



*14 September 2023*



# U.S. FOREIGN POLICY IN THE INDO-PACIFIC: BUILDING THE QUAD FOR GREAT POWER COMPETITION

## OPENING REMARKS:

BRIGADIER GENERAL DAVID C. FOLEY-

Deputy Commanding General, U.S. Army Combined Arms Center

## PANEL MEMBERS:

AMBASSADOR STEPHEN M. YOUNG-

former Director, Office of Chinese and Mongolian Affairs,  
Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State

AMBASSADOR DAVID H. SHINN-

former career diplomat and Ambassador to  
Burkina Faso and Ethiopia

LTCOL PAUL MOSTAFA-

the Australian Army, U.S. Army Command and General Staff College

DR. DAVID HUNTER-CHESTER-

a Senior Research Analyst, TRADOC G-2, U.S. Army

## MODERATOR:

DR. MAHIR J. IBRAHIMOV (DR. I.)-

Director, CASO, U.S. Army CGSC

## DATE:

Thurs. 14 SEPT 2023

## TIME:

1300 - 1500 (CST)

## LOCATION:

Arnold Conf. Room,  
Lewis and Clark Center,  
Fort Leavenworth, KS

All welcome for the audience.

For outstations, the event will be available live on

CGSC's Facebook page at:

<https://www.facebook.com/USACGSC>

and Video teleconference (VTC)

# Quad Members Areas of Maritime Search Responsibility





# *U.S. foreign policy and the role of Quad*



**Ambassador Stephen M. Young**  
**Former Director**  
**Office of Chinese and Mongolian Affairs**  
**Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs**  
**U.S. Department of State**

**Presentation for the**  
**Cultural and Area Studies Office**  
**U.S. Army Command and General Staff College**

*14 September 2023*  
*unclassified*



# ***U.S. National Security and China's Challenge in the Indian Ocean***



**Ambassador David H. Shinn**  
**Former career diplomat**  
**U.S. Ambassador to Burkina Faso and Ethiopia**  
**U.S. Department of State**

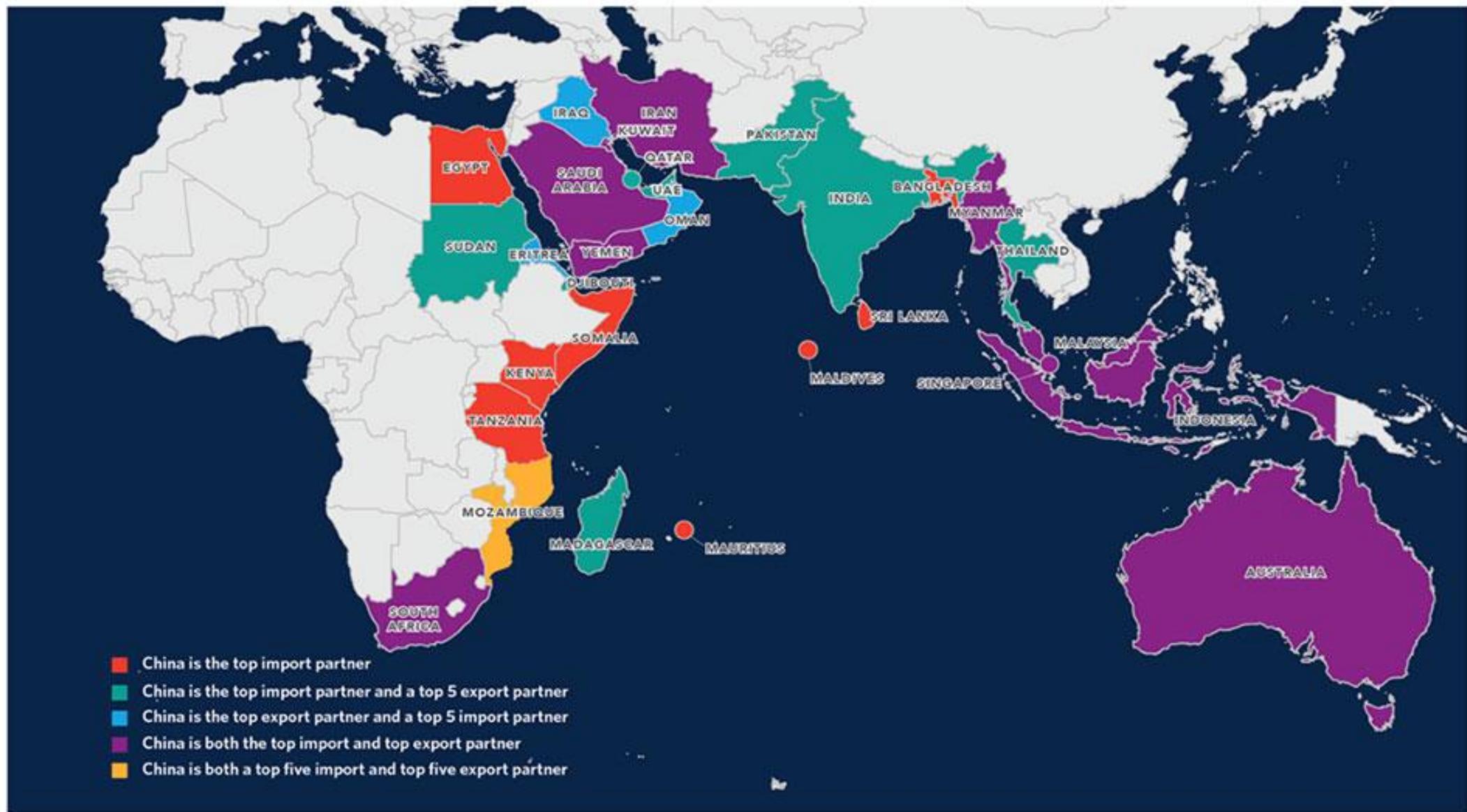
**Presentation for the**  
**Cultural and Area Studies Office**  
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*14 September 2023*  
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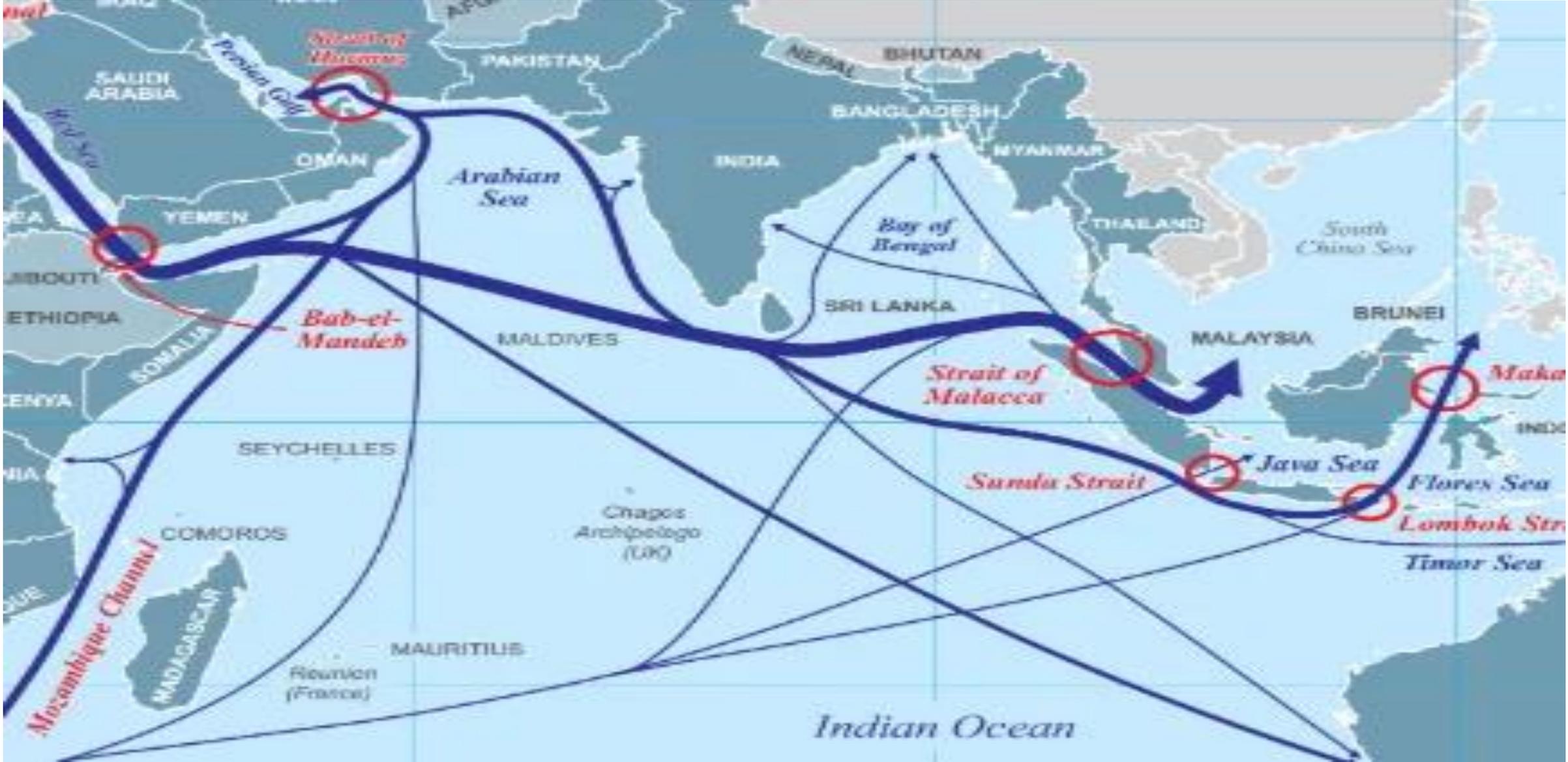
# Indian Ocean



# China's Trade Ties with Indian Ocean Countries



# Indian Ocean SLOCs



# China's Naval Base at Djibouti



# *China, Russia, Iran Naval Exercises*



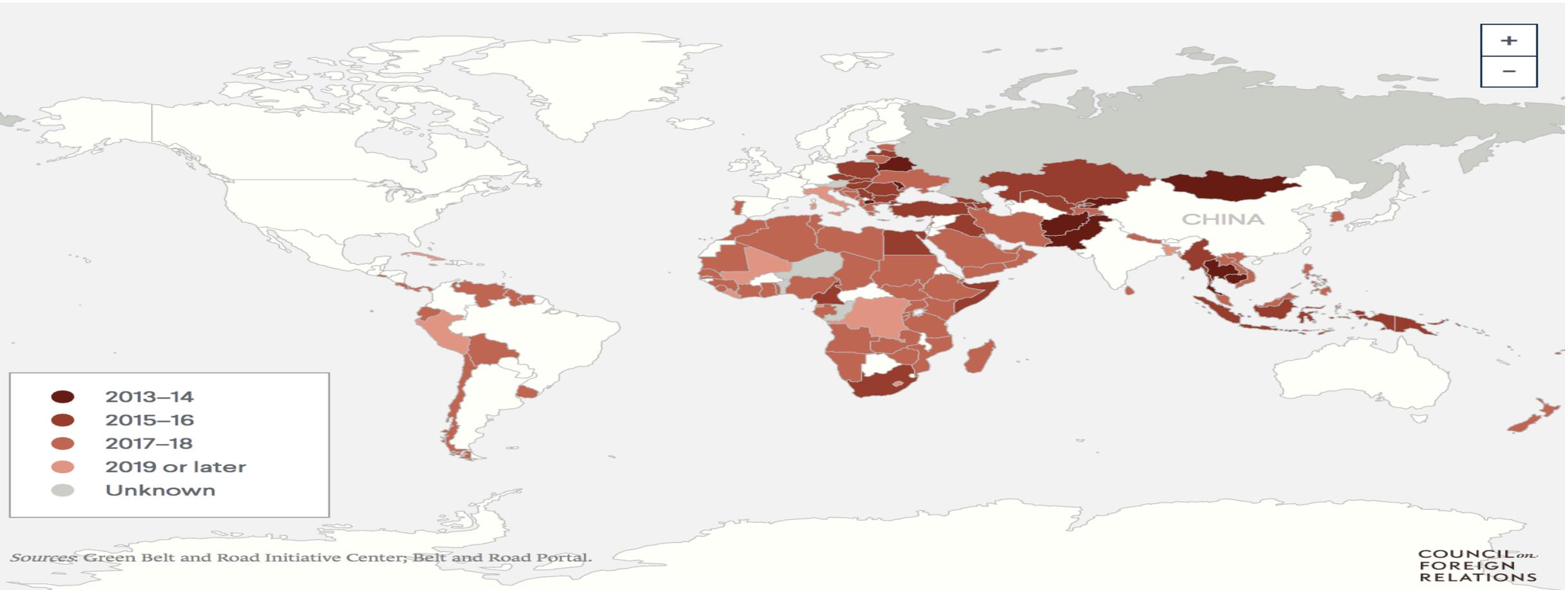
# Members of Belt and Road Initiative

## The Belt and Road Initiative Has Gone Global

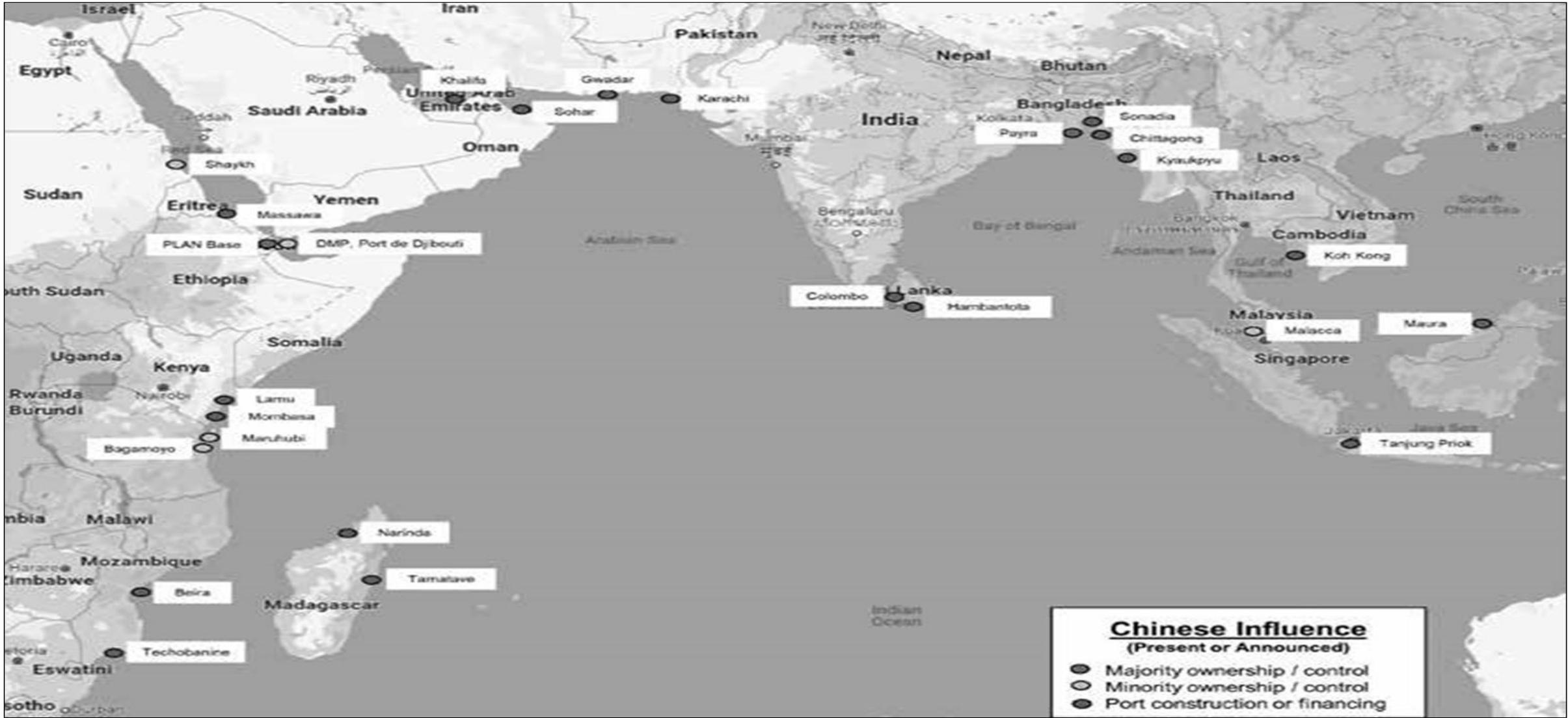
Official BRI participants by year of joining

Map

Table



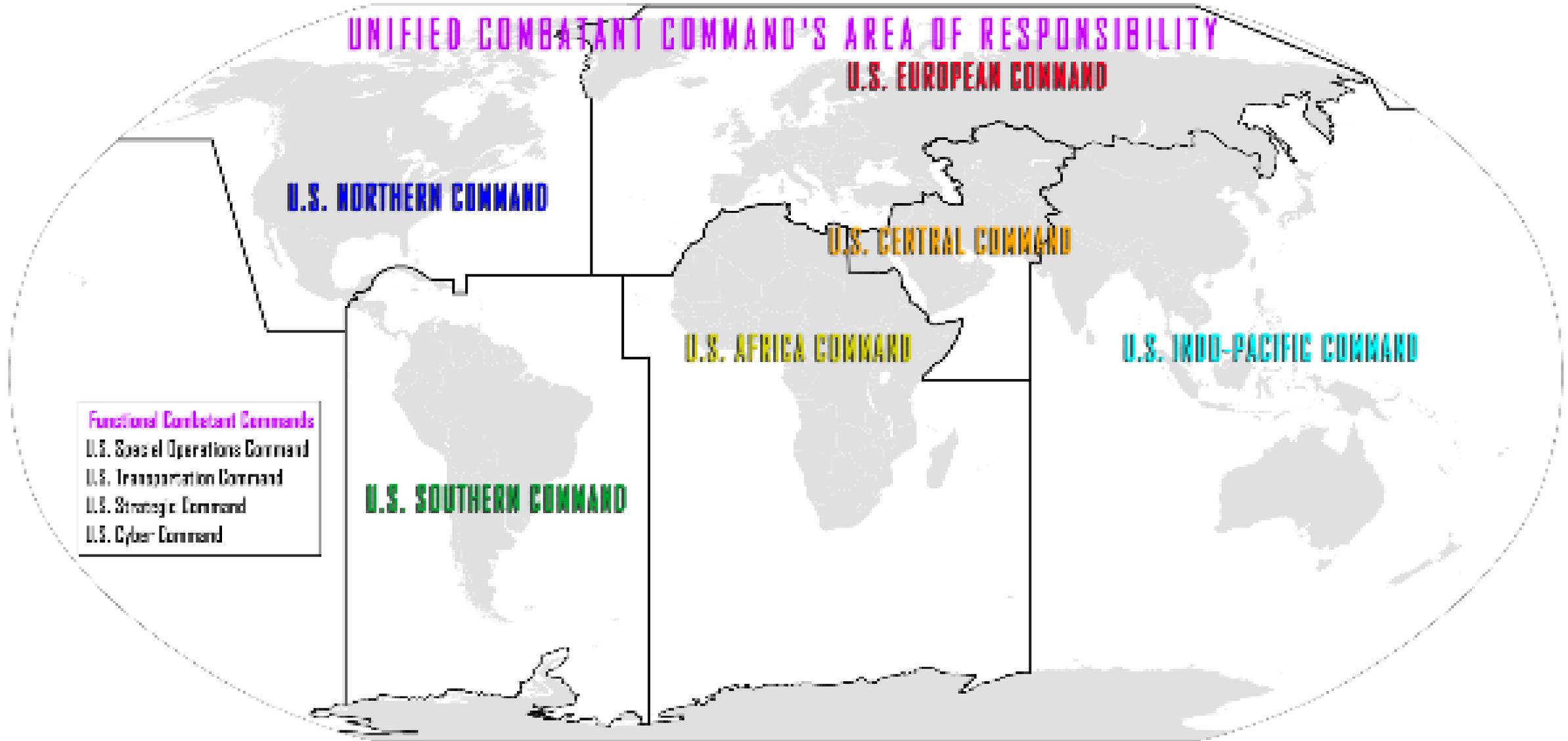
# Chinese Port Financing and Construction in Indian Ocean Region



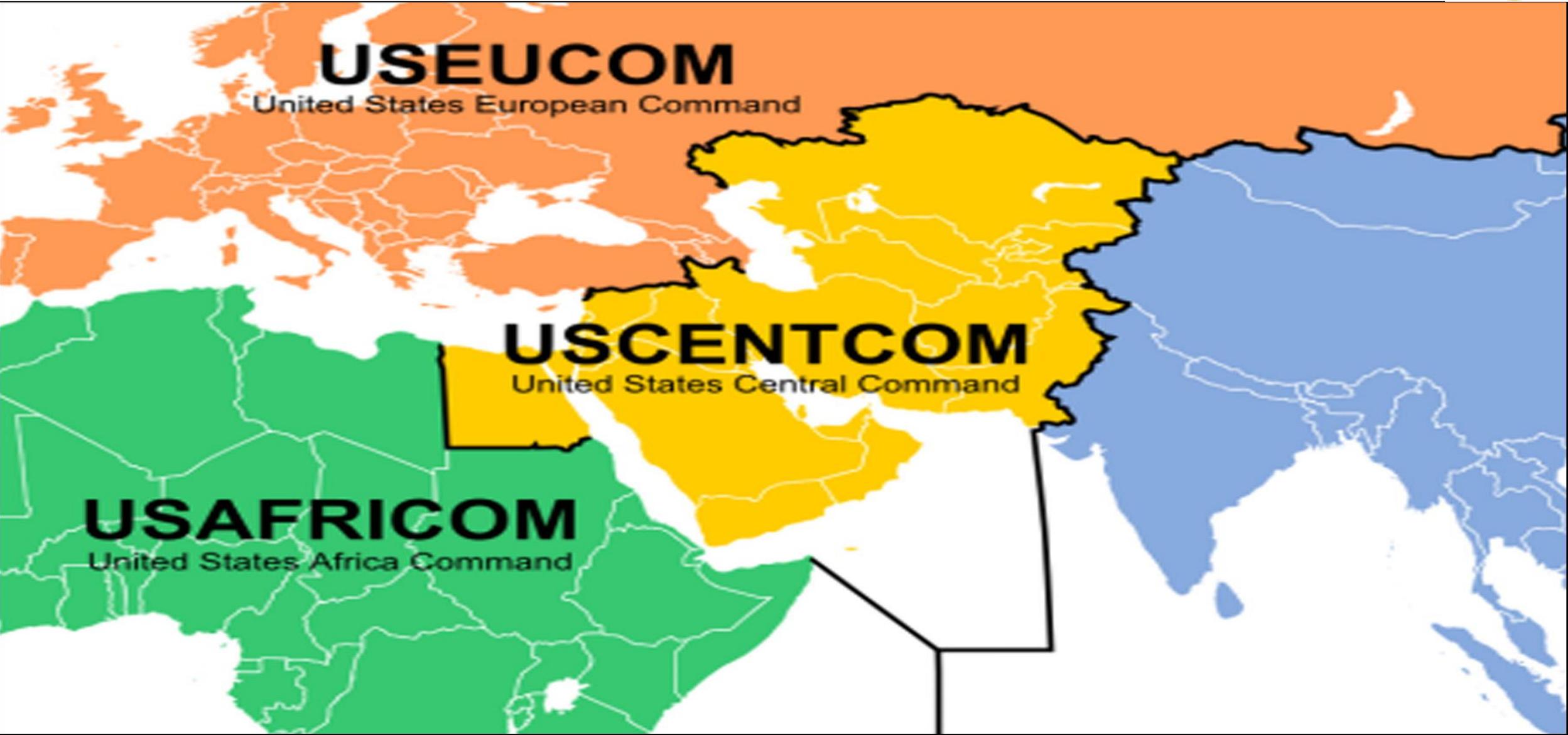
# U.S. Base at Diego Garcia



# *U.S. Global Military Commands*



# *Tripoint of U.S. Commands in Indian Ocean*

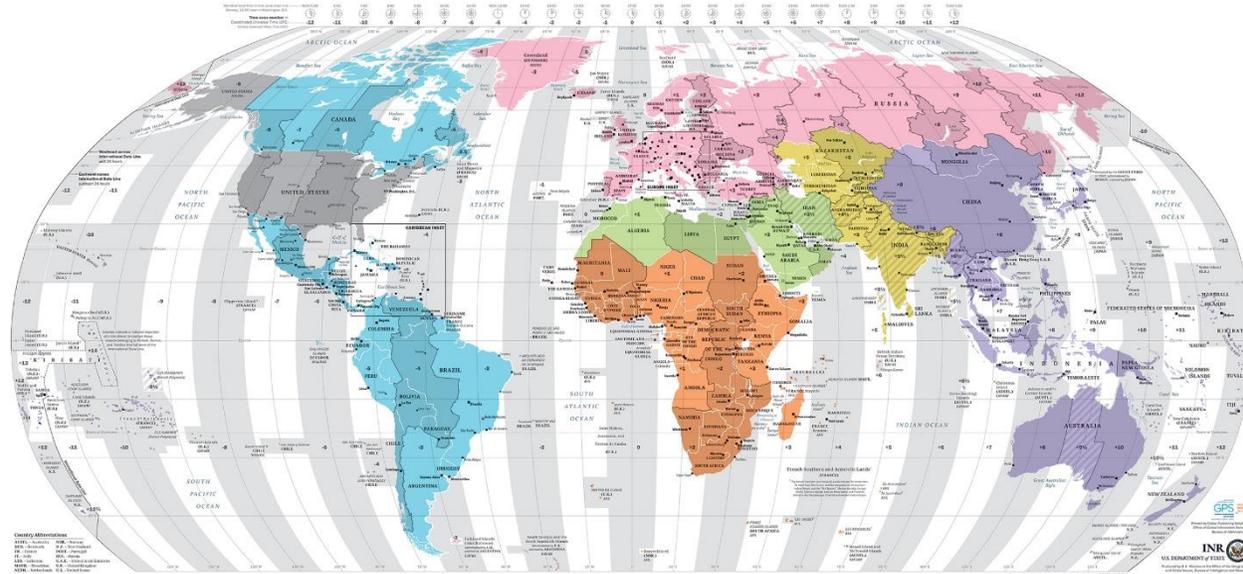




# State Department Division of Areas of Responsibility



UNITED STATES DEPARTMENT OF STATE  
Facilities and Areas of Jurisdiction, April 2021



### U.S. Diplomatic Posts, Missions, and Department of State Facilities

Country	Embassy	Consulate General	Consulate	Consulate Honorary	Consulate	Consulate	Consulate	Consulate	Consulate
Algeria	Algiers								
Argentina	Buenos Aires	Buenos Aires	Buenos Aires						
Australia	Canberra	Canberra	Canberra						
Austria	Vienna	Vienna	Vienna						
Bahrain	Manama								
Bangladesh	Dhaka								
Belgium	Brussels	Brussels	Brussels						
Brazil	Brasilia	Brasilia	Brasilia						
Canada	Ottawa	Ottawa	Ottawa						
Chile	Santiago	Santiago	Santiago						
China	Beijing	Beijing	Beijing						
Colombia	Bogota	Bogota	Bogota						
Costa Rica	San Jose								
Cuba	Havana								
Czechia	Prague	Prague	Prague						
Denmark	Copenhagen								
Egypt	Cairo								
Ecuador	Quito								
El Salvador	San Salvador								
France	Paris	Paris	Paris						
Germany	Bonn	Bonn	Bonn						
Ghana	Accra								
Greece	Athens								
Haiti	Port-au-Prince								
Honduras	Tegucigalpa								
Hungary	Budapest								
India	New Delhi								
Indonesia	Jakarta								
Iran	Tehran								
Israel	Jerusalem								
Italy	Rome	Rome	Rome						
Jamaica	Kingston								
Japan	Tokyo	Tokyo	Tokyo						
Kenya	Nairobi								
South Korea	Seoul								
Latvia	Riga								
Lebanon	Beirut								
Lithuania	Vilnius								
Luxembourg	Luxembourg								
Mexico	Mexico City	Mexico City	Mexico City						
Moldova	Chisinau								
Morocco	Rabat								
Netherlands	The Hague	The Hague	The Hague						
New Zealand	Wellington								
Nicaragua	Managua								
Norway	Oslo								
Pakistan	Islamabad								
Panama	Panama City								
Paraguay	Asuncion								
Peru	Lima	Lima	Lima						
Philippines	Manila								
Poland	Warsaw								
Portugal	Lisbon								
Romania	Bucharest								
Russia	Moscow								
Saudi Arabia	Riyadh								
South Africa	Pretoria								
Spain	Madrid	Madrid	Madrid						
Sri Lanka	Columbo								
Sweden	Stockholm								
Switzerland	Bern								
Taiwan	Taipei								
Tanzania	Dar es Salaam								
Texas	Austin								
Togo	Lome								
Turkey	Ankara								
Ukraine	Kyiv								
United Kingdom	London	London	London						
United States	Washington, DC	Washington, DC	Washington, DC						
Uruguay	Montevideo								
Venezuela	Caracas								



### U.S. Department of State Regional Bureaus and Their Geographic Offices

Bureau	Geographic Offices
<b>BUREAU OF WESTERN HEMISPHERE AFFAIRS</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>AWH - Andean Affairs:</b> Bolivia, Colombia, Ecuador, Peru, Venezuela</li> <li><b>AWH - Caribbean Affairs:</b> Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Belize, Brazil, Chile, Costa Rica, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela</li> <li><b>AWH - Central America:</b> Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama</li> <li><b>AWH - Caribbean Affairs:</b> Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Belize, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela</li> <li><b>AWH - Caribbean Affairs:</b> Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Belize, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela</li> </ul>
<b>BUREAU OF EAST ASIAN AND PACIFIC AFFAIRS</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>EAP - East Asia:</b> China, Hong Kong, Macao, Taiwan</li> <li><b>EAP - Southeast Asia:</b> Brunei, Cambodia, Laos, Myanmar, Philippines, Singapore, Thailand, Vietnam</li> <li><b>EAP - Oceania:</b> Australia, New Zealand</li> <li><b>EAP - Pacific Islands:</b> American Samoa, Cook Islands, Fiji, French Polynesia, Guam, Kiribati, Marshall Islands, Micronesia, Nauru, New Caledonia, Northern Mariana Islands, Palau, Samoa, Tokelau, Tonga, Tuvalu, Vanuatu</li> </ul>
<b>BUREAU OF EUROPEAN AND EURASIAN AFFAIRS</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>EEA - Central Europe:</b> Austria, Bulgaria, Czechia, Denmark, Estonia, Finland, France, Germany, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Latvia, Lithuania, Luxembourg, Malta, Netherlands, Poland, Portugal, Romania, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom</li> <li><b>EEA - Eastern Europe:</b> Belarus, Estonia, Latvia, Lithuania, Poland, Slovakia, Slovenia, Ukraine</li> <li><b>EEA - Southern and Eastern Europe:</b> Albania, Bosnia and Herzegovina, Bulgaria, Croatia, Cyprus, Georgia, Greece, Hungary, Italy, Jordan, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Macedonia, Montenegro, Morocco, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom</li> <li><b>EEA - Middle East:</b> Bahrain, Cyprus, Egypt, Israel, Jordan, Kuwait, Lebanon, Oman, Qatar, Saudi Arabia, Syria, Turkey, United Arab Emirates, Yemen</li> <li><b>EEA - Russia and Eurasia:</b> Armenia, Azerbaijan, Belarus, Georgia, Kazakhstan, Kyrgyzstan, Lebanon, Macedonia, Montenegro, Morocco, Norway, Oman, Pakistan, Palestine, Romania, Serbia, Slovakia, Slovenia, Spain, Sweden, Switzerland, Turkey, United Kingdom</li> </ul>
<b>BUREAU OF AFRICAN AFFAIRS</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>AA - Central Africa:</b> Benin, Cameroon, Central African Republic, Chad, Democratic Republic of Congo, Equatorial Guinea, Gabon, Gambia, Guinea, Guinea-Bissau, Ivory Coast, Liberia, Mali, Mauritania, Mauritius, Niger, Nigeria, Senegal, Sierra Leone, South Africa, Sudan, Togo, Tunisia, Uganda, Zambia, Zimbabwe</li> <li><b>AA - Eastern Africa:</b> Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Maldives, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe</li> <li><b>AA - Southern Africa:</b> Angola, Botswana, Burundi, Eritrea, Ethiopia, Kenya, Lesotho, Madagascar, Malawi, Maldives, Mozambique, Namibia, Rwanda, South Africa, Swaziland, Tanzania, Zambia, Zimbabwe</li> <li><b>AA - North Africa:</b> Algeria, Egypt, Libya, Morocco, Tunisia</li> </ul>
<b>BUREAU OF SOUTH AND CENTRAL AMERICAN AFFAIRS</b>	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> <li><b>SCAA - Caribbean:</b> Antigua and Barbuda, Barbados, Belize, Brazil, Chile, Cuba, Dominican Republic, Grenada, Guatemala, Haiti, Honduras, Jamaica, Mexico, Nicaragua, Panama, Paraguay, Uruguay, Venezuela</li> <li><b>SCAA - Central America:</b> Costa Rica, El Salvador, Guatemala, Honduras, Nicaragua, Panama</li> </ul>



# India's Naval Presence in Indian Ocean

## India's Presence in the Indian Ocean

- Iran**  
(construction of Chabahar Port, submarine training)
- UAE**  
(cooperation with India's oil reserves)
- Oman**  
(permission for Indian Navy use of the port of Duqm)
- Seychelles**  
(Indian base on Assumption Island (pending), provision of patrol boats, training)
- Mauritius**  
(naval communication facility, provision of patrol boats, training)
- Madagascar**  
(naval communication facility, permission for Indian Navy use of port)
- Reunion Island, France**  
(permission for Indian Navy use of base)

**Sri Lanka**  
(export of patrol boats)

**Maldives**  
(provision of patrol planes and helicopters, training)

**Diego Garcia island, US (UK)**  
(permission for Indian Navy use of base)

**Bangladesh**  
(financial aid for Air Force)

**Cocos Island, Australia**

**Andaman Nicobar Islands**  
(modernisation of bases)

**Myanmar**  
(construction of Sittwe Port, export of weapons)

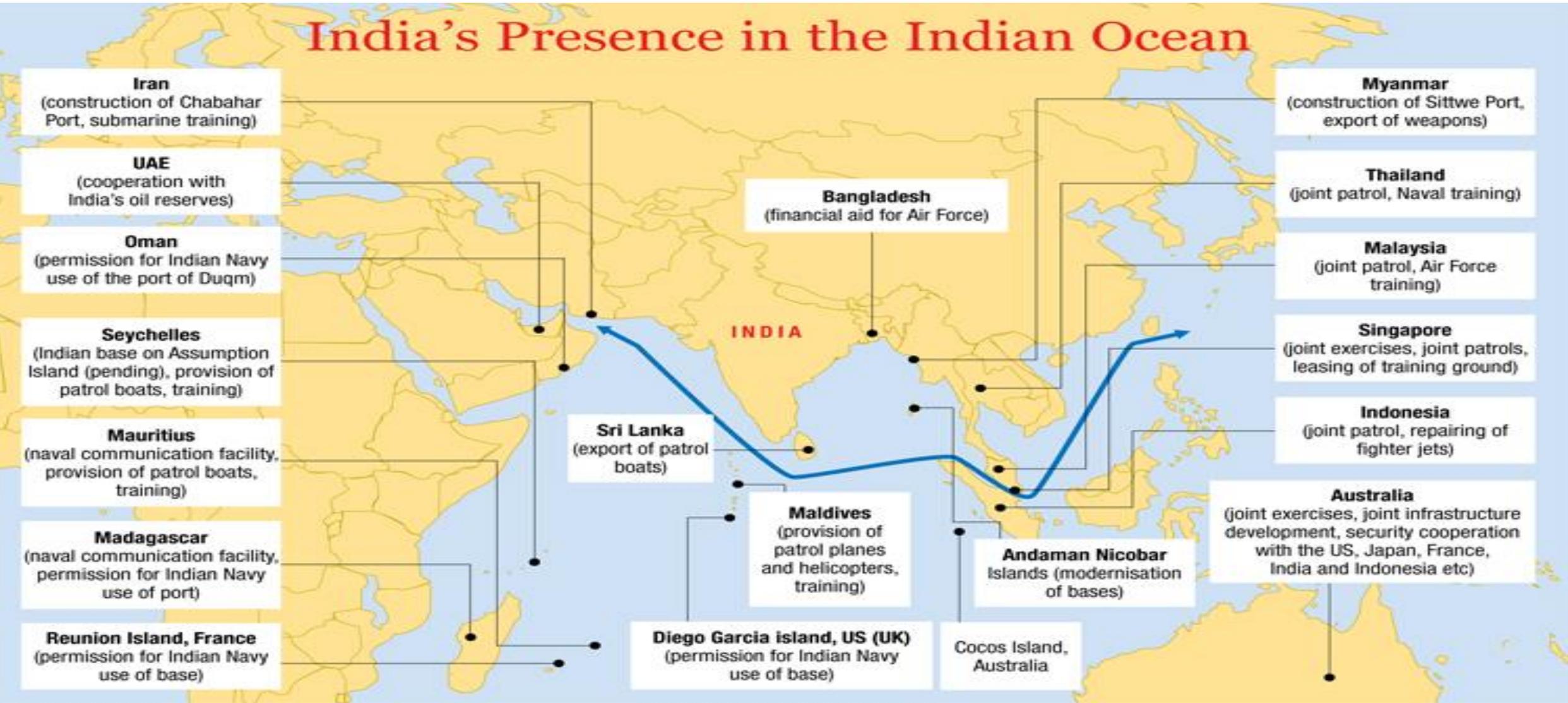
**Thailand**  
(joint patrol, Naval training)

**Malaysia**  
(joint patrol, Air Force training)

**Singapore**  
(joint exercises, joint patrols, leasing of training ground)

**Indonesia**  
(joint patrol, repairing of fighter jets)

**Australia**  
(joint exercises, joint infrastructure development, security cooperation with the US, Japan, France, India and Indonesia etc)



# French Islands in the Indian Ocean





# ***Building the Quad for Great Power Competition*** ***(Australia Partner Perspective)***



**LTCOL Paul Mostafa**  
**Australian Army**

**Presentation for the**  
**Cultural and Area Studies Office**  
**U.S. Army Command and General Staff College**

*14 September 2023*  
*unclassified*





ARCTIC OCEAN

ARCTIC OCEAN

ASIA

NORTH AMERICA

SOUTH AMERICA

EUROPE

AFRICA

PACIFIC

ATLANTIC

OCEAN

OCEAN

INDIAN

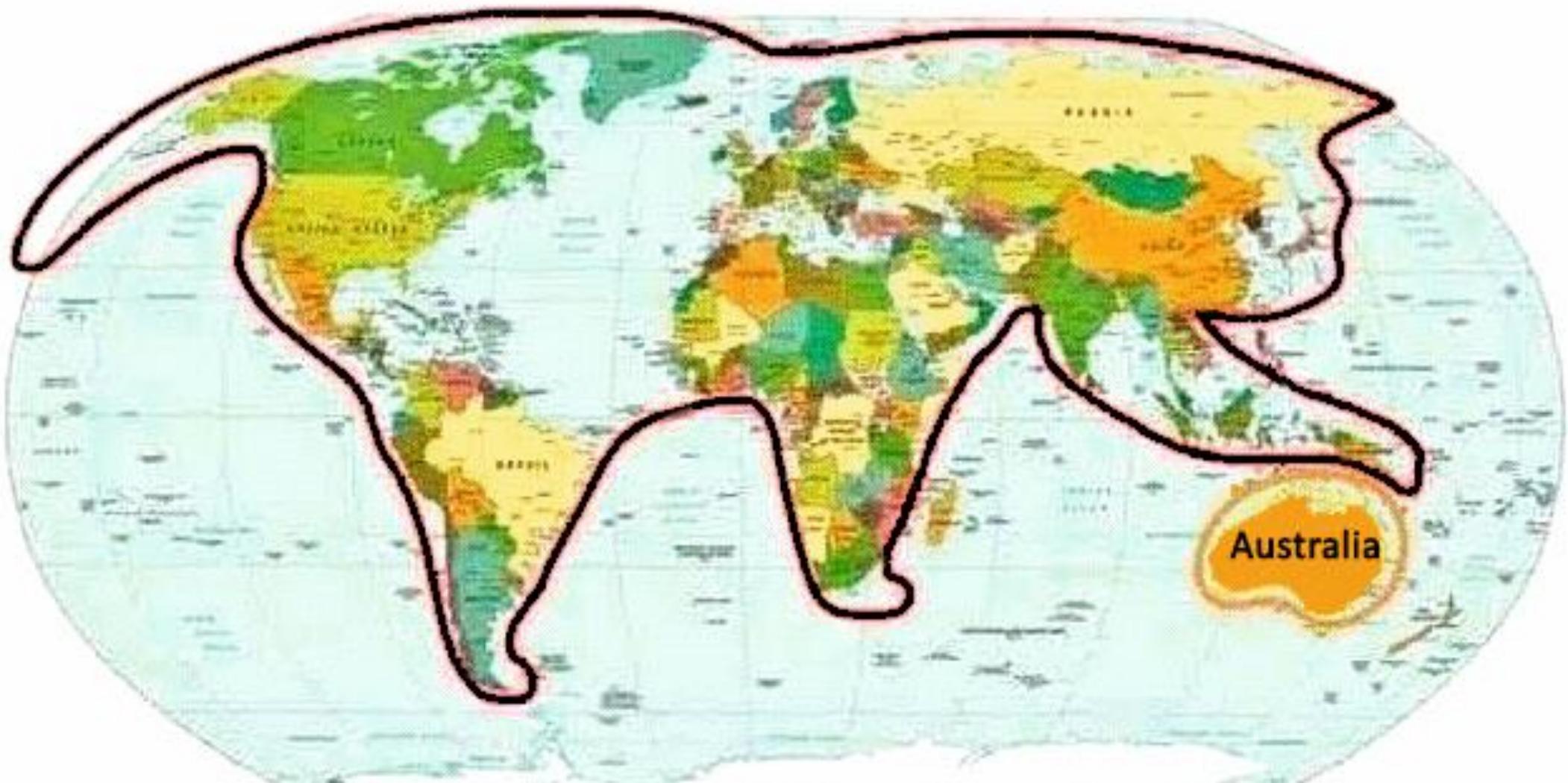
OCEANIA

OCEAN

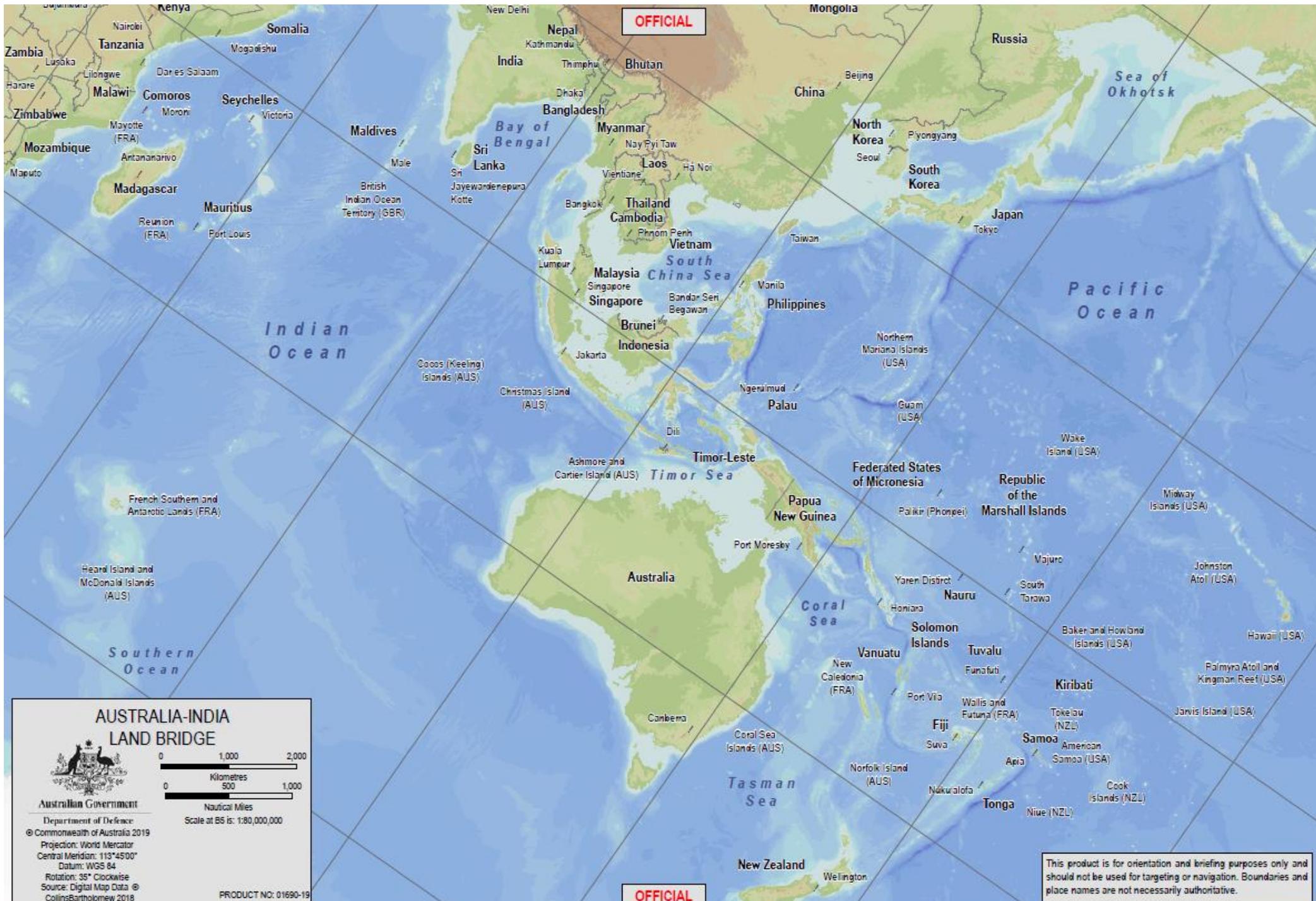




# The World is a **Cat**



playing with Australia



**AUSTRALIA-INDIA LAND BRIDGE**

0 1,000 2,000  
Kilometres

0 500 1,000  
Nautical Miles

Scale at BS is: 1:80,000,000

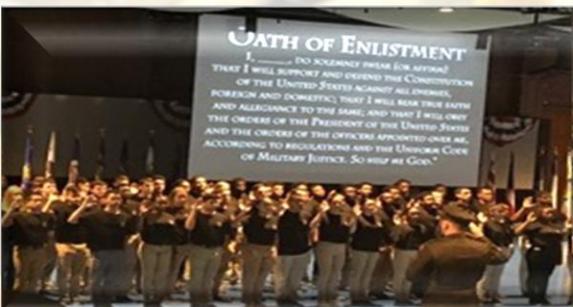
Australian Government  
Department of Defence  
© Commonwealth of Australia 2019  
Projection: World Mercator  
Central Meridian: 113°45'00"  
Datum: WGS 84  
Rotation: 35° Clockwise  
Source: Digital Map Data © Collins Bartholomew 2018  
PRODUCT NO: 01690-19

This product is for orientation and briefing purposes only and should not be used for targeting or navigation. Boundaries and place names are not necessarily authoritative.

# Japan and the Quad

*(Four Wars, Four Prime Ministers, Four Countries)*

**Dr. David Hunter-Chester**  
**Senior Research Analyst**  
**TRADOC G-2, U.S. Army**



GOARMY.COM

**Presentation for the**  
**Cultural and Area Studies Office**  
**U.S. Army Command and General Staff College**

14 September 2023

*unclassified*

# The Myth of Pacifism

- Defeated in WWII, Japan is occupied and adopts Pacifist Constitution in 1947
  - 1950 Japan rearms
  - 1960 U.S. and Japan sign new Mutual Security Treaty
  - Yoshida Doctrine and Domestic Anti-Militarism
- **Abe Shinzō, prime minister of Japan, 2006-2007, 2012-2020**
  - Proposes the Quad in 2007, champions it again in 2012, “a democratic security diamond”
  - Announces Japan’s strategy of a Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) in 2016, the U.S. adopts this vision in 2019





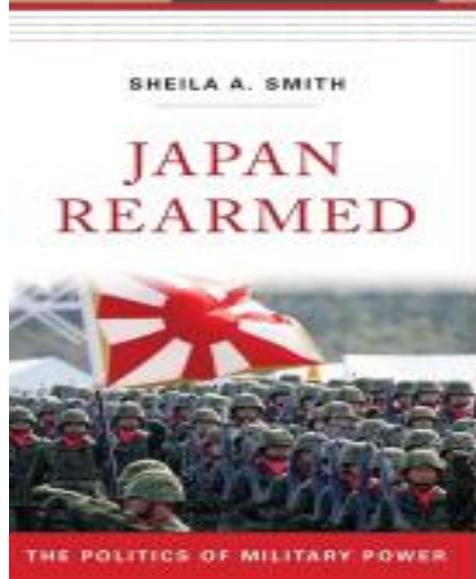
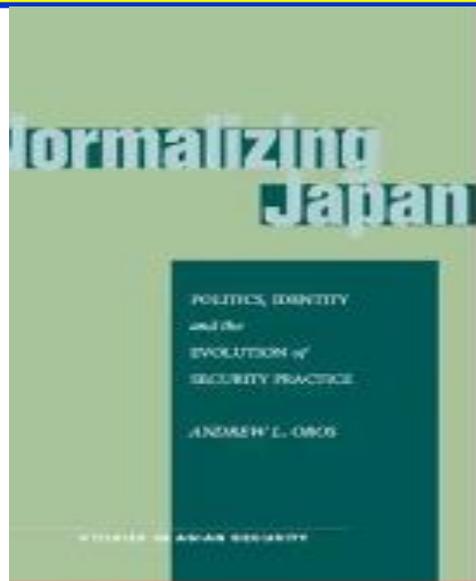
U.S. ARMY



## Renewed FOIP, Stronger Japan, Hopes for Stronger Quad

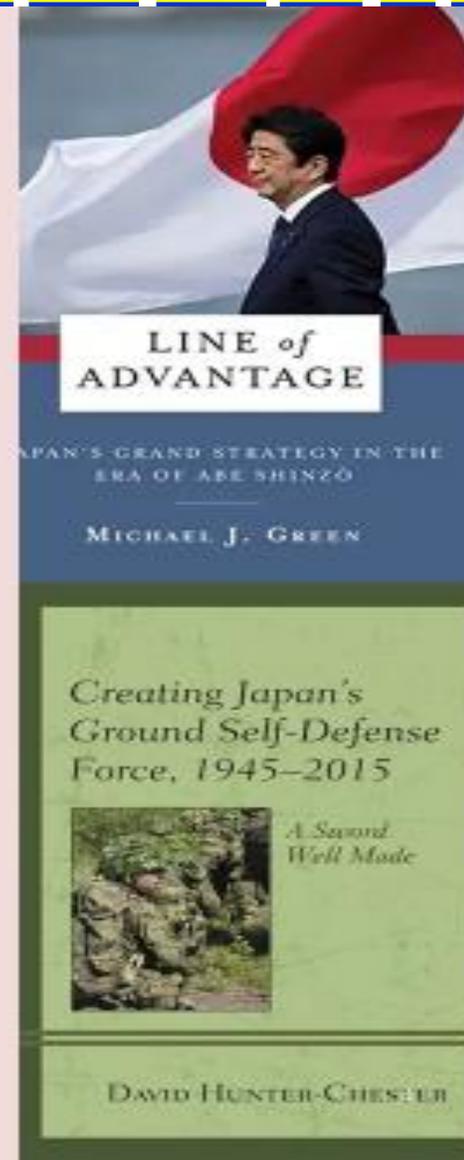
- Four Wars
  - WWII, disarms
  - Korean War, rearms
  - First Gulf War, loosens *hade*
  - Russia's invasion of Ukraine, commits to 2% of GDP Defense Budget
  
- Four PMs
  - Yoshida Shigeru
  - Kishi Nobusuke
  - Abe Shinzō
  - Kishida Fumio

3



## Further Reading

- Normalizing Japan: Politics, Identity and the Evolution of Security Practice *Andrew L. Oros*
- Creating the Japan Ground Self-Defense Force: A Sword Well Made *David Hunter-Chester*
- Japan Rearmed: The Politics of Military Power *Sheila Smith*
- Line of Advantage: Japan's Grand Strategy in the Era of Abe Shinzō *Michael J. Green*



# Questions/Answers/Comments

# Organization and Capabilities



MANY MORE...

Source documents provide guidance for training in three broad areas.

- 1) **Core Cultural Competencies:** Core cultural competencies include areas such as understanding culture, applying organizational awareness, cultural perspective taking, and cultural adaptability.
- 2) **Regional/Technical Competencies:** Regional/technical competencies deal with applying regional information and operating in a regional environment.
- 3) **Leader/Influence Functions:** Leader/influence functions include strategic (cultural) agility, (cultural) systems thinking, cross-cultural influences, organizational cultural competence, and utilizing interpreters/advisors.

CJCSI 1800.01D (Officer PME Policy) and CJCSI 1805.01A (Enlisted PME Policy).



**Contact:**

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**Fort Leavenworth, KS 66027-2300**

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**CASO website: <https://armyuniversity.edu/cgsc/caso/caso.aspx>**

**YouTube link: <https://www.youtube.com/playlist?list=PLkGvnfy3ladNRMPT-sNHpAsz8a3npWBH8>**

**Facebook page: <https://www.facebook.com/USACGSC>**