



THE RISE OF ASIAN LIONS

Japan, China, and India's Disruptive Development Engagement in Africa

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Table of Contents

List of Figures and Tables	iv
Abstract	vii
Declaration	viii
Conventions	viii
Acknowledgements	ix
Acronym List	x
Introduction	1
Why Japan, China, and India in Africa?	2
The Argument	3
Thesis Structure	5
Chapter 1: Theory, Literature, and Methodology	9
Part 1: Development Power in IR Theory	9
The Relevance and Limits of Realism	9
A Way Forward: Ontological Power and the Conceptual Framework.....	13
Part 2: Literature Review	18
OECD-DAC and Established Aid Norms	18
China-Africa	20
Japan-Africa	25
India-Africa	28
Part 3: Setting the Stage	33
Geographic Scope.....	34
Time Period of Study	36
Established versus South-South Donors.....	38
Methodology	40
Conclusion	43
Chapter 2: Evolution of Development Principles	45
Introduction	45
Part 1: Established Donor Norms and Principles	47
Evolution and the Rise of Asian Development Partners.....	51
Part 2: Japan-Africa	53
A New Era of TICAD	63
Part 3: Emerging Donors	66
China-Africa	67
India-Africa	76
Conclusion	82
Chapter 3: Ontological Power	85

Introduction.....	85
Part 1: Influencing the Narrative	89
Chinese Dream, African Renaissance	95
India’s South-South Partnership Framework	111
Japan-Africa Strategic Partnership	120
Part 2: Analyzing Ontological Power in Forum Diplomacy	132
Conclusion	137
Chapter 4: Material Development Investments.....	140
Introduction.....	140
Development Financing & Economic Relationships	143
Analysis of Japan, China, and India’s Economic Investment.....	162
TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS Trends	163
Conclusion	168
Chapter 5: Material Security Investments	170
Introduction.....	170
Defining Development Security, Peacekeeping & Peacebuilding	172
Japan-Africa Security Engagement	180
Japan’s Proactive Contribution	184
China’s Security Disruption in Africa	194
Evolution toward a New Security Leadership Model in Africa	195
Active Defense in Africa	199
India-Africa Security.....	211
India’s Security Environment.....	212
Net Security Provider Concept	215
South Sudan Case Study in Material Power	225
Summary: Security Development Investments & Total Material Power.....	228
Conclusion	232
Chapter 6: Soft Power.....	234
Introduction.....	234
Part 1: Creating a Resounding “Brand” in Africa	237
Soft Power Instruments.....	246
Part 2: Political Alignment in United Nations Voting Concurrence	262
Studies on UNGA Voting Concurrence	265
Asia-Africa Forums and UNGA Voting Alignment.....	267
UNSC.....	273
Conclusion	277
Conclusion	281
A New Type of Development Power.....	283

2020 and Beyond	287
<i>Bibliography</i>.....	293

List of Figures and Tables

Figure		Page
1	Japan, China, and India's Regional Distribution of Development Assistance	36
2	Development Power Comparative Indicators	42
3	Conditionality of World Bank and IMF financing	49
4	Timeline of Asia-Africa Forums, 1993 to 2020	52
5	Diversification of Japan's distribution of ODA, 1960 to 2017	54
6	Overview of China, India, and Japan's Development Ontologies	87
7	Map of China's Belt and Road Initiative, 2016	99
8	2015 India-Africa Forum Summit Official Symbol	114
9	Make in India initiative official emblem	115
10	Japan's FOIP Strategic Framework	124
11	JICA's Corridor Master Plans in Africa (TICAD V)	125
12	MOFA-Japan Visualization of the Arc of Freedom and Prosperity	128
13	Comparison of Ontological Power in Africa	136
14	2017 DAC Donor ODA vs. estimated Chinese and Indian ODA-like contributions	145
15	Japan: Composition of ODA in Africa and ODA financing mechanisms	148
16	China: Composition of financing in Africa and Official Financing instruments	150
17	India: Composition of financing in Africa and financing agencies and institutions	151
18	Sectoral breakdown of Chinese, Indian, and Japanese financing to Africa	161
19	Comparison of ODA and OOF financing to Africa, 2010-14	162
20	Escalation of TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS Material Investment	165
21	Visualization of China, Japan, and India's Financial and Economic investments	167
22	Comparison of UNPKO Troop and Funding Contributions	178
23	Map of China's Belt and Road Infrastructure Projects, 2014-2019	204
24	China's UN Peacekeeping and Anti-Piracy Deployments, 2002-2019	208
25	Visualization of India, China, and Japan's Development Security Investments	230
26	Visualization of Total Material Power	231
27	FOCAC Economic and Training Commitments, 2003-2018	238

28	TICAD and IAFS Economic and Training Commitments	239
29	Japan: Comparison Total ODA, ODA to Africa, and % Multilateral ODA	262
30	Trends in African UNGA voting alignment with China, Japan, and India	268
31	Comparison of African UNGA alignment with Japan Pre- and Post-TICAD	269
32	Comparison of African UNGA alignment with China Pre- and Post-FOCAC	270
33	Visualization of India, China, and Japan soft power comparison	278
34	Summary of Development Power comparisons	284
35	Comparison of Japan, China, and India's balance of development power	285

Table		Page
1	Five Phases of Japan-Africa Aid Policy	26
2	Definitions, Characteristics, and Principles of OECD-DAC Aid	51
3	Phases, Themes, and Features of the China-Africa Relationship	68
4	Principles of China-Africa Cooperation and Peace Coexistence	73
5	FOCAC 2006: Definition of New Type of Strategic Partnership	74
6	FOCAC 2015: Pillars of Comprehensive Strategic & Cooperative Partnership	75
7	Four Phases of India-Africa Relations	77
8	Summary of Foundational Principles of India-Africa Cooperation	81
9	Evolution of FOCAC China-Africa Cooperation Principles	108
10	IAFS 2008 Framework for Cooperation	117
11	IAFS 2015 Framework for Strategic Cooperation	118
12	Japan's FOIP vision and TICAD 7 initiatives	123
13	Comparison of Japan, China, and India's Ontological Indicators in Africa	134
14	Comparison of TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS investment trends	169
15	Security Operations Spectrum	174
16	Comparison of Japanese, Chinese, Indian, and Western security paradigms	179
17	Proactive Contribution: Major objectives	184
18	Overview of Japan's 2014 Security Legislation revisions and African application	193

19	Active Defense in Africa: Core elements of Beijing’s security paradigm	200
20	Tenets of Net Security Provider Model and aligned African engagement efforts	217
21	Indian Military Engagements in Africa, 2008-2019	224
22	Comparison of TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS Soft Power initiatives	245
23	African voting similarity statistics with Japan, China, and India	268

Abstract

In the post-WWII era, industrialized global aid powers defined and codified development initiatives through the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). However, the late 20th and early 21st centuries witnessed a shift in the global balance of power toward the Indo-Pacific region with the rise of Asian powers. In 1989, Japan emerged as a leader among established OECD-DAC nations and asserted a unique development philosophy in addressing African development issues. In the 21st century, the growth in foreign development diplomacy by South-South partners, most notably the People's Republic of China (PRC, China) and India, has challenged the material and ontological foundations of “aid” and development.

This thesis leverages a realist-constructivist framework to analyze the characteristics of Japan, China, and India's strategic engagement in Africa as a new form of development power. The analysis reveals how the development narratives of Asian powers have disrupted the established norms and principles of OECD-DAC donor-recipient relationships, development archetypes, and core values. The three Asian donors cultivate unique portfolios of ontological, material, and soft power paradigms that are reshaping established 20th century OECD-DAC aid constructs. Distinct from 20th century constructs, this new mode of development cooperation is bolstered by the cultivation of a shared historical context and social values that bind African states and peoples with Asian brands. In an era of shifting global power, Japan, China, and India have forged an alternative mechanism to engage with and shape the international order via development cooperation. Engagement with Africa's 54 diverse nations, regional blocs, and the African Union offers established and emerging Asian donor powers a mechanism to define the international order on their own terms. An in-depth analysis of Japanese, Chinese, and Indian development fora in Africa, reveals how each Asian donor cultivates a unique development brand engineered for a highly interconnected 21st century development landscape. Through the application of disruptive development ontologies in African engagement, Japan, China, and India have defined new modes of cooperation built around their distinctive worldviews, values, and norms.

Declaration

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Conventions

In this thesis Japanese and Chinese name order is used when referring to Japanese and Chinese, i.e. 'Surname First-name.' Thus the current PM of Japan will be written as Suga Yoshihide and the current General Secretary of the Chinese Communist Party will be written as Xi Jinping.

A partial exception to this rule applies to Japanese or Chinese scholars who are published in English and adopt the Western conventional name order.

Unless otherwise noted, \$ refers to US dollars and Billion and Million are denoted as "B" and "M," respectively, i.e. 60 Billion US dollars is denoted as US\$60B or \$60B. An effort is made to always label amounts as US\$ in any case. Japanese Yen, Chinese RMB, and Indian Rupees are called as such to avoid any confusion.

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Acronym List

AAGC	Asia Africa Growth Corridor
ABE	African Business Education, Japan
AfCFTA	African Continental Free Trade Area
AfDB	Africa Development Bank
APSA	African Peace and Security Architecture
ASF	African Standby Force
AU	African Union
BJP	Bharatiya Janata Party, India
BRF	Belt and Road Forum
BRI	Belt and Road Initiative, formerly One Belt One Road
BRICS	Brazil, Russia, India, China, South Africa
CCP	Chinese Communist Party
CGTN	China Global Television Network, formerly known as China Central Television (CCTV)
CIDCA	China International Development and Cooperation Agency
COVID-19	Novel Coronavirus, COVID
CPA	Comprehensive Peace Agreement
DAC	Development Assistance Committee
DDR	Disarmament, demobilization, reintegration
DPA	Development Partnership Administration, India
e-VBAB	e-VidyaBharti and e-ArogyaBharti Project
EXIM	Export-Import Bank
FDI	Foreign Direct Investment
FOCAC	Forum on China Africa Cooperation

FOIP	Free and Open Indo-Pacific
G7	Group of 7 nations
G20	Group of 20 nations
GDP	Gross Domestic Product
GNP	Gross National Product
GoJ	Government of Japan
IAFS	India Africa Forum Summit
IAFTX	India Africa Field Training Exercise
IBSAMAR	India-Brazil-South Africa Maritime Security Exercise
IC	International Community
ICT	Information and Communications Technology
IGAD	Intergovernmental Authority on Development
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IONS	Indian Ocean Naval Symposium
IOR	Indian Ocean Region
IORA	Indian Ocean Rim Association
IONS	Indian Ocean Naval Symposium
IMO	International Maritime Organization
IR	International Relations
ISA	International Solar Alliance
ITEC	Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Program
JICA	Japan International Cooperation Agency
JMSDF	Japan Maritime Self Defense Force
KAF	Korea's African Forum
KOICA	Korean International Cooperation Agency
LDC	Least Developed Countries

LDP	Liberal Democratic Party, Japan
LoC	Lines of Credit
MDG	Millennium Development Goals
MEA	Ministry of External Affairs, India
MFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, China
MII	Make in India
MOA	Memorandum of Agreement
MOFA	Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Japan
MOFCOM	Ministry of Commerce, China
MOU	Memorandum of Understanding
NAM	Non-Alignment Movement
NDPG	National Defense Program Guidelines, Japan
NEPAD	New Partnership for Africa's Development
NGO	Non-Governmental Organization
NIEO	New International Economic Order
NSS	National Security Strategy
ODA	Official Development Assistance
OECD-DAC	Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development- Development Assistance Committee
OOF	Other Official Flows
OVOP	One Village One Product
PKO	Peacekeeping Operations
PLA	People's Liberation Army, China
PPP, PPAP	Public-Private Partnership, Public Private Action Partnerships
PRC	People's Republic of China, China
PSIF	Private Sector Investment Finance scheme

R2P	Responsibility to Protect
SAGAR	Security and Growth for All in the Region
SAIS-CARI	John Hopkins School of Advanced International Studies, China-Africa Research Institute
SCAAP	Special Commonwealth Assistance for Africa Program, India
SDF	Self Defense Forces
SDG	Sustainable Development Goals
SEZ	Special Economic Zone
SOE	State Owned Enterprises
SSC	South-South Cooperation
STEM	Science, Technology, Engineering, and Mathematics
TCDC	Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries, India
TCS	Technical Cooperation Scheme of Columbo Plan, India
TEAM-9	Techno-Economic Approach for Africa–India Movement
TEC	Technical and Economic Cooperation, India
TICAD	Tokyo International Conference on African Development
TPP	UN Triangular Partnership Project
UHC	Universal Health Coverage
UN	United Nations
UNCHS	United Nations Commission on Human Security
UNCLOS	United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea
UNDP	United Nations Development Program
UNESCO	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organization
UNGA	United Nations General Assembly
UNMISS	UN Mission in South Sudan
UNOSCC	United Nations Office for South-South Cooperation

UNSC	United Nations Security Council
VOIP	Voice Over Internet Protocol
WB	World Bank
WTO	World Trade Organization

Introduction

*At the sun's roar, African lions rise.
Brave in their crude strides in a pride,
They survey the land for what to eat.
– Nigerian poet, Oluayo Osunsan*

The 21st century is witnessing a shift in international influence with the rise of Asian nations as development powers. In the 20th century, industrialized global aid powers codified and coordinated development initiatives and narratives through the Development Assistance Committee (DAC) of the Organization for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD). With the United States and European Union at the helm, the OECD-DAC has traditionally set the international development agenda and continues to dominate the aid ecosystem. However, recent growth in development engagement by Asian donor powers, most notably Japan, the People's Republic of China (PRC, China) and India, has begun to challenge the material and ontological foundations of “aid” and development.

This thesis argues that 21st century international development engagement marks a new mode of geopolitical power that is disrupting traditional donor-recipient relations. This evolution of development power is clearly illustrated by an exploration of Japan, China, and India's engagement in Africa. This thesis provides a comparative analysis of Asian development engagement in Africa, arguing that emerging narratives are innovating upon the norms and principles codified by the OECD-DAC, and shaping novel development partnerships, archetypes, and values. This study presents a framework for the analysis of the ontological, material, and soft power tools used by Japan, China, and India (the Asian Lions) in their engagement with Africa to illuminate the distinct brand of each nation's development paradigm.

Why Japan, China, and India in Africa?

Much of the speculation regarding Asian development narratives stems from the stunning “miracle growth” experienced within the region in the 20th and 21st centuries. Japan’s astounding post-WWII era growth contributed to the subsequent success of other newly-industrialized Asian states, such as Taiwan and Singapore, who benefitted from its unique Official Development Assistance (ODA) philosophy, and “self-help” and infrastructure based development model. China, the preferred beneficiary of Japanese ODA in the late 20th century, engineered its own stunning miracle growth, capturing the world’s imagination as a “metaphor for this transformative globalization experience in the twenty-first century” (Alden 2013: 2). India shows signs of becoming Asia’s next potential growth miracle, overtaking Chinese GDP growth in 2015 and boasting a younger and more agile workforce in contrast to China’s aging population (WB 2020). Together China and India represent over one-third of the global population and their development has lifted hundreds of millions out of abject poverty over the course of a few decades, a pace unmatched in modern history (UNDP 2019). The rise of China and India challenges established international institutions and development assumptions. As Chinese President Xi Jinping marked in his address at the World Economic Forum, “the global economy is now in a period of moving toward new growth drivers, and the role of traditional engines to drive growth has weakened” (Xi 2017d).

Africa is considered the “final frontier” for global development with diverse and vast untapped domestic growth engines. Speculation about Africa’s potential as the “next emerging market” is often couched in the context of growing Asian investment and the role of South-South donors (Coulibaly 2019; Downie 2014). Impressive annual GDP growth trends of 5% or greater from 2000 to 2008 in Sub-Saharan developing countries gave momentum to the “Africa Rising” narrative. Despite setbacks caused by falling commodity prices resulting from the 2008 financial crisis, rising stars such as Ethiopia, Rwanda, and Kenya achieved annual GDP growth averages of 10%, 7%, and 6%, respectively, over the last ten years (World Bank 2018). Africa’s potential to contribute to the global economic value chain has led many scholars to speculate that Asian investment may make Africa the world’s next manufacturing and services powerhouse (EYG 2015; Roxburgh et al. 2010; Sun 2017). Once deemed the lost continent by Western

media, these same analysts speculate that “Africa has a real chance to follow in the footsteps of Asia” to realize an African century (Economist 2011, 2019).

During the first two decades of the 21st century, Japanese, Chinese, and Indian development investment in African states grew rapidly along with their respective narratives. Even as the US and other long-established donors withdraw from infrastructure and capacity building in Africa, Asian states are leaning in. The Asian Lions have chosen to cultivate a new quiver of geopolitical tools to disrupt established development norms, values, and relationships. This strategy is underlined by the belief that, beyond spurring economic growth, development engagement in Africa advances national interests through the proliferation of ideas and cultural values in the building of inter-state relationships. For its part, Tokyo uses ODA to fulfill international obligations and demonstrate an alternative brand of Japanese leadership both within and outside the DAC, while, from the perspective of China and India, African development cooperation represents a strategy to define themselves as new types of global powers.

New viable development pathways are emerging. Japan’s Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP), China’s Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and India’s Security and Growth for All in the Region (SAGAR) are the dominant narratives shaping the alignment of Asian and African development. Japan, China, and India have each established their own Asia-African forums, all of which are thoroughly assessed in this thesis. The Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), the Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), and the India Africa Forum Summit (IAFS), have become the primary mechanisms for Asian donors to achieve strategic alignment with African partners. Africa, the final development frontier, has become the stage upon which to demonstrate a new development leadership paradigm to the world.

The Argument

Since the end of the Cold War, the globalization of Asian economies and the emergence of unique development narratives have shaped the international development architecture. This thesis develops the argument that Japan, China, and India’s engagement with African states is significant in innovating new development ontologies which are disrupting established development norms and donor-recipient relationships.

Accordingly, this thesis proposes that Tokyo, Beijing, and New Delhi offer alternative “brands” to African partners to legitimize a new type of development superpower.

In support of this argument, a framework of Development Power is derived from a synthesis of two of the main schools of international relations theory, realism and social constructivism. Ontological Power, detailed in Chapter 1, entails the creation of a development “brand” that communicates a specific world order, value system, and collective identity to development partners. Ontological Power reframes material and soft power engagement as a catalyst for the rise of prominent 21st century Asian development paradigms. Chapters 3 through 6 present the characteristics of Japan, China, and India’s engagement with Africa by assessing their respective development narratives, investments, and relationships. Japan, a member of the DAC, and China and India, non-DAC emerging donors, use African development initiatives to demonstrate paradigms that often diverge from the norms of the established development assistance paradigm (Morreale 2018).

The phrase “Asian Lions” used in this thesis deserves explanation. Although the term “Asian Tigers” has been used to refer to the rapid industrialization of South Korea, Taiwan, Singapore, and Hong Kong in the late 20th century (Kim 1998)¹, the emergence of Asian powers as major players in African development is a 21st century phenomenon that warrants a new moniker. Japan, India, and China each reserve a revered symbolic space for the lion. Paralleling the symbolic reverence of the lion motif across the Asia-Africa region, Japan, China, and India have leveraged culturally symbolic development narratives in their engagement of Africa, a place where the lion is esteemed as a symbol of transnational pride and cultural strength. Akin to the struggle that occurs within a pride of lions, these three Asian powers strategically engage African states in furthering their unique brands of development leadership. Hence, in the examination of the cultural and symbolic identities leveraged in the Asian development engagement with Africa, it is fitting to refer to Japan, China, and India as the three “Asian Lions.”

¹ Similarly, the term “Asian Dragon” has been widely used to refer to the four tigers, China, and other industrializing Asian economies in popular narratives and in academia. Some examples include the Economist’s “A Ravenous Dragon” (2008), Brautigam’s *The Dragon’s Gift* (2009), Ampiah and Naidu’s anthology *Crouching Tiger, Hidden Dragon* (2008), among others that will be referenced in this work.

Thesis Structure

Chapter 1 outlines the contextual framework and methodology and reviews the relevant literature and prevailing assessments of Asian development engagement (“aid”) in Africa. The chapter begins by defining power in the context of mainstream IR theory, most notably realism and constructivism. The limitations of realism are exposed and a synthesis approach that transcends prescriptive Western prisms is embraced to assess the geopolitical implications of Asia-Africa development cooperation. The concept of ontological security is detailed and applied to the emergence of Asian donor’s unique development “brands” and alternative development pathways. The literature review contrasts the predominantly Western view of non-DAC donors as a ‘threat’ to established development organizations with the non-Western narratives of the ‘Asian miracle’ popular in the Global South. The rigorous comparison of Chinese, Japanese, and Indian development cooperation in Africa is identified as a significant gap in social science research. Finally, the key terms, scope, research limitations, and comparative methodology are outlined.

Chapter 2 compares the evolution of the DAC development norms and principles as a baseline against which to analyze Japan, China, and India’s paradigms. The principles established through the OECD-DAC define the development standards that have characterized Western-led efforts of the 20th century. Japan’s refinement of its unique ODA philosophy from within the established group of DAC donors is traced through Tokyo’s engagement with Africa. The distinctive features of Japan’s ODA philosophy in Africa, centered on *ownership*, *partnership*, and *human security*, are shown to be influential in shaping emerging development principles. This chapter also outlines the roots of the emerging South-South donor’s development frameworks in Africa. The roots of China and India’s foundational development principles are traced from the mid-20th century to the present. The application of these development principles to African development cooperation through key Asia-Africa forums demonstrates areas of innovation and imitation. Finally, a comparison of the tenets of Japan, China, and India’s development philosophies deployed in Africa lays the foundation for the analysis of ontological power, material power, and soft power in the following chapters.

Chapter 3 explores the ontological instruments of development power at play within Africa. This chapter analyzes the use of ontological influence by Asian donor powers to align a recipient nation's domestic development narratives, values, or behaviors with a desired world-view. Japan, China, and India's strategic narratives and aspirational regional architectures present alternative development pathways for African consumers, disrupting traditional DAC paradigms. Beijing's ontological architecture, the "Belt and Road Initiative" (BRI, formerly known as One Belt One Road), and narratives of the *Chinese Dream* and *community of common destiny* are analyzed. The development and evolution of Beijing's unique form of South-South Cooperation (SSC), as communicated through the FOCAC forum, is illuminated. China's SSC in Africa is assessed to be a form of *concerted unilateralism*, allowing African states to act with autonomy within the bounds of rules of engagement defined by Beijing. India's Project Mausam and the Security and Growth for All in the Region (SAGAR) vision are discussed in parallel to the narratives of *Make in India* and *strategic autonomy*. This study examines India's strategy of *regional multilateralism* aimed at cultivating South-South Partnerships in the Indo-Africa region. India's South-South narrative builds on an identity of intra-regional solidarity and strategic autonomy positioned to disrupt the external influences of rivalry between China and Western powers. Lastly, Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy is considered within the framework of triangular cooperation with established and emerging powers. Japan's leadership of the TICAD process and prominent role in other multilateral forums allows Tokyo to shape the modernization of DAC development principles and the Sustainable Development Goals (SDG) framework. A comparison of these narratives provides insight into the overlapping interests and negotiated space in which established and emerging Asian development powers compete for market share. This analysis highlights the role of African states as ambassadors of Asian "brands" on the international stage. Lastly, this chapter provides a comparative analysis of the relative maturity and scope of each Asian donor's ontological power in Africa.

Chapters 4 and 5 build on the ontological analysis by presenting a comparison of the material instruments of development engagement, economic investment, and security investment. Chapter 4 explores how investments made in Africa by each of the Asian Lions advances their strategic ontological objectives and legitimizes their development

brands regionally and internationally. Material engagement is traced through maturing Asian development institutions and contemporary Asia-Africa forums. A comparative analysis of economic diplomacy brokered through TICAD, FOCAC, IAFS demonstrates the use of development investment to bolster Asian brands among African stakeholders.

Chapter 5 completes the Material Power analysis with the evaluation of Asian donors' security investments. The growth of security engagement orchestrated through TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS marks a distinctive feature of Asian forum diplomacy in Africa from 2008 to 2019. The Asian powers' peacekeeping and regional security architectures are revealed as integral pillars of their disruptive agendas. In contrast to a US focus on anti-terrorism in Africa, the Asian security partnerships utilize a comprehensive development security paradigm advancing aligned ontological and soft power agendas. Chapter 5 concludes with a case study of Sudan and South Sudan, demonstrating the fusion of economic investment and security cooperation to promote Asian development ontologies. The material power investments, explored in Chapters 4 and 5, present the fertile grounds for Japan, China, and India's soft power initiatives, explored in Chapter 6.

Chapter 6 explores the proliferation of soft power tools in Asia-Africa engagement. This chapter examines the soft power trends of the Asia-Africa forums under the leadership of Japan's Prime Minister Abe Shinzo, China's President Xi Jinping, and India's Prime Minister Narendra Modi. TICAD 2013, 2016, and 2019, FOCAC 2015 and 2018, and IAFS 2015 are distinguished as pivotal departures from previous forums in their deployment of soft power mechanisms and the operationalization of strategic partnerships. An examination of Asia-Africa UN voting concurrence and the effects of TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS forums on policy alignment illustrates disruption in action. The role of soft power in reinforcing China, Japan, and India's development ontologies is exhibited on the African continent.

The conclusion offers a summary of the key contributions of this work. It reviews Japan, China, and India's core values and cultural identity as the basis for a new type of international development cooperation. The conclusion highlights the role of these Asian donors' development ontologies in steering current and future partnerships in the Indo-Pacific region. In addition, the conclusion discusses the impact of the COVID-19

pandemic on the development priorities in Asia-Africa partnerships. The trajectory of these developments is projected through the upcoming Asia-Africa forums.

Chapter 1: Theory, Literature, and Methodology

This chapter sets the stage for the comparison of Asia-Africa development brands. Part 1 outlines the International Relations (IR) theory and conceptual framework utilized in this thesis. Part 2 reviews relevant literature on Asia-Africa engagement exposing the need for a nuanced comparison of the three Asian donors and their development paradigms in Africa. Finally, Part 3 sets the stage by defining the terms, scope, and methodology used to compare Asian development power. This chapter details the gap in current research and the need for a nuanced comparison of the three Asian donor powers in Africa.

Part 1: Development Power in IR Theory

This thesis argues that the Asian-African development relationship is best evaluated through a novel paradigm of *development power*. To define development power it is important to first contextualize the framework within IR theory, particularly realism and constructivism. The relevance and limits of realism are highlighted in the context of the rise of non-Western development powers. Recognizing these limitations, a synthesis approach that transcends the traditional paradigms is outlined. This thesis builds on a growing body of work that challenges the rigid application of Euro-centric IR paradigms in favor of embracing alternative dimensions of power and cooperation arising from the Asia-Africa development experience.

The Relevance and Limits of Realism

Realism, born from European conceptions of statesmanship, is the dominant theory in international relations and is characterized by an emphasis on the state's rational pursuit of survival and security through the balance of power (Morgenthau & Thompson 1985; Waltz 1979). Power is defined in terms of discrete and coercive material resources, particularly military capabilities and economic might (Waltz 1979). Balance of power within an anarchic system is based on a calculus of a state's military and economic might. Organski (1968) introduced power transition theory to

analyze the rise and fall of dominant powers in the hierarchical international system. Power transition theory postulates that shifts in military and economic capabilities beget instability as emerging powers posture to challenge hegemonic powers (Organski 1968). Accordingly, emerging powers that achieve great power status inevitably march toward a conflict with the reigning power as capabilities shift in a coercive zero-sum game. Advocates of this theory predict an impending war between regional hegemonic and rising powers, in this case China and the US, as a “revisionist” China aims to achieve hegemonic power status in the Asia Pacific (Allison 2017; Tammen & Kugler 2006).

Power and influence in the Pacific region have been historically assessed through realist frameworks with an emphasis on comparing coercive military or economic capabilities among established and emerging powers. This application of realist assumptions will be highlighted throughout the literature review in Part 2.

However, the rise of Asian powers and the developing world places a spotlight on the limits of international relations theories, especially Realism. In particular, there are two challenges to realism in its application to Asia-Africa development cooperation - the dominance of material power and the lack of non-Western 21st century voices.

Issue 1: Material Power Calculus

The first shortcoming of Realism is its over reliance on economic and military might in the calculus of national power and influence. Balance of power calculations preference material power and assess Power as a constant variable in the international system. Alternative modes of power, such as soft power, ideational power, and narrative are overlooked. The emphasis on conflict in the international system leaves little room for other pathways to geopolitical power. The complexity of development partnerships, narratives, and non-Western identities points to the need to innovate Realism.

An emerging scholarship in international relations is challenging the traditional paradigms of power. The power derived from the command of cultural values, histories, and ideas, which Joseph Nye terms “soft power,” is harder to quantify than military or economic power (Nye 2008). Ngangom argues that “the study of soft power in

international relations requires a revision that reflects current geopolitical realities” (2018: 4). The preponderance of focus on the coercive and hard power has overlooked soft power tools of development engagement, such as the role of cultural diplomacy in development (Adem 2013b). As Bing and Ceccoli explain, “it is imperative for analysts to devote as much attention to the discourse associated with the formal and informal mechanisms of cooperation as the cooperative mechanisms themselves” (Bing & Ceccoli 2013: 126). This thesis aims to illuminate the use of development as a geopolitical tool through the examination of established and emerging Asian ontologies.

A turn toward constructivism begins to address this deficiency. Constructivism, born from the work of Alexander Wendt (1992, 1999), challenges the assumptions of structural power and promotes the role of ideas and identities in shaping structures and the international system. Constructivism places emphasis on individual agency and socially constructed ideas as the drivers for state behavior. In contrast to realism, power is defined through a process of norms creation, cultural construction, and sociopolitical processes. Instead of a discrete variable, power is mutable and constantly in the process of creation and re-creation. The constructive epistemology is compatible with other IR theories (Beyer 2009). As Mattern (2004) writes, a synthesis of realism and constructivism “guides the researcher to consider how specific actors wield different *forms* of power (authority, force, care, and so on) through different *expressions* (linguistic, symbolic, material, and so on) to *produce* different social realities” (emphasis in original, 345). Ideas, identity, and social constructions are the drivers of an international system that is *becoming*.

Issue 2: Beyond the West and toward 21st Century Development Conditions

The second limitation of realism is the question of its applicability to Asian powers, the development of African states, and 21st century conditions in a globalized and interconnected world. The dynamism of Japan, China, and India as emerging donor powers gives rise to the discussion of an “Asian Way” and highlights the challenge for IR scholars to move beyond the West. A growing chorus of scholars advocate for the inclusion of Asia and other non-Western perspectives in international relations scholarship (Acharya 2014a; Acharya & Buzan 2010; Cornelissen, Cheru &

Shaw 2012; Tickner & Blaney 2013). In his work *Getting Asia Wrong*, David Kang highlights the limits of realism in its application to the unique characteristics, cultures, and histories of contemporary Asia (2003). Johnston examines the omission of Asian powers in IR, highlighting the significance of alternative power structures, constructed civilizations, emerging cooperation mechanisms, and ideational forces on the geopolitical order (2012: 71). Japan, China, and India's prominent investment in African development has caught global attention and is disrupting established inter-state relationships and regional constructs.

Similarly, the conditions of 21st century development cooperation do not fit neatly into 20th century Euro-centric IR frameworks. These conditions include Asia and Africa's shifting role in a globalized world and emerging Asia-Africa development identities (Acharya 2008; Cornelissen, Cheru & Shaw 2012; Kang 2003). As Amitav Acharya asserts, traditional international relations paradigms derived from European socio-cultural backdrops are not appropriate in understanding the regional power dynamics in Asia and beyond (Acharya 2008, 2014b). Acharya argues that ideas rooted in non-Western philosophies are changing the norms of the international order, especially in the development arena (Acharya 2016). For example, Japan's contribution of the "flying geese model" of regional development engagement and conceptions of identity constructed from inherent contradictions between East and West are proving valuable frameworks for examining 21st century conditions (Inoguchi 2007; Korhonen 1994). Similarly, Macaes argues that China's role in the established order has changed the nature of geopolitics and the nature of contemporary China itself. As a poignant example, he characterizes Beijing's development narratives as an informal and opaque mechanism, founded on non-Western political and social values that aims to engineer an interdependent global economic system suited to China's development needs (Macaes 2019: 13). In this same vein, India's contribution of the "non-alignment" concept and South-South Cooperation has become an influential construct for Asian and African states' engagement (discussed in detail in Chapter 2). Beyond Asia, Shaw, Cheru, and Cornelissen's work argues for greater inclusion of African development in IR scholarship and a "decolonization" of the production of knowledge in IR (2012). This thesis joins Asia and Africa scholars who have called for the transcendence of traditional IR prisms and

inclusion of non-Western modes of power, identity, and cooperation (Acharya 2016; Cornelissen, Cheru & Shaw 2012; Inoguchi 2007).

Thus, the need for an alternative contextual framework through which to understand shifting global norms and beliefs in the context of Indo-Pacific conceptions of development power becomes clear. We next turn toward a framework to assess how Asian development ontologies applied to 21st century conditions present an innovative and disruptive approach to geopolitical engagement.

A Way Forward: Ontological Power and the Conceptual Framework

This thesis espouses the move away from a grand theory and towards a synthesis approach to best characterize the geopolitical implications of development cooperation. Embracing the interrelationship between the material and the ideational, this thesis advances Beyer's argument that power "rests on material foundations" but is created and advanced through "the promotion of ideas" (2009: 415). This synthesis approach allows for a dynamic analysis of Asia-Africa development cooperation as an "arena where geostrategic tensions play out." (Ngangom 2018: 1). Analytical eclecticism has been embraced within Asian studies as a move away from prescriptive Western dogma with an over-reliance on military power (Katzenstein 2008; Katzenstein & Okawara 2001; Regilme 2018). The growing influence of technology, growth narratives, interdependence, and a de-emphasis on the use of military coercion in the 21st century Asian-African development landscape, requires a "mosaic" of IR approaches derived from "different methodological traditions" (Inoguchi 2007: 383).

This work defines a conceptual framework comprised of ontological, material, and soft power to provide a comparative analysis of Japan, China, and India's development cooperation in Africa. As a starting point for the analysis of development power, this study adopts Joseph Nye's definition of power: "the ability to affect others to achieve the outcomes one wants" (Nye 2008: 94). Material power, often referred to as "hard power," represents economic and security investments brokered as part of Asia-Africa partnerships. On the other hand, Nye defines soft power as the ability to co-opt behavior

or manipulate desire using cultural resources, noting that Asian powers have “impressive potential resources for soft power” (Nye 2009: 83).

In addition to material and soft power, this thesis introduces ontological power to the contemporary Asian development toolset. In analyzing new geopolitical forces in a globalized and interconnected world, I leverage a growing body of scholarship on “ontological security” (Chacko 2014; Mitzen 2006; Subotić 2015; Zarakol 2017). Ontological security is a constructivist approach to analyzing the modes of behavior, core values, and principles that define a state’s foreign policy and engagement with the global order. Within international relations discourse, ontological security has emerged as a mechanism to analyze the constructed identities of states, ethnic groups, and even regions (Chacko 2014, 2016; Pan 2016; Subotić 2015). Priya Chacko’s (2014) work dismantles the realist assumptions underlying power transition theory with an in-depth analysis of the role of perceptions of power. Her research highlights biographical narratives and core values as the drivers for foreign policy discourses and inter-state relations in the globalized world. She argues that identity and narratives of civilizational exceptionalism reinforce perceptions of security as established hierarchies of power and established relationships are revised and challenged. Jelena Subotić’s (2015) analysis of the relationship between narrative and ontological security highlights the continuity and change of strategic narratives. Subotić provides an analytical framework for understanding the fluidity of strategic narratives and state ontologies. Analysts such as Andrea Worden (2019) have highlighted examples of ontological power such as the war of discourse in UN bodies and the efforts of Asian powers (especially China) to validate strategic narratives. This and other formulations of ontological power will be explored further in the following chapters. Whereas victory in war established global power status in the 20th century, the emerging powers in Asia harness strategic ontologies to disrupt the norms of international development.

This thesis will build on the IR concept of “ontological security” to explore strategic development narratives as a source of ontological power. In this work, ontological power is defined as the ability to influence the behaviors of others to align with or reinforce a nation’s desired world-view. Tools of ontological power shape the norms, values, and assumptions about development to conform to a given nation’s strategic development

narratives. The narratives of Asian donors rely on shared historical memory (i.e., silk road, anti-colonial struggles, civilizational links), cultural values (i.e., peaceful development, non-interference, democracy), and cooperative principles to establish strategic relationships with the developing world, especially Africa. This new form of development power, a mix of material, ontological, and soft power, is increasingly touted by Chinese, Japanese, and Indian leaders through Asia-Africa forums. Reflecting upon China's national, cultural and historical strengths, President Xi declared the "rise in China's international influence, ability to inspire, and power to shape" (2017a). At the same time, Japan and India have proposed a joint vision for the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor based on "deep civilizational links," "common heritage," and "commitment to democracy, openness, and the rule of law as key values to achieve peaceful co-existence" (Modi & Abe 2016). Increasingly, this new type of ideational influence is emerging across the Indo-Pacific region.

The synthesis of ontological, material, and soft power sparks a new understanding of Asia and Africa's role in the global order as geopolitical gravity shifts toward the Indo-Pacific region. This thesis argues that Asia-Africa development cooperation is fundamentally reshaping the world order. However, it is important to address the reality that Asia and Africa are not isolated from established powers and global development institutions (especially in the globalized and interconnected 21st century). In fact, Japan, China, and India have thrived in the America-led international order and are active participants in global governance institutions. Therefore, to understand the relationship between emerging Asian donor powers and the established development norms, I leverage Clayton Christensen's concept of disruptive innovation (1997) to characterize the forces of competition and cooperation between Japan, China, India, and the OECD-DAC in the African development space. Christensen's theory explores how non-traditional actors apply unique ideas, methods, or models to achieve growth, encourage mainstream acceptance and exploit strategic market advantages. As will be explored in depth in Chapter 3, Japan, China, and India's ontological engagement in Africa follows a process of *strategic disruption* to legitimize a development "brand." By providing alternate non-Western solutions to development problems in overlooked or under-served markets in Africa, established and emerging Asian development

powers pursue innovation-driven growth to strengthen regional and international acceptance. These forces exist within, and are innovating upon, the established international order. In this way, strategic disruption recognizes the relational forces in an increasingly interconnected market of development alternatives. Technology and social networks increase the agency of African states, governments, and citizens as consumers of Asian development “brands.”

In summary, this thesis advances a conceptual framework that recognizes the relationship of material, security, and soft power investments in enabling Japan, China, and India’s cultivation of ontological power. This framework allows an assessment of the Asian Lions’ development narratives as novel sources of power.

The working definitions of ontological, material, and soft power are below:

Ontological Power: Mechanisms used to influence and shape a recipient nation’s domestic development narratives, actions, or behaviors to align with or reinforce a desired world-view or development brand. Asian donors’ strategic narratives target new markets and development stakeholders, including the recipient nation’s ruling elite, Pan-African organizations (such as the AU), and international development organizations (such as the Bretton Woods or OECD-DAC). Ontological power aims to socialize and legitimize a viable alternative worldview or “brand” of development through strategic disruption.

Material Power: Concessional financial and material flows that comprise the bulk of “hard power” economic and security engagement with development partners. These resources include ODA or “ODA-like” financial flows from a donor country to a recipient. In addition, other investments, export credits, and security development are included in the material arm of development power.

Soft Power: The use of one’s culture, values, and perceived legitimacy to shape the behaviors of partner nations. Asian development powers impart ideational influence through the promotion of cultural assets, training and capacity building, and media

engagement in African states. These soft power mechanisms leverage engagement at governmental, societal, and individual levels within the African development space.

Part 2: Literature Review

Building from the contextual framework, this section reviews prominent literature on established ODA institutions and China, India, and Japan's development engagement with Africa. I consider the realist narratives that have been applied to emerging Asia-Africa development engagement, especially in the assessment of China's rise. Current discourses on Chinese, Japanese, and Indian development narratives illuminate the limitations of adopting the prominently Western realist lens of great power competition in framing Asia-Africa development engagement. The gap in social sciences in the comparative analysis of Asian Lions and their unique development paradigms in Africa becomes clear and is addressed in this work.

OECD-DAC and Established Aid Norms

The international aid architecture is comprised of a complex array of actors including government donors, non-governmental organizations, private foundations, and other financing mechanisms that provide aid to developing countries (Mawdsley 2012). Within this context, the OECD-DAC has been the dominant player in defining the norms and rules that regulate foreign aid practices. Chapter 2 will provide an in-depth examination of these established norms, principles, and donor relationships; however, a brief overview of the discourse about the DAC in relation to non-Western and non-DAC donors frames the narratives on China, Japan, and India in Africa discussed in the section below.

As detailed in the next Chapter, the OECD-DAC is an exclusive club of industrialized donors. In the latter half of the 20th century, North American and European powers have dominated the debates on aid principles through the definition of rules, norms, and quality standards (with Japan and, more recently, South Korea as the only Asia representatives) (Kim & Lightfoot 2011; Sørensen 2010). The case of Japan (and later Korea) highlights the tensions associated with non-Western donors. Even within the DAC, as Japan became a major economic power in the 1970s and 1980s it became a target for criticism regarding norms adherence as highlighted through the OECD-DAC peer review process. Despite Japan's long history in the DAC, analysts emphasize that

it does not fit neatly into Western constructs for aid (Arase 2005; Leheny & Warren 2010). Japan's complex aid administration and the relationship of ODA to commercial and foreign policy interests (Arase 1995; Rix 1980), drew reproach from Western donors regarding the "quality" of Japan's aid. As explored in the following chapters Japan's aid bureaucracy and ODA policies have evolved over time, however, the core elements of its philosophy based on self-help, ownership, and partnership continue to distinguish its brand of development cooperation. While Japan has achieved contemporary endorsement, Kim (2011) highlights that the criticism of emerging non-DAC donors, China and India, closely mirrors Japan's reproach by Western donors.

The rise of non-DAC donors, especially China and India, has aroused debates regarding their impact and role in complicating the foreign aid architecture (Kim & Lightfoot 2011; Mawdsley, Savage & Kim 2014). On one hand, analysts highlight the inefficiencies of outdated DAC institutions (Brautigam 2009, 2010) and the failure of the Washington Consensus and the poverty-reduction agenda (Glennie 2010; Moyo 2009). In particular, Brautigam is vocal in noting the uneven adherence to anti-corruption and good governance conventions even among the OECD-DAC's own members and institutions (2010: 14-6). Her work emphasizes the inefficiencies, high costs, and excessive timelines of 'traditional' donors' in the provision of aid to poor nations (Brautigam 2009, 2011a). Additionally, the World Bank (2005) commissioned a review of conditionality in response to the growing body of literature criticizing the failures of structural adjustment aid policies. In this vein, scholars have underscored the apparent hypocrisy in Bretton Woods funding institutions (Kentikelenis, Stubbs & King 2016) and argued the role of new donors and Asian lending institutions in forcing a reform of conditionality (Hernandez 2017). Accordingly, a body of scholars posit that emerging donors offer new opportunities and increased choice for developing nations in an increasingly complex aid "landscape" (Brautigam 2009; Kim & Lightfoot 2011; Mawdsley, Savage & Kim 2014; Stallings & Kim 2017).

On the reverse side of the argument, DAC powers have been vocal in their criticism of non-DAC donors. Paulo and Reisen (2010) outline the major criticisms targeted at non-DAC donors as concerns about aid fragmentation, unfair competition, corruption, a scramble for resources, and abuse of debt relief. Western accusations of

“Rogue Aid,” “Debt-Trap Diplomacy,” and Neo-Imperialism are among the most extreme, assessing the toxicity of Asian powers in pillaging African resources and undermining African development for strategic and military gains (Brautigam 2019; Lee 2006; Naim 2009). Other scholars remain ambivalent toward new donors, theorizing on a “post-aid world” and international development “battlefield” where fundamental theories are being contested (Esteves & Assunção 2016; Mawdsley, Savage & Kim 2014). These debates will be carried through the following sections with a careful analysis of the literature pertaining to China, Japan, and India’s Africa engagement.

China-Africa

The discourse surrounding China-Africa engagement outweighs, somewhat unfairly, that regarding Japan-Africa and India-Africa. Some scholars connect this fascination with the China-Africa relationship to its stunning trajectory and scale of growth over the last decade (Adem 2013a: 90-2). Others postulate that this stems from China’s role in weakening the grip of traditional hegemonic Western powers on the African continent (Ampiah & Naidu 2008). Furthermore, investment and security comparisons overshadow analysis on the influence of Chinese development narratives and soft power in Sino-African development partnerships. Recognizing the preponderance of media and academic interest focused on China-Africa, this thesis addresses the need for a rigorous comparative analysis of Chinese, Japanese, and Indian development paradigms in Africa². In reviewing the literature on China-Africa development relations, it can be grouped into three thematic categories: aid data analysis; discussions of the “Chinese threat;” and evaluations of Chinese “aid” as a geopolitical tool.

Deborah Brautigam, one of the prominent scholars in China-Africa relations, leads a respected research program at the John Hopkins SAIS China-Africa Research Institute (SAIS-CARI). Her work presents a pragmatic approach to assessing Beijing’s engagement with Africa, founded on a rigorous data-based assessment. Brautigam’s treatises, including *The Dragon’s Gift* (2009) and *Will Africa Feed China* (2015), are

² A few notable works that have begun to address this gap include Cheru and Obi’s anthology (2010) *The Rise of China and India in Africa* and Alden and Sidiropoulos’ “Silk, Cinnamon and Cotton” comparing China, India, and Indonesia. Also, see comparisons of Japanese and Chinese aid in Africa by Furuoka (2017) and Hirono (2019), and work by this author comparing China, Japan, India, and Korea in “Asian Powers in Africa” (Morreale 2018).

recognized as seminal works in the China-Africa research community. Brautigam advances the argument that an objective assessment of Chinese aid volume and investment can enable African states and established donors to effectively engage China. She consistently dispels common myths of the “Rogue Aid” narrative, including accusations of the import of Chinese convict labor, Chinese resource grabs, support for rogue regimes, and debt coercion (Brautigam 2011b, 2015, 2019). Beyond a black and white image of a moral-West versus an unprincipled-China, Brautigam’s work introduces a more complex image of Chinese development engagement; one which she claims is fundamentally driven by commercial interests in line with the “win-win” approach. Brautigam places the onus on African states and regional organizations to negotiate beneficial terms and enforce local laws as the brokers of their citizens. Ultimately, she assesses Beijing as a pragmatic development partner and encourages increased engagement with Chinese development initiatives to maximize the benefits for all parties – Asia, Africa, and the West.

Several China-Africa researchers have focused on the task of quantifying Chinese “aid” and engagement with Africa, including SAIS-CARI (2019), AidData (Dreher et al. 2017), and Kitano (2016, 2018). SAIS-CARI (2019) reviews Chinese loans, Sino-African trade, investment, contracts, labor composition, and aid. Its more conservative estimates of total Chinese ODA to Africa align with Brautigam’s assertions that Western analysts are over-estimating Chinese development programs leading to alarmist or sensationalized political narratives that fail to properly characterize the relationship. AidData (Dreher et al. 2017) has compiled a detailed database to map China’s global development footprint. Using “project-level” data analysis, AidData provides an estimate of ODA-like, OOF-like, and “Vague Official Finance” over a fifteen-year period from 2000 to 2014. AidData’s project database supports an in-depth analysis of regional and sectoral focus for China’s ODA-like financing. Kitano (2016, 2018) quantifies Chinese net and gross disbursements of foreign aid from 2001 to 2016. This thorough analysis provides estimates of volumes of Chinese grants, concessional loans, and preferential buyers credits³. Other researchers have analyzed the sectoral distribution of Chinese overseas

³ Preferential export buyer’s credits do not adhere to OECD-DAC definitions of ODA but are provided as a point of reference as some emerging donors or recipient countries consider these “aid.”

direct investment (Chen, Dollar & Tang 2015; Dollar 2016) and local workforce integration in Chinese firms across the African continent (Sun, Jayaram & Kassiri 2017). As detailed in Chapter 4, the Chinese government does not report annual ODA and development assistance figures. Therefore, SAIS-CARI, AidData, and Kitano's estimations are critical in comparing Chinese material development engagement with ODA and Other Official Flows (OOF) from Japan and other DAC members. The Sino-Africa scholarship in this first category of aid data analysis provides a contextualized image of Chinese investments and the foundation for realist or constructivist analyses.

A second body of work grapples with the "character" of China's aid and engagement with Africa. Adem characterizes *Sino-Optimist*, *Sino-Pessimist*, and *Sino-Pragmatist* perspectives as socially constructed interpretations of often contradictory and uneven Chinese engagement in a diverse African setting (Adem 2013a). The *Sino-optimist* perspective celebrates China's engagement with Africa as a pathway to much needed development, citing advances in infrastructure development, energy generation, and regional integration (Olopade 2014; van Staden 2018). African and Chinese scholarship trends toward Adem's Sino-Optimist perspective (Adem 2013a). In contrast, the *pessimist perspective* charges China with "looting" the African continent in a ravenous scramble for resources and raw materials to the benefit of rogue regimes (Andersson 2008; Carmody 2017; Lee 2006). Western (and some African) media discourse about China-Africa engagement falls heavily into this category, often resorting to colonial metaphors to explain Beijing's growing interest in the continent (Economist 2008a; Naim 2009). Howard French's (2014) work *China's Second Continent*, exemplifies the neo-colonial narrative in examining Chinese migrants' role in building a new kind of "empire" in Africa. French uses anecdotal evidence to generalize characteristics of racism, exploitation, and corruption among Chinese migrants who, he claims, are strategic cogs in expanding African dependencies and Chinese influence. Shinn and Eisenman (2012) provide a comprehensive overview of China's engagement with Africa over the last century. Their analysis purports that China offers African states an alternative to dependence on the US and other established DAC donors (i.e., gains for Africa are losses for DAC donors). A subset of the Sino-pessimist narrative focuses on a "collision of interests between the US and an emerging, powerful China" (Tammen & Kugler 2006).

Western realists assess the rise of a Chinese engagement as threatening and displacing the US's role in the international order (i.e., gains for China are losses for the US). Graham Allison's (2017) "Thucydides Trap" has become a pervasive realist lens among Western scholars and policymakers in the assessment of the existential threat of Beijing's rise and the displacement of the US in Africa and the global order. Allison argues that emerging powers that achieve great power status inevitably march toward conflict with the reigning power as material capabilities shift in favor of the rising power. The evolution of the US National Security Strategy (NSS) from 2015 to 2017 demonstrates the primacy of the Sino-pessimist narrative. In 2015, China was designated as a strategic competitor that must be carefully managed, but by 2017 the NSS characterized China as a revisionist threat challenging "American power, influence, and interests, attempting to erode American security and prosperity" (Obama 2015: 24; Trump 2017: 2, 25). Consequently, realist characterizations of the "Chinese threat" are couched in the language of an intensifying security dilemma that is "undermining" the status quo or taking an "offensive" on the Liberal International Order with Beijing characterized as a "cheater," "unprincipled," or "predatory" actor in Africa (Trump 2017). In announcing the New Africa Policy, former US National Security Advisor John Bolton stated that China "holds states in Africa captive to Beijing's wishes and demands" through the use of "predatory actions...with the ultimate goal of advancing Chinese global dominance" (Bolton 2018). These assessments frame China-Africa relations as a liability to the established global order in a zero-sum realist calculation.

However, *Sino-pragmatists* challenge realist assumptions and the use of zero-sum frameworks in assessing contemporary China-Africa and Asia-Africa relations. Fernando (2014) argues that an analysis of FOCAC initiatives and security engagement reveals that China encourages development within the framework of established international systems and often in cooperation with established global powers, such as the US. He contends that a non-zero-sum framework must be considered to effectively characterize the extent of US-Sino collaboration in Africa and the additive gains made by established and emerging donors and their African recipients. Brautigam points out Western misinterpretations of development investment and the tendency to apply simplistic historical narratives to modern engagement (Brautigam 2009, 2011b; Hwang, Brautigam

& Eom 2016). In the highly interconnected Indo-Pacific region, proponents of power transition theory fail to capture the essence of the development partnerships and oversimplify diverse Asian and African relationships. As scholar David Kang noted, “Eurocentric ideas have yielded several mistaken conclusions and predictions about conflict and alignment behavior in Asia” (Kang 2003: 58). Indeed, power transition theory inaccurately predicted an impending conflict between the US and Japan in the post-WWII era and an arms race in Asia in the post-Cold War period. In 2010, when China overtook Japan in terms of military and economic might, the transition was uneventful, despite a myriad of potential flashpoints. Furthermore, the growing involvement of emerging powers, China and India, in the US-led world order, through international institutions like the UN and World Trade Organization (WTO), serves as a deterrent for conflict. Importantly, this thesis will argue that the development narratives advanced by China, India, and Japan in Africa are instruments of ontological power that leverage non-Western cultural values and challenge the assumption of a zero-sum game.

Another body of literature considers the geopolitical implications of China’s rise in development outreach and the role of the BRI as a “grand strategy.” Suspicion about the so-called “Beijing Consensus”⁴ (Beeson & Li 2015; Kennedy 2010) has been largely replaced with concerns about Beijing’s high-profile mega-infrastructure projects and their obscure objectives (Hajari 2018; Myxter-lino 2019). Howard French’s work, *Everything under the Heavens* (2017), provides an account of Chinese dynastic history as a way to frame China’s aspirations as a contemporary “Middle Kingdom” that imitates the past. He argues that the ancient tributary system is being replicated in the modern era by creating dependencies between China and smaller neighboring states along the BRI.

As is evident in this literature review, a false dichotomy often emerges in China-Africa assessments, with Beijing and the established DAC powers being at odds. In the case of both China and Africa, it is critical to avoid the dangerous mistake of

⁴ The Beijing Consensus was popularized as a notional Chinese development “model” to contrast with the Washington Consensus and the neo-liberal agenda. Discussion of the Beijing Consensus has been largely supplanted by the focus on the BRI. While the “Beijing Consensus” was not endorsed in the Chinese political arena, the BRI is championed by President Xi Jinping, lending it greater legitimacy and supplanting the “Consensus.” For more discussion on the Beijing consensus see: Beeson, M. and Li, F. (2015) or Kennedy, S. (2010).

generalization. There are many “faces” to Chinese engagement in Africa, and Africa itself is a complicated and diverse continent (Xu 2013). While data-driven analysis of China’s aid provides a more pragmatic assessment of the Sino-African relationship, assessments grounded in realist theories and Western perceptions of power often obscure the nature of the China-Africa relationship, which is better understood in the context of other Asian donors. This thesis aims to address this gap in comparative Asian-African studies by adopting a synthesis of realist and constructivist frameworks, as previously discussed.

Japan-Africa

Japan’s ODA program, encompassing economic cooperation (*keizai kyouryoku*), technical cooperation, and government assistance, was born in the post-WWII era (Rix 1980: 24). Since then, Japan’s emergence as the largest ODA donor within the OECD-DAC in 1989 captured global attention and raised speculation about Japan’s global leadership ambitions and its characteristics as an aid power (Rix 1989, 1993). Japan’s aid has been studied in detail from various perspectives including analysis of the aid administration (Rix 1980: 93), the relationship of aid policy to bureaucratic economic and commercial interests (Arase 1995), and Japan’s aid in the context of the United States (Miyashita 1999; Orr 1990). More recent analyses explore Japan’s bilateral aid with specific countries or regions (Adem 2013b; Asplund & Soderberg 2016; Cornelissen 2016; Lehman 2010; Sato 2010) and the trajectory of Japan’s ODA policy and institutional reform (Arase 2005; Jain 2016b; Kato, Page & Shimomura 2016).

In his book, *Japan’s Aid Challenges*, Rix (1993) analyzed Japan’s ODA philosophy and outlined domestic and international criticisms of the quality and effectiveness of its foreign aid. He concluded that Japan faced many challenges to realizing aid leadership but that “Japan’s place in the future international order is closely tied to how successful it can be in its contribution to crafting international approaches to problems of global poverty and development” (Rix 1993: 196). This innovation began in 1993 with Japan’s establishment of TICAD, marking a new global development posture and relationship with African states. As we review the Japan-Africa relationship, Sato’s outline of the five distinct periods of aid relations is valuable in showing the historical evolution of aid characteristics, geographical focus, and policy (Sato 2010).

	Period	Features of Japan-Africa Aid Policy	Features of Japan-Africa relationship
Phase 1	1954 - 1972	Asian focus Formulation of aid characteristics	Asian resentment toward Japan Development of 'self-help' principles Recipient of large World Bank financial assistance
Phase 2	1973 - 1980	Aid expansion for economic security	Priority on building friendly relations Cultivation of African support for Japan in the UN
Phase 3	1981 - 1988	Rapid aid growth Multilateral aid coordination	Global economic power International pressure to increase aid in Africa Consciousness of African issues grows in civil society
Phase 4	1989 - 2000	International Top Donor Status ODA Charter (1992) TICAD Summit established (1993)	Commanding international presence Deepening political commitment to Africa First deployment of SDF troops to UN PKO in Africa
Phase 5	2001 - 2007	Policy transition ODA Budget cuts and fiscal constraints MOFA reform New ODA Charter adopted (2003)	Integration of peacebuilding and ODA Cooperation with donors and African recipients Emphasis on AU and NEPAD partnerships Request-based aid replaced by "strategic" ODA

Table 1: Five phases of Japan-Africa aid policy and features of the Japan-Africa relationship, compiled by the author from Sato's (2010) analysis.

As outlined in Table 1, Sato's analysis charts the long-term interests that defined Japan's aid policy in Africa. Sato built on Rix's analysis and utilized Calder's 'reactive state' thesis to assert that Japan's reactivity to established donors and other "third parties" led to a failure in implementing its own development philosophy and hindered Tokyo's ability to garner international legitimacy (Sato 2010: 82-4). Building upon Sato's five phases, Endo (2013) highlights changing strategic priorities in Japan's contemporary foreign policy stance toward Africa. Endo echoes Miyashita's (1999) analysis, highlighting "a diplomatic strategy shaped more by certain politically influenced decisions" and arguing that Japan-African relations have developed along a "principled" trajectory (2013: 11). Endo's examination of Tokyo's policy evolution with respect to Africa points toward a new era of principle-led engagement marking Japan's transcendence of the reactive state and departure from Sato's five phases.

An important theme that arises from Sato and Endo's analyses is the role of the "trilateral" or "triangle relationship" between Japan, established donors, and emerging donors. Sato holds a pessimistic assessment of the triangular relationship as an indication

of Japan's acquiescence to Western interests over Japanese ODA philosophy in African engagement policy (Sato 2010: 83-4). However, this triangular relationship between established donors and developing nations has gained growing attention as an enduring aspect of Japan's efforts to bridge Asia and Africa (Honda, Kato & Shimoda 2013). As detailed in this thesis, the rise of emerging South-South donors has magnified the strategic importance of Japan's "triangular cooperation" in defining a new mode of development power. McEwan and Mawdsley (2012) point to the need for a critical assessment of trilateral development cooperation and the role of DAC members and so-called "pivotal partners" in shaping the politics and ideologies of development. Tokyo's leadership of trilateral cooperation, explored in depth in the following chapters, reveals a core-strength of the Japanese development narrative and a characteristic of the next phase of Japan-Africa engagement.

In evaluating TICAD, the Japan-Africa forum, Horiuchi makes the case that the forum introduced a "framework" for development by providing development strategies, advancing institutional capacity building, and creating conditions for formulating alternative rules suited to changing African conditions (Horiuchi 2005). Cornelissen's work also traces contemporary Japan-Africa relations through the TICAD process, arguing that Japan's uniqueness as a donor is amplified in the African context. Cornelissen asserts that TICAD's centrality in Japan's foreign policy approach in Africa allows Tokyo to moderate between DAC norms and "aid proactivism" (Cornelissen 2016: 150). She asserts that TICAD, a) Raised Japan's prominence in the African region and the international community, b) Differentiated Japan's unique donor philosophy and ODA particularities from other DAC donors, and, c) Became a model for engagement by emerging Asian donors such as China, India, and Korea. On the other hand, Raposo's (2014) evaluation of the TICAD process highlights Japan's challenging position in balancing the influence of DAC donors with the emerging Chinese presence in Africa. Raposo discusses the role of new Asia-Africa fora, such as FOCAC, Korea-Africa Forum, and IAFS, in contesting TICAD and Japan's uniqueness as an African partner (Raposo 2014: 111-122). A push and pull between Japan's ODA philosophy and DAC norms becomes evident in the literature.

Exploring this push and pull, Jain postulates on Japan's emergence as an influential ODA power through the careful adjudication of domestic and international demands (Jain 2016a). Jain's analysis highlights Japan's skill at accommodating OECD-DAC aid norms while maintaining its unique ODA philosophy. Jain argues that Japan's aid program and its role in African development has been influential in an era of shifting OECD-DAC norms and aid principles. Japan's role in nuancing the dominant Western models within the OECD-DAC is just one facet of Tokyo's development leadership. As Jain asserts, development engagement has become "a valuable and complex source of soft power for Japan and a key instrument of Japan's foreign policy objectives" (Jain 2016a: 109). Building from this literature, this thesis elaborates the newest phase of Japan-Africa relations (2008 to 2019) and Japan's unique brand of development cooperation demonstrated through TICAD.

India-Africa

In contrast to Japan and China, India's development engagement with Africa has remained largely in the shadows. India's deliberate transition from aid recipient to donor in the early 2000s and designation as a 'donor power' is relatively new (Taylor 2016: 102). This transition was accompanied by India's institutionalization of multilateral coordination structures with African states, such as IAFS (India-Africa Forum Summit), IORA (Indian Ocean Rim Association), and IONS (Indian Ocean Naval Symposium), drawing new attention to the India-Africa development relationship.

India's engagement with Africa is often assessed pragmatically as an economic and security necessity (Bhattacharya 2010; Michael 2014; Taylor 2012). New Delhi's development narrative has been largely discounted for a variety of reasons. For instance, India's domestic development conditions and restricted material capacity have cast doubt on the realization of soft-power gains through development engagement (Aneja & Ngangom 2016). Furthermore, the tendency to group India with "emerging donors" or "Asian drivers," often as a footnote to larger players like China, has obscured its unique development narrative (Woods 2008). As Dubey and Biswas conclude in their analysis of the India-Africa partnership, "The economic unfolding of a large section of what was traditionally the 'developing' world has greatly increased competition... India appears to

be shadowed in spite of the special charm provided by its historical relations and traditional goodwill” (Dubey & Biswas 2016: 146). However, postured at the threshold of a ‘miracle growth,’ India’s development narrative is gaining increasing attention from African states as a “softer Indian way” (Michael 2014; Narlikar 2010: 480). Literature about New Delhi’s emergence as a donor power typically falls in one of two categories - India as a challenger to a rising China or India as a reluctant partner to established Western powers. Thus, current analyses of the “Indian way” are largely focused on India’s role with respect to dominant *Western* and *Chinese* narratives.

India’s emergence as a donor power has raised questions about New Delhi’s aspirations for major power status and the implications for the global order. However, in contrast to discourse about the China threat, scholarship about India’s rise often focuses on its prospects of augmenting a US-led liberal international order (Perkovich 2003; Wang 2015). India’s history of ideological non-alignment with major powers and current narrative of ‘strategic autonomy’ leads analysts to ask if India would be a revisionist or conformist power. For example, Narlikar measures New Delhi’s negotiation strategy, leadership, and ideals to determine if India’s engagement in Africa is compatible with Western development norms (Narlikar 2010). He concludes that while Africa will play an increasingly important role in New Delhi’s foreign policy, India will neither conform to Western standards nor upset the liberal international order. This somewhat ambiguous conclusion is founded on the assertion that India’s development engagement with Africa is “less well defined than the Chinese challenge” (Narlikar 2010: 462). Despite India’s historical linkages to Africa and attractiveness as a partner, an overriding theme emerges; that India’s domestic challenges, budding aid institutions, and lack of accountability hamper its pursuit of major power status or potency as a US partner.

A second prominent discourse argues that the development of pragmatic economic and security tools in India’s African engagement is driven in large part by growing competition with a rising China (Cheru & Obi 2010). Especially in Africa, India’s new identity as a donor nation and aspiring global power is assessed vis-a-vis China’s

rise, the more prominent Asian “BRICS⁵” power. Dubey and Biwas’ anthology traces India’s foreign policy evolution from ideological and political roots in the post-independence era to a pragmatic contemporary relationship as a “competitor” in Africa (Dubey 2016; Dubey & Biswas 2016: 4). Analyses concentrate on the perceived Chinese threat in India’s historical sphere of influence in the Indian Ocean and littoral states. For example, Singh (2015a: 297) raises alarm at Beijing’s modern economic and security engagement, postulating that “a sustained maritime presence in the Indian Ocean Region will not only allow Beijing to strategically dominate the region, it will also take the regional security initiative away from India.” Singh points to China’s global trade ambitions, such as the Belt and Road Initiative, as an effort to encircle and subjugate Indian dominance in its near neighborhood. Foreign policy shifts under Prime Minister Modi’s administration support this assessment (Prमित Pal 2016). Accordingly, Sinha (2010: 77) argues that “India’s apparent competition with China in Africa is also largely responsible for the dramatic shift in India’s development cooperation strategy towards the [African] continent.” Naidu (2010) echoes this sentiment, assessing that India’s increasing investment and multilateral engagements with Africa are a response to the growing omnipresence of China in the region. As Naidu highlights, “attempts to contain the ‘China Challenge’ overlook the fact that new competition in Africa is being set in motion between China and India on the one hand and, more significantly, between emerging Asian rivals on the other hand.” (Naidu 2010: 48-49). Africa increasingly comes to signify an arena where India must either confront an ever-stronger China or submit to existing in China’s shadow. Thus, the theme of China overshadowing India in Africa has often obscured the emerging India-Africa paradigm.

The simplistic narratives of (a) India vs. China vs. “the West” or (b) India as a pawn to contain China, overlook India’s role as an emerging disruptive South-South development leader in its own right. A heavy focus on material power comparisons between China, India, and the US have resulted in a gap in characterizing the ontological and soft power influence of India’s socio-cultural linkages and development narrative in

⁵ BRIC was coined by Goldman Sacks in a 2001 publication *Building Better Global Economic BRICs*, categorizing Brazil, Russia, India, and China as fast-growing economies with significant influence on regional and global affairs. In 2010, South Africa was added to the grouping, which is commonly known as BRICS.

Africa. Ian Taylor's (2012) analysis sheds light on the changing nature of the Indo-Africa relationship that accompanies India's emergence and aspirations for major power status. Taylor finds that New Delhi has the potential to develop areas of strategic strength (leveraging a history of Indo-Africa ideological alignment, technical cooperation, and private sector ties) rather than competing head-to-head with Chinese investment. Beyond material competition, Taylor emphasizes that "capacity building projects and other technical assistance may help legitimize India's self-identification as a "partner" advancing the principles of South-South fraternity" (Taylor 2016: 101). Taylor argues that India, as an alternative to Western and Chinese donors, has opened up a space to rethink development policy in Africa (ibid, 103). Similarly, Michael (2014) assesses that the development of new policies, institutional structures, and inter-regional development initiatives posture New Delhi as a game changer in 21st century sub-Saharan Africa. Michael conjectures that trade and economic diplomacy, deepening political and military cooperation, and ambitious Pan-Africa initiatives account for a "special Indian way" of brokering African relations. Most interestingly, Michael asserts that India's unique engagement paradigms are shaping new norms making New Delhi a 'role model' for both Beijing and established powers and institutions (2014: 353-4).

Mawdsley and McCann's (2010) work begins to scratch at the surface of the deeper ontological implications of India's development narrative. These authors expose the strategic and diplomatic benefits that New Delhi has derived from its lower profile in African development engagement. Dubey also assesses the emerging "Indian way" of engagement as purposefully crafted to maintain a "non-exploitative, non-dominating image" that distinguishes New Delhi from other external actors (Dubey 2016: 35-6). Mawdsley and McCann argue that India is a significant player in shifting geographies of power in "a new phase of 'South-South' engagement" (2010: 89). Chacko's works, discussed in detail in Part 1, highlight the role of India's perceptions of civilizational exceptionalism and moral leadership as drivers for emerging inter-state relationships (Chacko 2014, 2016).

Shedding light on India's 'overlooked' engagement with Africa reinforces the need for a deeper analysis of India's development narrative and ontologies as a source of power. India's growth as a South-South donor warrants a rigorous assessment of New

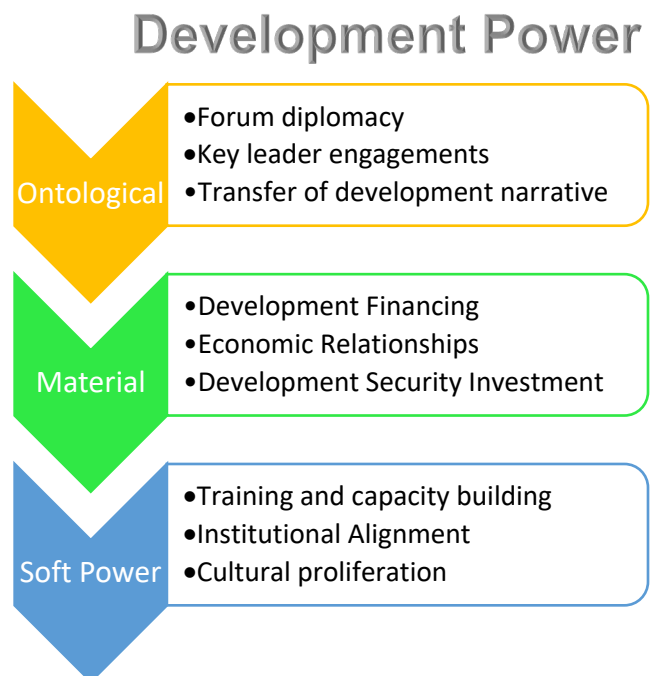
Delhi's development leadership in Africa, not only as a counterpoint to China's rise in Africa, but also as a development paradigm in itself. India's brand of ontological power in African development engagement must be brought out of the shadows.

Part 3: Setting the Stage

This thesis compares the characteristics of Japan, China, and India's development engagement in Africa and how their approach has disrupted established OECD-DAC paradigms. Insight into the deployment of ontological power by Asian donors reveals the role of their history, values, and world-view in shaping emerging regional constructs. This section defines the key terminology, scope, and methodology used in this comparative analysis.

Development engagement defines the various modes of inter-state engagement pursued for the purpose of accelerating national growth. In the 20th century, "aid" became a primary interlocutor of development relationships between donor powers and recipient states. The OECD-DAC defines state-led aid as "official development assistance" (ODA) to quantify resource flows and assess aid performance by member states. The OECD provides clear definitions for ODA as contributions provided by official agencies that are concessional in nature (including a grant element of at least 25%) and administered with the objective of economic development and welfare of developing countries. Official financial flows that do not meet the ODA criteria, or are primarily export facilitating, are defined as "other official flows" (OOF) and can include, among other things, loans with grant elements less than 25% and export credits. Emerging donors resist the use of the terms "aid," "donor," or "recipient" in favor of "investment," "partnerships," and "mutual benefit." Thus, rather than aid, *development cooperation* or *mutually-beneficial engagement* are terms used to distinguish Asia-Africa development relations.

Asian powers' development engagement with African states will be analyzed in terms of ontological, material, and soft power. This thesis uses the term "development power" to characterize the



totality of these development tools. Development power is defined as the ability of a state to impart influence on development partners. A variety of cooperative, investment, and soft power mechanisms comprise a multidimensional form of development engagement.

Geographic Scope

A region is a politically constructed entity that is often contested and mutable (Katzenstein 2005). The Indo-Pacific concept, an emerging regional construct that links the Indian Ocean and Pacific Ocean, was first popularized by Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo's 2007 address to India's parliament (Abe 2007). Marking a change from the 20th century political geography, this new construct is often associated with the US reorientation toward Asia with a strategic focus on China, and increased partnership with Japan, India, and Australia (Chacko 2016; Jain & Horimoto 2016). Drawing together a strategic sphere that captures the important linkages between the Indian Ocean and the Asia Pacific, this regional re-imagination has both geopolitical and sociocultural implications.

The "Indo-Pacific" denotes both a geographic region and strategic concept. For the US, the "Indo-Pacific *Strategy*" has gained traction as a means to enhancing the robustness of US allies and partners in response to a rising China (US-DOD 2019b). The narrative of a "Free and Open Indo-Pacific" advanced by the US, Japan, Australia, and to a lesser degree India, is perceived as a strategic counterbalance to China's influence in the region. The US Indo-Pacific Strategy and the implication of "great power competition" has drawn criticism from Beijing and ambivalence from New Delhi and Southeast-Asian states (ASEAN 2019; Modi 2018b; Pan 2016).

However, the Indo-Pacific geographical *region* has value for various Asian stakeholders, especially in conjuring historical linkages between societies and cultures. The much anticipated publication of the "ASEAN Outlook on the Indo-Pacific" in June 2019 affirmed the growing consensus on the new region as an enduring construct (ASEAN 2019). Some argue that China is the "quintessential Indo-Pacific power" with the extensive reach of its trade relationships, investment activities in Africa, and expeditionary naval presence in the Indian Ocean (Medcalf 2016: 12-13).

The Indo-Pacific regional construct reinforces Beijing's development vision by legitimizing claims of connectivity and shared socio-cultural ties that span from Asia to the Middle East and East Africa. Most importantly, Beijing's cornerstone initiative, the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), is built upon cultural ties and connectivity across the Pacific and Indian Ocean regions, tracing the maritime route of the ancient "silk road." Thus, while the PRC opposes the Indo-Pacific as a *strategic* construct, the *regional* concept gives merit to Beijing's claims of historic linkages and aims to "build a community of shared future" (Xi 2017c). For Japan and India, the Indo-Pacific region extends across the entire Indian Ocean to include African states. Japan's Indo-Pacific concept is linked to its multi-decadal effort to build Afro-Asian linkages. Its championship of FOIP places Tokyo at a focal point between emerging and established global powers. Similarly, India's Project Mausam is founded on the same concept of inter-civilizational links between the South Asian subcontinent and the African continent that pre-date Western influence. India's Indo-Pacific concept is a cooperative and democratic rules-based order that differs from the US in its geography and emphasis on inclusivity (including China). Therefore, I will differentiate between the Indo-Pacific *region*, which has application to all three Asian development powers, and the Indo-Pacific *strategy*, which entails a strategic grouping of like-minded states led by the US and Japan.

Japan, China, and India are major drivers of development in the late 20th and early 21st century. This study's focus on development engagement in Africa allows a comparison of China, India, and Japan's development initiatives beyond their primary neighborhood. African states are geographically removed from the complex historical issues, regional dynamics, and territorial disputes that shape China, India, and Japan's inter-state relations in their near neighborhoods. Just as there is not one "Asia" there is not one "Africa." Africa consists of 54 countries with diverse modes of governance, uneven economic integration, and varying levels of development offering a space for experimentation with innovative initiatives. As Asian foreign aid programs have expanded, African engagement has become a focal point, attracting the majority of Japan, China, and India's development financing outside of Asia (Figure 1).

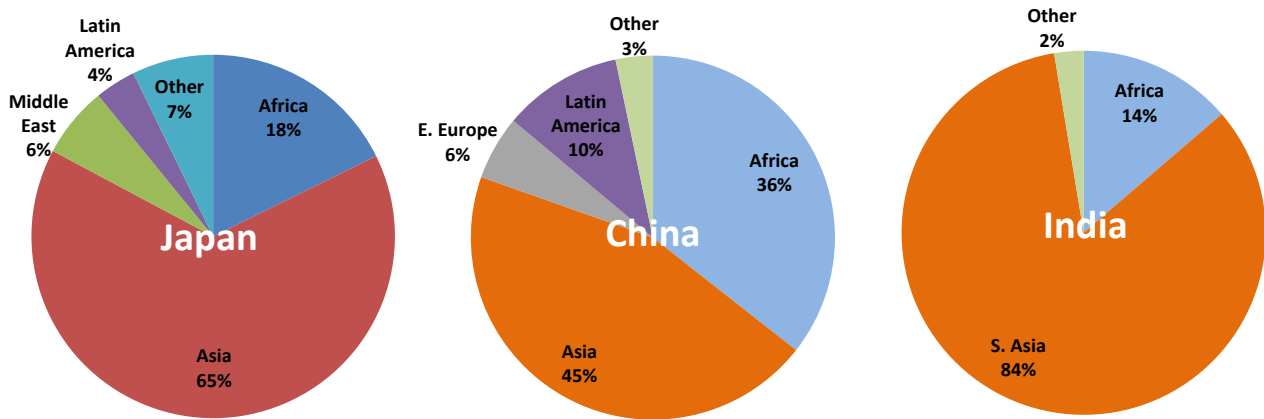


Figure 1: Japan (left), China (center), and India's (right) 2015 regional development assistance distribution. Compiled by author from: OECD DAC online database – Gross ODA disbursements (2019). China Statistical Yearbook (2016). MEA reports and Lines of Credit (LOC) statistics, India's EXIM Bank (2020). (EXIM-India 2020; MEA 2017; OECD 2019; PRC 2016)

Development engagement in Africa represents a deliberate extra-regional effort on the part of Asian nations to define themselves as global development powers and exhibit distinct paradigms. By connecting the Asian and African continents, the Indo-Pacific region becomes a dynamic development frontier where material, soft, and ideational influence is at play. Japan, China, and India have all proposed development architectures that span the Indo-Pacific region. Chinese, Japanese, and Indian narratives, tailored and universalized for the African context, offer a comparative case study of each nation's development paradigm in action within the international arena.

Time Period of Study

This thesis will focus on the contemporary Asia-Africa partnerships and development paradigm demonstrated during the twelve-year period between 2008 and 2019. The period of study is prior to the COVID-19 pandemic. As a result of the pandemic, China, India, and Japan's development cooperation with the African continent has evolved. Access to data over the next decade will provide indications of the short and long-term implications of COVID-19 on Asian development narratives and Asia-Africa partnerships. While some references to new trends will be mentioned

in the upcoming chapters, discussion about the impacts of COVID-19 on the future trajectory of the Asia-Africa relationship will be primarily addressed in the conclusion.

China and India's relationship with African states is not new⁶, but their transition from primarily trade relations to development-centered relationships (with Asian states as major donor powers) has accelerated in the late 20th and early 21st centuries. Similarly, Japan's ODA relationship with Africa has blossomed over the last several decades with the diversification of its global ODA portfolio beyond Asia.

The establishment of Asia-Africa forums marks an inflection point in development relations. Established in 1993, TICAD was the first Asian-African summit of its kind, allowing Japan to convey its national identity and development philosophy directly to development partners in Africa. Emerging powers, China and India followed Japan's lead and established the Forum on China-Africa Cooperation (FOCAC) and the Indian African Forum Summit (IAFS) in 2000 and 2008, respectively.

Over this decade, Asia-Africa engagement has grown dramatically. The success of the 2008 Beijing Olympic games exhibited China's development achievements to the world and captured the attention of African nations that aspired to achieve similar prosperity. 2008 also marked the launch of Japan's "New JICA"⁷ which became the world's largest bilateral aid organization and was a pivotal achievement in consolidating Tokyo's major aid implementing institutions (Jain 2016b: 59-60). In the same year, India hosted the first-ever IAFS, marking a new chapter of Indo-African relations.

In 2012, Xi Jinping became China's premier leader before being elected as China's president in 2013. Since then, Xi has consolidated power as the head of the communist party, the president, and the chairman of the central military commission. The trajectory of China-Africa engagement under Xi's reign and his role in architecting the BRI (originally called "One Belt One Road") have profoundly shaped the China-Africa development narratives broadcast in FOCAC.

⁶ Outside of a few exceptional examples, such as China's TANZAN railway in the 1960s, Asian South-South donor investment in African states was minor until the late 20th century.

⁷ Japan International Cooperation Agency

Japanese Prime Minister Abe Shinzo was re-elected in 2012 and is the longest serving PM, breaking a turbulent decade of political turnover. Abe's leadership of bold TICAD initiatives, championing of the Indo-Pacific concept, and 'panoramic view' of the world have re-energized Japan-Africa relations over the last decade. Abe's strong political mandate from 2012 to 2020 bolstered his proactive foreign policy and security agenda with India and Africa growing in importance for Tokyo. Chief Cabinet Secretary Yoshida Suga succeeded Abe to become Prime Minister in September 2020 and continues the agenda of his predecessor.

Indian Prime Minister Narendra Modi also boasts overwhelming political support since his election in 2014. Under his leadership, India's engagement with Africa has been promoted to a "top priority" and IAFS has been expanded to include all 54 African nations (Modi 2018a). Modi and Abe upgraded Japan and India's relationship to a "Strategic and Global Partnership" in 2014 and launched the Asia Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) in 2016, uniting each nation's development vision with African development as a central point for cooperation.

The political continuity of Xi, Abe, and Modi has enabled the refinement of strategic engagement with Africa. A comparison of contemporary African engagement highlights Japan, China, and India's maturing development paradigms and brands of global development.

Established versus South-South Donors

This study compares established Asian donors, Japan as an OECD-DAC member, with emerging South-South donors, India and China. Despite having a shared continent, Japan, China, and India each exhibit differing donor profiles. Since the foundation of the OECD-DAC in 1961, Japan largely aligned itself with the Western industrialized development powers. DAC membership has grown from 9 original members to 30 members in 2019 and remains the most significant global development organization in terms of resources and influence. Established OECD-DAC donors exhibit North-South development paradigms characterized by vertical donor-recipient relationships, prescriptive structural reform requirements, poverty reduction initiatives, and the promotion of democracy and human rights as the basis for development, as elaborated

in Chapter 2. However, the influence of Japan's own post-war development experience and its role as an ODA-donor in East and South-East Asia has resulted in the cultivation of a uniquely Japanese development philosophy exhibited clearly on the African continent. Japan now navigates a delicate diplomatic course alongside (and sometimes in juxtaposition to) the new and increasingly important non-DAC donors, China and India. Japan's role as a broker of "triangular cooperation" builds from its long history of linking Asian and African growth efforts. For this study, Japan is considered an established donor. However, Japan's development philosophy, as exhibited on the African continent, is considered distinct from Western OECD-DAC partners. These areas of divergence are illuminated in the comparison between Japan, Chinese, and Indian paradigms.

The emergence of Asian "South-South donors" has attracted profound interest since the turn of the century. These emerging donors are not members of the DAC, are recipients of aid themselves, and identify as developing countries. As explored in Chapter 2, South-South cooperation (SSC) stems from the Bandung Conference in 1955 and entails partnership and investment activities between developing countries in the Global South. Non-DAC donors advocate for an alternative development vocabulary and revisions to the vertical North-South dependencies. Challenging the long-established development axis perpetrated by rigid donor-recipient relationships, SSC donors opt for cooperative partnerships (Esteves & Assunção 2016: 1782). As such, in place of OECD-DAC vocabularies, terms, such as "development partnership," "mutual benefit," and "win-win engagement," among others, are now part of the SSC development engagement lexicon. China and India's development philosophies are rooted in the "Five Principles of Peaceful Coexistence" (UN 1954), - respect for sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference, mutual benefit, and coexistence. The tenets of China and India's development philosophy in Africa are explored in Chapter 2.

Although other established and developing Asian nations, such as South Korea, Indonesia, and Singapore⁸, have expanded cooperation with key African partners, India

⁸ South Korea, Indonesia, Taiwan, and Singapore also engage with African states. Korea, a newly minted OECD-DAC member, has patterned its development institution, the Korean International Cooperation Agency (KOICA), after Japan's JICA. Korea's African Forum (KAF) has a limited budget and currently engages with a small subset of African nations. Similarly, Singapore engagement with Africa is currently limited to about a dozen states. While Taiwan's historical engagement with African states was widespread, engagement has

and China are the most prominent Asian South-South donors for African states, with their state-led development engagement extending to the majority of the 54 nations (rather than just a small subset of African nations). Hence, this thesis concentrates on comparing the engagement strategies of Japan, China, and India to established OECD-DAC norms and further exploring their significance and potential in shaping the future of development financing and engagement paradigms.

Methodology

This section addresses the research methodology and sources. The research method is based on comparative analysis of academic publications, databases, government documents, and official Asia-Africa forum documents pursued over the course of four years. The analysis leverages extensive research of English-language, open-source written materials for the qualitative and quantitative comparison of Japan, China, and India's engagement in Africa. As highlighted above, the scope of this research is primarily focused on Asia-Africa engagement brokered through the TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS fora. Where possible the qualitative analysis is enriched with documents from other multilateral fora, including the UN, UNDP, African Union, G20, and G7 to demonstrate the diffusion of Asian donor's narratives in regional and global institutions. The volume and diversity of sources related to China, India, Japan and African development is vast and the relationships are rapidly evolving. Discrepancies in government reporting and transparency (especially on the part of China and India) are highlighted at the outset of each chapter as necessary. Due to funding and timing constraints, this study does not include fieldwork. Future fieldwork would augment this research with valuable insight on the effectiveness of Asian donors' ontological and soft power, especially among African stakeholders. As the body of work on China, Japan, and India grows, the framework developed provides a novel mechanism to assess development power.

waned over the past 50 years due to the loss of diplomatic recognition across the continent (see Copper 2016: 141-169). Indonesia held its first ever Indonesia-Africa forum in 2018 patterned after TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS, attracting lower-level delegations from 46 African countries. The new summit built upon South-South cooperation born from the Non-alignment movement to advance new domains of economic and strategic cooperation (see <https://iaf.kemlu.go.id>).

This thesis provides a comparative analysis of the three domains of development power deployed by established and emerging Asian donor powers in Africa. Development power is assessed across the domains of ontological, material, and soft power and analyzed through the identified instruments of power and associated indicators (summarized in Figure 2). Ontological instruments include forum diplomacy, key leader engagements, and transfer of development narratives as measured by eight indicators assessed throughout Chapter 4. TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS official documents, government annual reports, and head-of-state addresses are the primary data sources referenced for ontological indicators.

Material indicators fall into two categories, economic investment and security cooperation investment detailed in Chapters 5 and 6. The economic instruments include development financing (ODA and ODA-like financing, OOF and OOF-like), quality of financing, and broader economic relationships. “ODA-like” financing denotes official financial flows from emerging donors, China and India, comparable in concessionality and intent to OECD-DAC criteria for ODA. “OOF-like” signifies projects and financing that fall outside of the ODA standards and align with OECD-DAC definitions of OOF (Bluhm et al. 2018: 8). OECD-DAC statistical databases and the aid data scholarship detailed in Part 1, are the sources of quantitative comparisons of Japan, China, and India’s concessional and non-concessional development investments. Instruments for security cooperation investment include peacekeeping operations, security assistance, capacity building, and military diplomacy. Data sources include UN databases on troop contributions and security financing, annual defense budgets, and annual defense reports from both Asian and African sources.

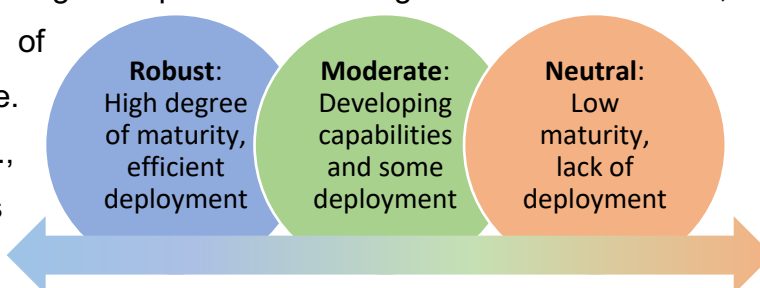
Finally, soft power instruments are derived from quantification of training and capacity building, institutional alignment, and the proliferation of cultural assets. TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS official documents, government annual reports, head-of-state addresses, and scholarship on UN voting alignment are the primary data sources for soft power indicators.

COMPARATIVE INDICATORS		
Ontological	Forum Diplomacy	African Leader's Forum Attendance
		International Orgs participation in Forum
		Bilateral Head-of-State Forum Engagements
	Key Leader Engagements	Asia-Africa Head of State Visits
		Asia-Africa Ministerial Visits
	Transfer of Development Narrative	Number of bilateral MOUs signed
Total Number of Asia-Africa Forums		
Scale of Embassy Presence in African States		
Material Economic	Development Financing	Most recent forum Commitments
		10-yr Cumulative Forum Commitments
		Grant aid
	Quality of Financing	Public-Private Partnership Investment
		Percentage Tied versus Untied Aid
	Economic Relationship	Balance of Trade
Scale of Trade with Sub-Saharan Africa		
Material Security	UN Peacekeeping	UNPKO Troop Numbers (2019)
		Peacekeeping Funding (2019)
	Security Presence	Security Training Centers in Africa
		Number of Bases in Africa/ Indian Ocean
	Security Cooperation	Scale of Arms Transfer
		Training of African Troops
		Scale of Military Attaché Presence in African states
Soft Power	Training & Capacity Building	Number of Africans trained/yr.
		Total number of Scholarships awarded
		Investment in Health Initiatives
	Institutional Alignment	Scale of Institutional presence
		Governance training & Investment
		Scale of Media engagement
		UN Voting Alignment
Cultural Proliferation		Scale of Cultural programs

Figure 2: Summary of development domains, instruments of development power, and comparative indicators.

Using the indicators of ontological, material, and soft power, each of these aspects of development power are evaluated on a scale ranging from “Neutral” to “Moderate” to “Robust.” In Chapters 3 through 6 and in the Conclusion, these indicators are assessed quantitatively to provide a relative comparison, resulting in a percentage and visual

depiction on this scale. The percentages depict relative magnitude of investment, program maturity, or scale of engagement at a snapshot in time. Rather than a measure of value (i.e., good vs. bad, strong vs. weak), this scale provides a visual depiction of



the maturity of development institutions and the mix of material, ontological, and soft power tools to compare the relative state of development paradigms. The majority of indicators, 25 of 30, are compared using quantitative values of comparison. However, where quantitative data is incomplete or lacking in nuance, qualitative assessments are utilized. Qualitative assessments are derived from the author’s extensive review of relevant literature and official sources to provide a relative comparison. Both quantitative and qualitative assessments are thoroughly detailed in the following Chapters. The comparison of Japan, China, and India’s development engagement in African states provides insight into the formation of new narratives of “aid,” partnership archetypes, and the effect on the wider development ecosystem.

Conclusion

As leading DAC members, such as the US and UK, display trends of increasing isolationism and protectionism, emerging powers have seized a foothold in driving international agendas in areas such as development cooperation, economic globalization, peacekeeping, and environmental protection. Rather than competing in a zero-sum game, Japan, China, and India are remaking the game board with the proliferation of development ontologies. China, Japan, and India increasingly demonstrate “brands” of development that are shaping norms in the OECD-led international development landscape, as will be explored in the next Chapter. In this era of new Indo-Pacific designs, influence built on development narratives that pair material, ontological, and soft power represent a new type of development power. At the 2017 Belt and Road Initiative Forum, President Xi heralded a “new type of international relations featuring win-win cooperation” (Xi 2017b). Prime Minister Modi declared that “India’s development priorities and Africa’s lofty vision for its future are aligned,” marking an era of “new promise of a great future for

an ancient relationship” (Modi 2015a). Emerging powers increasingly characterize this new era. Today, constructive and destructive forces are shaping international rules and norms. The comparison of Chinese, Indian, and Japanese hard power and ideational power will illuminate disruptive forces at play in the development sphere. In the next chapter, the evolution of these established (OECD and Japan) and emerging (China and India) development paradigms will be explored. The core values and strategic narratives explored in Chapters 2 and 3 are the basis for a new form of development power that characterizes Chinese, Japanese, and Indian ontological power in Africa.

Chapter 2: Evolution of Development Principles

Chapter 1 detailed the prevailing literature and narratives and defined the research scope and methodology. It introduced the development power framework that will be used for the comparative assessments throughout this thesis. The novel approach to analyzing Japanese, Chinese, and Indian development “brands” was illuminated as a mechanism to assess disruptive forces at play in the development sphere. This chapter provides the foundation on which to analyze Japan, China, and India’s ontological narratives. The Asian donor’s core values and development philosophies are central to the formulation of shared identities and strategic partnerships with African states. The OECD-DAC development models are compared and contrasted with the norms, characteristics, and principles espoused by established and emerging Asian donors. This chapter underpins the comparative analysis of ontological, material, and soft power in Chapter 3 through Chapter 6.

Introduction

In 2011 the OECD-DAC celebrated its 50th anniversary. For more than half a century, the DAC has been recognized as the preeminent international organization in coordinating norms and guidelines for aid. This chapter defines the foundational ODA definitions, characteristics, and principles established by the OECD-DAC as a baseline to compare Japan, China, and India’s engagement with Africa.

This chapter consists of three parts. Part 1 outlines ODA norms and principles as defined by the OECD-DAC over the latter half of the 20th Century. Since 1960, the OECD-DAC has dominantly controlled global development narratives, representing the preponderance of global “aid.” Importantly, at the turn of the century, the OECD-DAC pioneered a compelling “brand” of development with the Millennium Development Goals (MDGs), which gained widespread international recognition. The principles established through the OECD-DAC define a development model that characterizes Western-led efforts. In Part 1 this OECD-DAC paradigm is presented as a baseline for comparative analysis with Asian paradigms.

Part 2 explores the characteristics and principles of Japan's African engagement paradigm. Despite Japan's long history within the DAC, certain distinctive features differentiate it from other industrialized Western donors. While Japan is considered an "established donor" in comparison to China and India, there are indications that emerging Asian donors have adopted some of the features of Japan's development assistance model (Stallings & Kim 2017: 4, 116-62). The distinctive characteristics of Japan's ODA model and its role in advancing Asian paradigms, especially in the African context, will be highlighted.

Part 3 explores the foundations of emerging donors, China and India's development paradigms in Africa to better understand the evolution of their contemporary narratives. Through the deepening of emerging donor engagement with African states, characteristics, norms, and principles of their development paradigms can be observed. In this section, the roots of the new lexicon and principles that characterize Asia-Africa development, including South-South Cooperation (SSC), triangular cooperation, and mutual benefit, will be introduced.

Part 1: Established Donor Norms and Principles

The OECD-DAC remains the largest and most important multilateral development organization in the world. The development paradigm, norms, and principles established over the course of the DAC's history were largely influenced by the "Global North" – a grouping of Western industrialized powers (and Japan) providing the preponderance of global aid. While OECD-DAC and Bretton Woods institutions have continuously evolved, the norms and principles established by the turn of the century, namely state-led investment; untied aid; a focus on poverty alleviation, human rights, governance; and emphasis on transparency and aid effectiveness, underpin the core OECD-DAC development paradigm. While these principles have been used to assess non-Western donors, it is important to note that there are few formal rules, but rather "soft laws" that are often unevenly applied (even within the DAC) (Brautigam 2010; Paulo & Reisen 2010).

The OECD-DAC's use of the Millennium Development Goals to strategically "brand" development agendas and build international synchronization serves as a critical turning point in global "aid" narratives. The MDG's demonstrated the potential of carefully branded development initiatives to drive economic investment and define global agendas. This laid the foundation for a new form of development power, which this thesis argues, is being perfected by Asian powers. What follows is an outline of the formation of OECD-DAC's central principles and highlights of Japan's role in the aid organization.

The DAC was established in 1961 to grapple with the end of the colonial period. Over the first decade, more than 30 countries, many on the African continent, gained their independence but were saddled with the remnant inequities of colonialism - minimal infrastructure, lack of institutions, and poor integration into the global economy. Following the example of the Marshall Plan, the DAC aimed to spur institutional development and economic growth across the African continent and in other newly independent nations, such as India and China. Post-WWII aid efforts funded infrastructure projects to drive economic growth and lift populations out of poverty. During this period, a distinction between the "Global North" and "Global South" defined a new axis of development and donor/recipient relationships, with "aid" as the primary interlocutor. Tokyo's early ODA

was shaped by post-WWII reparation requirements outlined in the San Francisco Treaty⁹ and, therefore, focused predominantly on the Asian region (Arase 1995; Rix 1980). The DAC's definition of "aid" reached consensus in 1969 with the designation of Official Development Assistance (ODA). ODA was defined as official state or local government contributions, concessional in nature (grant element of at least 25%), and administered with the objective of economic development and welfare of developing countries¹⁰. ODA became the currency of state-led development and DAC members largely endorsed a long-term goal of achieving 0.7% GNP¹¹ for ODA contributions. DAC members also agreed to rigorous reporting standards for state-led aid programs. With these foundational steps, the DAC became the cradle of development norms creation and standardization.

In the 1970s and 80s, the DAC shifted away from its focus on large-scale infrastructure development as the pathway to economic growth in favor of a new emphasis on "basic human needs." These turbulent decades saw economic destabilization and widespread loan defaults in sub-Saharan Africa, exacerbated by the colonial legacy's enduring structural inequities. The 1973 and 79 oil crises and the subsequent international debt crisis, sent shock waves through Asia and Africa, leading to reevaluation and reform of aid policies. During this period, Tokyo responded to the crises by utilizing ODA to diversify foreign partners and pursue "comprehensive security," driving the expansion of ODA from primarily Asia-focused to a global development program (see Figure 5) (Jain 2016a: 97). Within the DAC an appreciation for Japan's development philosophy dawned and the development dialogue shifted toward addressing root causes of poverty, rather than focusing solely on economic growth.

As a result, ODA reforms ushered in the dawn of structural adjustment and the growth of conditionalities in DAC-led development financing. The emphasis on

⁹ Under chapter V, Article 14 of the San Francisco Treaty, Japan was obliged to 'pay reparations to the Allied Powers for the damage and suffering caused by it during the war'.

¹⁰ This definition of ODA, defined in 1972, applied through 2017. In 2018 a "grant equivalent system" became the new measure of ODA and standard for ODA reporting. The grant equivalent measure specifies greater granularity in concessional requirements (e.g. At least 45% grant element for bilateral aid to Least Developed Countries (LDCs)) and rates of discount (e.g. 9% for LDCs) for each of four concessional categories of ODA flows. In addition, the terms of loans must adhere to the IMF Debt Limits Policy and/or the World Bank's Non-Concessional Borrowing Policy to be considered ODA (OECD-DAC 2020).

¹¹ The 0.7% target for ODA/GNP received general acceptance with the exception of the United States, that objected to subscribing to specific targets or timelines, and Switzerland, who was not yet a DAC member. Today, GNP has been replaced by Gross National Income (GNI) for the calculation for the ODA/GNI ration.

stabilization and structural adjustment served to 1) ensure aid effectiveness and, 2) increase the accountability of donor investment. Conditionality became a feature of Bretton Woods institutions, such as the World Bank (WB) and International Monetary Fund (IMF), during this structural adjustment period. Conditions largely focused on macroeconomic reform, fiscal responsibility, institution building, and poverty reduction. The number of conditions applied by the WB to financing for African nations spiked in the 1980s, peaking at an average of 36.5 conditions per project in 1988 and averaging at or above 20 conditions per project over the following two decades until 2008 (Hernandez 2017: 532-3). The IMF showed similar trends, with the number of conditions levied spiking dramatically until leveling out in the 2000s and finally receding beginning in 2005 (Kentikelenis, Stubbs & King 2016). Figure 3 shows the dramatic rise in conditional financing from the 1980s through the early 21st century in OECD influenced Bretton Woods institutions (WB 2005).

Following the end of the Cold War in 1989, ODA from OECD-DAC donors dropped by nearly one-third. This decade was characterized by “aid fatigue” in Western nations as growing criticism from domestic populations and international scholars cast doubt on the effectiveness of aid (Cassen 1994). As US and European aid budgets receded, Tokyo

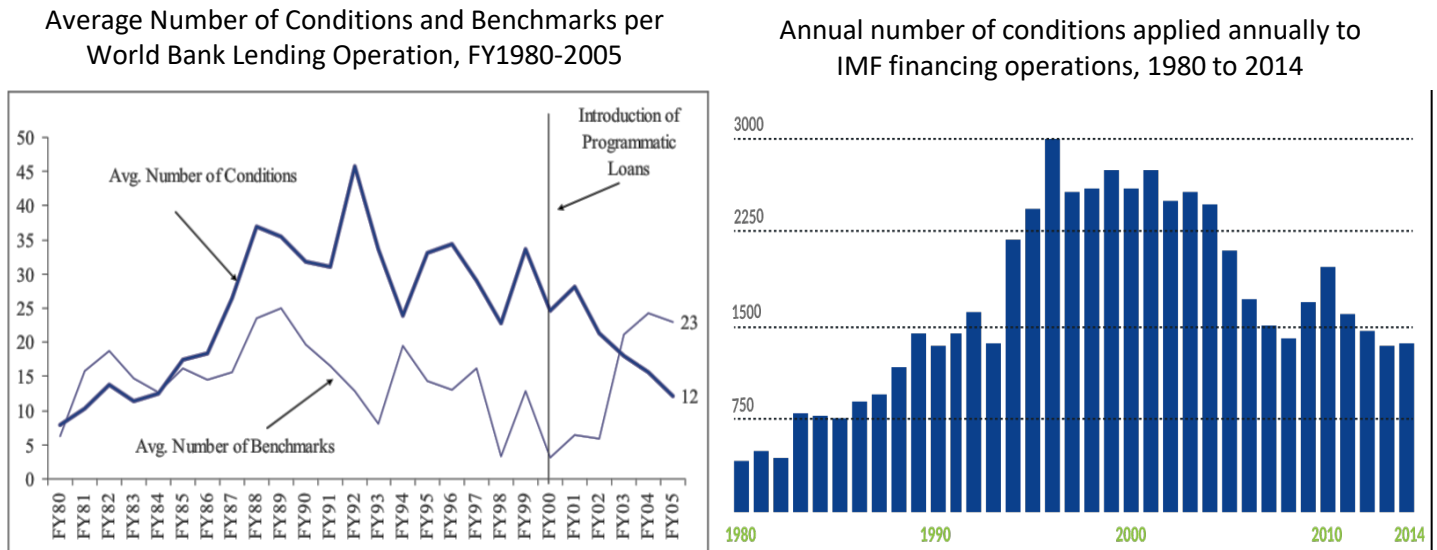


Figure 3: Left: Average number of conditions and benchmarks per WB loan from FY 1980 to 2005. Source: Data and chart created by World Bank, 2005. Right: Number of conditions applied per year by the IMF to global development financing. Chart reproduced from Kentikelenis, Stubbs et al. 2016 dataset.

grew its ODA investment and achieved the esteemed position as the world's largest donor in 1989, a position it would maintain for the greater part of the next nine years. This position afforded Japan international prestige and status as a heavyweight in the international arena (Sato 2010). For the first time, Japan went from relative anonymity in the international aid community, to a position of esteem and increased international pressure (Kato, Page & Shimomura 2016). With its newfound position, Japan took an increasingly active role in development initiatives in Africa, launching the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) in 1993.

At the turn of the century, the DAC consolidated best practices into a set of defining principles that led to the development of the Millennium Development Goals. Untied aid¹² guidelines become a defining feature of DAC financing and measure of aid efficiency and effectiveness. In addition, a 1996 report, *Shaping the 21st Century: The Contribution of Development Cooperation*, identified several indicators that aimed to quantitatively measure economic well-being, social development, and environmental sustainability (OECD-DAC 1996). Decades of evolving aid objectives were consolidated around key emphasis areas, namely, poverty alleviation; good governance; basic human needs; respect for human rights, especially gender rights; and environmental sustainability. These became the foundation for the MDG's, which were comprised of eight international development goals pursued over fifteen years. Unlike previous DAC initiatives, the MDG attracted widespread attention beyond the exclusive OECD development community. The MDG's drove consensus and boosted the OECD's legitimacy as a result of careful branding, advocacy by key G8 and UN members, and cooperation between the UN and Bretton Woods institutions. By shaping global investment and development ideas among a wide range of stakeholders, the MDG's extended influence for OECD-DAC principles outside of traditional donors. Built on this foundation, "the MDGs have become the high-profile framework in which the world debates and discusses development." (OECD 2011: 31). The MDG's became an effective "brand" of development, elevating the DAC paradigm beyond the elite OECD member states. In 2015, the MDG's were replaced with

¹² Uniting aid is the practice of removing stipulations that aid must be spent to procure goods and services from the donor country. In 2001, the DAC made the official recommendation on *untied aid*, to least developed countries. The recommendations on Untied Aid have since expanded coverage to include highly indebted countries.

the Sustainable Development Goals, shaped in large part by Japan and emerging South-South donors as will be discussed in Chapter 3.

In summary, the OECD-DAC postured itself as the leading international agency for development coordination by defining key standards and principles that serve as a benchmark against which to evaluate ODA (See

Table 2). As an exclusive club of industrialized donor powers that adhere to rigorous reporting standards, the DAC defined an evolving set of development objectives negotiated through conditionalities. The definitions, aid effectiveness principles, and financing practices established by the DAC serve as the standard in evaluating foreign aid.

Definitions of OECD-DAC Aid	
<p>ODA: State-led concessional financing, 0.7% GNP goal</p> <p>Untied Financing Guidelines</p> <p>Strict Reporting Requirements</p>	
Characteristics	Principles
<p>Quantitative effectiveness measures</p> <p>North/ South axis</p> <p>Conditionalities for structural reform</p> <p>Exclusive group of Donors</p>	<p>Good governance/ Democratization</p> <p>Human rights</p> <p>Basic Human Needs</p> <p>Environmental Sustainability</p> <p>Aid effectiveness principles</p>

Table 2: A summary of key definitions, characteristics, and principles that define the OECD-DAC's ODA paradigm.

Evolution and the Rise of Asian Development Partners

As detailed in Chapter 1, the emergence of Asian development partners has catalyzed a debate regarding Western-dominated ontologies in the international aid architecture. The DAC is not sitting still. Ongoing evolutions in aid institutions and policy, detailed in the coming Chapters, indicates a keen focus on redefining the DAC's role in a development landscape complicated by alternative donors (Mawdsley, Savage & Kim 2014). At the same time, emerging and established Asian development powers have

taken a page out of the OECD-DACs playbook. Recognizing the effectiveness of the MDGs, Asian development powers employ development “branding” in Africa to consolidate a new type of development power, ontological power. Established and emerging Asian donors are demonstrating their “brands” of development through multi-faceted African engagement initiatives coordinated through Asia-Africa forum diplomacy. Japan’s championing of the FOIP, China’s Belt and Road, and India’s SAGAR Initiatives are just a few of salient narratives that have begun to define established and emerging Asian development agendas in Africa.

Figure 4 below shows the timeline of forum-based diplomacy between the Asian and African states, demonstrating the rapid growth of institutionalized Afro-Asian relations in the late 20th and early 21st Century. Forum diplomacy represents the primary mechanism for demonstrating Tokyo, Beijing, and New Delhi’s development paradigm. These forums are the epicenter of massive material resource commitments, ontological frameworks, and soft power initiatives. Japan’s increasingly strategic development narrative in Africa postures Tokyo as a critical bridge between emerging and established development powers. India and China have leveraged historical connections cultivated through SSC to craft culturally derived development engagement narratives and a new type of soft power influence brokered through development engagement.

In Parts 2 and 3, the characteristics and principles of Japan, China, and India’s development paradigms in Africa will be examined. These principles are foundational to understanding contemporary Asia-African engagement in the most recent decade.

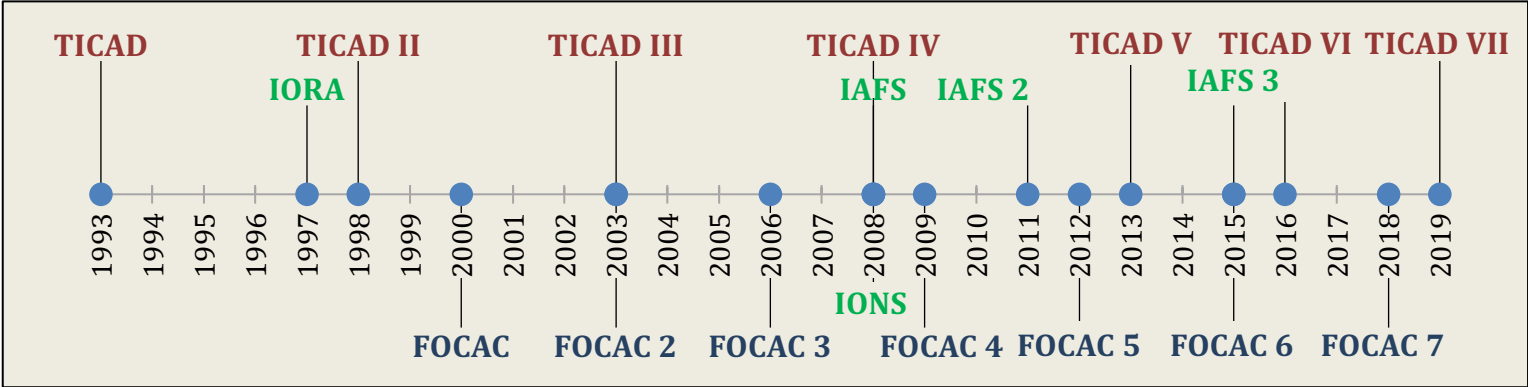


Figure 4: Timeline of Asia-Africa forums from 1993 to present. Japan-Africa forums (TICAD) are shown in red. China-Africa forums (FOCAC) are shown in blue. India-Africa forums (IAFS) are shown in green. The inaugural Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) and Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS) Indian Ocean Region collaborations are also listed in green. Created by author.

Part 2: Japan-Africa

In this section, Japan's ODA Charters and early TICAD conferences are reviewed to outline the characteristics and principles that create a unique Japanese identity in Africa. The foundations of Tokyo's development philosophy in Africa originated in the Post-WWII period, based upon Japan's own growth experience and its role in catalyzing development in East and Southeast Asia. In the case of Japan, where the instruments of power are limited by Article 9 of the pacifist constitution, engagement through economic cooperation and ODA diplomacy are Tokyo's primarily foreign policy tools (Rix 1993). The de-emphasis of military power allowed Japan to demonstrate "a new economically driven international system," utilizing strategic aid and its story of 'miracle growth' to attain global strength (Funaiolo 2015: 369). As Japan surged toward global economic power, this identity cultivated a uniquely Japanese vision for engagement with Africa.

Tokyo's almost exclusive focus on the Asian region in the Post-WWII era, shifted in the late 20th Century when Japan gained status as a global aid power and launched the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) (Morreale & Jain 2019). In Tokyo's increasingly diversified ODA development portfolio, Africa has attracted the largest share investment outside of Asia (Figure 5). Africa's share of Japan's bilateral gross ODA grew from less than 2% in 1970 to a high of 21% share in 1993, coinciding with the launch of TICAD. In the decade from 2007 to 2017, Africa has attracted over 13% of Japan's total bilateral ODA, remaining the most significant region outside of Asia. Figure 5 shows the progressive diversification of Tokyo's ODA and the shift away from multilateral ODA toward increased emphasis on a global development strategy. Under the leadership of PM Abe, Tokyo pursued a foreign policy with a "panoramic perspective of the world map," reinforcing Japan's contemporary stance of proactive engagement in the international community to realize the Free and Open Indo-Pacific Strategy (MOFA-Japan 2017b: 15).

Snapshots of Japan's distribution of Gross ODA, 1960 to 2017

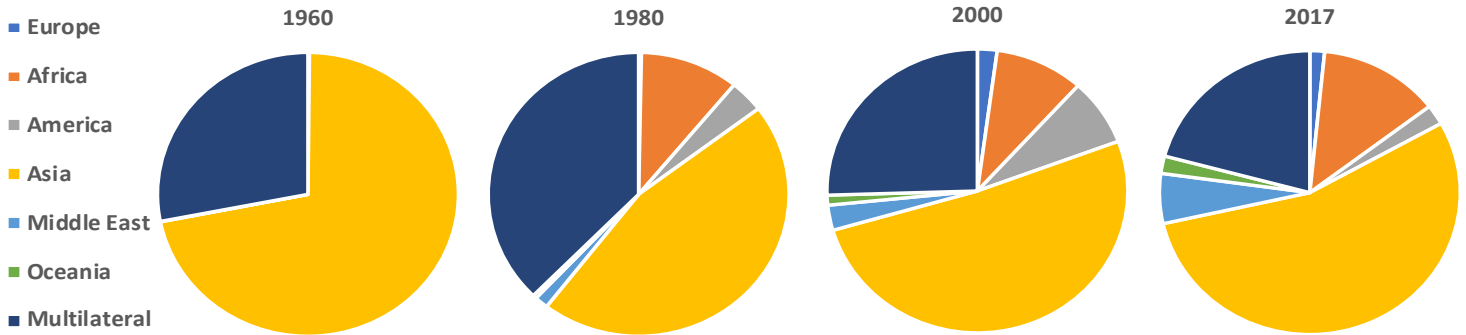


Figure 5: Progressive diversification Tokyo's Gross ODA bilateral and multilateral contributions based on OECD-DAC database (2019)

In 1992, Tokyo approved its first ODA charter aimed at satisfying long-standing international criticism that Japan's aid primarily advanced commercial interests without an underlying aid philosophy (Jain 2016a). The charter outlined ODA principles of environmental consideration, non-military use, democratization, human rights, and market principles while prohibiting aid to countries experimenting with weapons of mass destruction. In addition to echoing OECD principles (e.g. good governance, structural adjustment, and basic human needs), the Charter highlighted Japan's own development policies and experiences (i.e. self-help efforts as central to economic takeoff), and the track record of success in Asia as a central pillar of its ODA philosophy (MOFA-Japan 1992). Notably, the charter emphasized Japan's identity as an Asian development power and defined Tokyo's role in internationalizing the Asian development experience (MOFA-Japan 1992). With the landmark ODA Charter in 1992, Japan asserted a comprehensive philosophy to govern ODA, Tokyo's "most important pillar" of international diplomacy (MOFA-Japan 1993).

The foundational TICAD conferences (1993 – 2002) built upon the 1992 ODA charter. This period represented an era of Japanese

1992 ODA Charter

Means

- Trinity model (Aid-Trade-Investment)
- Utilize Asian dev experience
- Policy Dialogues
- Economic cooperation via ODA loans

Priorities

- Self-Help
- Infrastructure
- Human resource development

Philosophy

1. Environmental conservation
2. Humanitarian considerations
3. Non-military use

prominence as a world-leading donor and Tokyo's alignment with international and multilateral partners. Echoing OECD principles, the 1993 and 1998 TICAD Declarations promoted political and economic reforms in Africa. These included "democratization, respect for human rights, good governance, human and social development, and economic diversification and liberalization," which mirrored the dominant international aid discourse outlined by the OECD (TICAD 1993). Uncontested by emerging Asian competitors in the African development space, Japan positioned itself as an enabling partner that could tap into multilateral institutions such as the UN, IMF, and WB. By aligning with popular development discourses, Japan built legitimacy as a responsible actor in the international community.

At the same time, TICAD exhibited uniquely Japanese characteristics and key areas of divergence from Western development paradigms. Most notably, ownership, partnership, and human security became central principles of Japan's development narrative in Africa. With the introduction of TICAD, Tokyo advocated for a review of established international aid policies to fit the demands of a new era, using its preeminence among OECD powers and a receptive African market to introduce its unique brand of development (MOFA-Japan 1993). At the intersection of trade and investment, ODA targeted new and untapped markets in Africa. Japan advanced the synergy of trade, investment, and development assistance, known as the "trinity model," as an integral aspect of the ownership-partnership paradigm. Horizontal donor-recipient structures that paired Japanese ODA with African development initiatives challenged the OECD's vertical donor-recipient model. Accordingly, Japan forged an ODA philosophy that considered "specifics of individual countries, their historical circumstances and cultural realities," distancing itself from Western conditioned aid and the notion that 'Westernization = Modernization' (TICAD 1998b).

Human security became the third arm of Japan's philosophy in the late 20th Century. The devastating 1997 Asian Financial Crisis resulted in IMF intervention via austerity measures and conditional support with prescribed structural adjustments to stabilize troubled Asian nations. During this painful period, the failure of Western development models to address the inequities of globalization and the worsening disparity between advanced and developing economies became clear. Japan played a critical role

in the Asian region by offsetting IMF conditionality through government assistance and fiscal and political leadership, an early indication of disruptive ODA diplomacy (Katada 2002). In recognizing the failings of the Western economic development philosophies and institutions (such as the IMF and World Bank) the concept of “human security” was born in Japanese political arenas (Kurusu & Kersten 2011). Initially, human security spoke to a humanitarian justification for Japan’s intervention on the behalf of Asian countries to alleviate the burden of Western conditionality. However, after 1998, human security (an approach that emphasized human rights and community direct benefits) became a pillar of Japanese foreign policy and reshaped Japan’s engagement with Africa. As one of the pioneering advocates for human security, Japan played a critical role in propagating this concept through the international community and swaying global norms.

Each of these principles of Japan’s ODA philosophy is considered in more detail below.

Ownership

The first major principle introduced was the concept of African agency in the development process. Arising from the 1992 Japanese ODA Charter, “ownership” (self-reliance or self-help) became a unique facet of the Japan-Africa relationship as brokered by TICAD. “Ownership” evolved in the African context to represent Japan’s paradigm of economic development paired with indigenous development strategies within recipient nations. In this way, Japan challenged the prevailing international development philosophy in two ways. Firstly, Tokyo emphasized economic partnership rather than charitable aid, challenging the OECD’s vertical donor-recipient relationships. Secondly, the principle of “ownership” highlighted Japan’s characteristic philosophy of self-help, emphasizing African agency in defining its own development strategies (Hosokawa 1993).

“Self-reliance,” renamed as “ownership” from TICAD II (1998) onward, outlined a novel development model that contrasted sharply with that of conditioned aid and prescriptive structural reforms utilized by Western donors. Instead, Japan placed the onus of essential political, economic, and social reforms on African states and regional organizations. The first TICAD declaration proposed a new partnership based on the

assertion that “political, economic and social reforms must be initiated and carried out by African countries *themselves*, based on *their* visions, values and individual socio-economic background” (emphasis added (TICAD 1993)). Japan socialized a philosophy of differentiated development approaches among international partners, giving agency to both the developing nation and the donor. By branding Japanese ODA as African owned, Japan distinguished itself among established donors and laid a foundation for UNDP reforms. PM Hosokawa used “three arrows” to elaborate TICAD’s vision to provide for, 1) Agency of African governments; 2) empowerment of African people; and, 3) a supportive role for the global community (Hosokawa 1993). Rather than dogmatic reform requirements, Japan proposed that partner states enable indigenous African processes through the provision of fiscal and consultative support.

One of TICAD’s most prominent demonstrations of ownership occurred in 2001. Just five months after the adoption of the New Partnership for Africa’s Development (NEPAD) by the Organization for African Unity (OAU), Japan convened a TICAD ministerial meeting to become the first of the Asian Lions to formally endorse the new development framework. NEPAD represented a sign of African integration and ownership central to the traditional Japanese ODA philosophy. At the 2001 TICAD ministerial meeting, Prime Minister Koizumi highlighted alignment with Japanese principles, noting that NEPAD’s “concept is precisely in accord with this principle of TICAD; that is ‘ownership of African countries and its partnership with the international community’” (Koizumi 2001). By the early 21st Century, much of Japan’s development philosophy had been reproduced in the founding documents of NEPAD and the African Union (AU). NEPAD’s foundational premises include “African ownership and management,” and specifically calls for partnership with Japan in executing the Tokyo Agenda for Action, exhibiting TICAD’s influence on the formulation of African development philosophies and language (NEPAD 2001: 10, 53). Furthermore, this new philosophical alignment was reinforced by substantial fiscal support. In 2001, in addition to \$1Billion in bilateral ODA to African states, Japan contributed \$193M to regional organizations in support of the NEPAD mechanism (UN 2003). At the 2003 TICAD conference, Koizumi offered a rallying cry to the international community in support of NEPAD and strategically aligned TICAD and NEPAD initiatives. Advocating for Japan’s development narratives of “ownership”

through NEPAD and other African-led development initiatives within the international community became a central facet of TICAD's brand in Africa. Tokyo's narrative proved attractive to African stakeholders whose constructed development policies reflected the internalization of Japanese ideals. The incorporation of Japanese narratives into the AU and NEPAD's doctrine legitimized TICAD's brand (ontological power) and soft power tools.

Partnership

Partnership, the second key principle of TICAD, manifests in two distinct forms.

Firstly, Tokyo deploys ODA to bridge the dynamism of Asia with emerging African economies. As the TICAD mechanism evolves, Tokyo uses South-South and triangular cooperation to bolster its influence in the increasingly global deployment of ODA. Secondly, Tokyo sets itself apart as a distinctive and preferred partner, emphasizing its role as a responsible member of the international community and representative of Non-Western nations among established donor powers.

While the ideological alignment of Asia and Africa reaches back to the 1950s, Tokyo broke new ground in operationalizing the Asian development model as an alternative to those of the West. Japan's post-WWII "miracle" catalyzed the rapid development in East and South Asia through the extension of its alternative principles of self-help development assistance. The Asian models referenced at TICAD denote the highly successful development approach propagated through the Asian region by Japan's early ODA diplomacy. Tokyo emphasized the "relevance of the Asian experience for African development," a reoccurring theme that placed Japanese models in the international development discourse (TICAD 1993).

Japan distinguished its ODA philosophy from the Washington Consensus by stressing a "comprehensive" approach that linked trade, investment, debt management, and ODA for economic growth as critical preconditions for poverty reduction (TICAD 1993; Tsutomu 1993: 32). Japan's self-identification as a non-Western development partner served as an important element in the construction of the "Afro-Asian" identity and the promotion of "Asian development models for Africa" (Cornelissen & Taylor 2000; MOFA-Japan 1993). In his keynote address at TICAD III, Prime Minister Koizumi declared

“Japan hopes to act as a bridge between Asia and Africa” (Koizumi 2003). Contrasting the Western neo-liberal market-based development strategy, Japan’s model suggested specific macro-economic and industrial initiatives aimed at integrating Africa into Asian dynamism and the global economy. To begin addressing the failings of the Western market fundamentalism that exploited undeveloped economies in the pursuit of globalization, Japan established the Asia-Africa Business Forum in 1999 and the Asia-Africa Investment Information Service Center, early mechanisms of an Asian-African cooperative framework (TICAD 1998). Throughout the TICAD progression, Tokyo established itself as a champion of Asia-Africa cooperation and South-South Cooperation, posturing Japan at the center of triangular partnerships. TICAD was heralded as a framework to achieve consensus on development philosophy, define priorities in African development, and catalyze investment in projects. As Africa grew from a neglected to a contested space, Japan envisioned TICAD as a mechanism for aligning Asian and African development processes behind Tokyo’s leadership.

The second aspect of Tokyo’s partnership principle emphasized Japan’s role as a leader and disruptor in the international community. In 2001, Japanese Prime Minister Yoshiro Mori visited Africa, the first-ever visit by a Japanese Head of State. Despite the challenges of Japanese economic rebalancing, this visit cemented Japan-Africa relations. Mori’s visit highlighted a relationship increasingly characterized by the development of politically relevant partnerships. Japan increasingly looked to define its 21st Century role in Africa as a leader among many, identifying itself as a unique partner and champion of the African cause in the international setting.

Structured as an “open forum,” TICAD brings together a diverse mixture of stakeholders including international organizations, established OECD donors, and emerging donors. This architecture places Japan at the nexus of development engagement between North/ South and established/emerging. At the inaugural TICAD, in addition to the attendance of 48 African nations, Japan attracted participation from the EU and US, Development Banks (including AfDB, WB, IMF, UNDP), NGO’s, and Observer nations (including China, Korea, and Brazil). TICAD II in 1998 boasted an even more extensive list of participants. In 1998, in addition to 51 African states, China and India became full participants in the summit. By bringing together these established

OECD powers, UN and Bretton Woods institutions, and emerging donor powers, Tokyo defined its role as the bridge between old and new development philosophies.

As the leading Asian donor power in the OECD-DAC, Japan holds a distinguished place in the international community not afforded to China or India. Japan's identity as a "major industrialized democratic country" committed to its Asian identity and non-Western philosophy offered African states access to a preferred partner (MOFA-Japan 1993). Throughout the TICAD process, Japan asserted itself amongst OECD established powers, as a leader, facilitator, and agent of Asian and African cooperation. South-South Cooperation and triangular cooperation postured Japan as the leader of a "broad coalition" for Asia-Africa development cooperation which challenged the exclusivity of 20th Century development paradigms (TICAD 2003). Furthermore, the *open forum* architecture allowed Japan to strategically communicate its development narrative to both emerging donors and the international community, expanding its ontological toolbox. TICADs model positioned Tokyo to influence Chinese and Indian development engagement paradigms while also formulating new narratives within the UN and OECD-DAC.

Human Security

In 1999, Japan initiated the Human Security Fund and introduced human security as a pillar of its foreign policy (MOFA-Japan 1999). The 1999 Bluebook asserted Japan's leadership role in "coordinat[ing] action of the international community, and strengthening the linkages with developing countries ... linking the human security concept with concrete action, and also reflecting it in reform of the United Nations" (MOFA-Japan 1999: 2.3.A).

The establishment of the Commission on Human Security (CHS) in 2001, co-chaired by Japan's Sadako Ogata and internationally recognized economist and Nobel Laureate, Amartya Sen, heralded Japan's determination to operationalize the concept and integrate the concept of human security into the global discourse. The CHS released a foundational treatise in New York in 2003. This document defined "human security" as encompassing two critical principles – "freedom from want" and "freedom from fear" (UNCHS 2003). In August 2003, Tokyo released a revised ODA Charter that further

consolidated the concept of human security as one of the crowning principles of Japanese foreign policy. The ODA revision highlighted Japan’s “endeavor to play a leading role” in defining common international development strategies and an “active role in the creation of international norms” (MOFA-Japan 2003a). In line with the CHS, the 2003 Charter aligned ODA implementation with the preservation of human dignity by empowering and protecting individuals during phases of conflict, reconstruction, and rehabilitation. TICAD III and IV also featured the concept of “Human Security” and defined it as freedom from fear and want; protection from threats against life, livelihood, and dignity; and empowerment of individuals and communities (TICAD 2003, 2008). The association between the UNCHS, the revised ODA Charter, and TICAD, is a testament to Japan’s strong leadership in defining human security in the international arena. Consequently, human security took on two distinct spheres of influence. “Freedom from want” addressed the economic and social domain while “freedom from fear” added a military and security dimension to Japan’s ODA paradigm in Africa. As an intellectual leader in the development sphere, Tokyo used TICAD and African engagement as a mechanism to operationalize the concept of human security and forge new global policy norms.

2003 ODA Charter

Objectives

- Ensure national security and prosperity
- Promoting friendly relations
- Enhance economic partnership
- Advance Japan’s international role

Policies

- Self-Help
- Human Security
- Utilization of Japan’s strengths
- Triangular & South-South cooperation

Priorities

1. Poverty reduction
2. Sustainable growth
3. Creation of international norms
4. Consolidating Peace

The 10th anniversary of the TICAD Conference in 2003 marked a clear shift in Japan’s development paradigm with “human security” at its core. Declared the “pivotal concept of TICAD,” human security shaped the diplomatic and security agenda from 2003 onwards. In redefining TICAD’s development objectives, Koizumi announced three pillars of Japanese engagement in Africa in alignment with the two philosophical domains of human security. Human-centered development (Pillar 1) and poverty reduction through economic growth (Pillar 2) addressed “freedom from want” and allowed Tokyo to demonstrate TICAD development initiatives aligned with the MDGs. Consolidation of peace (Pillar 3), fulfilled the mandate of “freedom from fear” and empowered Japanese

involvement in security and defense on the African continent (Koizumi 2003). Through TICAD, Japan transformed the two spheres of the human security framework from a philosophical to an operative policy.

While TICAD I and II utilized state-based mechanisms in Africa, TICAD III and IV proposed a community/individual centered development model. This model endorsed “bottom-up, comprehensive, multi-sectoral and participatory approaches” that targeted development at a local level (TICAD 2008). This disruptive strategy exhibited the evolutionary nature of the TICAD development models by targeting underserved users and stakeholders. Japan harnessed the inertia behind the UN’s Millennium Development Goals (MDG) to turn human security concepts into political reality in the African context. For instance, TICAD IV introduced the One Village One Product (OVOP) movement and “African Millennium Villages” across 12 countries to advance functional hubs that provide localized services in education, sanitation, health, etc. (TICAD 2008b). These so-called “Glocal” (Global and local) initiatives promoted TICAD as a key framework for connecting African communities with a broad swath of multi-sectoral international resources.

Under the banner of “freedom from fear,” Japanese development engagement assumed a discernable security and defense component. While branding itself as a “peace fostering nation,” Japan utilized human security principles to justify engaging traditional and non-traditional security threats that destabilized the African region (Fukuda 2008). Japan’s security capacity was rapidly transforming in the late 20th Century, complementing Tokyo’s outward looking foreign engagement strategy in Africa. In 1992, the enactment of the International Peace Cooperation Law coincided with the deployment of Japan’s Self Defense Force (SDF) for UN Peacekeeping missions in Angola, Rwanda, and Mozambique. Remarkably, by 1995, Japan financed more than 15% of UN peacekeeping operations, second only to the United States. Even in 2016, when China overtook Japan’s place as the second largest financier of UN Peacekeeping, Tokyo remained in a prominent position as the largest contributor among non-permanent UNSC members (UN 2012, 2015b).

By 2004, just one year after the TICAD III conference, the AU’s Declaration of a Common African Defense and Security Policy, exhibited the influence of human security. The AU Declaration endorsed a multi-dimensional security framework with “new

emphasis on human security, based not only on political values but on social and economic imperatives as well” closely resembling Japan’s dual approach and TICAD pillars (AU 2004). TICAD IV recognized the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) as a sign of increasing ownership and integration of human security principles across the African continent. The underlying principles of the APSC, outlined in the AU Constitutive Act, included the provision for humanitarian intervention with or without prior state authorization (AU 2000: article (4) f, h). From 2003 onward, TICAD recognized that, in situations of conflict or the case of failed states, there might be no official capacity to request aid. The principle of human security allowed Tokyo to take a more proactive posture in delivering assistance and advancing strategic interests in Africa.

In pursuit of ‘consolidating peace,’ Japan expanded peacekeeping efforts in Africa and engaged in conflict resolution efforts in the DRC, Angola, Sierra Leone, Sudan, and Liberia. Tokyo carefully mitigated concerns that “freedom from fear” might lead to broader military intervention by placing African ownership at the fore of security efforts (AU 2004; Kurusu & Kersten 2011). Tokyo provided funding for the APSA and limited security engagement operations for prevention and community restoration through disarmament, demobilization, reintegration (DDR), refugee support, rehabilitation of child soldiers, demining operations, and regulation of small arms traffic.

As the international flag-bearer of human security, Japan sought to position TICAD at the core of the Asia-Africa cooperative space.

A New Era of TICAD

With the momentous success of the Beijing Olympics, post-2008 saw the emergence of a new era of Japanese-African engagement. No longer the world’s leading donor or Africa’s largest trading partner, Japan recast its connection to the African continent, most notably by increasing the strategic use of ODA to reinforce the Free and Open Indo-Pacific vision and introducing new modes of security engagement on the continent. This phase, which began in 2008, is marked by the strategic use of Japanese-Africa political partnerships, increasing force projection, and promotion of a uniquely Japanese approach in Africa. Taken together, these efforts bolstered Tokyo’s international role leading up to the important 2020 milestone of the Tokyo Olympics.

Amidst the rise of China and India, Japan endeavors to preserve its identity as a preferred partner for African states and a leader in the renewal of international development principles and guidelines. This most recent phase, spanning the 12 years between the Beijing and Tokyo Olympics saw the reinvention of JICA in 2008, the publication of the 2015 Development Cooperation Charter, and four TICAD conferences (2008, 2013, 2016, and 2019).

The 2008 formation of the New JICA consolidated Japan's aid institutions into a so-called "super JICA" and became the world's largest single bilateral aid agency (Jain 2016b). New JICA strengthened Tokyo's ODA institutions and enabled more effective coordination of development and foreign policy initiatives. Under the Abe administration, the newest version of the ODA Charter, the "2015 Development Cooperation Charter," stressed the strategic use of ODA to catalyze relations with private sector development actors, implement ODA aligned with Japan's foreign policy interests, and synchronize the efforts of various stakeholders and international organizations (MOFA-Japan 2015a). Notably, the 2015 Charter replaced "development assistance" with "development cooperation" placing public-private partnerships and triangular/ multilateral partnerships at the center of a holistic framework meant to serve as a template for the modernization of DAC frameworks and the MDGs, further explored in Chapter 3. An emphasis on ontological power is evidenced in the Charter's priorities which focus on Tokyo's role in shaping international goals and guidelines based on Japan's ODA philosophy and development experience.

Building on the success of Japan's ODA model in post-WWII Asia, African partnerships offered the opportunity to internationalize Japan's identity as a major donor power. With the rise of China and India and the stagnation of the Japanese economy,

2015 Development Cooperation Charter "Proactive Contribution to Peace, Security and Stability"

Philosophy:

- Leverage Japanese experience and expertise
- Strategic use of ODA

Policy:

- Non-military purpose
- Human Security
- Self-reliant development

Priorities:

- Quality Growth
- Sharing Universal Values
- Building Sustainable International Community
- Effective and efficient implementation
- Strengthening partners

Tokyo utilized contemporary TICAD conferences to redefine its identity and African engagement strategy.

Part 3: Emerging Donors

Chinese and Indian cooperative engagement with Africa has long orbited around a pivotal vehicle of “South-South Cooperation” (SSC). Born out of the 1955 Bandung Conference, SSC originates from the collective struggle against Western colonialism and imperialism. India became the face of the anti-Western struggle with its leadership of the Non-Alignment Movement and overt reformist agendas within international institutions (NEIO, UNSC, Doha). In 1970, China sponsored the construction of the TANZAM railroad, a \$406M investment in Tanzania and Zambia that marked the first instance of Beijing’s SSC on the African continent. India and China’s efforts resulted in the institutionalization of a Special Unit, the “Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries” (TCDC), within the UN Development Program (UNDP) in 1974 with UN Resolution 3251 (XXIX). Recognizing development cooperation between developing nations as an emerging force, the TCDC aimed to “work towards a new pattern of international relations” (UNDP 1978).

The first use of the term “South-South Cooperation” in political discourse occurred at the 1983 NAM Summit in New Delhi, India. South-South Cooperation represented a concept of exchange between developing countries to reduce dependency on aid and further collective rights. It was not exclusive to emerging Asian donors. Japan’s 1993 and 1998 TICAD Conferences featured South-South Cooperation as a modality for building synergy in Asian-African development. The 1998 TICAD placed special emphasis on Japan’s role in promoting “enhanced South-South and Asia-Africa cooperation [as] a major contribution of TICAD-II” (TICAD 1998b). With a shift toward a more strategic Japan-Africa relationship and the growing prominence of SSC between China, India, and Africa, TICAD is postured to play a pivotal role in the triangular partnership.

The launch of China’s FOCAC in 2000 placed SSC at the center of Sino-African engagement. In 2004, just a few months after the second China-African Forum (FOCAC), UN Resolution 58/220 officially rebranded the TCDC framework of cooperation between developing countries as “South-South Cooperation.” In 2013, the Special Unit graduated to become the “United Nations Office for SSC” (UNOSSC) by UNGA Resolution 67/227. The UNOSSC leads the effort to integrate and institutionalize mechanisms of SSC into the heart of UNDP strategic plans and programs. Within this UN framework, China and

India are designated as “pivotal” countries, “positioned to play a lead role in the promotion and application of South-South cooperation” (UNDP 2016). Today, the UNGA recognizes the strengthening “role of South-South and triangular cooperation as a strategic approach... that is better able to connect national efforts to regional and global networks of solidarity” (UNGA 2018: 4/18). This statement by the UN acknowledged the strategic value of SSC and triangular cooperation mechanisms demonstrated by China, India, and Japan in the development arena. As an alternative to the OECD-DAC North-South divide, SSC has become the lexicon for a new wave of Asian donor powers in Africa.

In this section, the foundation of China and India’s emerging development principles are traced through their engagements with Africa in the 20th and 21st Centuries. The tenets of emerging SSC narratives are shaped by experimentation and evolution as China and India’s engagement frameworks have matured. This section follows FOCAC and IAFS’s role in elaborating and reinforcing the core principles of emerging donors.

China-Africa

In contrast to Japan’s calculated engagement with Africa, China exploded onto the international stage, capturing the imagination with its own millennial “miracle growth” and embrace of Africa. In 2009 China became Africa’s leading trade partner and shortly afterward, the world’s leading trading partner in 2014 (Anderlini 2014; Olander et al. 2015). The recent announcement of the Belt and Road Initiative has brought forth much speculation and concern about Chinese intentions in the Indian Ocean and Africa. Amid excitement and alarm, a rapidly growing China induces wild and sensational speculation (Hairong & Sautman 2013). The basis and historical foundations of Chinese ‘strategy’ in Africa can easily become obscured by the headlines. I will shed light on the historical roots of Chinese involvement in Africa by proposing four phases of the China-Africa relationship, summarized later in Table 3.

Chinese modern engagement in the 20th century began in earnest with the Bandung Conference in 1955 and built on the PRC’s ample experience as an aid recipient and developing country. Beijing, an outspoken activist against colonialism and imperialism, began its engagement with Africa as an avid supporter of liberation movements (Anshan 2007; Taylor 2007). China’s initial involvement in Africa, driven by

the Maoist movement, was indeed, heavily ideological in nature constructed around five guiding principles - sovereignty, non-aggression, non-interference, mutual benefit, and coexistence (Brautigam 2009; Cornelissen & Taylor 2000). These tenets were later expanded to include principles of economic cooperation and aid without conditionality and became the foundational principles of China’s development cooperation paradigm,

Phases		Features of China-Africa relationship	One China Non-interference Sovereignty	Mutual Benefit Cooperation	3 rd World Solidarity Going Global	South-South Cooperation Soft Power Diplomacy
1955-1988	Ideological engagement Experimental aid policy development	Anti-colonialism/ imperialism Limited conditionality UN Membership (1971) Global economic integration TANZAR Railroad(1971-75)				
1989- 2000	Rapid Growth of Sino-African relations	Post-Tiananmen Square “Going Global” initiative Mutual Benefit Southern identity				
2000-2008	Rise to Leading African trade partner	FOCAC Launch “Peaceful rise” narrative SEZ establishment PKO deployment South-South Cooperation Dual Identity				
2008 - 2019	Global Voice Belt and Road Initiative(2012)	Beijing Olympics Cornerstone of the African economy Force Projection & Conflict mediation				

Table 3: Phases, Themes, and Features of China-Africa Relationship

explained further below. Of these principles, two stand out as cornerstones of Beijing's Africa relationship – respect for sovereignty and non-interference. However, as the Sino-African relationship has grown, the principles have evolved in response to the international climate and Chinese domestic goals. Above all, it must be noted, that despite the outspoken rhetoric against politically conditioned aid, this first period of the Chinese-African relationship was heavily constructed around anti-Taiwanese diplomacy and the 'One China' policy (Brautigam 2011b). Even today, only African states who renounced ties with Taiwan are eligible to receive aid from Beijing. Like the cornerstone principles of sovereignty and non-interference, the "One China" policy is a precondition for development financing and inclusion in FOCAC. The Taiwan-Beijing diplomatic battle in Africa heavily influenced Beijing's engagement with the continent and serves as a precursor for the soft power and ontological power that characterizes China-Africa relations today. This competition shaped the understanding of Africa's critical utility in achieving Beijing's' political goals.

As Europe began to loosen its grip on the African continent, China embarked on its own journey of reform and experimentation, informed heavily by the Japanese model of a donor state. Characterized by Deng Xiaoping's call to "cross [the river] by feeling the stones," this era marks a departure from ideological stringency and the use of new foreign engagement tools and China's own experiences as an aid recipient to achieve political goals (Brautigam 2009). Discourses about 'aid' shifted to discussions about 'cooperation,' distancing China from the paternalism of Western aid programs. Furthermore, China expanded its engagement philosophy to include the important tenet of "mutual benefit" (Yu 1988). For many African states even though Beijing's development financing remained small, China stood as a symbol of independence and "cultural decolonization" (Anshan 2007). In contrast to Japan's passivity toward Africa during liberation, China actively supported liberation movements and provided considerable aid to newly formed governments (in many cases tied to the Taiwanese diplomatic challenge) (Brautigam 2009). As African nations gained independence, the Chinese policy toward Africa focused on gaining traction with Beijing's development philosophy. As relations expanded and Beijing contemplated a larger role in the world, it experimented with evolving development paradigms in Africa. A new emphasis on "self-reliance" mitigated the challenges of the

sovereignty trap¹³, ensuring successful long-term engagement (Brautigam 2009). This theme of experimentation with material, soft, and ontological tools in Africa is a facet of China's maturing paradigm of development engagement.

The issue of sovereignty gained critical importance in 1989 with the international threat to Beijing's own sovereignty following the massacre in Tiananmen Square. In the face of Western condemnation, African states played a critical role in preserving Beijing's place in the UN and buffering against human rights sanctions (Cornelissen & Taylor 2000; Taylor & Williams 2004). As a result, Africa became a permanent facet of Chinese foreign policy. This second phase of African engagement, from 1989 to 2000, is marked by the rapid growth of relations as a result of China's recognition of African states' utility in countering international condemnation. Post-1989, Chinese engagement with Africa placed special emphasis on sovereignty and non-interference as hallmarks of solidarity with the third world (Cheru & Obi 2010). In deepening the ties with its Southern identity, Beijing announced a critical new initiative - *zouchuqa*, or "Going Global" (Brautigam 2009; 2014). This new paradigm of foreign engagement marked a transformative push to develop instruments of ontological and soft power in the developing world while riding on the wave of globalization. The principle of 'mutual benefit' gained increasing prominence in China's development narrative as Beijing formulated its own brand of 'South-South cooperation' in Africa from this point onward.

The 21st century has seen a deepening of the Beijing-Africa relationship, culminating in China achieving the status of Africa's leading trade partner. This third phase began in 2000 with the establishment of China's Africa forum, FOCAC. This forum, conspicuously patterned after the Japanese TICAD conference, designated a new role for China in the developing world. With China's rising global status in this phase, Beijing carefully balanced a dual identity – the identity of a global power and developing country. The increasing emphasis on "mutual benefit" became a key facet of this period as China delivered "non-conditioned" aid (excluding the non-negotiable 'One China policy' mentioned above) and non-OECD investment as an attractive alternative to the restrictive conditions of good governance and democratization leveled by the IMF and World Bank.

¹³ More recently termed as "Debt Trap Diplomacy" or "predatory financing" (See US-DoD Indo-Pacific Strategy Report, 2019).

In pursuit of the “Going Global” vision, China experimented with the establishment of special economic zones (SEZ) and new development paradigms in Africa (Brautigam & Tang 2014). Increasingly aware of its international stature and against the onslaught of speculation, China responded with experimentations in soft power and ontological power to further the ‘peaceful rise’ narrative.

The current phase of the China-Africa relationship began in 2008 when the powerful trifecta of international status, controversy, and soft power all came to a head at the Beijing Olympics. Despite initial doubt about Beijing’s preparedness and the scourge of controversy over Darfur, over 2 billion people around the world watched the flawless spectacle of the Beijing Olympics and sat in awe of a proud and confident “modern” China (Andersson 2008; Cardenal & Araújo 2013; Economist 2008b). A Lost Boy of Sudan carried the American Flag into the Bird’s Nest at the front of the American Olympic delegation, a glimpse of the strong undertones of the Darfur crisis. However, eight years of experimentation with cultural diplomacy and over \$40 billion (USD) in investment paid off for China (Fowler & Meichtry 2008). The Beijing Olympics marked a turning point for the Sino-African engagement, after which China’s use of ontological power and soft power became complementary to economic engagement. China demonstrated its unique development pathway on the global stage and began to attract attention as an alternative model to raise millions out of poverty, especially in Africa. The most important innovation of contemporary China-Africa is the introduction of the Belt and Road Initiative (formerly called One Belt One Road). This mega-project backed by over a trillion dollars in investment is an ontological tour-de-force and has offered the most substantial challenge to the established development paradigms.

Beijing’s Foundational Development Principles

China’s principles of development cooperation stem from the 1954 Maoist era “Five principles of peaceful co-existence.” The five core principles of 1) respect for sovereignty, 2) non-aggression, 3) non-interference, 4) mutual benefit, and 5) peaceful co-existence, serve as the foundation for China’s international engagement and are pervasive within its development narrative in Africa. These principles feature in declarations from FOCAC forums to the Belt and Road Initiative. In 1964, Zhou Enlai further expounded on these

principles to outline tenets of Beijing’s development and technical assistance philosophy. Zhao added non-conditionality¹⁴ and elaborated principles of economic cooperation (Zhou 1964). These foundational principles exhibit distinctions from the OECD paradigm in, a) mandating lower cost products and methods, b) mandating the use of Chinese industry, and c) branding a Chinese style of development.

FOCAC I aligned the Sino-Africa partnership with Beijing’s desired role in orchestrating a new brand of SSC. Early discourse about the development of a new economic and political world order leveraged SSC to bestow legitimacy and align disruptive goals. As the “paragon of South-South cooperation,” China’s Africa engagement served as a test bed for Beijing’s SSC and a model for broader regional engagements (Wen 2003). At the inaugural FOCAC conferences, the five principles for China-African engagement (see Table 4) were outlined in the FOCAC Program for Cooperation. These principles defined the tenets

Principles of Economic Aid & Technical Assistance (1964)

- Non-conditionality
- Principles of Economic Cooperation:
 - Interest-free/ low-interest loans
 - Self-reliance and independent economic development
 - Projects at lower cost and quicker yields
 - Use of Chinese equipment, materials
 - Transfer of skills via technical assistance
 - Same standard of living as local experts

of China-Africa engagement as well as the features of the Chinese SSC development model. They represent a progression of the long-standing engagement philosophy established by the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence in 1954 and principles for development cooperation established in 1964. Furthermore, they establish the critical distinctions from OECD-DAC norms in the assertion of a form of horizontal development engagement for and by developing countries. The horizontal partnership model echoes Beijing’s experience of “self-help” as a recipient of Japan’s ODA throughout the 20th century.

The first notable feature of Beijing’s development principles, “diversity in form and content,” draws a sharp contrast to OECD-DAC initiatives that promoted democratic

¹⁴ Once again, the notable condition of Beijing’s development assistance is the “One China Policy” requiring states to forfeit diplomatic relations with Taiwan in order to engage in development cooperation forums. (see Chapter 4)

Five Principles of China-Africa Cooperation	Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Diversity in form and content ● Emphasis on Practical Results ● Pursuit of Common Progress ● Political equality and mutual benefit ● Amicable settlement of differences 	<ul style="list-style-type: none"> ● Respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty ● Non-aggression ● Non-interference in internal affairs ● Equality and mutual benefit ● Peaceful co-existence

Table 4: The Five Principles of China-Africa Cooperation established at the 2000 FOCAC forum (left) and the Five Principles of Peaceful Co-existence as established by UN Treaty on 29 April 1954 (right). The three features of the Principles of China-Africa Cooperation in red represent unique aspects of the Sino-African partnership.

institution building as a precondition for development assistance. FOCAC outlined Beijing’s recognition of each African nation’s right to choose a system of government based on social and historical conditions and each nation’s development status. The 2003 FOCAC II Action Plan further refined this tenet to include “national dignity and right to development” as a critical component of the China-Africa model and foundational to Beijing’s reimagined international norms. The “right to development” highlights China’s embrace of diverse forms of governance and development pathways. In this phase, China lays the foundation for a culturally derived development narrative that matches Beijing’s ontological worldview and celebrates the glory of Sino-African history.

With the establishment of FOCAC as a cooperative mechanism, a “new-type long-term and stable partnership, based on equality and mutual benefit” emerged between China and Africa (FOCAC 2000). Built from these core tenets the Sino-African relationship aimed to harmonize South-South reformative forces in line with Beijing’s vision for constructing a compelling new global order. Even with limited funding commitments, the first two FOCAC meetings articulated a mission statement along with a new disruptive development narrative based on the five foundational principles of China-Africa cooperation. These advancements, facilitated by an increasingly powerful interchange mechanism between China and Africa, served as the bedrock for Beijing’s aspirational centrality within shifting Indo-Pacific influence structures.

The third FOCAC, held in 2006, was celebrated as a marker of the 50-year anniversary of China-Africa diplomatic relations and, as such, bore significant weight in defining the future of the partnership. Harnessing this historic moment, Beijing signaled a new phase of the relationship expanding upon the foundations established in the Five Principles of China-Africa cooperation (see Table 5)(FOCAC 2006, 2006b). From 2006 onward, FOCAC introduced “mutual political trust” as a tenet of the cooperative framework (2012, 2015). This concept evolved from the earlier tenet of “political equality” to compel deeper political alignment. Additionally, in this phase of the partnership, FOCAC meetings celebrated the Chinese development pathway as an inspiration to African states. In President Hu Jintao’s opening address, he compelled the new type of China-Africa relationship to “cement unity and cooperation among developing countries and contribute to establishing a just and equitable new international political and economic order” (2006). Prior to 2006, forums had abstained from highlighting China’s growth as an aspirational asset. At FOCAC III, however, the Chinese development pathway was distinguished as a trademark of the China-Africa relationship and an asset to be shared within the partnership. Forging into this new space, FOCAC III proclaimed a “new type of strategic partnership” based on the tenets of “political equality and mutual trust, economic win-win cooperation and cultural exchanges” (FOCAC 2006, 2006b). FOCAC began to socialize China and Africa’s “splendid history and culture” and “win-win cooperation” became an emblematic feature of the Chinese brand of SSC in Africa (FOCAC 2006).

New Type of Strategic Partnership
<ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Mutual Political Trust • Economic win-win cooperation • Exchanges on governance & development • Cultural Exchanges • New Security Concept • Enhance FOCAC as cooperative framework • Peaceful resolution of disputes

Table 5: Definition of the "New type of Strategic China-Africa Partnership" according to the FOCAC 2006 Action Plan and Declaration.

FOCAC VI was another landmark event in enhancing the China-African partnership. After 9 years of developing the ‘new type of strategic partnership,’ newly-elected President Xi Jinping used FOCAC VI and VII to rebrand the relationship as a “comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership” (2015a), marking a maturation of Beijing’s African paradigm. In his opening address, Xi outlined the five pillars that defined the comprehensive strategic relationship - political equality and mutual trust, win-win economic cooperation, socio-political exchanges, security assistance, and synchronization in international affairs as the core tenets (see Table 6) (Xi 2015a). In comparison with the essence of the 2006 strategic partnership, the new *comprehensive* partnership of FOCAC VI exhibited action-oriented engagement and the institutionalization of Sino-African relations across an extended range of strategic interests. The consolidation of Beijing’s principles into a unified strategy marks a critical turning point for the China-Africa relationship under the leadership of Xi Jinping, as explored in Chapters 3 through 6.

Comprehensive Strategic & Cooperative Partnership

1. Political Equality & Mutual trust
2. Win-Win Economic Cooperation
3. Cultural & Political Exchanges
4. Mutual Security Assistance
5. Solidarity and Coordination in International Affairs

Table 6: The Five Pillars of the Comprehensive Strategic and Cooperative China-Africa Partnership as outlined by President Xi Jinping in his opening address at FOCAC VI.

Today, these values are most evident in the two prominent narratives deployed in Africa, the *Chinese Dream* and the *Belt and Road Initiative (BRI)*. The Chinese Dream and BRI represent the strategic ontological tools that have become synonymous with Beijing’s “brand” of development engagement. These tools are used to legitimize and mainstream Beijing’s material, security, and soft power engagement with the African continent as explored in the following chapters.

India-Africa

India's ties to Africa date back over 4,000 years when Indian Ocean trade winds facilitated the formation of physical and social links between the continents (Naidu 2010). In the recent era, interwoven colonial experiences accelerated the cultivation of an Indo-African ethnic group that numbers up to 6 million (Dubey 2010). Today, it is estimated that over 2.7 million Indian migrants live in Africa, far outstripping Chinese and Japanese populations on the continent (Shaw 2016). Both Africans of Indian descent and Indian diaspora are influential in bolstering economic, political, and cultural connections. Indian trade with Africa, once dwarfed by that of the Chinese and Japanese, reached a landmark \$78 Billion (USD) in 2014 (EXIM-India & AFREXIMBANK 2018: 19). Furthermore, the growth rate of Indian trade and foreign direct investment (FDI) in Africa has outpaced that of China and Japan. India is now Africa's fourth largest trading partner and second most important Asian-Pacific partner in terms of FDI, behind China (EYG 2015; Lunogelo 2015). India and Africa share a rich and layered history that can be described in four distinct phases as outlined in Table 7 and examined further below. In each of the four phases, New Delhi has leveraged traditional ideals of non-alignment, democracy, strategic autonomy, and multilateralism to cultivate an alternative development pathway underpinned by soft power linkages with Africa. As seen from a historical perspective, the careful cultivation of India's identity provides a soft-power advantage over China and Japan.

The first phase of Indian-African engagement is marked by ideological solidarity in the struggle to end colonial rule. India gained independence from British colonial rule in 1947 and built its national identity around the Gandhian principles of non-violent resistance and morally centered governance. Although India resisted the development of traditional military might, it staunchly opposed colonialism, imperialism, and racism and supported liberation movements across Asia and Africa. Mahatma Gandhi, the father of the Satyagraha (non-violent resistance) Movement, physically and spiritually linked the Indian and African continents. Gandhi spent his formative years in South Africa where he mobilized the Satyagraha resistance and used the principles of peaceful protest to fight against racial injustice in Africa before returning to India in 1914 to fight colonial rule. After casting off the chains of colonialism, Jawaharlal Nehru became India's first Prime

Minister and adapted Gandhian idealism into solid institutional forms. Nehru led India to become the face and voice of the developing world with the establishment of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) and the formulation of “Third World” identity and “South-South” cooperation. As the spokesperson of the Third World (an area of contemporary competition with China), India led a principled opposition to the inequities of the current world order and international institutions that favored the Global North at the expense of the Global South. Nehru served as one of the key organizers for the Bandung 1955 Conference which highlighted the common anti-colonial, anti-imperial, and anti-racist agenda of the southern states and catalyzed the contemporary engagement between China and Africa (as discussed above)(Bhattacharya 2010). Taylor notes the depth and continuity of Indian-African relations by highlighting India’s persistent role in promoting “a cooperative new world order and the common interest of the developing world in

Indo-African Relational Phases		
Phase	Themes	Key Events and characteristics
1947-1980	Ideological solidarity	Anti-colonial, anti-imperial, anti-racism movement Gandhian ideals, Nehruvian structures: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - “South-South” cooperation / Third World solidarity - Leader of Developing World - Advocate reformed international systems (NIEO, UN) - Passive resistance (NAM)
1990s	“Look East”	Increasing trade and investment focus Integration into globalizing world Move toward pragmatism Indian Ocean Rim Association (IORA) Establishment
2000-2008	Reinvigorating Ties	Declaration of India’s century Moving toward middle power status Engagement with people of Indian descent in Africa Framework for Indo-African engagement (TEAM-9, EXIM) Transition from Aid recipient to Donor country
2008 - 2019	“Act East” Strategic Autonomy	India Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) Launched Pan-African e-Network Four-Pronged engagement: <ol style="list-style-type: none"> 1. Resource security 2. Economic and private sector ties 3. Security and force projection in Indian Ocean Region 4. Soft Power/ Human resource development Assert global power status vis-à-vis China

Table 7: Four phases of Indo-African engagement

combatting global inequality” (Taylor 2012: 783).

While the first phase of Indian-African relations was rich in ideological solidarity and exchanges of ideas, trade and material investments between the continents was minimal. However, despite the dearth of economic exchange, India established several key partnership platforms that set the foundational character of the Indo-African relationship. The first Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation Programme (ITEC) was launched in 1964. This program laid the underpinnings for technical training and investment in human development that, even today, distinguishes India from all other development partners. Also, India established itself as a leader of the developing world in multilateral forums, such as G77. Furthermore, India repetitively positioned itself as a moral and political counterbalance to the West with its leadership of the Non-Alignment Movement and the demand for a New Economic International Order (NEIO)(Sagar 2009). This first phase of Indian-African engagement founded on Gandhian idealism and Nehruvian political ideology postured New Delhi as a leader in the peaceful struggle to create a new world order that favored Southern development and poverty reduction.

With the end of the Cold War and the collapse of colonialism, India moved into a new phase of engagement with Africa. This second phase, in the 1990s, was characterized by a reorientation of Indian focus to the East in response to a rapidly growing China. In 1994, Prime Minister Narasimha Rao declared India’s new “Look East” orientation signaling a move toward increasing engagement with China and other global powers (Baru 2015). This new posture emanated from a perceived necessity to move India away from Nehruvian political principles toward a more pragmatic engagement with Africa in pursuit of broader global power ambitions. This new engagement was marked by deepening security considerations amidst the forces of globalization. As Bhattacharya (2010) elaborates, India’s more pragmatic pursuit of national security encompassed the realms of resource, food, environmental, economic, maritime, and conventional security. While India’s eyes may have been looking eastward, it nonetheless remained cognizant of Africa’s weight in international politics. This phase of the Indian-African relationship saw the birth of a politically oriented engagement that recognized Africa as a “source of potentially vital support in international institutions” (Taylor 2012). In order to achieve a new world order and reform international systems such as the UNSC, Africa and India

needed to stand united, a departure from Nehruvian principles of disassociation and political independence. As Sagar (2009) assesses, this move towards pragmatism was aligned with a more *strategic* political outlook in pursuit of state power through the development of economic and military capacity.

In the wake of the Asian Oil Crisis, trade and investment between India and Africa steadily increased, especially in the resource and energy sectors. India cooperated with South Africa in the early 1990s to initiate a tentative experiment in expanded cooperation that resulted in the founding of the Indian Ocean Rim Association for Regional Cooperation (IOR-ARC, later renamed IORA) (Kelegama 1998). The IOR-ARC, formally launched in 1997, proposed a new type of regional multilateralism in the Indo-Pacific region and laid the theoretical groundwork for India's relationship with Africa (IOR-ARC 1997). The charter stipulated the enhancement of "economic interaction and co-operation over a wide spectrum to mutual benefit" built upon millennial old bonds forged across the Indian Ocean region (IORA 2014). Along with India, the African states of Kenya, Madagascar, Mauritius, Mozambique, Tanzania, and South Africa were among the original members of IOR-ARC in 1997. Later entrants included Comoros and Somalia bringing African representation to 30% of the total membership. Japan became the first "dialogue partner" nation in 1999 followed closely by China in 2000 (IORA 2017). This multilateral forum initially focused on exchange and investment but later expanded its scope as an important part of India's leadership role in Indian Ocean maritime security.

In the third phase, India reassessed its global identity and reinvigorated its relationship with Africa. With the start of a new millennium, Prime Minister Singh declared that "the 21st Century will be an Indian Century" (quoted by Acharya 2011: 862). India's aspiration to become a regional and global power resulted in the further institutionalization of economic, political, and cultural ties with Africa in a multi-dimensional engagement. The year 1998 marks an important shift in the India-Africa relationship with a concerted soft power initiative orchestrated by the Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) to re-engage with Indian diaspora on the African continent. The BJP, a Hindu Nationalist party, reached out to people of Indian descent in Africa in an attempt to foster connections through common heritage and identity, or *Hindutva* (Sagar 2009). The shift away from Nehruvian principles of disassociation marked the strengthening of Indian-Africa ties and the beginning of the

third phase of engagement. This third phase of Indian-African engagement, predicated on this human connection, assembled an array of tools and organizations targeted at reinvigorating economic, political, and security relationships. This deepening economic relationship is exemplified by the “Focus Africa Programme” launched in 2002 by India’s Export-Import (EXIM) Bank. EXIM built an organizational framework to promote bilateral trade, Indian exports, and market development in Africa, consolidating trade and investment activities. In the initial five years of the program, \$550M was invested in African states, followed by the initiation of market subsidies to Africa’s least developed countries (LDC) and Lines of Credit (LoC) for infrastructure development (Michael 2014). The next important development was the TEAM-9 Initiative in 2004, which signaled a deepening economic and political relationship between India and nine resource rich Western African nations. The TEAM-9 initiative marked a change in India’s geographic outlook, supplementing long-standing traditional ties with East Africa (former colonial states) with newly forged connections in West Africa. Additionally, India exhibited Southern solidarity and leadership with its incorporation into IBSA (India, Brazil, and South Africa) in 2003, bringing the world’s largest Southern economies into association (Singh 2015c). This Global South organization exemplified India’s continued role in promoting reform to international institutions in line with shifting global power.

Furthermore, in 2001, India was designated as one of the BRICs (Brazil, Russia, India, China), recognizing its accelerated growth and influence in altering the global economic order (O’Neill 2001). Bolstered by strong growth prospects and international stature, India made a deliberate transition from an *aid recipient* to a *donor* country. This shift heralded a new Indian era in line with Singh’s vision of India as a regional leader with major power ambitions. This critical reformation of identity in line with its role as leader of the developing world and Southern hemisphere postured India as a challenger to a rising China and alternative to OECD-DAC powers. In this period, bilateral relationships were established with states across the African continent transforming India’s geo-political reach and influence beyond the commonwealth states. This expansion fueled the institutionalization of economic and political relationships with the African continent later codified in the IAFS cooperative framework discussed in Chapter 3. Africa became the

playing field on which India's defined its new identity as a donor nation and a moral global leader vis-a-vis China.

The newest phase of Indo-African relations began in 2008 with the launch of the first India-Africa Forum Summit. Under the IAFS banner, India and Africa organized three multilateral summits in 2008, 2011, and 2015. Following the pattern of FOCAC, the second instance of the India-Africa summit was held on African soil in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. Each summit has resulted in the publication of a Summit Declaration and a Framework document detailing the modes of cooperation. With IAFS, India squarely entered the African development arena offering an attractive alternative to African states wary of OECD-DAC or Chinese influence. As some assess, "the [India-Africa] Forum Summit was, in a sense, a pinnacle of the growing partnership and shows the rise of India as an economic and knowledge power for Africa" (Michael 2014: 352).

<u>Principles of India-Africa Cooperation</u>
Equality, Friendship, Mutual benefit, Solidarity
A. Respect for sovereignty & territorial integrity
B. Commitment to deepen African integration
C. Collective Action
D. Civilizational Exchange
E. Social Development & Capacity Building
F. Respect for Diversity
G. Consolidation & development of democracy

Table 8: Fundamental principles of the India-Africa partnership as defined by IAFS.

Like Japan and China's African forums, IAFS became the premier coordination mechanism for New Delhi's development principles in Africa. The fundamental principles of the India-Africa partnership were outlined as equality, friendship, mutual benefit, and solidarity (IAFS 2015a) In addition to these core principles, the 2008 Delhi Declaration outlined seven guiding principles of cooperation (Table 8). These principles outlined a multi-dimensional framework for South-South Cooperation that distinguished India as a champion of regional autonomy, democratic ideals, and African-driven development agendas. Drawing contrast to the North-South divide and an asymmetric China-Africa dependency, India's principles of equality and friendship allow African states increased agency in driving interregional development initiatives. The elevation of African integration and collective action, integral objectives of AU Agenda 2063, demonstrates New Delhi's

stake in African development as a neighbor rather than an external investor. India's identity as the world's largest democracy provides an attractive non-Western paradigm to African leaders wary of Chinese authoritarianism. Notably, the IAFS Declaration and the Africa-India Framework for Cooperation became a blueprint for a 21st century cooperative architecture that spanned the Indian Ocean region. As India positioned itself to confront an ever-stronger China, Africa became an increasingly important arena to define a mature development paradigm. Lacking the economic or military might to match China head-on, India strategically focused on promoting a collective South-South identity and regional multilateralism as a competitive advantage.

Even in this transformational era in Indian history, certain fundamental characteristics of India's engagement in Africa remain constant. First, India remains committed to *strategic autonomy*, charting a path between Western and Eastern powers. Secondly, India exerts influence through skillful leadership in regional multilateral organizations, establishing itself as an anchor for regional self-determination. Third, India remains committed to the reform and democratization of international systems, particularly the United Nations Security Council where it seeks the addition of permanent membership for India and several African nations.

Conclusion

In summary, this chapter examined the African development paradigms of Japan, China, and India in comparison with OECD-DAC ODA norms and principles. Japan, an established member of the OECD-DAC, diverges in key areas from DAC norms. The three foundational tenets of Japan's ODA philosophy – ownership, partnership, and human security – underline the Japan-Africa relationship, serving as the bedrock of the TICAD process. On the other hand, China and India's development engagement paradigms continue to evolve as these donors mature their ODA institutions and global narratives. Beijing's emphasis on sovereignty, stability, win-win cooperation, and non-interference continue to be moderated through the FOCAC process as explored in the following chapters. Above all, Beijing's insistence on adherence to the One-China policy as a condition for development engagement has resulted in increasing diplomatic

isolation for Taiwan. Finally, India's historical socio-cultural and ideological links with African states run deep but it is only in the 21st century that New Delhi has begun to consolidate its development institutions. Evolving concepts born at the Bandung Conference and during the Non-Alignment movement, New Delhi's relationship with Africa has come to center on a moral philosophy based on equal partnership, strategic autonomy, Southern cooperation, and democratic ideals.

By the 2008 TICAD Conference, the landscape of development engagement in Africa had dramatically changed. African leaders had participated in three successful FOCAC forums and realized the launch of the India Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) just one month earlier. As Beijing embarked on crafting a “new type of strategic China-Africa partnership,” Tokyo hastened to maintain TICAD's effectiveness and legitimacy as a framework for Asia-Africa cooperation. With the entrance of China and India as competitors in the African sphere in the 21st century, the OECD-DAC powers and Japan have been forced to re-examine their development paradigms.

The multilateral development forums set forth by the Asian Lions have shaken the geopolitical balance across the Indo-Pacific region by advancing coordinated development efforts, policy alignment, and socialization of strategic narratives. TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS have become important vehicles for exerting material and soft power



influence, but also deepen the socio-political relations that are foundational to exerting ontological influence. Forum diplomacy allows Tokyo, Beijing, and New Delhi to communicate strategic development narratives to targeted African partners, legitimizing a full spectrum of engagement across the region, including economic and security agendas. The comparative analysis of Japan-Africa, China-Africa, and India-Africa forums reveals the various definitions of development assistance, development principles, and characteristics that shape Asia-Africa engagement today. The following chapters will build on this foundation to compare Japan, China, and India's contemporary material, soft power, and ontological power in Africa. Chapter 3 will explore the use of diplomacy through TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS to cultivate ontological power and legitimize each Asian donor's brand of development. The modern paradigms of Asian-African engagement, largely inspired by Japan's TICAD model of forum diplomacy, have disrupted the course of development on the African continent and continue to reverberate through the international community.

Chapter 3: Ontological Power

Chapter 2 traced the evolution of defining development principles and characteristics through Japan-Africa, China-Africa, and India-Africa forums. This chapter builds on the foundation laid in Chapter 2, defining Asian power's cultivation of ontological power through development engagement in Africa. It explores how established and emerging Asian development powers use ontological power to influence the domestic development narratives, values, and behaviors of recipient nations to legitimize a desired world-view. In conjunction with the assessment of material and soft power in Chapters 4, 5, and 6, the characteristics of an emerging new mode of development power will be illuminated.

Introduction

This chapter expounds on the tools of ontological power used by Japan, China, and India in their development engagement with African states. Building from Japan, China, and India's core development principles, this chapter provides a comparative assessment of each Asian donor's unique development brand and their strategic approach to increasing African stakeholder's adoption of alternative models. Throughout the analysis, a focus is placed on how Asian development powers have leveraged forum diplomacy through TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS to cultivate African partner states as early adopters and ambassadors of Asian "brands" on the international stage. Ultimately, growth in Asian ontological power in African states aims to socialize and legitimize a viable alternative worldview and "brand" of development.

In exploring ontological power, the concept of disruptive innovation is useful in understanding the evolution of alternative brands of development in Africa. Disruptive innovation, a concept first introduced by Clayton Christensen (1997), is classically applied to the fields of business and technology. The theory postulates a process whereby non-traditional agents exploit alternative solutions for low-end or overlooked markets to realize "innovation-driven growth" (Christensen, Raynor & McDonald 2015). In this context, innovators apply unique ideas, methods, or models to achieve growth, exploit strategic market advantages, and encourage mainstream acceptance. Although disruptive

innovation has been used to explain transformative ideas in the fields of education, satellite technology, and personal computing, its theoretical application to macro-level processes and social sciences remains largely unexplored.

The term “disruptive” has been recently used to describe the rise of relative Asian power, specifically with respect to China, India, and Japan (AsiaSociety 2017). With the entrance of Japan, China, and India into Africa’s contested development space, the social and relational nature of the new type of South-South and triangular international relations compels a deeper understanding of the embedded discourses and mechanisms of disruptive influence (Bing & Ceccoli 2013: 113). By exploring disruptive innovation through an ontological lens, the characteristics of each Asian donor’s contemporary development narratives are further understood as a mode of geopolitical power.

A country’s development narrative reveals its core cultural values and political interests. The manner in which a nation defines its development narrative is also a reflection of its domestic priorities and national ideals. As such, the balance between cultural values and national interests presents a rich intersection for exploration. While international development visions are replete with rhetorical prose, they reflect a set of national values and beliefs that extend beyond territorial borders. These narratives are deemed to be universally applicable rather than culturally relative. Just as the democratic ideals of the United States shaped its international agenda in the late 20th and 21st centuries, the international development narratives of China, India, and Japan guide their engagement with African states. In conjunction with strategic material and soft power initiatives, these narratives are utilized to achieve influence and mainstream acceptance by African states and the international community. With growing international prominence, an analysis of the maturation of ontological power deployed by the three Asian donors offers a novel way to analyze a new archetype of Asian development power.

The strategic expansion of ontological power by Asian donors is linked to the realization of grand Indo-Pacific architectures in Africa, the final development frontier. As the leaders of their respective nations, Narendra Modi, Xi Jinping, and Abe Shinzo each assert their unique strategic vision for engagement with the continent. The 21st Century brands of cooperation promoted by China, India, and Japan have taken on new and distinctive characteristics. China leverages SSC as a means to defining a new mode of

international relations, exemplified by its leadership of the BRI. Beijing uses African engagement to define the SSC ‘Rules of Engagement.’ Alternatively, New Delhi’s historical position as the champion of the global South remains a central facet of Indian South-South *partnerships*. India constructs SSC as a broad collaboration framework leveraging diverse solutions to address mutual development challenges. For New Delhi, resilient Indian Ocean region South-South partnerships are a development end-state, intending to achieve a reformed global order favorable to India Ocean states. For Japan, triangular cooperation with emerging donors China and India in Africa advances value-based diplomacy and Japan’s ODA philosophy as a new standard for international development. The means and methods that spark strategic disruption arise from each of these strategic visions. Thus, a tale of three ontological frameworks will be deliberated.

China, India, and Japan have architected global development narratives within their distinct worldviews. President Xi emphasized that Beijing’s brand of development is driving “a further rise in China’s international influence, ability to inspire, and power to shape” (Xi 2017a). In addition to material, security, and soft power investments, China’s new development ontology is having profound effects in Africa (Ramaphosa 2018). Similarly, Tokyo’s Development Cooperation Charter heralds a new era of Japanese development leadership characterized by strategic and effective use of ODA to advance Japan’s “leading presence in the world and strengthen its credibility” as a champion of the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (MOFA-Japan 2017b: iii). India has reframed its foreign policy priorities to include Africa as a part of its “extended neighborhood,” declaring African states as “a top priority for India’s foreign and economic policy” (Modi 2017).

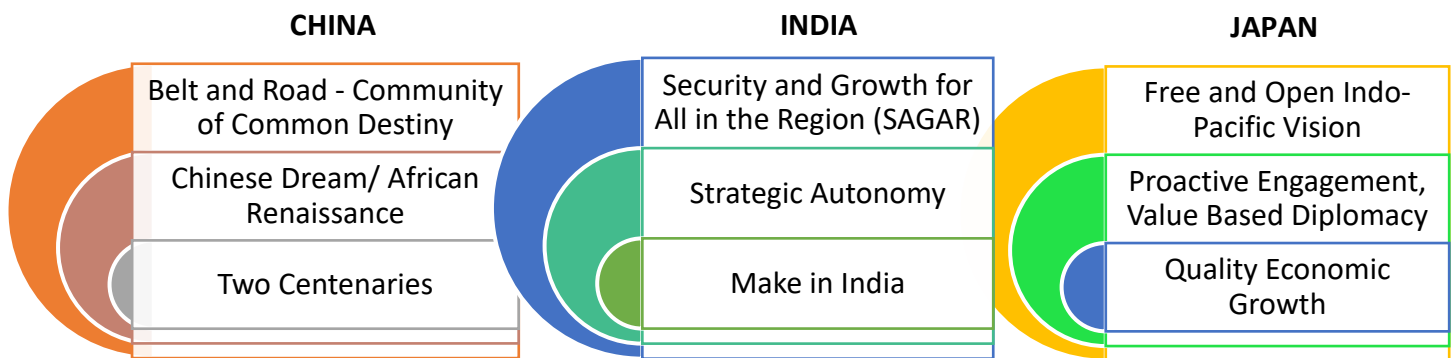


Figure 6: Chinese, Indian, and Japanese development ontologies advanced at the regional/global, African, and domestic levels.

African and AU leaders are commending Asian strategic partnerships as “an important instrument towards the achievement of [Africa’s] development goals” (Zuma 2015).

Each of the strategic development brands advanced by the Asian Lions has become the focal point of their material, security, and soft power endeavors, outlined in Chapters 3, 5, and 6. Part 1 of the chapter explains the characteristic brands of Japanese, Chinese, and Indian development engagement used over the last decade through a lens of strategic disruption. A review of contemporary Asia-Africa forums reveals the increasing centrality of Indo-Pacific development stories in advancing alignment and legitimization among African states. Part 2 provides a comparative assessment of established and emerging Asian Donor’s use of ontological power. Indicators, including forum attendance, key leader engagements, Memorandum of Understanding (MOU) or Agreement (MOA), and diplomatic presence, results in a comparative assessment of the maturity and scope of each Asian donor’s ontological toolset. Ultimately, this chapter demonstrates that Japan, China, and India are actively enlisting African counterparts to reinforce their symbolic brands of partnership and development stories.

Part 1: Influencing the Narrative

In the 21st century, the widespread accessibility of technology and advances in Internet and communications technology resulted in the empowerment of a wide range of actors. In addition to government entities, large corporations, civil society, and activists leverage social networks to assert influence and agency. At the same time, the transnational nature of modern challenges such as climate change, global pandemics, pollution, and poverty influence the way nations interface with domestic, regional, and global populations. In a globalized world, domestic growth and prosperity are integrally linked with international development networks. In tackling the problem of African development, Asian donor powers recognize the vital role of conveying a carefully crafted brand to both domestic and global audiences. Hence, the ability to control the narrative is increasingly vital for the pursuit of long-term national interests. In this changing landscape of ideational power, Japan, China, and India seek to tell a compelling “development story” to African stakeholders. To do so they deploy an ontological power strategy aligned with a new type of development power shaped by shared histories, cultural values, and worldview.

Building on the development principles outlined in Chapter 2, we will explore the proliferation of Asian donor powers’ development narratives as a strategically disruptive force. This section explores the development brands put forth by Japan, China, and India as alternatives to Western-led paradigms and highlights the unique ideas and methods they have introduced into the development ecosystem. It also shows how China and India advance ontological narratives through mechanisms of South-South Cooperation (SSC) while Japan leverages its unique identity as a non-Western power in the OECD-DAC to

strengthen triangular partnerships and bridge Asian donor and African dynamism. Alternative Asian narratives are used to target new markets and development stakeholders, including a recipient nation’s ruling elite, Pan-African and

Strategic Disruption	
Characteristics	Non-traditional agents Underserved or unexploited markets Culturally derived development narratives
Methods	Partnership and policy alignment Alternative to status quo Evolutionary process of quality improvement
Objectives	Mainstream acceptance Legitimacy Market share

regional organizations (such as the AU), and international development organizations (such as the Bretton Woods or OECD-DAC).

Strategic *disruption* does not imply the destruction of the status quo framework constructed by OECD-DAC powers. Rather, disruptors innovate on existing techniques to capture untapped demand and/or generate new demand within an underserved market. As Christensen explains, while “incumbents focus on improving their products and services for their most demanding (and usually most profitable) customers, they exceed the needs of some segments and ignore the needs of others” (Christensen, Raynor & McDonald 2015: 46). While disruptors can certainly erode an incumbent’s market share, more often, incumbents and newcomers realize a negotiated space wherein they can mutually exist, albeit under a revised set of norms. Disruption prompts both newcomers and incumbents to achieve coexistence in a development space. In its application to the subject of this dissertation, Japan’s TICAD mechanism aligns Tokyo’s development philosophy with established international initiatives such as the MDGs and SDGs, achieving broad endorsement from international organizations (UN, World Bank, UN Development Program, and African Union). At the same time, China’s BRI aims to strengthen development policy synergy through established global governance structures, such as the UNDP and the WTO, in advancing new norms and bolstering the legitimacy of its development model (BRF 2019). As Xi Jinping emphasized, BRI is not aiming to reinvent the wheel, but rather “complement the development strategies of countries involved by leveraging their comparative strengths” (Xi 2017b). New Delhi exhibits a similar vision for Indo-African cooperation “as an instrument that can effectively supplement existing international efforts and lead to tangible and real benefits for developing countries,” (IAFS 2011). As Adem postulates, “Africa’s renaissance could come closer to realization if the effort is geared toward linking the new to the old, and remodeling past or existing institutions and modernizing them, rather than merely transforming or dismantling the old” (Adem 2013b: 187-188). By working under the umbrella of incumbent power constructs, the innovative technology and development paradigms put forth by Japan, China, and India have achieved traction in developing states. Within established frameworks, Asian donor powers are competing to achieve legitimacy and ontological influence in an increasingly crowded development ecosystem.

Asian-African engagement efforts emphasize getting the development “brand” and messaging right in Africa. Contemporary strategies advance ontological power through policy alignment in pursuit of ambitious regional architectures and infrastructure projects. Consequently, the African development sphere, a space once monopolized by the OECD-DAC nations, is increasingly contentious. To make headway in this environment, Japan, China, and India pitch alternative models of cooperation to African stakeholders to carve out each of their unique pathways to disruption. The rise of Asian-led 21st Century regional architectures, like the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP), the Belt and Road Initiative (BRI), and the Asia-Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC), are steeped in rich cultural symbolism. China’s BRI megaproject is promoted by Beijing as the blueprint for a community of common destiny. Japan and India’s AAGC underscores a commitment to large-scale infrastructure development and aspirations to construct a networked Indo-Pacific region with African needs at its core. Japan’s extension of the FOIP strategy to the shores of Africa tells a story of African inclusion and agency in the contentious battle of ideas and norms. These grand visionary architectures are promoted as a departure from Western paradigms and the dawning of an Afro-Asian vision of the global order.

Christensen (2015: 48) might have been talking about China, India, and Japan rather than tech companies when he noted, “Disrupters tend to focus on getting the business model, rather than merely the product, just right.” The roots of ontological power reside in a well-told story, a compelling narrative that provides structure and coherence to the material and soft power development investment. The attractiveness of the development narratives advanced by Japan, China, and India are central to the rapid evolution of the Afro-Asian relationships. In line with Mattern’s conceptualization of international order, ontological power leverages “a relationship among specific states that produces and reinforces shared understanding of expectations and behaviors” (Mattern 2005: 22). Beijing aims to demonstrate development with “Chinese characteristics,” proving that “Chinese wisdom” offers “a Chinese approach to solving the problems facing mankind” (Xi 2017c). As President Xi boldly declared, China “offers a new option for other countries and nations who want to speed up their development while preserving their independence” (Xi 2017c). For Japan, “TICAD became a platform through which many of Japan’s distinctive aid approaches were projected” (Cornelissen 2016: 155). By

leveraging triangular cooperation, Tokyo promotes quality standards and Japanese development principles in emerging Asian-African partnerships. Through AAGC, Tokyo and New Delhi advance “a model of cooperation which is responsive to the needs of African countries” (Modi 2017). India promotes intra-regional South-South partnerships targeted at maintaining the strategic autonomy of Indian Ocean states and advancing global agendas with a unified Indo-African voice (Modi 2018a). The 1997 Asian financial crisis and 2008 global financial crisis shed renewed focus on these Asian paradigms as viable development alternatives.

The development narratives deployed in Asian-African forum diplomacy showcase three distinct and attractive themes - “non-Western” identity, emphasis on horizontal partnership, and alignment with domestic movements. In contrast to DAC narratives, Asian-African relationships are predicated upon African agency and mutually beneficial development partnerships. While Japan is among the established OECD-DAC donors, Tokyo’s ability to advance a Japanese development philosophy and values is highly distinctive in the African context (Cornelissen 2016: 149-150). Japan leverages its leadership role in TICAD and its position as a major donor to assert ownership, partnership, and values-based philosophy to shape international donor norms. As TICAD has matured, Tokyo has positioned itself at the center of brokering an Asia-Africa story, offering to couple Japan’s rich development experience and technological savvy with Africa’s dynamic growth potential. Japan’s open and inclusive TICAD diplomacy has created opportunities for triangular cooperation with emerging Asian donors. Alternatively, China and India share parallel historical experiences with African states, specifically their common anti-colonial struggles, status as developing countries, and “Global South” identities. In their respective African forums, both India and China use “developing” country status and shared colonial victimization to build solidarity with African states while legitimizing the assertion of partnership.

Breaking from the North-South axis of the DAC paradigm, the partnership models advanced by each Asian donor harness aspects of South-South cooperation. As an established donor, Japan promotes the cultivation of South-South cooperation within an overarching narrative of triangular cooperation (bridging established and emerging donors). Alternatively, China and India leverage South-South cooperation as a pillar of

their distinct development narratives. Beijing's "Belt and Road" framework proposes a paradigm of South-South cooperation characterized by *concerted unilateralism* (discussed below). India harnesses South-South cooperation as a basis for multilateral networks that bolster domestic development, regional security, and international legitimacy.

The realization of strategic disruption entails that new ideas and methods follow an iterative process of innovation and improvement, ultimately leading to the evolution of mainstream ideas. Olopade (2014), a proud Afro-optimist, highlights the necessary innovation that arises from the difficulty of life in Africa. In Nigeria, this spirit of enduring ingenuity might be called *kanju* ("making haste"). In China, it would be called *chiku* ("eat bitter"). The Japanese business ethic of *kaizen* ("continual improvement") has become an integral facet of the Japan-Africa relationship. "A key element of disruptive innovation, and the principal reason for an often-unexpected evolutionary path, lies in the cultural tensions that arise from its development" (SSB 2016). China, Japan, and India each have their own embedded cultural beliefs and narratives that are being tested in a variety of African states and development ecosystems. For example, cultural norms concerning the expectation about workforce overtime and personal sacrifice in China and Japan differ from Western or African concepts of ethical labor practices. As one might expect, these cultural differences have resulted in clashes over labor laws and employment conditions (Hairong & Sautman 2013). Ultimately, to be successful, partner states are forced to adapt to local laws, cultural views, and the socio-economic challenges (such as limited access to medical care and the effects of poverty) of operating in various African states. Chinese, Indian and Japanese development brands are subjected to both domestic and international opinion. As explored below, FOCAC and TICAD initiatives have evolved amidst rising concerns about African debt. Similarly, Beijing's BRI narrative has evolved to respond to charges of corruption, opaqueness, and environmental destruction. As India's IAFS has matured, it has evolved its scope and technology platforms to enhance ontological engagement.

On the receiving side of the equation, African states are learning how to set beneficial terms, develop regulatory frameworks, and enforce local and international law. The influence of African governments and populations on driving the improvement of

Asian engagement narratives is evident in forum diplomacy. Within a contested space, the agency of African governments and populations are recognized drivers of evolution, providing a new way to consider African development in the post-neoliberal era. Hackenesch reflects on the benefit that developing nations can derive from competition between donors, noting increased ownership of development processes and the reformation of established processes (Hackenesch 2009). The refinement of Asia-Africa forum diplomacy and development narratives illustrates the evolutionary process of improvement propelled by domestic and international pressures.

From this theoretical starting point, we can assess Japanese, Chinese, and Indian engagement with Africa while effectively addressing the role of African stakeholders as consumers of Asian brands of development. “Disruptive ideas...allow for experimentation and risk-taking” and ultimately thrive in a shared ecosystem of established and emerging powers (SSB 2016: 41). Furthermore, strategic disruption allows for the co-existence of established “incumbent” actors (Western powers and Japan) and newcomers (China and India) in a negotiated space. This notion is critical in resolving the South-South and North-South duality – that the contemporary Africa-Asia relationship is inextricably linked to the West through established international organizations, security requirements, and historical undertakings while the modern global Asian markets and sociocultural movements (non-alignment movement, South-South cooperation, Globalization 2.0 and environmental protection) increase in reach and influence.

The contested development space in African nations provides a strong case study for the analysis of development narratives through strategic disruption. African nations represent one space where Chinese, Japanese, and Indian efforts collide to negotiate new international paradigms and modes of soft power. Leadership in the African region has been complicated by Japanese, Chinese, and Indian “political will, resource capacity and regional legitimacy” (Acharya 2011). Today, the co-existence of OECD-DAC powers and Asian influencers is shaping the development discourse within Africa and the international community. African development has sparked the geopolitical reexamination of 20th century assumptions of power. By acknowledging the centrality of Asian development narratives in generating ontological tools, strategic disruption provides an alternative to the “threat” narrative and realist concepts of power. The Asian Lions’

development narratives and visionary architectures will shed light on how strategic disruption has spurred the *unique ideas and development stories* that now shape a new era of international relations in Africa.

Chinese Dream, African Renaissance

We are closer than in any other time of history to the goal of rejuvenating the Chinese nation. We are more confident and capable of achieving this goal than in any other period of history (Xi quoted by Xinhua 2013a).

The words of Xi Jinping capture the essence of his bold vision for a prosperous China. The “Chinese Dream,” popularized by Xi Jinping in 2012, promises “national rejuvenation, improvement of people’s livelihoods, prosperity, construction of a better society, and military strengthening” (CCTV 2014). While the Chinese Dream also pledges a “better life” for its people, it differs in important areas from its namesake, the “American Dream.” Rather than the individual pursuit of wealth through hard work, the Chinese Dream offers a vision where hard work and discipline result in the restoration of China’s historic grandeur, which, in turn, betters the future of its people. The Chinese Dream is a narrative centered on national rejuvenation. “Two Centenaries” demarcated by Xi Jinping and the Chinese Communist Party (CPC), serve as the central milestones by which to measure the success of the rejuvenation project. The first centenary aims to achieve a moderately prosperous society by 2021 to mark the 100th anniversary of the CPC. The second centenary in 2049 commemorates the 100th anniversary of the founding of the People’s Republic of China and is the goalpost for the achievement of a fully developed modern socialist nation. Xi Jinping and the Chinese Communist Party have asserted a carefully constructed development roadmap to achieve these milestones. Deemed a sacred goal, the Chinese Dream for national rejuvenation and the achievement of the two milestones offer a development pathway that guides and legitimizes economic, diplomatic, and military endeavors under President Xi’s leadership (Sørensen 2015; Xi 2017a). Xi Jinping draws on the glories of Chinese heritage and history to envision a future of power and prosperity that celebrates the characteristics of Chinese society, drawing distinctions from Western models of national growth.

The attainment of the centennial milestones and the fulfillment of the Chinese dream are contingent on China's close ties with the developing world. The Chinese Dream and Two Centenaries appeal to African states in two ways: 1) highlighting China's unique role as a development partner and developing country, and 2) drawing parallels with an "African Renaissance" to advance common development. China's stunning national growth trajectory lifted millions out of poverty over a few short decades. The PRC's ambitious dream to achieve prosperity and modernity with Chinese characteristics offers a compelling paradigm for African nations. As Xi boldly stated, Beijing's narrative is "blazing a new trail for other developing countries to achieve modernization," an important contrast to the wisdom of the previous generation of leaders who wanted to hide China's ambitions (Xi 2017a; Zhang 2015). Xi's words reflect Beijing's newfound confidence as an ontological influencer and the disruptive potential of its narrative among developing African states. In breaking from the policies of Deng Xiaoping, Xi's proactive foreign policy advances a new premise of reciprocal commitment from developing partners to align development pathways (Zhang 2015: 8-13)

China's development narrative recognizes a gap in the OECD-DAC narrative and targets under-served African stakeholders. During President Xi Jinping's inaugural foreign visit to Africa, he stressed that the realization of the Chinese dream depends upon a complementary "African renaissance." The phrase "African renaissance," popularized by former South African President Thabo Mbeki, calls for Africa to "rise from the ashes" and seek glory (Mbeki 1998). President Mbeki envisioned an end to wars, poverty, and disease, and the renewal of the African continent. This dream has been incorporated into the bloodstream of the African Union, becoming a prominent facet of Agenda 2063 (AU 2015). As early as 2013, Xi Jinping stressed the parallel nature of the Chinese dream and African renaissance, creating "one community connected by a common fate" (Xi 2013). Similar to the Chinese Dream, the African renaissance urges its people to draw on uniquely African culture, heritage, and identity to propel the continent to *renewal* and international prominence. A shared enmity of past Western offenses adds fire to the kindling of resistance and re-imagination. Both Dreams are harmonized in their end-state goal to realize a "glory" or "prominence" in African and China that was subjugated during the colonial era. The shared historical memory of the humility of Western colonialism

builds a foundation for resonance between their foundational worldviews, drawing the Chinese Dream and African Renaissance into alignment. The African Renaissance promotes the ingredients for stability and economic development in line with Beijing's characteristic "win-win" cooperation.

From the earliest iterations of FOCAC, "pursuit of common progress" aligned China and Africa in both the development and re-imagination of international affairs. At FOCAC II, Wen Jiabao (2003) stressed that "China is the largest developing country, and Africa the largest developing continent," suggesting likeness and fraternity in their development stages. This concept intricately linked China and Africa in what would later be called a "community of common destiny" (*mingyun gongtongti*) (FOCAC 2018a; IOSC-PRC 2011). From the earliest FOCAC meetings, leaders expressed frustration about the unfavorable global order in which "world peace and development cannot possibly be sustained if the North-South divide grows wider and developing nations go poorer" (Wen 2003). Going beyond just rhetoric, Zhang's analysis of China's "peaceful development policy" highlighted the role of development partners in operationalizing the common destiny narrative. As such development engagement, stemming from material engagement, has become a vehicle of Beijing's more proactive foreign policy and growing sophistication in pursuit of core national interests (Zhang 2015). Forging an alternative option to post-WWII era international organizations and the prescriptive OECD-DAC norms and standards, Beijing used FOCAC to stress the importance of "consolidating solidarity among developing countries and facilitating the establishment of a new international order" (FOCAC 2000). As FOCAC evolved, new ontological tools seeded mechanisms for collective dialogue to socialize Chinese narratives within state and Pan-African organizations. China's strategy in Africa aimed to build diplomatic unity behind Beijing's strategic narrative.

For Beijing, Africa is the staging ground for *strategic ontological and soft power disruption*. China recognizes Africa's critical role in UN diplomacy, soft-power politics, security, and in developing Beijing's position as a global player. Beijing is experimenting with a formula for disruptive development power that operates within the international system to cultivate legitimacy for its worldview and values. Recently, dozens of African states have voiced their support of Beijing's position of bilateral resolution of land disputes

in the South China Sea undermining the legitimacy of the 2016 ruling of the International Court of Arbitration (Wen & Xiaochen 2016). These and other displays of solidarity detailed in the following sections underline Africa's strategic value and its growing role in legitimizing Beijing's narrative within the international community. In African states, Beijing is expanding the reach of "China's cultural soft power and the international influence of Chinese culture" to realize a future where China's "underlying values hold greater appeal than ever before" (Xi 2017a). At the closing ceremony of the 5th China-Africa Business Forum (CABF), Xi Jinping stressed that "African industrialization is inseparable from China" and highlighted China's commitment to "catapult the African industrialization renaissance" (MFA-PRC 2015b). The Belt and Road initiative operationalizes the China Dream and provides clarity on Africa's role in Beijing's aspirational worldview.

Dream-in-the-making

The Belt and Road initiative (formerly known as One Belt One Road) is Beijing's mechanism to operationalize the Chinese Dream. Xi Jinping first announced the bold narrative during visits to Central and Southeast Asia in late 2013 and since then, it has been an integral facet of the PRC's development brand in Africa beginning with FOCAC 2015. The success of BRI is linked to Xi's legacy in China and, in 2017, was written into the Constitution along with Xi Jinping himself (Peters 2017; Xi 2017a). In line with Xi's consolidation of power, the creation of the China International Development and Cooperation Agency (CIDCA) in 2018 consolidates Beijing's efforts to communicate strategic development assistance policies and engagement paradigms that fulfill the Belt and Road vision. Built upon the legacy of the historic Euro-Asian trade route, the "New Silk Road" envisions overland and maritime links that connect Asia, Africa, Europe, and beyond¹⁵.

Capturing the spirit of the Silk Road, BRI uses historic memory to endow Beijing's brand of development philosophy as one rooted in ancient glory and international cooperation (IOSC-PRC 2011). Importantly, this narrative invokes a pre-Western period,

¹⁵ Early maps and Belt and Road documents sought to bridge Asia, Africa, and Europe. However, in 2017 official geographical depictions of the Belt and Road were banned and the scope of the "vision" was expanded to include South America, Western Africa, and the Arctic regions.

where, according to the PRC, Chinese wisdom and philosophy contributed to constructive and mutually beneficial engagement with foreign states. As Xi elaborated, the narrative draws “wisdom and strength from the ancient Silk Road, which features the spirit of peace and cooperation, openness and inclusiveness, mutual learning and mutual benefit” (Xi 2017b). The value of Chinese wisdom as a positive contributor to human heritage resonates in the narrative, offering an alternative to ‘Westernization.’ The PRC’s Vision statement (2015a) about the Belt and Road initiative reflects President Xi’s lofty aspirations:

BRI is an “endeavor to seek new models of international cooperation and global governance ...set up all-dimensional, multi-tiered and composite connectivity networks, and ...align and coordinate the development strategies of the countries along the Belt and Road” (2015a: 3).

The strategically disruptive elements of the vision become immediately apparent. Beijing offers a new paradigm grounded in cultural values that resonate with domestic Chinese audiences and African partner nations. The BRI targets a strategic African market and outlines a process of quality improvement, with the aims of achieving mainstream acceptance. A map released by Xinhua News Agency (Figure 7) shows Africa’s role in



Figure 7: Map of Belt and Road Initiative released by China's Xinhua News Agency in 2014. Published map as reproduced in English by The China Africa Project (Olander, van Staden & Ferchen 2016)

the expansive undertaking proposed by Xi Jinping.

With high-level BRI Memorandum's of Understanding already executed between Beijing, Egypt, Kenya, Ethiopia, and South Africa, Africa's place in Beijing's grand strategic vision is certain. China's investment in the Suez Canal redevelopment, East African port infrastructure, and pan-African rail links shows the extent to which the BRI narrative and ontological disruption are shaping the brick and mortar realities in African states (van Staden 2018). Transport and infrastructure projects, financed by Chinese led banks, such as the Kenyan standard-gauge railroad, the Sudanese oil pipeline, and the Djibouti military facility, are being incorporated into the BRI framework. Beijing's development narrative offers significant promise for African states, where billions in development cooperation may supplement the Chinese-financed roads, railroads, and ports that already improve continental connectivity. The grandeur of the efforts backed by substantial monetary investment distinguishes China as a major force of disruption in Africa.

President Xi has taken deliberate steps to legitimize his vision through the publication of the Belt and Road Action plan and establishment of the Belt and Road Forum (BRF). The 2015 Action Plan released by the PRC's Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MOFA), "Vision and Actions on Jointly Building Silk Road Economic Belt and 21st Century Maritime Silk Road," and the products of the 2017 and 2019 Belt and Road Forum provide insight into Xi's ontological vision. Beginning from a purely linguistic analysis of the vision statement, the word "joint" is used more than two dozen times and the word "cooperation" appears a staggering 130 times. On the other hand, "competition" is scarce, making just a single token appearance in the document. Xi Jinping is clearly messaging that the success of the New Silk Road depends on the commitment of partner nations falling in step with China in terms of investment and policy alignment.

In 2017, the inaugural BRF attracted 29 heads-of-state and high-level delegations from 52 nations, including high-level delegations from the US and Japan. Xi Jinping's opening speech at this conference heralded BRI as the defining endeavor of the 21st Century, with promises to reimagine international economic, development, and security norms to achieve a "new type of international relations featuring win-win cooperation" (Xi 2017b). Although only two African heads of state (Ethiopia and Kenya) attended the first

BRF, it represented a consolidation of disparate development projects across the African continent in line with a compelling development narrative. The first BRF forum resulted in a signed Joint Communique, which touted Beijing's leadership role in promoting globalization and contrasting American trends toward isolationism exemplified by the "America First" policy.

The 2019 Belt and Road Forum showed areas of noticeable refinement, demonstrating a process of evolution and quality improvement in response to the increasing criticisms of Chinese development cooperation. By 2019, Xi aimed to refine the BRI brand by placing anti-corruption, extensive consultation, green and clean development, and high standard cooperation as the core tenets of a "high-quality" belt and road (Xi 2019). The 2019 Communique repeatedly emphasized "high-quality projects" and an "open, green and clean" BRI, marked changes from the 2017 statement (BRF 2019). The forum attracted 36 heads of state, including 5 African heads-of-state, and 90 international organizations, showing a trajectory of growth. However, the United States, an increasingly vocal critic, and India were notably absent. The Forum communique emphasized the complementary nature of BRI with other international cooperation frameworks and reaffirmed commitment to the Agenda 2030 SDGs, aiming to drive the legitimization of China's worldview. The forum provided a list of 283 cooperative agreements, cooperation mechanisms, projects, and financing to demonstrate the progress of the narrative in building increased connectivity across the Indo-Pacific region. At the 2019 Forum, Beijing signed cooperation agreements with Djibouti, Mozambique, Ethiopia, and the AU, and new MOUs with Equatorial Guinea and Liberia. Rather than a focus on astounding investment pledges seen at the first BRF, the 2019 Forum recalibrated toward greater emphasis on policy alignment, connectivity, and inclusivity, aiming to posture China as a responsible power committed to peaceful development. Beijing extended its ontological framework to include Chinese leadership in areas of environmental sustainability with the "Green Silk Road," and global health initiatives with the "Health Silk Road." The changes between the first and second BRF, reinforce BRI as a mechanism to set global standards and international rules that align with Beijing's worldview. The Joint Communique adopted by the leaders of 38 nations, heralded a "high-quality Belt and Road cooperation in enhancing connectivity by

promoting development policy synergy” (BRF 2019: 4). The continuous process of evolution of Beijing’s development cooperation model demonstrates strategic disruption.

Growing bilateral and multilateral agreements, however vague, bolster the legitimacy of BRI in the international arena. BRI’s alignment with the UN 2030 Sustainable Development Agenda, AU Agenda 2063, and other international initiatives further advances the complementary nature of “win-win” economic development. As a champion of globalization, Beijing is inspiring solidarity with the developing world, especially African nations, through the promotion of its ontological vision as a global public good. Increasingly, this mode of disruptive power enables Beijing’s material, security, and soft power initiatives in the African realm. While the Belt and Road Forum did not yield significant new details, it was a symbolic celebration of the growing reach of China’s development vision. By 2019, the institutionalization of a biennial BRI Forum, the signing of high-level cooperation agreements with 40 African nations and the AU¹⁶, and the integration of BRI into FOCAC built legitimacy for Beijing’s ontological paradigm. Also significant, Italy became the first and only G7 nation to sign a Belt and Road MOU and become a BRI member nation in 2019. While African nations stand to benefit from BRI investment, the signing of MOUs most importantly signals a strong commitment to the China-African relationship and mutual policy coherence. In the spirit of Beijing’s rhetoric, we may aptly call it, ‘globalization with Chinese characteristics.’

In summary, the Chinese Dream and BRI have become quintessential to Beijing’s development brand and are critical to furthering the legitimation of China’s ontological worldview. However, it is important not to overstate the degree of Chinese coordination of the Belt and Road project. The reality posed by the multi-domain space and multi-continental span of the strategic vision makes coordination a logistical and bureaucratic challenge – one that China has neither the resources nor the experience to readily achieve alone. Rather than a program meticulously coordinated by the highest government officials or strategists, BRI is the guiding ontological framework for international investment, security, and diplomatic action. In a sense, BRI is the disruptive

¹⁶ African nations that have signed high level BRI Memorandum of Understanding include Egypt, South Africa, Kenya, Ethiopia, and the African Union. Seventeen other African nations have joined as members of the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank or completed transportation infrastructure cooperation agreements related to BRI.

'call to arms' frequently used in political speeches and diplomatic proclamations. It provides a unifying vision to many of the seemingly disparate projects in the South China Sea, Indian Ocean, and on the African continent. BRI provides an elegant culturally informed narrative imbued with the legend of Silk Road lore and divorced from colonial memoirs. Importantly, the Belt and Road provides a narrative to counter international concerns about the "threat" of China's expanding role in the global order. More than a carefully calculated plan, the Belt and Road is an ontological tool being utilized to harmonize investments and security interests that span the Indo-Pacific region and to promote the narrative of stability and win-win development with Chinese characteristics.

China's Brand of SSC

Beijing imparts strong influence within the UN SSC framework and has secured a leadership role through the strategic messaging of a disruptive Sino-African cooperation paradigm. Responding to the growing importance and expanded focus on emerging development powers, the UN has embraced initiatives to integrate and promote SSC. As such, Beijing's engagement with African states has become a banner for a new type of development cooperation advanced both in and outside the Indo-Pacific region. The paradigm of SSC constructed by China in Africa has become increasingly influential in molding the UN SSC framework. At the same time, China's growing prominence on the global stage and within Africa has allowed Beijing to successfully create its own version of SSC, one that surpasses the framework established within the UNDP. Most notably, the centrality of the Belt and Road strategic narrative and Beijing's cultivation of ontological and soft power in Africa define China's 21st Century development engagement paradigm. Thus, SSC serves a dual role for China. Within the established UN framework, Beijing leverages the institutionalized rules to gain legitimacy while, at the same time, negotiating an *entirely new set of rules* for SSC in the African sphere.

In 2015, President Xi Jinping co-chaired the High-Level Round Table on SSC and China hosted the UN Office of SSC (UNOSCC) High Level Multi-Stakeholders Strategy Forum. The Round Table celebrated the Chinese-led Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, One Belt One Road (BRI), BRICS Bank (NDB), and Silk Road Fund, demonstrating Beijing's growing centrality in defining mechanisms of SSC. Furthermore, Beijing's

disruptive role is increasingly evidenced in the UN SSC rhetoric. By 2015, the UNOSCC promoted novel “global political and economic paradigms” adhering to guiding principles of “national sovereignty, equality and mutual trust, win-win cooperation, solidarity and collaboration” (UN 2015a). These principles mirror those of the Chinese development model promoted through the FOCAC process, signaling the increasing influence of the Chinese brand of development cooperation and growing mainstream acceptance. The incorporation of the lexicon of Beijing’s development narrative into UN discourse further legitimizes China’s strategic narrative. BRI and the China Dream disrupt the established OECD-DAC development norms as Beijing progressively institutionalizes and effectively socializes its strategic message in Africa and the UNDP. In the 21st Century, Beijing aspires to play a growing role in defining the cooperative mechanisms of the SSC by asserting itself as an uncontested global leader.

Employing the banner of SSC, China has also earned a degree of legitimacy and goodwill in its leadership role on the African continent. In the African context, Beijing uses SSC to frame a novel form of Chinese international leadership. Famed international economist David Vines suggests that China uses multilateral forums, such as the G20, to project a new type of international macro-economic leadership role that contrasts sharply with Western styles of hegemonic leadership. Vines termed this form of Chinese leadership “concerted unilateralism” (Vines 2016). According to Vines’ assessment, 21st Century Chinese leadership harnesses multilateral mechanisms to articulate economic preferences and assert collective actions. Once the ground rules are negotiated “each of the players understands how to act in pursuit of his or her own self-interest” while minimizing damage to partner countries and adhering to accepted behaviors as outlined by Beijing (Vines 2016). Vines’ form of economic leadership is exhibited in the Chinese concept of “win-win cooperation,” a cornerstone of the China-Africa relationship and South-South Cooperation.

On the African continent, China employs strategically disruptive leadership across a wide range of cooperative domains. Recognizing Africa’s tactical role in achieving international influence, China leverages SSC to exert its unique style of leadership through FOCAC. Drawing parallels to Vines’ (2016) concept of concerted unilateralism, FOCAC allows China to define “mutually supportive courses of action” for African

partnerships while “ruling out other courses of action.” Beyond the purely economic leadership suggested by Vines, FOCAC serves a broader cooperative and exemplary role, with a specific focus on the socialization of strategic messages and policy alignment with the targeted market. Zhang’s analysis reinforces this concept, asserting that China’s “‘peaceful development’ is now premised on other countries’ reciprocal commitments” and “strategic reassurances” (Zhang 2015: 10) Thus, in the African context, the unique form of Chinese SSC exerted through FOCAC can best be understood as another manifestation of *concerted unilateralism* in the diplomatic and socio-political realms, a concept further described below.

Over its 15-year history, FOCAC has served as a mechanism to set ground rules for the relationship between China and African states. Through FOCAC, China defines a model of SSC that advances Beijing’s strategic worldview while providing critical financial resources, investment, infrastructure, and a degree of autonomy to cooperative African states. China, the principal organizer of the forum, bears significant costs as the financier of FOCAC cooperative projects across the African continent. In this way, China secures a position of leadership, allowing Beijing to *define the rules* of SSC for African partner states. Under the leadership of Xi Jinping, the rules of SSC are steadfast in the One China Policy and increasingly aligned with the BRI as communicated to African nations through FOCAC. BRI has become China’s paradigm of SSC allowing Beijing to define the rules of development cooperation for partners who hope to benefit from the promised \$1 Trillion investment.

China’s SSC model differs from the OECD-DAC paradigm by allowing each African partner to act autonomously in pursuit of national interests, albeit within the cooperative guidelines defined by Beijing. Through the use of this cooperative framework, Beijing’s concerted unilateralism ensures that African states increasingly align with China’s ontological narrative both regionally and globally.

As the principal mechanism for Chinese leadership, FOCAC provides valuable insight into the tenets of Beijing’s strategic development narrative. Foreign Minister Wang Yi reaffirmed Beijing’s aspirations to make China-Africa cooperation a “banner that guides international cooperation with Africa as well as elevates South-South cooperation” (MFA-PRC 2018).

New Type of Strategic Partnership

Following the triumph of the 2008 Olympics, the international prominence of the *New Type of Strategic China-Africa partnership* distinguished FOCAC as a vehicle of strategic dialogue and an instrument for communicating a strong global message. At the 2009 FOCAC IV conference, the Sino-African partnership was heralded as a crowning example of SSC, a resilient model for win-win engagement, and a vehicle for international reform. The Action Plan (2009) asserted that the “international situation is undergoing the most profound changes and adjustment after the end of the Cold War” and invoked an invigorated Chinese-led strategic agenda. Against the backdrop of the global financial crisis and in an environment of increased international turbulence and uncertainty, the harmonization of the China-Africa partnership exhibited a coalition for disruption that promised to elevate Beijing’s BRI narrative into the international discourse. In Premier Wen Jiabao’s opening ceremony address, titled “Building the new type of China-Africa strategic partnership,” he emphasized the resilience of China’s 50-year presence in Africa and Africa’s reciprocal support of Beijing, specifically in achieving diplomatic recognition in the UN. Building on the ‘new strategic partnership’ announced in 2006, FOCAC IV reinvigorated the China-Africa relationship at a time of deep international anxiety. A concerted effort to strengthen FOCAC’s utility as a mechanism for communicating China’s brand was evidenced by the introduction of sub-forums addressing areas such as law, science and technology, culture, and gender equality. This signaled a more potent FOCAC to be used as a mechanism for African ideological engagement and increased ontological coherence in diverse fields.

The discourse around Chinese philosophical paradigms was a striking feature of the new type of strategic partnership, accompanied by concerted efforts to proliferate Chinese ideas, values, and worldviews in the African context. FOCAC became a vehicle to communicate the “fundamental and strategic interests” of China and Africa (FOCAC 2012b). FOCAC’s integration into the fabric of Pan-African coordination was fortified by the completion and inauguration of the Chinese financed AU headquarters and conference center in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia. FOCAC 2012 continued to escalate the strength of the China-Africa development paradigm as a public good for consumption within the global South. In line with Beijing’s stated principles, the 2012 FOCAC

Declaration and Action Plan unmistakably defined several key ontological objectives for the China-Africa partnership, namely promoting international reform and cultivating policy alignment around Beijing's worldview.

Through FOCAC, the Chinese model of SSC gained traction within the international community. In Premier Wen's words, "cooperation between [China and Africa] will catalyze South-South cooperation and enhance the collective standing of developing countries in the international political and economic architecture" (2009). By taking a closer look at the dialogue and rhetoric within the UN SSC framework, China's strategic disruption becomes evident. From 1978, with the acceptance of the foundational Buenos Aires Plan of Action, until 2008, the UN SSC framework espoused principles of "national and collective self-reliance," matching the rhetoric of Japanese development paradigms (UNDP 1978). The 2005 High-Level Committee on SSC recognized the Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD) as a promising framework for multilateral SSC. Despite the occurrence of two FOCAC meetings (2000 and 2003), the 2005 Committee omitted any mention of the Chinese-coordinated forum. Finally, in 2009, just six months before the 4th FOCAC meeting, the Nairobi High-Level UN Conference on SSC officially introduced a revised set of principles that would govern UN SSC. These principles, "respect for national sovereignty, national ownership and independence, equality, non-conditionality, non-interference in domestic affairs and mutual benefit," directly coincided with the principles outlined in China's paradigm of SSC in Africa (UN 2009). Furthermore, for the first time, FOCAC was specifically mentioned in the 2009 UN General Assembly Resolution on SSC. This shift in orientation mirrored China's increasingly effective engagement in Africa and the assertion of its brand of SSC into mainstream dialogues. These changes also provide evidence of Beijing's growing success in shaping international norms through the disruption of established donor-recipient frameworks (Worden 2019). By 2009, the UN Nairobi High-Level Conference for SSC specifically recognized "the importance and different history and particularities of South-South Cooperation," a sign of growing legitimization of Beijing's strategic narrative in the international community. The foundational principles set by Beijing to govern the Sino-African partnership had migrated to the UN SSC framework – diversity in form and content, political equality and mutual trust, win-win cooperation, among others (see Table

9). As such, China has redefined the rules of engagement that govern cooperation among developing countries.

The merits and early success of concerted unilateralism in Africa legitimized China's brand on the global stage and laid the foundation for the global expansion of the BRI.

Foundational Principles 2000	New Type of Strategic Partnership 2006	Comprehensive strategic & cooperative partnership 2015
Diversity in form and content*	Mutual political trust*	Political equality and mutual trust*
Political equality and mutual benefit*		
Emphasis on Practical Results	Economic win-win cooperation*	Win-win economic cooperation*
Pursuit of Common Progress	Enhance FOCAC as cooperative framework	
Amicable settlement of differences	Peaceful resolution of disputes	Resolution of disputes through consultation
Respect for territorial integrity and sovereignty*	New security Concept	Mutual security assistance
Non-aggression		
Non-interference in internal affairs*		
	Exchanges on governance and development	Cultural and political exchanges
	Cultural Exchanges	

Table 9: Evolutionary view of principles of cooperation as set forth during the three phases at the 2000, 2006, and 2015 FOCAC forums.

* Denotes principles that have been incorporated into the UN South-South Cooperative framework since 2009

Comprehensive Strategic Partnership

The 2015 UN High-Level Multi-Stakeholder's Strategy Forum on SSC proclaimed "the existing international development cooperation architecture ... inadequate in

responding to the new Southern dynamics, thus falling short of helping us realize the full potential of South-South cooperation” (UNOSSC 2015). The attendees of the Chinese hosted strategy forum voiced the requirement for a “long-term vision and a global institutional arrangement” (UNOSSC 2015), posturing Beijing to influence development norms. At the UN High-Level strategy conference, Mr. Yiping Zhou, director of the UN Office of SSC, compelled the attendees to “examine the available models of South-South [partnership] ..., with a view to proposing more inclusive, equitable and sustaining new global partnerships” (2015). One of the major outcomes of the meeting was the proposition for a permanent South-South Cooperative Headquarters in China in the effort to align Beijing’s SSC framework with UN Development paradigms. FOCAC VI heralded Beijing’s new role in strategic SSC.

FOCAC’s newest era of “comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership” (2015a), marks the further maturation of Beijing’s ontological agenda. Above all FOCAC VI and VII are characterized by the all-encompassing espousal of Xi Jinping’s BRI and an increasing emphasis on African states’ roles as partners in strategic disruption. African states have become ambassadors of Beijing’s strategic development narrative within the international community.

In his opening address, President Xi Jinping praised FOCAC as the “pacesetter in China-Africa cooperation, an example in South-South cooperation, and a champion for greater international attention” (Xi 2015a). After enhancing the cooperative framework to achieve greater alignment with the UN SSC, the 2015 comprehensive partnership utilized the maturing FOCAC framework to advance “solidarity and coordination in international affairs” (FOCAC 2015). “Convinced that China-Africa cooperation is a model manifestation” and recognizing the potency of the FOCAC framework, Beijing codified the re-imagination of the international affairs as one of the fundamental tenets of the 2015 partnership. Although the 60 billion dollar development investment caught the headlines, the centrality of ontological tools, evidenced by significant increases in political exchange and solidarity and cooperation in international affairs, became a hallmark of the “strategic and cooperative partnership” (FOCAC 2015).

These trends continued in FOCAC VII. The 2018 Declaration emphasized the centrality of the “One Belt One Road” vision and officially designated FOCAC as a BRI

coordination platform (5.2). Once seemingly disjointed infrastructure, road, and railway projects underwent a powerful makeover to communicate Africa as a “historical and natural extension of the Belt and Road” (4.2). As a point of noticeable contrast, FOCAC VII investment pledges were overshadowed by growth ontological and soft power strategies. For the first time in FOCAC history, the value of economic pledges stagnated while pledges for training, environmental sustainability, cultural engagement, and political exchange multiplied. These trends are evidence of FOCAC 2018’s role in accelerating the legitimization of Beijing’s worldview. The forum highlighted the China-Africa model as a “new approach to state-to-state relations,” called for reform of international institutions to uphold common Sino-African interests, and reinforced the complementarity of Chinese and African values as communities of shared destiny.

The last five years have seen multiple demonstrations of the push and pull of Chinese ontological power in Africa. The first is evident in the international arbitration of South China Sea claims, which Beijing claims are part of its BRI architecture. Prior to the tribunal ruling in July 2016, Beijing claimed official support from up to 39 African states including Kenya, Gambia, South Africa, Sierra Leone, and Niger (CSIS 2016). The Doha Declaration, signed in June 2016 by 9 African states officially supported China’s position that the arbitration tribunal was illegitimate. Other African nations, such as South Africa, supported resolution of the dispute through consultation and negotiation, without officially endorsing Beijing’s position (RSA-IR&C 2016). Even though African states were not stakeholders in the South China Sea dispute, their stance on the legitimacy of the tribunal provided buoyancy to Beijing’s view. However, Tokyo did not sit idly on the sidelines. In August 2016, just two months after the international ruling, Tokyo leveraged TICAD to reassert its ontological vision with African states. The TICAD Nairobi Declaration adopted by 54 African nations reaffirmed “maintaining a rules-based maritime order in accordance with the principles of international law as reflected in the United Nations Convention on the Law of the Sea (UNCLOS)” (TICAD 2016: 3.3.4). In addition, Japan and Kenya released a joint statement reaffirming international law and dispute resolution in accordance with the UNCLOS, a reversal of a previous statement by a Kenyan cabinet secretary in June 2016 (MFA-Kenya 2016). At TICAD7 in 2019, the Yokohama Declaration went even further, with African states’ acknowledgment of Japan’s

commitment to a Free and Open Indo-Pacific (TICAD 2019a). Increasingly, Beijing and Tokyo's ontological narratives have demonstrated this push-and-pull for legitimacy among African states.

In 2019, Uighur rights and Hong Kong protests challenged Beijing's One China Policy and have garnered the international spotlight. Despite large Muslim populations in many African states, not a single African nation supported the US-led efforts at the United Nations to condemn the internment of Muslim Uighurs. 16 African nations, including Nigeria, Sudan, and Eritrea, went even further, signing a letter to the UN Human Rights Council rebuking US, European, and Japanese condemnation of Beijing's Uighur 'vocational training centers' in Xinjiang (Dahir 2019). While widespread condemnation remains, African support for Beijing's so-called "people centered development" dilutes the virility of human rights rebukes. Furthermore, the Hong Kong pro-democracy protests are a direct affront to the PRC's One China Policy. Despite the long shadow of the protests hanging over China's 70th Anniversary, several African nations including Liberia, Malawi, and Zimbabwe reaffirmed their One China allegiance. Uganda went even further, issuing an official statement condemning "radical and violent" protests and firmly supporting the "One Country, Two Systems" policy (MFA-Uganda 2019). The voices of African states in support of Beijing's worldview offer to normalize a new mode of international relations and international rules favorable to China. However, as explored in the sections below, Japan and India advance alternative ontological narratives that compete with Beijing's worldview in the African development space.

India's South-South Partnership Framework

With the landmark victory of India's Bharatiya Janata Party (BJP) in 2014, Prime Minister Narendra Modi came onto the national scene with the swagger and popular following of a political rock star. The victory conveyed a resounding mandate to the self-made success that was Narendra Modi. In many ways, Modi embodied the dream of Indian youth, rising from humble beginnings to the pinnacle of Indian leadership. Yet, the success of Modi and the BJP also brought with it a mountain of domestic and international expectation as campaign promises painted visions of a new India, ready to play a more assertive role in the region.

The 21st century creation of the Indo-Pacific regional order has positioned India as a counterweight to a swiftly expanding China. The growing material, ontological, and soft power influence of China in Africa and the Indian Ocean sent shock waves through a zone of historical Indian influence. Former Prime Minister Singh's gentle approach of seeking common ground with a rising China has given way to Modi's more explicit and assertive foreign relations tactic. This new posture is reflected in India's active disruption of Beijing's influence through the advancement of its alternative South-South development narrative. New Delhi progressively leverages ontological and soft power strongholds in the Indian Ocean and African region to create a framework for regional multilateralism. Both domestically and internationally, expectations of its emerging renaissance prod India toward self-realization as a global power.

Prime Minister Modi is compelled to deliver on the promise of development in a regional and global landscape that is increasingly "interconnected and interdependent" (Modi 2014). As India's former Foreign Secretary Shyam Saran asserted, "it is India's neighborhood that holds the key to its emergence as a regional and global power" (Saran 2014). Modi has proposed two major fronts to propel India into its new role of power within the Indo-Pacific regional order, aligning domestic and foreign policy agendas. The first, "Make in India," aims to mobilize a massive youth population and deliver on the promise of opportunity for India's aspiring middle class. The second, Project Mausam laid the strategic foundations for Modi's SAGAR (Security and Growth Across the Region) vision and Japan and India's Asia Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC) development vision. India's development narrative leverages historic anchors in Africa to cement an ontological alignment. These anchors include: 1) a shared geography making India the "insider" donor, 2) mutual historical heroes and martyrs that form the basis of shared emancipation legends, and 3) similar development states and conditions. These commonalities are vital in creating an aligned value system, regional interdependency between African states and India, and unity of effort toward international reform. They form the basis of New Delhi's formidable ontological power and ability to impart strategic disruption. From these roots, multilateral economic, cultural, and security integration bolster India's limited resources enhancing its geopolitical weight in the international arena. Ultimately, both of

these initiatives reveal the growing importance of the Africa-India strategic partnership as a pillar of Indian-led regional multilateralism.

Make (or Break) in India

“Development is my conviction, development is my commitment. Youngsters of the country believe in development. And it is development that is the solution to all the problems.” (Modi 2014)

The “Make in India” (MII) campaign represents Modi’s bold answer to the mandate of bringing prosperity and opportunity to his large and diverse nation, projecting India as a viable partner. Along with business and government reform, MII is founded on infrastructure-led, sustainable growth that serves as a model for the unique development conditions of the Indian Ocean and African states. While speaking directly to the aspirations of domestic populations, the MII vision also articulates a “rallying cry for India’s innumerable stakeholders and partners” (DIPP). Modi projects India as the world’s high tech global manufacturing hub and a leader in prioritizing ecologically sustainable growth for developing nations. India’s global ambitions and economic growth engine are inextricably linked. In contrast to China’s purposefully understated ambitions, India is unabashed in its goal to become an Indo-Pacific power, aiming to attract partners and mainstream New Delhi’s status as a global leader. As trumpeted by the official MII website, “The world’s largest democracy is well on its way to becoming the world’s most powerful economy” (DIPP).

India’s development vision directly speaks to the ambitions of African stakeholders by addressing the shared development challenges of harnessing a youth dividend and integrating developing markets into a global economy. Africa has long suffered from a ‘resource curse’ as governments have failed to invest in the manufacturing and human technical capacity necessary to add value to the abundant raw materials mined from African soils. Overreliance on resourced backed loans used to secure development financing from Chinese and European private investors exposed African nations to the vulnerability of fluctuating commodity prices. Recognizing the fragility of emerging markets in the wake of the 2008 global financial crisis, MII aimed to transform India into a global manufacturing hub by providing a roadmap for sustainable nation building. MII

includes a vibrant information campaign utilizing technology and social media to reach India and Africa’s young influencers and propel growth in the Indo-Pacific region. MII is aligned with Modi’s SAGAR initiative. In elaborating the development narrative, Modi links India and African nations’ parallel trajectory of growth by underlining India’s philosophy of *Sabka Saath Sabka Vikas* - “collective action, inclusive growth” which headlines his SAGAR initiative (RIS-ERIA 2017: 4). SAGAR (which translates as “Ocean” in Hindi) is an Indo-Pacific vision for “Security and Growth for all in the Region” made popular by PM Modi in 2016.

In India’s ontological toolset, symbols and slogans are important. They carry both conscious and subconscious emotive value. India’s choice of the lion as the symbol of the MII campaign is especially important to consider. In India, the lion is a symbol of enlightenment, courage, and confidence and an image most commonly associated with Africa. The most recent India Africa Forum (IAFS) in 2015 featured a lion as its crowning symbol. This lion, featured as the mascot of the MII campaign, was unveiled just 12 months before the IAFS 2015 conference. This coincidence is likely intentional. India’s development paradigm provides a vision for African states’ industrialization based on shared historical experiences, development realities, and regional responsibilities. The linkage between India’s domestic development narrative and India’s regional construct leverages symbols imbued with mutual values to deepen the alignment of India and Africa’s world view. In 2019 Mahatma Gandhi’s 150th birth anniversary was celebrated across various African states further deepening the historical anchors. Major commemorative ceremonies occurred in at least 9 African states including Egypt, Zambia, the DRC, Ghana, Nigeria, showing the extent of India’s ontological campaign (MEA 2020). In 2019, the Gandhi Mandela Artisan Skills Center was inaugurated in South Africa, and in 2020, the Mahatma Gandhi International Convention



Figure 8: The official symbol of the 2015 India Africa Forum Summit hosted in New Delhi. The emblem featuring the lion was revealed only months after the Make in India logo.

Center was inaugurated in Niger. These are the first of several commemorative centers in Africa that spotlight the prominence of India and Africa’s shared historical figures and value systems. The prominence of these ontological symbols at the forefront of Indo-African development cooperation presents a narrative of fraternity.

Both India and Africa’s immense youth population, which Modi deems “the most potent resource,” are one of the vital stakeholders in the ontological competition between Asian states (MEA 2016b). India and Africa have vast youth populations, with India’s under-25 population at 44% and the African continent at 59% according to UN population statistics (UN 2019b). This often-overlooked demographic has become a prime target for India’s alternative development story. To achieve the aspirations of Indian youth, African markets and industrial development must integrate highly interconnected and increasingly empowered young influencers to achieve legitimacy. So while MII dreams of India as a high-tech industry hub, it serves as a roadmap for African integration into a



Figure 9: The official emblem of the Make in India initiative featuring the image of a lion.

dynamic Indian Ocean manufacturing hub. India’s Foreign Secretary Subrahmanyam Jaishankar stressed the importance of foreign engagement in Africa as a “fertile ground that needs more sustained cultivation. Nations there seem ready to respond to a more business-like India” (2015).

A Rising Wind in the Indian Ocean

In 2014 Modi announced Project Mausam, outlining a vision of Indian Ocean cultural integration. The name of Project Mausam is derived from the Hindi word for “Monsoon” and it invokes the ancient maritime trade routes and cultural ties facilitated by the seasonal winds and Indian Ocean currents. Project Mausam can be seen as India’s response to the folklore of China’s maritime silk-road – rekindling the shared historical and socio-cultural artifacts of Indian Ocean states to reinforce regional partnership. In the course of China’s increasing disruption in the Indo-Pacific, the project aims to “strengthen

current ties between countries across the Ocean, but also set a precedent for new bridges of co-operation and continued relations and interactions” (IGNCA 2014). In contrast to BRI, Mausam is not backed by sizeable investment. Rather, Project Mausam consists of a research team with a negligible budget and no official investment commitment. Even so, the initiative reflects the centrality of shared Indo-Africa origin legends, proud cultural heritage, and independence histories. Mausam aims to connect UNESCO heritage sites across the Indian Ocean region as a foundation for the integration of like-minded nations. Heralded as the “most significant foreign policy initiative for countering Beijing's growing influence in the Indian Ocean region,” Project Mausam offers a socio-historical framework through which to tell the Indian Ocean story (Parashar 2014). In line with Modi’s motto of “collective action, inclusive growth,” India’s ability to realize cooperative material, political, and security frameworks enables it to disrupt China’s advantage of scale in the Indo-Pacific region. Aspirations for an Indian-led coalition of African and Indian Ocean nations hinge on the alignment of development values and international reform agendas.

In 2016 PM Modi’s SAGAR initiative of “Security and Growth for All in the Region” expanded the domains for African and Indian Ocean alignment. In contrast to BRI and the FOIP, the SAGAR vision promotes regional multilateralism encompassed by partnerships of states in the Indian Ocean region. Growing from the socio-cultural foundations of Project Mausam, SAGAR advances India’s strategic geopolitical, security, and economic interests through regional partnerships. The cultivation of common cultural values and an Indian Ocean identity are the basis for India’s strategic development brand in Africa and inspire Indo-Africa alignment at the regional and global levels.

PM Modi illustrated Africa’s role in India’s SAGAR narrative during his visit to Uganda where he outlined ten priorities for the India-Africa relationship. The India-African Outreach Policy outlines a pathway for development transformation through ontological alignment. Along with a promise to intensify and deepen India’s engagement with African states in a variety of fields such as trade, technology, and anti-terrorism, New Delhi outlined a manifesto of a development partnership guided by African priorities. Modi asserted a vision of African states, liberated from the chains of history and ambitions of future rivals, and linked to India through the common historical struggles and aligned development conditions (Modi 2018a). In addition, Modi addressed global issues of

climate change, the North-South technology divide, and global governance systems as priority areas for India-Africa South-South solidarity. The combined influence of India and Africa presents a powerful bloc for negotiating favorable positions for Southern states in global agendas, such as the Paris Climate Agreement which was featured in IAFS 2015 (IAFS 2015a). India's vision illuminates a development path of strategic autonomy for Indian Ocean partners, avoiding reliance on the former colonial powers or regional rivals US and China, respectively.

India's development aspirations and its vision of a regional coalition offer an alternative to China's rising influence. China's assertiveness in the Indian Ocean has now encountered a stalwart India bolstered by growing Southern solidarity and a prominent role in the Indo-Pacific construct. To disrupt Chinese influence, India heavily relies on the consolidation of Indian Ocean and African nations' interests behind New Delhi's leadership. Ultimately, India's intent to leverage the strengths of a regional coalition to attain global prominence is captured by India's Foreign Secretary:

The world is not standing still and neither can India. Whatever the pace and extent of this change, history has lessons for an aspiring power: leverage the dominant, collaborate with the convergent, and manage the competition (Jaishankar 2016).

India-Africa Forum Summit

The introduction of IAFS in 2008, by the government of PM Manmohan Singh, marked a turning point for the India-Africa partnership. With the establishment of this new summit, India's brand of SSC with African states became a central element of India's IOR foreign policy and neo-disruptive strategy. The architecture of SSC proposed by the IAFS Declaration and the Framework for Cooperation built a tiered engagement strategy to operationalize bilateral, regional, and pan-African mechanisms for

Framework for Cooperation 2008	
A.	Economic cooperation
B.	Political cooperation
C.	Science, Technology, Research & Development
D.	Social Development & Capacity Building
E.	Tourism
F.	Infrastructure, Energy, and Environment
G.	Media and Communications

Table 10: India-Africa Framework for Cooperation (2008) as defined by IAFS.

engagement in attempts to socialize a cohesive Indian Ocean development ontology. From its origin, the India-Africa partnership aimed to create a “joint platform for discussion of global political and economic issues with a view to reinforcing South-South positions that will enable Africa and India to have greater leverage in the international fora” (IAFS 2008). IAFS’s stated objective is the achievement of political alignment and joint positions on global agendas to affect international strategic disruption for mutual benefit. Like China and Japan, India uses IAFS as a model for a new mode of South-South partnerships and engagement, asserting that “the multi-tiered functional engagement which India has with Africa is a model for multilateral engagement around the world” (IAFS 2011). IAFS triggered India’s consolidation of financial capacity to lead, organize, and maintain a unified India-Africa collective.

Framework for Strategic Cooperation 2015

- A. Mutual cultural understanding & exchange
- B. Gender Equality & Women’s Empowerment
- C. Creation of Modern Social Networks
- D. Digital Connectivity
- E. Human resource development
- F. Air and Maritime Connectivity
- G. Climate Change
- H. Commitment for comprehensive UN reform

Table 11: Framework for Strategic Cooperation (2015) as defined by IAFS.

By IAFS 2015, the IAFS framework had expanded in scope and scale to include representatives from all African nations. The 2015 IAFS congress coincided with the 70th anniversary of the UN and the 50th anniversary of the establishment of the OAU/AU. Under PM Modi’s leadership, India embarked on a journey of renewed disruptive reform in a “world shrunk by the modern forces of globalization, facing threats ranging from

a vastly transformed security environment to climate change” (IAFS 2015a). IAFS aimed to cement the bonds between Indian and African states as a foundation for shared values, principles, and aspirations. India’s strategic cooperation framework appealed to African leaders and stakeholders in its direct approach to solving social and developmental challenges through human capacity building and regional partnership. The cooperation framework outlined New Delhi’s core philosophies on global governance reform, climate change, sustainable development, and maritime and security issues from the perspective of maintaining regional autonomy. The Declaration demanded, “urgent collective action to put in place more democratic global governance structures that will assist in more

equitable and just international security and development frameworks” (IAFS 2015a). At the summit, Modi gave an impassioned rallying cry for India and Africa to speak in a unified voice for reform of the global governance system to reflect the equities of the India-Africa coalition. IAFS Declarations and the Africa Outreach policy center around the realization of India’s vision of a reformed global order representative of Indo-African interests and aspirations. As India’s Ministry of External Affairs highlights, the IAFS is at the core of a “multi-faceted strategy for dovetailing the India growth story with Africa’s Agenda 2063 to spur mutual resurgence” (MEA 2016a).

India’s model of human capacity centered, affordable, accessible, and appropriate development, crafted to suit the Indian Ocean regional development challenges, offers African nations a narrative of equal partnership. Building on informal historical relationships, IAFS allowed India to formalize key leader engagements and policy coherence frameworks as part of India’s SAGAR brand. IAFS created a formal summit for high-level meetings. Through IAFS a long history of informal economic, trade, and investment ties was unified behind a more robust communication of core Indian values and positions. IAFS 2015 launched joint monitoring mechanisms in collaboration with the African Union to ensure expedient implementation of projects and commitments, mirroring the mechanisms employed by Japan and China. These mechanisms create frequent opportunities for ministerial-level face-to-face engagement under the IAFS framework, ensuring that “India’s development priorities and Africa’s lofty vision for its future are aligned” (Modi 2015a).

At the core of communicating India’s SAGAR brand of development is the Pan-African e-Network. The Pan-African e-Network was launched in 2009 with the signing of 48 MOUs with African partner nations. The e-network linked India with the AU and African nations via satellite and fiber cable to deliver tele-education, tele-medicine, Internet, videoconferencing, and Voice Over Internet Protocol (VOIP) capabilities. The most important ontological tool was the Pan Africa e-Network’s “Red Line” between the Government of India and 49 African Heads of State and Government via a secure satellite network. Simultaneously progressing the AU Agenda 2063 for regional integration and India’s SAGAR initiative, the Pan African e-Network created the technological infrastructure for ideological alignment among Indian Ocean governments. At the 2015

conference, in addition to nearly \$15B in development investment, Modi announced the upgrade of the Pan-African e-network. Following the IAFS announcement, Phase 2 of the e-Network, rebranded as the e-VBAB network, was launched in 2019 and marks an expansion of tele-education and tele-medicine connections. India's modernized e-Network increases touchpoints with African stakeholders in academia, governance, and industry to consolidate Southern solidarity. The e-Network has become a backbone of Indian ontological influence and an archetype of India's low-cost technology-driven brand of South-South Cooperation.

SAGAR and the AAGC offer alternatives to African states that identify with India's development vision and desire to maintain regional autonomy from external influence. Rising in the global ranks, India anchors its maturing development institutions to strategic coalitions with African states who share similar development experiences and conditions. New Delhi tests its development narrative and model for Southern coalitions on the African continent while posturing for a leadership role in the IOR and greater Indo-Pacific. As a paragon for a new multilateral regime, IAFS has become a force multiplier for India's development story on the international stage. IAFS forum diplomacy and the tools for ontological alignment have opened a pathway for Indian Ocean regional multilateralism.

Japan-Africa Strategic Partnership

Japan's ontological narrative is derived from its historical experience as an ODA power and an endeavor to bring a global perspective to Japan's strategic development engagement. TICAD's evolution toward development engagement is rooted in former Prime Minister Abe Shinzo's strategic vision to expand Japan's influence by linking Asian and African ODA initiatives into a synchronized narrative. Building from the "arc of freedom and prosperity" that extended through the Indo-Pacific region, connecting Asia and Africa, Abe began crafting a strategic vision for Japan's ODA narrative based on concepts of "value based diplomacy" (Miyagi 2015; Yamamoto 2020). The confluence of Asia-Africa engagement aimed to expand the horizons of Japanese diplomacy and craft a world order aligned with Japan's ontological view and ODA philosophy (MOFA-Japan 2007). In addition to expanding the reach of Japan's foreign diplomacy, Abe carried bold aspirations for constitutional revision allowing for more proactive engagement and

reduced reliance on US security constructs. Initially, Abe lacked the parliamentary unity, experience, and support to realize his vision (Abe 2013c). Nonetheless, his vision laid the groundwork for Japan's New TICAD framework and the partnerships that Japan has pursued with Africa and emerging donor powers over the last decade. New TICAD initiatives focus on extending Japan's ODA philosophy regionally and globally as the international standard in a rapidly changing geopolitical climate. The more assertive, higher-profile, and higher-risk foreign policy stance under the Abe administration has come to be known as the "Abe Doctrine" (Dobson 2017). In contrast to the Yoshida Doctrine that guided Japan's post-WWII resurgence as an economic power, the Abe Doctrine advances value-based diplomacy and proactive contribution to peace as a basis for a new type of 21st Century global power. The demonstration of this development cooperation brand in Africa and a network of triangular Indo-Pacific partnerships are central to broadening the horizon of Japan's foreign policy instruments. Furthermore, Abe's concept of "value-based diplomacy" served as a guideline for ODA initiatives in Africa and a leadership role that demonstrated a "principled" engagement strategy (Asplund & Soderberg 2016; Endo 2013).

Abe's re-election as Prime Minister in 2012 came on the promise of leading the Japanese economy out of its twenty-year rut. His contemporary plan for Japan's economic resurgence, nicknamed "Abenomics," depended on the success of his three "arrows": (1) monetary policy reform, (2) fiscal stimulus, and (3) structural reform. Domestically, these reforms aim to enhance Japan's economic engine as a catalyst for resurgence as a regional leader and global power. It presented a beacon of hope for a population that suffered more than two decades of economic stagnation. Internationally, Japan's proactive development policy synchronized foreign policy and domestic economic goals through the strategic use of ODA (Asplund & Soderberg 2016). With government and popular support in his favor, Abe has gained the political currency necessary to pursue his ambitious regional and international goals. Learning from the challenges of his first term¹⁷, Abe established his foreign policy on the foundation of a strong domestic initiative and narrative of economic revival. The work of achieving

¹⁷ Abe Shinzo was first elected in 2006 as Prime Minister but resigned in 2007 when popular support turned against him.

economic growth and reestablishing regional preeminence is a matter of national pride and confidence for Japan (Patrick 2014). Furthermore, MOFA's ability to deploy significant ODA investments and broadcast Japan's ontological worldview in Africa is enabled by the promise of domestic prosperity and popular support for continued investment.

Japan's Indo-Pacific Strategy

Let us make this stretch that is from Asia to Africa a main artery for growth and prosperity. Let us advance together, Africa and Japan, sharing a common vision. (Abe 2016)

At TICAD VI in 2016, Abe announced Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific vision for the first time. Rooted in Abe's desire for the confluence of the Indian and Pacific Ocean, FOIP embodies the strategic and effective use of development cooperation to advance Japan's position as a global influencer. As the final frontier, Africa offers a yet unharnessed growth opportunity and serves as the testing ground for Japan's proactive development engagement. Under the FOIP strategy, Tokyo plans to a). Establish and promote fundamental principles of development engagement, b). Promote quality infrastructure development, and c). Ensure peace and stability (MOFA-Japan 2018a: 20-21). The US government's official embrace of the Indo-Pacific region in political discourse and command structures in 2018 further legitimized Japan's disruptive development narrative (US-DoD 2018). However, Japan differs from the US in its approach by, 1) including Africa and the Western Indian Ocean in its Indo-Pacific narrative, and 2) emphasizing triangular development cooperation and soft-power engagement. These efforts align with Tokyo's promotion of a disruptive brand centered on the cultivation of

ontological influence. Tokyo uses TICAD to tie FOIP initiatives with African and Indian Ocean agendas, to make the connection from “Asia to Africa a main artery for growth and prosperity” (Abe 2019b). The connection of Asia and Africa dynamism based on sustainability, human security, and high-quality development resonates with Abe’s efforts to elevate Japan’s brand as a global standard for principled development engagement. As Abe asserted in his TICAD keynote address, the advancement of Japanese cultural values of human security, *kaizen*, and quality infrastructure offer “enormous liveliness brought forth through the union of two free and open oceans and two continents” (Abe 2019b).

Japan’s Free and Open Indo-Pacific

FOIP Pillars

1. Establish and promote fundamental principles of development engagement
2. Promote quality infrastructure development
3. Ensure peace and stability

TICAD 7:

- A. Innovation & private sector engagement
 - Sustainable financing
 - KAIZEN initiatives
 - Japan-Africa Public Private Forum
 - Multilayer triangular dialogues
 - ABE initiative 3.0
- B. Quality Infrastructure Investment
 - Development of JICA Master Plans
 - Sustainable urban development plans
 - Expand natural resource energy
- C. Deepen Sustainable & Resilient Society
 - Human Security
 - Universal Health Care for Africa
 - Climate mitigation & disaster relief
- D. Strengthening Peace & Stability
 - Support mediation led by AU & RECs
 - Capacity building in maritime security

Table 12: Japan's Free and Open Indo-Pacific vision reflected in TICAD 7 (2019) principles of development engagement and associated initiatives. Created by author from TICAD 2019a, 2019b and MOFA-Japan 2018a

Promotion of Japan’s ODA Development Principles

Tokyo’s first FOIP objective in Africa is the promotion of its ODA philosophy as the basis for fundamental principles of development engagement. TICAD allowed Japan to take a leading role in advancing quality infrastructure standards, horizontal development paradigms, and multi-faceted South-South and triangular partnerships.

Beginning at TICAD V in 2013, Japan announced the development of 10 “Master Plans” in Africa to promote corridor development aligned with Tokyo’s brand of ODA in the Indo-Pacific. Today these Master Plans have been consolidated into Japan’s ambitious FOIP development vision that consists of five ‘corridors,’ two regions of ‘connectivity,’ and an industrial growth belt (see Figure 10). A comparison of Tokyo’s FOIP strategy and early maps of Beijing’s BRI vision (Figure 7) shows the overlapping interests and the congested development space in which Japan and Beijing market their disruptive brands. In Africa, the Mombasa/ Northern Corridor, the Nacala Corridor, and the West Africa Ring represent centers of influence for Japan’s FOIP vision, while Djibouti, Mombasa (Kenya), Nacala (Mozambique), and Toamasina (Madagascar) are African hubs for the FOIP framework. These African hubs are key port towns and host railway links that connect African industry to Asian markets and the global economy. Japan’s master plans connect critical port and railway infrastructure across the African continent (Figure 11). Beijing’s BRI architecture also targets ports in Mombasa and Djibouti as major African development hubs. The Chinese built Nairobi-Mombasa railroad,

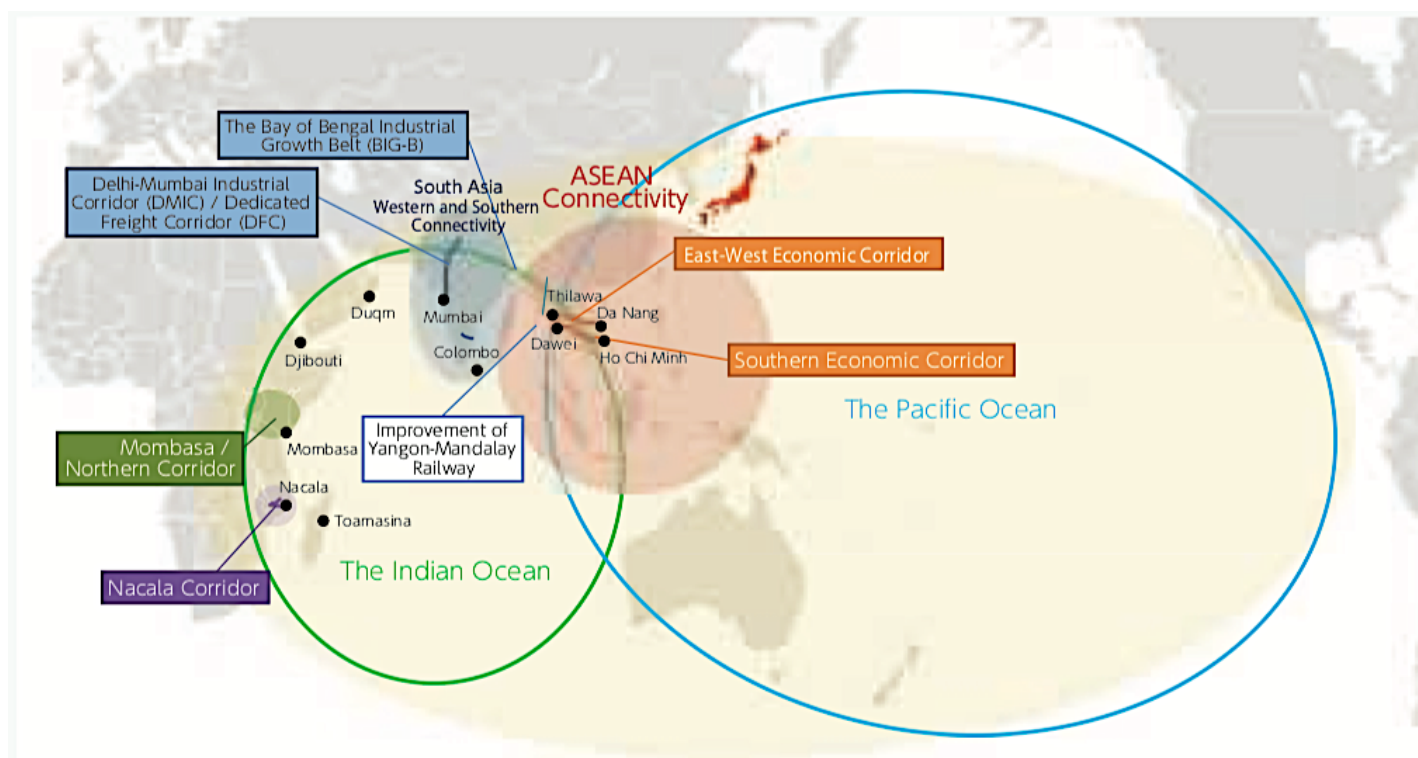


Figure 10: Tokyo's framework for the realization of the "Free and Open IndoPacific Strategy" as illustrated in the 2018 Diplomatic Bluebook (MOFA 2018: 21)

inaugurated in 2017, connects BRI’s East African hub in Nairobi to the bustling Mombasa port. Another overlapping interest, the Djibouti Port, is strategically located at the Gulf of Aden and one of the busiest crossroads for trade. Djibouti hosts military outposts for several world powers including the US, Japan, and China.

Japan leverages TICAD agendas in its efforts to advance Japan’s ODA as an international

standard for quality and human-centered development. TICAD’s “quality growth” initiative links directly to Japan’s brand of leadership among established donors in the OECD and IC. At the 2016 Japanese-hosted G7 Ise-Shima Summit, Japan led the initiative to increase investment in “quality infrastructure,” committing \$200 Billion towards its realization. Just months later at the Nairobi TICAD VI Conference, Abe announced that the initial utilization of Japan’s infrastructure investment would take place on African soil (MOFA-Japan

2016b). The choice of Nairobi, Kenya, a key ‘hub’ along Beijing’s Maritime Silk Road, illustrates Tokyo’s willingness to match China in asserting strategic development narratives. Tokyo also hosted the 2018 OECD conference on quality infrastructure, using Japan’s development engagement efforts to advocate for the establishment in infrastructure development international standards. By launching “quality” infrastructure initiatives in Nairobi, Japan offered African states alternative sources for infrastructure development, challenging the dominance of Beijing’s BRI narrative on the continent. Japan’s transmission of G7 commitments to the African continent through TICAD demonstrates Tokyo’s role as a champion for African states in international forums inaccessible to the other emerging Asian donors.

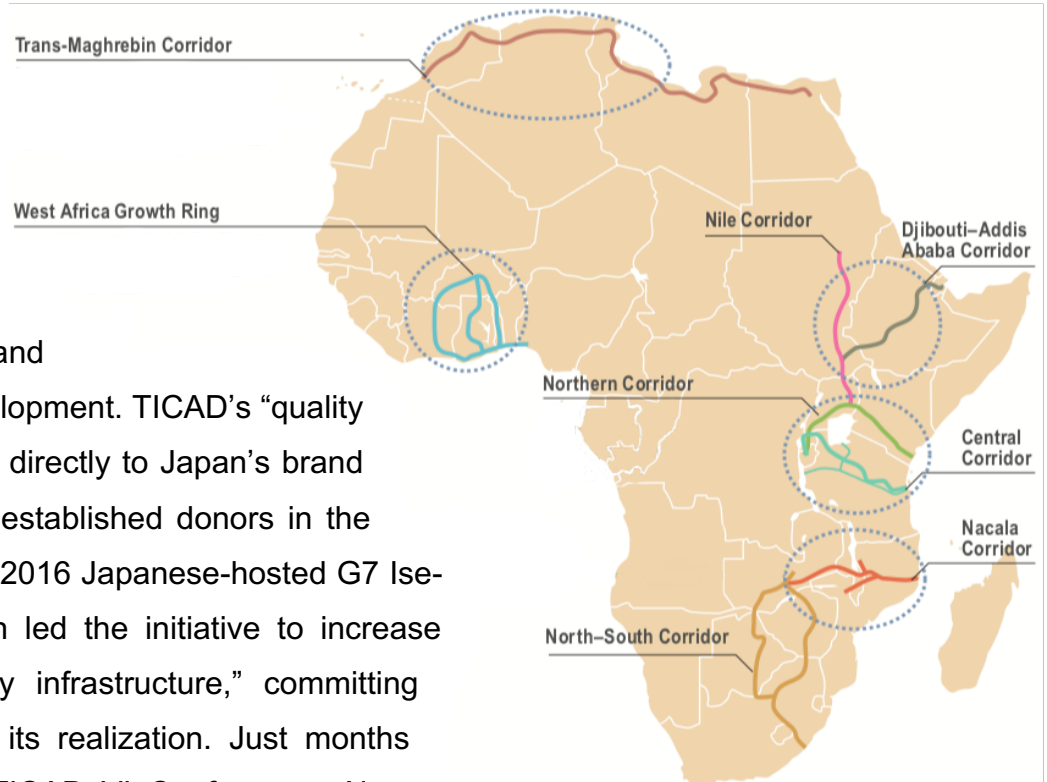


Figure 11: JICA Corridor Master Plans for Africa announced at TICAD V. (JICA 2020)

TICAD also played a conspicuous role in the development of Agenda 2030, the Sustainable Development Goals. Beginning in 2013, one of TICAD's strategic agendas was to build a New International Development Framework in the Post-2015 development agenda. With the sun setting on the UN MDG's, Tokyo built solidarity with African states to align international policy agendas. In the development of the SDGs, Tokyo committed to reflecting African concerns and priorities in alignment with the TICAD efforts. At the Nairobi-based conference, Japan and African states outlined an "effective and coherent development framework centered on sustainable development and guided by human security, human rights and dignity, equality and equity" (TICAD 2013). TICAD demonstrated Japan's model for quality growth centered on human security to galvanize collective action in the international community.

The SDGs were adopted by the UN Sustainable Development Summit in 2015. The SDGs include 17 goals related to challenges of poverty, inequality, climate change, environmental degradation, peace, and justice. Japan has been a leader in the formulation of the SDG development goals and targets and a key partner in consolidating the SDG framework with the establishment of the SDGs Promotion Headquarters in Osaka and the promotion of a whole of government style of engagement. Based on the TICAD experience, Japan aimed to become a role model for the implementation of SDGs in cooperation with Africa and other developing nations. Leveraging TICAD7 in 2019, Tokyo aimed to "share and expand 'Japan's SDGs Model' domestically and internationally...and revise the 'SDGs Implementation Guiding Principles'" (MOFA-Japan 2019c). TICAD7 introduced a new stage of development engagement characterized by the role of private enterprise and civil society as the frontline of the Japan–Africa partnership. Sensitive to global concerns about debt sustainability, Abe avoided the customary announcement of billions of dollars of development assistance. Instead, he placed special emphasis on Japan's unique 'brand' as a development partner and its distinctiveness as a global technology leader. Immediately after the curtain dropped on TICAD7, Japanese and African leaders converged at the 2019 SDG Summit in New York. The TICAD7 Summit outcomes became the basis for Japan-Africa collective action in shaping the SDG development model. The echoes of TICADs initiatives are evident at the SDG summit in the promotion of integrated whole of government efforts harnessing

science, technology, and innovation to catalyze a transformation in sustainable development (UNGA 2019).

In 2019, Japan hosted its first-ever G20 Summit in Osaka. In addition to G20 nations (including China, India, and South Africa), Japan invited Heads of State from Egypt and Senegal as the representatives of the African Union and NEPAD. The Summit themes included innovation toward a digital human-centered future, quality infrastructure investment, debt sustainability, global health, and environmental sustainability. Skillfully linking the SDGs with TICAD initiatives, Japan championed African development initiatives as a mechanism to advance South-South and triangular cooperation. The Osaka summit saw the endorsement of G20 Principles for Quality Infrastructure Investment setting underlying principles of infrastructure development based on sustainability, life-cycle efficiency, environmental impact, social considerations, and transparency. At TICAD7, Abe reiterated G20 themes in emphasizing a mature Japan-Africa partnership based on entrepreneurship, enterprise, investment, and innovation. The long-term commitment to realizing quality projects and investments distinguishes Japan's ODA model. The FOIP master plans in Africa elaborate a Japanese ODA philosophy built around long-term 20 to 30 year engagement, linking large scale infrastructure, industry development, and social and human security initiatives (JICA 2020a). This generational engagement strategy aims for the gradual growth of ontological market share in Africa, placing Japan's ODA philosophy at the core of emerging international development reforms. In March 2020, PM Abe captured African states' attention as he advocated for large-scale fiscal relief in an emergency G20 leaders' summit (MOFA-Japan 2020). Japan led initiatives bolstered Tokyo's image as a genuine African partner and cast renewed focus on debt sustainability and global health initiatives advanced through TICAD. Japan's concerted effort to secure international leadership roles in the G7, G20, and the advancement of SDGs has translated into a spotlight on TICAD at the world's most influential gatherings. Tokyo's privileged status as an established OECD-DAC donor power allows Japan to influence Chinese and Indian emerging development paradigms toward closer alignment with Japan's value-based development ontology.

TICAD7 promoted Japan’s role as a “pace setter” for international development standards and new modes of development cooperation (TICAD 2019a). Japan’s disruptive strategy and brand of sustainable, high-quality investment offer solutions to strategic partner nations in Africa while courting emerging Asian donors and OECD-DAC powers.

Triangular Cooperation: Shaping Emerging Asian donors

Through TICAD, Tokyo expands policy alignment through triangular cooperation with established and emerging development powers. In Prime Minister Abe’s closing remarks at TICAD7, he emphasized TICAD’s role in imagining a “new future of Africa from various positions, such as the African states, Japan, the International Organizations, and the other partner states and the civil society” (Abe 2019a). Increasingly, TICAD is promoted as a ‘responsible forum’ that engages a variety of established and emerging development partners in Asia, Africa, and the West.

In 2007, Prime Minister Abe delivered a speech to the Indian Parliament outlining his vision for the “arc of freedom and prosperity” as the backbone of a “strategic global partnership” (Abe 2007). That year, this Arc became the “fourth pillar” of Japan’s diplomacy, marking a new role of development engagement in socializing strategic objectives and Japan’s unique identity as a great power (MOFA-Japan 2007). Under the leadership of PM Abe and India’s PM Narendra Modi, a ‘Special Strategic and Global Partnership’ between Japan and India was confirmed in 2015. With the landmark partnership, India’s Project Mausam and Japan’s “Arc of Freedom



Figure 12: The Arc of Freedom and Prosperity as visualized in MOFA's 2007 Diplomatic Bluebook.

and Prosperity” evolved into the Asia Africa Growth Corridor (AAGC), a grand strategic vision that aligns with both nations’ interests as a sub-set of Japan’s FOIP vision. India’s development ambitions in Africa, as communicated through the IAFS forum, are limited by resource constraints and institutional immaturity (RIS-ERIA 2017: 5-6). On the other

hand, through TICAD, Japan demonstrated a successful development track record and the ability to deliver resources, infrastructure, research and development, grants, and technical assistance to African states. The strategic partnership between Tokyo and New Delhi illuminates Japan's distinctive role as a triangular partner between Asia and Africa. While the details of the AAGC are still sparse, the Vision Document published in 2017 shows the disruptive narrative bridging the development strategy of India and Japan in the Indo-Pacific (RIS-ERIA 2017).

Drawing on the strengths of each of the partner nations, the AAGC embodies four pillars: a) Development and cooperation projects, b) Quality and infrastructure and institutional connectivity, c) Enhancing capabilities and local skills, and d) People to people partnership. The foundational development philosophy of both Japan and India are reflected in these pillars, in an effort to link "economics, industries and institutions, ideas and people among and between Africa and Asia" (RIS-ERIA 2017: 4). Like Beijing's Belt and Road, the AAGC emphasizes the alignment of development strategies. The AAGC reflects the growing synergy between Japan's TICAD narratives and India's IAFS narrative. Specifically, Japan's FOIP themes of empowerment and quality infrastructure buttress the ODA brand communicated through the TICAD mechanism. India's investment in people-to-people engagement with African states through IAFS capacity building initiatives and soft-power linkages are elegantly incorporated into Japan's strategic partnership. Furthermore, AAGC builds mutually beneficial alignment between FOIP and India's SAGAR development initiatives to synergize established and emerging narratives in Africa.

Both Abe and Modi capitalized on political inertia to fortify regional alliances and African partnerships. Each Prime Minister's resounding mandate was built upon ambitious regional initiatives, such as AAGC, SAGAR, and FOIP, marketed to African nations as alternative brands of development. In this effort, TICAD and IAFS served as the chief mechanisms for socializing development norms with African partners while challenging the hegemony of Beijing's development paradigm and 20th Century narratives in the region.

At the same time, Prime Minister Abe continued to make overtures to Japan's most notable competitor, the People's Republic of China. In PM Abe's historic visit to Beijing in

October 2018, he announced the end of Japan's development aid to China and the birth of a new relationship of economic cooperation through joint Japan-PRC development cooperation in third countries (Hurst 2018). Japanese and Chinese leaders made an initial commitment to over 50 large-scale joint infrastructure projects, including several mega-projects that overlap along Tokyo's FOIP and Beijing's BRI corridors. Both Abe Shinzo and Xi Jinping voiced intentions to grow increasing synergy in Asian and African development initiatives in an effort to improve the stability of the region and the international community (Hurst 2018). In 2019, the first Japan-China International Development Cooperation Policy Consultation brought together Japan's JICA and MOFA with China's International Development Cooperation Agency and other development stakeholders. Discussions centered on development cooperation policies, organizational structures, project evaluation, and experiences with other countries and international organizations as a basis for creating a Japan-China triangular cooperation framework for a new era of relations (MOFA-Japan 2019b).

Japan's development engagement is taking a new role in the 21st Century by aiming to strategically engage emerging narratives, such as the BRI and AAGC, while influencing partners like China and India to adopt or adhere to international standards and norms. Specifically, Japan's warming relationship with Beijing in development cooperation allows Tokyo to compel transparency and quality standards aligned with its FOIP narrative. Unlike other Western DAC donors, Tokyo's development relationship with Beijing offers Japan rare insight into often opaque contracts and negotiation processes of the BRI initiatives. At the same time, Japan's unique position at the fulcrum of these Asia-Africa partnerships endows greater influence and legitimacy within the established organizations like the OECD-DAC and UN. Among established donor powers, Japan has become a flag bearer and advocate for the modernization of ODA norms and principles. As highlighted by MOFA, through development diplomacy "Japan can lead the international community as a major responsible country in the world and ensure the international environment and order in line with Japan's national interests" (MOFA-Japan 2018a: 271).

ODA has always been tied to Japan's domestic agenda, but under the leadership of the Abe administration, the official discourse on ODA and foreign assistance

acknowledged the overt link to strategic national interest (Jain 2016c; MOFA-Japan 2015a). In the modern era of TICAD, ODA is increasingly utilized in concert with Japan's strategic development narratives to extend ontological alignment with a myriad of African partners. Japan uses development initiatives through TICAD to demonstrate new partnership models, human security, quality infrastructure, and triangular cooperation as the defining ODA paradigm of the modern era (MOFA-Japan 2019a: 243-246). TICAD showcases Tokyo's ambitious Indo-Pacific development brand on the global stage as Japan actively engages in the modernization and reform of ODA definitions and norms.

Part 2: Analyzing Ontological Power in Forum Diplomacy

Over the last decade, FOCAC, TICAD, and IAFS have targeted African partner nations as a fertile marketplace for new development engagement paradigms. Through disruptive forum diplomacy, Japan, China, and India have expanded ontological power by introducing alternative cooperation paradigms, increasing partnership and policy alignment initiatives, and following a process of evolutionary quality improvements. By comparing China, India's and Japan's most recent African development forums, the extent of each donor's ontological power in Africa is revealed. The categories of forum attendance, key leader engagement, state, and official visits, Asia-African agreements, and diplomatic presence result in a cumulative score used to compare each Asian nation's relative ontological strength. The comparison in ontological indicators is explained in the following section and summarized in Table 13 and Figure 13.

Through the TICAD mechanism, Japan serves as an interlocutor between African nations, emerging Asian development powers, and norms-creating international development organizations. In 2019, TICAD7 attracted more than 10,000 participants including 38 African leaders from 53 African countries, 52 development partner countries, 108 heads of international and regional organizations including the UN, UNDP, World Bank, and African Union. TICAD's official side events included 38 meetings between PM Abe and African Heads of State, the most summit meetings of any Asia-Africa forum. In addition to discussing the contributions of the TICAD7 initiatives to bilateral relations, the Summit meetings included discussions on cooperation in the international arena on UN reform and alignment with Japan's position on North Korean provocations. Summit meetings with key FOIP partner states, Kenya, Djibouti, Egypt, Ethiopia, and Cote d'Ivoire, reinforced ontological alignment between Japan and African states in pursuit of Tokyo's agenda to shape international development principles through ODA engagement. For Japan, TICAD stands at the center of its Free and Open Indo-Pacific vision – bearing the responsibility to bring together the African and Asian continents and the Indian and Pacific Oceans in alignment with Japan's development ontology.

China's FOCAC VII in 2018 was also the largest China-Africa Forum to date. The forum attracted 51 African heads-of-state, the most of an Asian-African forum, representatives from 53 African nations, and 29 international organizations, including the

AU and the UN. Like TICAD, FOCAC VII featured various side events including 22 Leader Summit meetings between African Heads of State and China's President, Premier, or Vice-Premier. In addition, African Heads of State and Ministers met with Chinese Community Party leaders and political advisors to deepen the political mutual understanding of Beijing's political system and ontological worldview. FOCAC boasts a 20-year history and is comprised of ministerial-level and senior leader level summits held alternately in China and Africa. Over its history, FOCAC has convened 7 times and is complemented by ongoing follow-up meetings and political consultations during the intervening years. Within the FOCAC framework, at least 8 sub-forums have been established with focus areas of political and policy exchange, youth leadership, health, media cooperation, poverty reduction, law, government cooperation, and think-tank cooperation¹⁸.

In comparison, India's IAFS Summit is the newest African forum among the Asian donor powers. The 2008 and 2011 summits were limited in scale and reach, welcoming only 14 and 15 African heads of state, respectively. However, the third IAFS in 2015 marked a turning point, moving toward a strategy of widespread engagement beyond traditional commonwealth partners. The 2015 Summit was attended by leaders of 41 African states and representatives from all 54 African nations. By 2015 the summit had grown to embody a model of India's multidimensional human-centered approach to South-South partnership on the African continent. PM Modi held side events and summit meetings with 34 heads of state discussing a roadmap for scaling-up India-Africa cooperation and reforming global governance institutions.

African high-level delegations are increasingly prioritizing Asia-African development forums over other global governance forums indicating the success of Japan, China, and India's disruptive agendas (Dahir 2018). Through African forum diplomacy, the governments of Japan, China, and India market their development brand and worldview directly to African counterparts.

¹⁸ Sub-forums established under the FOCAC framework include the following: China-Africa People's Forum, China-Africa Young Leaders Forum, Ministerial Forum on China-Africa Health Cooperation, Forum on China-Africa Media Cooperation, China-Africa Poverty Reduction and Development Conference, FOCAC-Legal Forum, Forum on China-Africa Local Government Cooperation, and China-Africa Think Tanks Forum

	Japan	China	India
	TICAD	FOCAC	IAFS
Most Recent Forum	2019	2018	2015
Themes	Human Security Public-Private Partnership Robust & Sustainable Development	Community of Common Destiny Strategic policy coherence	Strategic Regional Autonomy Human Capacity Building
Partnership Framework	Triangular Cooperation & Proactive Engagement	Comprehensive Strategic and Cooperative partnership	Africa-India Strategic Partnership
Brand	Free and Open Indo-Pacific Quality Growth & Empowerment	Belt and Road Initiative Chinese Dream	SAGAR South-South Partnership
Ontological Power			
Forum Attendees	38 HoS, 53 African Nations 108 heads of International orgs	51 HoS, 53 African Nations 29 International and African orgs	41 HoS, 54 African Nations 9 International and African orgs
Forum Leader Engagements	38 Leader summit meetings 20 Ministerial meetings	22 Leader summit meetings 22 Communist Party, Political Advisor meetings	34 Leader summit meetings
Official Visits to Africa	Head of State Visit - 5 Nations Foreign Minister Visit - 9 Nations (2015-2019)	Head of State Visit - 8 Nations Foreign Minister Visit - 24 Nations (2016-2020)	Head of State Visits - 29 Nations MEA Minister Visit - 5 Nations (2015-2019)
MoUs & Agreements	Investment agreements: 7 African nations MoUs: 26 African nations	BRI MoU or Cooperation Agreement: 40 African nations	MoUs: 21 African nations Strategic Partnerships: South Africa, Nigeria, Rwanda
Embassies/ High Commission	35	53	37

Table 13: Ontological comparison of Japan, China, and India's development engagement in Africa based on ontological indicators.

Over the past 5 years from 2015 to 2019, each of the Asian donors has increased state visits and leader engagements with African partners. India is the most active in official head of state visits to African partners. Since the conclusion of the IAFS, from 2015 to 2019, PM Modi, President Kovind, and India's Vice President made 35 official visits to African states and welcomed 16 African leaders for official and state visits in India. During these visits, India signed Memorandums of Understanding with 21 African nations and established strategic partnerships with South African, Nigeria, and Rwanda. The MOUs and strategic partnerships have deepened India's relationship with several of

China's most important partners, including South Africa, Rwanda, South Sudan, and Eritrea. Over the same period, PM Abe visited Kenya, Ethiopia, Cote d'Ivoire, Egypt, and Djibouti while Foreign Minister Kono visited an additional 9 nations. Abe's historic number of state visits to Africa marks the genesis of a new phase of Japan-Africa co-partnership of the TICAD process and Japan's global perspective on international relations. Tokyo has signed MOUs with 26 African partner nations. In addition, Japan concluded investment agreements with 7 African nations central to the FOIP vision and is finalizing investment treaties with 6 additional African partners (MOFA-Japan 2019a). Finally, Beijing has also taken an active approach to leader engagement with President Xi visiting 8 nations and Foreign Minister Wang visiting 24 African partners. At the start of every year, China's Foreign Minister's first international visit is to Africa, a long-standing tradition that reflects African states' important role in advancing Beijing's foreign policy agendas. China has dispatched special envoys to Africa states for all of the presidential inaugurations over the last 5 years, laying the groundwork for strong government-to-government relations. By 2019, Beijing has signed Belt and Road MOUs with 40 African states demonstrating the extent of its ontological reach and investment in China-Africa alignment.

China and India have rapidly expanded the presence of their diplomatic missions in African states. By 2020, Beijing had established embassies in all 53 African nations that recognize the One China Policy. These embassies are playing a role in extending ontological power. Chinese envoys to Africa, like Ambassador Lin Songtian in South Africa and Ambassador Wu Peng in Kenya, have taken an unusually outspoken approach to telling the Chinese story. Using popular social media platforms and unprecedented media engagements Chinese ambassadors have experimented with new ways to control the China-Africa development narrative. India has also raced to increase the presence of embassies and high commissions in Africa, with a 2018 announcement to establish 18 new missions by 2021. As of March 2020, India has 37 embassies and high commissions. India's Pan-African e-Network reached 48 African partner nations by 2017. Agreements for the upgraded e-VBAB network have already been signed with over 20 African nations, with a plan to expand the modernization to all 54 African states. In comparison, Japan has 35 embassies in African states. Japan's smaller population footprint in Africa and

emphasis on multilateral and triangular cooperation mechanisms has meant an emphasis on leadership in global organizations. Tokyo’s prominent leadership in international organizations such as the G20, G7, DAC, and in the promotion of the SDGs is Japan’s pathway to mainstreaming the TICAD development paradigm. Tokyo’s position as a DAC development power allows it unique influence over both established and emerging international development norms.

The results of the relative comparative analysis show that among the Asian donor powers, Beijing’s ontological power is the most mature and widespread while Japan and India are essentially equivalent in relative ontological power. A total of eight indicators comprised the ontological score, including, a) African leader attendance at the most recent forum, b) international attendance at the most recent forum, c) Summit leader engagements at the forum, d) State and Official visits to African states over the last 5 years, e) Ministerial visits to African states over the last 5 years, f) Bilateral MOUs signed with African states, g) Total number of forum engagements, and h) Diplomatic mission presence in African states. Each of the categories compared is equally weighted in the calculation of a cumulative score which is depicted as a percentage. Rather than applying a strong/weak or good/bad valuation, the relative comparison and percentages reflect the maturity of ontological mechanisms, the extent of the donor states engagement with African states, and the prevalence of ontological tools in the development engagement portfolio.

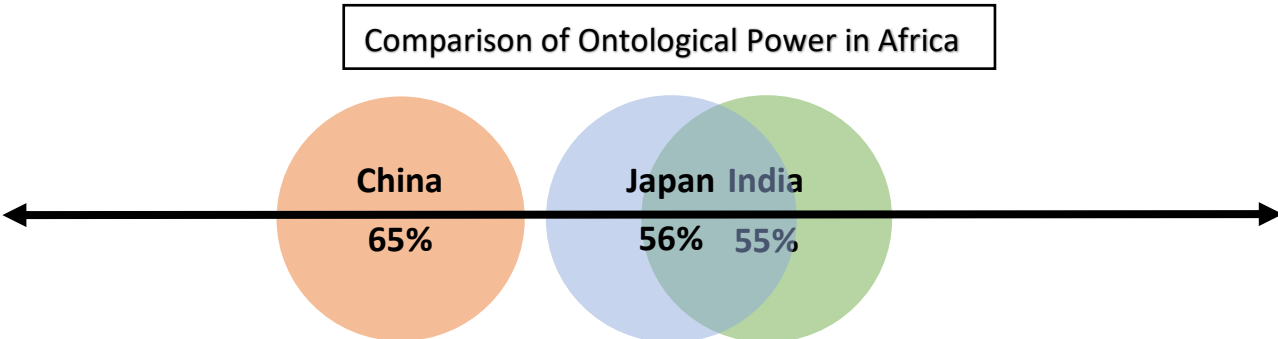


Figure 13: Visualization of ontological power comparison based on forum attendance, key leader engagements, official state visits, MOUs/ agreements, and embassy presence. Indicators are detailed in Table 13.

Asian donor’s development ontologies go far beyond economic and infrastructure cooperation. For Tokyo, the FOIP vision has become a hallmark of triangular cooperation in Africa. Through TICAD, AAGC, and the Japan-China development cooperation, Tokyo

shapes adherence to quality and sustainability principles central to the FOIP. TICAD, as a demonstration of Japan's ODA philosophy, aims to shape the norms for both OECD-DAC and emerging Asian donors, India and China. Similarly, beneath the facade of infrastructure investment, China's "New Silk Road" is a mechanism to inspire coherence with the rules and principles of Beijing's worldview. The proliferation of new ontological constructs under the Belt and Road framework, such as the "Green Silk Road" and "Health Silk Road," is evidence of BRI's centrality in Beijing's disruption of development paradigms. Foreign Minister Wang Yi's UNGA speech on China's role in the Global Community placed development leadership "at the center of the global macro policy framework" as the key to solving all problems (Wang 2019). As the US withdraws from vital leadership roles in global governance, such as the Paris Accord and the World Health Organization, Beijing's BRI, Japan's FOIP, and India's SAGAR are eager to fill the void. For Beijing, BRI offers a viable alternative rules-based global order with Chinese characteristics. For Tokyo, TICAD demonstrates a paradigm for the modernization of international development principles based on sustainability and partnership. For New Delhi, IAFS marks the operationalization of a long history of socio-cultural ties for a South-South led reform of international relations.

Conclusion

With 21st century global centers of influence shifting toward the Indo-Pacific, ontological power denotes a novel characteristic of Asian development power. The advance of Asian-African partnerships and visionary regional architectures, led by Japan, China, and India, defines a new mode of geopolitical power and influence. Distinct from 20th Century constructs, this new mode of influence is bolstered by the historical context and social values that bind African states and peoples with Asian brands. Through Beijing's BRI, Japan's FOIP, and India's regional multilateralism, the established DAC principles and values have been disrupted through increasing alignment with Africa stakeholders. The use of forum diplomacy is a unique facet of Asian-African engagement. Over the last decade, FOCAC, TICAD, and IAFS have targeted African partner nations as a fertile marketplace for new development paradigms. Japan leads international efforts to reshape DAC development principles based on the distinctive cooperation model

demonstrated through TICAD. China and India have followed Japan's lead in the development of FOCAC and IAFS, respectively. As the stage upon which the development cooperation is coordinated, these forums have become the tools of strategic disruption for established and emerging Asian powers.

This chapter explored the mechanisms of ontological power that characterize a new mode of Asia-Africa development engagement. Ontological power as a constructive and disruptive mechanism for development engagement was defined. Within the framework of strategic disruption, the growing importance of Asian development brands was exhibited through the analysis of China's BRI, Japan's FOIP, and India's SAGAR and AAGC narratives. China, Japan, and India's development narratives, advanced in African states, have negotiated new norms within the UN and OECD-DAC SDGs, alongside incumbent Western power initiatives. The analysis highlighted the role of African states as ambassadors of Asian brands on the international stage. Finally, this chapter provided an analysis of the relative maturity and widespread deployment of China, India, and Japan's ontological power based on key indicators. While Beijing's ontological influence in Africa is comparatively larger than Japan or India's, the analysis also reveals how Japan and India have used unique modes of South-South partnership and triangular cooperation in response to Beijing's dominant ontological toolbox. In summary, ambitious Indo-Pacific architectures advanced by China, Japan, and India are shown to be strategically disrupting the 20th century DAC paradigm and placing emerging and established Asian powers at the forefront of defining 21st century development norms beginning on the African continent.

African states choose from a variety of development pathways and Asian donors clearly recognize African stakeholders as a vital player in defining the next generation of great development powers. The bold articulation of Chinese, Japanese, and Indian development narratives, provides alternative visions for the Indo-Pacific. Derived from a perspective of cultural values and historical narratives, the rising Indo-Pacific designs represent a new strategy that disrupts contemporary DAC narratives. The analysis of Asian-African strategic visions and forum diplomacy has laid the groundwork for an analysis of material power in Chapter 4. The next chapter will analyze China, India, and Japan's material investment to demonstrate a harmony of investment and Asian

development narratives. Over Chapters 4 and 5, economic and security engagement will illuminate the next dimension of the Asian development power. The investments of Asian donors in Africa and the associated security networks are the mechanisms used to reinforce these development narratives and broker a new style of international relations.

Chapter 4: Material Development Investments

Chapter 3 defined Ontological Power and demonstrated Japan, China, and India's use of development narratives to shape the values, behaviors, and world views of African partner nations. The Tokyo International Conference on African Development (TICAD), Forum on China Africa Cooperation (FOCAC), and India-Africa Forum Summit (IAFS) provided a platform for the coordination of aligned development visions and policies between Asian donors and African partners. Beijing's BRI, Japan's FOIP, and India's SAGAR and AAGC leverage African partner nations as "brand advocates" and ambassadors for Asian donor paradigms on the regional and global stage. Material power enables and reinforces the Asian donors' development ontologies. Throughout the next two chapters, the role of economic investment and security investments will be explored in the context of the ontological development narratives.

Introduction

Material power will be analyzed in two parts in this chapter and Chapter 5. This chapter explores the first of two domains of material power, economic development investments. The use of material power by Asian donor nations is central in advancing their strategic ontological objectives and legitimizing their development brands in Africa and on the international stage. The scale, scope, and focus of material engagement are traced through maturing Asian development institutions and contemporary Asia-Africa forums from 2008 to 2019. This chapter focuses on development financing and emerging economic relationships between Asia and Africa. The chapter provides a comparative analysis of economic diplomacy brokered through the TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS, demonstrating the use of development investment to bolster Asian brands among African stakeholders.

As defined in Chapter 1, Material power is concessional financial and material flows that encompass the bulk of "hard power" economic and security engagement with development partners. These resources include Official Development Assistance (ODA) and Other Official Flows (OOF) from a donor country to a recipient that adhere to OECD-DAC definitions. Official flows for emerging donors include "ODA-like" and "OOF-like"

investment to African states from the Dreher, Fuchs, et al. (2017) dataset. In addition, the economic relationships between donor powers and African states and investment in security development are included in the material arm of development power. These categories of material power are further described below:

- Development financing: ODA or “ODA-like” financing that adheres to the OECD-DAC standards.
- Economic relationships: The ability of Asian states to influence African states through economic interdependency in trade relationships, non-ODA adhering Other Official Flows (OOF), and collaborative investments. “OOF-like” projects are financed by the Chinese or Indian governments as development cooperation but align with OECD-DAC definitions of OOF.
- Security resources and military diplomacy: Military equipment, financing, and troops contributed to UN Peacekeeping Operations (UNPKO) and recipient states. Security resources also include overseas bases and security infrastructure in the Indian Ocean and African region. Military diplomacy includes visits to African ports, bilateral and multilateral security exercises, military to military cooperation with African troops, and mediation in hot-spot regional conflicts. Military diplomacy advances the securitization of Asia-Africa cooperation through relationship building and the projection of security influence into the Indian Ocean and African continent. (Further detailed in Chapter 5).

Japan, an established DAC donor, boasts a high degree of maturity in its development institutions and world-class standards of transparency and accountability. Due to the rigorous reporting requirements of OECD-DAC membership, ample data exists in support of Japan’s material ODA, OOF, and development security investments. In contrast to the transparency and data-reporting standards of OECD-DAC donors, the development engagement budgets of emerging donors, China and India, are obscured for reasons of domestic perception, state control, and inter-governmental dynamics.

China's development investment budgets are considered state secrets, and therefore, financing statistics are not publicly disclosed. In 2011 and 2014, the PRC's information office released white papers entitled "China's Foreign Aid," describing aid types, philosophy, and regional focus absent of concrete financial values. Using this reporting, efforts to estimate the OECD ODA equivalent (i.e., "ODA-like" investment) have been undertaken by several researchers and institutes, detailed in Chapter 1. Databases cultivated by AidData, SAIS-CARI, and Kitano are used to estimate Chinese "ODA-like" and "OOF-like" investments in African states (Bluhm et al. 2018; Kitano 2018; SAIS-CARI 2019). FOCAC Declarations and Actions Plans (2009, 2012, 2015, 2018) provide insight into economic and security investments in African states. Material investment data relating to the Belt and Road initiative is derived from a variety of reports, including Chinese government official documents, MERICS databases, RWR Advisors, and McKenzie (Sun, Jayaram & Kassiri 2017).

Reporting standards and the availability of data on Indian material investments is also irregular due to the lack of mature development investment agencies. Official commitments to African states and material focus areas are derived from IAFS Action Plans and Declarations (2008, 2011, 2015). In addition, Ministry of Finance (MOF) and Ministry of External Affairs (MEA) annual reports provide detail on annual budgets, including "Technical and Economic Cooperation" (TEC) outlays. Export-Import (EXIM) Bank Annual reports and project-level data on Lines of Credit have been cultivated into a database itemizing the scale and type of material investment to individual African states from 2008 to 2019. India's security cooperation investments and military diplomacy with African states have been compiled into a database from Annual reports published by India's Ministry of Defense.

In this chapter, the values of emerging donors' ODA-like and OOF-like investments are based on estimates derived from official sources and academic databases (Bluhm et al. 2018; Dreher et al. 2017). Rather than highlighting dollar figures, this chapter will focus on a qualitative comparison of material investment and how this investment reinforces the socio-political authority of China or India's ontological narrative.

Development Financing & Economic Relationships

This section provides a comparative analysis of Japan, China, and India's development investment institutions and the overall composition of development investment brokered through TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS from 2008 to 2019. The types of ODA-like and OOF-like development investments and the composition of each Asian donor's portfolio in Africa provide insight into the instruments of material power. Finally, the analysis compares the scale, composition, and sectoral focus of each Asian donor nation's development financing with African states and provides examples of high profile investments in transport, infrastructure, and power generation.

ODA Institutions and Donor Profiles

Japan, China, and India each exhibit varying donor profiles, which are evident in their development institutions and modes of investment. Founded on its ample post-WWII experience and contemporary prominence, Japan stands apart as the pre-eminent Asian donor. Within Asia, Japan maintains its status as a high-ranking donor and regional ODA leader, sustaining a multi-decadal commitment to Asian development. Japan remains a dominant global donor power, ranking as the world's top donor for nearly a decade until the year 2000, 2nd largest donor up to 2014, and 4th since 2015. Over the last several decades, Japan has diversified its portfolio of ODA recipients, shifting towards Africa in line with Abe's panoramic perspective of foreign policy. At the same time, China and India have attracted attention as emerging powers and prominent South-South donors. China's rapid rise as a major donor has seen Africa as the major beneficiary of both concessional and non-concessional development investment. Beijing's focus on BRI, as the defining foreign policy agenda, shapes the financial landscape of international development investment and colors its material engagement in Africa. India's development assistance program has traditionally placed a heavy emphasis on technical and non-monetary assistance with South East Asian and Commonwealth African neighbors. However, since 2008, New Delhi has expanded both its budgetary commitment and geographical focus with African states receiving a strong increase in development financing from their Indian Ocean neighbor and becoming a testing ground for India as the emerging donor state.

From 2008-2019 Japan's total gross official financing to Africa has remained stable and averages at over \$2B per year gross ODA¹⁹ (OECD 2020). According to Chinese official reports, from 2004 to 2009 total foreign aid budgets have increased by 29.4% annually (PRC 2011)²⁰. External researchers calculate more modest rates of annual growth for global ODA-like investments, with estimates of 4-6% average annual growth from 2009 to 2018 (SAIS-CARI 2019). India's development assistance to Africa shows some volatility but is officially reported to have increased at an average annual rate of 27% from 2010 to 2019 from \$16.5M in 2010 to \$144M in 2019 (MoF-India 2010-2020)²¹. While the scale of New Delhi's financial flows is dwarfed by those of China and Japan, India's long history of material cooperation through Indian Technical & Economic Cooperation (ITEC), private sector and industrial ties, and security cooperation are substantial. Presently, Asian donors' development assistance is significant, ranking among the top OECD-DAC donor powers (see Figure 14).

Japan's dominance among the Asian development powers as a major donor power is evident. As Figure 14 shows, Tokyo's gross ODA outlay is two to five times greater than China's estimated "ODA-like" values (depending on which estimates are used) (Dreher et al. 2017; Kitano 2018; SAIS-CARI 2019). While the gap appears to be shrinking, Japan's role as the most significant global ODA donor in the Asian Region is undisputable. Nonetheless, China's increasingly important role as a major donor is also evident. Conservative estimates place China's ODA-like outlay at nearly twice as much as Korea, the only other Asian OECD-DAC member. In fact, using Kitano's estimates for total gross foreign aid, China would rank 6th among the 29 OECD-DAC member states in 2017²². In that same year, India would have ranked 20th among DAC donors (Kitano 2018; MEA 2016c, 2018a; OECD 2019).

¹⁹ The value of Japan's total Gross ODA to African states from 2008 to 2019 is \$20.1 Billion. While there are annual fluctuations in ODA investment, the linear trend shows \$9.7M per year or average annual growth of 1% over the decade. Source: Analysis based on author's calculations of OECD database (OECD, 2020).

²⁰ The PRC's White Paper on Foreign Aid, published in 2011, claimed that African nations received 45.7% of China's foreign aid in 2009, but does not provide any data on regional finance distribution or growth rates (PRC, 2011).

²¹ Author's calculation based on data published by India's Ministry of Finance annual reports (MoF-India 2010-2020).

²² SAIS-CARI estimates China's 2017 "ODA-like" flows at \$2.45 Billion USD which would rank 15th among OECD-DAC donors.

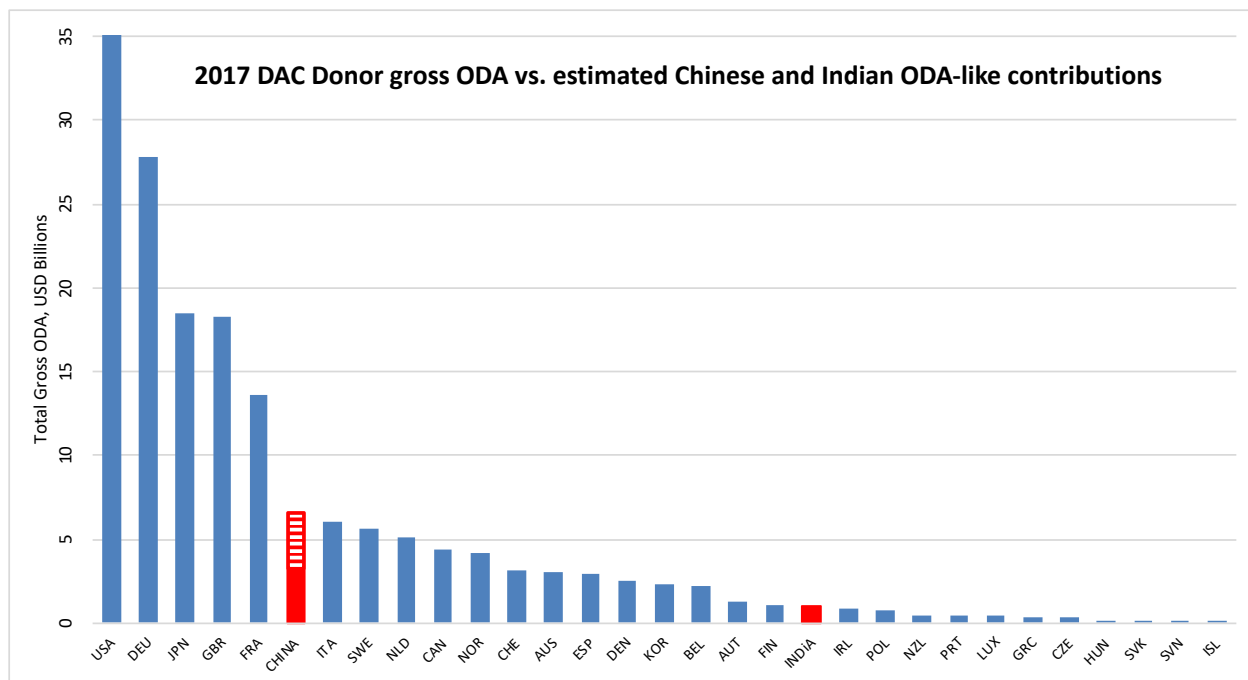


Figure 14: Total Gross ODA OECD-DAC member rankings in 2017 in comparison with Chinese and Indian estimated foreign aid values. The striped region of Chinese ODA represents the disparity between the lower and higher estimates from SAIS-CARI and Kitano, respectively. (Kitano 2018; MEA 2016c, 2018a; OECD 2019)

The development of national development cooperation institutions is an indicator of the maturity of national ODA programs and policy. Among Asian donors, Japan’s long history as a major donor and its international status has precipitated the consolidation of aid structures. Through a massive administrative restructuring in 2008, Japan consolidated most of its aid administration in the ‘New JICA’. In its new reincarnation, JICA has emerged as a single predominant aid organization, appropriately labeled as a ‘super JICA’ (Jain 2016a: 97). With a 2019 annual budget in excess of \$12B, this is the world’s largest single bilateral aid agency. As a DAC member state, Japan reports detailed statistics on ODA, Other Official Flows (OOF), and private financing to the OECD-DAC. JICA publishes an Annual Report and MOFA publishes an annual Diplomatic Bluebook tracking the implementation of ODA and foreign policy initiatives outlined in the Development Cooperation Charter. In addition to TICAD Action Plans and Declarations (2008, 2013, 2016, 2019), the TICAD follow-up mechanism established in 2008 provides detailed reviews of project implementation and material outlays to African

states. The high level of transparency and accountability of Japan's ODA and official financing bolsters its international standing as a "high quality" development power.

In contrast, China and India exhibit more fragmented international development institutions, lacking transparency and consistency in their reporting. China's stage of aid institutionalization reflects a level of decentralized structures reminiscent of earlier stages of Japan's aid program when its administration was spread across numerous ministries and agencies (Rix 1980: 21-5). Until 2018, China's development assistance was handled primarily by the Ministry of Commerce (MOFCOM), the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (MFA), and the Ministry of Finance but also included influence from Ministries of Public Health, Education, and beyond. MOFCOM holds the official responsibility for formulating mid and long-term aid strategies and brokering aid with development partners (Kim & Potter 2012; Kitano 2016, 2018) However, competition between ministries and lack of effective coordinating mechanisms left Beijing's emerging institutional apparatus compartmentalized and opaque (Brautigam 2009). To reduce the turf war and opacity of the foreign assistance machine, the China International Development Cooperation Agency (CIDCA) was established in 2018. Championed by Xi Jinping and the Chinese Communist Party, CIDCA was established as a sub-ministry level agency tasked with consolidating the MOFCOM and MFA functions to align strategic development investments with foreign policy goals, plans, and policies – most importantly the BRI vision (Wang 2018). While still in formative stages, CIDCA is postured to become a central mechanism for the comprehensive implementation of economic investment aligned with BRI strategic objectives. For African partners, CIDCA may represent a welcomed attempt to increase centralized oversight and accountability while addressing issues of corruption, sustainability, and social responsibility.

By comparison, India reflects a less mature and still emerging development program that is grappling with the early machinations of institutional organization. India currently lacks a dedicated aid agency although early stages of consolidation are evident in the Ministry of External Affairs (MEA). While coordination is primarily brokered by the MEA, many other ministries have their own 'aid' programs and the Ministry of Finance plays a major role in budgetary allocations. In 2007 and 2008, the government proposed to create a unified aid agency, and in 2012, India's MEA established the Development

Partnership Administration (DPA) to streamline fragmented development assistance organizations and integrate development narratives and foreign policy objectives into new strategic partnerships. The DPA is a subordinate organization in MEA and comprises three divisions (DPA-I, II, and III) directed to coordinate the following: I. Lines of Credit and Grants in African regions, II. Civilian and Military training slots allocated under the ITEC and SCAAP²³ programs, and III. Grant assistance implementation in the near neighborhood (MEA 2020). DPA liaises with the territorial divisions to bring increased coherence to development initiatives in alignment with IAFS and AAGC efforts. As DPA's mandate is still in development, MEA's territorial divisions primarily coordinate with India's EXIM Bank and Ministry of Finance to handle the bulk of IAFS's investment and human development initiatives (MEA 2020).

ODA Investments in Africa

Japan, China, and India's official financing investments in Africa consist of official development assistance (or ODA-like investments) and other official investments (or OOF-like investment). ODA and ODA-like Investments include Grants, Concessional Loans, Debt rescheduling or forgiveness, and other development assistance. ODA conforming to OECD-DAC standards does not include military aid, security cooperation, or instruments of commercial financing. For Japan, China, and India concessional loans and grants make up the lion's share of development assistance to African states (see Figure 15, Figure 16, Figure 17). Grants are financial assistance with no obligation for repayment that largely target low-income and low-middle income level nations. ODA loans come in the form of zero interest and low interest loans. Low interest loans are offered at concessional rates, over long-term periods in line with OECD-DAC terms and standards for the purpose of financing development efforts. These concessional loans are financial assistance with a repayment obligation designed to minimize the financial burden on both donor and recipient nations and promote a sustainable development-financing model. Apart from grants and loans a small fraction of Japan, China, and India's development financing comes in the form of debt rescheduling or forgiveness and other

²³ Indian Technical and Economic Cooperation (ITEC) Programme and Special Commonwealth Assistance for Africa Programme (SCAAP)

concessional financing. Debt rescheduling is the deferment or restructuring of debt payments to provide debt relief by extending the maturity dates of loans. Debt forgiveness is a formal contractual agreement between lender and recipient that cancels all or part of the obligation to repay a loan. Given China and India’s status as developing nations, debt restructuring and forgiveness constitute a very small proportion of their ODA financing.

Japan’s ODA to African states from 2008 to 2019 was composed of 56% grants and 44% concessional loans (Figure 15). Japan’s bilateral ODA is brokered by JICA and falls into two categories: 1) Grants and 2) Finance and Investment Cooperation. Grants primarily support human resource development, research and development, technology dissemination, and the development of institutional frameworks. Approximately 17% of grants are dedicated to technical cooperation. The second category of bilateral ODA, finance and investment cooperation, consists of ODA loans and private sector financing. This financing mechanism strategically aligns ODA investment with private sector investment in African partner nations via Public-Private Partnerships (PPP).

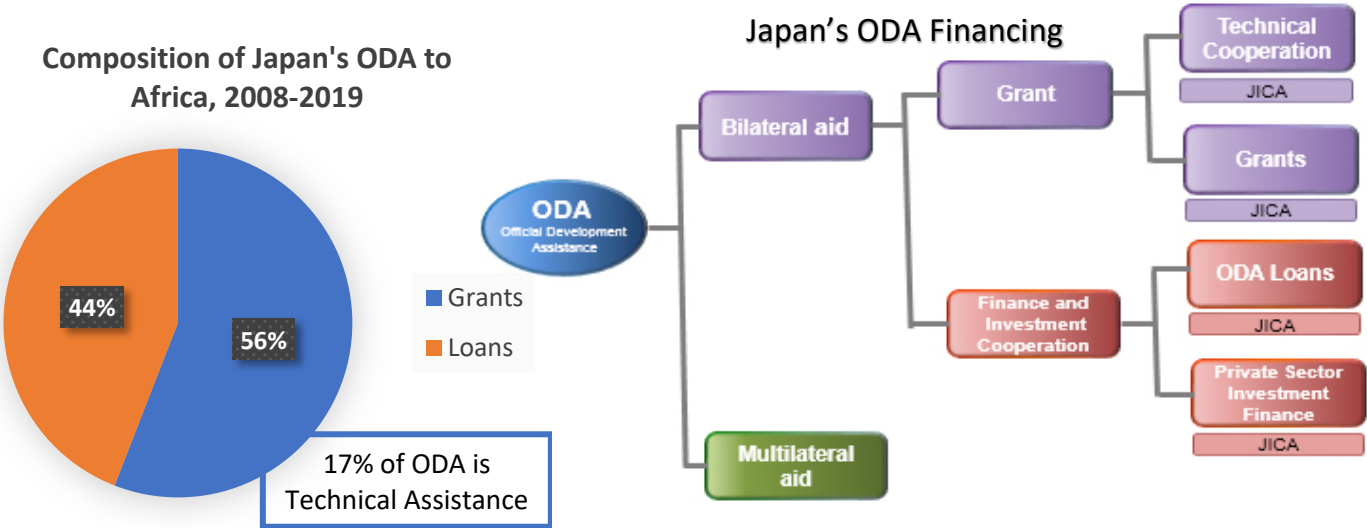


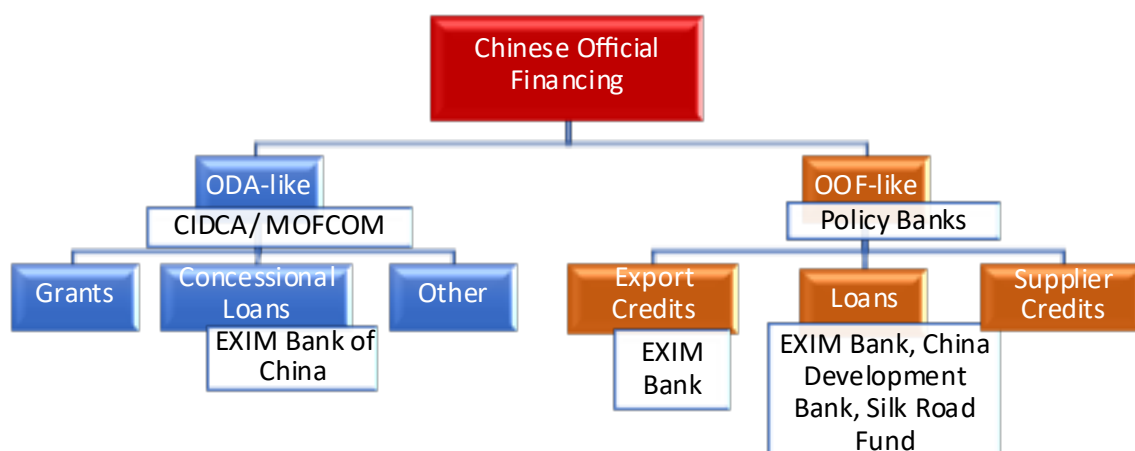
Figure 15: Composition of Japan's ODA to Africa from 2008-2019. Source OECD-DAC database (OECD-DAC, 2020) (Left)

Japan's ODA financing mechanisms as outlined by JICA (Right).

China’s ODA-like flows only represent about 20% of Chinese global development investments, yet African states receive a large share of China’s ODA-like financing. According to official PRC sources, Asia and Africa receive the majority of Chinese foreign

assistance, with Africa's share reaching over 46% in 2009 according to the 2011 Foreign Aid White Paper (PRC 2011, 2014). However, estimates based on AidData's dataset indicate that African nations received 59% of the ODA-like projects financed from 2000-2014 (Bluhm et al. 2018). SAIS-CARI data estimates China's total aid-like financing at \$2.97bn in comparison to AidData's \$6.9bn figure, and Brautigam points out significant discrepancies between the datasets accurate accounting of African commitments (Brautigam & Hwang 2016: 11-15). The opacity of Chinese development financing (ODA-like and OOF-like) highlights the challenge that African governments, the populous, and foreign financing institutions, like the IMF, face when assessing accountability and debt sustainability.

China's ODA-like investment in Africa comes in the form of grants, concessional loans (which conform to OECD-DAC standards), debt rescheduling or forgiveness, and other investments. According to Chinese official sources, from 2010-2012 concessional loans comprised 55.7% of global development finance, zero-interest loans 8.1%, and grants 36.2% of the total development financing. However, these official values include wider definitions of financing that do not adhere to OECD-DAC definitions of ODA in terms of concessionality or intent. Analysis of ODA-like data from 2008-2014 shows that Chinese financing to Africa consists of 84% concessional loans and 14% grants. From 2008 to 2014, China's debt rescheduling comprised only 1% of total financing to the African region (Figure 16). At the 2018 FOCAC Summit, Xi Jinping announced that zero-interest loans to the least developed African countries with diplomatic relations with Beijing would be forgiven (Xi 2018). Of the material investment announced at FOCAC, zero-interest loans comprise only a small fraction of the development financing to African states, and therefore, the debt forgiveness announced in 2018 does not mark a significant deviation from historical precedent at about 1%. The category of "other ODA financing" includes unspecified concessional financing, technical assistance, and training scholarships.



Types of Chinese ODA-Like Development Financing in Africa, 2008-2014

Types of Chinese OOF-Like Development Financing in Africa, 2008-2014

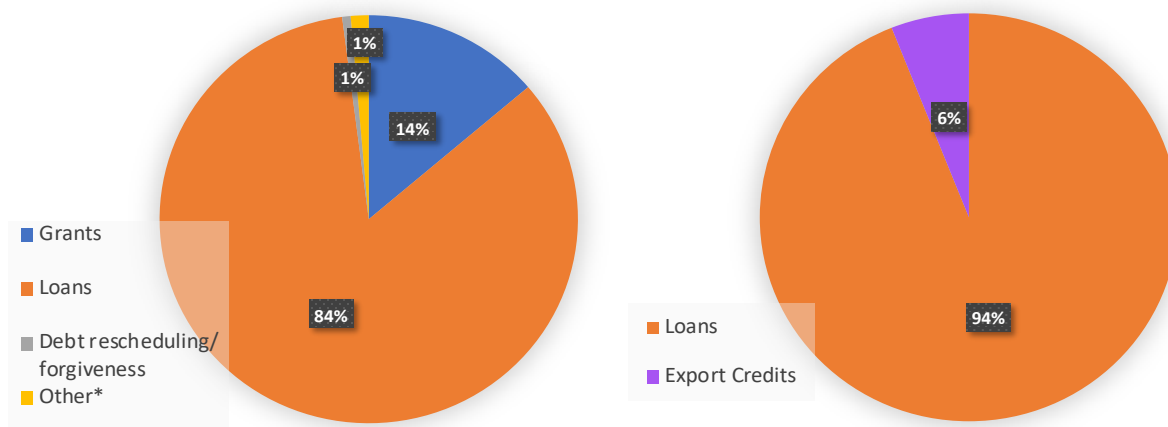


Figure 16: China's Official Financing instruments and primary financing agencies (Top)

Composition of ODA-like and OOF-like development financing to Africa from 2008-2014. Database source: AidData, 2017 (Bottom)

*Other includes vague or unspecified ODA-like financing, technical assistance funding, and scholarships/training.

India's development investment in Africa falls into three major categories. The first, Technical and Economic Cooperation (TEC) is brokered by the DPA and includes bilateral grants and ODA-like loans that are extended to foreign countries. Secondly, the EXIM Bank of India extends OOF-like Lines of Credit (LoC) to African nations based on DPA direction and Ministry of Finance administrative control. Finally, scholarships and training programs are coordinated through the DPA. Scholarship programs open to African students include the Indian ITEC Program, Special Commonwealth Assistance for Africa Program (SCAAP), and Technical Cooperation Scheme (TCS) of Colombo Plan. These

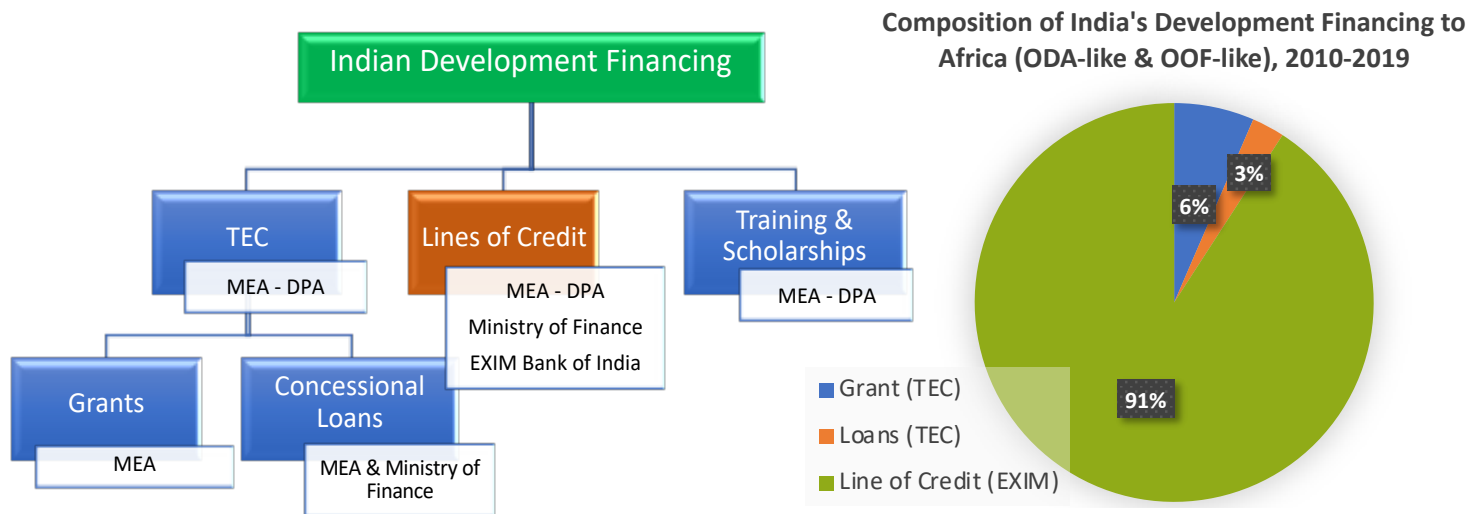


Figure 17: Types of Indian Development Financing and responsible agencies and financing institutions (Left). Composition of India's 10-year ODA-like and OFF-like investment in Africa (Right).

scholarships and other investments in training will be covered extensively in Chapter 5 as part of the soft power analysis.

India's concessional financing to African states through the TEC program is reported in MEA Annual Reports (2014-2020) and Outcome Budgets (2008-2017). Like Japan, India's most significant extra-regional development assistance goes to African states, reaching 20% of the total TEC budget in 2019 (MEA 2020). While the scale of the TEC budget is small in comparison to Japan's ODA and China's ODA-like financing, it has shown a trajectory of growth over the last decade, growing from just \$16.5M in 2010 to \$144.2M in 2019. India's TEC investment is made up largely of grants at 90% in 2019 with the remaining 10% in concessional loans. TEC in Africa is heavily focused on investment with key partners, notably the island nations of Mauritius and, more recently, Seychelles which play a vital role in India's vision of regional security cooperation discussed in detail in Part 2 of this chapter. Overall, TEC makes up less than 10% of India's material investment in African states. Lines of Credit extended by India's EXIM Bank make up over 90% of material investment in Africa over the last decade (see Figure 17). India's development investment from 2010-2019 is made up of 94% loans (primarily LoC from EXIM Bank of India) and 6% grants.

ODA financing extended by JICA is over 90% untied (2017), a rate that exceeds the average of G7 donors and places Tokyo as a paragon of OECD-DAC development

ideals and standards. Conversely, concessional loans brokered by emerging donors, China and India, are principally tied to domestic industry. Chinese concessional loans require a minimum of 50% use of Chinese goods and services. According to China's 2011 White Paper, 40% of China's foreign aid expenditure consisted of "Complete Projects" which are planned, designed, and constructed using Chinese exported goods (building material and equipment) and services (engineers and technical consultants)(PRC 2011: III). Megaprojects such as the Mombasa-Nairobi Standard Gauge railway constructed by the China Road and Bridge Corporation are fulfilled by Chinese state-owned enterprises (SOEs) using exported equipment, materials, and management. Since the launch of FOCAC, private firms have followed SOEs along the Belt and Road, "going global" in special economic zones (SEZs) and industrial parks developed through the FOCAC process (Brautigam & Tang 2014; Gu 2009). Similarly, India's concessional loans support Indian enterprises by giving them access to new markets in African states and supporting the purchase of Indian goods and services. Like China, India's loans are tied to Indian firms for project fulfillment. India's LoCs are offered at terms aligned with IMF standards for concessionality based on development status but require a minimum of 75% value of goods and services covered under the loan to be sourced from India. India's DPA is tasked to manage project identification, approval and execution of proposals, project implementation and monitoring, and impact assessments for EXIM Bank LoCs.

While sometimes concessional in nature, the vast majority of Chinese and Indian development financing in Africa is not ODA, but rather OOF discussed in the following section.

Other Official Flows (OOF) and other Investment Mechanisms

Japan, China, and India's other official development investments in Africa constituted a significant share of their material investment. These investments fortify the link between development financing, trade, and economic cooperation – they form the substructure around which Asian ontological power is constructed. OOF includes non-concessional loans or lines of credit, export credits, supplier's credits, and private sector investment.

Non-ODA conforming loans and lines of credit make up the vast majority of Chinese and Indian financing extended to African states. These loans do not adhere to

the OECD-DAC terms of ODA concessionality or development intent. For example, Chinese official figures for development assistance include financing for military aid and private sector investments, categories that are excluded by OECD-DAC definitions. Chinese and Indian large-scale infrastructure projects and commodity-backed loans have strong linkages to domestic economics, characteristic of their “win-win” and “mutually beneficial partnership” model. Striving to spur self-sustaining development through profitability, the Asian donor powers incentivize the movement of low-end industry to Africa using a “flying geese” model (popularized by Japan), which promotes the outsourcing of labor-intensive processes while shifting domestic focus toward higher-tech/value-added industries. Governments in Tokyo, Beijing, and New Delhi have cultivated development initiatives linking domestic industry to basic processing facilities in Africa to boost economic dividends by adding greater value to the labor and goods output (Brautigam 2009).

Export credits are loans that are extended to finance the export of goods or services. The financing can be extended to the supplier by the government (such as MOFCOM) or through a commercial or development bank (such as the Asian Development Bank or EXIM Bank of India). A large portion of Beijing’s OOF comes in the form of export credits to either Chinese companies (supplier’s credits) or importing countries (buyer’s credits). This financing extends across a spectrum of sectors including rail and port infrastructure, information and communication technology (ICT), and power generation. High profile financing for private companies like Huawei and ZTE supported the establishment of large-scale pan-African ICT infrastructure and the adoption of 5G networks in African nations. Also, Chinese OOF loans and export credits supported the establishment of SEZs across the African continent. These SEZs are built on a model of industrial clustering that supports the export of Chinese materials and equipment, the export of Chinese excess industrial capacity, and the cultivation of overseas investment hubs along the Belt and Road (Brautigam & Tang 2014).

Since 2008, Japan has leveraged TICAD to showcase material power through Public-Private Partnerships and JICA’s Private Sector Investment Finance (PSIF) scheme. PPP and PSIF represent a form of hybrid development cooperation in which ODA investments are paired with inputs from private companies to fulfill infrastructure

projects. In the case of PPP, ODA investments cover the infrastructure costs while investments from private companies cover the sustainment operations, maintenance, and technology transfer. This PPP model championed by the Japanese government aims to improve project efficiency and profitability, and offers a template for dynamic use of ODA to leapfrog African technology innovation in development partnerships. To realize this model in Africa, JICA launched PSIF, a private-sector loan scheme that invests in corporations who are responsible for project implementation in developing countries in three categories: 1) infrastructure development and growth, 2) SDGs and poverty reduction, and 3) climate change (MOFA-Japan 2015a). In 2008, Japan's New JICA signed an MOU with the African Development Bank (AfDB) to coordinate ODA and private investment in line with its PSIF initiative. During TICAD V and VI the bulk of Tokyo's economic assistance, a total of \$38B, came in the form of PPP. The PPP investment was bolstered by an additional \$24B in ODA investment in infrastructure development over the six-year implementation period.

The 2015 Development Cooperation Charter elaborates that “with respect to Africa, Japan will provide assistance through joint efforts of the public and the private sector through [TICAD] so that Africa's remarkable growth in recent years based on expanding trade, investment and consumption will lead to further development for both Japan and Africa” (MOFA-Japan 2015a: 8). Private firms face difficulty obtaining financing from traditional financial institutions for higher risk projects in African states, putting Japanese companies at a disadvantage to Chinese SOEs and Chinese corporations with access to the Silk Road Fund and funding through Chinese policy banks. By using ODA as strategic fodder for PPP, Japan minimized risk and boosted the competitiveness of private industry across the African continent, allowing Japanese industries to better contend with Chinese and Indian firms. Furthermore, Japan's promotion of PPP as a new model for development engagement has begun to shape both established and emerging powers' development assistance philosophy. In 2016, Tokyo launched the “Japan-African Public and Private Economic Forum” under the TICAD framework, to increase mutual understanding of PPP policies and showcase Japan business and partnerships to African countries and triangular partner nations. Sasada's work (2019) reinforces this point by highlighting the role of Abe's ODA strategy and the PPP approach in catalyzing domestic

economic revitalization and making Japan's development programs competitive with their Chinese rivals. Sasada underlines the divergence of Tokyo from Western aid models, and credits the ODA philosophy with bolstering Japan's image and leadership role in shaping international perceptions of "aid" (Sasada 2019: 1068-9) Through TICAD, Japan led philosophical debates in the UN to advance PPP and Public-Private Action Partnerships (PPAP) as a new paradigm for sustainable global development (TICAD 2016b: Section 3, MOFA-Japan 2018: 11-12). The OECD-DAC recognized Japan's innovative financing tools and pioneering role in utilizing PPP to accelerate private sector engagement in developing states (OECD-DAC 2014: 27-28). Today in the OECD and UN, PPP has become an integral part of achieving global partnerships for sustainable development through the UN's 2030 Agenda (UNGA 2015a; 2015b: 27).

The use of PPP has also been adopted into China and India's development assistance portfolios. In both 2015 and 2018, Beijing's FOCAC commitments included \$10B in PPP, aiming to attract private commercial investment in Africa's seven SEZs²⁴. IAFS 2015 also promoted PPP through the establishment of Indian businesses in African industrial zones to provide mutual economic benefits. OECD-DAC members have followed the lead of Asian Lions, with the United States announcing a \$60 Billion development investment scheme that will seed private investment in African states. Indian multi-national companies such as Tata, Mahindra, Infosys, Grasim Industries Ltd., have established pan-African footprints and become the prized ambassadors of Indian-African partnership as a vital part of global markets. Indian firms see their investment in Africa as directly linked to Indian global aspirations and African development goals (Taylor 2012). The development of tech hubs, such as Kenya's so-called "Silicon Savannah," serve as a cradle for Japan, India, and China's PPP, by lowering the barriers to doing business in Africa. Japan's prominence as a high-quality and tech-savvy global leader is being reinforced through TICAD to offer a bridge between African states and emerging Asian partners. Cultivating African industrial capacity presents Japanese, Chinese, and Indian

²⁴ As of 2017, Chinese SOEs have established seven Special Economic Zones in Zambia, Mauritius, Egypt, Ethiopia, Nigeria (two), and Algeria. For details on SEZ development and private commercial investments see Brautigam and Tang's "Going Global in Groups": Structural Transformation and China's Special Economic Zones Overseas," 2014, and Chintu and Williamson's "Chinese state-owned enterprises in Africa: myths and realities," 2013.

businesses and entrepreneurs the promise of rising middle-income consumers across the continent.

ODA and OOF Sectoral Investment

Asian donors' loans and LoCs (both concession and non-concessional) make up the bulk of emerging Asian donors' development financing in Africa and provide insight into the sectoral focus of their investments. To analyze the sectoral focus of South-South donor's ODA and OOF investments, loan data from 2008 to 2017 (China) and 2008 to 2019 (India) were compared with Japanese ODA investments from 2008 to 2017 (EXIM-India 2020; OECD 2020; SAIS-CARI 2019). Figure 18 provides a visual comparison of the sectoral breakdown of Asian donor investments in African states. In the 10 years from 2008-2017, three-quarters of Chinese loans fell into four sectors - Transport (30%), Power (26%), Mining (15%), and Communications (5%). Chinese SOEs attract the bulk of mega-financing in sectors of resource extraction, energy, and transport – the top three categories of Chinese development investment in Africa. Some of the high profile projects executed by Chinese SOEs include the Sicomines resource-for-infrastructure financing in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (DRC) (Sinohydro and China Railway Engineering Company), the Zambian Chambishi copper mine (China Non-Ferrous Metals Corporation, CNMC), and the Lamu Coal Power Plant in Kenya (PowerChina) (Hairong & Sautman 2013; Maiza-Larrarte & Claudio-Quiroga 2019). The Sinomines mineral-for-infrastructure investment implemented by Chinese SOEs Sinohydro and CREC's was heralded as the "deal of the century" and resulted in approximately \$3B in infrastructure investment in return for majority Chinese ownership of Sicomines production (Maiza-Larrarte & Claudio-Quiroga 2019: 423). The Chinese investment from the Sicomines project included financing for railways, roads, hospitals, and hydroelectric dams across the DRC, but up until 2018 researchers found that infrastructure projects were plagued by management problems, long delays, and quality control issues resulting in poor economic development returns for the DRC (ibid). Another high profile investment was China's use of SOEs for copper mine development in Zambia. This evolved into another public relations falter for China as CNMC's mines garnered harsh criticism for worker health and safety, wages, and exploitation. Clashes between Zambian line workers and

managers from 2003 through 2012 resulted in numerous injuries and fatalities, the murder of two Chinese officials and six protesters, and harsh criticism of Chinese labor practices from African governments and the international community²⁵. In response to workers' struggles, CNMC reformed labor practices and the Zambian government has stepped up enforcement, improving working conditions in the mines (Hairong & Sautman 2013: 150-1).

Beijing's investment in energy production has also garnered pan-African and international attention. Chinese SOE PowerChina is leading the construction of two hydroelectric dams in DRC totaling \$3.4B and promising to deliver 1050MW of power to central Africa. Beijing's investment in a \$2B coal-fired power station in Lamu, Kenya was designated as part of BRI and would become the largest power plant in East Africa. However, in 2019, Kenyan courts halted the construction of the coal plant on the basis of deficient environmental and social impact assessments. Beijing's export of coal plants in Africa challenges Xi's 2019 pledge of a "Green Belt and Road" as the tensions flare over low-cost energy delivery and environmental sustainability (Xi 2019). The cases of the Chambishi mine and the Lamu Coal Plant highlight how lack of adherence to environmental or social norms by China's SOEs or private industries in Africa have dealt reputational damage to the Belt and Road narrative.

By comparison, the top sectors for India's LoC's from 2008-2019 were Power generation (31%), Infrastructure (24%), Agriculture (14%), and Industry (9%) comprising over three-quarters of development financing from India to Africa. While the scale of China's investment in power dwarfs India's LoC, New Delhi has distinguished itself as a leader in affordable and accessible renewable energy production sector in Africa. India's investment in power generation places heavy emphasis on low-cost, renewable energy sources including solar power, geothermal power, and hydroelectric power production in Africa. From 2008 to 2019, over \$550M in concessional LoCs have gone to hydroelectric power including mega-projects such as the Katende Hydroelectric project in the DRC.

²⁵ Human Rights Watch wrote a scathing report in 2011 charging Chinese SOEs with poor working conditions, pay, and workers' rights abuses. (See HRW, "You'll Be Fired if You Refuse: Labor Abuses in Zambia's Chinese State-owned Copper Mines." 2011: <https://www.hrw.org/sites/default/files/reports/zambia1111ForWebUpload.pdf>). However, some researches dispute claims in the HRW report based on additional fieldwork and analysis of Western mining practices in African states (see Hairong & Sautman, 2013).

India's EXIM Bank extended over \$400M in financing to the DRC from 2010 to 2014 for the delivery of 73MW of energy to provide power security to central Africa, going head to head with China in the DRC. At the 2015 IAFS Summit, Prime Minister Modi announced India's leadership of a new renewable energy initiative that resulted in the initiation of the International Solar Alliance (ISA), a treaty-based intergovernmental organization aimed at increasing renewable energy generation. In 2016, 34 African nations became member countries and ratified the ISA framework agreement making ISA the largest grouping of states outside of the United Nations²⁶. In 2018, the Government of India announced \$1.1B in Lines of Credit for 22 solar power projects in 12 African nations including projects in Tanzania, DRC, and Nigeria where China also has significant energy and mineral investment interests (MEA 2018b).

The energy and resources needed to realize India's Make in India (MII) vision drive the second arm of Indo-African engagement. Rising per capita GDP and mounting urbanization of India's new middle class comes with increasing energy demands over the next decade. By 2040, a highly industrialized India will require an additional 880 gigawatts of energy infrastructure to power development, more than 80% of the installed capacity of the European Union in 2015 (IEA 2015). Africa is the catalyst to propel India's development toward the MII vision. As Modi confirmed in his statement at the 3rd IAFS, "African energy helps run the engine of the Indian economy; its resources are powering our industries" Modi (2015a). India's steadily growing population of over 1.3 billion people and limited oil reserves (0.4% of the world's oil) requires India to import over 90% of its energy needs by 2040 (IEA 2015). To achieve Modi's development vision, India has invested in energy and resource sectors across Africa, often in direct competition with Chinese companies in countries such as South Sudan and Nigeria (Taylor 2012). However, unlike Chinese firms in the extractive sector, Indian firms have taken a deliberately different approach, complementing extraction with capacity building through the ITEC program and Training Centers established through IAFS (discussed further in Chapter 6). India's extractive sectors have been married with value-added programs such as a Petroleum Center of Excellence (knowledge transfer), local infrastructure upgrades, and transfer of regulatory best-practice knowledge via mechanisms such as the 'India–

²⁶ As of 2019, ISA includes 86 Signatory nations and 67 member nations (including 34 African nations).

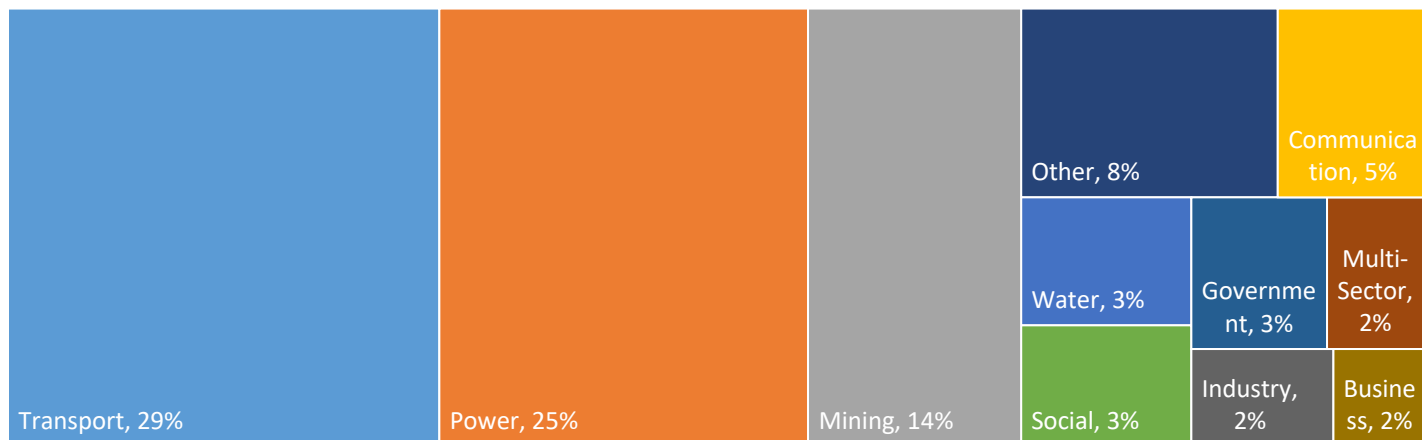
Africa Hydrocarbons Conference' (Michael 2014). Furthermore, Indo-African trade has blossomed since 2008 when India first launched the India Africa Forum Summit growing to over \$62B in 2019 (DoC 2020). India is a major trade destination for African exports, ranking 3rd globally in 2019. While China-Africa trade asymmetry is of growing concern to African stakeholders, a positive balance of trade in Africa's favor strengthens Modi's Security and Growth for all in the Region (SAGAR) narrative of inclusive, collective growth. This Indo-Africa trade, energy, and industry relationship brokered through IAFS promises to cultivate the Indian Ocean as a future global growth center.

Japan's ODA investments from 2008 to 2017 in Africa reveal a similar emphasis on economic infrastructure projects making up 38% of Tokyo concessional investments. Japan's economic infrastructure investments are composed of 55% transport and communications investment and 41% energy production. Japan's second largest sector, Social Infrastructure and Services (29%), is composed primarily of water and sanitation investment (36%) and educational infrastructure (23%). In line with TICAD's 10 Strategic Master Plans, Japan has implemented high profile regional energy, transport network, and urban development projects. In the Nacala corridor, Japan extended ODA loans for port and rail infrastructure, including \$450M for Madagascar's largest commercial port, Port of Toamasina, a hub for TICADs Free and Open Indo-Pacific initiative. Investments in power generation projects include over \$700M in JICA loans from 2010-2018 for the construction and rehabilitation of 5 geothermal units in Kenya's Olkaria power plant bringing the plant's capacity to 350MW (JICA 2018; MOFA-Japan 2017a). In addition, since TICAD IV, Japan facilitated regional trade and commerce integration by financing 14 border control and customs facilities (One Stop Border Posts) in JICA's strategic development corridors. This includes over \$35M in grants and technical assistance for the construction of the Rusumo International Bridge and customs facility on the Rwandan-Tanzania border, a key logistics link in the "East African Northern Corridor" development plan and part of African FOIP integration (MOFA-Japan 2016c).

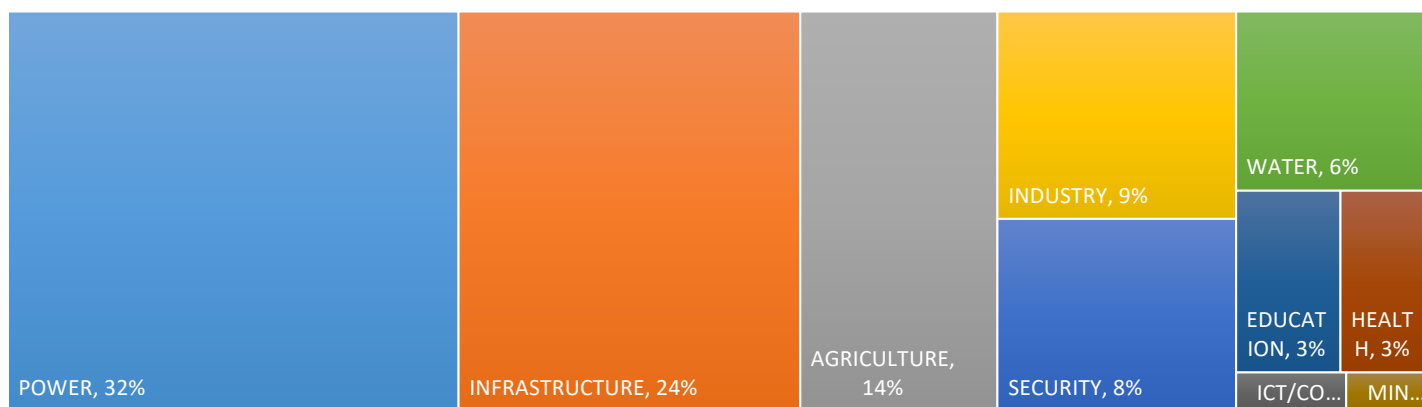
Japan, China, and India's material power in Africa is composed of a mix of ODA and OOF instruments strategically aligned with each Asian donor's ontological brand of development. Japan's concessional ODA financing to African states is extensive and adheres to high standards of transparency, accountability, and untying. Its world-leading

commitment to “quality infrastructure” and development standards distinguishes Japan as a preferred partner whose investments in large-scale infrastructure upholds rigorous environmental and social standards. As emphasized in TICAD7, Japan’s ODA-PPP financing leverages an expanded pool of stakeholders to benefit African communities and industrial development through the export of high-tech products and processes. Beijing’s substantial development financing has propelled African states and the international community to “buy-in” to the BRI framework and the associated rules of engagement. China’s willingness to finance mega-projects with lower barriers to implementation results in shortened project completion timelines attractive to African governments. Long-term financial partnerships and large-scale infrastructure projects are the backbone for increasing alignment between African states and Beijing’s brand of development. Extensive international scrutiny (both within and outside of Africa) and the establishment of CIDCA to streamline coordination of China’s extensive OOF-like portfolio with BRI initiatives, brings Beijing’s development financing into sharper relief. Finally, India distinguishes itself as a different type of South-South donor with investment in affordable and accessible technology solutions, paired with extensive capacity building and technology transfer (discussed in Chapter 6). India’s investment in solar and other renewable energy solutions in Africa reinforces its leadership in shaping the Indian Ocean region identity and fraternity on the international stage. While India’s investments are smaller in scale than those of Japan or China, New Delhi has paired targeted financial resource investment in key sectors with high profile branding via IAFS and the ISA.

SECTORAL BREAKDOWN OF CHINESE LOANS TO AFRICA, 2008-2017



SECTORAL BREAKDOWN OF INDIAN LOCs TO AFRICA, 2008-2019



SECTORAL BREAKDOWN OF JAPANESE ODA TO AFRICA, 2008-2017



Figure 18 Top: Top 10 sectors for Chinese loans in Africa (concessional and non-concessional). Dataset source: SAIS-CARI Chinese Loan Database, 2020.

Middle: Top 10 sectors for Indian Lines of Credit to Africa (concessional and non-concessional) from 2008-2019. Source: Dataset created by author from EXIM Bank reports (EXIM, 2020).

Bottom: Top 10 sectors for Japanese ODA from 2008-2017. Source: OECD-DAC ODA Sectors, 2020.

Analysis of Japan, China, and India’s Economic Investment

The period from 2008 to 2016 marked a boom of material investment as the foundation of Asia-Africa development power. During this era, Asian donor powers went head to head with one another with high profile investment pledges made via Asia-Africa forums legitimizing burgeoning ontological narratives. This escalation of investment in African states was the foundation for disruptive development narratives from 2008 to 2019. As development powers, Japan, China, and India increased their market share in African development markets, and material investment became the startup cost for the deployment of ontological development power. Japan, China, and India have clearly recognized the strategic potential of African states for industrial growth, a source of future consumer markets, and increased influence in international organizations. This section provides a comparative analysis of the trajectory of economic diplomacy (ODA and OOF investment) in African states via TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS. The analysis provides insight into the cost of entry into the development market and the shift toward ontological power from 2015 onward.

Since the establishment of the TICAD in 1993, Japan’s emphasis on Africa in the development financing portfolio has grown steadily. Africa remains the second most important region in Japan’s development portfolio, attracting 14% of Gross ODA in 2018 (OECD 2019). Similarly, outside of Asia, Africa attracts the majority share of Beijing and New Delhi’s development budgets.

Over the first decade of the 21st Century, China’s development investment in Africa rocketed upward, with upper-end estimates of “ODA-like” commitments totaling \$20 Billion by 2009 (Dreher et al. 2017). By contrast, from 2000 to 2009, Japan maintained consistent ODA investment in Africa, reaching \$18B over the same 10 year period (OECD 2018). Since 2006, Beijing’s development finance (ODA and OOF)

2010-14 ODA/OOF to Africa

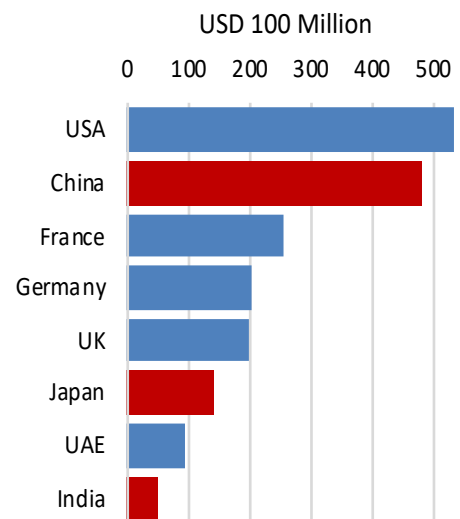


Figure 19: 5-Year total Official Development Flows, ODA and Other Official Flows (OOF) of top global donors including estimates of China and India. Sources: OECD-Donors & UAE: OECD “Gross ODA+OOF” (2018); Chinese: “ODA-like” and “OOF-like” estimates, Dreher, Fuchs et al. (2017); India MEA (2016) and EXIM Bank (2016).

has consistently exceeded Japan's Gross ODA to Africa (Dreher et al. 2017; OECD 2018). Comparisons show that estimates of China's total official flows²⁷ over the 5-year period from 2010 to 2014 were three times larger than Japanese official flows over the same period. This illuminates the rapid rate of increase of Beijing's development investment in Africa. In a global ranking of five-year totals of ODA and OOF, China placed as the second most important donor to African states, while Japan placed 6th (see Figure 19). While India's 5-year totals were only a fraction of Beijing's investments, New Delhi's commitments were comparable to average OECD-DAC donors' investments and demonstrated a rapid growth trajectory. All in all, in terms of development investment, Asian states have become a formidable bloc of major donors.

TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS Trends

In 2008 at TICAD IV, Japan announced a historic commitment of \$12B in bilateral development investment for African states and \$10.5B in multilateral aid over a five-year period. Japan's TICAD IV bilateral commitments included \$6B in ODA and \$6B in PPP investment leveraging the newly signed private-sector investment framework MoU between JICA and the AfDB. The ODA investments were composed of \$4B in infrastructure loans and \$2B in grants and technical cooperation in the fields of infrastructure, health, education, water & sanitation, and agriculture. In the same year, India's first IAFS Summit saw an initial pledge of approximately \$5B in investment. The IAFS \$5B pledge would be matched again in 2011 during the second India-Africa summit in Johannesburg, South Africa.

In the year following TICAD IV, China's fourth FOCAC was held in Egypt. At the conference, Beijing doubled its previous FOCAC material financing commitment to African states from \$5B in 2006 to \$10B in 2009, on par with the scale of Japan's official commitments at TICAD IV. The trend continued at FOCAC V in 2012, when Beijing once again doubled its commitment to \$20B. From 2012 to 2015, Chinese investment in Africa surged and the Lines of Credit pledged at FOCAC were supplemented with an additional \$10B in 2014, coinciding with the launch of the "One Belt One Road" vision. Japan again

²⁷ Official flows include "ODA-like" and "OOF-like" investment to African states from the Dreher, Fuchs et al. (2017) dataset.

surpassed Beijing's pledge at TICAD V in 2013. At the fifth conference, PM Abe pledged a historic \$32B in investment consisting of \$14B in ODA and \$18B in private investment implemented over 5 years. The bulk of ODA loans were pledged for infrastructure investment (\$9B) in addition to \$2B for environmental sustainability and climate change, and \$500M for health initiatives. The year 2015 also marked India's 3rd IAFS Summit, where PM Modi promised \$10B in concessional credit over a 5-year period, doubling India's previous IAFS pledges to African states. While PM Modi's pledge of \$10.6B in loans and grants was notable, the rate of implementation over five years means that the average annual LoC commitment only increased by 20%²⁸. IAFS III marked an increasingly strategic Indo-African partnership; however, New Delhi's official development investment focused on niche markets or "boutique sectors" in comparison to Beijing and Tokyo's investments.

Up until 2015, TICAD's material investment commitments consistently outpaced IAFS and FOCAC, even if just by a small margin. However, in 2015 Chinese President Xi Jinping shocked the development world when he announced a \$60B investment package at FOCAC 6. Beginning with FOCAC 6, once seemingly disjointed port, rail, and pipeline infrastructure projects were rebranded under the BRI framework, recasting African states as partners in Beijing's new brand of development. Under Xi Jinping's leadership, the FOCAC 6 and 7 conferences moved beyond the focus on financing and infrastructure projects to serve as the mechanism for orchestrating African alignment with BRI and the Chinese Dream.

Matching FOCAC's escalating pledges, TICAD V and VI saw increasingly bold material commitments as a symbol of Japan's commitment to African development cooperation. In 2013 at TICAD V, PM Abe pledged \$32B in investment comprised of \$14B in ODA and \$18B in private investment implemented over 5 years; \$9B of ODA loans were pledged for infrastructure investment, \$2B for environmental sustainability and climate change, and \$500M for health initiatives. As competition in material investment heated up with Beijing, Tokyo stepped up the frequency of TICAD summits to once every

²⁸ India's 2011 commitment of \$5B in LoC and \$700M in grants was to be implemented over a 3-year period (\$1.7B per year). The 2015 pledges of \$10B over 5 years (\$2B per year) represent a 20% increase in annual investment between IAFS 2011 and IAFS 2015.

3 years, matching the FOCAC frequency. The move to triennial summits marked a deliberate rebranding of TICAD as the Japan-Africa relationship matured toward strategic partnership. A “New-TICAD” framework was announced the historical TICAD VI, the first African based TICAD conference hosted in Nairobi, Kenya. In 2016 at TICAD VI, PM Abe boosted material investment when he announced an additional \$30B in investment pledges on top of outstanding 2013 commitments, bringing the total ODA and PPP investment to \$62B over a 6-year period. The additional TICAD VI investments included \$10B in ODA loans for infrastructure and \$20B in PPP.

However, post-2016, Japan’s appetite for material investment brinksmanship with Beijing began to shift. Ministerial-level meetings convened in 2017 and 2018, as part of the TICAD follow-up mechanism, highlighted growing concerns on the part of the Japanese government and international lending institutions about the sustainability of African debt (MOFA-Japan 2018b). The pace of implementation of TICAD VI ODA loans slumped and TICAD’s focus on ODA-led investment shifted over concerns of an increasingly perilous debt tipping point in several key African partner states, including Djibouti, Ethiopia, and Mozambique which were assessed by the IMF as high risk for debt

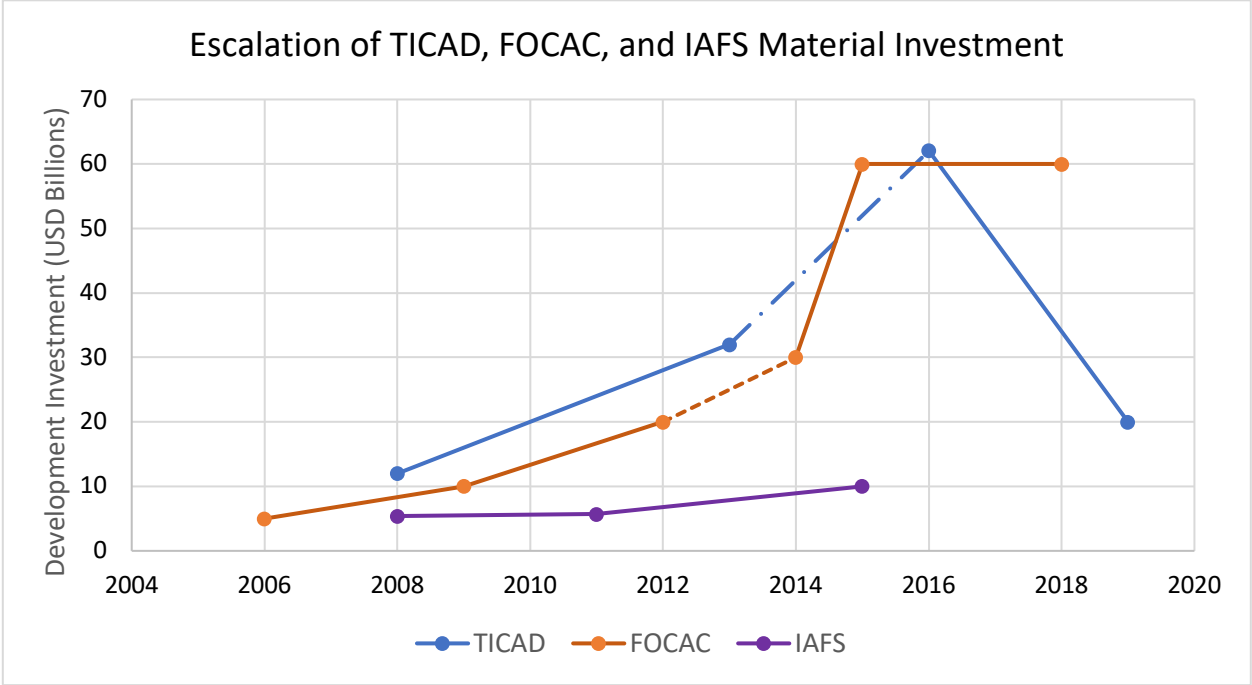


Figure 20: Trends in TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS pledges. Amounts shown include ODA, OOF, and PPP pledged by President Xi, PM Abe, and PM Modi during keynote addresses. Dashed lines in Chinese and Japanese commitments represent supplemental financing in 2014 (China) or cumulative commitments of TICAD V & VI in 2016 (Japan).

distress (IMF 2020). TICAD 7 introduced several new paradigms for engagement — most notably the role of private enterprise and civil society as the frontline of the Japan–Africa partnership.

Beijing mirrored Japan’s increased consciousness of debt sustainability. At FOCAC 7 in 2018, the growth trajectory of Beijing’s material investment leveled off. In FOCAC’s opening address Xi pledged \$60B²⁹ in official and private investment, a decrease from the 2015 pledge (Xi 2018). However, a closer investigation of the composition of FOCAC 6 and FOCAC 7 commitments indicates Beijing’s strategic shift away from material diplomacy and toward an emphasis on ontological and soft power as the core facet of the new China-Africa relationship. As shown in Table 14 below, FOCAC 7 official government investment fell from \$60B to \$50B; however, the share of concessional ODA-like financing (grants, interest-free loans, and concessional loans) increased three-fold, from \$5B to \$15B over a three year period (FOCAC 2015, 2018b). Increases in ODA-like grants, interest-free and concessional loans were offset by reductions in lines of credit in the face of concerns about high-risk investments, quality, environmental and social impact, and debt sustainability. At FOCAC 7, the character of the China-Africa relationship evolved to elaborate African nations’ roles as BRI members. While Beijing reaffirmed its commitment to South-South cooperation with African states, FOCAC was recast as a mechanism within the larger Belt and Road framework.

Similarly, TICAD 7 marked an inflection point in the Japan-African relationship and the rebalancing of material power in Tokyo’s engagement portfolio. The 2019 Yokohama summit showcased several areas of change and hallmarks of a maturing development relationship between Japan and Africa. TICAD moved squarely away from the donor-recipient model characteristic of other OECD–DAC donors to an ‘ownership and partnership model’ driven by sustainable private sector investment. PM Abe introduced the concept of a ‘New TICAD,’ born at the 2016 Nairobi conference, by placing special emphasis on entrepreneurship, enterprise, investment, and innovation.

²⁹ In contrast to 2015, Xi’s 2018 pledge of \$60B in investment included \$10B in Chinese private investment, on par with the status quo private sector investment from 2015-2018. Therefore, FOCAC 7 official commitments of \$50B can be assessed as a decrease from FOCAC 6 official financing.

In contrast to the 2013 and 2016 TICADs, in 2019 Abe avoided any mention of extensive ODA pledges, instead promising that the Japanese government would advance Japanese private investors and entrepreneurs in Africa by an estimated \$20B in public-private partnership over three years (Abe 2019b). This marked a significant shift from previous trends where Tokyo confronted Beijing head-to-head with bold development investment promises. Rather than challenge the growing prominence of China’s Belt and Road Initiative in outright material power one-upmanship, Tokyo emphasized areas of distinction from emerging South-South Asian donors. TICAD7 placed Africa within Japan’s FOIP narrative and re-vectored ODA investment toward business promotion and soft power linked to public-private investment. Appealing to criticisms of decaying Chinese SOE-led infrastructure projects or ‘one-off’ vanity projects, TICAD 7 drew attention to Japan’s unique brand of high quality, high-tech development in Africa. The long-term commitment to realizing “quality” investment aligned with G20 and G7 commitments and SDG promotion distinguished Japan’s ODA model. Tokyo’s TICAD brand exemplified Japan’s leadership of a sustainable development partnership framework centered on PPP-led infrastructure, Japanese partnership/ ownership model, human security, environmental sustainability, and healthcare.

In summary, a quantitative comparison of financial investments helps visualize the scale and scope of material power among the Asian donor powers (Figure 21). The 7

Financial Investments & Economic Relationship

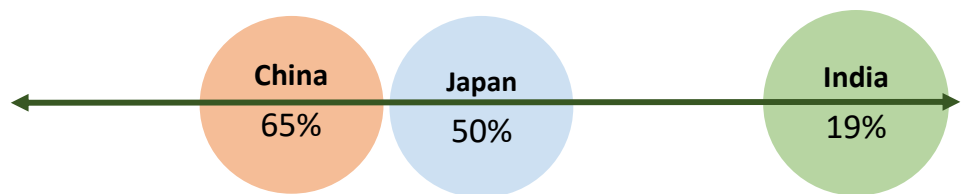


Figure 21: Visualization of comparative analysis of financial investments and economic relationship. Indicators detailed in Table 14

indicators detailed in this chapter are, a) total pledge at the most recent forum, b) cumulative forum pledges from 2008-2019, c) total grants, d) PPP totals, e) percent tied versus untied investment, f) balance of trade, and g) scale of economic relationship (total trade 2018). Each of the indicators compared is equally weighted in the calculation of a cumulative score of relative maturity and robustness which is depicted as a percentage. When considering the scale of ODA and OOF pledges communicated through TICAD and

FOCAC, bilateral economic relationships, and the maturity of development institutions, Beijing's material power is the most extensive, while Japan's comes in second, and India's falls into a distant third. China and Japan's material investment reflect head-to-head material competition between TICAD and FOCAC from 2008 to 2018, while India's development budgets and institutions developed only modestly.

Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the way established and emerging Asian donors paired material investment with ontological disruption in the African development space. Through the assertion of material power, China, India, and Japan aim to transition innovative Asian ontologies to mainstream development paradigms. The characteristics of Japan, China, and India's economic engagement in Africa from 2008 through 2019 were traced through their TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS forums.

As shown in this chapter, from 2008 to 2016 Japan and China went head-to-head in escalating financial investment through TICAD and FOCAC. While India's extension of LoC's to African states also rose sharply over the same period, the IAFS 2015 pledge of \$10B appeared modest in comparison to TICAD 2016 and FOCAC 2015 commitments. India took a decidedly different approach with IAFS material investments, focusing on providing credit for niche markets such as hydro and solar power and pan-African technology networks via the e-VBAB modernization. A comparison of sectoral investment revealed China's heavy investment in transport, power, and mining, which is reshaping connectivity between key African BRI hubs. Japan's ODA sectoral emphasis on economic infrastructure (energy, transport, and communications) distinguished Tokyo from other OECD-DAC donors.

Chapter 5 will build on this chapter with an analysis of the second branch of material power, security investment. It will explore trends that resulted in a shift away from a spotlight on loans and blockbuster financial pledges and toward relationship building and security cooperation. Chapter 5 develops the analysis in this chapter to show the interdependency between economic and security investment in legitimizing each donor nation's ontological narrative. Chapter 5 will conclude with a comparative analysis of total material power composed of the cumulative economic and security investment factors.










FOCAC 6	FOCAC 7	Change
2015	2018	
\$60 Billion commitment, 3 years	\$50 Billion government commitment \$10B in Private Investment over 3 years	
\$5B in grants & zero-interest loans	\$15B grants, interest-free, concessional loans	
\$35B export credits & loans	\$20B credit lines	
\$5B China-African Development Fund \$5B to SME Development Loan \$10B China-Africa Production Fund	\$10B Development financing fund \$5B Fund Financing imports from Africa	
Unspecified Private Investment	\$10B private investments	
Debt forgiveness for interest-free loans	Debt forgiveness for LDCs interest-free loans	
TICAD VI	TICAD 7	Change
2016	2019	
\$30 Billion commitment, 3 years	\$6.25 Billion official commitment \$20B in Private Investment over 3 years	
\$10B ODA Loans for Infrastructure	Unspecified support of three JICA Master Plans & G20 Quality Infrastructure principles	
\$7B JBIC "FAITH 2" Program - Loans, Equity, guarantees (2013-2018)	\$4.5 JBIC FAITH Program over 3 years	
\$20B PPP, Private Sector Investment	\$20B in Private Sector Investment	
IAFS III		
2015		
\$10.6 Billion in Official commitments		
\$10B in Line of Credits over 5 years		
\$600M Grant Assistance <ul style="list-style-type: none"> - \$100M India-Africa Development Fund - \$10M India-Africa Health Fund 		

Table 14: Comparison of investment pledges announced at TICAD VI and 7, FOCAC 6 and 7, IAFS III. Source: FOCAC 2015 and 2018 Keynote Address (Xi, 2015, 2018), TICAD Plan of Action (TICAD 2016, 2019), IAFS Keynote Address (Modi, 2015).

Chapter 5: Material Security Investments

This Chapter completes the Material Power analysis started in Chapter 4 with the examination of security investment. The chapter reveals the characteristics and composition of Asian donor's security investment and the role of security cooperation in advancing Asian donors' ontological power. Security engagement orchestrated through TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS marks a distinctive feature of the modern era of Asian forum diplomacy in Africa. The investments of TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS from 2008 to 2019 are notable in scale and scope, reflecting the significant startup cost to implement new ontological development paradigms. Since 2008, Japan, China, and India have each introduced security cooperation into their development portfolios to cement strategic relationship building and address national security challenges inherent to risky development environments

Introduction

The material engagement of Asian donors extends beyond official ODA and OOF financial flows. A defining characteristic of 21st Century Asian-African engagement is the expansion of security engagement as part of TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS. China, Japan, and India have all become active security partners with African states, African regional organizations, and UN-led international security initiatives operating on the African continent and in the Indian Ocean region. For Asian donors, security engagement can be broken into three facets. First, China, India, and Japan have taken a leading role in UN peacekeeping operations, including UNPKO troop contribution and financing for peacekeeping operations. Secondly, Asian donors are active in capacity building in bilateral and multilateral frameworks through military equipment sales and aid, financing of African-based security training centers, and bolstering AU-led regional security architectures. Finally, military diplomacy is the domain of greatest emphasis for each of the Asian powers. Since 2008, China, India, and Japan have invested heavily in military-to-military relationship building, security training and exercises, port calls to African partner states, and mediation in high profile African hotspots. In the following sections,

these three domains—UNPKO, capacity building, and military diplomacy—of Asian donor development security will be compared.

For Japan, China, and India, security engagement represents an extension of material power and is central to advancing norms and values through relationship building. In contrast to the U.S. and European traditional security paradigms, Asian donors' development security cooperation is founded on high-profile regional and bilateral military diplomacy through TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS. Alongside the development narratives set forth by Japan, China, and India, security engagement has grown since 2008 as a catalyst for deepening ontological power. For established and emerging Asian powers, Africa has become a testing ground for new development security models. In contrast to a US focus on anti-terrorism operations and direct military intervention in Africa, Asian security partnerships utilize a comprehensive development security paradigm supporting aligned ontological and soft power agendas to legitimize market share. Nowhere else is this more evident than in Sudan and South Sudan. While resources, market access, and food security promised investment opportunity, the donors' greatest interest in Sudan and South Sudan was the strategic communication of their development narratives and the potential to leverage success to gain greater traction within continental Africa and the international community. South Sudan offered a road to mainstream development ontologies and development security models. In this emerging paradigm of development diplomacy, Asian-African security engagement legitimizes China, India, and Japan's unique brands of leadership at regional and global levels.

The following development security analysis consists of five sections. The first compares the UN peacebuilding and peacekeeping norms and definitions with China, Japan, and India's African security engagement framework. This section defines development security in the context of Asian-African strategic narratives in Africa. The analysis reveals areas of convergence and divergence between the UN construct and Asian donors' development ontology. Sections 2 through 4 provide an analysis of the securitization of TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS. These sections shed light on the interplay between material and ontological power mechanisms integral to FOIP, BRI, and SAGAR strategic development narratives. The role of security engagement in bolstering strategic relationships and narratives and cultivating a new type of development power in the

international community is illuminated. Finally, a case study of Sudan and South Sudan provides a poignant example of Asian donor's material power as a vehicle for ontological disruption. The case study of regional conflicts in the Sudan region illuminates East Africa's budding role as an epicenter for a new model of securitization led by Asian powers. The comparative analysis reveals the role of each Asian donor power's security paradigm in realizing their ontological development narratives.

Defining Development Security, Peacekeeping & Peacebuilding

In an era punctuated by the War on Terror, the Arab Spring, the proliferation of piracy in the Gulf of Aden, and major population migrations, security has become an area of emphasis for international engagement in Africa. The US and European nations are the dominant security providers in Africa with multi-billion dollar multilateral and bilateral security investments. For the United States, a strong emphasis on global anti-terrorism operations has resulted in the expansion of Department of Defense budgets with funding for combat operations, military equipment, and logistics in African states. From 2015 to 2018, the United States committed approximately \$1 Billion in DoD anti-terrorism aid to African states, with the majority of investment going to operations in Somalia, Djibouti, with other East African partner states (USG-SecDef 2015-19; Waldhauser 2019). U.S. and European partners emphasize direct military engagement in the form of anti-terrorism operations, targeted military intervention, and training and equipping of African troops. As of 2019, the US DoD maintains a military presence of approximately 7,000 troops on the African continent at all times (Waldhauser 2019: 7). As US anti-terrorism budgets in Africa grew, budgets for USAID and State Department-led programs have decreased since 2016, representing an area of sharp investment contrast with Asian development donor powers.

In defining development security, we must begin by delineating direct military engagement versus indirect security engagement and outlining UN definitions and norms of peacekeeping. Direct military engagement in Africa is exemplified by the US and European powers' use of conventional military combat operations and small-scale special forces operations aimed at countering transnational threats, combatting violent extremist groups, and advancing strategic national interests. In addition, US and European security

engagement encompasses training and equipping operations, large-scale military troop presence, and military basing across the African continent. The US maintains an expansive footprint of enduring and temporary military facilities across North and West Africa, as well as in the East African states of Uganda, Kenya, Somalia, and Djibouti³⁰.

In contrast, China, India, and Japan have strict philosophical or constitutional limits to direct military intervention in Africa. Their preference for indirect or multi-lateral approaches to development security revolves around non-combat security engagement, stabilization, economic development, and relationship building. While China, India, and Japan cannot match the scale and scope of US AFRICOM security partnerships across the African continent, Asian donors have distinguished themselves by providing a new model of material power focused on African-led solutions to security and stability. As explored in the following sections each of the Asian donors has evolved a unique approach to indirect security development brokered through Asia-Africa forum diplomacy and UN frameworks.

The Charter of the United Nations charges UN members with “maintaining international peace and security” by taking “effective collective measures for the prevention and removal of threats to the peace, and for the suppression of acts of aggression or other breaches of the peace” (UN 1945: I, VI, VII, VIII). UN Peacekeeping operations are founded in the principles of the International Human Rights Law and the Law of Armed Conflict and deployed in accordance with UN Security Council mandates. The UN defines security operations on a spectrum that spans from pre- to post-conflict and includes conflict prevention, peacemaking, peace enforcement, peacekeeping, and peacebuilding (see Table 15). UNPKO mandates are primarily focused on post-conflict operations; therefore, in defining development security, *peacekeeping* and *peacebuilding* are two critical concepts to discern. *Peacekeeping* efforts are a subset of *peacebuilding* efforts and focus more narrowly on the restoration of stability in a fragile post-conflict environment. *Peacebuilding efforts* encompass a broader, long-term process of proactively managing the risk of social upheaval by addressing the “root causes” of

³⁰ US AFRICOM designates Camp Lemonnier in Djibouti as the DoD’s only forward and enduring military facility in Africa. However, 2019 and 2020 AFRICOM posture documents outline a West and Central African logistics networks and non-enduring facilities across the continent (See AFRICOM 2019, 2020).

conflict and by strengthening political, economic, judicial, and civil institutions (UN 1992, 2010). The United States and other Western development powers have advanced *peacebuilding* as part of liberal democratic rhetoric associated with democratization, development, and human rights (UNGA 2005a).

Security Operations		
<p style="text-align: center;">Pre-conflict</p> <p>Conflict Prevention: Structural or diplomatic measures to keep intra-state or inter-state tensions and disputes from escalating into violent conflict.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Conflict</p> <p>Peacemaking: Diplomatic action to bring hostile parties to a negotiated agreement and facilitate resolution of violence.</p> <p>Peace Enforcement: Range of coercive measures, including the use of military force, authorized by UNSC.</p>	<p style="text-align: center;">Post-conflict</p> <p>Peacekeeping: Preservation of peace and implementation of agreements using a hybrid military, police and civilian model.</p> <p>Peacebuilding: Targets structural root causes of violence to lay the foundation for sustainable peace and development.</p>

Table 15: Definitions of the spectrum of security operations based on UN Peacekeeping Operations Principles and Guidelines. UNPKOs focus on Post-Conflict operations, which include Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding.

In 2005, following the atrocities of the Rwandan Genocide, the international community endeavored to reach a consensus on development security at the UN World Summit, resulting in the establishment of the UN Peacebuilding Commission. The Commission aimed to operationalize the outcomes of the UN World Summit and advance the principle of “Responsibility to Protect (R2P)” which became a central principle of UN-led development security (UNGA 2005b). As outlined by the UN General Assembly, R2P redefined sovereignty based on citizen protection and supported timely international intervention in response to genocide, war crimes, ethnic cleansing, and crimes against humanity (UNGA 2005b: 30). In the development space, R2P became part of the “liberal peace” agenda, which paired humanitarian intervention with the promotion of democratic ideals and respect for human rights as a precondition for peace and stability (UNGA 2005b: 1). R2P was not a novel concept in Africa and had already been incorporated into the African Union’s Constitutive Act under article 4(h) which established “the right of the

Union to intervene in a Member State pursuant to a decision of the Assembly in respect of grave circumstances, namely: war crimes, genocide and crimes against humanity” (AU 2000). While the World Summit Outcomes Document received unanimous approval in the UNGA, each Asian donor used forum diplomacy with African states to advance their unique interpretation of development security as an integral part of their development narratives.

For the Asian development donors, security engagement in the developing world is nuanced by each nation’s unique cultural and historical contexts. In the post-war period, Japan, China, and India purposefully avoided linking security initiatives with their development narratives and ODA philosophy. In Japan’s case, its pacifist constitution and the restrictions of Article 9 limit the scope and scale of hard power engagement. For China and India, foundational principles of non-interference and respect for sovereignty presented philosophical challenges to military intervention in sovereign states. In addition, India’s leadership of the Non-Alignment Movement has evolved as a result of shifting regional dynamics and national security goals. However, from 2008 to 2019, each Asian donor nation has found it necessary to incorporate security into their engagement paradigm to further development ontologies and legitimize their roles as development powers.

Beginning in 2003, TICAD socialized Tokyo’s visions of human security, laying the foundations for an expanding security presence in Africa. Japan leveraged its role as an established development power to bridge the UN human rights agenda with its own narrative of human security. Through TICAD, Japan defined development security as a comprehensive approach to reviving communities and ensuring human security through the consolidation of peace (MOFA-Japan 2003b). From this vantage point, ‘freedom from want’ and ‘freedom from fear’ became bedrock principles underlying security activities in Africa. Since the passage of the 1992 Peacekeeping Law that legalized Japan’s participation in UN Peacekeeping operations, the Japanese government estimates that over 10,000 personnel have participated in peacekeeping operations and election monitoring activities until 2014, the vast majority of which are on the African continent (MOFA-Japan 2015b). The analysis below examines the role of TICAD in laying the foundations for Japan’s ambitious security development engagement under PM Abe

Shinzo's administration. Abe led the expansion of Japan's security posture toward one of *proactive contribution to peace*, with Africa serving as a principle testing ground for new security paradigms brokered through TICAD. Having long established itself as a philosophical and development leader in Africa, this assertion of hard power bolstered a robust Japanese development brand. By influencing established and emerging development agendas with Japan's unique security brand, Tokyo led a disruptive path toward reasserting itself as a development superpower.

Beyond its role on the UN Security Council, China abstained from peacebuilding efforts viewing humanitarian-based intervention as a violation of its long-standing policy of non-interference and reverence of national sovereignty. In contrast to Japan and other established powers' definitions of human rights, China's concept of human rights places paramount importance on political stability, economic prosperity, and social rights. The UN's International Bill of Human Rights is composed of a declaration of universal human rights, including a covenant on civil, political, economic, social, and cultural rights. China ratified the UN Covenant on economic, social, and cultural rights in 2001, however, abstained from ratifying the covenant on civil and political rights. Instead, Beijing promoted a definition of basic human rights that includes "education, employment and pay, medical and old-age services and housing" (IOSC-PRC 2011). Beijing expressed opposition to the R2P concept due to concerns that the principle may apply international intervention in national problems, infringing on China's core national interests of sovereignty and non-intervention. Notably, the 2005 World Summit Outcome Document's assertion of R2P omitted human rights violations as the basis for international intervention, a move essential to gaining Beijing's endorsement. Accordingly, China defines "security" as inextricably tied to political continuity, economic security, and social stability (NPC 2015b).

For most of the 20th century, China's foundational principles of non-intervention and respect for state sovereignty were at odds with UNPKO involvement. However, since 1992, Beijing has dramatically increased its support for international *peacekeeping* operations and, in 2019, Beijing was the UNPKO's second largest contributor. From 1989 to 2019, Beijing claimed to have contributed over 40,000 personnel to UNPKO missions, and China consistently contributes more troops than any other permanent security council

member (MOFA-PRC 2019; UNPKO 2018). In terms of global UNPKO funding, Beijing is the number-two donor and Japan not far behind as the number-three global donor, contributing 10.3% and 9.7% of the total budget in 2017, respectively (see Figure 22). Beijing drew a distinction between peacekeeping and peacebuilding, shunning involvement in *peacebuilding* operations throughout the first decade of FOCAC engagement given political concerns about humanitarian interventionism and national sovereignty. However, from 2008 to 2019, Beijing has leveraged FOCAC to play a significant security role and exert influence in established international institutions (UNPKO, UNSC) and regional African organizations (AU, APSA). With the launch of the BRI Maritime Silk Road in 2014, China's development security engagement in Africa has expanded. BRI necessitates the projection of power outside of the East-Asian region to protect critical resources and investments, particularly in the Indo-Africa region. China's role in international peacekeeping has grown to become an important pillar of Beijing's ontological strategy. Involvement with African peacekeeping efforts marks a significant change in Beijing's engagement paradigm and the emergence of an assertive leadership posture in the international community.

Since 2008, China has defined new terms for its participation in international peacebuilding under the banner of the 'harmonious society' and 'common peace' narrative. In a deliberate reinterpretation of the UN's R2P principle, Beijing asserted a stance of *responsible intervention* and *active defense* in Africa. The trajectory of material investment in security aligns with Beijing's unique definition of peacebuilding, which emphasizes social stability, economic development, effective government, and mutual benefit (as opposed to human rights and democratic institution building). The protection of Beijing's development interests along the BRI and the promotion of its political stability are fundamental aspects of China's security agenda in Africa and the International Community.

India approaches development security in two distinct domains, UN peacekeeping operations and regional security cooperation. In UNPKO engagement, India also draws a strong distinction between peacekeeping and peacebuilding/ enforcement operations. Throughout the 20th Century, New Delhi approached peacebuilding with skepticism based on its leadership of the non-alignment movement and principle of non-interference.

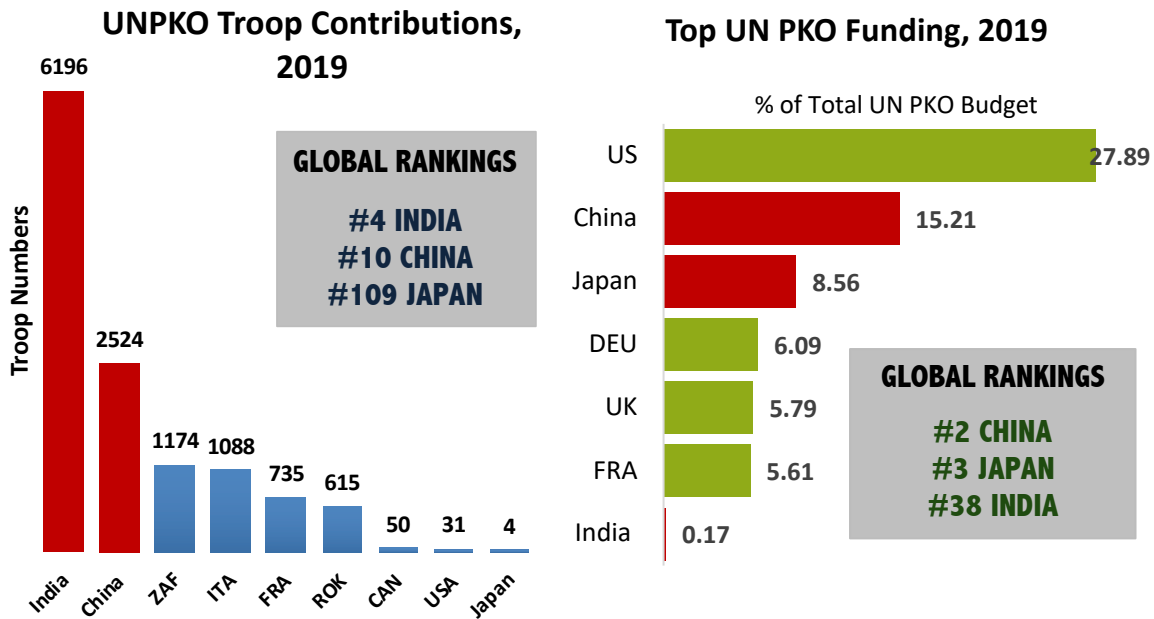


Figure 22: UNPKO Troop and Funding Contributions. (UNGA 2019, UNPKO 2018-2020)

However, India has a long and proud history of involvement in UN peacekeeping and is the world’s largest contributor of UNPKO troops, boasting over 200,000 troops who have served in UNPKO since 1950 (Mukerji 2019). India’s involvement in UN peacekeeping missions in Africa began in the 1960s, but increased dramatically in the 21st Century with a renewed focus on African engagement via IAFS and expanding interests in the Indo-Africa region. India remains a top contributor to African peacekeeping³¹ with over 80% of its troops deployed to the continent (see Figure 22) and the largest contributor among Asian donor nations, with 6,196 troops deployed in 2019 in comparison to Beijing’s 2,524. Beyond UNPKO engagement, India’s 21st Century development security in Africa has focused on cultivating a model of *collective net security* with India as the predominant regional security provider. New Delhi’s model aligns with the overarching objective of ensuring regional peace, stability, and security in line with the SAGAR narrative. India’s military and maritime doctrine reveal a focus on peacekeeping, capacity building, and maritime diplomacy as foundational to the advancement of India’s *cooperative net security provider* model. In the words of PM Modi, India’s “primary responsibility for peace,

³¹ In 2019 nearly 84% of India’s UNPKO contributions were in support of African missions. India ranked as the #3 and #4 contributor to African UNPKO missions in 2018 and 2019, behind Ethiopia, Rwanda, and Bangladesh (UNPKO 2018).

stability and prosperity in the Indian Ocean” lies at the core of its contemporary security development narrative that strikes a balance between competition and partnership (Modi 2015b).

	Japan	China	India	West
Security Narrative	Proactive contribution	Active Defense, Responsible intervention	Collective Net Security	Responsibility to Protect (R2P)
Characteristics	Human Security	Econ Development, Social Stability, Effective government	Peacekeeping, Capacity Building, Military Diplomacy	Humanitarian intervention
Objective	FOIP brand, International Leader, Triangular Partner	BRI legitimization, Common Peace, Mutual Benefit	Regional peace, security, and stability Security Leadership	Democracy, Human rights
Challenges	Pacifist constitution	Non-interference, International norms	Non-Alignment, Non-interference	Effectiveness, Social & political cost

Table 16: Comparative Summary of Japanese, Chinese, Indian, and Western UN-led security paradigms deployed in Africa.

In the following sections, I will explore the expansion of Japanese, Chinese, and Indian security engagement in alignment with strategic ontological narratives in the African development space. This will provide a comparative analysis of the Asian donor’s engagement in South Sudan as a representation of each nation’s emerging security paradigm. The security narratives, characteristics, strategic objectives, and ideological challenges outlined in Table 16 will be explored to reveal Japan, China, and India’s unique form of development security and its role in advancing disruptive soft-power in Africa.

Japan-Africa Security Engagement

Since the end of WWII, Article 9 of Japan's Constitution has underlined its socio-cultural identity as a peace-loving nation that renounces war or the use of force as an instrument of power. This Article of the so-called "Peace Constitution" declares that "land, sea, and air forces, as well as other war potential, will never be maintained" by the Japanese state (GoJ 1947). However, since the ratification of the constitution, the interpretation of Article 9 has been heavily contested within academic, legal, and political circles, leading to uncertainty in the limits of Japan's security mandate and rights to self-defense. In 1954, Japan's Self Defense Force (SDF) was established, and since then, the Japanese cabinet and citizen majority interpret the use of force in self-defense as admissible under Article 9 of the constitution (Umeda 2006).

Japan's use of security cooperation as part of the development portfolio in Africa began to emerge in the TICAD process in the 21st Century. Beginning in 2003, PM Koizumi outlined an expanded role for Japan's SDF in Africa under the pillar of "consolidation of peace," including capacity building in African regional organizations (AU and ECOWAS) and assisting peace support operations in Liberia, DRC, and Angola (TICAD 2003). By TICAD 2008, Prime Minister Yasuo Fukuda articulated Japan's expanding role within UN security frameworks, placing special emphasis on "the consolidation of peace and peacebuilding in Africa" (Fukuda 2008). At TICAD 2008, the Government of Japan announced security investment in five African PKO Centers to support troop training and capacity building as well as UN-centered Peacekeeping Support Program initiatives. By increasing Japan's material investment within established UN frameworks on the African continent, Tokyo increased the credibility of its human security principles. At the same time, 2008 TICAD elaborated Japan's brand by emphasizing the exchange of security experiences and ideas between Asian and African nations. This approach solidified Tokyo's role as a triangular partner in socializing new security paradigms in Asia and Africa. The 2008 TICAD laid the philosophical foundation and seeded investments for proceeding TICAD conferences in 2013, 2016, and 2019 where Tokyo would operationalize human security on the African continent.

Since the introduction of human security as a cornerstone of the TICAD development brand, Japan's contribution to UN peacekeeping operations and

participation in multilateral security initiatives in Africa has dramatically increased. From 2003 to 2013, Japan contributed more than \$98 Million to African human security projects through the Human Security Trust Fund (MOFA-Japan 2014). Additionally, in response to anti-piracy efforts under the banner of human security, Japan contributed \$317M to security assistance in Somalia beginning in 2007. Furthermore, in 2009 Japan initiated the International Maritime Organization (IMO) Djibouti Code Trust Fund (a multi-donor trust fund) and contributed over \$14M to security capacity building in Eastern Africa (MOFA-Japan 2016d). Subsequently, IMO members, including 37 sub-Saharan African nations, elected Japan's Koji Sekimizu as the Secretary-General of the IMO from 2012 through 2016. One of his key objectives was to oversee the proactive execution of the Djibouti Code of Conduct Trust Fund with a direct impact on 15 nations from East African and littoral states (IMO 2015). Building on Tokyo's initiatives in Africa and leadership in the global arena, Japan endeavored to mainstream the concept of human security and solidify its expanding security role in line with the FOIP narrative (GoJ 2013). By TICAD 7 in 2019, the FOIP vision would be explicitly included in the TICAD Declaration for the first time.

Spurred by a dramatic shift in the global power balance, a series of key legislative and political actions enabled Japan's proactive engagement in African security through TICAD. The threat of a growing Chinese military capacity and the acceleration of India's emergent international ambitions prompted a calculated reassessment of Japanese defense readiness (GoJ 2013: 6). Like Japan, China and India emerged as key contributors in anti-piracy efforts in Africa creating a unique opportunity for triangular cooperation in Africa and the Indian Ocean. From 2014 onward, Beijing expanded the development of an expeditionary military capability in the Indian Ocean region under the banner of the BRI. Between 2010 and 2015, the PRC conducted 38 African port calls, projecting force deep into African regions (Shinn 2016: 12-16). Japan's prominence as a maritime state reliant on "open and stable seas" prompted a pragmatic shift toward proactive security engagement, with Africa as a testing ground for new initiatives (NDPG 2013). Abe Shinzo's return to office as the leader of the LDP in 2012 renewed efforts to reinterpret and revise Japan's defense capabilities amid a shifting global security environment. In this endeavor, security initiatives in Africa were strategically aligned with

Tokyo's FOIP narrative to showcase a Japan-led ontological vision with the muscle to confront BRI in Africa. From 2012 to 2019 under the Abe administration, Japan's defense budget had grown by more than 11%, reaching a record-high of over \$49B in 2019 and is projected at \$50B in 2020 (MOD-Japan 2019: 2-3). The key pieces of legislation that enable Japan's security engagement in Africa and their impact on Japan's development cooperation philosophy conveyed through TICAD will be explored in this section.

Under the Abe administration, Japan's projection of power in Africa and the Indo-Pacific exhibited unprecedented growth. Raymond Yamamoto's works trace the external threats, domestic politics, and structural reforms that amplified the securitization of ODA under PM Abe (2016, 2020). In 2011, Japan opened its first overseas SDF facility in Djibouti to fulfill counter-piracy operations and peacekeeping missions. Djibouti, a small nation on the Horn of Africa, sits at the nexus of strategic waterways leading to the Suez Canal that control 30% of the global trade annually (Redie 2016). The small national harbors major military powers and is a strategic hub for Japan's development Master Plans and China's BRI. Shortly thereafter, at TICAD V, Tokyo announced the historic expansion of its African security engagement strategy to include anti-terrorism, anti-piracy, and anti-transnational crime³². Japan's SDF has continuously deployed to the Indian Ocean to combat piracy and protect critical shipping lanes since the passage of the Anti-Piracy Act in 2009. As part of the 2013 TICAD V assistance package, Japan announced support for capacity building of coast guard capabilities in neighboring countries of Somalia and the provision of military equipment, including patrol vessels (MOFA-Japan 2016d). The export of some military equipment and technological expertise, previously banned by the Three Principles on Arms Export, was now permissible under Japan's 2014 New Security Legislation. The export of security equipment has become a valuable development assistance tool in advancing Tokyo's FOIP strategy and building key partnerships in the Asian and African regions. With the tragic death of 10 Japanese citizens in an Algerian terror attack, Tokyo initiated a concrete strategy to address security challenges in Africa's Sahel region. At the 2013 TICAD Conference, an enhanced security framework was announced to address peace and

³² Previously, SDF missions were limited to disarmament, reconstruction, and anti-mine operations in alignment with UN initiatives

stability through the provision of targeted material investment, deployment of experts and funding to training centers, and the establishment of a security dialogue framework. PM Abe introduced Japan's expanded engagement and pledged 100B Yen (~\$940M) in security and development assistance to countries in the Sahel region over five years (AU 2013). The expansion of Japan's role in security dialogue and mediation marked a historic expansion of TICAD's security framework and the deepening link between ODA and security. These expanded security initiatives have become integrally linked to the development of the "West Africa Growth Ring," a regional master plan of the FOIP vision, drawing North and West African states into Tokyo's development vision. Yamamoto reinforces the strategic utilization of ODA as a core element of Japan's FOIP vision, as the "most assertive strategic solution [Japan] has to offer to regional stability" (Yamamoto 2016: 85).

In 2013, Japan's first-ever National Security Strategy (GoJ 2013) was published along with the third National Defense Program Guidelines (NDPG). The NSS mandated the "strategic utilization of ODA" in support of Japan's national security and national interests, recognizing the direct linkage of security with ontological and soft-power foreign policy tools (GoJ 2013: 30). The NSS represents a historic expansion of Japan's development power portfolio to include development security. The 2013 NDPG elaborated on the importance of Japan's international peace cooperation activities in Africa to strengthen the SDF's protective capabilities, logistics, communications, and information gathering while directing a more robust use of the SDF Base in Djibouti (NDPG 2013: 21). Mirroring much of the language in the NSS, the revised Development Cooperation Charter (2015), pointed to a new reality coupling Japanese development strategy with security engagement on the African continent. The Development Cooperation Charter summarized Japan's new determination to "strongly lead the international community, as a nation that contributes even more proactively to securing peace, stability and prosperity of the international community from the perspective of 'Proactive Contribution to Peace' based on the principle of international cooperation" (MOFA-Japan 2015a: 1). In the expansion of "soft and hard aspects of readiness," Japan's new security posture served to propagate the legitimacy of Tokyo's development brand (NDPG 2013: 8).

A key enabler for Japan’s development security in Africa was the Abe administration’s landmark “Legislation for Peace and Security,” approved in 2015. This new security legislation laid the initial groundwork for PM Abe’s proactive engagement narrative and the expansion of FOIP in Africa through TICAD 6 and 7 (see Table 18). Japan’s newest NDPG was published in December 2018, echoing the tenets of the NSS and New Security Legislation. The 2018 NDPG identifies “international security cooperation” as one of the three core means to achieve Japan’s national objectives and reinforce the importance of the Djibouti base as a long-term bastion of regional security and cooperation (NDPG 2018). Central to Japan’s security engagement in Africa is the concept of “Proactive Contribution to Peace” and its three tenets of development leadership, FOIP brand, and strategic partnership. Japan’s NSS, Development Cooperation Charter, New Security Legislation, and the NDPG highlight the centrality of proactive contribution to peace to Japan’s FOIP vision and African security engagement as elaborated in the following section.

Japan’s Proactive Contribution

Japan’s principle of *proactive contribution* plays a critical role in advancing Tokyo’s strategic brand as a development power in Africa. Through TICAD, this principle builds on the tenets of partnership and human security to demonstrate a constructive role for African nations as participants in the FOIP vision.

The theme of “proactive contribution to peace” derived from the NSS was salient in diplomatic discourse under the Abe government and appears in the Development Cooperation Charter, the International Peace Support Bill, the Legislation for Peace and Security, and the MOFA Diplomatic Bluebooks (MOD-Japan 2015; MOFA-Japan 2015a,

Proactive Contribution

1. **Development Leadership:** Increase influence and presence in IC
2. **FOIP Brand:** Legitimize development narrative to African stakeholders
3. **Strategic Partnerships:** Solidify Tokyo’s triangular cooperation

Table 17: Major objectives of proactive contribution as outlined by the Legislation for Peace and Security

2016a). Proactive contribution to peace has enhanced the integration of Japan's diplomatic and defense capabilities while expanding cooperation with partner nations across the Indo-Pacific region (NDPG 2018: 7). Under the Abe administration, "proactive contribution" was used to pursue three strategic objectives: a). To assert Japan's position as a development superpower, b). Advance the FOIP brand, and c). Ensure Tokyo's centrality in strategic partnerships (outlined in Table 17). The role of Japan's security engagements in linking material and ontological power in Africa is illuminated in these objectives.

Development Leadership – Establishing Japan's influence as a development superpower differentiating Japan's philosophy of development security

The first strategic objective of Japan's security diplomacy in Africa is to demonstrate Japan's leadership in the international community. Tokyo's Development Cooperation Charter and Security Legislation assert that the "international community expects Japan to play a more proactive role for peace and stability in the world" (GoJ 2016). As such, the proactive security agenda is advanced as an essential stance to reinforce Japan's influence and stature in the international community as a responsible major power. As demonstrated by Japan's leadership of the "human security" in the international community, international legitimacy remains a critical component of Japan's agenda in the development space. By asserting itself as a responsible international power and global "messenger of peace," Japan bolsters its development capital and TICAD brand in Africa (MOFA-Japan 2014). Echoing the constitutional "desire to occupy an honored place in an international society striving for the preservation of peace," Japan leverages rapport as a 'peace-loving nation' on a path to develop strategic advantages in the African security landscape (GoJ 1947). Through the evolution of development security in TICAD, Japan characterizes a new type of superpower based on linking ODA and private investment with its promotion of human security in the international community (as explored in Chapter 3 and 4).

Japan's new security legislation, approved by the Diet in 2015, was a landmark achievement of the Abe administration. The new legislation authorized expanded roles for Japan's SDF, including the authorized use of force in support of UN and other

internationally coordinated peacekeeping operations (given adherence to the “Three Conditions”)³³ (MOD-Japan 2016: 213). The reinterpretation of Article 9 under this new legislation allowed Japan to assert development security leadership and cultivate security partners among developing African nations and established OECD nations. This legislation postured Japan to credibly confront threats in Africa that are increasingly global in nature, such as pandemic, disaster response, crisis management, and Chinese security competition across the Indo-Pacific. It expanded Japan’s participation in a wider range of international security cooperation activities to reinforce its TICAD brand. Tokyo’s ability to lead UN peacebuilding agendas and liaise with peacekeeping forces, largely comprised of Indian and African PKO troops, offered a dynamic form of leadership on the African continent. With these key legislative changes, Japan assumed a leadership role in UN-centric organizations while at the same time catalyzing Asian-driven security and stability initiatives in Africa.

Incorporating these key legislative changes, TICAD VI prominently featured security development cooperation as a pillar of the 2016 Conference. Under the pillar of “promoting social stability for shared prosperity,” the Nairobi Declaration pledged Japanese support for an expanded mandate in development security including peacebuilding, combatting anti-terrorism and violent extremism, cooperating in global security issues, and maritime security cooperation. A notable expansion of security cooperation included commitments to strengthening the “capacity for surveillance and containment, cross-border security, coordinated border management and peacekeeping operations” (TICAD 2016: 3.3). In addition to boosting SDF presence in Djibouti, South Sudan, and the Indian Ocean, Japan pledged over \$16M in assistance to establish 12 security training centers in Africa (MOFA-Japan 2016c). TICAD VI built on the 2008 and 2013 conferences in the manifestation of proactive security as part of Japan’s ODA philosophy. The historic 2016 conference saw the increased deployment of Japan SDF troops in PKO training and international operations; mediation of hotspots in South

³³ The use of force is permitted when the following Three Conditions are met: (1) Armed attack against Japan or a close partner nation threatens Japan’s survival and poses a clear danger to fundamentally overturn people’s right to life, liberty and pursuit of happiness, (2) When there is no other appropriate means available to repel the attack and ensure Japan’s survival and protects its people, (3) Use of force limited to the minimum extent necessary.

Sudan, Sahel, and Horn of Africa; and the expansion of the Djibouti SDF base. By TICAD 2016, Japan demonstrated a multi-dimensional approach to human security in Africa, legitimizing its leadership in the international community.

Security engagement also featured prominently in TICAD7 with the announcement of NAPSA, the New Approach for Peace and Stability in Africa. After the withdrawal of Japan's SDF from South Sudan in 2017, the NAPSA marked a reset of security cooperation with AU and African regional organizations supporting conflict prevention and mediation. NAPSA places Tokyo at the table in mediating Africa's hotspots alongside Beijing, demonstrating a similarly proactive development security stance. NAPSA pledges also included continued SDF logistical support to UN peacekeeping operations, training of African police officers, public prosecutors, and judges, and increased operations at the expanded SDF Base in Djibouti. Echoing Japan's foundational TICAD principles, NAPSA presents a model for Japan-Africa security engagement centered on principles of *human security*, *African ownership*, and *economic growth*. Through TICAD7, Japan reinforced African states' strategic role in 'safeguarding the Indo-Pacific' and a holistic ODA strategy to realize a sustainable Africa.

In support of UN and African-led peacekeeping and peacebuilding efforts, Tokyo has brokered the exchange of Japanese defense practices, military equipment, and international norms as communicated through the FOIP. Legislative revisions that enabled targeted engagement in Africa have expanded Tokyo's mechanisms for multi-domain hard and soft power influence (Yamamoto 2020). Japan's human security initiatives in Africa underscore its enhanced role as a responsible major power in the international community and foster the partnerships necessary to realize the FOIP strategy.

FOIP Brand – The expanding footprint of Tokyo's development brand

In expanding the domain of Japan's security mandate, the proactive contribution narrative empowers Tokyo to realize new cooperative security norms and disrupt emerging Asian competitors on the African continent. The Government of Japan (GoJ) recognizes the strategic contest at play in African security development. In the 2018 Defense Program Guidelines, the GoJ cautions that China's modernizing military capabilities underpin the

BRI strategic vision and that the “development of infrastructure under the [Belt and Road] Initiative can lead to further expansion of the PLA’s activities in the area such as the Pacific Ocean and the Indian Ocean” (NDPG 2018: 10). The FOIP has been presented as an alternative to Beijing’s development security vision, necessitating a hard-power security cooperation arm of Japan’s development cooperation paradigm (MTDP 2018: 27-30; NDPG 2018: 15).

Under the Abe administration, changing security environments and broadening security interests necessitated a renewed assessment of defensive readiness and material power capabilities, resulting in the examination of “the legal basis for security” enhancement (MOD-Japan 2015). Ultimately, the government concluded that the “shift in the global power balance, rapid progress of technological innovation, development and proliferation of weapons of mass destruction/ballistic missiles, international terrorism, etcetera” warranted a proactive approach to ensuring Japan’s security in its home region and internationally (GoJ 2016). Critically, Abe successfully argued that national defense is fundamentally tied to international security, justifying the expansion of development security as a facet of Tokyo’s disruptive development agenda in Africa. With this expanded mandate, TICAD 2016 launched multilayered human security initiatives to address radicalization, extremism, and displaced populations through capacity building, border security, and vocational training in Cameroon, Ethiopia, and Uganda. Japan’s expansion of PPP and private investment into the African space, necessitated a commensurate security presence to protect its interests in that sphere.

In the New Security Legislation, the 1998 “Law Concerning Measures to Ensure Peace and Security of Japan in Situations in Areas Surrounding Japan” was amended to read “*Situations that Will Have an Important Influence on Japan’s Peace and Security*” (emphasis notes replacement). These ‘Situations of Important Influence’ denote the interweaving of development security with ODA philosophy, emboldening Japan’s paramount foreign policy instrument. The revised law allowed Japan’s self-defense forces to protect U.S. forces, armed forces of foreign countries, and those operating on behalf of international organizations. The mandate of Japan’s defense forces has been similarly revised within the SDF Law. Now, “the primary mission of the Self-Defense Forces is to defend Japan ~~against direct or indirect invasion~~ in order to keep the peace and

independence of Japan and maintain the national security...” (strike-out represents revision in the new SDF Law). The expansion of the SDF mission area into the African development space, a situation of important influence, indicates the growing interplay between Japan’s disruptive ontological power and development security agendas in realizing the FOIP vision. Japan’s increasing ontological influence through development security on the continent aligns with the empowerment and partnership narrative conveyed through TICAD. Lastly, the ratification of the “International Peace Support Bill” as part of the Legislation for Peace and Security increases the mandate for security partnership by reinforcing the concept of Japan’s proactive contribution of peace in the international sphere of influence through collective efforts.

The implications of Japan’s expanded security role can be felt across the African continent from peacekeeping operations, to security training, to intelligence and surveillance efforts. Under Japanese leadership and financing, the IMO Djibouti Code of Conduct Trust Fund oversaw the construction and operation of the Djibouti Regional training center, information-sharing centers in Kenya and Tanzania, and security training programs in East Africa (MOFA-Japan 2014). Within the African maritime domain, the 2016 Nairobi Implementation Plan detailed Japan’s commitment to “reinforce the rule of law at sea through capacity building of maritime law enforcement authorities” (TICAD 2016b) expanding maritime SDF operations in the Indian Ocean beyond anti-piracy missions. In 2017, Japan’s Ministry of Defense announced the expansion of the SDF facility in Djibouti following an agreement with the government of Djibouti. The long-term presence of the SDF Base in Djibouti is a cornerstone of Japan’s security cooperation in Africa and demonstrates an experimental new model for security development. As of the end of 2019, 84% of UNPKO deployed troops and seven of the fourteen UNPKO Missions of Japan are in African states and, until 2017, all of Japan’s SDF troop contributions were deployed in the UN Mission in South Sudan (UN 2016; UNPKO 2018-2020). Japan’s security investment through TICAD bolsters logistical operations in the Indo-Pacific region, while the fusion of ODA philosophy and development security places new strategic gravity in Africa, the Middle East, and the Indian Ocean. It is clear that Africa will remain a major theater of military operations into the future and a testing ground for Japan’s strategic security objectives. As competition from China and India progresses,

Japan has bolstered its security engagement with African development partners to achieve disruptive influence, expand strategic partnerships, and advance its development brand.

With the new security legislation, extra-regional development security is fundamentally tied to Japan's national interests and the advancement of a disruptive FOIP agenda. The initiatives socialized through TICAD and piloted on the African continent go hand in hand with Japan's forward-leaning proactive defense agenda.

Strategic Partnerships – Solidify Japan's centrality in strategic triangular development frameworks

The third objective of security development in Africa is the advancement and solidification of Japan's strategic triangular partnerships with both established and emerging development powers. Security investment brokered through TICAD is not purely competitive, but rather offers Japanese SDF professionals an opportunity to engage with foreign militaries, including Indian and Chinese military members, through anti-piracy operations (detailed below) and in UNPKO missions in South Sudan. The 2018 NDPG outlined Japan's efforts to "strategically promote security cooperation in line with the vision of a free and open Indo-Pacific" through the communication of strategic narratives and the effective utilization of all domains of influence (NDPG 2018: 2, 7-13).

The concept of "proactive contribution" triggered a deepening engagement between Japan and the international community, placing a heavy emphasis on African peace and stability. The revision of the 'Legislation for Responses to Armed Attack Situations' and the 'SDF Law' authorized the use of force in the case of an armed attack against foreign countries closely aligned to Japan. The justification for this revision invoked the concept of "collective self-defense" established by Article 51 of the United Nations Charter, resulting in a careful reinterpretation of the Japanese constitution's pacifist clause under Abe's leadership. The concept of *collective self-defense* expanded Japan's influence as an African development partner by leveraging the military might of strategic allies across the Indo-Pacific region. Collective self-defense and new arms export regulations effectively increased the capability of Japan's SDF forces to act in support of an allied nation, underpinning security partnerships with established and

emerging powers. Additionally, the proactive emphasis of the Abe administration signaled a forward-leaning readiness of Japanese forces to engage promptly in the face of imminent threat. Although the constitutional revision desired by PM Abe is yet to be realized, the successful reinterpretation of Article 9 in favor of collective self-defense drastically advanced Japan's security stance in Africa and legitimized TICAD's empowerment and partnership narrative. Operating out of Japan's SDF base in Djibouti since 2011, Maritime SDF forces grew prominently in the African theatre to protect the critical trade and security corridors. The deployment of two Japan Maritime Self Defense Force (JMSDF) destroyers, two P-3C maritime patrol aircraft, and Japanese Coast Guard troops to Africa was justified as a national responsibility in support of collective defense missions. These assets perform anti-piracy missions, aerial surveillance, and intelligence gathering in collaboration with UN and international mandates. The SDF base in Djibouti continues to sustain Japan's forward-deployed troops and international cooperation missions (MOFA-Japan 2016d) and has expanded operations to include Air and Ground SDF deployments in support of a variety of security missions. In 2019, Tokyo designated the Djibouti SDF Facility as an enduring keystone "for regional security cooperation and other activities," critical to the realization of Japan's FOIP vision in Africa and the Indian Ocean (NDPG 2018: 18).

Security cooperation in Africa has increased opportunities for Tokyo's leadership of triangular cooperation. Beginning in 2015, Japan deployed Group SDF troops to Kenya to train Kenyan and Tanzanian soldiers in heavy equipment operations as part of the UN Triangular Partnership Project (TPP). Building from this TICAD pilot program, Japan has become the leader in funding and executing the TPP through the deployment of SDF personnel, trainers, and heavy equipment to African nations. In total from 2015 to 2019, Japan's support for the TPP totaled \$40M in investment and the deployment of 149 SDF troops to 8 African nations, strengthening Japan's credibility as a leader in development security. The success of Japan's TPP program in Africa resulted in the program being extended to strategic Asian nations beginning in 2018, with the deployment of SDF personnel to Vietnam in 2019 and 2020. At TICAD7, Japan deepened its leadership of TPP in Africa, deploying Japan Ground SDF personnel to conduct engineering and heavy

equipment training for Ugandan Defense Force members. TICAD initiatives continue to serve as testbeds for Japan's increasingly proactive security engagement.

Recognizing that "no country can secure its own peace only by itself," the Abe government, as well as the subsequent Suga administration, sought to develop "seamless responses to any situation" across the defensive domain (GoJ 2016). The proactive security agenda strives to augment Japan's capabilities through cooperative operations with strategic partner nations, including the US, India, and African nations.

2014 Legislation	Revision	Application in Africa
International Peace Cooperation Act	Use of force for protection of Japanese citizens overseas Human security operations authorized Security operations in theater of operation	Peacekeeping security roles Armed intervention in hostage/threat scenarios
Legislation for Responses to Armed Attack situations	Use of force authorized when an “armed attack against a foreign country results in threatening Japan’s survival”	Security support of allied operations in Africa
SDF Law	Collective self-defense Provision of supplies & services to U.S. forces	Anti-piracy operations Information collection Intelligence sharing Protective and logistical operations
Law Concerning Measure to Ensure Peace and Security of Japan in Situations that Will Have an Important Influence on Japan’s Peace and Security	Expanded security sphere Use of force authorized to protect: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • U.S. forces • Armed forces of other foreign countries acting in accordance with UN charter • Other international organizations 	Japanese SDF engagement in military operations on the African continent in support of U.S., UN, AU, REC or other multi-lateral organizations
International Peace Support Bill	Secure peace and stability of international community Perform cooperation and support activities, etc. to armed forces of foreign counties Collectively addressing international security threats	Japanese SDF operations in the African theater of operation to secure peace and security of international community
Ship Inspection Law	Maritime operations and ship inspection expanded to include international waters	Peacetime maritime surveillance and patrol in the Indian Ocean
Act for Establishment of the National Security Council	Enable the NSC to deliberate in response to: <ul style="list-style-type: none"> • Situations that threaten Japan’s survival • Situations that have an important influence on Japan’s peace and security • Joint operations for international peace 	Mandate over human security operations; Extra-regional security cooperation

Table 18: Detailed review of revisions to Japan's 2014 Legislation for Peace and Security and related implications for African security

China's Security Disruption in Africa

Beijing's BRI ontology is foundational to driving a securitization of the Chinese development narrative under the leadership of Xi Jinping. Beginning with FOCAC 2006 new security concepts were introduced into China-Africa engagement, and by FOCAC 2012, security and stability investment became a cornerstone of 'development with Chinese characteristics' (Xi 2017b). Once hesitant and reactive in the security arena, China emerged as an aspiring leader in the establishment of a global development security framework. Through the FOCAC mechanism, China's security development paradigm in Africa is rapidly maturing, highlighted by the inauguration of China's first overseas military facility in Djibouti in 2017 alongside Japanese, French, and US bases. Djibouti was designated as a strategic BRI partner and is a vital commercial corridor in China's development vision (BRF 2019). Africa serves as a testing ground for Chinese security cooperation, advancing a model for Beijing's emerging "active defense" development security paradigm.

Beijing advances a paradigm that favors Chinese values and strategic interests of political and social stability, economic development, state sovereignty, and security in new domains. Development security serves a critical role in the spread of China's new ontology of development. The emerging development security constructs discussed in this section are reflected across the African development space as Beijing weaves its development security paradigm into the fiber of BRI and Pan-African security architectures through FOCAC. Poised to supplant the 'liberal peace' and democratic peace agendas that dominated 20th Century international discourse, the successes of Beijing's security initiatives in Africa legitimize a Beijing-led ideological change within international institutions. Long resistant to the Western definition of human rights founded upon democratic ideals, China aims to shape international norms and reinforce the legitimacy of its model of governance and development pathway.

Beijing's disruptive development strategy includes a concerted effort to craft a robust national security strategy and build modern "military forces with Chinese characteristics" (MND-PRC 2015; Xinhua 2015a). Several documents serve as a looking glass into Chinese security doctrine. China's Peaceful Development White papers (2005, 2011), China's Military Strategy White Paper (2015), Counter-Terrorism Law (2015), the

National Security Law (2015), Vision for Maritime Cooperation under the BRI (2017), and China's National Defense in a New Era (2019) are critical in analyzing Beijing's security concept in the African arena. While the PRC strictly classifies doctrine on military strategy, the public release of these major security documents provides a glimpse into the disruptive narrative at the core of China's development security agenda. In the following section, the evolution of development security in Africa will be traced from one of non-interference to a new paradigm of comprehensive, common, cooperative, and sustainable security based upon the principle of "active defense."

Evolution toward a New Security Leadership Model in Africa

The consummate leader cultivates the moral law, and strictly adheres to method and discipline; thus it is in his power to control success.

- Sun Tzu

In early FOCAC conferences, Beijing's long-standing mantra of non-interference in internal affairs and respect for state sovereignty restrained military engagement in African conflicts. As early as 2001, Chinese Ambassador Shen Guofang discussed Beijing's desire to develop a comprehensive approach to peacebuilding with an emphasis on national sovereignty, social cohesion, and territorial integrity (Shen 2001). However, outside of its obligatory role on the UN peacebuilding commission and the UN Security Council, China abstained from any official policy on peacebuilding engagements (Lei 2011). Early FOCAC summits avoided explicit security cooperation initiatives. However beginning in 2006, China began to negotiate new development security postures under the auspices of a unique brand of South-South Cooperation (SSC) and moderated its non-interference principle to comply with its strategic interest in Africa. Beijing's international reputation, commercial interests, and protection of Chinese nationals have been underscored as the drivers for China's gradual evolution in security policy in Africa (Alden et al. 2017; Duchâtel, Gowan & Lafont Rapnouil 2016; Shinn 2015). At the core of these drivers is the legitimacy of BRI as a development framework.

As China's status as an emerging development power grew, Beijing's foundational development principles came into direct conflict with the desire to mediate risk to China's

commercial investments in countries along the Belt and Road. With estimates of 1 to 2 million Chinese citizens living and working in Africa and over 2000 firms operating on the continent by 2015, the expectation that Beijing actively protect national interests and citizens abroad intensified (Chen, Dollar & Tang 2015; Park 2016). To mitigate this challenge, Beijing asserted its own development security paradigm in Africa, orchestrated through FOCAC and consistent with its disruptive brand of 21st Century development leadership through SSC. China's 2005 Peaceful Development Road White Paper acknowledged international security and stability as a core facet of domestic prosperity for the first time. The white paper presented a new global security concept "featuring mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination," echoing the core narrative of China's SSC paradigm (IOSC-PRC 2005). Beginning in 2006, FOCAC endorsed a "new security concept" based on the same principles of "mutual trust, mutual benefit, equality and coordination" (FOCAC 2006). China's relationship with Africa evolved to include an emphasis on peacekeeping and combatting traditional and non-traditional security threats. FOCAC's first step into the development security domain implied a departure from the previous Chinese security stance. From 2008 onward, Beijing reserved the right to project military force in foreign states with proper consultation. This critical reinterpretation of Beijing's principle of "non-interference in internal affairs" answered the demands of Chinese citizens and industries operating abroad in risk-laden environments and enabled the realization of the BRI.

Grappling with the challenge of securing national interests and managing risk to BRI investments, influential Chinese foreign policy think tanks and scholars proposed "creative involvement" and "responsible protection" as alternative interpretations of the UN's R2P principle and an evolution of China's non-interference principles (Wang 2012; Ying 2013; Zongze 2012). These alternative security models attempted to reconcile China's foundational pillar of non-interference with contemporary strategic and security challenges. At FOCAC 2009, Premier Wen Jiabao affirmed China's intention to "increase involvement in the settlement of issues concerning peace and security in Africa" as part of Beijing's "New Type of China Africa Strategic Partnership" (Wen 2009). Beijing appointed a Special Representative to arbitrate a more active participation in the resolution of security and stability issues on the continent (FOCAC 2009). Thus,

beginning in Africa, Chinese policymakers began to contend with the concept of consultative security engagement and the delivery of public security goods to advance China's national objectives and international influence.

The 2011 revision of the Peaceful Development White Paper restated Beijing's international security concept while recognizing China's responsibility in "reforming international systems, formulating international rules and addressing global issues" (IOSC-PRC 2011). Beijing advocated for a "new thinking on security" in line with its national interests and peaceful development agenda (IOSC-PRC 2011). This signaled the starting point for Beijing's overt disruption of established security norms through the exhibition of an alternative security paradigm in Africa states. Furthermore, the white paper asserted concepts of 'comprehensive security, common security and cooperative security.' In 2014, 'sustainable security' completed the four-part development security narrative headlined in Africa through FOCAC (MFA-PRC 2017).

These concepts (listed in Table 19) were critical in renegotiating China's non-interference principle. 'Comprehensive security' addressed new threat dimensions and mirrored the language of the UN peacebuilding commission by targeting traditional and non-traditional "security threats and their root causes" (IOSC-PRC 2011). The concept of 'Common security' qualified security engagement by reiterating the rights of sovereign states and advocating to "establish a fair and effective mechanism for upholding common security" (IOSC-PRC 2011). 'Cooperative security' promoted threat reduction through negotiation and consultative mediation as opposed to intervention and aligns with Beijing's style of SSC through concerted unilateralism. Finally, 'sustainable security' espouses a holistic approach to joint development and security in line with Beijing's foundational conviction of the linkage between stability and economic development.

By FOCAC 2012, the strategic Sino-African security partnership was promoted as a critical facet of international stability and development. At FOCAC 2012, China announced the establishment of a Strategic Dialogue Mechanism and its commitment to support the development of the African Peace and Security Architecture (APSA) as the central instruments for mediating peace and security affairs and developing collective foreign policy (FOCAC 2012). Beijing moved from a stance of staunch non-interference to one that embraced "mutual assistance in security affairs" in Africa (FOCAC 2012b).

While Beijing maintained that African conflicts must be solved by indigenous solutions without external intervention, a model of mutual security cooperation and capacity building was strategically deployed across the continent beginning in 2012 (FOCAC 2012b).

With the launch of BRI in 2014, China's security diplomacy and military cooperation with African states have played a central role in advancing the Chinese Dream and mainstreaming Beijing's emerging brand of development leadership. The year 2015 marked a critical turning point in Beijing's security development leadership when Xi Jinping boldly announced China's commitment of 8,000 UN standby troops, a \$100M contribution to the African Standby Force (ASF), and \$1B to the establishment of the Peace and Development Trust Fund at the UN General Assembly (Xi 2015b). This placed China at the forefront of international security cooperation with a critical emphasis on Africa. Beijing's prominence in development security came as a surprise to many in the international community (MND-PRC 2016; Oertel 2015). Indeed, this bold move toward extra-regional security engagement in Africa marked a shift in the PRC's 21st century development philosophy and a new trajectory for the engagement principles communicated through FOCAC and BRI.

In 2015, "active defense" officially became Beijing's new security posture (MND-PRC 2015). As defined by China's Military Strategy White Paper (2015), active defense purports the ability to: "seize the strategic initiative in military struggle, proactively plan for military struggle in all directions and domains, and grasp the opportunities to accelerate military building, reform and development." The active defense principle represents the definitive shift from strict non-interference to a new *common security* stance integral to realizing the BRI and China's ambitions as an emerging great power. For Africa, FOCAC VI and VII showcased Beijing's new development security model. At FOCAC VII in 2018, security cooperation was designated for the first time as one of the eight core initiatives of China-Africa cooperation. Ultimately, active defense encompassed a multi-domain approach to bolstering material investment and BRI as an ontological framework in the global South. This approach aimed to ensure an optimal security environment and strategic relationships for Beijing's pursuit of national interests. Cultivated on the African

continent, active defense defines the specific mechanisms through which Beijing's security model would be deployed across the Indo-Pacific.

Beijing's 2019 Defense White Paper defined Xi's vision for a new era of armed forces that, "Stand ready to provide strong strategic support for the realization of the Chinese Dream of national rejuvenation, and to make new and greater contributions to the building of a community with a shared future for mankind" (MND-PRC 2019: 52). With the vast investment of resources to realize the Chinese Dream and BRI, Beijing expanded its Pacific and Indian Ocean security presence and the provision of "security" as a common good in support of its worldview. The China Dream and BRI are the essential narratives underlining port development, securitization of islands and maritime features, and blue water capabilities extending into Africa and the Indian Ocean (MOFA-PRC 2015: III, IV; Xi 2017b).

Active Defense in Africa

African development security offered Xi Jinping a mechanism to shape international global governance institutions to achieve Beijing's strategic objectives and realize BRI. As recognized by Zhao Lei, one of China's leading scholars on peacebuilding, through international security engagements, "China's image as an aid donor, peace contributor, conflict mediator, emergency rescuer and even initiator of new institutions, coupled with the attractiveness of its development model, allows China to accelerate the pace of its 'peaceful rise'" (Lei 2011).

The new era of development cooperation under President Xi is marked by security influence within both established UN frameworks and in emerging bilateral and regional African frameworks. Beijing's SSC model leverages African development partners to "promote the establishment of a regional framework for security and cooperation" (MND-PRC 2015). China's motive for deepening African security engagement falls into three areas that align with the tenets of active defense: strategic initiative, new domains, and military modernization. Each of these three military lines of effort in Africa reinforces Beijing's ontological vision by setting favorable conditions to advance the BRI and Chinese Dream. Most importantly, development security in Africa is carefully engineered

in concert with Beijing's ontological narrative to frame China's security expansion as a positive and legitimate contribution to global security and stability.

Active Defense in Africa

- **Strategic Initiative:** Expansion of Chinese political-military presence in Africa to defend BRI investments and Chinese nationals through active crisis management and risk mitigation.
- **New Domains:** Expansion of diplomatic ties in new strategic domains including maritime capabilities, cyber security, and surveillance.
- **Military Modernization:** Development of modern military force through leadership of UNPKO, military diplomacy, and bilateral military to military engagements.

Table 19: Comprehensive, Common, Cooperative, and Sustainable security paradigm as defined by Beijing and implemented through FOCAC.

Strategic Initiative: Defending BRI Investments

As the first tenet of active defense, *strategic initiative*, aims to posture China's political-military infrastructure to safeguard China's sovereignty, security, and development interests. *Strategic initiative* encompasses the expansion of Chinese diplomatic presence in Africa to defend BRI investments and Chinese nationals through active crisis management and risk mitigation. As highlighted in the 2015 and 2019 Defense White Papers, China's rapid growth in Africa necessitates the defense of overseas interests to safeguard its BRI investment and national rejuvenation. Paralleling Japan's shift toward a global perspective of national security, China's Defense White Paper asserts that "in the new circumstances, the national security issues facing China encompass far more subjects, extend over a greater range, and cover a longer time span than at any time in the country's history" (MND-PRC 2015). China's legitimacy as a major development power necessitated a proactive posture in high-risk areas to protect citizens and commercial interests. The Defense White Paper frames the active defense posture as aligning with China's brand of win-win cooperation in Africa, arguing that "a strong military of China is a staunch force for world peace, stability and the building of a community with a shared future for mankind" (MND-PRC 2019: II). Through FOCAC, Beijing has evolved a material power model that pairs BRI commercial and security investments.

As Chinese development presence expanded, Chinese citizens living and working abroad have become the victims of attacks in Africa. This reality was on display during the 2011 Libya Crisis when the PLA Navy orchestrated the evacuation of nearly 36,000 Chinese citizens over a twelve-day period through the coordination of civil and military assets (Zerba 2014). In 2012, 29 Chinese workers were kidnapped in Sudan, followed in 2014, by the kidnapping of 10 Chinese citizens in Cameroon by the Nigerian terrorist group, Boko Haram. In 2015, an Al-Qaeda attack that left three Chinese citizens dead in Mali and the execution of a Chinese national by ISIS brought the issue of protecting citizens in foreign countries to the forefront of socio-political debate in Beijing. These incidents and public outcry for these victims triggered a reassessment of Beijing's non-interference stance in Africa. In response, beginning in 2013, China deployed combat guard forces to Mali to support UN peacekeeping operations to combat the terrorist group Al-Qaida in the Islamic Maghreb (UN 2016). In 2014, Beijing deployed a full infantry battalion to South Sudan in support of the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS) with combat authority for the first time (UN 2016). In 2015, the Chinese Navy evacuated 621 Chinese and 279 foreign nationals from Yemen in a powerful demonstration of the value of its Indian Ocean and African military presence and Beijing's international goodwill (MND-PRC 2019; Rajagopalan & Blanchard 2015). The Chinese and foreign national (including Ethiopian citizens) were evacuated by a Chinese fleet patrolling the Somalian coast and stewarded to safety in Djibouti in a major feat of operational agility and military diplomacy. The deployment of combat troops in Africa marked a historic departure from previous development cooperation paradigms that segregated development investment from peacebuilding initiatives. The 2015 Military Strategy White Paper confirmed that "China's armed forces will engage in extensive regional and international security affairs, and promote the establishment of the mechanisms of emergency notification, military risk precaution, crisis management and conflict control" (MND-PRC 2015). Beijing's evolving strategic posture in response to incidents in high-risk development environments along the Belt and Road served as an impetus for the securitization of the China-Africa relationship.

Beijing's *strategic initiative* agenda and the prepositioning of military capability in African partner nations reinforced China's credibility as a major development power. The

PLA Navy began operating anti-piracy missions in the Gulf of Aden in 2008. The deployment of a fleet of two destroyers, a resupply vessel, ship-borne helicopters, and a crew of 800 officers and soldiers marked Beijing's greatest extension of naval power into the Indian Ocean (MND-PRC 2016; Xinhua 2008). Building upon anti-piracy and anti-terrorism operations already underway in Africa through the FOCAC mechanism, Beijing enacted the Counter-Terrorism Law in December 2015. This law officially condoned the overseas deployment of PLA military personnel to support intelligence gathering, enforcement, and monitoring activities (NPC 2015a). While sparking controversy internationally over human rights abuses in Xinjiang Province, the Counter-Terrorism Law expanded China's bilateral security relationships with African states and demonstrated increased efforts to shape the global security environment. At FOCAC 2015, Beijing committed \$60M in military assistance to develop a "collective security mechanism in Africa, and jointly manage non-traditional security issues and global challenges" (FOCAC 2015b). African nations and the African Union served as a sounding board for 'comprehensive, common, cooperative and sustainable' security concepts that would later be deployed as the trademark BRI security paradigm. At FOCAC VII in 2018, Beijing expanded the security mandate to include coordinated efforts to address traditional and non-traditional threats to build a "China-Africa community with a shared future" (FOCAC 2018a). In 2018, the FOCAC "Peace and Security initiative" became a core FOCAC initiative and included investment in 50 security assistance programs under the Belt and Road banner to advance law and order, UN peacekeeping missions, fighting piracy, and combating terrorism.

The 2014 announcement of the Djibouti Military Facility is a prime example of Beijing's new material investment model in Africa. Since 2014, Djibouti has become a strategic hub for Beijing's Maritime Silk road marking the Gulf of Aden as a critical commercial linkage between China, African, and Europe. As elaborated above, Beijing has invested extensively in Djibouti's infrastructure development under the BRI banner. Nearly \$1B in EXIM Bank loans to Djibouti for port development, pipeline development, and the high profile Ethiopia-Djibouti railway are at the heart of China's BRI East Africa investments. The small East African nation has become the entry point for Chinese infrastructure, trade, and logistics. Given its economic and geopolitical significance to

China's strategic vision, Djibouti has become a demonstration of the BRI model of paired economic-security investment. Opening in 2017, China's first overseas base supports a variety of military capabilities including citizen protection, anti-piracy operations, anti-terrorism, and crisis mediation across the East African region. The Djibouti-based PLA Navy facility conducted live-fire drills in 2018 marking the first-ever military drills of this scale on foreign soil. This live-fire drill was followed by a major training exercise off the coast of Djibouti, showcasing the expanding ground and aerial capabilities of PLA forces.

Djibouti represents initial evidence of Beijing's BRI material investment model comprised of mixed commercial-security development. As of 2019, Beijing is developing port facilities in Namibia's Walvis Bay, a key southwest African hub that is rumored to be a future site of a second Chinese Base. Multiuse port infrastructure and bases developed in line with BRI material investments create strategic hubs for Beijing's projection of a new type of global leadership across the Indo-Pacific. Rather than a Pan-African military strategy aimed at displacing traditional US or European security providers, Beijing's development security paradigm provides a framework for deepening bilateral relations and expanding ontological alignment. This is a critical distinction from Western direct military engagement mechanisms.

New Strategic Domains: Security Development for a New Era

The second tenet of active defense is the expansion of security capabilities in new strategic domains. Development security investment brokered through FOCAC is expanding the BRI footprint into the Indian Ocean maritime domain and emerging domains of cybersecurity and surveillance. Additionally, Beijing is linking critical African infrastructure with China's development security narrative, in an attempt to shape the Pan-African security architecture.

BRI serves as a valuable framework through which to justify China's expanding diplomatic presence and material investment across the African continent. In 2015, China and the African Union signed an ambitious Memorandum of Understanding to build infrastructure linking 54 African states, with a constellation of infrastructure, ports, energy, and security projects branded as BRI (Xinhua 2015c). A 2019 map of existing and planned BRI port, rail, pipeline infrastructure shows the extensive scale of connectivity projects

(MERICS 2019). The Belt and Road Maritime Vision statement elaborated Beijing’s disruptive security principles within this expanded regional context, advocating for countries along the Belt and Road to synchronize their development strategies with the BRI “concept of common maritime security for mutual benefit” (PRC 2017: 7-8).

The projection of expeditionary Chinese naval power represents a core national security interest. China’s 2015 military strategy emphasizes a reorientation of joint force projection to extended ranges and “from theatre defense to trans-theater mobility” (MND-PRC 2015). China’s security experiment in Africa has become an important facet in demonstrating the range of Beijing’s security presence across the Indo-Pacific and to the African continent. As seen in Figure 23, Djibouti, Kenya, and Egypt serve as critical African hubs along strategic choke-points of the BRI Maritime route. The development of regional infrastructure in these hubs extends China-Africa security protocols for strategic

China’s Belt and Road Infrastructure Projects, 2014-2019

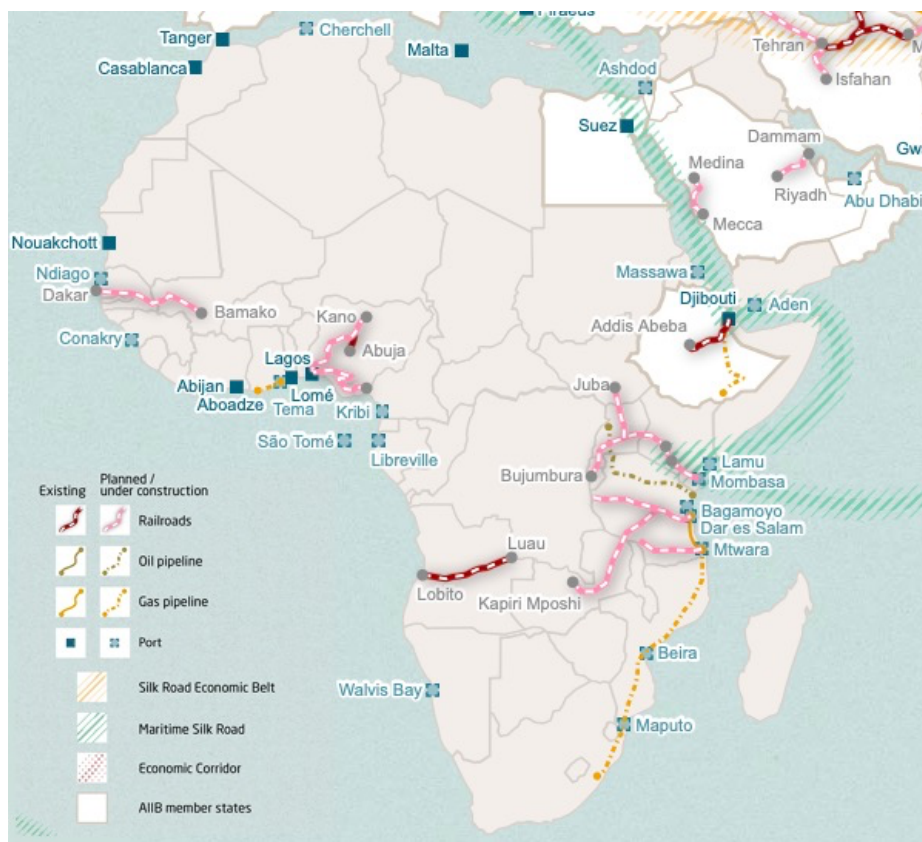


Figure 23: Map of existing and planned BRI port, railroad, and pipeline infrastructure projects across the African continent. Source: MERICS BRI Tracker Database, 2019.

land, sea, and air passages, energy resources, and economic corridors. In the 2017 “Vision for Maritime Cooperation under the Belt and Road Initiative,” Beijing introduced a “Blue Partnership” concept and China’s expanded role in maritime security along the Maritime Silk Road (PRC 2017). The BRI Vision document aligned African infrastructure development and commercial investment with new cooperative domains (PRC 2017). China’s expansion of naval power included navigation security and crisis-control, disaster management, capabilities enhancement, and maritime law enforcement under bilateral and multilateral frameworks.

In Africa, the realization of China’s expeditionary maritime power is evident in the PLA Navy’s frequent port calls, anti-piracy operations, the establishment of maritime facilities in East Africa, and the creation of high-level security dialogue mechanisms. The national defense strategy clearly laid out China’s intention to “safeguard its national sovereignty and maritime rights and interests, protect the security of strategic SLOCs and overseas interests, and participate in international maritime cooperation, so as to provide strategic support for building itself into a maritime power” (MND-PRC 2015). Port visits have become a staple of Beijing’s BRI military diplomacy. In 2017, China’s Peace Arc visited seven African nations, administering free medical and humanitarian services in a powerful display of soft power. In the lead up to the 2018 FOCAC Forum, the voyage of the PLA-Navy’s Peace Arc and China’s commitment to anti-piracy operations demonstrated Chinese expeditionary Naval power as a win-win in the Indian Ocean. In 2018, the PLA Navy conducted port visits in Cameroon, Ghana, and Nigeria after they officially joined the BRI, exhibiting the role of Beijing’s military diplomacy in advancing its development narrative. These efforts demonstrate Beijing’s use of military diplomacy to reinforce its strategic narrative to African counterparts.

In the cybersecurity and surveillance domains, Beijing has partnered with African governments to expand cyber protocols and surveillance capabilities on the backbone of Chinese built communications and telecom networks. In 2015 China announced the “Digital Silk Road” under the BRI and since then, cooperation with key African governments, including South Africa, Nigeria, Egypt, Uganda, and Kenya, is deepening the proliferation of Chinese technology and ICT protocols. The expansion of technology cooperation via FOCAC created a framework for China to extend its norms and standards

of government-control Internet protocols and data management to critical African BRI partners (FOCAC 2018b). High-level engagements on ICT protocols through the FOCAC mechanism has resulted in the expansion of government controls on social media and online content in African states such as Zimbabwe and Nigeria and the proliferation of surveillance technology (Feldstein 2019). FOCAC VII 2018 Action Plan emphasized the growing alignment in cybersecurity norms between China and Africa, pledging to advance technology cooperation in domains of “public security, counter terrorism, crime prevention, and information security” (FOCAC 2018b). Through FOCAC, African states agreed to cooperate with China on strategic ICT policy-making in international governance forums, adding gravity to China’s security paradigm. By extending access to mobile communications and the Internet to rural and urban populations across the African continent, China’s technology infrastructure and policies are increasingly intertwined with African government architectures. In the effort to establish China as a major cyber power, African states offer a fertile market for the legitimization of Chinese technology hardware, software, and philosophy (MND-PRC 2019). While China and the West engage in a battle for dominance over 5G protocols, Huawei, and social media platforms, Beijing’s ICT infrastructure has an unshakeable foothold in African states.

Through the delivery of public security goods in strategic sea-lanes and emerging cybersecurity and surveillance domains, Beijing’s engagement in Africa illuminated its new international security posture at the tip of the strategic ontological spear. The BRI narrative took center stage in Beijing’s development partnership with Africa and underscored the increasing importance of African states as brand advocates in mainstreaming and legitimizing China’s development security paradigm.

Military Modernization and Development

Finally, military modernization, reform, and development encompass the third arm of active defense. Central to advancing Beijing’s new worldview is Xi Jinping’s military modernization strategy which aims to build a world-class military force as a “security guarantee for [China’s] peaceful development” (MND-PRC 2019: 12). Beginning in 2012, Xi Jinping outlined a modernization strategy for China’s military force with the courage and vigor necessary to fight and win battles against major 21st century adversaries

(Xinhua 2015b, 2016). This modernization process involves military restructuring, training reform, anti-corruption campaigns, and increased engagement in global military diplomacy. The promotion of international security cooperation is highlighted as a strategic task to ensure the protection of China's overseas interests as the basis of building a community of shared future (MND-PRC 2019: II, III). The White Paper mandates the military's modernization into a battle-ready force that can protect foreign assets and ensure the achievement of China's strategic vision.

The expansion of Chinese armed forces into Africa enabled strategic initiatives across the Indo-Pacific region. Firstly, through peacekeeping operations, soldiers and military leaders hone military acumen and gain combat experience in harsh environments. Secondly, military leaders enhance crisis management and conflict mediation techniques and increasingly integrate Beijing's development philosophy into the African security architecture. Finally, within the context of UN peacekeeping operations, Chinese armed forces engage with major powers and developing powers, achieving confidence building and promoting trust through military diplomacy.

Beijing's increased security presence in Africa is a force multiplier that aims to narrow the gap between Chinese and US force capabilities. UN Peacekeeping missions serve an important role in providing operational experience for Chinese ground troops on the African continent and naval forces in the Indian Ocean. From merely 123 non-combat support troops in 2002, Beijing's UN Peacekeeping contribution peaked at 3045 in 2015, with 945 combat troops stationed on the African continent (see Figure 24). Since 2015, PKO troop contributions have decreased slightly, but the contingent of combat troops deployed to Mali and South Sudan has grown to exceed 1400 personnel from 2017 to 2019 making up 56% of Beijing's UNPKO contributions (UN 2019a). Leading up to FOCAC 2015, Xi announced the establishment of a standby Peacekeeping force. By the end of 2018, China announced it had registered a standby contingent of 8000 peacekeeping troops and peacekeeping police units with the UN, some of which are capable of deploying within 60 days. As the Military Strategy White Paper noted, through the expanding security engagement in Africa, "the armed forces can also enhance their own capabilities and expertise" (MND-PRC 2015: VI). This combat experience and military acumen can be transferred to other regions of critical importance to China's

national interests, such as the South China Sea and the East China Sea. On the African continent, the People’s Liberation Army (PLA) gains the experience and legitimacy necessary to realize a force that is “courageous and capable” (MND-PRC 2015).

Even with these growing security commitments from Beijing, the number of Chinese troops consistently deployed to the African continent (approx. 3100) is still dwarfed by the established U.S. (6000+) and French (5100+) troop presence. India’s 5000+ strong contingent on the African continent also outstrips China’s troop presence. This reality highlights that Beijing’s security presence takes a subordinate role to its overarching agenda of building a community of shared values aligned with China’s development ontology. The leading edge of Beijing’s ontological power in Africa proves its multi-faceted value in cultivating expertise and capabilities while building key international relationships. Ultimately, the modern, battle-ready, and excessively loyal

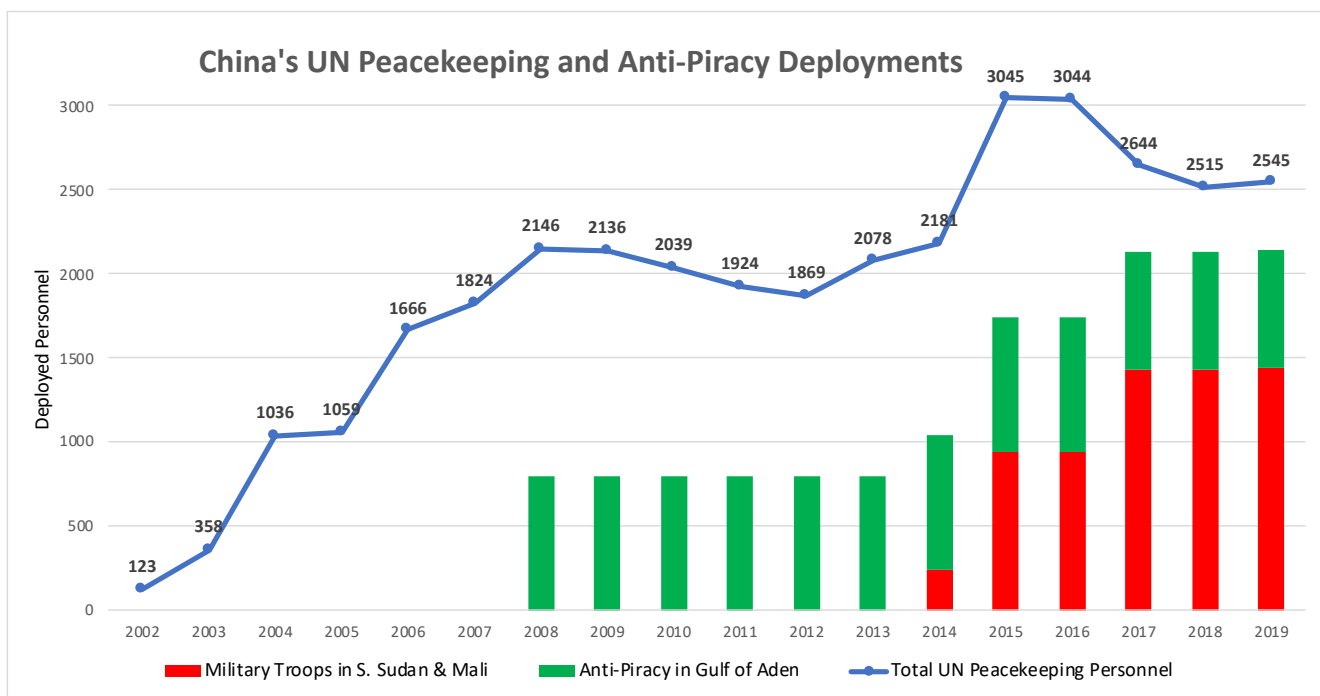


Figure 24: China's deployment of UN Peacekeeping troops from 2002 to 2019. Since 2008, Beijing has deployed 2 PLA Navy destroyers, 1 supply vessel, 2 ship-borne helicopters, and between 600 and 800 officers and soldiers to the Gulf of Aden for Anti-piracy missions (troop numbers excluded from UN Peacekeeping totals). As of 2019, the PLA Navy deployed 33 convoy fleets, including new generation naval assets such as the Xi'an guided missile destroyer, and Anyang missile frigate. China's first-ever combat troops for UN Peacekeeping were deployed in Mali (engineers) and South Sudan (combat missions) beginning in 2014, marking an historic shift. (UN 2019a; Xinhua 2008, 2019).

military force will “provide a strong guarantee for...realizing the Chinese Dream of achieving the great rejuvenation of the Chinese nation” (MND-PRC 2015).

Through indirect security engagement, the BRI framework is being integrated into the Pan-African security architecture. This integration includes extensive bilateral training, exercises, and military diplomacy efforts between Chinese and African governments. In 2018 the PLA conducted drills with Cameroon, Gabon, Ghana, and Nigeria – strategic African security partners with significant troop contributions to regional and Pan-African security architectures (UNPKO missions, ASF). That same year, PLA medical units were dispatched to Ethiopia, Sierra Leon, Sudan, and Zimbabwe to conduct combat casualty training. In support of the ASF, Beijing committed \$25M to the establishment of a logistics base in Cameroon and \$30M to a Chinese funded training center in Tanzania, mirroring Japan’s training initiatives in East Africa. A logistics base in Botswana serves as another strategic linkage to development partners, aiming to encourage greater South African regional integration with BRI security structures. Finally, the 2019 inaugural China Africa Security Forum marked the first FOCAC sub-forum dedicated to development security issues and attracted participation from the AU and military leaders of 49 partner nations. This Forum allows Beijing to influence emerging security paradigms in line with the BRI framework, monitor illicit trade and poaching, increase regional information sharing, and communicate national interests and values to African military leaders. In building strategic anchors for the Belt and Road in African states, Beijing postures to gain privileged access to port, commercial, and security infrastructure across the Indo-Pacific region.

The Chinese Dream is a pillar of Beijing’s 2015 and 2019 Defense White Papers. Beginning in Africa, an alternative Chinese security model began to achieve increasing mainstream acceptance – a sign of effective strategic disruption. Leveraging economic and political links established at FOCAC, Beijing built strategic ideational assets and advanced military modernization agendas in Africa in support of its strategic agenda. Demonstrating successful securitization of its relationship in Africa, Beijing achieved access to critical security and political infrastructure across the Maritime Silk Road. From 2008 to 2019, China filled a soft-power void in Africa left by the US as it shifted from socio-political engagement to anti-terrorism DoD-led intervention on the African continent. China’s Military Strategy underscored the international security cooperation described

above as a means to “establish fair and effective security mechanism and military confidence-building measures, expand military and security cooperation, and create a security environment favorable to China’s peaceful development” (MND-PRC 2015). Ultimately, through the expansion of the FOCAC mandate, Africa has become a crucible for emerging BRI public security goods, military diplomacy, and conflict mediation critical for the development of a modern military.

India-Africa Security

An analysis of India's 21st Century security stance reveals a heavy focus on securing an autonomous maritime domain in the Indian Ocean and African waterways. The emergence of a more credible security development posture in the Indian Ocean and Africa discloses a more pragmatic approach to cooperation with an expanded network of partners, most notably Japan and the US. While India maintains critical security advantages vis-à-vis China and Japan in the Indian Ocean, the increasing engagement of extra-regional forces in its traditional sphere of influence has elicited a noticeable response. PM Narendra Modi expressed the importance of commanding the Indian Ocean domain as a necessity to achieving great power status and domestic prosperity in alignment with his SAGAR vision. In his speech in Mauritius, PM Modi reinforced India's strategic position "at the crossroads of the Indian Ocean" and asserted the "responsibility to shape [the Indian Ocean's] future" (Modi 2015b).

The IAFS, IONS, and IORA summits laid the structural foundation for India's strategic disruption in Africa by communicating New Delhi's 21st Century development narrative. In taking stock of India's ideational versus hard-power asymmetry, New Delhi has been forced to reassess its paradigm for security engagement with the African continent to project India as a regional leader and global influencer. While India lacks a formalized national security strategy and foreign policy doctrine, the examination of a new strategic stance under the leadership of Prime Minister Modi (dubbed the 'Modi Doctrine') frames many of India's foreign policy priorities and instruments of power (Miller 2013; Scott 2013; Tandon 2016). Breaking from historical precedence, several military strategy papers have been published in the 21st Century with an emphasis on the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) and maritime strategy. These include the Indian Maritime Doctrine, first published in 2004, and the 2007 Maritime Military Strategy titled "Freedom to Use the Seas" (MOD-India 2007, 2015b). Both of these foundational documents were republished in 2015 under the guidance of the Modi government. In its second version, the maritime strategy was retitled "Ensuring Secure Seas" (MOD-India 2015). As defined in the 2015 Maritime Doctrine, the development security agenda in the IOR aims to bolster vital national security interests of peace, stability, and security in advancing New Delhi's development narrative (MOD-India 2015b). PM Modi's SAGAR vision ties a security

agenda to the development narratives and socio-cultural links advanced by Project Mausam and the India-Africa forums. IAFS and IONS serve as primary forums through which India negotiates its security model with African and IOR nations. With supporting information from the Ministry of Defense Annual Reports, the growing significance of the maritime domain in India's strategic engagement with Africa coincide with the formulation of a distinct development security strategy.

India's Security Environment

The 2015 Maritime Doctrine outlined India's national security objectives to: "strengthen cooperation and friendship with other countries to promote regional and global stability" and "maintain a strong and credible defence posture, and capability to safeguard the national aim and interests" (MOD-India 2015b). The IOR, which spans from Africa to Asia with India at the fulcrum, has historically been viewed as India's strategic domain, a point reinforced within New Delhi's maritime doctrine and strategy. This region is acutely shaped by its vast spectrum of developing countries and their associated security challenges, with emerging powers such as India, China, and South Africa on one end and failing states, Somalia and South Sudan, on the other.

The Government of India's Defense Annual Report and the 2015 Maritime Strategy both highlight a growing contest in regional maritime affairs. Challenges in the maritime domain, especially as they relate to the Chinese navy and increased militarization of the region, are highlighted as a threat to "norms of international law as well as standards of international behaviour" (MOD-India 2016). China's engagement in the IOR and ambitious BRI designs have raised concern and garnered close attention within India's Ministry of External Affairs, Navy, and foreign policy think tanks (Menon 2016; Singh 2015b). To confront the increasing salience of Chinese hard-power, the 2007 Maritime strategy declared "a critical need to wean the littoral states of our immediate neighbourhood away from the increasingly pervasive influence of states hostile to Indian interests" (MOD-India 2007). Accordingly, the military strategy elaborated a variety of mechanisms to bolster "attempts to gain [a] strategic toe-hold in the IOR" (MOD-India 2007). Beyond its geographic advantages, India's military boasts strategic advantages in the IOR. Most importantly, in contrast to Chinese and Japanese extra-regional

engagement, India's presence and concentration of forces distinguish it in the security domain (Menon 2016). The growth of the Indian maritime forces and conventional military further accentuate these advantages over the extra-regional Asian donors in the IOR and African domain. The 2015 Maritime strategy recognizes this dominant regional position, underpinning the attractiveness of New Delhi's leadership and security model as a member of the region, rather than an external power asserting influence. Accordingly, "the Indian Navy has been playing a maritime leadership role in the Indian Ocean Region (IOR) due to its multi-dimensional capabilities and active presence in the region" (MOD-India 2015).

China and Japan's growing security presence in Africa and the IOR present both a threat and opportunity for India. The expansion of Chinese and Japanese bases in Djibouti, Beijing's network of dual-use ports dotted along the BRI (Namibia, Ethiopia, Kenya, Djibouti), and the PLA Navy's increasing expeditionary capabilities all pose a challenge to India's position as a regional maritime power. On the other hand, the welcomed support of all three Asian donors to anti-piracy efforts in the Gulf of Aden has led to the mutually beneficial stabilization of critical sea-lanes and trade routes. In a rare display of cooperation in 2012, India, China, and Japan initiated an anti-piracy coordination mechanism in the Gulf of Aden, and as recent as 2017, India and China worked together to thwart an attack on a foreign vessel (Banerjee 2017; Scott 2013). Furthermore, China and India's anti-piracy vessels were instrumental in the evacuation of citizens and foreign nationals from Yemen in 2015, a display of the benign benefits of increased Asian military presence (Tharoor 2015; Xinhua 2015d). Thus in 2015, the Indian Ministry of Defense offered a more nuanced assessment of China's extra-regional military presence, asserting that "the prevailing geo-strategic environment is characterized by simultaneous competition and cooperation, resulting in blurring of conventional divisions" (MOD-India 2015). The 2015 Maritime Doctrine specifically referenced China's new "Silk Road" and the Japanese and Chinese extra-regional politico-security arrangements that had begun to shape the IOR (MOD-India 2015b). The realities of India's security environment require cooperation and New Delhi's emerging security architecture aimed to maximize India's role as the leading security provider (Michael 2014; Venter 2018). Designating the Gulf of Aden, Cape of Good Hope, and

East African coastal region as areas of primary strategic interest, the Maritime Doctrine and Military Strategy clearly underscored Africa's important role in legitimizing India's development strategy. Recognizing that the "presence of multinational maritime forces makes the scenario in the Indian Ocean Region dynamic," the Ministry of Defense asserted a bold and confident vision of an Indian led security coalition to maintain custody of this strategic domain (MOD-India 2015). In summary, within the African and Indian Ocean security domains, China and Japan have presented India with both cooperative and competitive challenges.

India is both a reliant and aspirant member of the Indian Ocean strategic community. In its 2016-17 Annual Report, the Ministry of Defense recognized that "India's central peninsular position in the Indian Ocean and geopolitical circumstances makes it reliant on the seas" (MOD-India 2016). With 95% of India's trade volume and 80% of its petroleum energy resources flowing through the Indian Ocean, the national economic and security significance of the IOR is clear. At the same time, India's modern maritime doctrines outline its strategic advantages in the region and establish New Delhi's aspirational leadership role in the IOR and the international community. Recognizing the importance of Africa's economic and energy resources to India's national security, New Delhi aspires to establish itself as the predominant net security provider within a cooperative regional security framework.

In the quest for national development and great power status, PM Modi established the IOR as the top policy priority, emphasizing the critical diplomatic importance of credible maritime power to realize India's SAGAR narrative (Modi 2015b). Since his election in 2014, Modi has pursued military modernization resulting in the growth of defense budgets by more than 37% in the decade from 2010 to 2019 (MOD-India 2016; SIPRI 2020). Over the same decade, India's naval budget has increased by 150%, growing at a faster rate than the Air Force, thus shaping it into a credible regional maritime force. The publication of India's maritime strategic vision in 2015 designated development security as a cornerstone of India's disruptive model in Africa. As highlighted by the Ministry of Defense, "defense cooperation has emerged as an important element of India's diplomacy and has served to strengthen relations with friendly foreign countries as well as advance our foreign policy objectives" (MOD-India 2016: 168).

India's SAGAR development narrative includes the creation of a collective security framework in the IOR. Through IAFS, New Delhi innovated an Indo-African "strategic partnership" with development security as an integral facet of the development cooperation on the continent (IAFS 2015b). PM Modi highlighted the role of India's unique security model in line with an ontological development narrative of South-South partnership:

The world needs cooperation and not competition in the eastern shores of Africa and the eastern Indian Ocean. That is why India's vision of Indian Ocean Security is cooperative and inclusive, rooted in security and growth for all in the region. (Modi 2018a)

Net Security Provider Concept

We seek a future for the Indian Ocean that lives up to the name of SAGAR – Security And Growth for All in the Region.

-PM Narendra Modi (2016)

Consistent with its brand of SSC, New Delhi's socio-political engagement with Africa leads the effort to shape a cooperative security model in the Indian Ocean region. To cultivate a "favourable and positive maritime environment" and to assure regional autonomy of Indian development leadership, India's maritime cooperation advances disruptive soft power (MOD-India 2015). Since 2008, New Delhi's *net security provider* paradigm advanced regional security cooperation led by India as the predominant security provider. This cooperative security model is reflected throughout the published doctrine. As asserted by the Ministry of Defense, India's foreign policy objectives "necessitate a strong and dynamic engagement in defence and security cooperation with friendly foreign countries" (MOD-India 2016). In the face of unprecedented security challenges in a "dynamic" region, the 2015 revisions in maritime strategy dedicated renewed focus on the following: securing India Ocean trade and energy routes, combating persistent threats in the IOR domain, strengthening coordination and cooperation between IOR militaries, fortifying international maritime law, and above all, developing a *cohesive maritime security framework* (MOD-India 2015). As analyst Aakriti Tandon argued, Modi's emerging foreign policy stance features "the vigorous pursuit of political

influence through maritime power” and a dynamic focus on military diplomacy in the IOR (Tandon 2016: 354). The tenets of India’s security framework in Africa arise from its regional net security provider concept.

In pursuit of a favorable maritime environment, the Indian government outlined a path to achieving a cooperative security construct in the IOR with India at the helm. The IAFS 2011 summit marked the first mention of security initiatives included in development cooperation. Hosted in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, the headquarters of the African Union, the 2011 conference resulted in an Enhanced Cooperation Framework which outlined New Delhi’s commitment to increase security engagement through leader consultations and security training programs (IAFS 2011b: 2.1). India’s capacity building initiatives on the African continent expanded into the security domain with \$2M pledged for the AU Mission in Somalia and the expansion of military training programs (Singh 2011). This inclusion of development security marked the increasingly strategic role of IAFS in brokering India’s ontological narrative through diplomacy in Africa. These IAFS development security initiatives resulted in the introduction of the net security provider concept in 2013 when then Prime Minister Manmohan Singh stated that India was poised to become a “net provider of security” in the IOR and beyond (Kumar 2013). *Net security provider* concept is defined within military doctrine as the ability to monitor, contain and counter prevailing threats, inherent risks and rising challenges in the region through the development of Indian led regional security capabilities (MOD-India 2015: 80). The strategy entails monitoring and countering challenges in the IOR through, 1) the advancement of international law, 2) the strengthening of maritime cooperation, and 3) the development of regional maritime force capability. Of significance, India’s advancement of cooperative maritime capabilities and strategic partnerships, specifically with African states, the US, and Japan, signifies its definitive departure from the non-alignment stance. Military doctrine under the Modi administration advances pragmatic cooperation as a means to maintain the region’s strategic autonomy from external influence or coercion. The tenets of this model are centered squarely on India’s cooperative approach to strategic disruption (see Table 16). Distinguishing itself from Western established security providers and the Chinese economic-security model under ‘active defense,’ India offers African nations a security partnership founded on New Delhi’s brand of regional

multilateralism. India’s proximity and the troop presence on the African continent legitimize an Indo-African framework that elevates African-led solutions to development security challenges. Echoing the narrative advanced at IAFS, then Indian Minister of Defense, Manohar Parrikar, reinforced the interplay between India’s leadership of capacity building and security initiatives in Africa as foundational to creating a “strategic community of the Indo-Pacific” (Parrikar 2016).

To realize a net security provider framework in Africa in line with SAGAR is an integral part of India’s disruptive development leadership. New Delhi expands ontological influence through peacekeeping operations, military diplomacy, and capacity building as the keystones of its security paradigm. Each of the tenets of India’s net security provider model fall under these three categories and are exhibited in India’s engagement on the African continent and in the IOR (see Table 20 and Table 21). India’s prominent role in African peacekeeping through UN peacekeeping operations (UNPKO) bolsters its international soft power and regional legitimacy as a security leader. Its military diplomacy in Africa takes the form of bilateral agreements; port calls, training initiatives, humanitarian efforts, operational exercises, security forums, and maritime surveillance. This security diplomacy leverages core values branded as part of New Delhi’s SAGAR initiative to expand persistence and rapid response, maritime engagement, and strategic communication across the domain. Finally, capacity building efforts strengthen India’s regional and international status through the cultivation of strategic bilateral and multilateral defense ties foundational to India’s cooperative paradigm. These efforts enable IOR domain awareness, capacity building, and enhancement. Through India’s engagement with Africa, a security paradigm based upon collective multilateralism has emerged as a development alternative within an expanded Indo-Pacific regional domain.

Tenets of Net Security Provider Model	African Engagement
Leadership in security operations	Peacekeeping
Persistence and rapid response	Military Diplomacy
Maritime engagement	
Strategic communication	
Capacity building and enhancement	Capacity Building
IOR Domain Awareness	

Table 20: Tenets of Net Security Cooperative model as defined by the 2015 Maritime Military Strategy and associated African engagement efforts

Peacekeeping – leadership in security operations

India boasts a proud history of world-leading peacekeeping. It ranks foremost among the established and emerging Asian donors in troop contribution and historical support for UN Peacekeeping (see Figure 22 above). New Delhi's commitment to peacekeeping on the African continent plays a critical role in advancing India's ontological power on the continent and alternative brand of development security. As of December 2019, India was engaged in five of the eight African peacekeeping missions, with over 80% of India's total peacekeeping troops serving in UNPKO missions in the Western Sahara, Democratic Republic of Congo, Sudan's Abyei region, and South Sudan (UN 2019a). India contributes two infantry battalions to the UN Mission in South Sudan (UNMISS), making it the largest contributor of troops to the mission (over 2300 military personnel). Additionally, an Indian infantry brigade, of over 1800 military personnel, is deployed to the UN Organization Stabilization Mission in the Democratic Republic of the Congo (MONUSCO). The deployment of thousands of troops to the African continent provides the Indian military with direct contact with troops from established OECD nations (like Japan and Korea) as well as troops from developing partner nations in Africa, such as Ethiopia and Rwanda. While India, like China, traditionally places priority on principles of non-interference and national sovereignty, Indian scholars and policymakers have begun to contemplate a new role in international peacekeeping, arguing that India needs to modernize its peacekeeping strategy to keep abreast with Chinese and Japanese conflict mediation strategies in Africa (Mohan 2016; Nambiar 2014). In an assessment of the transformations in India's force projection in Africa, Singh (2015d) highlighted the pressure levied on India to assert regional maritime influence equal to its position as a leader in the Indo-African region. New Delhi's UNPKO efforts are becoming more strategic in advancing SSC development paradigms and national interests in the Indian Ocean and on the African continent. Most notably, India's lead in peacekeeping in terms of the sheer number of contributions is increasingly paired with its cooperative security paradigm on the African continent through capacity building and security diplomacy initiatives through IAFS.

The increase in security engagement with established and emerging powers under the leadership of PM Modi marks a further departure from India's non-alignment mindset

and a reassessment of peacekeeping objectives. Expanding from 2011, IAFS 2015 was historic in designating “Cooperation in Peace and Security” as one of the 7 initiatives in the new “Framework for Strategic Cooperation” (IAFS 2015b). The 2015 conference elucidated New Delhi’s growing emphasis on peacekeeper training on the African continent and signaled an evolving security approach from indirect engagement toward a cooperative framework. Like Tokyo and Beijing, New Delhi invested in PKO training to advance relational ties with African counterparts. However, beyond UNPKO, IAFS outlined India’s role in training African troops and influencing development security norms which deepened with the expansion of scholarships in defense, security, and cyber-security domains (IAFS 2015a). Furthermore, in 2015, India and the United States agreed to jointly train peacekeeping troops in military operations across six African states (Peri 2016). One month after Beijing’s FOCAC commitment of \$100M over 5 years to African security initiatives (Xi 2015b), IAFS 2015 announced New Delhi’s commitment to supporting Peacekeeping Training Centers in Africa to prepare troops contributed by African nations as well as the operationalization of the African Standby Force (IAFS 2015a). With this commitment, New Delhi achieved greater involvement in the decision-making process of Africa’s leading troop contributors and support of conflict resolution mechanisms, exhibiting a new form of Indian security leadership. The military training of peacekeeping troops provided Indian forces the opportunity to cooperate with other major powers while also socializing India’s collective security model among key foreign military personnel in Africa. Capacity building and the inclusion of African agencies in the peacekeeping process (along with the growing cooperative security efforts of India, Japan, and the US), counter security concerns of China’s expeditionary military presence in the Indo-Pacific. In Africa, India maintains a revered status as a peacekeeping leader among the major Asian donor powers and developing countries, a potential gateway for a disruptive India-Africa security architecture.

Military Diplomacy - persistence and rapid response, maritime engagement, and strategic communication across the domain

Military diplomacy, the second domain of India’s security construct, aims to engage “maritime forces in the Indian Ocean Region... in order to establish a cooperative

framework that promotes mutual understanding and enhances security and stability in the region” (MOD-India 2015). India-Africa security relationships are the basis of cooperative constructs that disrupt Beijing’s security designs in the Indian Ocean while maintaining strategic autonomy and projecting India as a responsible regional military power.

In Africa and the IOR, India practices military diplomacy through port visits, overseas deployments, cooperative exercises, anti-piracy operations, maritime patrolling, and humanitarian operations (see Table 21). In 2008, India conducted the first India-Brazil-South Africa maritime security exercise (IBSAMAR) off the coast of South Africa, signaling its assertive geostrategic focus on the Indian Ocean and greater Indo-Pacific region. Since 2008, the IBSAMAR Exercise has been held five times off of South Africa and once in Goa in the West Indian Ocean. In 2016 alone, India deployed naval frigates to five African nations in addition to persistent fleet deployments to the Gulf of Aden to combat piracy. Since the launch of IAFS, India commissioned its first overseas surveillance facility in Mauritius and stepped up security alignments with African states increasing defense agreements and training commitments (MOD-India 2019b). These deployments, port visits, and exercises contribute to India’s constant presence in the IOR and maritime engagement in the domain. As asserted in the Maritime Doctrine, the role of military diplomacy is to “build ‘bridges of friendship’ and strengthen international cooperation on the one hand, and to signal capability and intent to deter potential adversaries on the other.” (MOD-India 2015b).

Despite budget limitations, India’s strategic leadership of security compendiums serves as a force multiplier in the Indian Ocean region and across the greater African domain. In 2008, India’s Navy launched the Indian Ocean Naval Symposium (IONS), a forum that allows India to engage with 24 African and Indian Ocean neighbors to discuss the alignment of security agendas while establishing India’s role as a strategic leader of the region. In addition, New Delhi’s leadership in the Indian Ocean Rim Association resulted in the IORA’s evolution as a central mechanism in formalizing defense cooperation frameworks with African partners, South Africa, Kenya, Tanzania, Mauritius, Seychelles, and Madagascar. Through forum diplomacy in IONS, IORA, and IAFS, New Delhi socializes a net security model and establishes strategic communication channels with foreign military leaders in African and regional partner states. Furthermore, these

forums offer an alternative security partner to African nations, counterbalancing China's increasing engagement in the region. Modi's comments in 2015 in Mauritius capture the role of military diplomacy in advancing a model of Indian led cooperation: "Our vision for Indian Ocean Region is rooted in advancing cooperation in our region; and, to use our capabilities for the benefit of all in our common maritime home" (Modi 2015b). While China and Japan are steadily increasing their engagement in the IOR and African regions, India still holds the lead in terms of IOR military diplomacy due to its centrality in regional security structures (Scott 2013).

To bolster development security narratives and regional capabilities, India also increased ties with extra-regional partners, particularly Japan and the US. While New Delhi remains cognizant of political sensitivities when considering joining Western powers in multilateral security cooperation, it has eagerly pursued security cooperation with Tokyo since the declaration of a joint security partnership in 2008. For example, the US's efforts to realize the "Quad" (a quadrilateral grouping of India, Japan, US, and Australia) have been met with resistance in New Delhi due to domestic political challenges and fears of economic retribution from Beijing (Singh 2017). However, through the AAGC and the integration of SAGAR with FOIP, Japan has been able to shepherd India's growing regional ambitions. Tokyo has built new bridges with India by leveraging Japan's own African and Indian Ocean interests as a fellow Asian state and triangular partner. Since 2012, Japan and India have conducted multiple maritime, land, and air³⁴ bilateral exercises deepening the strategic security partnership. Since 2015, Japan has participated in the US-India Malabar exercise, including exercises in the Indian Ocean. Both China and Japan have become observer nations in the IONS forum, participating in cooperative exercises among Asian and African navies in the Indian Ocean, in domains such as search and rescue, anti-piracy, and humanitarian relief. At the 2018 10th Anniversary of the IONS Forum, Japan and China participated in the celebration of Modi's SAGAR vision as New Delhi advanced India's leadership of naval cooperation and a cooperative security network in the IOR. India-Japan security cooperation offers to

³⁴ JIMEX (Japan India Maritime Exercise) was held in 2012, 2013, and 2018 between the Indian Navy and the Japanese Maritime SDF. In 2018, the first-ever bilateral land exercise, DHARMA GUARDIAN, was conducted by the Indian Army and Japanese Ground SDF. In 2018, a bilateral Airlift exercise took place between Japan and India including the participation on Japan's C-2 aircraft.

elevate New Delhi's brand as a development leader in Africa and the Indian Ocean through strategic linkages to OECD nations through mutually beneficial security development alongside Japan.

Capacity Building - IOR domain awareness, capacity building, and enhancement

Finally, capacity building in Africa and Indian Ocean littoral nations has developed as a key facet of India's cooperative security model. India drew upon historic relationships with African nations (particularly Mauritius, Seychelles, Kenya, and South Africa) in an effort to enhance Indian capabilities through the strategic development of cooperative security capacity in the Indian Ocean. At the 2015 IAFS Summit, PM Modi announced new domains of Indo-Africa security cooperation in maritime security, maritime domain awareness, counter-terrorism, and counter-extremism. India has established Defense Academies and Colleges in Nigeria, Ethiopia, and Tanzania that deepen military-to-military relations and security policy alignment with strategic African military partners³⁵. Additionally, India's growing export of military hardware to African states has built strong bilateral defense relationships while enhancing cooperative surveillance and regional security (MOD-India 2008-2019). To respond to China's military extension into the IOR as a hard-power arm of the Maritime Silk Road, India established a Surveillance Radar network across the domain. Several African countries, including Madagascar, Seychelles, and Mauritius host supporting radar network nodes. Additionally, India signed MOU's with both Mauritius and Seychelles for the development of port and airfield infrastructure, leading toward suppositions of overseas bases on these strategic African islands. By 2018, India had delivered coast guard vessel MCGS Guardian and three surveillance aircraft to Mauritius and two surveillance aircraft to Seychelles. In March 2019, the first-ever India Africa Field Training exercise (IAFTX) took place, with participation from over a dozen African nations including Ghana, Sudan, South Africa, Tanzania, Uganda, and Zambia, all strategic locations for both Beijing and Tokyo's development narratives (MOD-India 2019a). In addition, PM Modi announced a three-year strategic military exchange with South Africa to boost defense ties, maritime security, and technology transfer (MEA

³⁵ Ethiopia is the largest contributor of UNPKO troops in 2018 and 2019 (UNPKO 2018, 2019) and hosts an international peacekeeping training center.

2019). In 2020 India held the first-ever India-Africa Defense Minister's Conclave under the IAFS framework, following the example of the China-Africa Defense and Security Forum in 2018. This historic event attracted Defense Ministers from 14 African nations and resulted in commitments to deepen cooperation in aligning AU security constructs and India's SAGAR vision (Declaration 2020). These capacity building efforts in Africa and through the IOR bolster India's enhanced domain awareness and credibility as a net security provider.

Despite the materialization of China and Japan's bases in Djibouti, India maintains a significant naval presence on its Western seaboard under the Western Command in Mumbai, Gujarat, Karnataka, and Goa. Beyond indigenous military capabilities, India's African and Indian Ocean regional presence has expanded with the ongoing development of military facilities at Assumption (Seychelles), a dual-use facility in Mauritius, port access in Mozambique, and access to French facilities Reunion Island and US Base Diego Garcia. This extensive footprint in the Western Indian Ocean presents India as a reliable and committed development security partner.

In summary, India's efforts to build a cooperative security framework have resulted in the expansion of strategic partnerships with African nations as well as Japan and the US. Through capacity building, India's leadership brand gains legitimacy among both African nations and established global powers.

Indian Military Engagement in Africa

Country	Military Engagement
African Union	Peacekeeping troops training
Angola	Defense cooperation talks (May 2016)
DR Congo	MONUSCO - Infantry Brigade Group with four Infantry Battalion Groups, Brigade Signal Company and a Level III hospital
Egypt	Joint Defense Committee meeting (April 2016)
Gulf of Aden	1 frontline Fleet ship deployed
IAFTX	1 st India Africa Field Training Exercise (March 2019) African Participants: Egypt, Nigeria, Senegal, Sudan, South Africa, Tanzania, Namibia, Mozambique, Uganda, Niger, Zambia
Kenya	MoU on Defense cooperation (July 2016) Multi-lateral Passage Exercise (PASSEX) (Feb 2016) Deployment of ICGS Samarth (Feb 2016) and INS Tarkash & Kolkata (2018) Hosts Indian Navy Mobile Training Team (MTT)
Madagascar	Deployment of ICGS Samarth (2016); INS Mumbai, Trikand, Tarkash, & Kolkata (2018) Indian Military Radar Surveillance Post (commissioned 2007) Humanitarian support (Hospital ship, HA/DR)
Mauritius	Strong defense and security cooperation Defense hardware: MCGS Guardian (2018), MCGS Barracuda (2016), 2 Chetak Helicopters (2016), Dornier aircraft (2016) Coastal Surveillance Radar System (CSRC) commissioned 2019 Airfield & Port Infrastructure development (MOU 2015, Expected completion 2021) Multi-lateral Passage Exercise (PASSEX) (Feb 2016) Deployment of ICGS Samarth (Jan 2016) and INS Mumbai & Trikand (2018) Hosts Indian Navy Mobile Training Team (MTT)
Mozambique	Military training, defense cooperation and defense capacity building Deployment of INS Mumbai & Trikand (2018)
Seychelles	Coastal Surveillance Radar System (CSRS) commissioned March 2016 Maritime surveillance Defense Hardware: 2 Dornier Aircraft (Jan 2013 and June 2018) Airfield and Port Infrastructure development (MOU 2015) Multi-lateral Passage Exercise (PASSEX) (Feb 2016) Deployment of ICGS Samarth (Jan 2016) and INS Mumbai & Trikand (2018)
South Africa	3 Year Strategic Cooperation Program (2019-2021) IBSAMAREX – Trilateral maritime exercise (Feb 2016 and Oct 2018) Deployment of ICGS Sankalp (Jan – Feb 2016) and INS Tarkash & Kolkata (2018)
South Sudan	UNMISS - Largest troop contributor, Two Infantry Battalion Groups, Level II (Plus) hospital in Juba

Table 21: List of military engagement activities with African states and multilateral organizations during the Modi era as defined by the Ministry of Defense Annual reports (MoD 2008-2019)

South Sudan Case Study in Material Power

A case study of Sudan and South Sudan demonstrates Japan, China, and India's material power in a complex but opportunistic testing ground. By 2005, after a decades-long civil war, Sudan arose as a strategic interest for all three of the Asian nations with the discovery of oil and the signing of the Comprehensive Peace Agreement (CPA) bringing the conflict to a tenuous end. Simultaneously, the withdrawal of Western investment in response to increased sanctions against the regime in Khartoum created a perfect environment for strategic disruption in the development and security realms. The Western void helped create an opening for Asian donors to demonstrate their alternative development brands – a risky but rewarding epicenter for strategic disruption.

Sudan offered a unique opportunity to diversify energy security and exert diplomatic influence. China, India, and Japan became leading investment partners in Sudanese oil infrastructure and petroleum exports (Large & Patey 2011; UN 2017). From 2012 to 2015, Sudan imported more goods from India than any other country, while China, India, and Japan consistently ranked among the top five global destinations for Sudanese exports (UN 2017). Beyond oil, Asian donors invested in infrastructure development, agribusiness, and emerging markets. The relative importance of Asian partnerships to Sudan, accentuated by Western-imposed sanctions, provided an ideal environment to demonstrate Asian material power and ontological influence.

Sudan became a symbol of China's burgeoning engagement in Africa and, in many ways, brought Beijing's prominence as a global development player into the public consciousness. By 2008, the PRC realized the importance of effectively communicating an ontological narrative in conjunction with development investment. Beijing's handling of the Darfur conflict became a closely examined epitaph for its evolving stance of responsible intervention through consultation and narrative of win-win SSC. Ultimately, by applying pressure to Sudan's President, Omar al-Bashir, a notable departure from its non-interference stance, Beijing orchestrated a diplomatic tryst with the UN. The Chinese efforts in compelling Bashir's agreement to the hybrid UN-AU peacekeeping intervention in Darfur (UNAMID), earned Beijing a place on the international development gameboard. Since 2008, Beijing has consistently contributed troops to two peacekeeping missions in Sudan and South Sudan (UNAMID and UNMISS) but has abstained from

contributions to the disputed Abyei border territory (UNISF). Despite some negative narratives leading to the 2008 Beijing Olympics, many considered China's mediation efforts in Sudan and South Sudan as a significant diplomatic victory within Africa and the international community (Lee, Chan & Chan 2012; Shipley 2017).

In 2012, after South Sudan's independence, the Asian donors surged to build diplomatic ties and lead security development in the newly formed nation. Japan, China, and India established Embassies in Juba and formalized diplomatic relations with the new country. From 2012 through 2014, China and Japan served as the predominant trade partners for the new South Sudanese state (UN 2017). However, as South Sudan descended into civil war, the petroleum dominated economy collapsed and oil ceased to flow in 2015. As internal conflict threatened their investment, China, Japan, and India took an increasingly strategic role in mediating conflict in the world's youngest country. South Sudan served as a groundbreaking vantage point from which to deploy novel security development paradigms that would later feature in BRI, FOIP, SAGAR narratives.

Beijing devoted paramount political and diplomatic attention to the country. However, with the outbreak of civil war in South Sudan, the stakes rose for its security development model in Africa. Beijing responded to the crisis with the deployment of its first combat authorized troops to the UNMISS in 2014, exemplifying its ambitious new security stance (Smith 2014). As warring Dinka and Nuer ethnic groups threatened the viability of the new state, China sought to deploy both security and diplomatic instruments to mediate between the factions. Supplanting non-interference with "responsible intervention" strategies, Beijing asserted its development security model as a viable alternative to humanitarian intervention within the international community. The launch of the BRI narrative in 2013 saw with it a new role for Beijing in mediating African hotspots. In 2015, China was the only Asian donor to become a member of IGAD Plus³⁶, an expanded East African mediation group, alongside the US, UK, and UN (Tekle 2015). China's presence in these mediative assemblies put Beijing at the table with other great powers, socializing and legitimizing the consultative security paradigm. Putting its 'responsible intervention' model into action once again, Beijing facilitated in brokering a peace agreement in August 2015. Since 2015, Beijing has continued to mediate a peace

³⁶ Intergovernmental Authority on Development (IGAD)

accord in South Sudan as well as expanding mediation in African hotspots, such as Eritrea and Zimbabwe. At FOCAC 2018, Beijing proudly showcased its evolved stance in development security, asserting that “China will continue to play a constructive role in ... mediation of African hotspot issues” (FOCAC 2018a: 16.2).

India has long held a prominent diplomatic and peacekeeping presence in Sudan and South Sudan. After the signing of the CPA in 2005, India was the first of the Asian donors to establish diplomatic relations with the new semi-autonomous Government of South Sudan (GoSS) in the southern capital of Juba in 2006. Through IAFS, India extended \$10M in grants for health, agriculture, and technology infrastructure that has underlined socio-political and diplomatic linkages between South Sudan and New Delhi. The early alignment with the autonomous government in South Sudan proved strategic in casting New Delhi as a true partner. Despite India’s long standing non-interference principles, Indian battalions are headquartered in Malakal, and New Delhi’s presence and material investment demonstrate India’s commitment to regional stability and security (UNSC 2014). The centrality of collective security constructs to its model of SSC makes India a prime contender to contribute to regional conflict mediation. However, in contrast to direct mediation demonstrated by China through IGAD-Plus, New Delhi choose to reinforce its narrative of South-South partnership with extensive investment in capacity building in South Sudan. As of 2019, New Delhi continued to expand ITEC scholarship and training opportunities including the modernization of the Pan-African e-Network in South Sudan.

Japan’s security engagement with South Sudan dramatically increased under the Abe administration with the passage of the 2015 Security Legislation. Beginning in 2012, Japan deployed ground SDF troops to the UNMISS mission in South Sudan and in 2016, their mandate was expanded to include the protection of UN staff and defense operational bases alongside foreign troops, a first for Japan (MOD-Japan 2015). At the peak, Japan deployed more than 350 SDF combat troops as part of the UNMISS, with a promise of growing commitment across the continent. In testing Japan’s security footprint on the African continent, the SDF developed cooperation with foreign militaries, including India, China, and OECD powers, under the UN peacekeeping framework. As an experiment in proactive contributions to peace, this litmus test exercised the full spectrum of the

Japanese security development model in Africa. However, escalating violence in Juba, South Sudan's capital, caught Japanese troops in the crossfire, a violation of the Japanese constitution and the "three conditions" of the New Security Legislation. For this reason, in March 2017, Prime Minister Abe announced the withdrawal of SDF forces from South Sudan (Yoshida 2017). While this marked the end of the SDF's initial security projection in Africa, the five-year commitment laid the groundwork for dramatic shifts in Japan's security policy and engagement in Africa. Moreover, the SDF troop deployment in South Sudan communicated Japan's emerging FOIP narrative and a new brand of development superpower.

The tenuous cease-fire negotiated by IGAD Plus in South Sudan was an inadequate salve for a desperate population. In this dynamic environment, both China and Japan have forged historically significant security postures with the unprecedented deployment of combat-enabled troops and diplomatic engagement. India bolstered its soft-power projection through PKO contributions while maintaining a capacity building emphasis and diplomatic ties in South Sudan. Even following Japan's development security reset, Tokyo's engagement in South Sudan has propelled forward concerted efforts for constitutional reform and new security relations between Japan and developing nations in Africa and the Indo-Pacific. As South Sudan's conflict and the resulting humanitarian crisis intensify, Indian and Chinese peacekeeping forces maintain a substantial security presence. In South Sudan, where severe infrastructure deficits, famine, and conflict plague the nation, brokering peace in South Sudan would be a definitive victory for Asian brands of development power (Ajak 2017; Mohan 2016; Shipley 2017). Accordingly, amidst the fluid diplomatic, political, and security challenges of Sudan and South Sudan, China, Japan, and India are demonstrating their disruptive strategies and achieving international distinction.

Summary: Security Development Investments & Total Material Power

In summary, Asian security partnerships go far beyond the anti-terrorism focus of US and European security providers. Moreover, Asian donors have innovated the UN Peacekeeping and Peacebuilding framework by advancing a more comprehensive paradigm of material investment and high-level diplomatic engagement through TICAD,

FOCAC, and IAFS/IONS. This comprehensive development security paradigm is increasingly aligned with FOIP, BRI, and SAGAR visions. Rather than competing with traditional security providers, Japan, China, and India lead with ontological and soft power agendas to legitimize their market share.

The TICAD 2019 served as a watershed conference, elevating ODA's strategic role in advancing a PPP and Japan's national interests in Africa. Given Japan's domestic demographic and budgetary limitations, TICAD 7 promoted new stakeholders in the TICAD process, including private enterprise, civil society, academia, and think tanks. Building on a strong history of ODA investment and the consolidation of robust JICA, Japan realized a more strategic TICAD partnership and security footprint aligned with the advancement of FOIP and development of regional Master plans with African partner states. Japan's promotion of its human security and *proactive contribution* agenda through TICAD has increased integration with established international security constructs and incorporated new triangular partnerships with emerging Asian and African states to legitimize the FOIP strategy. While Japan is limited in security cooperation, the introduction of the NAPSA security framework in 2019 offers African partner states a comprehensive ODA-private investment-security paradigm that contrasts other Western security providers. TICAD boosts Tokyo's reputation as a peace-loving, responsible power, and preferred development partner. Bold TICAD leadership advances Tokyo's FOIP narrative and legitimizes Japan as a new type of sustainable development superpower.

Beijing's material power paradigm demonstrates a model of paired financial investment and risk management investments aimed at deepening political alignment with China's BRI vision. Through strategic engagement with African and international security institutions, Beijing's security diplomacy advances key political and bilateral relationships foundational to realizing an international environment favorable to the Communist Party's China Dream aspirations. Beijing's increasing military presence in the Indian Ocean aims to shape peace-building norms in the international community while demonstrating the merits of BRI. Cooperation in intelligence sharing and surveillance, anti-piracy operations, and the UN and African standby force represents the broad range of security initiatives integrated into the FOCAC mechanism since 2008. Thus, far removed from the political

tension of the Asian region, Africa witnessed the operationalization of Beijing’s disruptive security philosophy and departure from non-interference. Today, China’s increasingly active role in mediating tension in South Sudan and beyond indicates its new leadership role in Africa and Xi’s vision for a modern development power.

New Delhi champions its unique brand of South-South Partnerships to advance a collective security model and counter the growing security influence of China in the IOR. India’s aspirational leadership of a security consortium in the IOR builds on strong ideological leadership and socio-political ties with African states. The coalitions being matured within IONS and IAFS represent an emerging Indian-Africa security paradigm aimed at disrupting the inertia of China in Africa and the Indian Ocean. In alignment with Modi’s SAGAR vision and socio-cultural linkages brokered through IAFS, India’s vies to solidify a position as a regional power and global influencer. Through PKO troop contributions, growing physical presence in the Indian Ocean, and military capability building in Africa, New Delhi builds mutual understanding between the strategic partners and legitimacy as a net security provider in the IOR.

Seven factors of security cooperation including a) UNPKO troop totals (2019), b) total funding for UNPKO (2019), c) support of African PKO training

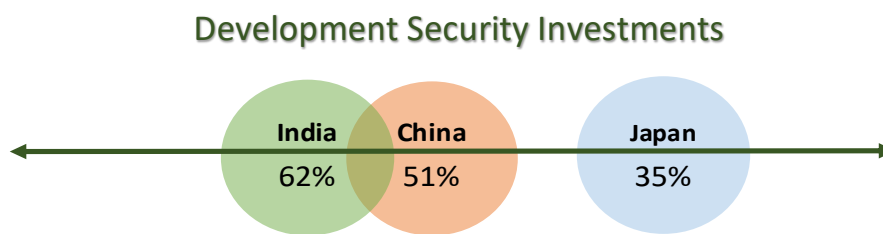


Figure 25: Visualization of comparison of Japan, China, and India's development security investments based on quantitative indicators.

centers, d) number of bases/ military facilities located in African states, e) arms transfer, f) military training, and, g) military/ defense attaché presence were compared. In comparing each of the key indicators of security investment, India and China show dominant leadership in this domain, ahead of Japan. India’s extensive UNPKO troop presence, numerous military and surveillance facilities in the Indian Ocean and African states, and strong military-to-military diplomatic relations postures it as a leading player in this space. While China also has a strong showing, reinforcing the political and diplomatic relationship remains the priority for Beijing’s African security engagement. In

the following summary, material power will be assessed in a cumulative review of financial investment and security investment.

Together Chapters 4 and 5 capture Japan, China, and India’s application of material power in Africa development cooperation. The aggregate of economic investment and security investment results in a comparison of total material power. The results of the relative comparative analysis of the scale and scope of material power, shown in Figure 26, indicate that among the Asian donors, Beijing’s total material power is the most widespread, while Japan comes in second, and India third. A total of 7 financial categories and 7 development security categories comprise the relative comparison. Financial categories included: a) total pledge at the most recent forum, b) cumulative forum pledges from 2008-2019, c) total grants, d) PPP totals, e) percent tied versus untied investment, f) balance of trade, and g) scale of economic relationship (total trade 2018). Development security categories included: a) PKO troop totals (2019), b) total funding for UNPKO (2019), c) support of African PKO training centers, d) number of bases/ military facilities located in African states, e) arms transfer, f) military training, and g) military/ defense attaché presence. Each category is equally weighted in the calculation of a cumulative score which is depicted as a percentage. In comparing financial investments

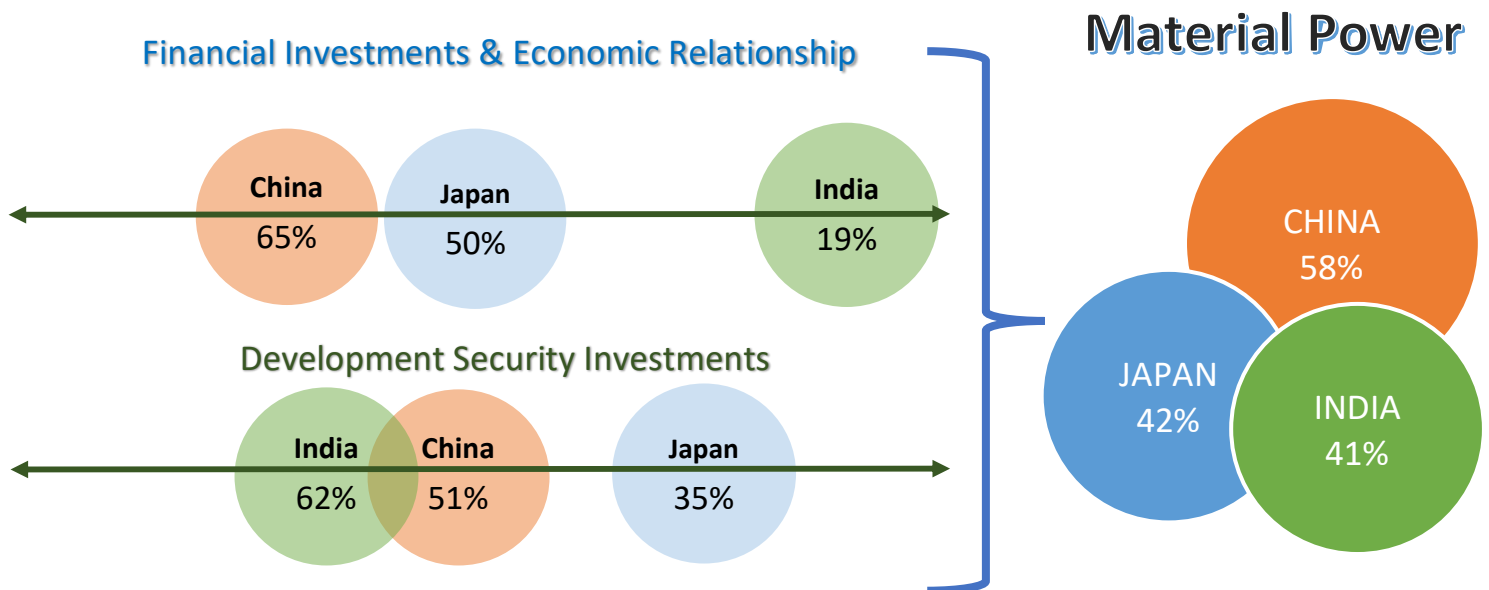


Figure 26: Visualization of material power comparison based on Asia-African forum diplomacy from 2008 to 2019. Total Material Power, an average of “Financial Investments & Economic Relationship” scores and “Development Security Investment” scores, is presented on the right side of the figure.

and economic relationships, China and Japan far outstrip India in terms of the scale of their ODA and OOF budgets and pledges communicated through their TICAD and FOCAC forums. However, in the development security domain, India's prominence in the African region in terms of troop numbers, military facilities, and military diplomacy place it ahead of China as the most prominent of the three Asian development powers. India and China's development security paradigms outstrip Japan's less mature and constitutionally restrained security engagement paradigm. Rather than applying a strong/weak or good/bad valuation, the percentages depicted are a relative comparison of the scale, scope, and maturity of material mechanisms, the extent of the donor states engagement with African states, and the prevalence of material tools in the development engagement portfolio.

Conclusion

This chapter analyzed the way established and emerging Asian donors paired security investment with ontological disruption in the African development space. For established and emerging Asian development powers, Africa and the Indian Ocean represent an underserved region where targeted security investment can reinforce strategic development frameworks. The characteristics and evolution of Japan, China, and India's security engagement in Africa from 2008 through 2019 were traced through their TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS forums. From 2008 to 2016 Japan and China went head-to-head in escalating financial investment through TICAD and FOCAC while India distinguished itself through investment in high tech, niche markets with an emphasis on capacity building. From 2016 onward, global interest in debt sustainability resulted in increasingly strategic Asia-Africa partnerships centered on security cooperation and advancing BRI, FOIP, and SAGAR visions. Each of the Asian donors' unique security portfolios aligned with core development principles and is now an integral facet of the new type of 21st century development cooperation.

In Chapter 6, the role of soft-power and relational power will be explored in China, Japan, and India's development. Each Asian donor's emphasis on state, institutional, and cultural ties is a distinguishing characteristic of that nation's ontological narrative. As will

be elaborated in the following chapter, soft power makes up the final component in the development power triad, alongside ontological power and material power.

Chapter 6: Soft Power

Chapter 4 and 5 detailed Japan, China, and India's utilization of material power from 2008 to 2019 through their Asia-Africa forums. Chapter 4 compared each donor's economic investments in African states, demonstrating the role of development financing in reinforcing ontological development narratives. Tokyo led among the OCED-DAC in popularizing comprehensive development cooperation financing (such as PPP) via TICAD and demonstrated Japan's role in bridging between established and emerging Asian donors. Although China greatly overshadowed India's economic engagement, New Delhi's investment in niche high-tech sectors has endowed India with opportunity for disruption. In Chapter 5, investment in security cooperation as part of Japan, China, and India's development portfolios completed the material power analysis. While each power exhibited unique portfolios and priorities, China, Japan, and India have all innovated on the UN peacekeeping and peacebuilding framework to create comprehensive security architectures that align with their BRI, FOIP, and SAGAR visions. This chapter completes the ontological, material, soft power triad with an analysis of people-to-people ties broker through training programs, institutional alignment, and cultural initiatives. A close examination of the most recent Asia-Africa forums reveals the increasing prioritization of soft power a tools solidify ontological alignment.

Introduction

From 2008 to 2019 forum diplomacy in Africa by Japan, China, and India reflected rapidly maturing soft power strategies. Starting in 2008, Asian donors' development paradigms in Africa revealed notable increase in investments in training, people-to-people relationship building, and cultural exchanges. The objective of social and political alignment with African states in international organizations, such as the UN, became a central facet of contemporary Asian-African engagement for China, Japan, and India. Although often overshadowed by material power, soft power instruments have become a focal point of FOCAC, TICAD, and IAFS agendas. Analysis of this strategy, as extended through forum diplomacy, provides insight into a new style of Asian development power. The Asian donor nations recognized that the socio-political bonds built through forum

diplomacy have the potential to reshape their stature in the international development community. Consequently, soft power advanced through TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS has become integral to attaining ontological alignment with African governments and their people.

Soft power is defined as ideational influence through the promotion of training and capacity building, institutional and media alignment, and cultural proliferation in African states. These mechanisms, described further below, leverage engagement at governmental, socio-cultural, and individual levels within the African development space.

- Training and capacity building – Officially sponsored training facilities and programs, scholarships, health, and technology/ skills transfer brokered through Asian-African forums.
- Institutional Alignment– Media and scholarly engagements between Asian state-sponsored media outlets, think tanks, or research institutions and African counterparts with the purpose of influencing the dominant narratives and social perceptions in partner nations.
- Cultural proliferation – The deployment of cultural assets, including traditional arts, storytelling, and sports, youth engagement for the purpose of building mutual understanding and advancing a positive image of Chinese, Japanese, or Indian engagement among domestic African populations.

Building on the ontological and material analysis, this Chapter analyzes soft power, the third arm of Asian development power. Through forum diplomacy, the Asian donor powers are deploying strategic soft power mechanisms that build on material investments and achieve political alignment with their ontological visions. This chapter analyzes Asian forum diplomacy from 2008 to 2019 in two parts. The first presents a comparative analysis of the most recent TICAD (2013, 2016, 2019), FOCAC (2015, 2018), and IAFS (2015) conferences revealing the growing importance of African states as partners in proliferating Asian donors' development ontologies. It outlines the soft power mechanisms central to the disruptive "brands" of the Asian donor states and analyzes how TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS are used to deploy soft power influence at governmental, societal, and individual levels. Part two presents an analysis of Asia-Africa policy alignment and UN voting

records to highlight the effectiveness of TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS in achieving political alignment with the international agendas of their respective Asian donor nations. Ultimately, this chapter provides insight into the expanding role of soft power in established and emerging Asian development paradigms.

Part 1: Creating a Resounding “Brand” in Africa

From 2008 through 2019, official pledges made at TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS forums exhibited a stunning trajectory of growth in soft power investments. Under PM Abe, President Xi, and PM Modi, FOCAC, TICAD, and IAFS have increased soft power mechanisms to achieve ontological alignment with African states at various levels. Development assistance packages orchestrated through these forums increasingly exhibit a rebalancing toward soft power strategies. This trend is apparent in the accelerated use of training, capacity building, and institutional exchanges. While economic pledges remain a significant facet of engagement, financial investment is only the surface layer of Asia-Africa development cooperation. Material investment can be viewed as the “start-up cost” for maturing Japan, China, and India’s ontological and soft power agendas in African states. From 2008 to present, TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS have reframed the role of African states as players in advancing ontological narratives and Asian “Brands” in the global governance and finance system. In contrast to previous summits, astounding commitments to training and human development in the most recent forums rival financial pledges. Figure 27 and Figure 28 show the meteoric rise of the human development commitments pledged at FOCAC, TICAD, and IAFS conferences in comparison to economic cooperation commitments. The careful alignment of economic investments with strategic ontological visions and the engagement of key African stakeholders, legitimize the values and world-view of each Asian donor power. The mainstreaming of China, Japan, and India’s development ontologies serves as a powerful force in mainstreaming Asian agenda’s in the UN and the international community.

China, India, and Japan each deploy a unique soft power portfolio revealing the nuances of each donor’s development partnership model. In the following sections, I provide an analysis of the composition and characteristics of the soft power instruments used by Japan, China, and India in Africa.

In the most recent Summits, the role of African states as *strategic partners* has supplanted the importance of their role as economic partners of strategic emerging markets. TICAD V, VI, and VII (2013, 2016, 2019) are significant because they occurred during an era of leadership continuity in Japan, under the Abe administration. This continuity enabled the deliberate development of a strategic Japan-Africa narrative and the deployment of soft power mechanisms to advance Japan’s international interests through TICAD. Through the New JICA, Tokyo formulated a cohesive strategy to court African support and partnership in an increasingly contested development space.

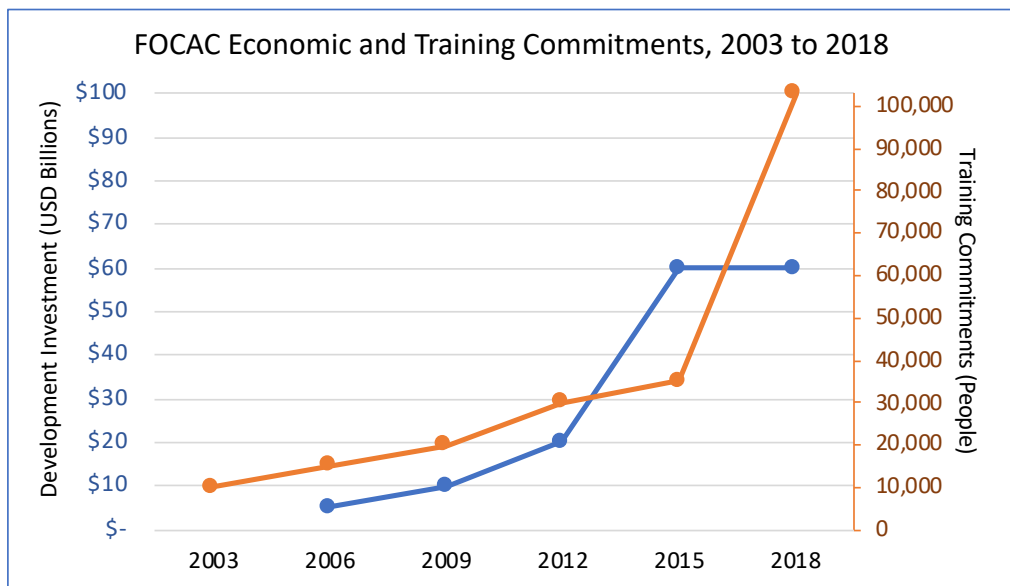


Figure 27: FOCAC Commitments in Investments (USD Billions) and Training opportunities (People) from 2003 to 2018. FOCAC 2000 and 2003 Declarations and Action Plans did not make specific promises about investment. Training includes government scholarships, training opportunities, media training (2015), youth exchanges, and seminars and workshops. Compiled by author based on FOCAC declarations and actions plans, 2003-2018.

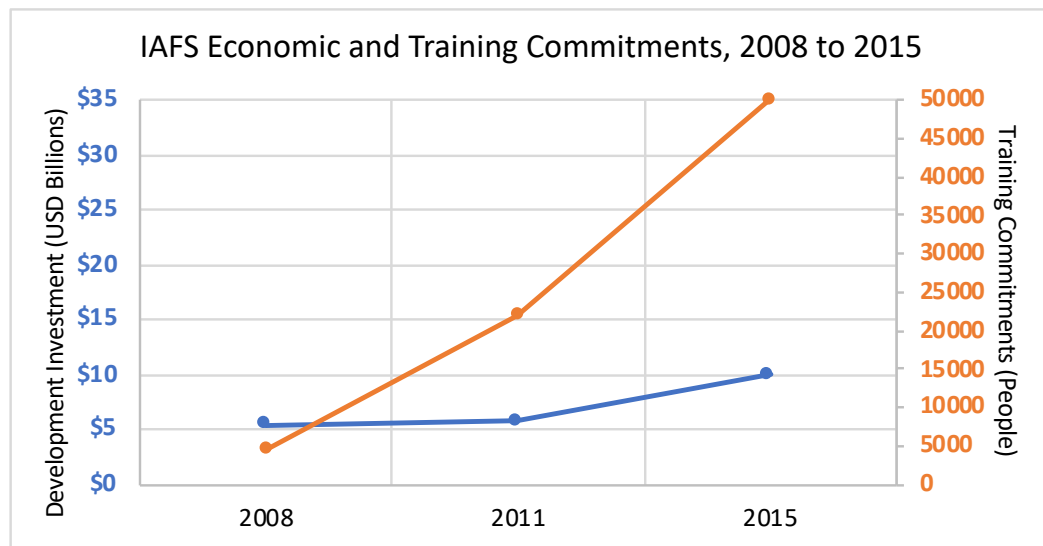
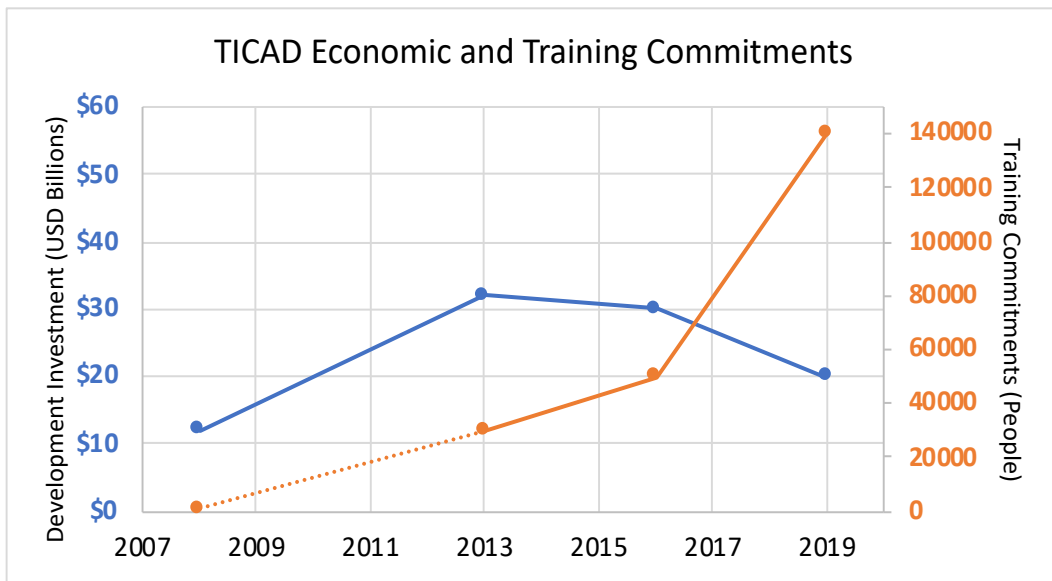


Figure 28: Comparison of TICAD and IAFS Economic Diplomacy in USD Billions and Human Development Commitments in terms of educational scholarships and vocational training. TICAD 2008 training commitments are outlined in the follow up mechanisms as a target of 500 scholarships for African students. Compiled by author based on TICAD and IAFS Declarations and Action Plans, 2008-2019.

Beginning in 2013, TICAD transitioned from an ODA-focused toward a partnership-focused model. The 20th anniversary TICAD conference corresponded with the 50th anniversary of the Organization of African Unity (the predecessor to the AU) in 2013 and brought with it a pivotal new role for the AU in the TICAD framework (Abe 2013b). As such, PM Abe distinguished Japan and Africa as “co-managers” in the TICAD process

and emphasized the march toward “equal partnership” (Abe 2013a). This shift aimed to increase African ownership of the TICAD brand and legitimize Japan’s development philosophy in Africa and the IC. Recognizing “Africa’s growing strategic relevance within the ever-evolving global context... the TICAD process [became] more action- and results-oriented” (TICAD 2013). In launching Japan’s reformatted “brand” in Africa, Abe announced the launch of three new soft power initiatives, ABE (African Business Education) Initiative scholarships for education and internships in Japan, the development of 10 human resource development centers in Africa, and the strengthening of health systems and Universal Health Coverage (UHC). Japan-African health initiatives became a new TICAD trademark and targeted human development through STEM education, medical professional training, and accessible healthcare. At the conclusion of TICAD V, Abe announced that TICAD VI would take place on African soil for the first time in 2016. This landmark event in the Japan-Africa relationship accentuated TICAD’s importance as a paramount soft power tool in strategic communication to other development partners.

For the purpose of solidifying Japan’s centrality in African development initiatives, TICAD VI promoted *empowerment* and *technical quality* as the trademarks of a clearly defined Japanese brand in Africa and among its OECD-DAC partners. At the 2016 conference, Tokyo expanded the ABE initiative to include “*kousen*” training in Japan for specialized engineering. PM Abe also announced “*kaizen*,” a philosophy of incremental productivity and quality improvement born in Japanese culture. At TICAD 2016, Abe designated several African states as testbeds for Japan’s UHC initiatives and reinforced Japan-Africa harmonization in the international community SDG initiatives.

Accelerating the trajectory of soft power growth from TICAD 2013 and 2016, TICAD 7 included soft power promotion in every pillar of engagement including health care, development security, sport, and business and innovation. The 2019 theme of ‘Advancing Africa’s Development through People, Technology and Innovation’ brought into focus two areas of emphasis. First, Tokyo increased investments in soft power and human development via extensive training and education programs in Japan and African states. Secondly, Tokyo distinguished a unique “New-TICAD” framework focused on Japan’s competitive advantages in science, technology, and innovation. At TICAD 7, PM Abe further expanded the ABE Initiative and health and wellness pledges. In addition, he

introduced an extensive security and judicial training program, the promotion of the “Sport for Tomorrow” initiative, and formal partnership agreements for knowledge transfer to African countries. In the buildup to the Tokyo 2020 Olympics, Japan paired sport with development investment through TICAD to elevate the legacy of the Olympics games. Sport became the newest medium to cast a spotlight on Japan’s emergence as a global technological and cultural leader. By the closing of the TICAD 7 conference, Tokyo had revectorized African engagement toward a soft power-led agenda targeting government, industry, and community stakeholders. TICAD soft power initiatives advanced Abe’s diplomatic agenda to “build relationships of trust with countries’ leaders, and while promoting [Japan’s] national interests, lead the international community for peace and prosperity” (MOFA-Japan 2018a: 6). Under the consistent leadership of Prime Minister Abe, soft power initiatives served three roles in Africa: 1) Reframing a sustainable Japan-Africa development partnership, 2) Expanding TICAD’s brand to new stakeholders in Africa and the IC, and, 3) Attracting support and legitimization of Japan’s leadership in the international community.

Building from the spectacular 2008 Olympics, the last decade of FOCAC conferences is characterized by the coming out of a bold and proud China, vying for a paramount development leadership. The 2008 Olympics were a soft power victory for Beijing, making China a viable development model for the first time in the eyes of African nations and the world. FOCAC 6 and FOCAC 7, held in 2015 and 2018 respectively, occurred under the exacting leadership of China’s Xi Jinping. More than ever before, FOCAC 2015 and 2018 featured President Xi Jinping’s signature initiatives. The BRI and China Dream came to forefront of China-Africa cooperation, rebranding FOCAC with Xi’s trademark initiatives and reinforcing his ontological vision with vast soft power investments. In declaring “a New Era of China-Africa win-win cooperation,” President Xi boldly crafted the terms for a *comprehensive strategic partnership* between China and African states (Xi 2015a). In the words of the FOCAC Johannesburg Declaration, Beijing sought to strengthen FOCAC to promote “collective dialogue, consolidate Africa-China traditional friendship, deepen strategic collaboration and enhance the mechanism of practical cooperation between China and Africa” (FOCAC 2015b). The 2015 Conference

rolled out two major soft power plans aimed at building mutual understanding and support for Beijing's South-South development model at all levels of government and society. The first, the "China-Africa cultural and people-to-people plan" focused on expanding exchanges of African youth, media, think-tanks, academia, and government officials. Secondly, like Japan, Beijing announced its first FOCAC Health initiatives with the "China-Africa public health plan." The plan outlined pledges to build health infrastructure, strengthen institutional cooperation, and train health professionals.

In 2018, FOCAC 7 further deepened the deployment of soft power instruments as characteristics of the comprehensive strategic China-Africa relationship. Beijing announced expanded people-to-people engagements and cultural exchanges targeting the arts, education, sports, think-tanks, media, women and youth to grow aligned social values and public favorability for development with Chinese characteristics. In addition, FOCAC introduced 50 cultural programs aimed at elevating the "proud and splendid civilizations" and "cultural prosperity" of China and Africa's rich histories (FOCAC 2018a). In FOCAC 7, Beijing used soft power tools to drastically expand the socialization of PRC governance models, "Xi Jinping Thought," and the promotion of the Chinese development narratives. Under the leadership of President Xi, the 2015 and 2018 FOCAC narrative has shifted heavily toward solidifying Africa's role in promoting Beijing's BRI vision and consolidating support for Chinese leadership on the global stage (FOCAC 2018a). The Sino-African partnership serves to popularize and mainstream the Chinese-led brand of SSC and the core values and interests of the Communist Party. Underpinned by substantial material investment, soft power instruments promote the spread of Chinese culture, traditional wisdom, and values aligned with China's development brand. Harnessing a leadership role in Africa, China uses soft power to pursue a new international order that distinctly favors developing countries and enables China's national rejuvenation under CCP leadership.

Until 2015, India held unrivaled soft power dominance in Africa bolstered by more than seven decades of investment in human resource development and capacity building. Under PM Modi, New Delhi's soft power model has been operationalized to align with India's South-South partnership paradigm, emphasizing regionally focused, affordable, and accessible technology solutions for regional development cooperation. A prime

example of this paradigm in action is the Pan-African e-network. At IAFS 2015, India announced upgrades to the e-network and in 2019 the e-VBAB project was launched by the Ministry of External Affairs. This project leverages India's burgeoning space capabilities and technical prowess to provide access to undergraduate, postgraduate, tele-medicine, and medical education serving Africa's large youth population. The Pan-African e-Network and an extensive scholarship program brokered through ITEC is the backbone of India's soft power strategy in Africa. Through ITEC alone, over \$120 million USD has been invested in the training and education of human capital since IAFS 2015 (MEA 2020). India provides technical and vocational training for 10,000 Africans per year as well as higher education scholarships for 5,000 African students annually via the ITEC and SCAAP programs. As discussed in Chapter 3, the Pan-African e-network and e-VBAB, launched in 2019, links the Indian government and institutions to 48 African nations. Under the leadership of PM Modi, e-VBAB has accelerated the IAFS mandate to deliver training in fields of education, governance, medicine, digital literacy, policy and beyond. In line with New Delhi's brand of genuine South-South partnership, India has built an extensive network of vocational training centers in Africa and undertaken continent-wide efforts to establish capacity building institutions. This extensive investment in training sets into motion the formation of a cadre of African leaders and influencers who have strong ties to India politically and culturally.

IAFS 2015 occurred under the leadership of India's newly elected PM Narendra Modi. This forum marked a significant shift toward alignment of soft power investments with New Delhi's burgeoning Indo-Pacific SAGAR agenda. At IAFS III, New Delhi designated the India-Africa Strategic Partnership as the cornerstone of its SSC paradigm and announced measures to strengthen the effectiveness of the partnership. Among these measures, India and African states pledged to deepen "mutual understanding of cultures, traditions, and heritage," and engineer "social networks to build communities of mutual interest" (IAFS 2015a). PM Modi elevated the glory of African and Indian wisdoms and the social and emotional bonds that link India and African states as a foundation for shared values and collective actions in multilateral fora (Modi). A celebration of common characteristics and shared societal values showcased New Delhi's alternative South-South partnership focused on strategic autonomy for India and African nations. India's

approach prioritized African agency and the aspirations of African youth through the cultivation of African talent. IAFS 2015 outlined a framework to operationalize decades of soft power in Africa as the foundation of New Delhi's regional leadership. In an increasingly contested region, IAFS aimed to draw strategic dividends from tens of thousands of African youth, business owners, and community leaders trained on Indian soil. India's ambition to assert influence via culturally rich narratives is a dominant driver in the renewed India-Africa consortium. As such, India's multi-dimensional soft power engagement with Africa aims to maximize its strategic advantages and satisfy two overarching goals: 1) cultivating a Indo-African regional identity, and 2) bolstering influence in the global system.

A summary of the soft power initiatives pledged by Japan, China, and India at their most recent African forum is outlined in Table 22. Each Asian donor's portfolio of engagement tools in the three domains will be discussed in depth in the following section.

	Japan	China	India
	TICAD	FOCAC	IAFS
Year	2019	2018	2015
Soft Power			
Training & Capacity Building	140,000 trained over 3 years 30,000 "Kousen" scholarships 5,000 S&T and Innovation Training 1,000 Maritime Security Universal Health Coverage 26,000 health professionals	>100,000 trained over 3 years 10 Luban Workshops 50 Agricultural assistance programs 50 medical/ health aid programs	>65,000 trained over 5 years e-VBAB tele-education & tele-medicine: 15,000 scholarships over 5 years 7 Vocational Training Centers 8 IT & Technology Centers in African states
Educational Scholarships	3000 Scholarships-ABE Initiative University Partnership (Egypt, Kenya) 10 Education Hubs in Africa	50,000 training opportunities 59 Confucius Institutes (43 nations) 27+ Confucius Classrooms	50,000 scholarships over 5 yrs ITEC/SCAAP, IAFS & ICCR Defense Academies & Colleges (Nigeria, Ethiopia and Tanzania) Indian Defense training teams
Institutional Linkages	60,000 police, judicial, security maintenance training International Law Training Program	1,000 "high-caliber" Africans, 50,000 government scholarships China-Africa Think Tanks Forum China-Africa State Governance Forum (& CPC Party Training)	Pan African e-Network e-Governance State-to-State "Red Lines"
Media	None	China-Africa media cooperation network CGTN Africa Network	Media & journalism networks
Cultural Exchange	"Kaizen" Productivity Workshops Tokyo Olympic programs JOCV Volunteers in Africa Sport for Tomorrow Initiative	2,000 youth exchanges 50 Cultural, Sports, and Tourism events	Gandhi Heritage Center Mahatma Gandhi International Convention Center Diaspora outreach programs

Table 22: Soft Power: Comparison of most recent TICAD (2019), FOCAC (2018), and IAFS (2015) outcomes.

Source: Compiled by author based on published forum documents and speeches by Japanese, Chinese, and Indian leaders.

Soft Power Instruments

The proliferation of strategic soft power distinguishes Asian forum diplomacy from 2008 to 2019 in Africa. Japan, China, and India each utilize a unique portfolio of soft power tools to deepen linkages with African nations and promote adoption of their respective development ontologies. Forum diplomacy enables effective communication of development narratives and the legitimization of Asian ‘brands’ within Africa and the international community. Soft power mechanisms can be broken into three categories: Training and Capacity Building (educational programs, scholarships, healthcare), Institutional linkages (governance, policy, media), and Cultural ties (people-to-people ties).

Training and Capacity Building

Training and capacity building is the most visible and substantive soft power tool brokered through China, India, and Japan’s African forums. This category of soft power engagement includes educational programs, graduate degrees, vocational training, language programs, and healthcare training and capacity building. Through the training of thousands of African students, business people, and elites, each of the Asian donor powers promotes a mutual understanding of their development philosophy and values. Above and beyond the educational value, the most important aspect of scholarship programs is the exposure of thousands of African scholars and rising elites to life and society in Japan, China, and India. This first-hand experience of Tokyo, Beijing, or New Delhi lays the foundations for future government relations, business cooperation, and policy alignment in the International community.

Of all the Asian donor powers, India boasts the longest history of human capital development in Africa. India’s training and capacity building portfolio sits at the core of IAFS and includes initiatives across every field of Indo-African engagement from natural resources to defense to medicine. New Delhi designates “cultural, digital and physical connectivity” as the resounding theme of India’s engagement strategy (MEA 2018a: i). Even as India’s material investment has increased in African states, human capacity development through ITEC training and education programs remains the crown jewel of the Indo-African partnership. Both India and African states face the common challenge of

turning large and underemployed youth populations into a dividend that will drive development. IAFS capacity building initiatives speak directly to the desires of African youth who make up three-quarters of Africa's population (750 million under the age of 35). India's Pan-African e-Network fulfills the IAFS mandate to catalyze digital innovation and digital literacy for African youth. The e-VBAB network and ITEC scholarships offer African youth accessible, tech-forward options for skill development, employment, and participation. Together, e-VBAB and ITEC reinforce a shared development pathway in the region. PM Modi repeatedly argues that the future belongs to India and Africa, whose large, youthful populations pose both an opportunity and a challenge (Modi 2018a).

At IAFS 2015, the Pan-African e-Network took a starring role and PM Modi announced bold upgrades to the network. By 2017, the e-Network had resulted in over 22,000 degrees from Indian universities and linkages between 18 Indian hospitals and universities with over 150 African medical and educational facilities. In 2019, the e-VBAB project was launched as a new phase of the e-Network. The five-year project consists of two parts, tele-education and tele-medicine, connecting Africa's large youth population and major educational institutions via digital linkages. The tele-education arm of e-VBAB offers scholarships for short-term courses, undergraduate and post-graduate degrees, and medical education provided through major Indian Universities. The tele-education includes both a physical and digital presence in partner African Universities, with the establishment of e-VBAB Learning Centers furnished with computers, monitors, internet connection, and other hardware and software. These learning centers serve as the portal for thousands of African students to attend Indian Universities. The tele-medicine arm of e-VBAB is delivered via web-portals accessible at partner hospitals and medical institutions between India and Africa. Specialty hospitals from India offer tele-medicine consulting services and continuing education via these web-portals. This tele-medicine capacity building complements India's booming pharmaceutical and medical equipment industry in the African region. The e-VBAB digital platform for tele-medicine cooperation postures India at a unique advantage in 2020 amidst the COVID-19 crisis. India's digital presence in hospitals and universities across the African continent has allowed New Delhi to continue to deepen linkages and policy alignment even during crisis. While both India and African states fight the COVID pandemic, the e-Network may come to represent an

invaluable asset in medical capacity building going forward.

In addition to 15,000 Pan-African E-Network scholarships announced at IAFS 2015, India pledged 50,000 scholarships via ITEC/SCAAP and established training hubs to harness the youth-dividend of both India and Africa. Through IAFS, the ITEC/SCAAP expanded from a bilateral program to include regional linkages with the Africa Union and other African regional organizations. ITEC and SCAAP scholarships are funded by the Indian government and consist of training of African students, government officials, and professionals in Indian institutions and universities. ITEC/SCAAP programs complement India's LOCs in Africa by deepening African recognition of India's technical competence and leadership in fields such as renewable energy, sustainable development, and IT technologies. At the historic 2015 summit, ITEC/SCAAP training programs in Africa expanded to include new fields of climate and resource management, marine survey, media, and security. These courses are pivotal to socializing New Delhi's vision of regional autonomy through the expansion of Indian Ocean economic linkages, security cooperation, and international governance reform. In 2019, India's training through ITEC targeted seven major categories: 1) Finance 2) IT, Communications, and Language, 3). Management 4). Rural Development 5). Technical training, 6) Environmental and renewable energy, and 7) Specialized courses. Through ITEC/SCAAP India has educated hundreds-of-thousands of Africans, many whom have returned to their nation to hold prominent positions in government or business. This generational emphasis on human-bonds enables India's posture of leadership among multilateral partners in Africa and the IOR.

At FOCAC 7 in 2018, China also introduced a sweeping program of training and education aimed at underwriting deepening Sino-African ontological alignment. While FOCAC 7 stagnated in terms of material financing volume, soft power pledges took the spotlight. President Xi announced training for 100,000 African over a 3-year period, exceeding all previous IAFS and TICAD pledges. China's training and education programs targeted African professionals, government officials, media authorities, and students through a variety of initiatives. At FOCAC 2018, President Xi deepened Beijing's commitment to developing human-level soft power, promising (a) 50,000 government scholarships; (b) 50,000 seminars and workshops; (c) 2000 exchanges; and, (d) training

for 1,000 “high caliber” Africans over the next 3 years (Xi 2018b). Through FOCAC, China provides government-funded scholarships for political elites, academics, journalists, and business people to visit Chinese cities and complete training in short immersions to graduate degree study. FOCAC’s training and education programs stand out from those of India and Japan in their endeavor to build a physical footprint in African schools and universities. For example, Chinese Confucius Institutes (university level) and Confucius classrooms (primary level) have sprouted across the continent providing Chinese language training, educational materials and funding, exposure to Chinese culture and values, and influence of curriculum. As of 2019, there are a total of 59 Confucius institutes and over 40 Confucius classrooms in 44 African states. In addition to extensive investment in Confucius institutes, “Luban Centers” were introduced at FOCAC 7. The Luban centers represent a new model for Chinese technical training centers in Africa that combines tech-transfer with Chinese language, culture and history (FOCAC 2018b: 5.5.2). Health and agricultural training round out the raft of educational programs pledged in 2018. Overall, these FOCAC 7 training and education commitments more than double those of FOCAC 2015 and signal China’s heavy vectoring toward soft power investment. Through FOCAC’s training and education investment, Beijing hopes to rewrite the narrative of China-Africa cooperation and increase acceptance of development with Chinese characteristics.

At TICAD 7 Tokyo followed India and China’s lead and embraced the importance of training and education in legitimizing the TICAD brand in the eyes of leaders and local populations alike. At the 2019 summit Tokyo promised to train 140,000 Africans over 3 years, a dramatic increase from previous TICAD V and VI pledges and far exceeding that of FOCAC 7. TICAD training and education programs are comprised of initiatives in science and technology innovation and human security, highlighting Japan’s brand. Industry and innovation focused initiatives include the *Kaizen* productivity workshops, 30,000 *Kousen* Industry scholarships, and 3,000 scholarships through the ABE 3.0 Initiative. Like India’s ITEC program, ABE 3.0 scholarships and *Kousen* industry scholarships are strategically aligned with building private industry linkages and exposing African scholars and business people to Japanese society, culture, and values. The ABE Initiative 3.0 provides African students a unique graduate level education and

employment pipeline. After completing research and master's degree in Japanese universities, the government facilitates African students' employment as interns in Japanese companies for 6 months. The program goes beyond ITEC in introducing young African talent in Japanese society and immersing them in Japanese business mindset and values. By targeting African private sector leaders, government officials, and educators, TICAD is building a cadre of African leaders who have intimate experiences of Japan and knowledge of the Japanese business environment. In addition to industry and innovation, TICAD 7 also advanced capacity building in health and security aligned with Japan's human security brand. Health initiatives bolster Japan's UHC agenda in the international community and include the training of 26,000 African health professionals over 3 years. In support of the TICAD 7 NAPSA security cooperation, Japan pledged to train 60,000 African's in fields of justice, policing, and security maintenance. TICAD's education and training portfolio also reinforced cooperation with India, by partnering with the Pan-African e-Network for the provision of e-learning at African institutions.

In summary, India, China, and Japan each demonstrate a unique portfolio of training and education initiatives in Africa. India's digital e-Network has become part of the fabric of African ICT infrastructure and allows New Delhi unique access and adaptability to African needs. The Pan African e-Network digital infrastructure allows New Delhi to maintain state-to-state cooperation in crisis or contingency situations. India's digital presence in African universities and institutions is rivaled by China's investment in brick and mortar infrastructure in African schools and universities. Beijing's sweeping educational programs are overtly linked to spreading Chinese culture, history, and values to broad swaths of African populations. Finally, Japan's explosive investment in technical transfer, training and education reaches every domain of the TICAD Action Plan. Japan's industry training and education-internship programs leverage decades of rich experience with ODA tech transfer and are a foundation for building long reaching economic and social linkages. Skills development, technical expertise, and work force professionalization is needed by African states to accelerate development and satisfy the youth population's thirst for opportunity. While Japan, China, and India are competing to capture the hearts and minds of young African leaders, African states ultimately benefit from leveraging the multitude of government-funded scholarships and training offered by

Japan, China, and India. In building a generation of leaders educated in China, Japan, and India each of the Asian donors hopes to engender trust and support for their respective development brand.

Institutional Soft Power

The purpose of Institutional soft power is to build relationships of trust between Asian and African institutions that positively influence policy development, public perception, and social values. The forum diplomacy of China, India, and Japan, from 2008 to 2019, has fortified relationships between governments, research institutions, policy think-tanks, and media in pursuit of influential “brand advocates.” These influencers disseminate Tokyo, Beijing, and New Delhi’s strategic narratives throughout African communities. The expansion of institutional soft power recognizes that souring sentiments within the populations of African states can easily undermine inter-governmental connections. The politicization of development narratives, especially those of Beijing’s BRI, necessitated the promotion of favorable opinions among individual African consumers and stakeholders. For example, in 2018 a wave of anti-China and anti-BRI populism gained steam within key African and South Asian states, such as Zambia, Ghana, Zimbabwe, South Africa, Djibouti, Malaysia, and Sri Lanka (Aidoo 2018; Hajari 2018). Recognizing the role of African media and individual African consumers in legitimizing and promoting Asian development brands in their country, Japan, China, and India have increased social influence initiatives through the development of institutional alignment and networks (media, think tanks, universities, etc.).

Since IAFS 2015, India’s maturing Development Partnership Administration within the Ministry of External Affairs has increased the operationalization of institutional networks. As outlined in the framework for strategic cooperation, IAFS members pledged to leverage “modern social networks to build communities of mutual interest” linking academia, journalists, media entities and civil society (IAFS 2015b). As discussed above, the Pan African e-network serves as the foundation for institutional linkages between governments, universities, and medical institutions. The ITEC program targets policy makers and journalists through short term (2 weeks – 2 month) training programs at major Indian institutions. This is exemplified by 2019 ITEC programs under the Ministry of

External Affairs that offered 2 week programs in *Development Cooperation for South-South Partners* targeting mid-level government officials in African states. The syllabus for these programs centered discussions on India's South-South Cooperation paradigm with a focus on institutional architecture and trade and technology linkages (ITEC 2019). IAFS 2015 also highlighted media exchange as a new area for cooperation between India and African states. The Summit Declaration pledged investment in media cooperation "in order to jointly tackle issues of common interest in accordance with the spirit of the Africa-India Partnership" (IAFS 2015a). In the media and journalism stream, ITEC offered programs targeting mid-career media professionals and government information officers. These courses focused on deepening the understanding and appreciation of India (history, culture, strategic vision, ethics, etc.) and promoting effective communication of aligned South-South development models. Beyond the course content, ITEC provided immersion in prominent Indian media and broadcast institutions, brokering linkages between African and Indian journalists. These institutional linkages are valuable tools for managing the information environment in development states. In the midst of the COVID-19 pandemic, ITEC courses have continued virtually with a heavy focus on public health, government cooperation in crisis management, virtual educational training, and courses in Buddhist values. ITEC and the e-Network deepen institutional connectivity and intensify policy coordination in alignment with the tenets of the South-South partnership model.

China's growing influence in the African media environment is unparalleled by any other Asian development power. Like India, Beijing is leveraging ICT technology and media cooperation to deepen institutional linkages across Africa. However, unlike India or Japan, China's extensive material power postures Beijing to deploy ambitious soft power tools in this domain. The 2012 launch of CCTV Africa³⁷ with a headquarters in Nairobi provides a clear indication of Beijing's recognition of the importance of effectively communicating the Chinese brand to African populations. Today, the rebranded CGTN provides favorable coverage of FOCAC initiatives and development engagement paradigms using African broadcasters and delivering content in dozens of local African

³⁷ CCTV (China Central Television) is a Chinese state-run media outlet rebranded as CGTN (China Global Television Network) in 2016. CGTN's African headquarters is located in Nairobi with other bureaus in Lagos, Cairo, and Johannesburg.

languages. At FOCAC 2015 and 2018, President Xi Jinping committed to providing satellite TV reception to 10,000 African villages and training thousands of media professionals to advance communication of Beijing's strategic message. The ambitious "10,000 Villages" provides hundreds of TV channels via satellite TV to rural and disconnected populations. Beijing based StarTimes is China's primary contractor for delivering the 10,000 Villages project and has established a dominant presence in Sub-Saharan Africa with over 10 million subscribers across more than 30 African countries. StarTimes offers low cost subscriptions for CGTN content, allowing Beijing's narrative to control the information environment for millions across the African continent. As more African's consume Chinese media sources, Beijing's ontological narrative, values, and worldview is adopted by the populations in partner nations. In concert with these public diplomacy tools, FOCAC has actively cultivated the press and media ecosystem in Africa through extensive training and immersion programs. At FOCAC 2018, the China-Africa Media Network was established building on a China-Africa Press Exchange Center established in Beijing in 2012 (FOCAC 2018b). The Press Exchange Center facilitates a program of media forums, exchanges, and visits between major African and Chinese media houses. From 2012 to 2019 the Press Exchange hosted 4 Forums on China-Africa Media Cooperation and hosted thousands of African journalists for 2-week study programs in major Chinese cities including Shanghai, Suzhou, and Beijing. At the 2018 Media cooperation Forum, African government officials and media professions signed 12 cooperative agreements deepening the institutional linkages between Chinese and African media facilities. The Satellite TV programs, media exchanges, and institutional agreements allow Beijing to influence the narrative of the "Chinese development story" and combat negative press broadcast to African populations.

In addition to investment in the media-information environment, Beijing goes far beyond Japan or India in policy training targeting African governments and policy-makers. While high-level exchanges remain a persistent objective of FOCAC engagement, FOCAC 2018 heralded the launch of the China-Africa State Governance Forum and the China-Africa Think Tank Forum. These fora mark an overt effort to disseminate Beijing's ontological vision, promote Chinese Communist Party (CCP) training, and legitimize China's political and governance model. The State Governance Forum aims to "enhance

experience sharing on state governance,” share Chinese national development strategies, and “enhance coordination of each other’s development philosophies” (FOCAC 2018b: 2.1.2). Since 2015, the Communist Party held three multilateral seminars and multiple conferences with African political parties to promote Beijing’s “diplomacy with Chinese characteristics” and outline core values and policies of the CCP. In 2018, the CCP Party Conference attracted 40 political party representatives from 36 African countries. According to press releases, the CCP training content includes coaching on “Xi Jinping Thought” and elaboration of China’s core interests (One China Policy, Taiwan, Hong Kong, South China Sea, etc..) to foster African government policy alignment with Beijing. In 2020, despite COVID-19 restrictions, CCP outreach continues via virtual platforms. In September 2020, a CCP-Congolese Labor Party training course attracted over 50 Congolese Party cadre, and reinforced the Party’s leadership role in epidemic prevention and social development (CPC-China 2020). FOCAC’s extensive governance and political party engagement advances Beijing’s ontological power by encouraging political parties in African states to align their foreign policy objectives with the CCP.

In contrast to China and India, Japan’s engagement with African institutions is subtle and peripheral with focus placed on promoting strategic TICAD initiatives in African states and Japan’s stature in the international community. Most notably, TICAD creates opportunities to reinforce Japan’s leadership of human security initiatives and SDG agendas on the global stage. Unlike China and India’s efforts to build bilateral institutional linkages, TICAD’s approach leverages Tokyo’s centrality in triangular partnerships, linking the UN’s SDG initiatives, the AU’s Flagship initiatives, and other TICAD stakeholders within the TICAD framework. Tokyo completely avoids efforts to influence African media or journalism institutions. Instead, TICAD promotes the empowerment of African regional institutions such as the AU/NEPAD and Regional Economic Communities (RECs), to advance intra-Africa and Asia-Africa triangular cooperation. Japan’s deliberate emphasis on empowering African institutions distinguishes its core values of ownership and its identity as a high-quality, principled development power. As such, TICAD7 advanced efforts to level-up the African Union’s technical infrastructure and provide technical training to 60,000 Africans in areas of policing, justice, and security maintenance (TICAD 2019b). Japan pledged cutting-edge technologies to help Africa leapfrog over

legacy systems and deliver innovative solutions for sustained quality growth (TICAD 2016: 3.4). This digitalization empowers African institutional capacity development and aligns with Tokyo's brand of tech-forward human development and human security.

Rather than entrenching Japan's institutions in African states, TICAD is used to advance Japan's prominence in multilateral organizations, such as the UN, G20, and global financing institutions. During Japan's presidency of the G20 in 2019, Tokyo prioritized TICAD initiatives for quality infrastructure and health, demonstrating Japan's role as a global development leader. Japan emphasized the G20 Africa partnership at the Osaka Summit to propel forward PM Abe's priorities to lead global economic growth and shape global development agendas. At the Osaka G20 Summit, Japan pledged financing to the "Global Fund" and bolstered global financing cooperation for African states. African issues featured prominently in the Osaka Declaration, reinforcing Tokyo's SDG leadership and human security agenda on the global stage. In addition, under Tokyo's leadership, the G20 published Principles for Quality and Infrastructure Investment, Understanding on UHC Financing in Developing Countries, and the G20 Osaka ocean management vision. These efforts directly reflect the core TICAD Priorities and Action Items published in 2016 and 2019. TICAD7 featured a "G20 Compact with Africa Seminar" to showcase progress and achievements of Japan's ODA paradigm to G20 nations and African partners. Tokyo's prominent leadership roles in the international community in 2019 and the prioritization of African engagement reinforced Japan's status as a preferred partner for African nations. In summary, Japan's institutional soft power initiatives contrast sharply with Chinese and Indian efforts. As an established donor, Tokyo deepened cooperation in international governance institutions and leveraged the TICAD brand of high quality technical excellence and sustainable human-focused development to elevate Japan's strategic agendas.

The varied approaches to institutional engagement among established and emerging Asian donors highlights the battle for ontological influence on the African continent. China, India, and Japan each place emphasis on building relationships of trust and advancing policies that promote their development agendas in the Indo-Pacific region.

Socio-Cultural Soft Power

Tokyo, Beijing and New Delhi imbue Asia-Africa partnerships with a celebration of non-Western cultural assets through TICAD, FOCAC and IAFS. For each nation, cultural soft power serves to build societal linkages with African populations and increase the attractiveness of non-Western values and ideas. Asian donors use arts, music, sport, and histories to define the richness of the “African way” or “Japanese/ Chinese/ Indian way.” Celebrations of non-Western cultural assets endows legitimacy to alternative development ontologies and pathways to modernization. While the waxing historical accounts and traditional proverbs recounted at Forum Keynote addresses may seem superfluous, the recognition of cultural assets plays an important role in legitimizing societal Asian-African linkages and establishing alternatives to Western thought and value systems.

In line with Prime Minister Abe’s more assertive foreign policy and TICAD partnership narrative, Tokyo aimed to “utilize Japan’s system and experiences in Africa” to promote a uniquely Japanese brand across the continent (Abe 2013a). Starting in 2013, the ‘Japanese Brand’ came to represent a responsive and proactive partnership promoting African agency along with international reform. In a notable departure from previous TICAD summits, TICAD 2013, 2016, and 2019 highlighted initiatives imbued with Japanese cultural values, such as *kaizen* (quality and productivity improvement), *kousen* (technical colleges), Japanese educational philosophy and *undokai* (athletic competitions), and the ABE (African Business Education) Initiative (MOFA-Japan 2017b: 61, 145; TICAD 2013, 2016, 2019a). These Japanese values draw specifically on Japan’s commitment to quality, work ethic, social ethic, and technical prowess. At TICAD VI, Abe’s keynote address highlighted key examples, such as Peacock Shoes in Ethiopia and the Toyota Kenya Academy, where the implementation of innovative Japanese business ideals to have multiplied economic and social dividends. With these TICAD initiatives, Tokyo’s brand has come to represent sustainable, high quality, high tech solutions to overcome African development challenges. Another emphasis area of cultural engagement is the ‘Sports for Tomorrow’ initiative that targets 10 million people in developing countries over a 5-year period leading up to the Tokyo Olympics. ‘Sports for Tomorrow’ reinforces TICAD’s brand of human security and Tokyo’s SDG leadership to

local African populations through coaching, women's empowerment, athletic competitions, and the provision of sporting gear. Between 2014 and 2019, 31 "Sports for Tomorrow" programs have reached 15 African states that align with Tokyo's top priorities for ODA investment and strategic ontological alignment. 'Sports for Tomorrow' events have been concentrated in hubs of TICAD's strategic Master Plans, specifically the Northern and the Nacala Corridors. In the Nacala corridor, nine events in Zimbabwe, Malawi, Zambia complemented the launch of TICAD grassroots grants, maternal health investments, and empowerment of women and people with disabilities. In the Northern corridor, Japan advanced human security initiatives by providing sports education programs for South Sudanese refugee resettlement and rehabilitation in Uganda (SFT 2014-2020). Other events in Kenya, Sudan, and South Sudan reinforced Japan's leadership of the Olympic and Paralympic movement leading up to the Tokyo 2020 Games. A notable facet of the sporting events is the headlining of Japanese cultural values (e.g. *Undokai* model and teaching of traditional ethics of Judo, Karate, and Kendo) and Japan's leadership of SDG implementation in Africa (health and wellbeing, quality education, and reduced inequality). If the Olympic Flag is raised over the Opening Ceremony in Tokyo in 2021, millions of African's will have a personal connection to Japan's model of innovative, sustainable, and responsible growth. A celebration of cultural assets and a projection of a uniquely Japanese brand in Africa, defines this new era of soft-power disruption through TICAD that aligns with Abe's assertion of Japan's unique identity among established OECD-DAC donors and emerging Asian donor powers.

For China and India, socio-cultural soft power plays an integral role in casting emerging Asian development narratives in rich historical tones that resonate with a revival of traditional African values. President Xi uses FOCAC to recount the ancient glory of the Chinese nation and to paint a picture of a new form of Asian-African world-order founded on cultural values aligned with the CCP's vision of Chinese rejuvenation. In the 2018 FOCAC Declaration, Africa was heralded as both a historical and contemporary cradle for Beijing's narrative. BRI is heavily endowed with historical imagination and legend to set a precedent for Chinese leadership founded on win-win mutual benefit. FOCAC portrays BRI and Chinese national rejuvenation through an historical lens that presents alternative cultural values and traditional wisdom arising from the global South. FOCAC's

strategic messaging of a Sino-African “community of shared prosperity” is deepened through the promotion of Silk Road cultural lore. FOCAC 7 rolled out the “China-Africa cultural and people-to-people cooperation plan,” including upgrades to culture and arts facilities, exchange of art troops, Silk Road exhibitions, news and media, and Chinese language centers (FOCAC 2018b: 5.1). Solutions to African development challenges derived from Chinese development successes are promoted through an exploration of traditional philosophy, culture and values. This Action Plan pledged support to African nations in reviving traditional cultures, communicating Sino-African philosophy internationally, and promoting international appreciation of China and Africa’s art and culture. The narratives of a Rising China and Rising Africa with a ‘shared future’ elevate non-Western socio-cultural assets through the revival of historical wisdom and celebration of traditional Afro-Asian culture, values, and arts (FOCAC 2018a). In a renaissance of pre-colonial Asian and African cultures, Beijing aims to reinterpret the “universal values” and Western norms that have governed the international system and development policies.

Much like China, Modi leverages Indian culture, wisdom, and history of leadership in the region to project a brand of societal fraternity. At IAFS 2015, Modi heralded the “ties of kinship, commerce, and culture through centuries” of intersecting histories (Modi 2015a). He highlighted the richness of common heritage, spirit of traditional beliefs, and inspiration of shared Indo-African philosophical leaders to synchronize societal forces in achieving “a great future for an ancient relationship” (Modi 2015a). In marking the 150th Anniversary of Gandhi’s birth, Modi announced the establishment of a Gandhi Heritage Center in Uganda, to celebrate the “success of the ancient wisdom of India and Africa” (Modi 2018a). This theme of celebrating cultural heritage and communicating shared histories in the IOR is replicated across all of India’s strategic initiatives, including Project Mausam, the AAGC, and SAGAR (as discussed in Chapter 3). In the most recent evolution of the IAFS, Indo-African cultures, traditions, and heritage underscore the extensive human capacity building focus of New Delhi’s development engagement paradigm. At the 2015 summit, New Delhi advanced societal-level linkages through its pledge to upgrade the Pan-African E-Network and leverage India’s expertise to accelerate Africa’s digital revolution. The Pan-Africa E-Network has been used to disseminate Indian

socio-cultural values by pairing cultural heritage modules with training courses in the domains of governance, education, medicine, technology standards, and security. IAFS promoted innovative utilization of the network to lay the foundations for the direct digital linkages between communities in India and African states.

In addition to Pan-African e-Network and ITEC programs, India stands out among Asian donors in its mobilization of substantial Indian diaspora populations and African's of Indian ancestry. To bolster institutional and civic linkages, an extensive Indian diaspora community in Africa has been mobilized by the Indian government in a surge of outreach efforts under PM Modi. Under the MEA, a raft of government funded diaspora engagement programs, including Pravasi Bharatiya Divas conferences, immersion programs, and religious and cultural heritage programs, aim to re-energize African's of Indian descent. Official estimates indicate that about 3 million Indian diaspora and are spread across 46 nations on the African continent among its diverse geographies, languages, and cultural groups in the areas of government, business, and community organizations (Dubey & Biswas 2016). The degree of integration among Indian diaspora in African states varies, however, the "emotional, cultural and spiritual link" serves as a foundation for shared values (Jain, Tripathi & Katiyar 2017). In Mauritius, India's closest African Indian Ocean partner nation, Indian diaspora make up 70% of the population. Mauritians of Indian origin occupy influential roles in government, business, and cultural institutions responsible for managing and implementing extensive material investments and security interests from India in the strategic island nation. In the strategic Seychelles Island, President Wavel Ramkalawan made history as the first elected official and then President of Indian descent. Significant Indian populations in South Africa, and across East Africa serve as human bonds between India and Africa and endow New Delhi with an ability to advance its strategic message. This diaspora represent a strategic resource in promoting development investment, technology transfer, and diplomatic linkages built on a sense of shared Indian Ocean identity (Dubey & Biswas 2016: 120-1).

Measuring the impact of China, India, and Japan's soft power on African perceptions is challenging due to limited field research and public opinion data. A notable exception is AfroBarometer, a research institution that has collected public opinion data via face-to-face interviews across 36 African nations from 1999 through 2020. In surveys

conducted during 2008/2009, 2014/2015, and 2019/2020³⁸, interviewers asked questions related to foreign influence, economic investment, perception of development models, and positive/negative image of China (Data 2015/16, 2019/20; Lekorwe et al. 2016). Despite a heavy focus on perceptions of China, AfroBarometer's data provide some insight into the success of soft power in shaping African public perceptions. The 2015/16 surveys showed that 24.3% of African respondents chose China as the model country for development in comparison to 31% who chose the United States. Respondents in 13 of 36 African states, including Cameroon (48%), Sudan (36%), Mozambique (36%), and Tanzania (35%), favored China's development model over any other model. Early results from the 2020 survey show that in 12 of the 18 nations surveyed so far, approval for China's development model has expanded and average preference for China's development model in 18 nations remained constant (~23%). In 2019/2020 data, Beijing surpassed Washington's positivity rating for the most significant external influencer for the first time. The research suggests that public recognition of Chinese development brand rivals the United States' brand across the African continent. Growth in recognition of Beijing's development investment indicates FOCAC's success as a strategic communication mechanism. Further field research is required to fully interrogate the role of Asian donors' soft power initiatives in influencing positive or negative opinion of foreign influence and development investments. To provide additional insight into the impact of TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS as strategic communication tools, the following section analyzes UN voting alignment between African states and Asian donor powers.

The most recent TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS conferences have cultivated a quiver of soft power tools. The expansion of instructional linkages, societal fraternity, and the cultivation of a cadre of Asian-taught "brand" advocates has furthered strategic disruption and increased the international legitimacy of Japanese, Chinese, and Indian narratives. The legitimization of established and emerging Asian brands communicated through TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS are increasingly the focus of the engagement with African

³⁸ Raw data from the 2019/2020 surveys have not yet to be released. An early comparison of respondents from 18 nations surveyed in 2019/2020 provides just a narrow snapshot of public opinion trends. See Edem Selormey, "African's perceptions about China: A sneak peek from 18 countries," 2020, for preliminary data.

states. In the following sections, I will discuss the ways in which strategic soft-power narratives inspire policy alignment in UN voting.

Part 2: Political Alignment in United Nations Voting Concurrence

The shift from economic cooperation to strategic partnerships in Asian-African development engagement inspires political alignment of African states with the Asian donor powers' brands. TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS have become platforms for the communication of development narratives and African states serve as the epicenter for the normalization of new paradigms of engagement. Each Asian donor power has used forum diplomacy in Africa to outline a new vision of international relations, new norms for international organizations, and/or reforms for the UN.

Through TICAD, Tokyo postured itself at the nexus of strategic partnerships with “Asia-Africa cooperation [as] one of the key elements of the TICAD process” (TICAD 2008b). TICAD’s cornerstone principle of “partnership” included pledges of regional and international alignment with Japan to advance multilateral reform and adoption of Japan’s development philosophy (Abe 2016). Following the JICA reform to “new JICA” in 2008, a significant increase in ODA’s fiscal contribution to multilateral institutions such as the UN,

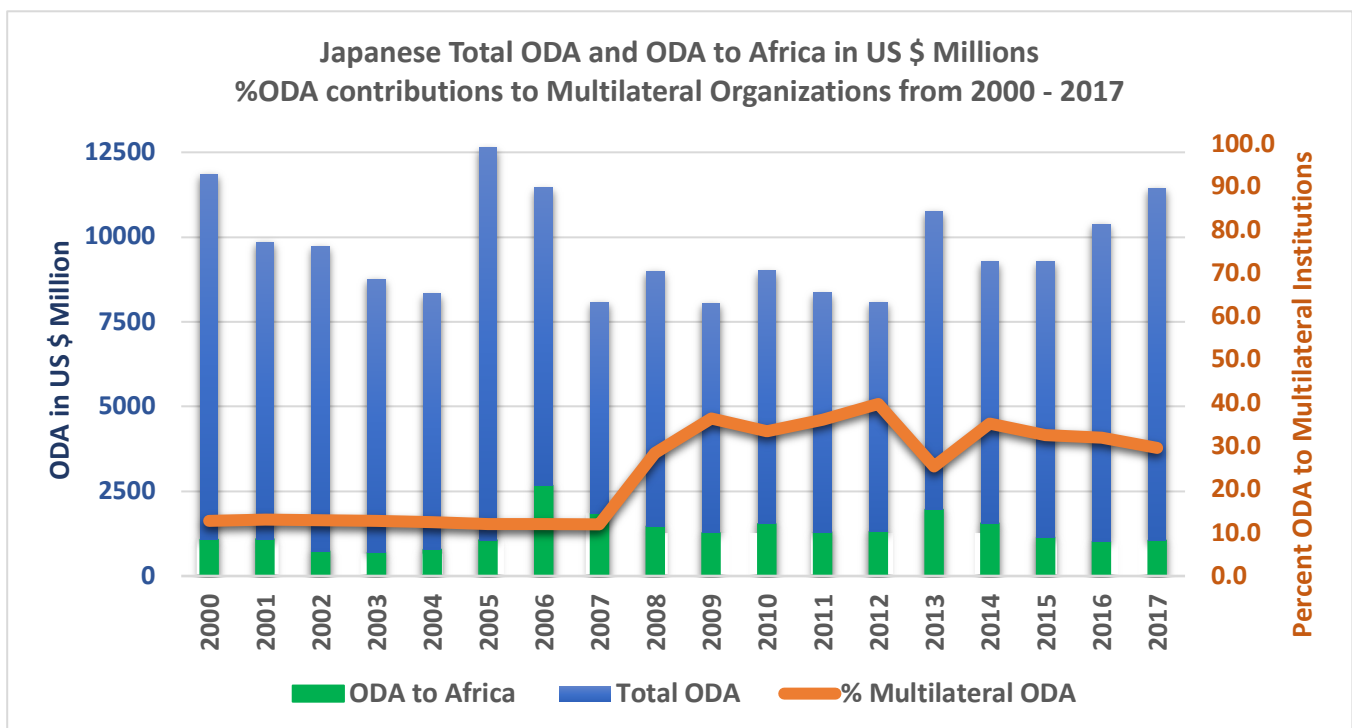


Figure 29: Japanese Total ODA and ODA to Africa in US \$ Millions and Percent ODA to Multilateral Institutions from 2000 to 2017. Data amassed by author from OECD database and JICA Annual Reports (JICA 2000 - 2015; OECD 2016).

IMF, and WB, signaled the strategic consideration placed on ODA to propel Japan's international agenda. The 2017 Development Cooperation White Paper highlighted Japan's efforts to increase its role and responsibility in the international community through strategic ODA outlays (MOFA-Japan 2017b). By 2012, the percentage of Japanese ODA contributed to multilateral institutions more than tripled to over 39% in comparison to 12% in 2007 (see Figure 29), signaling Tokyo's determination to "show a leading presence in the world" through its role in addressing African issues through triangular partnerships (MOFA-Japan 2017b: 3).

Simultaneously, in line with Beijing's win-win cooperation and mutual trust, FOCAC members "committed to strengthening cooperation, coordination and support between the two sides in international organizations and multilateral mechanisms on regional and international issues" (FOCAC 2015b). By exploiting the changing landscape of international relations, FOCAC compelled coordinated action in establishing a new model of global development based on China's model of SSC in Africa and enabling conditions for BRI. Accordingly, FOCAC Action Plans have instituted Sino-African round-table consultations at the UNGA to advance political cooperation and "exchange views on major issues of common interest" (FOCAC 2012). The new order envisions reforms of international political systems, economic architecture, and security constructs that enable the realization of BRI and the China Dream. Recent examples of African political alignment include at least 14 African nations that publicly supported Beijing's position on the illegitimacy of the international Arbitration Tribunal in resolving disputes in the South China Sea (CSIS 2016), alignment with Beijing's 5G tech standards (EurasiaGroup 2018: 18-19), and cooperation on state controlled internet protocol (Avle & Lindtner 2019). Beijing's ability to define development standards and achieve political alignment with African states plays a vital role in legitimizing the BRI. The comprehensive strategic and cooperative partnership advanced through FOCAC in Africa continues to compel other developing nations and members of the international community to take notice. Through FOCAC, Beijing hopes to enhance political mutual trust to "cement consensus on key strategies," synchronizing the China-Africa coalition to affect change in international order (FOCAC 2015b). Emerging analysis by Worden (2019) reinforces this assessment of Beijing's adept use of "discourse power" to advance PRC priorities in the UN and other

multilateral institutions. Ultimately, Beijing aspires to advance international acceptance of BRI economic and security architectures by making China-Africa cooperation a “banner that guides international cooperation with Africa as well as elevates South-South cooperation” (MOFA-PRC 2018).

Finally, from 2011 to 2015, IAFS evolved from a framework for “enhanced cooperation” to a framework for “strategic cooperation” between India and Africa. The reinvigorated and operationalized relationship with Africa can be understood through the lens of India’s paramount foreign policy goals as an aspiring global influencer. In advancing a “transformative development agenda” for India and Africa, IAFS pushed to build a “strong commitment to work together for a comprehensive Reform of the United Nations system, including its Security Council” (IAFS 2015b). India received support from Africa in its bid for a non-permanent seat on the UNSC from 2011 to 2012 and again in 2020. Building upon this opportunity for Indian leadership in the UN, the 2011 IAFS “underscored the imperative of urgent and comprehensive reform of the UN system” placing expansion of the security council and permanent inclusion for Africa and India as a priority of the partnership (IAFS 2011). The IAFS framework has clearly defined Indo-Africa alignment for comprehensive UN Reform as one the integral facets of the strategic relationship. Although India’s reform agenda in the UNSC remains stymied by the powerful Chinese veto, the increasing resonance of India’s disruptive development world view with African partner states signifies the appeal of India’s brand of partnership.

As an aspiring global power, India pursues the strategic development of a network of regional coalitions within the Indo-Pacific aimed at redefining international economic and political systems. In shaping regional architectures through IAFS, IORA, and IONS, India multiplied its constrained economic, political, and military power to disrupt extra-regional influence and ensure regional autonomy. Founded on long-standing historical fraternity between the continents of the Indian Ocean, India built a web of regional architectures with Africa as a key ally. In Narlikar’s assessment of regional coalition strategies, India “cultivates allies that can support its pathway to power, concretely for instance, by supporting its bid for a permanent seat on the Security Council and also through the emergence of broad-based coalitions that back its [international] agenda” (2010: 461). Africa’s role in Indian foreign policy provides legitimacy to Indian claims for

global power, regional allies, and opportunities to bolster instruments of ontological and material power.

A closer look at voting concurrence within the UN provides insight to the effectiveness of Asian donor powers' soft power in achieving strategic disruption through political cooperation with African states.

Studies on UNGA Voting Concurrence

One metric useful in evaluating the effectiveness of African development models is the alignment of African nations with the Asian Lions in UN General Assembly (UNGA) votes. UNGA voting can be a significant indicator of a member state's declared foreign policy, multilateral behaviors, and international alignment (Graham 2011). Demonstrating this important connection, the US State Department publishes an annual report on UNGA votes of strategic importance to national interests along with an analysis of international voting concurrence (USDOS 2017). Such analysis of UNGA voting trends is common in assessing political alignment between member states on key issues (Fuchs & Vadlamannati 2013; Kilby 2011; Tierney 2016). Solidarity between two nations in the UN is indicative of a common orientation of global perception and preferences. Empirical studies have indicated that developing countries that are politically aligned with donor nations receive preference in terms of aid allocations (Dollar & Alesina 2000; Fuchs & Vadlamannati 2013; Kilby 2009). This is especially true for non-members of the DAC, such as emerging donors, China and India. Furthermore, consortia such as IBSA (India Brazil South Africa), L.69 (developing countries), G4 (Japan, India, Brazil, Germany) and the African bloc have formed within the UNGA to achieve collective foreign policy goals through political alignment. The use of voting blocs can be highly influential in shaping international rules and norms through collective voting behaviors. As one would expect, in the pursuit of strategic disruption, the Asian donor nations use forum diplomacy and strategic development narratives to cultivate political solidarity with African nations (African bloc and L.69) at the international level.

To measure the magnitude of the disruptive force, it is important to consider the statistical correlation between aid allocation and political motives as measured through the lens of UNGA alignment. According to empirical analysis conducted by Fuchs and

Vadlamannati (2013), India's development assistance is driven primarily by political motives and targeted economic growth markets. The researchers find that "if the voting alignment on key votes increases by 10% points, India increases its aid commitments by roughly 0.7%, on average" (Fuchs & Vadlamannati 2013: 116). In comparison, a report published by AidData in 2015 found that a 10% increase in Chinese and African UNGA voting alignment "increases ODA by more than 86%, and grant funding by 159%" (Tierney 2016: 15). These studies have found no statistically significant correlation between Japan's ODA disbursements and key UNGA voting patterns. Instead, Japan's ODA behaviors are on par with other major DAC aid-donors such as the largest EU countries (Germany, UK, France), the "good donors" (Canada, Denmark, Netherlands, and Sweden) and Korea (Fuchs & Vadlamannati 2013).

A few important points should be noted concerning these studies. Firstly, as mentioned earlier, a lack of consistent reporting and unconventional categorization of financial contributions makes the accurate quantification of Chinese and Indian ODA challenging. While both studies use similar data sets, compiled by AidData and Eric Voeten et.al., the empirical analysis of Chinese financial assistance focuses only on African recipients while the analysis of India's aid incorporates global recipients. Secondly, the analysis of Indian development assistance only considers grants as ODA, based on the OECD's definition. As discussed in Chapter 3, Indian assistance to Africa consists largely of LoCs and technical training. In the data assessed by Fuchs et al., Sub-Saharan Africa aid accounted for only 2.2% of India's grants, versus 73.2% of India's EXIM bank LOCs (which were excluded from the analysis) (Fuchs & Vadlamannati 2013: 112). Therefore, the relationship between the Chinese and Indian development assistance flows and African voting alignment in the UNGA may not be fully and consistently represented by these figures. Despite this statistical qualification, the results of both Chinese and Indian cases reveal statistically significant positive correlations between UNGA voting alignment and aid disbursement.

While Fuchs and Vadlamannati's study seems to suggest that Japan's ODA is less politically motivated, a study by Kilby (2011) concluded that Tokyo exerts significant influence through informal channels in lending institutions such as the Asian Development Bank. Furthermore, the 2015 Development Cooperation Charter expressly links

development efforts with the advancement of Japan's national interests of security, prosperity, and realization of an international order based on universal values (MOFA-Japan 2015a). As such, the link between UNGA voting alignment and aid disbursements does not fully capture informal modes of influence, especially through forum diplomacy and soft power mechanisms. To further assess strategic disruption, the following section will deliberate the effects of Japanese, Chinese, and Indian forum diplomacy on voting alignment.

Asia-Africa Forums and UNGA Voting Alignment

A review of the impacts of Asian donors' forum diplomacy on UNGA voting alignment provides another mechanism to assess the effectiveness of strategic soft power. Drawing upon the dataset of UNGA voting from 1990 to 2014, as compiled by Voeten et al., and following the statistical methods described in Tierney and Fuchs et al., the power of strategic disruption through forum diplomacy can be explored. In this analysis, a defined scoring methodology is applied to establish an association in voting behavior. Identical votes (yes/yes, no/no, or both abstain) are awarded 1 point; opposing votes (yes/no) are awarded 0; abstentions are awarded 0.5. The resulting scores for a given year are then divided by the total number of joint votes yielding a "voting similarity" value ranging from 0 to 1. To smooth out year-on-year variability, vote similarities are averaged over three years to quiet outliers in the data and reveal persistent trends.

As a starting baseline, I provide some global statistics for the period from 1990 through 2014, exhibited in Table 23. Doing so provides a sense of relative change. The resulting values reveal that China's average alignment with African states, from the post-Cold War era to 2014, is highest with a value of 92.2%, followed by India at 88.2% and Japan at nearly 73.8%. Figure 30 compares the annual average vote alignment between African states and each of the Asian powers. When viewing this data it is important to understand that the African bloc is made up of over fifty member countries of the UN. Standard deviation values are included to represent the statistical variance in the voting behaviors of individual African states in comparison to the mean value. It is also useful to note that African states have adopted a series of Common African Positions within the UN based on African Union declarations from 2005 to present (AU 2005, 2014). These

common positions tend to normalize UNGA voting preferences and foreign policy alignment among African states. Achieving influence over the voting preferences of

	Avg. agreement	Std. deviation	Highest similarity	Lowest similarity
Japan	73.8%	7.1%	1998, 80% (3.7%)	2011, 68.5% (8%)
China	92.2%	4.3%	2002, 95% (2.3%)	2012, 88.5% (4%)
India	88.2%	5.5%	1990, 95.6% (1.7%)	1994, 85% (4.5%)

Table 23: African voting similarity statistics with Japan, China and India over the period from 1990 to 2014. Years of highest and lowest voting similarity are noted in columns 3 and 4, respectively. Calculations based on the dataset compiled by Voeten et al. (Voeten, Strezhnev & Bailey 2017)

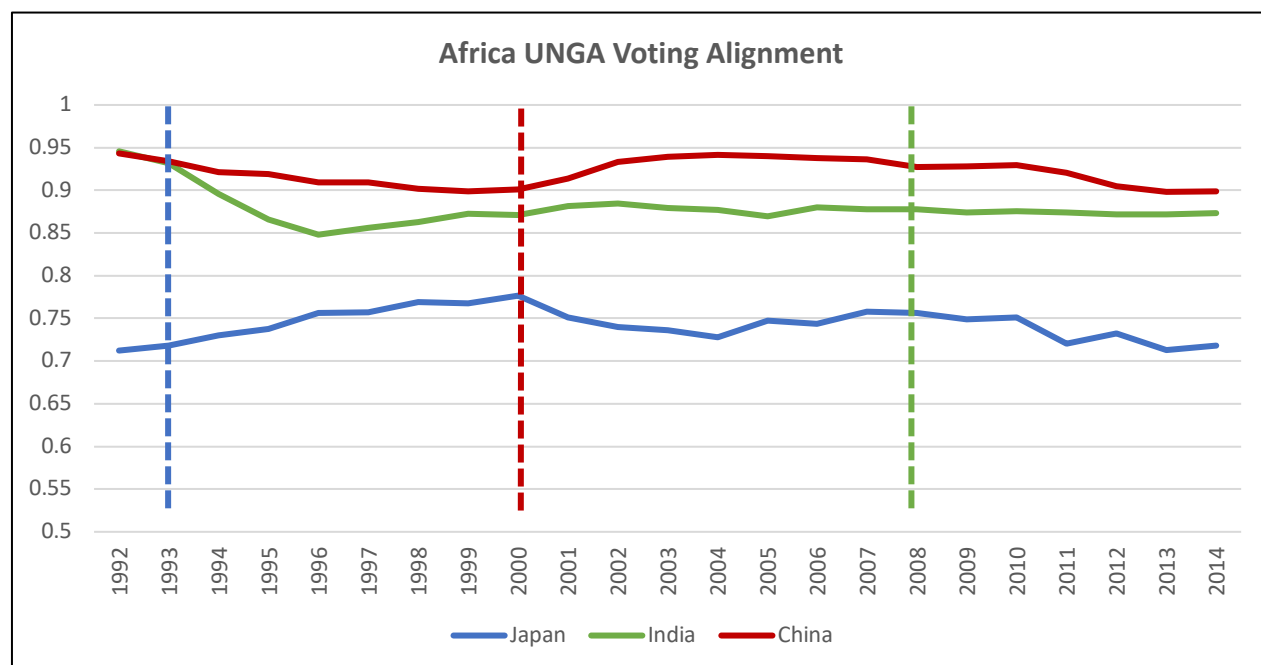


Figure 30: Trends in African UN General Assembly voting alignment with Japan, India, and China from the end of the Cold War to 2014. UNGA votes are averaged over three years to smooth year-on-year variability. Blue, red, and green vertical lines denote the inauguration of TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS, respectively. Voting alignment is measured on a scale from 0 (no alignment) to 1 (full alignment). Calculations are based on the dataset compiled by Voeten et al. (Voeten, Strezhnev & Bailey 2017)

aligned groups, such as the African bloc, can pay immense dividends in the UNGA where each nation’s vote is equally weighted.

As indicated by the empirical research discussed above, Japan’s ODA allocations show less statistical correlation to political alignment. However, one notable result from closer analysis of the UNGA voting data is insight on the effectiveness of TICAD in

spreading Tokyo’s model of development cooperation. A review of the data within the “honeymoon” years between TICAD’s initiation and the inaugural FOCAC (1993 – 2000), exhibits that the political alignment of African states with Japan in the UN increased by an average of 6%³⁹ (see Figure 31). In the three years immediately following the first TICAD conference (1994-1996), all but three African nations showed increased UNGA alignment with Japan⁴⁰. During this period, African states’ alignment with China decreased at an annual rate of 0.6%. This marks a period of significant advantage for Japan’s disruptive paradigm in Africa. However, with the end of the TICAD honeymoon in Africa and the launching of FOCAC in 2000, the trend of increasing Japan-Africa UNGA alignment reversed. By 2003, Japan’s UNGA alignment with African states returned from a high of 78% to within 1% of pre-TICAD levels, at 73% average vote alignment. A second, albeit more modest, rise in UNGA alignment followed the 2003 10th anniversary

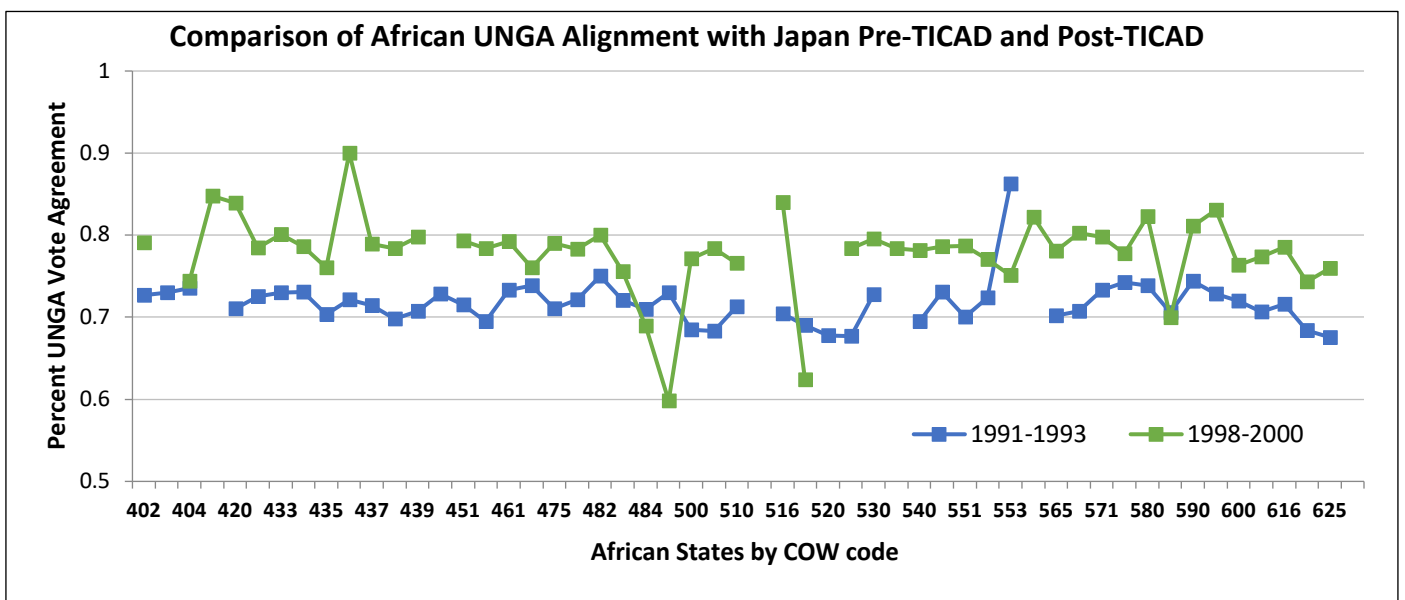


Figure 31: Comparison of African states UNGA alignment with Japan in the pre-TICAD period (1991-1993) and the post-TICAD period (1994-1996). The blue and green lines show the political alignment of each African state with Tokyo over the designated periods. African states are denoted by their COW country codes, with each African nation denoted by a value from 402 – 626. The average UN vote similarity from 1991-1993 is 71.8% (σ 2.8%) while from 1998-2000 is 77.9% (σ 4.8%). Author’s calculations based on the dataset compiled by Voeten et al. (Voeten, Strezhnev & Bailey 2017)

³⁹ In a dataset of 44 African states who actively participated in UNGA voting between 1991 and 2000, Japanese alignment with those states in UNGA voting behaviors increased by an average of 6%.

⁴⁰ Of a dataset of 48 African states who participated in UNGA voting between 1994 and 1996, inclusive, only the Democratic Republic of Congo, Gambia, and Malawi decreased in UNGA alignment with Japan.

TICAD conference which introduced an increasingly strategic approach to Tokyo's African engagement. However, after 2008 African states' alignment with Japan returned to pre-forum levels where they have remained through 2014, despite Tokyo's increasingly advances through TICAD engagement.

Following the introduction of FOCAC (2000), African political alignment steadily shifted toward China's international political paradigm. As seen in Figure 32, a similar 'honeymoon' phenomenon occurs in the years 2001 to 2003 immediately following the introduction of FOCAC. For China, the political dividends of strategic development engagement through forum diplomacy yielded an average increase in African state alignment in the UNGA of 4% (see Figure 32). As was seen previously with Japan, following the inaugural forum, 46 out of the 50 African states who participated in UNGA voting over that period increased in their alignment with Beijing⁴¹. China maintained elevated levels of political congruence with African states until 2009, following the

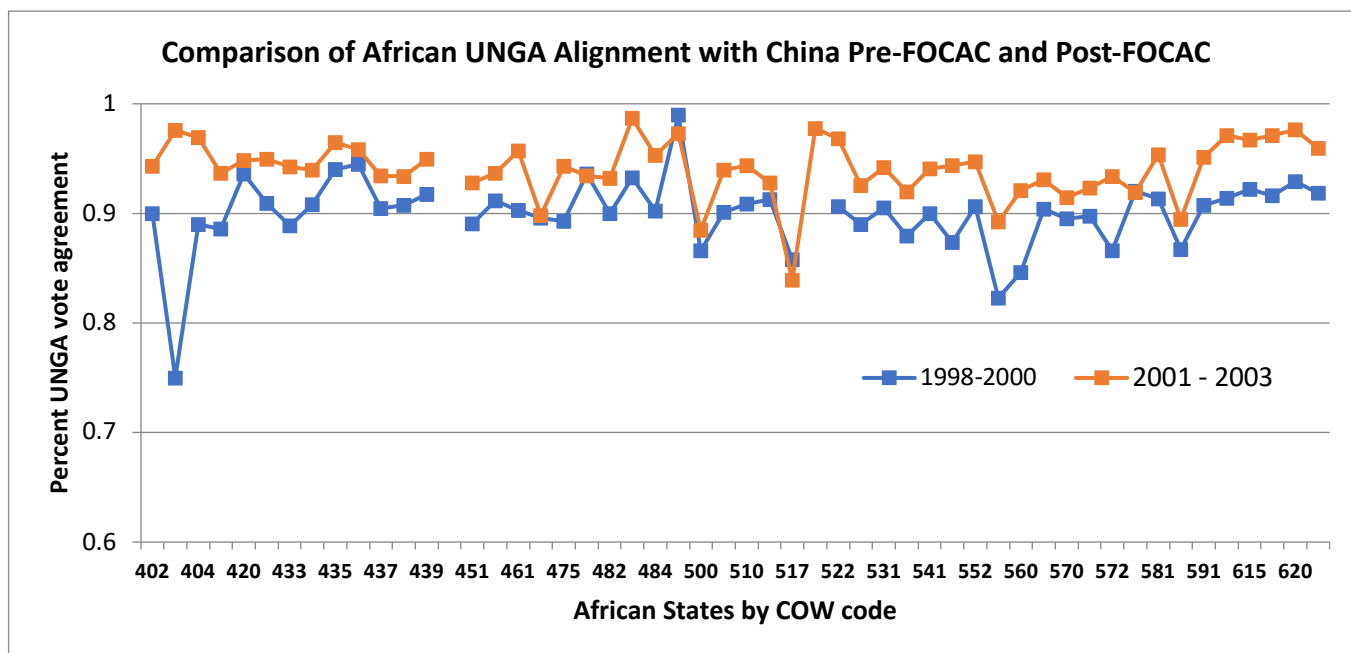


Figure 32: Comparison of African UNGA alignment with China in the pre-FOCAC period (1998-2000) and the post-FOCAC period (2001-2003). The blue and orange lines show the political alignment of each of 50 African states (denoted by COW codes) with Beijing over the designated periods. Average UN vote similarity from 1998-2000 is 89.9% (σ 3.4%) while from 2001-2003 is 94% (σ 2.7%). Author's calculations based on the dataset compiled by Voeten et al. (Voeten, Strezhnev & Bailey 2017)

⁴¹ Of the dataset of 50 African states who actively participated in UNGA voting between 1998 and 2003, only Gabon, the Democratic Republic of Congo, Rwanda, and Madagascar decreased in political alignment with Beijing in the three years following FOCAC 1.

introduction of the Indian led IONS and IAFS forums. In the three years after 2009, Beijing's average alignment in the UN with African states dropped precipitously, decreasing at an average rate of 0.7% per year and returning to pre-FOCAC alignment by 2011 (approximately 90%). Beginning in 2009, African states alignment with Japan also declined by 0.7% annually, mirroring Chinese loses. Ultimately, both China and Japan settled at pre-forum alignment levels.

While the disruptive force of Japan and China's forum diplomacy in Africa were evident in the years immediately following their inauguration, the introduction of India's forum diplomacy (IAFS and IONS) in 2008 did not exhibit the same elevated alignment seen during the "honeymoon" period that followed Japan and China's entry into the African development space for reasons explained below. Although China and Japan's boost in alignment in multilateral fora was ultimately reversed, India achieved no significant increase in UNGA political alignment in the period from 2009 to 2014. What is worthy to note is that New Delhi's entrance into the African development space coincided with a moderation of Beijing's heightened alignment with Africa while sustaining India and African states' 87% voting similarity in the UN.

Several important factors contribute to the difference in African alignment observed between TICAD and FOCAC engagement versus the IAFS engagement for India from 2008 to 2014. Firstly, 2008 and 2011 IAFS restricted the summit to only a small set of African states (10-15) chosen by the AU. Therefore, the magnitude of potential strategic engagement at IAFS I and II was constrained by the limited scope of head-of-state engagements and limited brand exposure. Only beginning with 2015 IAFS was the forum opened to all African nations. Additionally, by 2008, African states may have begun to experience 'forum fatigue' in an increasingly crowded Asia-Africa development space. By 2008, Japan, China, and Korea all vied for influence through multilateral development forums directed squarely at African states. The existence of numerous alternatives in the politico-diplomatic space may have rendered Indian forum diplomacy less effective, especially given India's less mature development institutions. Furthermore, New Delhi's multi-decadal regional relationship with African states and leadership in a various African fora, including NAM, IORA, and IONS, challenged New Delhi to distinguish a coherent development narrative for IAFS. In early IAFS fora, New Delhi struggled to differentiate

India's model of SSC as a compelling alternative to Chinese and Japanese paradigms. In an increasingly contested African space, India struggled to translate its long history of socio-cultural ties into discrete political outcomes at the international level from 2008 to 2011.

However, IAFS marked an inflection point in more concrete Indo-African SSC. The IAFS 2015 India-Africa Strategic Partnership Framework provided clear guidance for areas of increased alignment in multilateral forum and areas for SSC, including the commitment to reform the UN system, including the UNSC. From 2011 onward, Japan and India's increasing cooperation in the rapidly changing Indo-Pacific region offers African states a more compelling alternative to China's development financing. Furthermore, as partners of the G4, Japan and India's aligned international reform agendas may be viewed by African states as comparable and complementary. India's regional leadership and Japan's significant ODA budget and decades of ODA experience offer a compelling triangular partnership for African states. Therefore, additional data is required to assess impacts of IAFS III and triangular cooperation in multilateral forums.

International organizations, especially the UN, have great impact on the developing world, and Africa in particular. More UN peacekeeping personnel and missions are deployed to Africa than any other region. Beyond peacekeeping, from 2014 to 2019 more than 52% of UNSC resolutions dealt directly with specific African states, and of the 371 resolutions more than 60% related to African issues⁴². Thus, while advocates for reform call for a greater voice for the developing world, the ardent efforts of China, India, and Japan in shaping and reforming the UN have direct implications for Africa. Article 108 of the UN Charter mandates that any changes to the UN's charter must be approved by two-thirds vote of the general assembly and all members of the UN Security Council (UN 1945). Thus, making changes to the international governance system requires momentous alignment between general assembly members and the P-5 in favor of the reform. Ultimately, the Holy Grail of strategic disruption is UN Security Council reform, a topic we will turn to next.

⁴² Authors calculations based on published UNSC Resolutions from Jan 2014 to Dec 2019, <https://www.un.org/securitycouncil/content/resolutions>.

UNSC

The UNSC is the main organ of the UN. However, since its formation, post WWII, the UNSC has remained a largely static representation of a past era (except for the entrance of the People's Republic of China replacing the Republic of China). Five permanent Security Council members hold veto power over the peacekeeping and peace-building efforts and international security agenda. Ten non-permanent member positions rotate between UNGA members for two-year terms; however, non-permanent members have considerably less formal power, as they do not hold the coveted veto rights of the permanent members⁴³. Japan has held the most terms of any non-permanent UNGA member with its 11th term lasting from 2016 to 2017. India has been elected 8 times to serve on the UNSC, and will begin a two-year term in 2021. India's election as a non-permanent member in 2021 makes it the fourth most frequently elected non-permanent member after Japan, Brazil, and Argentina⁴⁴.

Of all the permanent UNSC members, China's commitment to the UN, under the leadership of Xi Jinping, has postured Beijing to change the face of the international governance and diplomacy. China's promise of extraordinary PKO troop contributions and its solidarity with African nations within the Security Council, has advanced its model of SSC built around mutual trust, non-interference, and win-win cooperation. Simultaneously, through FOCAC and on the international stage, Beijing has upheld the UN as an effective mechanism of multilateralism and conflict mediation in an era of shifting global power (Xi 2017c). Beijing is the world's 2nd largest contributor to peacekeeping missions and overtook Japan in 2019 to become the second largest contributor to the UN general fund, behind the US. In 2016 and 2017, China established a peacekeeping fund (\$1B) and pledged an additional \$1B to the UN and other international organizations to advance the Belt and Road Initiative (Xi 2017b). Furthermore, the 13th Five-year development plan (FYP), published under President Xi in 2015, endorsed implementation of the UN's Agenda 2030 Sustainable Development Goals as part of China's national strategy from 2016 through 2020.

⁴³ While non-permanent members of the UNSC have less relative power, other benefits to UNSC election have been demonstrated in research by Kuziemko and Werker (2006).

In the rhetoric of the Chinese, Beijing's flourishing relationship with the UN follows the philosophy of mutual benefit. Accordingly, "the UN benefits greatly from China's engagement and the Chinese leadership derives legitimacy from its constructive role in matters of peace and development" (Oertel 2015). Indeed, China's endorsement of the UN is inherently tied to its vision of an increasingly prominent role in the global order and the legitimacy of its ontological world view. In addition to endorsement of the UN development plan, the 13th FYP called for China to assume greater responsibilities in the international community governance and development cooperation (PRC 2015: Ch 53). The 13th FYP emphasized strengthening of "bilateral and multilateral cooperation mechanisms of the Belt and Road Initiative focusing on policy communication, infrastructure connectivity, trade facilitation, capital flows, and people-to-people exchanges" (PRC 2015: Ch 51). In assuming leadership in global governance system, Beijing committed to take an "active role in formulating international rules... [and] in establishing international standards" aligned with implementing the BRI vision (PRC 2015: 3). China's disruptive development model in Africa is one that increasingly is vocalized in UN forums, where Xi emphasizes the linkage between stability, economic development, and peace. With China's increasing influence in the UN as an active member of the UNSC and ambition as a norms-setter in global governance systems, it is possible to imagine a future where Beijing's disruptive principles of SSC supplant the UN's cornerstones of human rights and responsibility to protect.

UNSC Reform

Of the non-permanent general assembly members, India, Japan, and the collective African states have all distinguished themselves in their long quest for UNSC reform. Major reform visions, advocated by the G4 and African bloc, emerged and gained significant international traction in the early 2000s. Dissatisfied with its continued exclusion from the UNSC, Japan has leveraged new triangular partnerships with India and Africa to advance common goals of international recognition and UNSC reform. India and Japan, both members of the influential G4 grouping united in their bid for UNSC reform and permanent seats on the council, maintain vocal leadership in the debate. Notably, from its inception, the G4 position included permanent seats for African nations

and, in 2005, negotiations began regarding the alignment of the AU Ezulwini Consensus (AU 2005) and the G4 UNSC reform proposals (Maseng & Lekaba 2014; UNGA 2005c).

Increasingly, Japan and India sought to integrate the demands of the African bloc into TICAD and IAFS narratives. Through TICAD and IAFS, Japan and India voice solidarity with African states' in their demands for UN reform. Prime Minister Abe's 2016 opening address and the TICAD Nairobi Declaration positioned UN Security Council reform as an issue of paramount importance. Abe highlighted UNSC reform as a common goal for both Africa and Japan and beseeched African leaders to join with Japan in the effort of achieving permanent UNSC membership by 2023 at the latest (Abe 2016). In 2019, UNSC reform was reinforced as a TICAD priority cooperation area. The TICAD declaration endorsed "Africa's enhanced role in global governance and development architecture... [and] determination to urgently reform UN bodies, including the Security Council" (TICAD 2019a). An overarching theme of Abe's Summit meetings with African Heads of State on the sidelines of TICAD was cooperation in the international arena and alignment UNSC reform. Similarly, Modi declared that "India and Africa must speak in one voice for reforms of the United Nations" and the UNSC (Modi 2015a). In outlining the 10 Principles for India-Africa partnership, Modi highlighted the key foreign policy objective to "work together for a just, representative and democratic global order that has a voice and a role for one-third of humanity that lives in Africa and India (Modi 2018a). African leaders have also reciprocated these demands. As IBSA grew into an increasingly salient trilateral, India and South Africa jointly declared "transformation of the global governance system urgent and critical" making it a foremost agenda item for political coordination (Zuma 2011). Thus, through the G4, TICAD, IAFS, and IBSA, Japan and India have strengthened strategic partnerships with African states aiming to achieve solidarity between two blocs of the reform debate. A unified G4 and African bloc might stand to disrupt the international order. However, while many states pledge their solidarity with Japan or India, the African bloc has to this point withheld official endorsement of the G4 proposal. Even with growing (though incomplete) Afro-Asian synergy, China's adamant rejection of Japan's bid for a permanent seat continues to thwart the emboldened G4 reform agenda.

The year 2015 marked a landmark for UNSC reform when UN resolution 69/560 was approved by the general assembly. This breakthrough resolution launched Intergovernmental Negotiations to begin the process toward UNSC reform. In the UN's celebration of its 70th year in 2015, India, Japan and Africa celebrated a tactical victory on the road to reform. By July 2016, the intergovernmental negotiations had resulted in the "Elements of Convergence," a declaration of consolidated desires presented to the president of the UNGA (UNGA 2016). While the road ahead to consensus is wrought with challenges, the G4 has continued wooing the African bloc. The G4 joint statements consistently insist on African 'empowerment' through representation among their main policy items, echoing the salient theme of African 'empowerment' featured at TICAD 2016. Accordingly, in March 2017, Ambassador Syed Akbaruddin, India's permanent representative to the UN, declared in a joint G4 statement saying:

The new realities and developing countries need to be reflected in the permanent membership... Any proposal that does not address the issue of Africa's non-representation in the permanent category does grave injustice to Africa's aspirations for equality. In our view, any reform that does not address expansion of both categories will be incomplete and futile. (Akbaruddin 2017)

The embrace of Japan's TICAD narrative highlights its triangular role in advocating for African and Indian causes among OECD members while influencing international narratives. Today, the G4 agenda has strategically merged with the common African position, the greater developing world (L.69), and Japan in the hope of achieving the necessary two-thirds approval vote within the UNGA to enact the reform proposal. To achieve ontological alignment and offset the advantaged Chinese position within the UNSC, Japan and India continue to advance their unique development visions, forum diplomacy, and soft power mechanisms in Africa.

Conclusion

The comparative analysis highlights the role of TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS forums in expanding soft power engagement as a core facet of the Asia-Africa development partnership. Each of the three Asian development powers harness a unique portfolio of soft power tools developed to deepen mutual understanding, brand recognition, and ontological alignment in regional or multilateral forums. Through TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS, a compelling new form of international development engagement has begun to supplant long-standing OECD donor-recipient models. Bilateral and triangular partnerships built around African issues are shaping the Indo-Pacific sphere and influencing international development discourse and norms. The trajectory of established and emerging Asian powers in Africa has begun to actuate changes in the UNDP, UNSC, and global financing institutions. Established and emerging Asian development powers follow a multifaceted evolution toward mainstream acceptance. Some key indicators highlight that Japan, China, and India's strategic narratives are making headway and prevailing in African states and on the international stage.

In 2015, the African Union's Agenda 2063 framework noted the proliferation of Asian-African partnerships, listing Japan, China, and India among Africa's top 5 strategic partners (AU 2015). Indeed, this phase of Asia-Africa forum diplomacy is characterized by the deployment of strategic soft power to disrupt established development narratives. TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS have each become the cornerstone forums for communicating Asian donors development agendas and foreign policy priorities to African states in a venture to increase mainstream acceptance. Today's Asia-Africa forums utilize soft power to build long-term market share in African populations, institutions, and government. Abe, Xi, and Modi's oversight of forum diplomacy has placed newfound emphasis on the strategic role of African states as incubators for soft power instruments that will be deployed globally along with Japan, China, and India's Indo-Pacific development vision.

Soft power tools extended through TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS impart socio-political influence through training and capacity building (educational programs, scholarships, healthcare), institutional linkages (governance, policy, media), and cultural proliferation (people-to-people ties). Figure 33 provides a visual comparison of India, China, and Japan's use of soft power in their African engagement paradigm. The percentages

calculated are not an assessment of effectiveness of soft power, but rather provide a comparison of the scope and scale of soft power engagement deployed as part of each Asian power’s most recent forum. The scores are calculated based on eight factors within the major domains of soft power analyzed in this chapter. The factors compared in the training and education domain include the number of Africans trained per year, the scale of health capacity building, and the number of scholarships pledged at the most recent TICAD, IAFS, and FOCAC forum. In terms of institutional engagements, the number of linkages between China, India, Japan and major African universities, research institutions and think tanks are compared. In addition, governance/policy engagement and media engagements are scored for each the three development powers. Finally, in cultural proliferation, the scale of commitment to sports, arts, and culture programs at the most recent forum as well as the extent of diaspora presence and mobilization is compared. Finally, UN voting alignment based on the most recent data is compared between the three nations. A summary of the TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS initiatives in each of these domains is detailed in Table 22 (Part 1) and a comparison of voting alignment is detailed in Table 23 (Part 2).

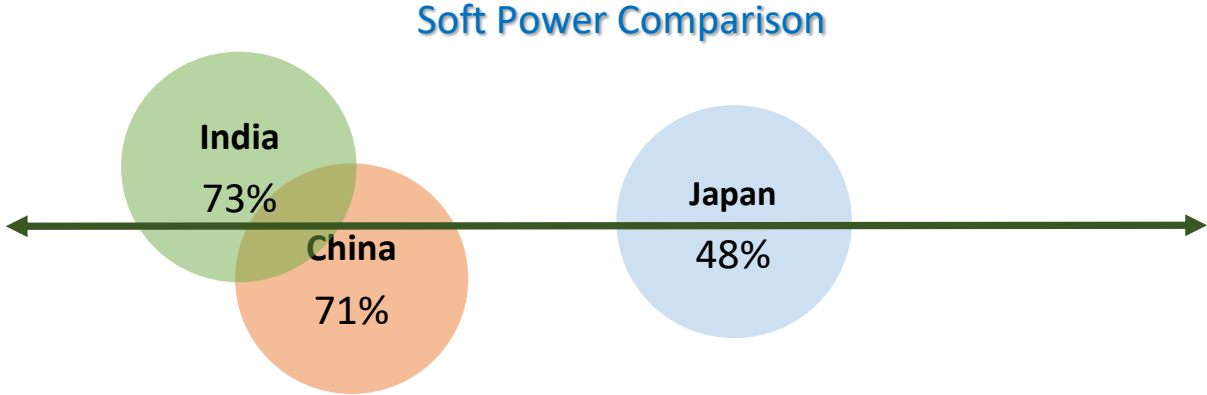


Figure 33: Visualization of soft power comparison based on Asia-African forum commitments from IAFS 2015, FOCAC 2018, and TICAD 2019.

In comparing these eight indicators, the relative maturity and robustness of soft power engagement is depicted as a percentage. India scores the highest with 73%, excelling in the domains of training and education, institutional linkages, and strong diaspora mobilization. India’s Pan-African e-VBAB network offers New Delhi extensive reach across all levels of African society answering the calls of African youth for

opportunity and digitalization. China's score of 71% rivals India's engagement with Beijing leading in number of scholarships, high levels of institutional relationship building (FOCAC think tank forums, Confucius institutes), and dominance among the Asian donors in terms of shaping the African media ecosystem. Finally, Japan's soft power ranks at 48% with areas of dominant strength in vocational training, healthcare capacity building initiatives, and cultural programs. Japan's lack of significant engagement in media/ journalism and governance training are a unique characteristic of Tokyo's ODA core principles based in African ownership and triangular partnership. As an established donor power, Tokyo deliberately avoids investment in media or governance engagement that can be perceived as interference by recipient nations. Japan's soft power portfolio leverages its status as an established OECD-DAC member to elevate Tokyo's prestige by promoting African development issues in multilateral organizations such as the UN, G-20, and SDG initiatives. At the same time, with Japan and India's deepening triangular cooperation in African states, Japan is leveraging the e-VBAB network to multiply the effectiveness of ODA investment (TICAD 2019b).

Soft power engagement as part of the established and emerging Asian development paradigms represent an overlooked domain of the Asia-Africa relationship. The effects of soft power investment are realized over a long time scale. China, India, and Japan's generational commitment to African development partnership makes their investment in capacity building, institutional relationships, and people-to-people engagement more significant in shaping public perceptions, world-view, and accepted norms and values.

The year 2020 has presented unique challenges with the COVID-19 pandemic. In-person engagements have largely been postponed by each of the Asian donor powers due to the crisis. However, each of the Asian donor powers has responded to the pandemic in telling ways. For India, the Pan African e-network enables New Delhi unique access to African universities, institutions, and governments while other Asian donors China and Japan have largely halted in person people-to-people engagement. The Pan-African e-network and IAFS commitment to Africa's digital revolution is likely to become an even more significant soft power tool in the wake of the pandemic. India's strong presence in African medical institutions and dominance in the pharmaceutical industry

postures New Delhi to come away with major soft power wins if virus does not derail relationship building efforts. China has continued virtual training programs targeting African heads-of-state but Beijing has suffered some significant blows in public perception due to poor treatment of African migrants in Guangzhou, resulting in rare public rebukes from major African partners including Uganda, Nigeria, and the African Union (Olander 2020). Even so, significant donations of PPE and medical equipment by the Chinese government and Chinese citizens was warmly received by struggling African states. We can expect FOCAC 2021 to be headlined by the new “Health Silk Road” and significant investment in health system capacity building. Finally, Japan has been a leading voice in the UN and G-20 for African debt relief amid the pandemic. Tokyo’s advocacy for African issues further emphasizes its powerful position in global development to TICAD partners. Amidst the crisis JICA has highlighted Japan’s leadership of UHC and healthcare capacity building in developing countries in Africa and across the Indo-Pacific region (JICA 2020b).

As explored in this chapter, Japan, China, and India’s ontological visions in Africa are reverberating through the international communities in organizations such as the UNGA, the UNDP, and the OECD-DAC. Robust institutional engagements, training and capacity building, and promotion of Asian and African cultural assets legitimize the BRI, FOIP, and SAGAR ontological development narratives on the global stage. Through South-South and triangular partnerships, Asian donors exert socio-political influence on regional and international development norms and paradigms. The development narratives of established and emerging development powers have become foundational tools in the changing world-views, values, and norms on the African continent and beyond.

Conclusion

On the African continent, the lion has long been revered as a symbol of transnational pride and cultural strength. Akin to the struggle that occurs within a pride of lions, Japan, China, and India are strategically engaging African states to further their disruptive development brands and global power ambitions. Through the cultivation of development ontologies and strategic narratives, Japan, China, and India, the three Asian Lions, are disrupting the 21st century development frontiers in Africa and beyond.

This thesis provides a comparative analysis of the development engagement strategies of established and emerging Asian donors, Japan, China, and India, in Africa. A realist-constructivist framework built on IR concepts of ontological security and innovative disruption was used to develop an analytical framework for assessing development power. Analysis of forum diplomacy, official government documents, and ODA/OOF financing databases revealed the characteristics and composition of established and emerging Asian development paradigms. Development power was assessed across three domains – ontological power, material power, and soft power – using a total of 29 indicators to quantitatively compare Asian donors' development paradigms. The resulting scores of comparison in each domain reflect the maturity of development cooperation mechanisms and the extent of the donor state's engagement in that domain, not a strong/weak or good/bad valuation. Each of the three Asian donor powers' unique portfolios of ontological, material, and soft power reflects a model designed to reshape and disrupt established 20th century OECD-DAC aid constructs. This thesis compared the use of forum diplomacy by Japan, China, and India as a vehicle to shape international development norms and values to align with their ontological world views. Ultimately, this work contributes to the field of Asian Studies by providing a framework that thoroughly examines the evolving role of soft power and ontological power. A comprehensive comparison of total development power and reflection on the contributions to the IR scholarship are discussed in this concluding chapter.

As an established donor and OECD-DAC member, Japan achieved the status of a major development power through investment in TICAD initiatives which headlined Tokyo's increasingly bold leadership priorities. This thesis outlined the ways in which

Japan distinguished its development paradigm and elevated a non-Western ODA philosophy through its leadership in African development issues via TICAD. Most notably, TICAD principles of ownership, partnership, and human security were instrumental in mainstreaming Japan's development principles in global governance frameworks, such as the G20, UN SDGs, and AU Agenda 2063. Tokyo's extension of the Free and Open Indo-Pacific (FOIP) vision to include African partnerships places Japan at the forefront of shaping 21st century African narratives in alignment with prevailing OECD-DAC values. Japan uniquely offers African nations a triangular partnership that links priority initiatives in Asia, Africa, and the UN. Japan's new-JICA exemplifies a mature and effective development institution and is central in brokering Asia-Africa cooperation in coordination with Tokyo's strategic national interests.

This thesis also assessed emerging donors, China and India, and their particular brands of South-South Cooperation refined through engagement with African states. Since 2000, FOCAC has steered China's innovation of development cooperation principles based on the Five Principles of China-African Cooperation. China's core principles, including the One China principle, win-win cooperation, respect for sovereignty, and solidarity in international affairs, have evolved through experimentation in development cooperation on the African continent. From 2008 to 2019, African engagement has seen the fine-tuning of China's brand of SSC through concerted unilateralism and the evolution of Beijing's non-interference principle allowing for the mediation of hotspot issues as seen in South Sudan, Ethiopia, and Eritrea. Since 2013, Beijing's Belt and Road and the China Dream narrative have provided concrete rules of engagement and a cohesive framework for cooperation with a burgeoning Chinese power. Extensive state-to-state engagement through FOCAC has allowed Beijing to clearly define the framework for a China-Africa comprehensive and strategic cooperation. China's development institutions are rapidly maturing under the State Council's CIDCA development agency to reap soft power and ontological dividends from extensive material investments in African states.

Although India is overshadowed in terms of the scale of financial investment, the analysis in this work demonstrates that New Delhi's strategic regional approach offers African nations a viable partnership alternative. India's core interests of strategic

autonomy, regional multilateralism, and international system reform speak to the pursuit of self-determination by African states in a post-colonial, post-apartheid world. Since 2008, India has reorientated its near neighborhood strategy to include African nations. As such, African cooperation has spread from South and East African states to a Pan-African engagement approach. New Delhi's brand of South-South partnership, founded on the principle of human resource development, distinguishes India as a soft power and ontological stronghold in the Indian Ocean and African region. The exploration of India's material and soft power engagement revealed New Delhi's strategy of providing niche high-tech alternative solutions to address common development challenges and realize the aspirations of Africa's massive youth populations. From 2008 to 2019 IAFS has advanced a network and technology backbone that aligns Indian and African domestic development initiatives in sustainable energy solutions, solar power generation, pharmaceuticals, and digitization. A half-century of ITEC scholarships has resulted in generations of influential African leaders cultivated on Indian soil. India's footprint on the African continent may be in the shadows of China and Japan, but New Delhi is becoming a heavy-weight in attracting like-minded partners and friends on the African continent, evidenced by the alignment of India and African states in the UN voting records.

A New Type of Development Power

This thesis traced the development of Japan, China, and India's core development principles and characteristics through forum diplomacy with African states. These principles were compared with those of established by the OECD-DAC to distinguish philosophical differences underpinning Asian donors' development brands in Africa. Ultimately, this thesis presents a new type of international development cooperation that characterizes the rise of established and emerging powers in the Indo-Pacific region. The analysis argued that established and emerging Asian donor's development engagement in the 21st century presents a pathway to geopolitical power that is disrupting the foundational assumptions of 20th century OECD-DAC donor-recipient relations. Engagement in Africa by Japan, China, and India clearly illustrates the characteristics of this new mode of development power.

Chapters 3, 4, and 5 highlighted the mechanisms of Asian donor engagement with African states through a careful analysis of Asia-Africa forum diplomacy. A comparative analysis of ontological, material, and soft power instruments resulted in a framework for scoring development power in each domain. Each Asian donor's instruments of development power are compared side-by-side on a scale that reflects the maturity, prioritization, and degree of deployment in each domain from 2008 to 2019. Figure 34 provides a summary of the results of this comparison. A total of 30 indicators, detailed in Chapters 3 through 6, compared across all three domains results in an overall development power comparison, which is shown on the right side of Figure 34. In the overall comparison of development power, China leads the Asian powers followed by India and then Japan. Rather than a strong/weak or good/bad valuation being assessed, the percentages depicted on the scale reflect the maturity of development cooperation mechanisms and the extent of the donor state's engagement with African states across all categories.

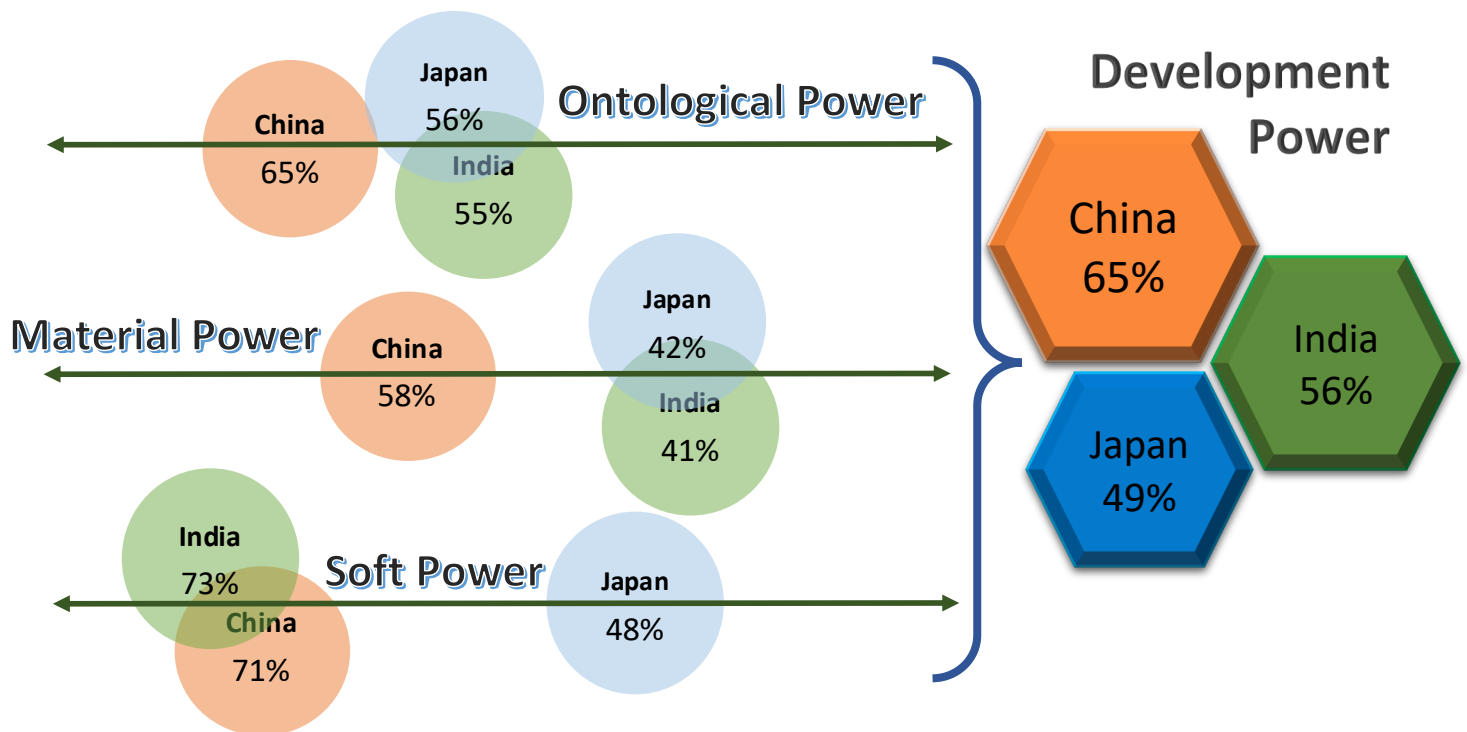


Figure 34: Summary of comparative analysis of Asian donors' ontological, material, and soft power implementation. The overall Development Power comparison displayed on the right side of the figure is an average of all of the relative scores of the indicators compared.

Building upon the comparative analysis, the composition of each of the Asian donors' development portfolio has been plotted in Figure 35. The alternate visualization presented in Figure 35 is a composite of the ontological, material, and soft power scores depicting scale, scope, and maturity of instruments of development power in each domain. Once again, the percentages represent relative maturity and robustness of investment in each development domain. From this figure, the balance of ontological, material, and soft power provides insight into the foreign policy priorities and areas of growth for Japan, China, and India in Africa. This visualization demonstrates that the prioritization of soft power and ontological power by Asian donor nations from 2008 to 2019 is a substantial and significant component of a triad of development power. This thesis filled the gap in these overlooked domains of development engagement.

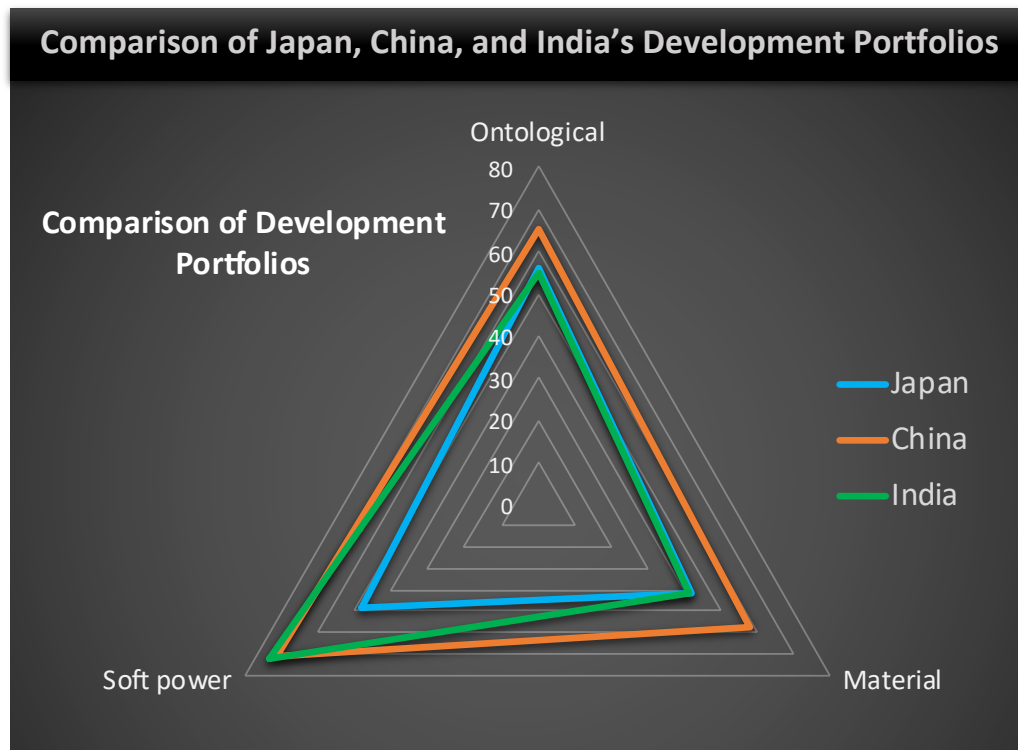


Figure 35: Comparison of balance of ontological, material, and soft power instruments in Japan, China, and India's development portfolios in Africa.

This thesis provides a novel mechanism for assessing new forms of development cooperation in Africa that extend beyond previous studies of hard power. The framework provided can be leveraged in the Social Sciences community to advance comparisons of established and emerging powers in the development sphere. Soft power and ontological

narratives are categories often overlooked given an absence of accessible concrete data. However, the analysis of several decades of forum diplomacy provides a method to reveal the many facets of Asian engagement with African states.

With the rebalancing of power toward the Indo-Pacific region, Africa will grow in importance as the premier development frontier for rising Asian powers. Japan, China, and India have set the gold standard in forum diplomacy with African states and offer a roadmap for growing Indo-Pacific networks. Beijing has followed a path of strategic disruption to gain market share in strategic African nations, cultivate its brand, and bolster its legitimacy in the international community. However, the overwhelming focus of scholars and journalists on China's activities in Africa overlooks some more interesting and, in some domains, more significant, investments being made by Japan and India. Additionally, in the coming decade, other emerging Asian donors including South Korea, Singapore, Indonesia, and Taiwan may demonstrate increasingly mature and robust engagement initiatives on the African continent. Following Japan, China, and India's lead, these aspiring Asian donor powers will seek to bolster their strategic interests and global standing through partnerships in Africa's abundant development frontiers. Many of these budding Asia-Africa relationships are likely to replicate the contours of development cooperation established by China, India, and Japan. The entry costs to Asia-Africa cooperation have been significantly reduced by the pioneering Asian donor powers, while underserved and diverse African markets remain abundant with opportunity in all three domains (ontological, material, and soft power).

In an era of resurgent "great power competition," (as branded by the U.S), Japan, China, and India have forged an alternative mechanism to engage with and shape the international order via development cooperation (US-DoD 2018, 2019a). Through engagement with Africa's 54 diverse nations, regional blocs, and the African Union, established and emerging Asian donor powers participate in defining the international order under their own terms. China's brand of SSC through concerted unilateralism defines development cooperation with Chinese characteristics, values, and norms. India's brand of South-South Partnership and SAGAR vision offer African states an alternative to extra-regional influence, increased African agency and self-determination in their development pathways. Japan's innovative TICAD framework and visionary role as a

bridge between Asia and Africa, positions Tokyo at the nexus between great powers and emerging powers. As a paragon of triangular development cooperation Tokyo is leading the OECD-DAC from the front in re-defining 21st century development cooperation frameworks, norms, and values. Asian donors' ontological development narratives are in the process of disrupted established OECD-DAC aid constructs and reshaping the international order.

In summary, this thesis endeavored to demonstrate the significance of new modes of development power that go beyond traditional aid archetypes. By contextualizing Chinese hard-power in African states, the comparative analysis speaks to how established and emerging Asian donors are reshaping development paradigms. Distinct from 20th century constructs, this new mode of development cooperation is bolstered by the historical context and social values that bind African states and peoples with Asian brands. Through a comparative analysis of Japanese, Chinese, and Indian fora in Africa, this work revealed each Asian donors' cultivation of a unique development brand engineered for a highly interconnected 21st century development landscape. Through the application of disruptive development ontologies in African engagement, the Asian Lions have defined new modes of cooperation built around their distinctive worldviews, values, and norms. This new type of development power presents a pathway to achieving international legitimacy and major donor power status. Beijing's BRI, Japan FOIP, and India's South-South partnership framework are disrupting the established DAC principles and values in favor of aligned Asian-Africa development visions brokered through TICAD, FOCAC, and IAFS.

2020 and Beyond

While this thesis focused primarily on the period of 2008 to 2019, I conclude by considering the trajectory of Japan, China, and India's engagement with African states in 2020 and beyond. 2020 presented acute challenges to established and emerging donors' relationships with African states given the COVID-19 pandemic and resulting economic and social instability. Despite these challenges, 2020 also offers unique opportunities for disruption and reevaluation of traditional development norms and values. To this end, Asian donors have been on the frontline of crafting global responses to health and

economic crises in the global South, including efforts through the World Health Organization and Gavi, the Vaccine Alliance, to ensure access to vaccines in African countries. The year 2021 will see the fourth IAFS Summit (postponed from 2020) and the FOCAC VIII Conference, scheduled to be held in Senegal. In 2022, TICAD 8 will convene in Tunisia marking the second time an African nation has hosted the TICAD summit.

Japan's Africa development cooperation is postured for major advances over the next decade. Under the Biden administration and the leadership of Prime Minister Suga, a reprioritization of allies and partners may amplify Japan's leadership of the FOIP vision in Asia and Africa. Tokyo will continue to pursue a proactive development engagement in Africa as the cornerstone of extra-regional development cooperation. Japan's role in building partnership opportunities for Asia-Africa triangular cooperation, especially with India, will gain increasing prioritization for PM Suga and U.S. President Biden. Indications of increasing prioritization of ontological power were highlighted during Foreign Minister Motegi's 2020 visit to Tunisia, Mozambique, South Africa, and Mauritius where he reinforced the FOIP vision for the continent. FM Motegi's visit targeted key hubs central to JICA's African Master Plan with strategic significance to legitimizing Japan's paradigm. Notably, Tunisia will host the TICAD 2022 Conference and South Africa is the 2020 chair of the African Union. At TICAD 2022, we can expect Japan to headline with its UHC leadership and healthcare capacity building initiatives while also increasing the prominence of FOIP as part of the TICAD mechanism. Japan may increase cooperation with India's digitalization initiatives, building on the TICAD7 Action Plan's inclusion of the pan-African e-Network. The Suga administration will also rebrand the role of Japan's self-defense forces on the African continent and provide greater fidelity to the NAPSA mechanism announced in 2019. Over the next decade, Japan's defense capabilities will be honed through strategic African missions and multilateral cooperation with other military powers, such as the US, Canada, and the UK.

In terms of Japan-China cooperation, the COVID crisis has exposed the weaknesses of various BRI projects and problems in China's obscure lending practices. These issues have resulted in major blows to the BRI in Africa, including the cancellation of the strategic Bagamoyo port project in Tanzania and the suspension of the Lamu and Hamrawein Coal Plants in Kenya and Egypt. Such setbacks cast shadows on Beijing's

legitimacy as a development power and tarnish the credibility of its development paradigm in Africa and the greater Indo-Pacific. While China is the clear development power standout as of 2019, maintaining its stature in Africa will require increasing precision in the application of ontological, material, and soft power resources, for reasons detailed below.

Debt sustainability for African states will remain a concern for Tokyo and Beijing as they consider extending new ODA or ODA-like loans in upcoming TICAD and FOCAC conferences. Riding the wave of the G20 presidency, Japan has a prime opportunity to influence Chinese adherence to quality and sustainability standards by reinvigorating the Japan-China third country development cooperation initiated in 2018. Japan-China cooperation in Africa may offer Beijing an amenable first step for re-engagement as parallel Japanese and Chinese infrastructure and health initiatives are already ongoing side by side in African states. Cooperation with Japan may renew confidence in Beijing for weary African states while allowing Tokyo to demand transparency and accountability in the Chinese development processes. Of all three Asian donors, Japan represents the donor with the greatest growth potential due to its world-class JICA institution, extensive ODA budgets, and the untapped realization of broad-reaching cooperative partnerships with India, African states, and the OECD powers. Japan's ODA budgets are unlikely to increase, but partnership frameworks with commercial industry, private sector, and civil sector managed efficiently by JICA, will multiply ODA effectiveness.

China's African development cooperation reached a peak in 2015 and 2016, but the post-2020 trajectory will demonstrate increased caution. FOCAC VIII will be headlined by new BRI initiatives, most notably the Health Silk Road and Green Silk Road. FOCAC VIII commitments will likely include millions of COVID vaccines for African populations that will be delivered over the road, rail, and port infrastructure built by China over the last two decades. This new emphasis area is already evident as Beijing delivered COVID-19 vaccines to Egypt and broke ground on the African Center for Disease Control in Addis Ababa, Ethiopia, on accelerated timelines. The Africa CDC represents another major piece of African governing infrastructure following the model of the AU Headquarters that will be fully funded, built, and furnished by the Chinese government. In terms of FOCAC's material financial investments, Beijing's provision of concessional and non-concessional

loans will continue on the declining trajectory in 2021 in favor of investment in capacity building and technology transfer, continuing the trend seen at FOCAC 2018. In the wake of the COVID crisis, Beijing will continue to hone proficiency in the mediation of hotspots that affect China's national interests, especially in states like Ethiopia that are keystones of the BRI framework. FOCAC initiatives in the media, informational, and ICT domains will evolve toward market dominance in Africa's rural and urban information environment with the goal of universalizing China's ontological vision. In the void of American global leadership from 2016 to 2020, Beijing has established a foothold in African governance intuitions and expanded African reception to Chinese development ideals. Increasingly overt governance and CCP policy training delivered through FOCAC will headline FOCAC VIII's ontological and soft power initiatives. Ultimately, the FOCAC cooperative framework developed in Africa over the last 20 years will be a template for Beijing's development engagement across the Indo-Pacific region.

Despite its significant potential, China is also the most vulnerable of the Asian development partners. If FOCAC VIII pledges fail to live up to African nations' expectations, this could be perceived as a cooling of China's commitment in times of hardship. Issues of debt sustainability, environmental protection, and social responsibility are possible fracture points for Beijing's relationship with key African partner states. Especially in the fallout of the COVID-19 crisis, Chinese reluctance to offer debt relief and obscure lending practices are likely to come under fire by African populations. Finally, Beijing's preference for bilateral cooperation with African states has not improved China's problem of attracting true allies and partners. While Japan and India have expanded trilateralism and multilateralism in African development cooperation, China has not inspired cooperation from major powers despite BRI overtures. Chinese influence on the African continent can easily be overpowered by cooperative efforts from Japan, India, the US, and other like-minded OECD-DAC powers. Beijing's ability to realize genuine political and strategic alignment with African states remains uncertain. The legitimization of BRI as a mechanism for multilateralism will define China's success or failure in shaping global governance structures over the next decade.

Indian cooperation with African states is at a critical inflection point. IAFS IV will be vital in solidifying a cohesive Indian brand of South-South partnership and demonstrating

India's commitment to a transformative Indo-African partnership. IAFS IV has been postponed to 2021 and a date has yet to be finalized for the conference. Even so, the fact that New Delhi is prioritizing in-person head-of-state engagement is a sign of the importance of the Indo-Africa strategic partnership. Like Japan and China, India is likely to headline with health capacity building initiatives. In addition, India's leadership of a digital revolution in Africa and IAFS's ability to speak to the desires of African youth could distinguish India from the extra-regional Asian donors. IAFS IV will define the role of African states in the SAGAR vision through concrete initiatives. To this end, IAFS will likely introduce a more robust framework for material cooperation in technology domains and increase India-Africa security cooperation in the Indian Ocean region.

New Delhi's ability to take advantage of targets of opportunity with African partners while fighting the COVID crisis could catapult India's standing in the region and internationally. While Japanese and Chinese diplomatic engagement has atrophied due to travel restrictions and poor technical infrastructure, India has an opportunity to make inroads with African governments and institutions. Strategic cooperation in pharmaceutical development, logistics and distribution infrastructure, and a net-security construct have the potential to expand India's leadership in the region. The Pan-African e-Network and India's proximity to African states present strategic advantages should New Delhi have both the political will and sufficient budget. For India, Africa's growing integration and the implementation of the historic African Continental Free Trade Area (AfCFTA) can be a game changer. The use of IAFS to realize seamless linkages to strategic African markets can be a growth engine for India's domestic development and accelerate the Make in India initiative. Despite this incredible opportunity, India is most at risk of stagnation if its own development challenges and the fallout from the COVID-19 crisis force New Delhi to alter investment priorities.

Turning toward Africa, many African states have benefited from the significant investments made by Japan, China, and India. As financing for large-scale infrastructure lessened from former-colonial powers and the United States, established and emerging Asian donors filled a critical need for African partners. While progress is not universal across the continent, nations such as Kenya, Rwanda, Nigeria, Ethiopia, South Africa, Uganda have become epicenters of growth. Going forward, the task of transforming

investment into development dividends lies in the hands of African governments, civil society, and activist networks. African leaders will be scrutinized and pressured by their constituents to hold foreign investors accountable for upholding environmental and social standards. The realization of regional and pan-African integration, as highlighted in AU Agenda 2063, will be vital for both large and small African nations to negotiate in a unified block with major powers. Already, there are promising signs such as AfCFTA. Although Beijing favors bilateral trade and investment agreements, African states can demand more favorable terms and increase accountability through an integrated approach within the FOCAC mechanism. Asia-Africa forum diplomacy over the next decade will reveal the effects of the global crisis on the UN and other global governance institutions, Asian ODA philosophies, and African states.

In closing, it is valuable to highlight areas for future research. Ontological narratives and soft power remain an understudied field. Fieldwork in African states would provide insight into the effectiveness of Asian forum diplomacy in realizing a shift in attitudes and perceptions in African governments, institutions, and populations. While this thesis provided insight into the scope and maturity of ontological power, fieldwork is necessary to assess the internalization of Chinese, Japanese, and Indian values and world-views. Continued analysis of public opinion with a broader aperture to capture an expanded cast of Asian donor powers engagement in African states would greatly benefit the field of Asian studies. As the balance of power shifts toward the Indo-Pacific, cooperative networks in Asia and Africa will define the 21st century world order.

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