame Meg Taylor and Tuiloma Neroni Slade. Their presence reflected the continuity in Pacific regionalism and provided a valuable reminder of the leadership, vision and commitment that has shaped the Forum and the wider regional architecture over many decades.
7. The Dialogue recognised that all participants – including youth, women, faith-based organisations, traditional leaders, civil society, universities, and communities – are not peripheral actors, but essential parts of the Pacific peace and security architecture.

Strategic context

8. The Honourable Simon Kofe, Minister for Transport, Energy, Communication and Innovation in the Government of Tuvalu, provided the opening keynote address. He urged that Pacific regionalism be grounded in the Pacific's vision and core values as reflected in the *2050 Strategy for the Blue Pacific Continent*. He highlighted how challenges such as climate change, transnational crime, technological disruption and geopolitical competition are not only security issues but also tests of leadership, governance, unity and collective responsibility.

9. His address underscored that fragmentation remains a strategic vulnerability and he called for stronger regional cooperation, harmonisation and information sharing. Minister Kofe also noted that trust was a vital element in deepening regional cooperation. Drawing lessons from successful Pacific initiatives, he emphasised that sovereignty is strengthened through collective action and that lasting security depends on resilient communities, trusted institutions, effective governance, environmental stewardship, and a shared commitment to Pacific values and future generations.
10. Complementing these remarks, Pacific Islands Forum Secretary General Baron Waqa highlighted the need for the region's collective peace and security efforts to remain aligned, united and effective. He reminded the Dialogue that the review of the regional security architecture, and the development of the region's peace and security action plan, would be central to these efforts. The Secretary General stressed that implementation and delivery of regional declarations and policies was now critical to bringing about long-lasting peace and security across the region.
11. In his address, Professor Transform Aqorau, Vice Chancellor of the Solomon Islands National University, challenged participants to consider the future of the Pacific through the eyes of the generations to come who would inherit the region in 2050, underscoring the long-term implications of today's decisions. He emphasised that while the Pacific has developed strong regional frameworks, including the *2050 Strategy for the Blue Pacific Continent*, the priority now is implementation, collective action, and sustained regional leadership. Drawing on examples of Pacific agency such as the Parties to the Nauru Agreement, Professor Aqorau highlighted the importance of self-reliance, solidarity and Pacific-led solutions across climate action, ocean governance, and security. His remarks emphasised that peace and security must be people-centred, ocean-centred and future-facing. His remarks also underscored the importance of the continued development of the Ocean of Peace as a practical doctrine bringing together law, diplomacy, ocean governance, climate security and demilitarisation, leading to strengthened Pacific agency.

Security threats and responses

12. During the *Political leaders on challenges and opportunity panel*, participants were reminded of the deteriorating global environment, the intensifying polycrisis and the weakening rules-based order. The Dialogue heard that security must remain people-centred and regional responses must continue to focus on concerns that relate to the lived realities of Pacific Island Countries. The Dialogue also heard that the Pacific could be proud of the long-standing impact that its voice had in shaping rules and norms, including on oceans and nuclear issues, and on climate change advocacy. In making the most of the Pacific's opportunities, speakers emphasised that trust was a vital ingredient for governments in managing security challenges, and that there was a need for a strong focus on the implementation and delivery of regional mandates and policies.
13. In the *Political leaders on economic security panel*, the Dialogue heard that economic security is not separate to broader peace and security – but a core element of it, with economic resilience a foundation for stability and sovereignty across the region. Economic security issues such as fuel shocks, debt stress, employment constraints, infrastructure gaps and cost-of-living pressures can quickly become social and political security issues, which require that economic resilience sit at the centre of the region's security agenda. Participants also heard about the potential economic benefits to Pacific Island Countries of closer coordination and pooling of resources.

14. In the *Society, peace and security panel*, participants recognised that the rapid growth of digital technologies has brought significant social and economic benefits to Pacific communities, while also creating new and evolving cyber safety challenges. The discussion highlighted the need for coordinated action to address risks including cyberbullying, online misogyny, gender-based violence, privacy breaches, harmful online content, and the targeting of vulnerable groups such as women, girls, youth and older persons. The Dialogue heard that a whole-of-society approach involving government, industry, civil society, media, legal practitioners and communities, supported by stronger regulation, digital literacy and public awareness was required. More broadly, the Dialogue noted the ongoing need to recognise the link between digital safety and public trust, democratic resilience, and social cohesion.
15. In the *Regional cooperation in the Pacific and beyond panel*, participants reflected on the importance of regionalism as a foundation for peace, security and prosperity, drawing on experiences from the Pacific, the Caribbean and Southeast Asia. It was also recognised that regionalism strengthens sovereignty when it helps its member states act collectively on shared priorities. Further, the Dialogue heard that effective regional cooperation is grounded in shared values, unity and solidarity, based on trust and a commitment to collective action. The experiences of ASEAN and CARICOM offered encouragement for the Pacific Islands Forum: ASEAN's decades-long effort to preserve peace through dialogue, rules and consensus had demonstrated the value of regional structures that endure under the pressure of geopolitical tension. CARICOM's experience showed how small states can amplify their influence through collective diplomacy, shared institutions and coordinated advocacy including on issues such as climate change and international financial reform.
16. In the *Regional and community cooperation to fight transnational organised crime session*, the Dialogue heard that transnational organised crime poses an escalating threat across the Pacific, with increasing narcotics trafficking and use, alongside money laundering, online scams and identity theft. While acknowledging the successes of law enforcement agencies in disrupting criminal networks, participants recognised that organised crime groups continue to adapt rapidly, exploiting capacity constraints and the region's vast maritime geography. Panellists emphasised that law enforcement alone cannot address the growing challenge of transnational organised crime, and underscored the need for a coordinated, whole-of-society approach that brings together governments, law enforcement agencies, health and education sectors, civil society, communities, faith-based organisations, and the private sector. This approach should integrate intelligence-sharing, law enforcement cooperation, prevention, public awareness, early intervention, treatment, and harm reduction measures. Participants also expressed concern about the growing social and public health impacts associated with illicit drug use, including addiction, the spread of HIV, mental health challenges, and broader harms to families and communities.
17. In the *Regional cooperation for the energy transition session*, the Dialogue heard about the importance of accelerating the Pacific energy transition, particularly given worsening climate change impacts and the current heavy reliance on fossil fuels, the global energy supply shock, and enduring supply chain challenges. The Dialogue also recognised the renewable energy transition as a sovereignty-building measure for the Pacific. Regarding the current fuel crisis, participants heard the crisis had received high-level attention at national and regional levels, including through Forum Leaders' invoking of the *Biketawa Declaration*, while there was also a call for greater clarity on a sequenced regional response: identifying immediate actions to address current fuel-related pressures; medium-term measures to strengthen coordination and resilience; and longer-term pathways beyond the *Biketawa Declaration* response to advance energy security. It was also noted lower socio-economic groups were most affected. More generally, participants heard the region had in place much of the necessary enabling environment for the energy transition, particularly in terms of policy, legislative and regulatory frameworks, but that implementation of the transition remained the key challenge.

18. In the *Regional cooperation for Pacific mobility, dignity and adaptation panel*, the Dialogue reflected on the central place of mobility in Pacific societies, recognising its historical roots across the Pacific, as well as its growing significance in the context of labour migration, demographic change, and climate change impacts. Panellists highlighted the diverse factors driving mobility, including access to education and employment opportunities, as well as environmental and political considerations. Participants further considered the complex challenges associated with increasing mobility, including brain drain, social division, urbanisation, gendered social relations, forced return and changing border and visa arrangements, while also acknowledging the opportunities presented through diaspora engagement, economic opportunity and digital connectivity. The Dialogue recognised that future mobility and adaptation practices should be approached in ways that draw upon Pacific values, customary systems and community leadership. The Falepili Union was also an important topic in the discussion.

19. In the *Land as security: national and regional cooperation panel*, participants discussed the central role of land as a foundation of peace, security, identity and resilience across the Pacific. It was noted that customary land tenure systems continue to underpin social cohesion, cultural continuity, food security and community wellbeing throughout the region. At the same time, pressures arising from climate change, disaster displacement, urbanisation, demographic change and historical legacies are increasing demands on land, creating new sources of vulnerability and conflict, if not carefully managed. Panellists emphasised the importance of traditional governance systems, customary leadership, reconciliation processes and community relationships in maintaining social harmony and supporting adaptation. They also highlighted the need to strengthen the integration of customary knowledge, education, research and policy development, while recognising the value and rich traditions of Pacific approaches to mobility, relocation and community support.



Youth and the future

20. The session *Looking ahead: today's youth on a secure future for the Blue Pacific* comprised a group of young Pacific thinkers who discussed what was required to realise the *2050 Strategy for the Blue Pacific Continent*. The panel emphasised the next generation would inherit a complex range of intersecting threats such as climate change, the spread and impact of drugs, and social media and artificial intelligence. Based on this, they highlighted that youth should have a permanent seat at the table in discussions related to regional peace and security processes, futures and foresight work, implementation and monitoring, and broader regional decision making. While the panel was realistic about the challenges the region faced into the future, there was also optimism that the Pacific's values of respect, humility, loyalty and stewardship of the environment would continue to guide it through the difficult years to come.
21. The *Futures Exercise*, delivered through the partnership between the Pacific Community (SPC) and the Pacific Security College (PSC), was an opportunity for participants to consider future scenarios and develop a range of potential policy and operational level options to ensure the region would remain on track to deliver on the *2050 Strategy for the Blue Pacific Continent*. The Dialogue recognised the importance of futures and foresight methods, and encouraged their use in national security strategies, regional planning, leadership training, youth engagement, and institutional capacity-building. The Dialogue also acknowledged the speakers who opened the day and inspired us with their vision for 2050, and the national security leaders who closed the day with their reflections, including on next steps.

Regional peace and security architecture

Peace and security action plan

22. Participants heard the *Regional Peace and Security Action Plan 2026-2030* would be completed in 2026, and it would be a critical part of translating regional security commitments into coordinated and practical action. The Pacific Islands Forum Secretary General also highlighted the Action Plan would be a key mechanism for strengthening collaboration among regional agencies, improving the alignment of national and regional priorities, and ensuring resources were directed towards the region's most pressing security challenges. Across the Dialogue, participants heard about the importance of political leadership, financing, institutional capacity, legal and policy alignment, training, data, monitoring and accountability as being critical elements in the successful delivery of the Action Plan. Further, the Dialogue also recognised that implementation was a decisive test.

National security strategies

23. A number of Forum member representatives highlighted the benefit of having national security strategies, and it was reported the national security strategies in place had increased – from three in 2018 to 11 in 2025 – with others being worked on, and some of the initial strategies being reviewed and renewed. To that end, participants congratulated Tonga for the launch of its national security policy and looked forward to the launch of further strategies by other Forum members this year. The Dialogue also recognised there may be value in promoting peer learning across Forum member countries when it comes to the development, review and refreshing of national security policies and related work. The Dialogue also recognised the National Security Coordinator's roundtable as a potential central point for this activity.

Role of the Pacific Peace and Security Dialogue

24. Participants reflected that the Pacific Peace and Security Dialogue was an important convening in the broader regional security architecture that critically brought together a broad cross-section of the region's peace and security community. Participants urged its continuation into the future and believed there was an opportunity to link it to the wider regional security architecture, and for its outcomes to be explicitly connected to broader regional peace and security policy processes – including the *Regional Peace and Security Action Plan 2026-2030*.

Looking forward

25. In supporting the ongoing finalisation of the *Regional Peace and Security Action Plan 2026-2030*, the Dialogue underscored the importance of ensuring that the Action Plan was practical, implementation-focused, and capable of translating regional commitments into tangible outcomes for Pacific peoples. Participants highlighted several cross-cutting priorities for consideration, including:
- strengthening political leadership and regional coordination
 - reinforcing implementation capacity at national and regional levels
 - promoting whole-of-society partnerships that engage government, community, civil society, faith-based organisations, youth, women, academia and the private sector
 - improving information-sharing, research, and futures and foresight capabilities
 - embedding monitoring, evaluation and accountability mechanisms
 - ensuring the Action Plan remains sufficiently flexible to respond to emerging and interconnected security challenges.
26. Above all, the Dialogue reaffirmed that the success of the Action Plan will depend not only on the quality of its design, but on sustained commitment to its collective implementation across the region.

Conclusion

27. The Dialogue participants and organisers sincerely thank the Government and people of Fiji for their warm hospitality and support.
28. We also sincerely thank Secretary General Waqa and the Forum Secretariat team for making the Forum Secretariat's facilities available for the conference, and for their broader support to the 2026 Pacific Peace and Security Dialogue.

Vinaka vaka levu





LEADERS ON CHALLENGES AND OPPORTUNITIES

“In a world that is in quite a bit of turmoil at the moment globally, I think it falls back to us in the region that we need to be stronger, we need to stand together, and we need to say who we are much more loudly and clearly in terms of myriad issues. The development side, for sure, we’re very good at that already, but perhaps the security side is where we need to find our voice a bit more.”

The Hon Peter Kenilorea Jr., Minister for National Planning
and Development Coordination, Solomon Islands

SESSIONS

“The question that keeps me awake at night is whether our systems are robust enough to handle multiple shocks simultaneously, and complex security environments as well. The Pacific's security environment is becoming increasingly crowded and complex. We must prioritise Pacific values and concerns, rather than external agendas that may not align with our needs.”

The Hon Richie Mautama, Minister for Home Affairs; Minister for Police, Corrections and National Disaster Management, Niue

Our four Ministers spoke honestly about their hopes and fears, plans and setbacks in tackling the polycrisis before the Pacific. They traversed a diverse yet interconnected set of issues, including climate change, the deteriorating international system, troubling geopolitical events, supply chain vulnerability, economic insecurity and transnational organised crime.

These challenges gave rise to concerns about the sort of world the youth of today would inherit. And whether the machinery of state was up to the task of protecting the population. This key obligation of government was hindered by limited capacity. But development and prosperity would be unattainable without security; they were two sides of the same coin.

The methamphetamine crisis was now a top-order preoccupation, feeding crime rates and impacting innocent women and children. It demonstrated clearly how one problem could become many, with the unambiguous link between intravenous drug use and soaring rates of HIV infection.

Collective responses were essential. These challenges defied borders and required the collaboration of neighbours and partners. While the region could be proud of its solidarity, it also needed to guard against fragmentation and not underestimate the risk or consequences of division. Speakers urged all regional governments to ensure full ratification of the UN Convention Against Transnational Organised Crime this year.

The Pacific could be proud of the impact its voice had in shaping rules and norms. Its championing of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS) should be celebrated for delivering a framework of enormous benefit to Pacific states. Similar international leadership had emerged on climate change, and the Parties to the Nauru Agreement (PNA) stood as a highly successful example of collective leverage. These examples showed the Pacific had agency.

Trust was a vital ingredient for governments in managing security challenges. Having the right levers of state worked only so far; communities needed to believe that authorities acted with integrity. Inclusion and consultation helped engender trust, but it needed to be fostered, particularly among the Pacific's large young population, which faced alienation through lack of opportunity and social fragmentation.

Trust was also vital at the regional level; governments needed to have faith in the actions of their neighbours to underpin regional solidarity. The *Blue Pacific Ocean of Peace Declaration* was an important framework for leaders to develop solutions to regional issues into the future.

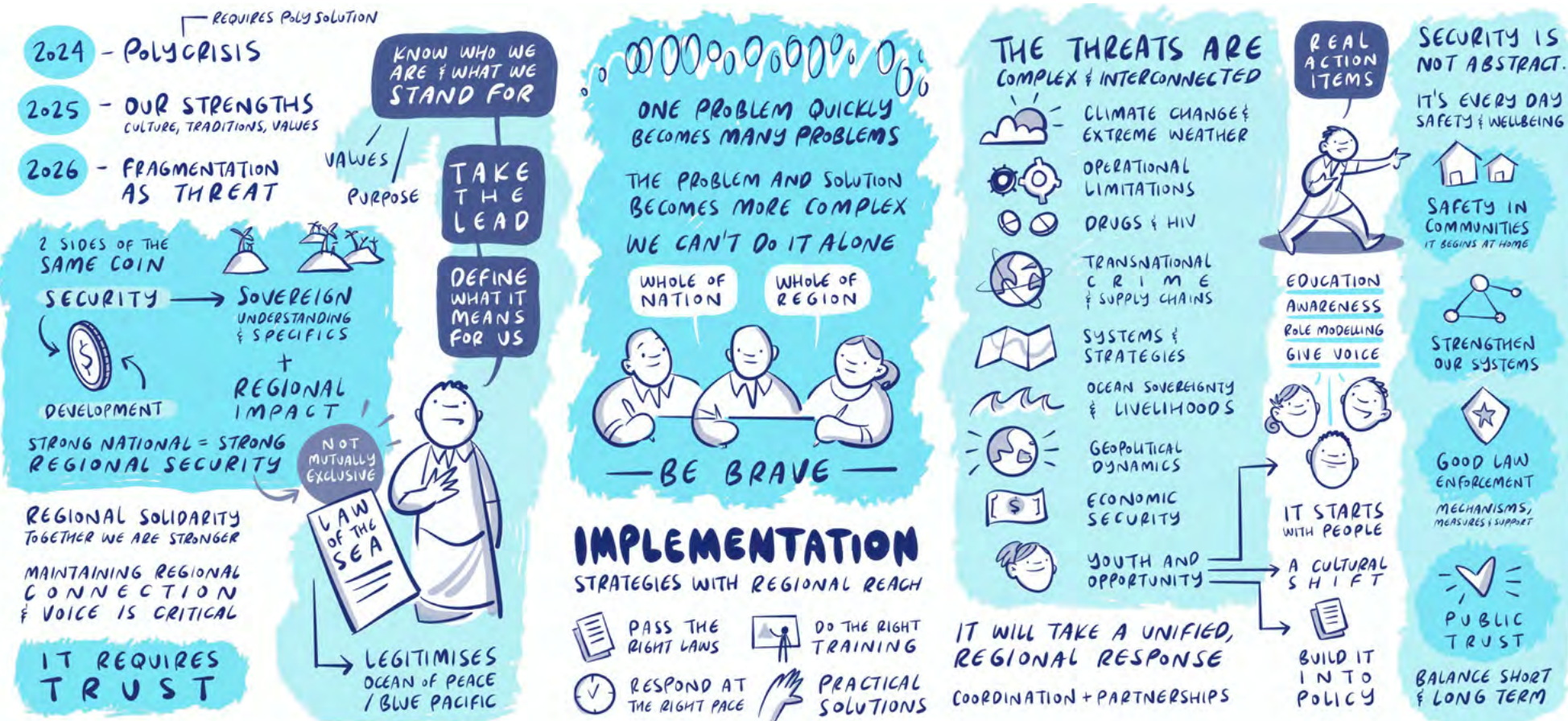
“The area of public trust, this is a common issue, I believe throughout the Pacific. We can have everything within the state. You can have police resources, you can have the military, you can have a good judiciary, you can have all the right technology everywhere, but what about the people? Do they trust us to look after them? And if they feel that the system is weak, that adds to our problem.”

The Hon Pio Tikoduadua, Minister for Defence and Veteran Affairs, Fiji





DR. ANNA NAUPA, HON. PIO TIKODUADUA, HON. PETER KENILOREA JNR., HON. RICHIE MAUTAMA & HON. JENNIFER S. OLEGERILL



LEADERS ON ECONOMIC SECURITY

“Economic resilience for the Pacific depends on our regional cooperation. We are always strongest when we are together. Stronger transport networks, reliable telecommunications and digital connectivity, and streamlined institutional cooperation can reduce costs and create new opportunities for our people, who are our greatest resource.”

The Hon Charmaine Scotty, Minister for Women’s and Social Affairs, Naoero



32 “A line from the song ‘The Gambler’ says, ‘every hand is a winner, and every hand is a loser.’ For us in Tuvalu, economic resilience is not about wishing for a different hand, it is about making the most of what we have.”

The Hon Simon Kofe, Minister for Transport, Energy, Communication and Innovation, Tuvalu

Our Ministers highlighted the importance of economic resilience as a foundation for stability and sovereignty. Economic growth needed to be sustainable, inclusive and capable of withstanding shocks, while investing in people, especially youth. Panellists emphasised the importance of being prepared regionally and nationally for future crises and contingencies.

Economic strategies needed to invest in people. Women’s economic empowerment increased income but also choice and independence, dignity and participation in decision-making. And ensuring education and skills training for youth helped the next generation to feel invested in the economy, society and the political system.

The Pacific was dealing with the consequences of the Middle East crisis, which impacted the cost of living and economies more broadly. Public wellbeing as well as business activity had been affected, particularly in more remote locations. Some countries had responded by introducing fuel subsidies, which were a considerable burden. Papua New Guinea’s fuel subsidies, for example, were in the order of US\$250 million, which was unsustainable (notwithstanding its revenue windfall from the crisis as a small producer of oil and gas). Papua New Guinea was looking at building small refineries to support domestic fuel security. These could also assist smaller island countries in the region.

Panellists highlighted the potential benefits to island nations of closer coordination, pooling resources and a more unified approach. Improved air and shipping links, digital connectivity, shared procurement mechanisms and institutional cooperation could lessen vulnerabilities and improve livelihoods.

A good example of working together was the Central Pacific Shipping Commission, which had enabled several small island countries to negotiate as a group and secure shipping services that were less expensive and more reliable. The recent launch of the Pacific Blue Shipping Partnership, focusing on the energy transition for domestic shipping, also exemplified what countries could do working together to prepare for the future.

Still, the journey ahead was challenging. For example, the management of the Pacific’s seabed resources and the need to find the right balance between securing the economic benefits and managing the wider environmental and other impacts would not be easy. Graduation of a country to higher income status under World Bank classifications was a mixed blessing that needed to be carefully managed, given the resulting limitations on access to financial support.

Solutions needed to suit local circumstances. More thinking outside the box was needed, focusing on diversification and innovation. The digital economy had enormous potential in areas such as remote work and digital entrepreneurship and online services. Tuvalu, by taking control of its internet domain name ‘.tv’, had generated substantial and growing income, and was using this sovereign asset to train young people in technology service delivery.

The role of development and other economic partners was noted with appreciation. But members of the region needed to protect their sovereign ability to act in their own interests, particularly in light of the increased involvement by external countries.







MS. SARAH MECARTNEY, HON. TINGIKA ELIKANA, HON. THOMAS OPA, HON. CHARMAINE SCOTTY & HON SIMON KOFE



POLITICAL STABILITY LEADS TO ECONOMIC GROWTH & SECURITY

SECURITY OUTSIDE OF MILITARY CAPACITY

EVERY HAND'S A WINNER
EVERY HAND'S A LOSER

LIMITATIONS BRING INNOVATION

COMMON ISSUES
E.G. CONNECTIVITY

COORDINATE AND ADDRESS HOLISTICALLY

DISTANCE FROM MARKETS = ↑\$

ECONOMIC DIVERSITY

SOVEREIGN ABILITY TO SAY YES OR NO

DEVELOPMENT PARTNERS

DIGITAL ECONOMY

SHIFT YOUNG PEOPLE FROM CONSUMERS TO CREATORS

UNITY IS OUR STRENGTH

SHARING FREIGHT COSTS & ABILITY FOR BULK SHIPMENTS = BETTER ACCESS TO CLIENTS/MARKET

REGIONAL COOPERATION & APPROACHES
CONNECTIVITY

INVEST IN PEOPLE
EDUCATION & UPSKILLING
TRUST
IT STARTS IN OUR HOMES

WHAT'S YOUR ROLE?

* NUCLEAR NEEDS TO BE DISCUSSED

COST OF LIVING FUEL CRISIS
IMMEDIATE CONCERNS

MEDIUM & LONG-TERM FOCUS

TRUST AND TRUTH

LET US DIRECT THE VAKA

IF YOU ARE WITH US

SING OUR SONGS

IT SOUNDS SO BEAUTIFUL WHEN WE SING IN HARMONY

INVEST IN WOMEN
CHOICE, INDEPENDENCE, DIGNITY & INCLUSION

INFORMAL ECONOMIC SYSTEMS

EVERYONE HAS OWNERSHIP, EVERYONE FEELS SAFE

OUR OCEANS ARE OUR SAFETY & OUR CULTURE

WHAT HAPPENS IF THEY'RE COMMODITISED?

SOCIETY, PEACE AND SECURITY

“The great paradox of what’s happening in the digital world is that what is bringing our best solutions and the greatest advancements is also creating the biggest problems for us, and so we realise that the threat and the solution are sitting in pretty much the same device.”

The Hon Ruth Cross Kwansing, Minister for Women, Youth,
Sport and Social Affairs, Kiribati



Speakers discussed how the *Boe Declaration on Regional Security* and the *2050 Strategy for the Blue Pacific Continent* could be applied to the rapidly evolving technological and information environments. These innovations had delivered tremendous change, promoting community and bringing people together regardless of distance, as well as enabling business and learning opportunities. Yet there were substantial downsides, such as harm to young people, abuse of women and girls, cyberbullying, scamming, gambling, and the translation of online misogyny into real-world violence.

Delegates heard how digital transformation had been able to amplify connections in communities. With Pacific cultures heavily oriented towards community, the opportunity to engage digitally was very positive, not just with friends and relatives in the diaspora but for isolated island dwellers across the Blue Pacific Continent. In the case of Kiribati, with its 21 inhabited islands spread across 3.5 million square kilometres of ocean, the ‘coconut wireless’ now operated at a speed never seen before. Some great opportunities came from that, including the ability to report important challenges requiring urgent government action.

The great paradox was that the sources of these advancements were also creating big problems. Harmful narratives and behaviours were being normalised and reinforced through damaging algorithms. Young people in particular risked going down dark holes of distorted realities.

Australia’s Ambassador for Cyber Affairs suggested the speed at which technology was changing meant industry and governments had responsibilities to move at commensurate speeds to protect citizens. In the Australian context, one issue of concern was children’s use of AI assistant and companion bots. Ninety-six per cent of Australian children used an online platform, and of those, 70 per cent had received abuse or been exposed to inappropriate material, often encouraged by AI. Some children spent up to five hours a day talking to an AI chatbot or companion. This, together with a need to protect against forms of online abuse, demanded new guardrails.

A second concern was online gaming, particularly among eight to 17 year olds. Nine in 10 Australian children engaged in gaming, with a lot of good coming from it, including intergenerational collaboration. But a third of those young people had been bullied or taken down child exploitation paths.

A third concern was data privacy breaches. These affected everyone, but particularly the elderly, the vulnerable and the young. These could be very damaging; it was vital governments provided practical help to stop them. There were some great initiatives and some opportunities to work on practical collaboration including regionally.

Speakers shared insights on cybersecurity and online safety measures being taken by their governments, as well as regulatory and legislative arrangements for mainstream and social media. These processes had not always been easy given differences in stakeholder perspectives. Still, in Papua New Guinea’s experience, there was recognition that the focus needed to be on people and how they used social media to engage. Further, the government had come to realise the importance of verified information through mainstream media, in contrast to unregulated social media. The speakers emphasised the need to enhance digital literacy, increase public awareness and consider verification processes for social media.

A Pacific regional solution would need a holistic approach involving government, industry, civil society, media, legal practitioners and communities. The creation and design of a collective regional toolkit for online safety, to be considered at the Pacific Cyber Week, would be an important contribution.







DR. ROMULO NAYACALEVU, HON. RUTH CROSS KWANSING, AMBASSADOR JESSICA HUNTER & MR NEVILLE CHOI

HOW CAN WE USE TECH AS
A PEACE-BUILDING TOOL?



PEACE ≠
ABSENCE
OF CONFLICT



DIGITAL TRANSFORMATION



THE COCONUT
WIRELESS IS
FASTER THAN
EVER BEFORE



TECH SKILLS

ALGORITHMS ARE
SHAPING OUR
YOUNG PEOPLE

THE THREAT & SOLUTION
SITS IN THE SAME DEVICE

AND OUR ELDERS
ARE VULNERABLE TO
SCAMS & MISINFORMATION



CULTURE

CONNECT GENERATIONS

AT ITS BEST,
IT CONNECTS US

SHIFTS

- SCALE
- SPEED
- HARMS
- DIGITAL AMPLIFIES
VULNERABILITY

WE'RE NOT
POWERLESS
... BUT WE MUST
USE THE LAWS
AVAILABLE

TRENDS

AI ASSISTANT/
COMPANION
TECH SHAPED
WITHOUT
SAFEGUARDS
FOR KIDS

ONLINE
BULLYING

ONLINE
GAMING

PRIVACY
OF DATA

GAPS

✓ VERIFICATION
PROCESS
IT SHOULD BE
MANDATORY!

SO WE CAN
HAVE
ACCOUNTABILITY

INFORMATION
& ADVOCACY
FACT CHECKING
TOOLS & EDUCATION



THE PACIFIC WAY

IS STILL
STRONG

• OUR RULES
• OUR TOOLS
BE SHAPERS!

♥ ♥ ♥
CULTURAL
SAFEGUARDING



SOCIAL MEDIA IS
UNREGULATED MEDIA



BUT IT IS
POWERFUL
& CAN BE
HARNESSED
FOR GOOD!

HOW DO WE STRENGTHEN
MAINSTREAM MEDIA &
PROTECT JOURNALISTS?

KIDS CAN
LEARN
TO USE
IT FOR
GOOD
AI + RI

AI STRESS TEST
EVERYTHING!
IT IS A TOOL
START WITH THE
PROBLEM TO SOLVE
RISKS TO
CULTURE?

COLLECTIVE ASKS TO COMPANIES = COLLECTIVE BENEFITS

ONLINE SAFETY

- PREVENTION
E-LITERACY
- PROTECTION
- SYSTEMIC
CHANGE

<16 SOCIAL MEDIA BAN

- RESPONSIBILITY
SHIFT TO PROVIDER
- CHANGE THE
CONVERSATION
- ALLOW OUR KIDS
TO GROW & LEARN
BEFORE EXPOSURE

* ICT NEEDS TO BE CONSIDERED

START
THE CHAT



CURIOUS
ABOUT
THE APP

REGIONAL COOPERATION IN THE PACIFIC AND BEYOND

“Our leaders, in their own wisdom, have always believed that in our approaches, including for regional security, it’s a family-first approach.”

Mr Esala Nayasi, Deputy Secretary General, Pacific Islands Forum

Our senior regional representatives explored the role of regional cooperation in addressing the increasingly complex peace, security and development challenges facing all regions. Drawing on the experiences of the Pacific Islands Forum, ASEAN and the Caribbean Community (CARICOM), speakers reflected on the evolution of regionalism, the importance of collective action by small and vulnerable states, and the lessons that different regions could learn from one another. While each organisation had emerged from unique historical and political circumstances, all shared a common objective: strengthening peace, security, resilience and prosperity through cooperation.

Effective regionalism was built on the foundations of trust, unity and shared values. The Pacific’s *2050 Strategy for the Blue Pacific Continent* was intended to provide a renewed vision for Pacific regionalism grounded in solidarity, collective identity and people-centred leadership. Similar themes were evident in ASEAN’s and CARICOM’s experiences, where regional integration had evolved beyond economic cooperation to become a strategic mechanism for amplifying the voice and influence of small and vulnerable states in global affairs.

Regional organisations were navigating an increasingly contested geopolitical environment. All three regions were facing growing external pressures, strategic competition and challenges to the international rules-based order. The Pacific Islands Forum highlighted ongoing work to strengthen the regional architecture and manage external partnerships in ways that preserved regional unity and agency. ASEAN’s experience demonstrated the importance of institutions, dialogue and legal frameworks in managing tensions and maintaining stability, while CARICOM highlighted the need to remain anchored in shared values while adapting to rapidly changing international circumstances.

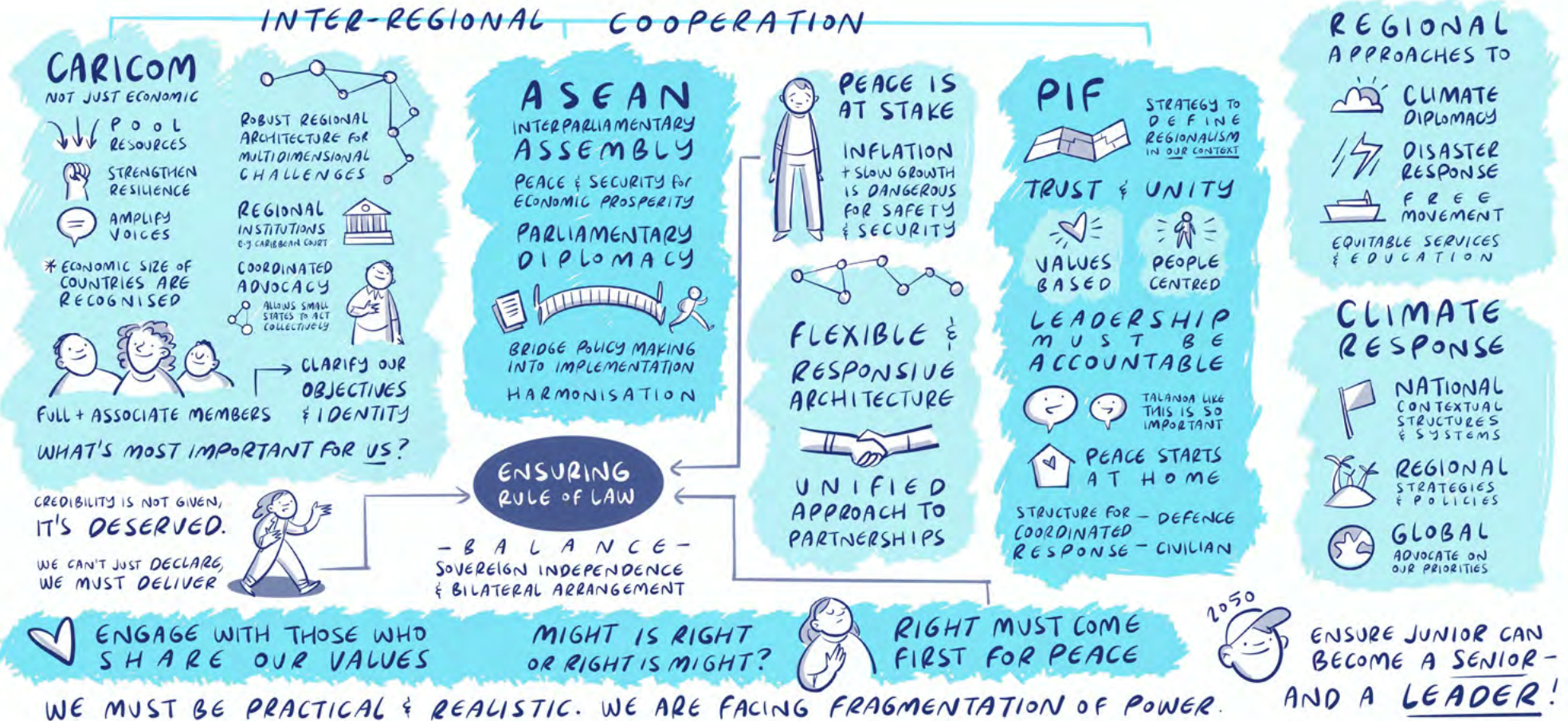
Climate change was a central concern across all regions. Participants emphasised that climate impacts were already affecting livelihoods, economies and social stability, particularly in coastal and small island developing states. The Pacific highlighted its global advocacy efforts, including the establishment of the Pacific Resilience Facility and support for international legal initiatives on climate change. CARICOM stressed the importance of reforming international financial systems to better support vulnerable states, while ASEAN pointed to growing regional cooperation on disaster response, climate resilience, energy security and food security.

The panel concluded that regional cooperation would become even more important in the decades ahead. Participants highlighted opportunities for deeper collaboration between the Pacific, Caribbean and Southeast Asian regions, including on disaster response, parliamentary engagement, climate diplomacy and the management of external partnerships. While the challenges confronting all three regions were significant, speakers expressed confidence that stronger regional institutions, shared values and collective action would remain essential tools for safeguarding peace, security and prosperity towards 2050 and beyond.





PROF. DAVE PEEBLES, HIS EXCELLENCY DR. CHEM WIDHYA, MS. ELIZABETH SOLOMON & MR ESALA NAYASI



REGIONAL AND COMMUNITY COOPERATION TO FIGHT TRANSNATIONAL ORGANISED CRIME

“We are starting to build our national security consciousness, so that vigilance becomes a personal responsibility for everyone. This is the way we are trying to protect against whatever is coming across our maritime borders, to support the patrols by our navy and police maritime division.”

Mr Berenado Kolinio Daveta, Permanent Secretary for Policing, Fiji

Transnational organised crime could no longer be considered an emerging issue for the Pacific. It was entrenched and having a terrible impact upon communities. It threatened health, economic security and the overall wellbeing of individual nations and the region.

Along with narcotics, the region was witnessing an increase in associated crimes such as money laundering, human trafficking and corruption in state institutions. Technology and connectivity were aiding the spread and sophistication of a range of crime types. It allowed syndicates to remain well ahead of law enforcement. Criminal activity moved through jurisdictions and exploited gaps between them. Collaboration, coordination and collective effort were essential for the response.

Pacific Island Countries were contending with rising incidents of illegal drug use, addiction, domestic violence and mental health challenges. This was placing increasing strain on community services, structures and even family units, along with overall wellbeing. With the rise of HIV, the Pacific was witnessing an unprecedented merging of a transnational crime threat with a human security challenge.



Transnational criminals rarely exploited well-resourced communities with well-managed, defined borders and resilient governance. They instead preyed on communities challenged by economic vulnerability and social stress, where governance was constrained by geographic challenges and remained a work in progress. With vast ocean areas to patrol with very finite resources, Pacific Island Countries were highly vulnerable.

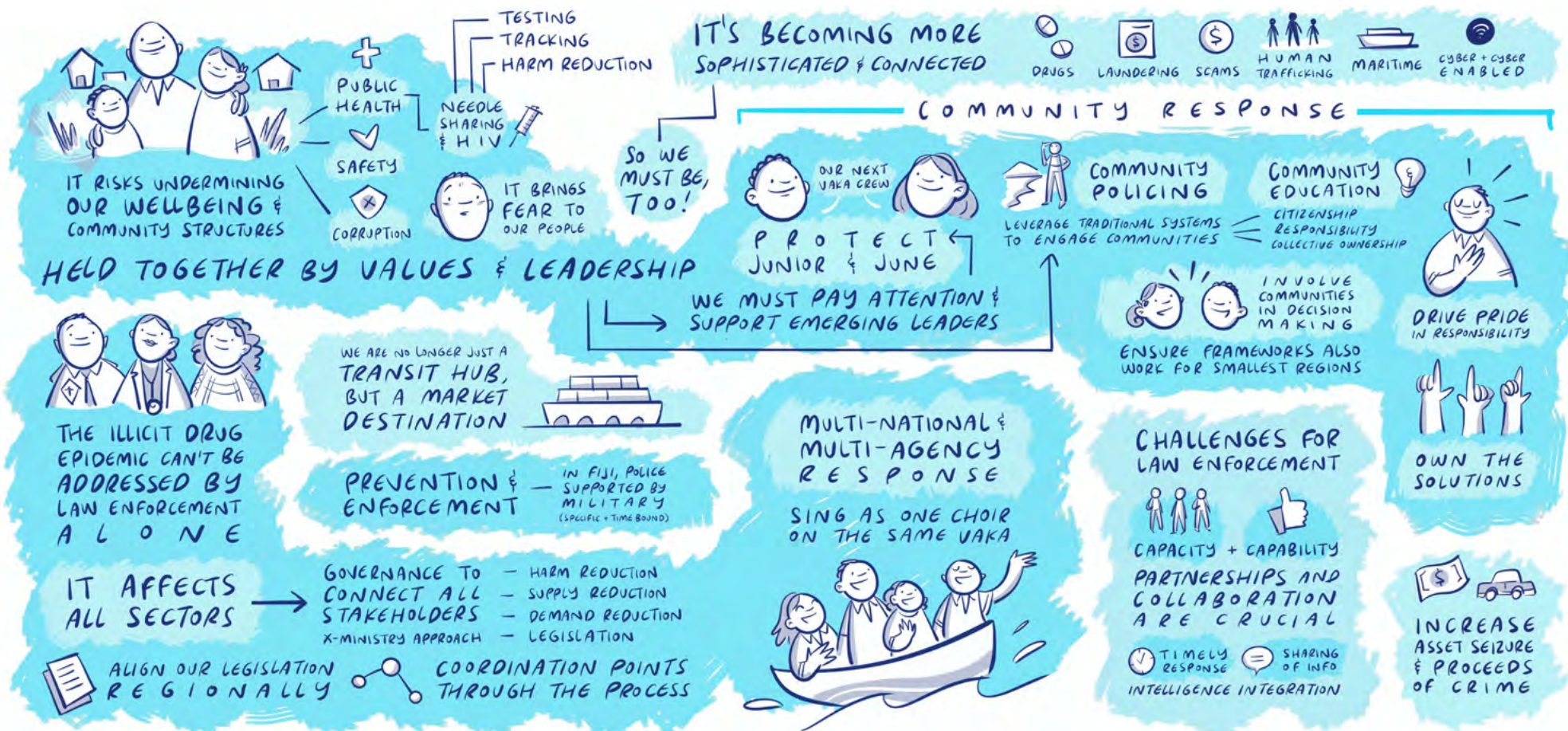
The Dialogue heard about the unprecedented challenges Fiji faced with transnational crime, its domestic impacts and the energetic law enforcement and community efforts in response. With its 1.3 million square kilometres of ocean and 11,000 kilometres of open beaches, routine approaches to surveillance and patrolling would always be insufficient, no matter how capable and hardworking the personnel involved. But with villages lining the coastlines, local communities had come to play a vital role in littoral areas. This was not a program that was imposed by authorities but rather approached in a culturally sensitive way with the consent and facilitation of traditional leaders and provincial structures. It was a community-based system that also supported community resilience, with training and outreach programs that delivered benefits to coastal communities, such as training in boat maintenance and repair. It was an approach that combined national security and human security imperatives.

Intelligence was vital in combatting transnational crime and there was a need to build on arrangements for regional intelligence integration, to the point where data was accessible in real time. Actionable intelligence was the key. The complexity of modern crime also demanded specialist capabilities from law enforcement agencies, particularly in the digital and financial domains. This might not be viable for small states but a regional approach to capability development, including shared centres of excellence in digital forensics and financial investigation, would strengthen collective effectiveness. So would further alignment of legal frameworks, mutual legal assistance and extradition processes.

Panellists emphasised the importance of harm reduction protocols and the need to include community-based approaches. There should be close cooperation between police, health, social services, NGOs and the community.



MR. ROSS ARDERN, HON. JENNIFER S. OLEGERILL, MR. BERENADO DAVETA, RATU VILIAME SERUVAKULA, MR. BOB WILLIAMS, CHIEF SUPERINTENDENT SELOSIA S. FATUKALA-SATINI







REGIONAL COOPERATION FOR THE ENERGY TRANSITION

“We should see the current fuel crisis as a signal to fast track our energy transition to renewable alternatives.”

Ms Toleafoa Annie Tuisuga, Manager, Environment and Renewable Energy Division, Scientific Research Organisation of Samoa

The Pacific needed to accelerate its energy transition, in light of climate change, heavy reliance on fossil fuels, the global energy supply shock, and enduring supply chain challenges. The scale of the task – to transition to affordable, clean and accessible energy as envisaged in the Pacific’s own ambitious energy goals – was underlined by the long-standing heavy reliance on traditional biofuels, especially wood; the reliance on diesel in the shipping sector, so crucial to Pacific economies; and the high level of exposure of electricity grids to imported diesel.

The current fuel crisis was having a major impact. It was not being felt evenly, with lower socio-economic groups most affected, especially in remote areas. Some Forum members had declared a state of emergency and introduced subsidies. Forum Leaders had invoked the *Biketawa Declaration*, underscoring the seriousness of the crisis.

Regional collaboration and partnerships were essential for promoting a faster, more inclusive and equitable transition to sustainable energy. The region had much of the necessary enabling environment in terms of policy and legislative frameworks, but implementation remained the challenge. There was a disconnect between the region’s ambition and results on the ground, driven by economic, technical and social factors. The creation of a Pacific Regional Renewable Energy Commissioner would improve regional cohesion and guide the Pacific towards becoming a leader in the use of renewable energy, including playing a central role in attracting climate finance.

The challenges in implementing the transition included insufficient infrastructure to harness renewable resources; inadequate regulatory frameworks that could achieve the right balance between the needs of consumers, government and utilities; a shortage of good data, although data sharing options were now attracting attention; failure to monitor projects, leading to waste and duplication and missed opportunities to learn from experience; and the problem of the disposal of waste, such as solar panels, although some promising mechanisms were being put in place. The poor targeting and underutilisation of finance for renewables was also noted. Despite there being a considerable amount of funding on offer, often it did not reach the grassroots, with too much spent on consultants.





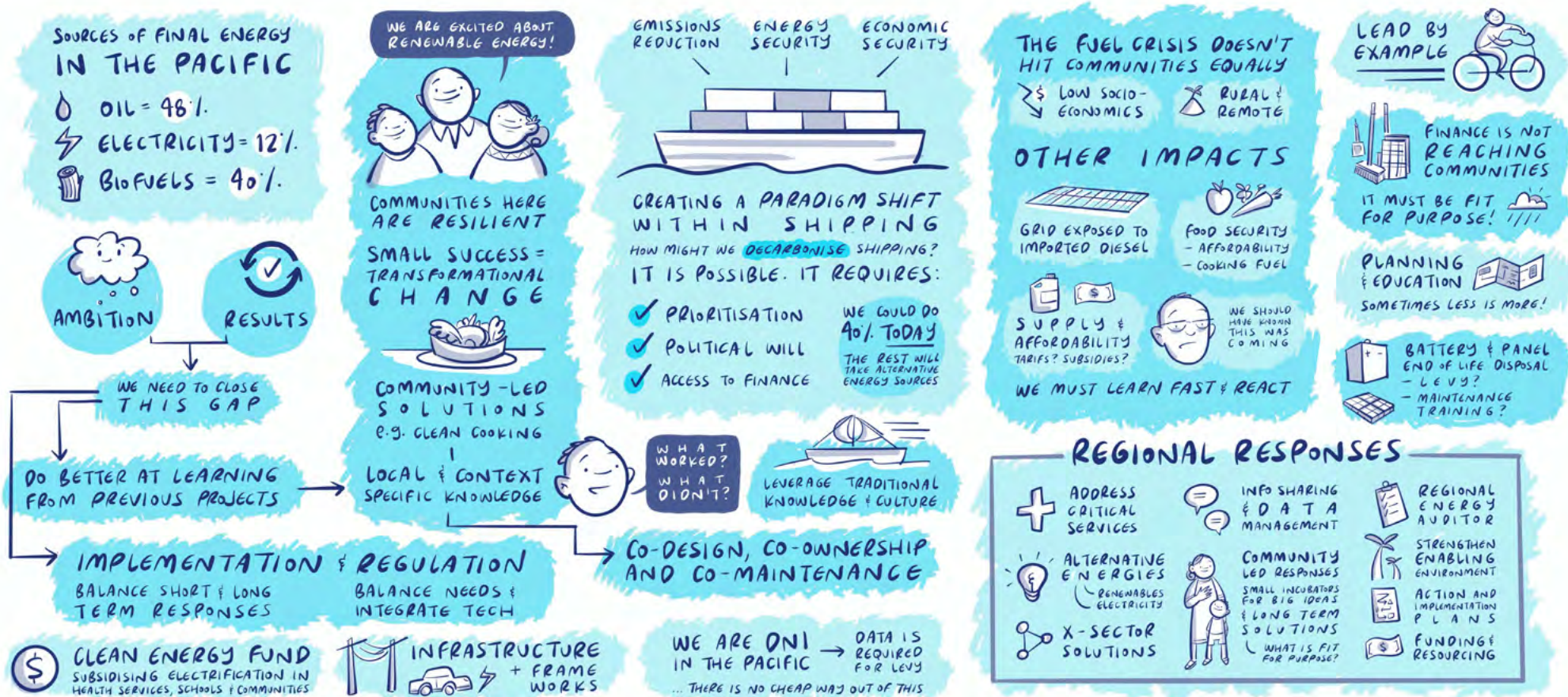
Despite implementation challenges, there were strengths the region could draw on. Most notable was the resilience of communities, with examples of successful projects including the Tuvalu biogas project and Vanuatu's National Clean Energy Fund, which was supporting electrification through access to renewable energy. Listening to local knowledge was important, particularly in the task ahead of scaling up successful community-level projects. Greener transport options were now in the mix, with some governments looking to transition to more electric vehicles in their fleets. Another promising carbon reduction innovation was the Blue Concrete Initiative involving the Pacific Community, Fiji and UNDP, aimed at reducing the amount of cement imported into the region.

The energy transition prospects in the shipping sector, on which the region was so reliant, remained challenging. Overall, the transition was relatively slow, with missed opportunities in moving to low-carbon transport. Groupings of interested countries were working together on solutions. The Micronesian Centre for Sustainable Transport was a successful example of a small island developing state grouping, which was working with the International Maritime Organization and was producing good results, including in the high-quality training of young Pacific Island researchers. The Pacific Blue Partnership, an innovative mechanism seeking to bring large-scale financing to revolutionise the shipping transition, was going from strength to strength.

The region needed to react quickly and decide transition solutions for shipping, balancing short-term supply concerns against longer-term decarbonisation. The era of cheap diesel was over. The transition would be expensive, and major decisions would need to be taken in the next few years on what alternative maritime fuels to use. Countries that purchased conventionally powered ships now would be locked into dependency on expensive diesel fuel for many years, while there were better options that would be cheaper over a ship's lifetime, such as the low-carbon methanol-powered vessel acquired by the Republic of Marshall Islands.



MR HUGO TEMBY, MS NGEDIKES OLAI ULUDONG, MS TOLEAFOA ANNIE TUISUGA, MR ANTHONY GARAE & DR PETER NUTTALL



REGIONAL COOPERATION FOR PACIFIC MOBILITY, DIGNITY AND ADAPTATION

“We want to give people the opportunity to travel, explore other places, get better education for their children, but it comes with consequences as well, with the brain drain, our labour force also leaving. There is a need to rethink how we run our countries. It is important to think about how we can motivate and incentivise our people to stay.”

The Hon Simon Kofe, Minister for Transport, Energy, Communication and Innovation, Tuvalu

Pacific mobility was a fact of life in a region rooted in traditions of navigation, livelihood and kinship, now intersecting with and evolving due to climate impacts, demographic pressures, unemployment, rising costs and expanding pathways.

As climate impacts intensified, mobility had renewed significance, enabling families to diversify income, build resilience and secure futures less viable at home. Yet expanded mobility raised questions about human rights, cultural continuity, and the uneven responsibilities and inequities borne by those who migrate and those who remain in place.

Constrained conditions in-country and resource scarcity were key push factors for mobility, while pull factors included better education and employment opportunities overseas. Environmental and political considerations were also part of the mix.

Seasonal labour mobility programs were an incentive and pathway for people to leave. While these programs had benefits for individuals and families, they also created divisions and structural inequities within communities at home. Promotion of the schemes' benefits often overstated the degree to which participants gained, and understated the complexity of their social implications.



While the programs were designed with a high turnover of participants in mind, employers in Australia and New Zealand were keen to have the same workers return each season, narrowing access. Questions were asked about whether Pacific governments relied too much on the schemes to provide employment, in lieu of pursuing economic agendas that would create employment in-country.

If conditions at home were equal to the conditions of destination countries, then people would not leave. This raised questions for governments as to whether they were building their countries so that people had a choice to stay if they wanted to, or simply building systems to send people abroad. There was a need for governments to rethink this: to consider how people could be incentivised to stay through providing opportunities locally, and also through looking at how a country's diaspora and human resources overseas could be fully leveraged. Whatever policies or arrangements were developed, protection and support of people had to be at the forefront.

Mobility should not be a one-way street. True mobility meant that people should be able to return at their will. However, many did not have that choice. Forced returns were becoming more of an issue because of tightening immigration policies in some countries. Under the current United States administration, there had been an increase of raids on Pacific Islander homes and arrests.

Some Pacific Island governments had been dealing with prisoner deportations and reintegration for years, frequently involving people who had not lived in-country since infancy, possibly lacking cultural and language skills. There were reintegration challenges with those cohorts but valuable policy lessons for broader application. Once home, reintegration required a whole-of-nation approach: government, churches and village governance structures assisting these people to live positively and peacefully in their homes.

Most mobility happened within countries and was rarely planned. It might result from temporary evacuations, rural to urban migration, or people forced to move if the support services or adaptation measures were not in place. Most people did not want to leave their homes. Governments could and should support communities, but communities needed to make the choices. Decisions needed to be rights-based with strong support systems to ensure no one, especially the vulnerable, was at risk. Support was needed in multiple forms: infrastructure and economic, but also through access to cultural and traditional knowledge and needs.

For very small countries with ever-increasing diasporas, the role of online tools was essential to keep the community connected and the culture alive. This was one of the objectives of Tuvalu's Digital Nation initiative. The initiative included all of Tuvalu's governance and administrative systems online, but also encompassed platforms for the preservation of culture and maintaining the connections between people, in Tuvalu and anywhere else in the world. The platform offered access to culture, including language learning, and drew on work done in Tuvalu to digitise artefacts, record the stories of elders, and other forms of cultural content. For Tuvalu, it was a nation-building exercise aimed to support sovereignty and national identity for emerging and future generations.



MS. AKKA RIMON, HON. SIMON KOFE, PROF. YVONNE UNDERHILL-SEM & DR. HENRIETTA McNEILL-STOWERS



MANAGING
TENSION
BETWEEN
MOVEMENT &
ROOTEDNESS

WE WANT TO CHOOSE
OUR OWN DESTINY



WHAT SHAPES MOBILITY?



PUT THE
INTERESTS
OF OUR
NATIONS
FIRST



WE NEED A VISION PEOPLE CAN BUY INTO
... **CHANGE THE NARRATIVE**

MOBILITY CLAUSES SHOULD BE



REGIONAL
SEASONAL
MOBILITY

BROADER
IMPLICATIONS?

IT'S NOT EQUALLY
DISTRIBUTED, WHICH
CAN CAUSE DIVISION

LOSS OF HUMAN
RESOURCES & EXPERTISE

LABOUR FORCE
"BRAIN DRAIN"

ASSESS THE
PROS & CONS

WHAT ARE WE GIVING UP?

WE NEED TO RETHINK
HOW WE RUN A NATION

REMOTE
WORK?

AUTOMATION?



DIGITAL
PRESERVATION
OF CULTURE



X-GENERATIONAL
COLLABORATION



MAINTAIN VALUES

WE MUST PROTECT
IDENTITY & BELONGING

BUILDING BELONGING
IN A NEW PLACE

CONNECTION
TO LAND

RELATIONSHIPS
& NEGOTIATION

DIFFERENCES IN
POPULATION
DYNAMICS
MATTER

WE JUST
WANT
BETTER
GOVERNANCE



URBANISATION
IS AN ISSUE



PARTNERSHIPS
MUST BE
RECIPROCAL

LAND AS SECURITY: NATIONAL AND REGIONAL COOPERATION

“Land is our first source of security. I think for me, land is who I am, and it relates to my name, it relates to my family, and it relates to everything I am as a person.”

Mr Eloi Bouletare, Technical Adviser, Malvatumauri National Council of Chiefs, Vanuatu





“Every time the land sneezes, regional cooperation catches the flu.”

Mr George Hoa'au, Permanent Secretary,
Ministry of Justice and Legal Affairs, Solomon Islands

Customary land systems underpinned identity, social cohesion, governance and resilience in the Pacific. For Pacific peoples, land was inseparable from identity, culture, ancestry and belonging, and remained central to community, wellbeing and stability. Land should not be viewed solely as an economic asset or development issue, but as a foundational source of security.

Customary land tenure maintained social harmony and prevented conflict. Customary systems established rights, responsibilities and reciprocal obligations that strengthened community cohesion. Traditional institutions and chiefly authority continued to play a central role in resolving land disputes through dialogue, consensus-building, reconciliation and the restoration of relationships. But competing claims, population growth, development pressures and climate-induced displacement could create new sources of tension if not carefully managed.

The discussion also examined the growing pressures facing Pacific communities. Climate change, sea level rise, urbanisation and environmental degradation were placing increasing strain on customary land systems. Environmental disruption could fundamentally alter communities' relationships with land, food systems and traditional knowledge. The evacuation of communities following a natural disaster was highlighted as an example of how governments, traditional leaders, churches and development partners can work together to support relocation while maintaining cultural identity, community structures and social stability.

Many contemporary security challenges in the Pacific had land dimensions. Reflections on the tensions in Solomon Islands, Bougainville, New Caledonia and climate mobility highlighted how disputes over land, resources and belonging had had broader national and regional consequences. Still, Pacific societies possessed long-standing traditions of mobility, adoption, land-sharing and community support that offered important lessons for managing future displacement and relocation challenges. Rather than importing solutions from elsewhere, many of the foundations for effective responses already existed within Pacific cultures and institutions.

Education, research and intergenerational knowledge transfer about land, culture and custom were critical priorities for the future. Pacific understandings of land should be incorporated into education systems and policy frameworks.

Land should be more explicitly incorporated into conversations about the Ocean of Peace, climate mobility, and regional cooperation. As the Pacific confronted increasing environmental and geopolitical pressures, strengthening connections between land, identity, customary governance and security would be essential to sustaining peaceful and resilient communities toward 2050 and beyond.

DR ANNA NAUPA, MRS CHEROL ALA IANNA, MR GEORGE HOA'AU, MR ELOI BOULETARE & MS VEHIA WHEELER



LOOKING AHEAD: TODAY'S YOUTH ON A SECURE FUTURE FOR THE BLUE PACIFIC

“I dream of a future Pacific where young people, our children, and their children are able to stay home and create opportunities for themselves instead of going abroad for economic opportunities, while tourists come to enjoy our paradise. I dream of a future where the Pacific partners and funders align themselves with our priorities, not the other way around. I dream of a future Pacific where all peoples are able to come to the table, regardless of their political status. I dream of a future Pacific where education is context-relevant and culturally driven, I dream of a future Pacific where young people can become young leaders without undermining their elders.”

Mr Mori Mahoney Mori, Chairperson,
Pacific Youth Council, Federated States of Micronesia

Young leaders and thinkers from civil society and youth advocacy groups across five countries shared their perspectives on the voyage to 2050, determined to ensure their contributions and achievements would shape their future. Their generation would inherit a complex range of intersecting insecurities, adding urgency for action on climate change, improved human security and forward-looking policies.

Most national governments had an awareness of the pressures and challenges facing the current generation of youth, in no small part because of the outsized young population profile of many Pacific countries. However, this did not always translate into young people becoming a force, or even well represented, in parliamentary politics, as traditional practices and cultural mindsets meant that the various systems favoured older, more experienced and better funded candidates.



Young people could position themselves in adjacent spaces, where their energy, ideas, skills and knowledge could have substantial and enduring impact. This was clearly illustrated by the initiative of 27 law students at the University of the South Pacific in persuading Pacific Islands Forum Leaders to seek an International Court of Justice advisory opinion on states' climate change responsibilities.

Intergenerational dialogue was vital for capturing both wisdom and innovation. There was abiding regard for the wisdom and values handed down through the generations, including humility, respect, loyalty and environmental stewardship. While they received and respected the wisdom of the elders, the young had a reciprocal duty to inform older generations of how the world was changing, drawing on the digital connectedness of young people. One panellist spoke of *ka mua, ka muri*, the Māori expression for walking backwards into the future with eyes fixed on the past.

The drug crisis was a grave concern, disproportionately impacting the young. Pacific Island Countries had become opportunistic markets as well as transit stops for syndicates. This was driving supply, and bad actors in communities were pushers and profiteers.

The drug crisis was a whole-of-community issue. Civil society and faith-based organisations were essential partners in responding. The issue needed to be dealt with holistically, demanding much more from governments than just law enforcement measures.

Addressing the mental health dimensions of the crisis was vital. Perhaps those turning to drugs were young people who had fallen through the cracks, people who were lonely or lost or unable to find a place in society. It was important treatment and rehabilitation options had the right resources to handle the mental health facets of the crisis.



DR ROMULO NAYACELEVU, MR MORI-M MAHONEY MORI, MR 'ISITOLO SIALE, MR ABDUL MUFEEZ SHAHEED, MRS OLIVIA BARO & MS VEHIA WHEELER







THE VOYAGES TO 2050

“Will there be enough food? Will there be enough shelter? Will there be enough water? Once we address these simple, though hard, questions first, then the bigger ones will become easier.”

Mr Neumi Vakadewabuka, Policy Adviser - Regional Security,
Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat



In preparation for the futures exercise, a diverse panel of experts shared their thoughts on future opportunities and challenges. They reflected on where the region had been and where it might go, drawing on the Pacific's history of regionalism and solidarity in facing shared challenges. The underlying question was not merely what the future should look like, but how to translate aspirational regional commitments into achievable, coordinated action. A consistent theme throughout was the centrality of people and place at the heart of regional peace, security and prosperity.

A powerful case was made by Ms Sainimili Tawake (CEO, Pacific Disability Forum) for a future that embraced people with disabilities. People with disabilities should not be treated as an afterthought but recognised as a central pillar of the peace and security agenda.

Three things had to happen:

1. disability, equity and inclusion should be embedded across the Blue Pacific 2050 agenda
2. the refreshed *Pacific Regional Framework on the Rights of Persons with Disabilities*, which is due to be tabled at the next Forum Leaders' Meeting for endorsement, should be implemented
3. investment in the institutional strengthening of organisations concerned with persons with disabilities.

The future of peace and security in the Pacific would not be achieved by infrastructure or policy alone, but rather through strong and inclusive institutions, empowered communities, and a collective commitment that no Pacific Islander should be left behind.

Mr Viliame Bovoro (Director, Pacific Fusion Centre) discussed how to deliver on the aspirations and goals outlined in the *2050 Strategy for the Blue Pacific Continent*. The Strategy was endorsed in 2022, but more could be done in delivering the agenda, not just for the current generation but for those to come. The 2050 vision conjured up a kind of oceanic superpower, which was about being unified, sharing stewardship, and proactively designing the future. There were many questions to address, involving traditional knowledge, artificial intelligence, human rights, the movement of people, digital transformation, climate change, the zone of peace, and more.

If the dial was really to be moved in the coming decades, a rearticulation of the Pacific Way was needed – how it should be interpreted, and how it should be applied at the different levels of leadership. And more broadly, the question that needed an answer was what it would take to secure a good life and opportunities for subsequent generations in 2050.

Ms Sharon Bhagwan-Rolls (Network Coordinator, Pacific Women's Mediator Network) outlined her hopes for 2050 from a feminist perspective, across the full human and wider security agenda. In 2050, financing gender justice would be unquestioned; equitable resources would reach Pacific Islander-led women's and human rights organisations; representation that was decolonised and drawn from different sectors would uplift diverse voices across faith, class, ethnicity, geography, disability, sexuality, age, and gender; and diverse young women leaders and girls would no longer struggle for the right to speak or lead on the front lines of climate justice, bodily autonomy and peace.

Dr Marco de Jong (Auckland University of Technology Law School) looked to history for lessons to safeguard and future-proof the Ocean of Peace to 2050. Pacific regionalism had been responsible for a number of historic achievements, which together constituted our Blue Pacific regime of ocean governance and should be a part of our institutional memory. They included:

- the Law of the Sea negotiations in relation to extended maritime jurisdictions
- the Parties to the Nauru Agreement
- the achievement of Sustainable Development Goal 14
- the highly important but largely unheralded Noumea Convention
- the recognition of the special case of small island states at the Rio Earth Summit
- the securing of the 1.5 degrees threshold in the Paris Agreement.



The Treaty of Rarotonga was the foremost expression of a regional commitment to peace, which the region could be inspired to revitalise and further operationalise to meet contemporary challenges. Australia and New Zealand could be encouraged to take a more creative approach to regional security. And regional disarmament agreements could offer small states strategic value by insulating them from contestation and preserving their collective agency.

On megatrends of concern, the deepening militarisation of emerging domains, such as space, cyber and the seabed, and networked warfare including sea drones, had profound implications. The *Ocean of Peace Declaration* might provide a basis for the further development of safeguards to allow Pacific nations to access useful technologies without sacrificing the ability to regulate them.

Mr Neumi Vakadewabuka (Policy Adviser, Regional Security, Pacific Islands Forum Secretariat) discussed the development of security policies and frameworks, highlighting the importance of using the human security lens to think through what that policy might mean to families and communities. Pacific people must be at the centre of the regional security system, and this should be the case in the *Regional Peace and Security Action Plan 2026-2030*, which was currently under development. The security megatrends and challenges were well known, but the big question was: what would they mean for Pacific people?

Participants were encouraged to make a habit of testing their security systems, with tabletop exercises, coordination between agencies, scenario planning, and so on. Inevitably, gaps would be found, but there was much to learn from each other, and often stakeholders came to the realisation that locally based solutions were the most effective.



MS VALERY WICHMAN, MR JOEL NILON, MS SAINIMILI TAWAKE, MR VILIAME BOVORO, DR MARCO DE JONG, MS SHARON BHAGWHAN-ROLLS, MR NEUMI VAKADEWABUKA



FUTURES WORKSHOP REPORT

The voyage to the
Ocean of Peace in 2050





FUTURES TO 2050



EXPLORING OUR COMMON FUTURES

On its third and final day, the Pacific Peace and Security Dialogue closed with a scenario workshop that helped participants explore potential futures the broader Pacific – and globe – might face in 2045 and 2060.

These scenarios were used to help participants develop a shared view of future opportunities and challenges and to identify short-, medium- and long-term actions. Participants from across the Pacific from different backgrounds and sectors came together to share their views.

This report draws directly from and summarises delegates' contributions to the workshop. It focuses on the range of actions identified by participants as priorities for now. These may be considered in the context of the new regional security action plan and other important discussions at the Pacific Islands Forum Leaders' Meeting.



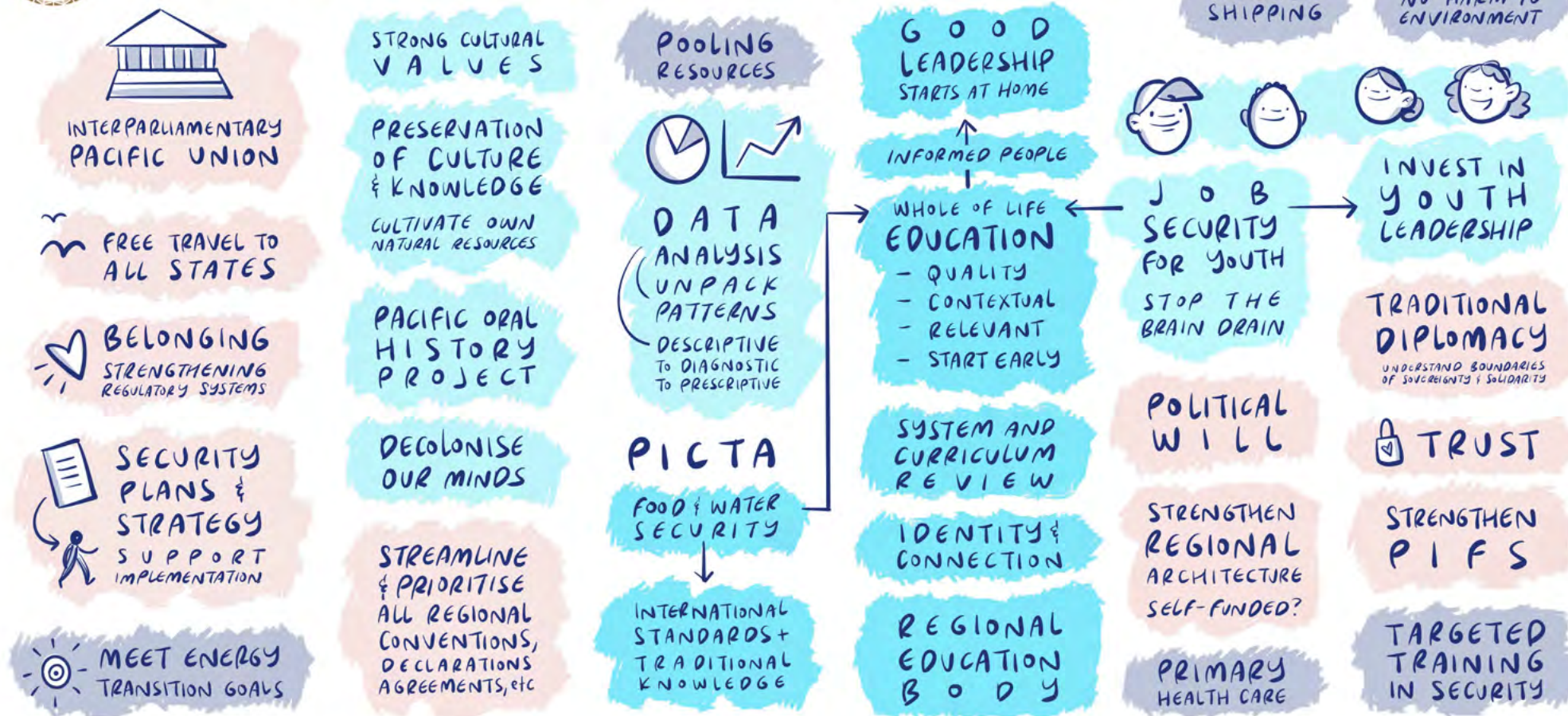
THE HALF-WOVEN MAT

Central to the workshop was the idea that the Pacific peace and security system is like a traditional mat still being woven. There are many things in place, but it is not yet complete. Participants were challenged to think about what the finished mat (the future Pacific peace and security system) should look like and what each weaver can do to work collaboratively to ensure the mat reflects a shared vision.



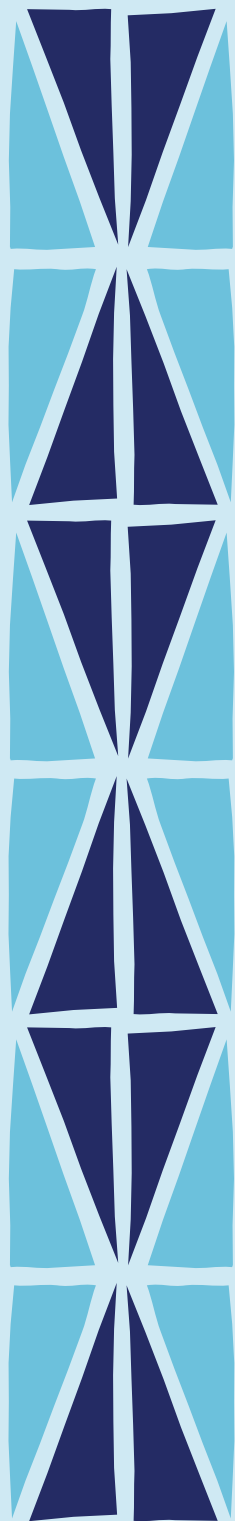


THE VOYAGES TO 2050



CHARTING OUR VOYAGE FOR 2050 AND BEYOND





Security has a range of meanings in the Pacific.

Participants suggested the following elements as the cornerstones of security in the region.

- **Pacific cultures, values and traditions** – the Pacific Way – are the foundation of a prosperous, secure Pacific and should be upheld and revived through education, community connection, nurturing leadership and focusing on faith.
- **Human security** underpins prosperity in the Pacific and must include food and water security, health and support for ageing, disability and mental health.
- **Climate change** is an existential threat to the region – and not just a future risk. Resilience and adaptation, greater support for a just renewable energy transition and a united voice on the global stage are essential to the Pacific response.
- The **education** system should be revisited to ensure curriculums reflect Pacific cultures, values and traditions, include vocational opportunities and cater for lifelong learning for all.
- **Geopolitics** (and increasingly corporations) will always influence the Pacific. **Regional solidarity, voice and sovereignty** are necessary for the Pacific to stand up on the global stage and prevent external interests from sowing division.
- **Organised crime** and drug use are significant and growing issues. Enhanced law enforcement capability, improved information sharing and Pacific-level responses are needed to combat this sophisticated threat.
- Investment in regional and local **infrastructure** – energy, telecommunications, agriculture, transport – is the pathway to decoupling from global supply chains, embracing the benefits of technology and driving sustainable food generation. Regulation needs to keep pace.

CHARTING OUR VOYAGE

The following are priority actions generated by participants. They cover a broad range of areas and focus on all parts of life in the Pacific, both now and over the next few decades. Participants agreed that, when talking about actions, a holistic and integrated response was necessary and that many actions that enhance security in one sphere can also support security in another.

- Enact legislation, agreements and projects to **preserve and protect Pacific languages, cultures, traditions and values**
- Develop a stronger **Pacific regional body** that can speak for Pacific Island Countries
- Enhance **Pacific mobility** through visa-free travel, labour movement and regionally operated transport assets
- Modernise **school curriculums and build tertiary capacity**, incorporating traditional cultures and values, civic education, vocational opportunities and digital literacy
- Support **climate change resilience**, adaptation and mitigation, and sustainable cultivation of natural resources
- Stocktake, rationalise and streamline the many **treaties, agreements and commitments** across the region
- Enhance **telecommunications access** across the Pacific - but ensure **regulation keeps pace** with technology
- Prioritise **human security**: food security, clean water, sanitation, hygiene and health care.
- Focus on **implementing National Development Plans and National Security Strategies**
- **Invest in youth** by providing leadership pathways, job security and connection to Pacific values and cultures
- Invest in the **just transition to renewable energy**, ensuring the target of at least 50 per cent renewables by 2050 is achieved
- Fund multinational and regional **law enforcement capability** and initiatives, including improved data sharing

GROWING THE YAM — ACTIONS FOR A STRONG FUTURE

To identify productive actions, participants were encouraged to think about the traditional process of growing a yam. This involves careful preparation, coming together as a community, planning ahead and considering all the factors that can impact the yam.

Participants identified a broad range of ‘preparation’ and ‘cultivation’ factors if the Pacific is to grow a positive and peaceful future. These factors and themes are covered over the next pages, alongside priority actions to support them.





PEOPLE & PLACE ARE
INSEPERABLE
FROM SECURITY

GOVERNMENT ALONE IS NOT ENOUGH



GIVE JUNIOR & JUNE
A CHANCE!



GUIDING
VISION
+
PRACTICAL
CHALLENGE



HOW DO WE TAKE A
REGIONAL APPROACH
TO CHALLENGES



WHILE MAINTAINING
NATIONAL
SOVEREIGNTY?

1

2

3



SHARED VISION



IMPLEMENTATION



ACCOUNTABILITY

GROWING A YAM (OR A POLICY)



SELECT
THE SEED
QUALITY



CLEAR
THE LAND
LABOUR



PLANT
THE SEED
CONDITIONS



HARVEST
THE YAM
OUTCOMES



STRUCTURED



INTENTIONAL



COMMUNAL



THE PACIFIC WAY

Pacific cultures, values and traditions were at the heart of discussions around the future scenarios. The Pacific Way was seen as the **key to a prosperous, healthy Pacific, and a safeguard against undesirable futures.**

Almost every participant group centred their discussions around the Pacific Way and highlighted that Pacific values needed to be actively nurtured, particularly with youth. There was a wide belief that the Pacific Way was fundamental to **good character, strong values and accountable leadership** in society, and that a greater emphasis on **civic education, local knowledge and community connection** could help address many security challenges.

Faith was highlighted as a uniting factor in the Pacific. It provided children with good morals and principles, enhanced connectedness within communities and between Pacific nations, and promoted good discipline. But some worried about **external faith influences**, particularly those that are fundamentalist, and faith leaders needed to be empowered.

The scenarios drove discussions about the **potential loss of Pacific cultures**. Some suggested cultural values didn't just need to be **preserved**, they needed to be **revived**, especially among young people. Key drivers of cultural loss included the **exodus of youth** to cities and abroad, the **influence of external cultures** (largely via digital technologies) and **physical relocations** due to climate change. A small number of groups also considered the evolution of culture, and suggested new, hybrid cultures that aligned with global views would emerge.

"The Pacific Way is the foundation of all things Pacific."

"We need to pray together."

"Losing identity."

"I don't want my children to grow up in a faithless world."

"We need decolonisation of the mind."

"At home, speak your language, dialect or mother tongue, teach it to your kids."

"Cultural abandonment."

"Don't neglect our Pacific cultures and values."

ACTIONS

- Enact legislation and agreements – including at a regional level – to **preserve and protect Pacific languages and culture**
- Commence an **oral history project** to capture Pacific cultures and history, involving young people in the process to aid in intergenerational knowledge transfer
- Build “belongingness” at home, such as by **speaking local languages** and grounding people through **local participation**
- **Uphold faith** as a cornerstone of the Pacific Way, recognising its role in upbringing and nurturing children with good morals and principles
- Approach **community relations** in a Pacific fashion to mitigate the rise of toxic masculinity, enhance education and increase youth engagement
- Incorporate cultures and traditions into **local school curriculums**
- **Empower faith leaders** – the church can be strong but needs to be empowered



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HUMAN SECURITY — FOOD, WATER AND HEALTH

Participants viewed **food and water security** as the foundations of a thriving Pacific that prioritised human security. Many encouraged regional approaches for achieving food and water security to **reduce reliance on global supply chains**.

Ocean governance was fundamental to human security in the Pacific, but policies and protections (such as marine protected areas) needed to be strengthened and local communities empowered to ensure the ocean remained a **healthy, sustainable source of food and livelihood**. Sustainable access to an adequate supply of **clean drinking water** was another human security dimension in many discussions – and a growing challenge in many futures.

For food security, participants noted that everyone must have **access to food-producing land** and be helped to develop **sustainable food production systems**. But some foresaw greater competition for land in the future, especially due to rising sea levels. Some suggested the Pacific had more scope to embrace **international and technological agricultural innovations** to drive abundance and diversity, while others noted the value of supporting **local food solutions**, such as community gardens and practical courses that involved hands-on farming.

“Will ocean resources still exist in the future?”

“Our wealth is in the sea, we are ocean dwellers.”

“Human security aspects such as adequate food, water and supply chains are key.”

“Land will be a vexed issue and lead to conflict.”

“Fisheries are an asset – but we get less than we think.”

Food and water security were closely linked to **health** outcomes. For some, health was already a crisis that would worsen in the future. **Food diversity and improved nutrition** played a role in mitigating the crisis, but local-level responses were also at the heart of discussions: traditional medicine and local produce, plus infrastructure to improve sanitation and hygiene.

But healthy populations could not be achieved with only **local responses**. An effective health system was seen as a fundamental step, with improvements in **primary care accessibility** and equity at the forefront. Some asked whether this could be achieved through only local settings, and whether there should be **Pacific-wide responses** to major health issues such as HIV and illicit drug use.

ACTIONS

- Use **international best practice** approaches to strengthen food security programs
- Improve access to **water, sanitation, hygiene and health care** – particularly primary care
- Develop **coordinated action plans** to respond to specific health issues, such as the spread of HIV and drugs
- Develop **sustainable food production** systems at a local level – help every family have a backyard garden
- Provide support to communities that need **soil nourishment**
- Analyse **trade agreements** to ensure they are supporting food security
- Take a **regional approach to food security**
- Enshrine community-based **marine protected areas**
- Build on the Fijian model of farming courses that help participants **build farms as they learn**, leaving them with a functional asset



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EDUCATION

Participants were strongly focused on **the role of education** in achieving a thriving Pacific in the future. But existing curriculums and educational opportunities were seen as too narrow and outdated.

Education was seen as a key way of **preserving Pacific cultures, values and languages**, primarily through integration into school curriculums and a more local approach to schooling. Some were worried that traditional, community-based learning was declining and called for a reinvigoration of the **sharing of traditional knowledge**, such as crop rotation and bamboo flute playing. **Civic and democratic studies** should also have a role alongside traditional learning in curriculums, providing a strong foundation for future leaders.

Vocational and technical educational pathways were viewed as fundamental to developing economic opportunities in the region and avoiding “the YouTube plumber”. These pathways should include trades, but also agricultural and maritime specialisations relevant to the Pacific.



Strengthened Pacific-based tertiary institutions were seen as an important complement to education in Australia and New Zealand, though further discussions were needed as to whether national- or Pacific-level institutions were the best fit.

But education should not simply be focused on the young. Many raised the concept of **lifelong learning** and thought new educational opportunities should be available to all. Digital literacy pathways were important at all ages to prepare for technological change and protect against scams and misinformation. Courses targeted at specific demographics – young single women, married couples, middle-aged workers – also had a role.

ACTIONS

- Access to **quality education for all**, regardless of stage in life
- Review and **modernise school curriculums** to incorporate traditional cultures and values, civic education, vocational opportunities, digital literacy and agricultural specialisations
- Build **tertiary and vocational opportunities within the Pacific** to encourage post-school learning at home, including micro qualifications
- Work through the benefits and challenges of **nationally-focused versus regionally-focused tertiary institutions**
- Integrate informal and **community-based learning** into schooling from a young age
- Develop **targeted courses** for specific demographics and different stages of life



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YOUTH AND LEADERSHIP

Consistent with the rest of the Dialogue, our hypothetical friends ‘Junior and June’ – representing **the youth of the Pacific and future generations** – were regular considerations throughout the futures day. The scenarios drew out a concern among participants that youth were leaving the Pacific, leading to a ‘brain drain’ – that is, the loss of educated and skilled professionals seeking economic opportunities outside the Pacific.

“Leadership is the craft of the future,” wrote one group – and many others agreed. Leadership was raised as something that needs to be **consciously nurtured and built**, rather than passively received.

“Our ancestors would say they were smarter than us – they were willing to take risks.”

“Grow leadership by investing in our youth.”

“How do we help young people to stay?”

“Leadership is the craft of the future.”

“Pacific efforts for implementation require co-design with vulnerable communities including mothers, widows, youth and people with disabilities.”

“We need to build the leaders of tomorrow that still have the right knowledge and values regardless of what the future holds.”

Some highlighted that we should not just be thinking about young people. **Intergenerational continuity** was needed to achieve long-term outcomes, and the continuity of Pacific cultures and ways.

Discussions of youth led to consideration of other demographics, especially those facing disadvantage. Groups questioned what **ageing, disability and mental health** would look like in the future scenarios, and what measures could be put in place to ensure those facing disadvantage could also thrive in these futures. For this reason, security policies should consider the citizens who are affected and be centred on interpersonal and community relationships. Economic considerations should not override people.

ACTIONS

- Grow leadership in the Pacific by **investing in our youth**
- Provide **job security** for young people through the generation of more jobs, internships and scholarships
- Build future thinkers and leaders through **regional and global diplomacy training**, and early career peace and security programs
- **Build leadership skills** so future leaders can lead communities, nations and represent countries on the regional and international stage
- Focus on implementing **National Development Plans** and **National Security Strategies**
- Develop **national and regional policies** to provide opportunities to youth, including in vocational education and employment
- Include explicit consideration of **youth, ageing, disability and mental health** when developing policies and strategies



GIVE JUNIOR & JUNE
A CHANCE!

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"It's not all doom and gloom."

"Growing the Pacific for the Pacific by the Pacific."

"Set boundaries – balance modern way of life and traditional customs and practices."

"Trust ourselves."

"Peaceful doesn't mean passive."

"Food and water security must remain the foundation of a thriving Pacific."

"Values of Pacific people should be front and centre."

"Stay grounded, humble, genuine and embedded in our faith and Pacific values."

"No Pacific unity means no Pacific security."

"Contextualise our curriculum in our values, identity and culture."

"Faith is a uniting factor in the Pacific."

"National Development Plans and National Security Strategies already provide a framework for action."

VOICES FROM

"Ensure industries are not extractive; locals should benefit."

"Strong local leaders create strong Pacific leaders."

"Good education embedded in Pacific values creates leaders grounded in Pacific identity."

"Digital identity cannot replace cultural identity."

"Leadership starts at home."

"Good governance remains fundamental to a thriving Pacific."

"Pacific culture and traditions are the heart of our identity and must be protected."

"Implementation requires local ownership."

"We need strong, knowledgeable, values-driven leaders who keep Pacific people at the centre."

"Know history to direct the future."

"Enhance telecommunications access."

"The Pacific wants to engage globally, but on Pacific terms."

"Regional law enforcement initiatives allow for pooling of resources while enhancing cooperation."

"Enhance Pacific movement and mobility."

"We need to balance public safety with public trust."

"Leadership should be developed through universities, churches and communities."

"Climate resilience must be part of national security."

"Health remains strong because of indigenous practices, family and faith."

"The priority is implementation, not more planning."

"Stronger regionalism means improved coordination."

"How not to be the punchbag of great-power competition?"

"Fresh water may become a currency."

"We still have an active role when the big fish clash."

"We need to know our rights against bullies – no bullying in our region."

THE DIALOGUE

"Cybersecurity and data analysis are essential for the effective use of AI."

"Maritime domain awareness is critical to tackling illegal fisheries and drug trafficking."

"Strong national peace and security infrastructure is needed."

"The Pacific is too large for a single country to police."

"Principled sovereignty and regional solidarity."

"High drug importation will drive a larger black economy and a rise in crime."

"Energy security underpins future technological development."

"OI: original intelligence, not just artificial intelligence."

"Leave our place in a better position than when we inherited it."

"True happiness cannot be achieved unless it includes everyone."

"The most powerful fish is not nation states, but cooperation."

"Invest in the just transition to renewable energy."

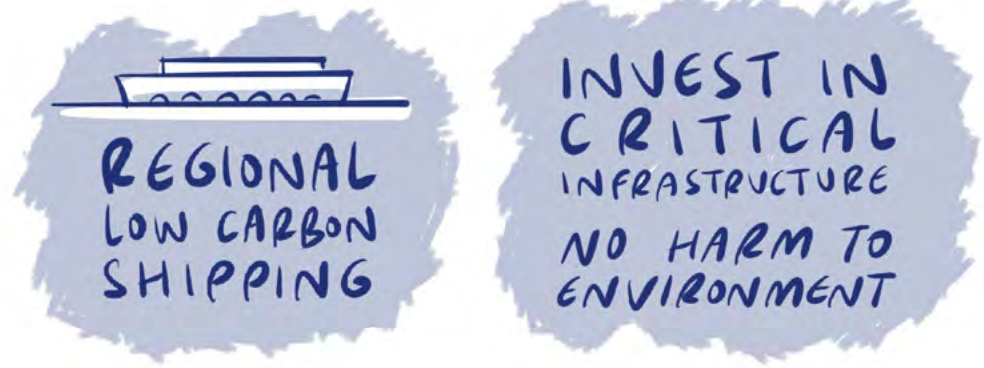
INFRASTRUCTURE AND ENERGY

Continued **infrastructure development** was seen as a necessary consideration for any thriving Pacific future. For some, infrastructure development was not a long-term aspiration, but a pressing need. Some were concerned about where the money comes from for infrastructure development: if the Pacific didn't pay for it, who controlled it?

The fragility of **supply chains** was considered a significant human security risk. Participants wanted to “de-risk” supply chains, empowering, and giving more stability to, isolated communities. Participants were concerned about disruptions along global supply chains and wanted more **self-sufficiency** – but practical actions were elusive.

Telecommunications infrastructure was also seen as a priority. Not only would this enhance digital opportunities and connectivity, but it was seen as carrying significant return on investment potential.

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“Who controls the infrastructure?”

Energy security was viewed as a precondition for growing economic revenue. Significant investment in energy infrastructure was needed to support the digital revolution and growth in technologies such as artificial intelligence. But it had to be a **just energy transition** that prioritised clean, renewable energy. Several groups noted there was a long way to go to reach the Pacific's target of 50 per cent renewables by 2050 – and the target should be even higher.

ACTIONS

- Invest in the **just transition to renewable energy**, ensuring the target of at least 50 per cent renewables by 2050 is achieved
- **Enhance telecommunications access**, noting the significant return on investment



CRIME AND POLICING

Responses to the scenarios revealed significant concern about a **rise in organised crime** in the Pacific, particularly in relation to **illicit drug use**. **Cybercrime** was also of concern, with digital literacy seen as a key preventative measure.

Many participants wanted to fund **enhanced law enforcement capability** in the region, noting organised crime was likely to be a threat in any future. **Improved data sharing** systems that helped break down national silos were considered important. Building **community trust in police** – and engaging the community to help combat pernicious influences – were also seen as fundamentals.

The difficulty in **policing the Pacific's vast oceans** was seen as a key vulnerability. National responses were considered insufficient – a regional approach was needed, with better information sharing and the use of shared assets. The **“fishermen's network”** – where civilian fishermen act as eyes and ears to detect unusual activity on the water – was considered an effective approach that could be rolled out more broadly, including in the land domain. But law enforcement still faced challenges on the oceans due to restrictive laws. And one group asked: could drones help?

More broadly, a **human-centred approach to security**, such as investing in food and water security, health and economic development, would have beneficial flow-on effects in responding to crime in the Pacific.

“It's already hard to manage the maritime domain – and will be worse in the future. Will drones help?”

“Legislation is always behind reality. We already find our law enforcement having to let illegal actors go in the maritime domain. Need to future-proof laws.”

ACTIONS

- Multinational and regional law enforcement initiatives and funding, such as patrol boats acting on behalf of all Pacific nations
- Deploy and enhance the “fishermen's network” of civilian surveillance across the Pacific, and expand to land domains
- Ongoing capability development for law enforcement, including efforts to enhance community trust in police
- Combatting cybercrime through community awareness campaigns that build digital literacy, plus the development of systems that give support to victims
- Improved data sharing systems in law enforcement
- Enhance laws to empower law enforcement to manage the oceans

CLIMATE CHANGE

Participants described **climate change** as an existential threat. Both scenarios generated discussions around how it could – and does – affect the Pacific, with **climate security** not just a part of national security, but needing to be at its core.

Despite the clear threat, specific actions were harder to define. Groups focused on big picture responses: increased funding for **climate change resilience and adaptation**; greater support for a just **renewable energy transition**; a stronger Pacific voice to **hold polluting powers accountable**.

On a day focusing on the future, some reminded that climate change was also an **immediate threat**. El Niño and extreme weather patterns were already impacting the Pacific – but technology could help. **Data and artificial intelligence** were seen as tools that could facilitate predictive responses and early warning systems, but more investment was needed.

Climate change was regularly viewed through the lens of future generations. The quotes below are from participants imagining what their great-grandchildren might say about the issue.

“Enable me to dream.”

“Climate change is our single greatest existential threat for Pacific statehood, identity and human rights.”

“Mum would say prepare for adversity – we should have been better prepared.”

“You should have held the big fish accountable.”

“Why wasn’t more done to stop climate change?”

“Why weren’t you focused on climate change and a just energy transition?”

ACTIONS

- Support climate change **resilience, adaptation and mitigation efforts**
- Support a **just renewable energy transition**
- Ensure the **sustainable cultivation** of natural resources
- Introduce bill of entry requirements for **shipping in the Pacific** (including cruise ships) that would require low carbon
- Use **data** to predict more extreme weather patterns



REGIONALISM

A core theme throughout the Dialogue – and a common reflection during the futures day – was the importance of regional approaches to Pacific security. **Solidarity, coalition, cooperation, consensus, unity**; these were common terms used to describe participants' responses to the scenarios. Alignment, reciprocity, united priorities, a single voice, mutual recognition and support, and collective responses were seen as key features of any regional approach.

Several groups raised the potential for a Pacific parliamentary assembly – to drive and represent effective Pacific regionalism. The European Union and CARICOM were raised as contemporary examples of models the Pacific could emulate.

Regional mobility was viewed as a key tool for successful regionalism. Several groups suggested movement between Pacific nations should be free, and that labour and goods should also have reduced barriers to movement. Greater mobility would also enhance understanding between nations and peoples and provide regional options to climate displacement.

“What does stronger regionalism mean? Equal footing in collaborations, being strategic about what we engage in.”

“Together, the Pacific is a bigger fish.”

“Speak with one voice.”

“Political cohesion is harder with decentralisation.”

“Our countries are small. Regionalism helps strengthen our voice and stance on global issues.”

“One currency: coco-crypto.”

“Pacific people have always been travellers – staying put is not a way of building connection.”

“Are we a bloc or are we nations? Is our capital the ocean?”

“A disconnected Pacific kills our Pacific spirit.”

Despite a strong desire for regionalism, some groups also expressed the importance of upholding **national identities**. Each nation had unique cultures and history, unique circumstances, and differing perspectives on how to move forward. Nationhood also created a physical presence and created obligations, rights and a voice in a global system – not to mention producing a sense of local pride. As a result, some questioned how to **balance a regional voice with local and national identities**, and how to **align national policies with regional approaches**.

ACTIONS

- Develop **stronger regional institutions** – such as an interparliamentary union, or developing something similar to the European Union and CARICOM models
- **Strengthen regional architecture** through alignment, reciprocity and mutual recognition of national policies
- Revitalise the **Pacific Island Countries Trade Agreement (PICTA)**, particularly in relation to food and water

Enhance Pacific mobility, through:

- visa-free, cost-free travel between Pacific Island Countries
- Laws and regulation that promote labour mobility across the Pacific
- The development of affordable, reliable transportation across the Pacific, including regionally operated transport assets
- Introduce a **common currency** across the Pacific



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GEOPOLITICS

When discussing geopolitics and big power influence, one word stood out above all others: **sovereignty**. Big power plans and influence were seen as major threats to regionalism, encouraging division and reducing trust. At the same time, regionalism was seen as the antidote to any future that featured **strategic competition in the Pacific**.

The United Nations and the **international rules-based order** were mentioned by several groups, and all feared they were in decline – not just in the futures scenarios, but in the current world. In this environment, not only was a **regional voice** seen as increasingly important, but so too joint advocacy with similar regional bodies (such as CARICOM and ASEAN).



Some participants wanted stronger ties with **Australia and New Zealand**, but a different approach to the relationship. The Pacific would appreciate **franker discussions** and more insight into their decision-making.

Some groups raised the many **treaties and agreements** in effect across the Pacific. Although the Pacific benefited from such arrangements, they could also be burdensome, conflicting and outdated. **Reviewing and streamlining** these arrangements could help to minimise the burden and maximise investment in the region.

Participants saw **major corporations** as growing players in geopolitics – and there were concerns around this development. Some believed major corporations could potentially have a **neocolonialist impact**, planting division within the Pacific through uneven investment and bilateral arrangements or unilateral action. To combat this, investment in the region should be subject to background checks and **Pacific-level deliberation**.

ACTIONS

- Regional stocktake, appraisal and rationalisation of **treaties, agreements and commitments** to which Pacific Island Countries are a party
- Greater intelligence collaboration
- More genuine, **frank engagement** from and discussions with Australia and New Zealand
- Collaboration with and learning from **similar regional bodies** (such as CARICOM and ASEAN)
- Background checks and regional deliberation prior to **major foreign investment** in the region



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THE DIGITAL REVOLUTION

The scenarios drew out mixed feelings about the role of digital technologies in the Pacific. Many were concerned about the growing reach, influence and pace of these technologies, and saw **foreign influences and cultures undermining local traditions**, cultures, norms and faith. Some participants were concerned about **scams**, particularly those targeting less-digitally literate older people. Others raised **mis- and dis-information** as negative influences that could undermine trust in the region. More broadly, there was concern technological developments would drive deeper exploitation of the region's natural resources, such as deep-sea mining.

At the same time, groups were cautiously optimistic about the opportunities arising from **digital economic growth**, particularly in employment and business, and especially for youth. However, governments needed to make the **internet accessible and affordable** for such a future to come to pass, and **regulation needed to keep pace** with these developments, especially noting the power and influence that massive multinational companies can wield – potentially even reaching a form of “neocolonialism”.

“Tech has to be a tool – what problem is it fixing?”

“We need better tools for using data to inform evidence-based policy.”

“Tech is confusing – we are caught in between what we are striving for and how we are living.”

“Technology makes older people feel excluded.”

“How is digital infrastructure developed, controlled and governed?”

Digital technology also presented opportunities for **connecting diaspora communities**, including those displaced by climate change. **Online faith convenings** could allow for continuity and connectedness when away from home. And yet, concerns lingered around how digitisation could be isolating, **reducing interpersonal interactions** and leading to **community disconnects** – especially between generations. Some raised worries around toxic masculinity online.

Artificial intelligence was a recurring topic of discussion. Some saw positives and opportunity, while others were more sceptical and felt its use should be targeted to specific issues. One group noted the need to **inform artificial intelligence with local knowledge** to ensure outputs reflected the region and did not undermine Pacific cultures and values.

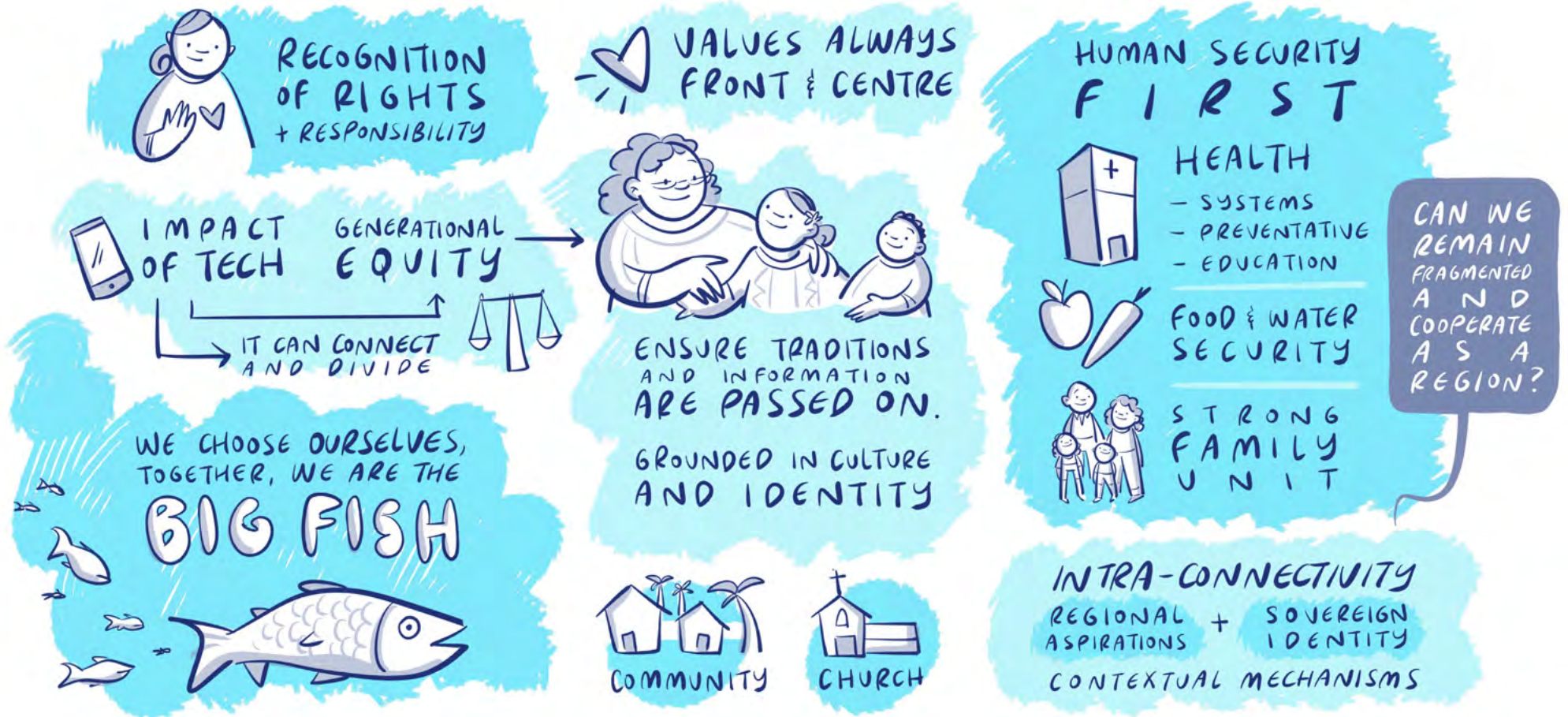
The need to use **data** better was also raised by several groups – all policies should be informed by evidence. To achieve this, the Pacific needed better ways of **collecting, governing and protecting data**, identifying ways of collecting indigenous data, and analysing and integrating data.

ACTIONS

- Build and strengthen **regulatory systems** for artificial intelligence and other emerging technologies, and for other regulatory areas impacted by technological development
- **Targeted education** for all ages in digital technology, including cybersecurity
- Enhance **data governance, collection, usage and protection**
- Better use of prescriptive data – especially **indigenous data** – to inform policy
- Development of an **e-safety commission** at a national – and even regional and global – level to protect culture and identity online
- Accessible, **affordable internet** across the Pacific
- Build **digital literacy** and critical thinking to navigate new technologies
- Develop **artificial intelligence policy, strategy and regulation** relevant to the Pacific



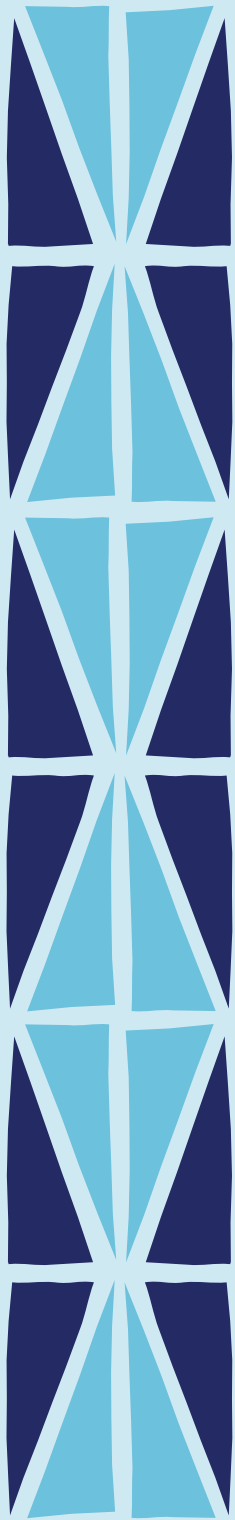
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STORIES AROUND THE FIRE





In the context of imagining a voyage into the future on a *waka* or canoe, participants were asked to consider themselves sitting around a fire and sharing stories about this voyage.

To kick off the conversations, participants considered two stories – scenarios – that captured broader insights about where the world might be heading. The first scenario – Live Local, Look Global – looked at a possible future for 2045. The second scenario – *Tau 'ae ika ta'ane* (When the Big Fish Clash) – looked at a different possible future for 2060.

As scenarios and stories, these are images of where the world might go and raise issues we need to consider. They are not predictions and also do not necessarily represent a future that we hope to see. Instead, they represent possibilities that we may need to face, even if we hope not to end up in these futures.



2045: LIVE LOCAL, LOOK GLOBAL

A global scenario

It's 2045, and the world looks very different. Cities are no longer the hubs of society, with people seeking a more balanced, connected life in regional towns and local communities.

Technology drove the change. In the late 2020s, artificial intelligence (AI) helped major international companies develop energy – and resource-producing devices that were small, portable and highly efficient. Local-scale energy generation and freshwater production became possible at scale with minimal infrastructure. Space-based technology – satellite clusters, orbital data centres – made telecommunications technology cheap, accessible and reliable even in the most remote areas.

The impacts were widespread. Children could now receive a world-class education on the land they were born. Knowledge economy jobs were accessible from anywhere, with digital payment and banking services entrenching new economic opportunities. Telehealth was available on demand – augmented by artificial intelligence diagnostic tools – and new medical devices and a revolutionary suite of medicines meant many common conditions could be treated without hospitalisation or specialist care in big cities.

Technology-savvy young people no longer had to move to the city or abroad for economic opportunity. Disillusioned with an increasingly fractured and politicised world, they increasingly chose to stay in their home communities. Others in big cities around the world are now migrating to peaceful, local communities, too – and the Pacific is a popular destination. It is a different way of life, driven by globally-connected youth.

Politically, localism has risen at the expense of national and regional identities. People – youth especially – associate around a range of traits and identities, not just geographic or cultural. Faith remains a unifying force in many places but it is as likely to be attached to international rather than national or local churches. Secessionist movements are on the rise and some countries are splitting apart as nations become weaker. Critical national infrastructure – airports, hospitals, supply chains – face funding, environmental and workforce challenges.

Although portable technologies have revolutionised local communities, larger-scale technological developments have not kept pace with climate change. Coastal areas are threatened by sea level rises and are battered by fierce storms. Warming seas and acidification have impacted sea life and coastal flora. Cities – already depopulated and lacking infrastructure investment – are regularly flooded or under threat from heatwaves and fires. It has become harder to muster global consensus and action on climate change in a localised world.

The youth are thriving economically, but older generations are less capable of plugging into the digital revolution. Thanks to medical advancements, they are living longer, but that is placing growing caring responsibilities on the young.



2060: TAU 'AE IKA TA'ANE (WHEN THE BIG FISH CLASH)

A global scenario

By 2060, the world has been through decades of constant competition and instability. India and China have emerged as the dominant powers, competing across technology and energy as well as for control of ocean territories. The Pacific is a strategic frontier in this global contest, a place where global ambitions converge.

Global peace and stability is fragile as proxy conflicts break out in nations across the globe, often with financial or technological backing from the big powers. Neither China nor India have public nuclear protocols in place, leading to permanent concerns around escalation.

Investment has surged into the Pacific. India and China fund smart ports, energy grids, and deep-sea mining operations. Infrastructure has been transformed, with high-rise buildings in major cities that merge seamlessly with floating cities and ports. Rapid drones connect dispersed islands with people and goods. Jobs have boomed and populations have grown dramatically, with strategic investment on many remote islands.

While strong economic and infrastructure growth has attracted private investment to the region, it has also attracted organised crime groups and illicit networks. Drug smuggling routes have expanded, alongside legitimate trade, particularly through new technologies and drones which are hard to monitor and harder to intercept. These add to ongoing maritime security challenges, as fishing fleets backed by the major powers repeatedly clash in the Pacific Ocean.

Countries have been forced to make difficult decisions to either align with one power or attempt to balance both, a strategy that is difficult to sustain. In too many cases, external actors acted unilaterally, particularly in relation to data access, resource extraction and surveillance. In response, a stronger Pacific Coalition was formed to strengthen the power and coordination of the Pacific as a region. However, participation is uneven and divisions persist.

At the same time, climate change has reshaped the physical and political geography of the Pacific. Some island nations have shrunk significantly or have had to relocate portions of their populations. Some have developed digital citizenship systems to help maintain identity, language and culture. Others have expanded their presence through artificial islands and floating infrastructure. Nations are no longer defined solely by land – they are defined by people, by ocean territory and by digital identity and data.

Social and economic divides have been exacerbated. Rich urban centres are doing very well but remote and displaced communities are increasingly left behind. Migration is constant, into the Pacific, between islands and between physical and digital forms of citizenship. Many communities respond by stepping back from large-scale development, choosing instead to preserve local ways of life away from zones of contestation.

CLOSING ADDRESS

Esala Nayasi
Pacific Islands Forum
Deputy Secretary General

Bula vinaka, and warm Pacific greetings to you all.

May I acknowledge and appreciate our distinguished guests:

- Ministers
- Former Pacific Islands Forum Secretaries General: Tuiloma Neroni Slade; Dame Meg Taylor; and Henry Puna
- Friends from CARICOM and ASEAN
- Regional and national leaders from many fields
- CROP colleagues, academics and other experts
- Civil society leaders, religious leaders, traditional leaders, and business leaders
- Ladies and gentlemen

I am honoured to deliver closing remarks for what has been an exceptional Pacific Peace and Security Dialogue. While we have come to the end of our *talanoa* this week, it is certainly not the end of our song, nor are we close to the end of our voyage.

Over these days, we have enjoyed time with friends from other regions of the world, because we must. The challenges we face do not stop at borders or oceans. We have learned from one another, and that is the gift of coming together. But every voyager must eventually turn homeward. So now I want to turn us back toward our own canoe, and toward the ocean that is ours to navigate.

A good navigator not only looks at the wave beneath the bow.

A good navigator reads three horizons at once:

- the **hindsight** of where we have come from,
- the **insight** of where we stand today,
- and the **foresight** of where the ocean is taking us.

That is how we must steer.

We come from a place of inheritance. This ocean, these values, this hard-won peace, none of it began with us. It was handed to us by those who voyaged before. It is a trust. A trust must be protected. What we receive freely, we must defend deliberately, or we will not have it to pass on.

That is intergenerational justice, for Junior and June, and for the generations who will inherit the consequences of what we decide today. We are not just participants in this conversation. We are stewards of it and stewardship is not only about the decisions we make; it is about the people we raise. We must mentor the next generation now, because the seas ahead are not calm. For us, climate security is not a forecast. It is a lived experience, here, now, on our shores.

Transnational crime thrives in the seams of a fragmented system. It exploits every gap between one nation's border and another's, and every space where national and regional responses do not meet.

The architecture we inherited was built for an episodic age: a call for help, answered, and then quiet. But these threats are continuous, networked and borderless. An architecture built for episodes cannot govern a continuous storm.



And our Leaders have seen this. That is why they have agreed to review our regional architecture, the RRA, to refit the vessel for the voyage ahead. This review is not paperwork; it is the deliberate act of making our *vaka* seaworthy again: fit for purpose and fit for the future.

So we must build differently. We need institutional stamina: the capacity to navigate repeated crises in succession while maintaining resilience, coherence and trust. We need regional capacity that holds when the storm is long. And we must design for the smallest among us, pooling our strength as our ancestors did, so that the smallest islands among us never face the storm alone.

For this is what regionalism truly is and we have proven it works. When our members harmonised their approach through the Parties to the Nauru Agreement, they did not surrender their sovereignty; they strengthened it. And we build on knowledge that is our own. Long before the world spoke of sustainability, our peoples knew the *tabu*, the closed reef, the protected ground, that restrains exploitation and lets the ocean replenish itself. That Pacific wisdom of preparedness and respect for land and ocean must live *inside* our modern architecture, not outside it.

Let me say plainly what these days have deepened in me. Security in the Pacific lives in the trust between our peoples. It is found in the strength of our relationships, in the resilience of our cultures, in the faith that sustains us, in the communities that carry us, and in the Pacific Way that binds us together.

For us, security is also found in belonging, in service, and in our shared responsibility to one another. These values are the foundations upon which our resilience, our peace and our future are built. We have heard consistently about the Pacific's holistic, inclusive and people-centred approach to security, grounded in peace, relationships and collective responsibility. That perspective is not only distinctive to our region; it is one of our greatest strengths.

I am pleased that the report from this week's Dialogue will be released in August, and I am sure many around the region and the world will read it with great interest.

Our discussions provide a strong segue for the upcoming Forum Officials Committee Subcommittee on Regional Security.

One of the key things we will be discussing is the *Regional Peace and Security Action Plan for 2026-2030* – which is our framework for applying these agreements like the *2050 Strategy for the Blue Pacific Continent*, the *Boe Declaration on Regional Security*, and the *Ocean of Peace Declaration*, and the learnings from the convening this week.

From here, our work continues through the Forum Foreign Ministers Meeting and ultimately to the Forum Leaders' Meeting in Palau this August. Those meetings will provide important opportunities to carry forward the ideas, partnerships and commitments that have emerged from this Dialogue.

But let us leave this place with more than a work program.

Let us leave with a shared sense of purpose.

Let us leave this place resolved. Resolved that when our children stand here in 2050, they will not say that we failed them. They will say that we held the line, strengthened our region, and secured the future.

Let us voyage on with courage, unity and purpose, so that the generations to come inherit a Blue Pacific that is secure, free and undeniably our own. So that when our song has ended, the music lingers on.

Thank you to each one of you for your time, your sharing, your wisdom and your reflection this week.

I look forward to next year's Pacific Peace and Security Dialogue, and I hope you will all join us again in Suva.

I wish you all sweet dreams, and safe travels home.

Vinaka vakalevu.

May God bless our Blue Pacific Continent.









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