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THE HISTORICAL CONSTRAINTS OF AFRICA SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION: 30 YEARS OF TICAD THROUGH THE LENSES OF SOUTH-SOUTH-TRIANGULAR COOPERATION[1]

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ABSTRACT

Placing emphasis on the concepts of self-reliance and self-help, this paper contributes to the broad literature on South-South and Triangular cooperation, first, to understand its conceptual significance to south-south cooperation; second, to understand why from an historical perspective south-south cooperation has not advanced in Africa; and third, drawing on three decades of the Tokyo International Conference on African Development, to understand the extent of TICAD contribution to promoting Africa's self-reliance, essential to ending Africa's marginalization and exit aid dependency. Based on insights from cross-analysis OECD reports, TICAD documents, UN and OAU historical resolutions, and secondary literature, through a qualitative and chronological approach, roughly from 1960 to 2022, we find that the role of TICAD through SS-TrC not only has contributed to structural development changes in Africa, but also redefined the paradigm of development assistance based on country ownership and equal partnership, thus becoming part of the Global Agenda for Development.

Keywords AFRICA, SELF-RELIANCE, SOUTH-SOUTH TRIANGULAR COOPERATION, TICAD

RESUMO

Baseando-se nos conceitos de autossuficiência e auto-ajuda, este artigo contribui para a literatura sobre a cooperação Sul-Sul e Triangular, primeiro para compreender o seu significado conceptual; em segundo, entender as razões históricas pelas quais a cooperação sul-sul não avançou em África; e terceiro, examina o contributo da cooperação triangular ao longo de três décadas da Conferência Internacional de Tóquio sobre o Desenvolvimento Africano (TICAD) para reduzir a marginalização de África e a sua dependência da ajuda. Com recurso a uma abordagem qualitativa e cronológica e a uma análise cruzada de relatórios, documentos e literatura secundária, aproximadamente de 1960 a 2022, concluímos que o papel do TICAD não só contribuiu para mudanças estruturais no desenvolvimento em África através da agenda sul-sul e cooperação triangular, como também redefiniu o paradigma da assistência ao desenvolvimento com base nos princípios do TICAD, tornando-se assim parte da Agenda Global para o Desenvolvimento.

Palavras-chave ÁFRICA, AUTOSUFICIÊNCIA, COOPERAÇÃO SUL-SUL E TRIANGULAR, TICAD

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Introduction

Over time, South-South cooperation (SSC) has emphasized national and collective self-reliance as a key approach among developing countries to change the development paradigm toward an equitable international economic order based on southern countries solidarity. In recent years, perceptions among countries in the Global South and their agendas regarding the role of SSC to achieve sustained economic development through national and collective self-reliance have appeared more assertive and fragmented.

The lack of a standard international definition for SSC, the growing number of actors engaged in SSC, and the increasingly politicized nature of North-South dynamics within the SSC development label, partly explains some African state resistance to adopt the terminology of SSC in their cooperation practices (Muhr, 2023; Haug and Kamwengo, 2022; UNDP, 2017). This is reflected in the ODA base model of North-South cooperation, the South-led solidarity of SSC, and the Triangular cooperation modality (TrC) that complements the above two modalities to support development in a third country, thus bringing value to both modes of cooperation (Chakrabarti and Chatuverdi, 2021). Japan's implementation of TrC to support SSC among developing countries through TICAD, considered a mutually beneficial partnership by the AU, complements Brazil, China, or India SSC partnerships, based on trust and shared collaboration among partners, thus bringing change in Africa as more countries are attracted to the benefits of south-south triangular cooperation (OECD, 2022; ECA-SA, 2011; UNDP-NEPAD, 2019, p. 29).

The discussion of Japan's development model with its distinctive characteristics from those of OECD-DAC is important to understand where Japan's SS-TrC activities fit in the context of the Tokyo International Conference on Africa Development (TICAD) Process within the North-South aid vertical relationship. As a traditional aid donor, Japan's south-south agenda is well-endowed of the Bandung spirit built on the Afro-Asian solidarity since the early days of its technical cooperation program, so-called Colombo Plan (Cornelissen, 2004). It's worth pointing that from an Asia-perspective, the *Asian-African Conference*, so-called Bandung conference, which Japan participated is the precursor of the Non-Alignment Movement (NAM) that initiated the process of solidarity and cooperation among developing countries, later called Global South (Kasongo, 2010). Moreover, Takasaki Tatsunosuke, the leader of the Japanese delegation exhorted African countries to pursue self-reliance in the form of economic development as the only way to achieve true independence and progress in line with the Final Communique of the Bandung Conference and with Japan's 'aid' philosophy of self-help efforts toward self-reliance, exiting aid dependency (Sono, 1993; Kahin 1956; Shimomura, 2013).

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Since the 1970s when south-south-triangular cooperation (SS-TrC) was absent from the political agenda of most developed countries, Japan International Cooperation Agency (JICA) adopted it as a cooperation modality, beginning with Thailand (OECD, 2020). Officially, this only happened with the revised ODA Charter of 2003, reaffirmed in the Development Cooperation Charter in 2023 (MOFA, 2003, 2023).

In 1993, SSC was prioritized on the inaugurated TICAD as a catalyst for improving Asia-Africa transfer of technology and knowledge exchange of various kinds. JICA has become its main implementer through its regular bilateral ODA mechanisms, but also through multilateral cooperation with the UNDP, the African Union (AU), NEPAD and its co-partners. JICA defines SSC as 'mutual cooperation aimed at fostering self-sustaining development that involves deepening relations among developing countries, while implementing technical and economic cooperation' (JICA, 2006).

Based on the self-reliance of African countries, the TICAD Process changed the Cold War standard bilateral and selective approach of Japan's engagement with Africa to one of multilateral contours treating all countries equally (CEsA, 2017; B.Z. Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie, 2010). Through its multilateral framework and emphasis on multilayered cooperation across all sectors and open to all interested partners, the focus of TICAD on SSC is beyond North-South imbalanced traditional schemes, thus important to review Japan-Africa relations from the perspective of TICAD (B. Z. Osei-Hwedie and Osei-Hwedie, 2010). While retaining the African vision of self-reliance and Japan's own belief in self-help efforts, the TICAD has evolved from a development aid conference to a trade oriented economic cooperation, and business public-private partnership framework with focus on people and infrastructure quality growth aligned with the African Union (AU) Agenda 2063 (Raposo, 2014; Carvalho, 2023).

Arguably, the TICAD Process has strengthened African national and collective self-reliance through south-south Triangular cooperation (SS-TrC) as stated in the 1993 'Tokyo Declaration on African Development Towards the 21st Century' (MOFA, 1993). It asks how and to what extent TICAD's South-South agenda has contributed for Africa's self-reliance, essential to ending its marginalization and aid dependency? And, what kind of approach should TICAD IX have in 2025? Continue TICAD's traditional North-South development partnership or strengthen the SS-TrC axis?

In this regard, Honda, Kato, and Shimoda (2013) reviewed the main trends, issues and modes of Japan's SSC-TrC to Africa with specific cases in TICAD V up to 2017, and concluded that the TICAD has been instrumental in supporting Africa's SSC (Asia-Africa) exchanges. However, a third-party evaluation of TICAD found that the 'catalyst' role of SSC within TICAD needs concrete measures to increase SSC between African countries in terms

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of exchange collaboration, mutual sharing of development results, and common standards on how to cooperate within SSC (MOFA, 2018).

This requires a deeper analysis of TICAD's institutional framework, its South-South development actions and outcomes throughout the entire Process. Given the decline of Japan's ODA volume, based on TICADs 30-year track record and JICA's SS-TrC knowledge, this paper suggests that forthcoming TICAD IX strengthens the actions of SS-TrC beyond the usual references to maximize TICAD actions in the field in support of Africa's south-south cooperation.

Based on insights from cross-analysis of TICAD documents, OECD reports, and UN and OAU historical resolutions and secondary literature, roughly from 1960 to 2022, this paper follows a qualitative and chronological approach and structures, as follows. First, outlines a historical background of SSC to assess Africa's constraints in adopting (or not) SSC as a means of achieving collective-self-reliance. Second, analyzes the TICAD conferences with regard to Japan's promotion of SS-TrC development practices in support of Africa's self-reliance and ownership along with SSC changes in the development paradigm. The final section, briefly reviews SSC in Africa, assesses the role of SS-TrC in forthcoming TICAD IX, and concludes.

1. SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION AND SELF-RELIANCE – THE WAY TO TICAD

The reason why 'self-reliance' and 'self-help' are central elements of SSC relates with the asymmetrical North-South divide in the early days of the Cold War within the historical struggle of the Least Developed Countries (LDC), so-called Third World against a structure that to this day is rejected. SSC favors solidarity with other peripheral countries on the same level in order to accelerate its own development process.

This idea of cooperation and solidarity on a south-south basis goes back to the 1950s and 1960s with the first Afro-Asian conference in Bandung in 1955, the Non-Aligned Movement (NAM) in 1961, and the Group of 77 (G-77) developing countries established at the first UNCTAD in 1964.

The NAM more political, and the G-77, more economic began articulating their collective interests toward the institutionalization of South-South exchanges as a Third World coalition against the North developed rich countries. What began as a political movement of political decolonization along the East-West divide shifted to self-reliance as a way of achieving economic emancipation along the North-South issues of rich versus poor, solidarity and mutual cooperation rather than independence, transformation rather than domination (NAM, 1970; Shaw, 1989).

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During the 1970s, the Cold War division resulted in the new international economic order (NIEO) debate between the NAM and the G-77, over which approach (conflict or cooperation with the North) should be chosen to achieve a new economic order as a collective response to trade and economic dependence (Shaw, 1989). Given that cooperation with the North was not the solution, disengagement from the North unequal terms of trade toward a fairer global trading system under the NIEO called for deeper South-South horizontal relations between developing countries as a complement to the North-South vertical relations between developed and developing countries (Gray and Gills, 2016). In 1978, 138 states endorsed the Buenos Aires Plan of Action (BAPA) and institutionalized SSC through technical cooperation between developing countries to promote national and collective self-reliance (UNDP, 1978). To achieve self-reliance, BAPA emphasized the transfer of technology and skills, exchanges of experience, sharing, and utilization of common technical resources to meet their specific development needs, according with their own aspirations and values (ibidem).

Despite full integration of the self-reliance strategy into the Final Declaration at the Fourth Ministerial Meeting of the G-77 at Arusha, Tanzania in 1979, entitled 'Arusha Programme for Collective Self-Reliance and Framework for Negotiations' (UN, 1981) the lack of progress in North-South negotiations necessary to establish the NIEO to which the theme of self-reliance was central, but never meant a total autarky from the North, exposed the contradictions of the NIEO principles as greater North/South trade interdependence was required (Muhr, 2023).

The economic divergence between southern countries and the lack of financial support from developed countries to funding the disengagement process of developing countries meant that Africa could not wait for a NIEO, as the South demands lacked concrete policies (Sauvant, 2014). For Africa in many cases these South-South relations were no different of the traditional North-South patterns, thus neo-colonial in character where Africa was again the supplier of primary goods (Shaw and Carlsson, 1991).

The 1980s, assisted to institutional advancements in terms of multilateral action within SSC (Renzio and Seifert, 2014) through the establishment of the High-level Conference on Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries (HLC-ECDC) convened by the G-77 at Caracas in 1981 and 1986 in Cairo. However, subsequent HLC-ECDC failed to achieve tangible results to strengthening SSC, especially in sub-Saharan Africa, largely due to the underlying structural maladjustment within the economic and political crisis (G-77, 1986).

Africa lost interest in SSC, and opted to craft its own development alternative with the Lagos Plan of Action (LPA) officially labeled Lagos Plan of Action for the Economic Development of Africa, 1980-2000 (OAU, 1981). With an endogenous approach to SSC, the LPA became an agency milestone of an African led-policy strategy of African own solutions to African problems based on national and collective self-reliance objectives.

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In the 1990s, the ideological and development tensions that undermined the North-South cooperation and conceptual differences in terms of development strategy between the NAM and the G-77 declined, largely due to Africa's departure from the NIEO in 1980.

Upon the positive changes in the East-West relations and their impact in Africa, at the Twenty-sixth Session of the OAU in Addis Ababa in July 1990, the Assembly of Heads of State and Government (AHG), declared: 'In view of the real threat of marginalization of our continent (...) guided by the principle of collective self-reliance and self-sustaining development, recommitted to strengthen the South-South cooperation (...) express their readiness to reactivate North-South dialogue and cooperation' (OAU, 1990, paragraph 2, 14). At the same Session, under the Res. 196 (XXVI), the AHG called the 'development partners in the international community to provide all possible support ... with a view to creating a global coalition for Africa which would represent a new international partnership for the coming decade giving due recognition to the long-term nature of the African Crisis (ibidem).'

In other words, African leaders acknowledged their responsibility insofar as self-help efforts were needed to achieve self-reliance. However, without a 'new international partnership' like TICAD, development could not be redefined. After the failure of the NIEO and LPA, Africa was ready to reinforce its SSC ties in terms of horizontal exchanges and reengage into North-South dialogue, even though this premise involved an aid dimension. TICAD was needed as an alternative and genuine partnership where cooperation respects the interests of both partners within a framework of equality and shared values (Tevoedjre, 1991; MOFA, 1993).

Under the deterioration of Africa's socio-economic conditions, the United Nations General Assembly (hereafter, UNGA) by its Resolution 46/151 of 18 December 1991, adopted a New Agenda for Development of Africa (UN-NADAF), called 'the international community to support Africa's own efforts to achieve self-sustaining socio-economic growth and development' (UNGA, 1991, preamble). On its side, 'Africa committed itself to intensifying South-South cooperation ... for the success of the New Agenda (ibidem).'

In October 1993, 'under the principle of shared responsibility and full partnership with Africa' of Resolution 46/151 of the UNGA, Japan co-organized the first TICAD at the multilateral level, with the Global Coalition for Africa (GCA), the OAU (presently, African Union), the UN, the World Bank, 13 donor countries, including European Community, DAC members, and international organizations.

The TICAD was held amidst widespread poverty and governance problems in Africa, and the sense of aid fatigue among the donor community and Afro-pessimism (Cornelissen, 1998). To rebut this state of marginalization seriously detrimental to Africa, the preamble of the 'Tokyo Declaration on African Development – Towards the 21st Century' mentioned that TICAD Declaration was adopted 'based in the firm belief that it will serve to

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strengthen an emerging new partnership for Africa sustainable development based on self-reliance of African countries and the support of Africa's development partners' (MOFA, 1993).

It should be noted that the concept referred to as 'self-reliance' in the first TICAD Declaration is to be understood as 'ownership' and not 'self-reliance', as the latter refers to the principle of SSC used to reduce external dependency of the work of the dependency school toward independence through a steady increase in local capacity (JICA, 2013; Besharati, et al. 2017).

As for partnership together with ownership they form the twin guiding principles upon which TICAD would evolve and progress, later adopted by the G-77 at the Tenth Meeting of the Intergovernmental Follow-up and Coordination Committee on Economic Cooperation among Developing Countries at Tehran in August 2001, where their importance to forging broad-based partnerships in support of SSC was acknowledged (UNGA, 2002).

Although not explicitly written in the Tokyo Declaration, the principle of 'ownership' was implicit in the delegates statement as 'reforms must be initiated and carried out by African countries themselves, based on their visions, values and individual socio-economic background' (MOFA, 1993). Hence, self-reliance was the first step toward ownership as the former prioritizes auto-centred development through an empowerment strategy to attain self-sufficiency in food, trade, industry, and finance development as the LPA emphasized (OAU, 1989, paragraph 332).

Ideally, in a self-reliant development strategy, whether in an aid or SSC relationship, aid particularly tied aid, should be rejected. Although the philosophy of self-reliance is not incompatible with foreign aid the adverse effects of aid dependency on the recipient ownership must be protected insofar as the role of aid should increase self-reliance (El-Issawy, 1985). Similar to Japan's aid philosophy, it is assumed that after a certain period of time aid is no longer needed as African countries through their self-help efforts would achieve national and collective self-reliance (Shimomura, 2016).

The relevance of SSC in the First Tokyo Declaration remains a hallmark in TICAD and Japan as the promoter of the 'development achievements in East and South-East Asia have enhanced opportunities for SSC with Africa,' making SSC the fourth pillar of the TICAD process (MOFA, 1993). This was noted by the UNGA in its Res. 49/96 on SSC in 1994. In this same session of the UNGA, the 'Deputy Prime Minister of Japan called for increased emphasis to be given to SSC and urged its inclusion as an integral part of the Agenda for Development' (UN-TCDC, 1995).

In response, the High-level Committee on the Review of Technical Cooperation Among Developing Countries in 1995, the ninth session at the UN acknowledged 'the need to identify pivotal countries to serve as catalysts for

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implementing technical cooperation among developing countries (TCDC); the promotion of triangular cooperation arrangements, under which donors from developed countries would agree to fund exchanges among developing countries' (UN-TCDC, 1995).

2. TICAD THROUGH THE LENSES OF SOUTH-SOUTH COOPERATION

The 1993 Tokyo Declaration insofar as Africa 'self-reliance' is concerned mention that 'no one model of development can be simple transferred from one region to another' though African participants acknowledged the 'relevance of the Asian experience for African development' (MOFA, 1993).

In this light, during the five years between TICAD I and TICAD II in 1998, to translate Japan's support of economic and regional integration of Africa as set out in the LPA, to convert TICAD SSC into effective Asia-Africa cooperation, two Asia-Africa Forums (AAF), the first in Indonesia in 1994, and the second in Thailand in 1997, and several workshops were organized. The success of these SSC Forums was duly noted at the UNGA in its Res. 49/96 of January 1995 (UNGA, 1995).

The results of TICAD I were felt in the political optimism acquired at the Conference to maintain the Japanese ODA pledges of US$1.296 million to Africa, translated in new SSC-TrC development alternatives to Africa, for example through training and information sharing at the Centre for South-South Technical Cooperation in Indonesia.

TICAD II was held in October 1998, amidst the East Asian economic and social crisis. To reduce the collateral damage of financial globalization in Africa, 'Poverty reduction through accelerated economic growth and sustainable development, and effective integration of African economies into the global economy' were prioritized. For the first time, TICAD welcomed the Chairperson of the African Union Commission (AUC) and demonstrated greater inclusivity with the participation of NGO. While the Tokyo Declaration in 1993 (MOFA, 1993) enunciated the principles of 'self- reliance' and 'partnership', the Tokyo Agenda for Action (TAA) adopted at TICAD II (MOFA, 1998) kept the principle of 'partnership', but replaced the principle of 'self-reliance' with the principle of 'ownership', following its adoption by the African Heads of State at the Cairo Agenda in 1995, 'guided by the principle of collective self-reliance in order to achieve self-sustaining development' maintain the legitim right of African countries 'to decide on their own priorities and programmes' in partnership with Africa's development partners (OAU, 1995). Here, 'self-reliance' and 'ownership' differ insofar as without self-reliance, true ownership in terms of juridical and empirical statehood cannot be achieved (Jackson and Rosberg, 1985, p. 50).

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In this light, TICAD II (1998) clarified its underlying principles (ownership and partnership) as they emulate Japan's development philosophy (Cornelissen, 1998). Therefore, TICAD embodies Japan's development model because it emphasizes developing countries 'ownership' as self-help efforts to achieve economic and social development, which in turn aligns with Africa's rational of self-reliant development to achieve independence in terms of capacity to design and implement their own (ownership) policies.

As for partnership, to be effective the TICAD II – TAA emphasizes the need of a 'spirit of true partnership and mutual commitment' under African leadership (MOFA, 1998). In practice, for African participants the potential problem subjacent to TICAD is the different perspective each one has about a partnership, which depends on the type of partner, DAC or non-DAC (Raposo, 2014). Therefore, the TAA emphasizes African leadership capacity so that they can own the process, without any constraints, thus contributing to enhance national self-reliance (Rampa et al., 2012; Besharati, et al., 2017).

TICAD II is also significant because it developed SSC beyond the policy dialogue of the Asia-Africa Forum into the Africa-Asia Business Forum (AABF) with several AABF business meetings organized from 1999 to 2004 and beyond. For the first time, to expand SSC, the TAA inserted the concept of triangular cooperation in its declaration (MOFA, 1998). This reflects the input of Japan's contribution for international development cooperation insofar as TrC is SSC involving a developed third country or international organization from the North with expertise, technology and know-how and a pivotal (partner) country to implementing programs or projects for developing (beneficiary) countries (ECA-SA, 2011).

As a pioneer in SS-TrC since 1975, and as a follow-up of TICAD II, JICA established a 'Triangular Technical Cooperation Program (TTCP) with Egypt in 1998 and Tunisia in 1999, this latter in the form of partnership program (PP) to support SSC in African countries, in areas such as agriculture, water, health, fisheries, or road maintenance through international training and deployment of experts (Honda et al., 2013).

Another outcome of TICAD II involving Asia-Africa SSC cooperation was the increased dissemination it provided to NERICA or New Rice for Africa, first developed in 1994 by the West African Rice Development Association (WARDA) in the form of TrC. Japanese government funded 80 percent of the total assistance, directly to WARDA and to the Japanese Human Resources Development Fund for SSC, the Special Unit for TCDC in UNDP, from 1997 to 2005 (JICA, 2007). The NERICA brought together the crossing research expertise of 25 research institutions across Asia, Africa, Europe and USA that combined two (Asia-Africa) rice species to produce a high-yield rice resistant to harsh environments, something never achieved in the history of rice breeding. By 2011, the impact of NERICA brand trademarked in 2004, resulted in increased rice production from 1.0 ton/hectare

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to 2.5-3.0 tons per hectare, benefiting an estimated 241,000 farm families in the project area, thus reducing poverty alleviation in Africa (OECD, 2010; AfDB, 2014).

2.1 10 Years of TICAD – affirmation and visibility of SSC through ownership

The turn of the century between 1998 and 2001 assisted to a recall from African leaders for the importance of SSC and ownership where Africans should decide and make their own reforms. One was South Africa President Thabo Mbeki also Chairman of NAM, called for an Africa Renaissance (Mbeki, 1998). Mbeki together with the Presidents Bouteflika of Algeria, Chairman of the OAU, and Obasanjo of Nigeria developed an initiative known as the Millennium Partnership for the African Recovery Programme (MAP), which emphasized an effective partnership with developed countries for Africa's structural transformation under African ownership. To operationalize the MAP, emphasis was given to debt relief and private sector led-growth to ensure a managed transition from ODA dependency to financing economic and social development (UNECA, 2001). Another was Obasanjo of Nigeria and Chairman of the G-77, who advocated the promotion of SSC and renewal of North-South cooperation through a New Partnership for Development as the successor of the Lagos Plan of Action (G-77, 2000). Finally, President Abdoulaye Wade of Senegal announced his OMEGA Plan for Africa focused on regional integration to connect Africa through physical infrastructure.

At the 2000 G8 Summit in Japan, the G8 endorsed the above African plans. In 2001, the OAU approved the New African Initiative (NAI) which merged the MAP and the OMEGA Plan into the New Partnership for Africa Development (NEPAD) (Rukato, 2010).

In October 2003, the TICAD III official statement 'Tenth Anniversary Declaration' reaffirmed their commitment to African development, as follows: 'The TICAD process welcomes the establishment of NEPAD, while NEPAD recognizes the TICAD process as a pivotal initiative in addressing the challenges of African development' (MOFA, 2003a). In practice, the NEPAD became the driving force in setting Africa agenda, with the TICAD acting as a facilitator insofar as Japan in partnership with a pivotal country i.e. another developing country supports the implementation of programs in African (beneficiary) countries. Hence, SS-TrC was promoted to the forefront of TICAD with Japan supporting other developing countries SSC to implement development programs or projects in African countries through triangular cooperation.

Examples, include the signature of Japan-Morocco Triangular Technical Cooperation Program (TTCP) in 2003, under the PP to promote SSC in Africa in the fields of road maintenance, fisheries and maternal health, or the 'Strengthening of Mathematics and Science Education – Western, Eastern, Central and Southern Africa' (SMASE-WECSA) implemented jointly by Kenya (pivotal country) and Japan (partner) in 32 African (beneficiary) countries

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from 1998 to 2013. These PP underscore the importance of SSC in TICAD toward African self-help efforts because pivotal countries participate actively in the programs, which in turn are aligned with the development priorities of the beneficiary countries. Japan's support for NEPAD can be seen as natural as both frameworks complemented each other to fulfill TICAD III pillars of 'human-centred development', 'poverty reduction through economic growth' and 'consolidation of peace', respectively, under the human security concept (MOFA, 2003b).

To improve food security in Africa, TICAD III further strengthened Japan's partnership within NERICA initiative through the NEPAD-led initiative so-called Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Program (CAADP) (MOFA, 2003b). Another outcome of TICAD III was the 'Asia-Africa Trade and Investment Conference (AATIC)', that led to the 'TICAD-NEPAD Joint Policy Framework' to promote trade and investment between Africa and Asia in 2004. With Japan's support, at the High-Level Committee on SSC at the UN General Assembly in 2005, NEPAD was seen as a key South-South initiative (UNGA, 2005).

Despite rising levels of Japanese ODA to Africa during TICAD III aimed at poverty reduction, Japan's US$3 billion debt relief effort for HIPC was nevertheless insufficient to all countries in need, exposing the cyclical downturn of Japan's ODA budget (Cornelissen and Mine, 2018). Additional US$1.6 billion of Japan's ODA was allocated to agriculture, education, health, and water to achieve the MDGs, while continuing addressing the consolidation of peace in fragile states from the perspective of human security (Raposo, 2013).

By TICAD IV in 2008, China and India had already launched similar development platforms based on the TICAD philosophy, branded as genuine partnership within SSC principles (non-interference, equality, respect for state sovereignty, solidarity, mutual benefit) with self-reliance and self-help as underlying principles (Raposo, 2014). The rise of South-South development partnerships with its emphasis on 'development effectiveness' rather than 'aid effectiveness' was reaffirmed in the Nairobi UN-HLC on SSC in 2010. SSC is no longer to be seen as ODA, but as a partnership based on solidarity to enhance development effectiveness with a results-oriented approach. Furthermore, the Nairobi outcome document urged developed countries to support SSC through triangular cooperation, including for capacity building (UNGA, 2010). Therefore, SSC has become broader reflecting a cooperative and complementary dimension to North-South cooperation (Hansen, 2018, p. 338).

Against this background and a global recession that impacted negatively in Africa's economic growth, the Yokohama Declaration of TICAD IV prioritized three interrelated areas: 'Boosting economic growth' through infrastructure development, trade, investment and tourism, and agriculture; 'Ensuring Human Security, including achieving the MDGs and consolidation of peace and governance'; and 'Addressing Environmental Issues and Climate Change,' under 'Broadening Partnership' through South-South cooperation (MOFA, 2008).

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In TICAD IV, the role of SSC expanded with the inclusion of TrC as a component of SSC to produce practical results on Asia-Africa cooperation and regional integration focused on infrastructure and agriculture development. For example, the TrC program between Brazil, Japan, and Mozambique to support the agricultural development of the Nacala Corridor (ProSavana) illustrates the virtues and shortcomings of the SSC-TrC (Carvalho, 2020). Yet, the development of Nacala Corridor is beyond the ProSavana. The Nacala Road Corridor Project (NRCP), which connects Mozambique, Malawi and Zambia is included in the Programme for Infrastructure Development in Africa (PIDA) 2010-2040, previously under the umbrella of NEPAD and the AU Infrastructure Master Plans, became a priority project for the Southern Africa Development Community (SADC). Here, JICA's contribution with the 'Michi no eki' concept i.e. 'roadside stations' along the Nacala Corridor incorporates the concept of human security as these multifunctional roadside facilities enhance local community's self-reliance through inclusive employment based on trade and farming along the highway (Raposo, 2013).

TICAD IV differed from previous conferences in that it changed from a non-pledge to a pledge 'type' conference with numerical targets and a 'Follow-Up' mechanism for monitoring the implementation of the outcome documents - the Yokohama Declaration and the Yokohama Action Plan (YAP). Moreover, to increase coordination with the NEPAD Secretariat, re-named 'NEPAD Planning and Coordination Agency' in 2010, TICAD introduced ministerial meetings, held every year since. In 2012 under the YAP, Japan doubled its ODA pledges US$1.8 billion, with additional US$4 billion in ODA loans to support African investment and private sector development related to trading, production capacity and developing distribution infrastructure. Within TrC, major examples include the JICA's One Stop Border Post (OSBP) regional initiative, a trade facilitation approach for road transport between Zimbabwe and Zambia in 2009, under Japan's contribution to cross-border transport infrastructure (CBTI) development, or the Japan-Zambia-Malaysia 'Investing in the Triangle of Hope Project, 2009-2012 (OECD, 2010). This project applies the best economic experiences in East Asia (here, Malaysia) to promote trade and investment in Zambia implemented by Malaysia Industrial Development Agency with JICA's technical assistance, thus providing share learning between agencies for managing development cooperation (ibidem).

In the health sector, JICA's triangular cooperation applied for the first time a hybrid management approach, so-called *5S-Kaizen* (5S - sort, set, shine, standardize, and sustain and *kaizen* - continuous quality improvement) and *Total Quality Management* (TQM) to improve the hospital services in Sri Lanka and Tanzania. Later, these two countries became pivotal countries and Tanzania through JICA's facilitation has scaled-up to a regional center of excellence. Since 2009, Tanzania shared its knowledge and experience in further trilateral initiatives with Egypt, Kenya, Uganda, Malawi, Niger, Nigeria, Sudan, Zambia, and Zimbabwe (Honda, 2012).

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In the agriculture sector, the Coalition for Africa Rice Development (CARD) launched at TICAD IV in 2009 is an SSC regional initiative to double rice production in Africa based on the Asian-Africa know-how to enhance the capacity development and self-sufficiency of African farmers. The CARD is aligned with the Comprehensive Africa Agriculture Development Programme (CAADP) goals of sustained inclusive, agriculture-led growth in Africa.

In sum, TICAD IV set a new direction more aligned with the AUDA-NEPAD common position for Development Effectiveness (DE) adopted in 2011, as accordingly SSC and aid effectiveness with capacity development are African core drivers to exit from aid dependency towards self-reliance (AUDA-NEPAD, 2011).

2.2 20 Years of TICAD – Development in transition under SS-TrC

TICAD V was held in 2013 in the post-Busan commitment in 2011 on aid effectiveness as a strategy to exit aid dependency in the broader context of development effectiveness within the frameworks of the Paris Declaration on Aid Effectiveness (2005) and Accra Agenda (2008).

Aid effectiveness is the central argument of TrC to foster Asia-Africa knowledge exchange as a complement to South-South cooperation. Dependence on external aid is reduced by strengthening the capacity development of African countries in productive growth sectors, thereby contributing to Africa's development effectiveness. Therefore, Japan announced a package of US$32 billion, including ODA of US$14 billion over a five-year period, 2013-2018, under three thematic pillars: 'The promotion of "Robust and Sustainable Economy," "Inclusive and Resilient Society," and "Peace and Stability"' (MOFA, 2013). Moreover, to increase the effectiveness in terms of criteria for measurement of progress of the aid activities (programs or projects) within the TICAD framework (or pillars) an Implementation Matrix was drafted, so-called 'Yokohama Action Plan 2013-2017 Implementation Matrix' (MOFA, 2013a). The Yokohama Action Plan structured in 'seven main categories' with detailed targets for each of the pillars of TICAD V. Its implementation resulted in greater transparency and accountability, thereby increasing the project efficiency (Raposo, 2013).

It is noteworthy that the 'Yokohama Declaration 2013 – Hand in Hand with a More Dynamic Africa' praised the TICAD achievements over 20 years, including its intra-Africa cooperation activities through SS-TrC as 'distinctive forms of partnerships' (MOFA, 2013). This is significant since Japan's post-Cold War partnership with Africa contrast with its previous 'aid' relations, which were considered asymmetrical as were general North-South (donor-recipient) relations (Cornelissen, 2004; ECA-SA, 2011). Yet, neither the Yokohama Declaration nor the YAP provide objective information on how SS-TrC will be implemented. Zuma (2013) the Chairperson of the AUC

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and new co-organizer of TICAD, in its opening speech noted that TICAD needs to 'pay special attention ... to promote SSC and triangular cooperation.'

A possible reason is that although SSC-TrC is consistent with Japan's basic assistance policies (ODA/Development Cooperation Charters) the Yokohama Action Plan lacks descriptions on the modality within SSC (MOFA, 2018). Notwithstanding, TICAD V expanded the OSBP (One Stop Border Post) to 20 countries and the Kaizen initiative to strengthening capacity development of AU/RECs (Regional Economic Communities) through technical cooperation, besides Partnership Programs with key pivotal countries, such as Egypt, Tunisia, and Morocco to jointly support SSC-TrC activities, such as agriculture, health, trade and industry.

TICAD VI held in Nairobi, Kenya in 2016 was historic as it was the first conference on African soil. The conference closed with the Nairobi Declaration to 'Advancing Africa's sustainable development agenda - TICAD partnership for prosperity' under three priority areas, as follows: 'Promoting structural economic transformation through economic diversification and industrialization;' 'Promoting resilient health systems for quality of life,' including governance and financing; and 'Promoting social stability for shared prosperity' (MOFA, 2016). Another particularity of TICAD VI is its alignment with the AUC 'Agenda 2063: The Africa We Want' and its First 10th Year Implementation Plan, both adopted in 2015.

TICAD VI reaffirmed the stronger involvement of the private sector, vital to structural transformation and Japanese government commitment to implement quality infrastructure investment under public-private partnership. To this end, Japan pledged US$30 billion over a three-year period to supporting the above priorities. Examples of SSC-TrC include cross border transactions along corridor development under the OSBP, African Business Education (ABE) under the Kaizen human centered approach, or the Initiative for Food and Nutrition Security in Africa (IFNA) jointly with NEPAD.

Overall, as with TICAD V, the TICAD VI Nairobi Declaration acknowledged the promotion of Japan's SSC-TrC activities in the TICAD Process. However, the TICAD VI Nairobi Implementation Plan makes no mention of SSC programs and projects. Here, the different perspectives and expectations African countries have about SSC i.e. their role as pivotal and/or beneficiary in SSC-TrC projects explain the low institutionalization of SSC in Africa.

2.3 30 Years of TICAD – What path to South-South and Triangular cooperation?

It is in this context that TICAD VII was held in Yokohama in August 2019, five months later after the Second High-level UN Conference on SSC, so-called BAPA+40 (Forty years after the 1978 Buenos Aires Plan of Action for Promoting and Implementing Technical Cooperation among Developing Countries), and two months earlier of the 'First Africa South-South Cooperation Report' published by the UNDP and NEPAD in October 2019.

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Globally, the BAPA+40 outcome document provided a significant political, economic and development stimulus to the role played by inclusive partnerships through SSC-TrC but emphasized the need to assess their quality and impact at national level in a results-oriented manner (UNGA, 2019). The Africa SSC Report goes in this direction as some African countries are filling this institutional gap in SSC through planning, policy, measurement, and reporting their south-south activities to NEPAD Agency and to UNDP Regional Service Centre for Africa (UNDP-NEPAD, 2019).

Under TICAD VII 'Yokohama Declaration 2019 – Advancing Africa's Development through People, Technology, and Innovation,' 'People' are recognized as Africa's best asset. The participants emphasize that 'TICAD VII could serve as a development accelerator and multiplier' to increase 'people's exchange and networking; innovation, and technological transfers … in a way that sets the pace for other partnerships in Africa, including through South-South cooperation' (MOFA, 2019).

To this end, at TICAD VII, Japanese government in partnership with the private sector, pledged US$20 billion to implement the 'Yokohama Plan of Actions 2019' over a three-year period, under three pillars. These were 'accelerating economic transformation and improving business environment through innovation and private sector engagement;' 'deepening sustainable and resilient societies,' and 'strengthening peace and stability' (JICA, 2022). To increase ownership, African beneficiaries were requested to engage actively in the Process through the inclusion of 'new measures and initiatives' in partnership with TICAD co-organizers. Also, to maximize the results and impact of the expected outcomes, mutual accountability, and transparency, the TICAD monitor was launched. It was a remarkable progress compared to TICAD V. Finally, TICAD VII Action Plan was organized in a 'Matrix template' from A-to-E thus, providing greater flexibility to the Actions Plan.

Currently, SSC-TrC activities are recognized as facilitators for developing countries to achieve development through partnership (UNGA, 2019). Despite the greater alignment and complementarity of TICAD VII Yokohama Actions Plan with the TICAD twin principles, references to SSC-TrC initiatives have decreased in the TICAD Declarations and disappeared from Implementation Action Plans since TICAD IV. Notwithstanding, many of Japan's initiatives within TICAD VII Actions Plan, such as ABE, KAIZEN, CARD/CAADP, OSBP, SHEP, the Partnership for Building Resilience against Public Health Emergencies through Advanced Research and Education (PREPARE), this later in response to COVID-19 are already provided under TrC to facilitate SSC through the scheme of third-country training. Also, the UNDP has begun promoting triangular programs across Africa with Japan's support as in the New Approach for Peace and Stability in Africa (NAPSA) in line with the 3rd. pillar that applies Human Security through Community-Oriented Policing for prevention of crime and violence (UNDP, 2022). We believe that the political commitment made in the 'Africa Action Plan on Development Effectiveness' adopted in 2014 to support inclusive growth opportunities through SSC-TrC, if renewed would contribute to

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strengthening the institutionalization of SSC-TrC at the African national level, thereby enhancing SSC-TrC within TICAD (AUDA-NEPAD, 2014).

At TICAD VIII, held in Tunis, Tunisia in 2022, Japan announced a three-year package of US$30 billion in public and private investment under three pillars, as follows: 'Realizing structural transformation for sustainable economic growth and social development,' 'realizing a resilient and sustainable society,' and 'realizing sustainable peace and stability' (MOFA, 2022). It goes without saying that the aforementioned pillars are a wake-up call for the structural transformation of Africa that has not yet been realized. The challenge is how to achieve it in a sustainable and peaceful way. The 'TICAD VIII Tunis Declaration' emphasizes 'sustainable development' to achieve a balance between the management of natural resources and environmental issues that constitute 'a threat to peace and stability in Africa' (ibid.,). Other risks endangering Africa's sustainable development, include the post-Covid 19, debt treatment, the negative impact of conflict in Ukraine on Africa's food security, climate change, maritime piracy, and other serious issues. Thus, the Tunis Declaration, emphasized the need for 'a more open, transparent and inclusive multilateralism' to address the aforementioned challenges to support Africa Agenda 2063, and the SDGs (MOFA, 2022).

At the global level, the 'Report of the High-level Committee on South-South Cooperation' in its twenty-first session 30 May-2 June of 2023, with the presence of twenty-one African countries, emphasized the 'significance of South-South multilateralism in responding to global crises' being 'Africa South-South cooperation … a pivotal vector of international cooperation for enhancing the path towards resilient recovery and sustainable development' caused by 'food insecurity and malnutrition, climate action, digital cooperation, trade, and disease control and prevention' (UNGA, 2023).

Against this background, TICAD VIII Tunis Plan of Actions, adopted the Matrix of TICAD V and VII with detailed actions for its initiatives, expected outcomes, and results for each pillar (Economy, Society, Peace and Stability) corresponding to the AU flagship projects of the Agenda 2063. There are 109 pages of Actions far beyond the 18 pages of TICAD V Implementation Plan and the 21 pages of the TICAD VII Action Plan. This is an unprecedented effort by all TICAD stakeholders in terms of increasing transparency and mutual accountability to the Japanese public and the international community as underpinned by the Africa Agenda 2063, and Japan's assistance policies, including the most recent development cooperation Charter promulgated in 2023.

It is not feasible to mention all programs and projects supported by Japanese companies, their UN agencies, the AU-AUDA-NEPAD, the World Bank Group, academia, and civil society in the Plan of Actions. However, without underrating the resilience of all actors, there is only one reference to SSC-TrC in the Tunis Plan of Actions involving Africa and Japan (MOFA, 2022a).

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Japan began TrC in 1975 as a complement to its bilateral cooperation, becoming one of the largest partners with more than 100 TrC projects, followed by Brazil and Chile (UNDP-NEPAD, 2019). Given Japan's global advocacy within the Global Partnership Initiative on Effective Triangular Co-operation, including through TICAD, one would expect greater effectiveness of results and impact i.e. contribution to the improvement of the targets, under the label of 'South-South – Triangular cooperation to better monitoring the evolution of SS-TrC projects in the Actions Plan.

3. TICAD IX, AFRICA AND SOUTH-SOUTH TRIANGULAR COOPERATION

Without doing futurology, building on TICAD VIII initiatives, TICAD IX in 2025 needs to push forward Africa's vision toward structural transformation on a follow-up ongoing basis.

The question is should TICAD continue along the traditional development partnership or strengthening the South-South Triangular cooperation axis under a pillar with clear disbursements?

In this emergent multipolar order more economic than political, SSC personified in the Global South, re-emerged as a powerful element to complement the North-South asymmetrical cooperation with more investment, more trade, and more markets without conditionalities. Among OECD-DAC donors, Japan is the only one that combines consistently bilateral cooperation and third-country training (i.e. triangular cooperation) in its development cooperation (Al-Kathib, 2023). Given the growing role of SSC-TrC in the changing aid architecture, recognized by the UN as a key modality of development cooperation to achieve the SDGs, Japan is redefining multilateralism through TrC as countries no longer need to choose between the Global North or the Global South when they can have the best of both worlds (OECD, 2023).

Although most of sub-Saharan African countries have engaged in SSC-TrC, up to 2017, only 29 African countries have been regularly engaged in SSC, in particular South Africa, Uganda, Kenya, Zimbabwe, Rwanda, Morocco, Madagascar, Zambia, Tunisia, Sudan, Somalia, Ethiopia and Botswana (UNDP-NEPAD, 2019, 37). From the above, the three main African countries that practiced SSC initiatives were Ethiopia, Uganda, and Botswana with 102, 71, and 31 initiatives, respectively including technical cooperation, offering training, technology transfer, and project financing as the three main types of cooperation (ibid., 39).

As for the OECD database in 2019, the top ten development partners engaged in TrC projects with African countries since 1996, were Norway, India, Brazil, UK, Japan, Germany, USA, China, Islamic Development Bank, and Canada, respectively. The top ten African countries and sector areas involved in TrC are Kenya, Tanzania, Uganda, Ethiopia, Mozambique, Malawi, South Africa, Zambia, Ghana, and Senegal. The main sector areas of

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TrC in Africa are government and civil society (22%), agriculture and food security (20%), health (13%), education and training (7%), environmental protection (6%), social infrastructure and services (6%), business and services (5%) and other services (5%) for digital transformation, thus facilitating socio-economic transformation (OECD, 2022). After the COVID-19 outbreak, TrC initiatives in public health (86%), socio-economic development, and infrastructures (57%) increased strongly, followed by agricultural infrastructures (43%) and climate change (14%). With regard to potential areas of TrC identified as critical for Africa development in the AU Agenda 2063, these include digitalization, information and communication technology (ICT), environment and climate change, and demographic changes related with youth employment, rural-urban transitions and international mobility, and public health (ibid).

That said, SSC-TrC has potential to address the above-mentioned Africa mega-development trends towards Africa's structural transformation, which in the case of TICAD VIII pillars (Economy, Society, and Peace and Stability), the Plan of Actions mentions several initiatives that were addressed through TrC (Third-Country Training and Third-Country Experts Dispatch) and two main sub-programs of JICA's Partnership Program, based on memoranda of understanding with Third-countries (OECD, 2023).

In the first pillar, examples of TrC include the CARD initiative in collaboration with AUDA-NEPAD to double rice production from current 28 million to 56 million by 2030 within the Coalition for African Rice Development (CARD), and shift to agriculture self-reliance through the Smallholder Horticulture Empowerment Promotion (SHEP) or the Kaizen initiative to support human resources development applied to business and start-ups. These initiatives involve capacity building programs through training.

In the second pillar, examples of TrC include Japan's triangular partnerships in the public health sector to support COVID-19, so-called PREPARE program initiated in 2017 for Emerging and Reemerging Infectious Diseases in Southern Africa Region under Third-country training. Also, prioritizing investment in education, skills learning and training systems can leverage the ongoing fourth industrial revolution, technology and ICT boom. Here, Japan's international joint research with African institutions in SATREPS (Science and Technology, Research Partnership for Sustainable Development Program) with Malawi, Kenya, South Africa, Ethiopia, and Zambia from 2019 to 2022 it's likely to continue. Finally, Africa is the region most affected by climate-related shocks, threatens the lives of millions of people. Examples, include JICA's dispatch of experts and technical cooperation under the JICA-JAXA Forest Early Warning System in the Tropics (JJ-FAST) to provide capacity building in forest and land management for 100 people in 43 African countries.

In the final and third pillar, examples of Japan's TrC initiatives include support for African PKO Training Centers in 15 countries in Triangular Partnership Programme (TPP) and Capacity Building through Training programs in

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the areas of justice, police, security, maritime law enforcement, or terrorism and violent extremism, here in partnership with the UN Office of Counter Terrorism (UNOCT) Programme Office, inaugurated in Morocco for Counter Terrorism Training in Africa with whom JICA has a Partnership Program (MOFA, 2022a).

There is scope to improve the SSC-TrC agenda setting for the implementation of Agenda 2063 flagship projects under the AUC-AUDA-NEPAD framework, which in turn would facilitate the descriptions of JICA's modality with SSC-TrC in the TICAD Matrix Plan of Actions. This depends on the resolution of several problems as follows. According to a UNDP (2017) survey in sub-Saharan Africa, insufficient political support, disconnection between SSC-TrC initiatives and local realities, inadequate policy and regulatory frameworks, lack of or inadequate access to financial resources, lack of awareness about SSC-TrC, or low level of local ownership were cited as main challenges to implementing SSC-TrC initiatives. Another reason for the short description of JICA's SSC-TrC activities in the TICAD Matrix seems to be related with the modus operandi of JICA that often plans TrC activities as part of larger programs, which are not reported to MOFA, nor promoted as Triangular cooperation. This explains MOFA's difficulty in tracking JICA's TrC activities whose comprehensive budget figures have so far not been released, with the exception of the numbers of third-country trainees and third-country experts involved in these schemes (Al-Khatib, 2023; OECD, 2020).

Conclusion

Historically, during the Cold War, Africa despite its efforts soon understood that it was unrealistic to demanding a NIEO. In this context, South-South horizontal relations to establish one under the theme of self-reliance made sense. This also failed because there was no consensus between the South (NAM and G-77), and the North was never cooperative enough to make effective structural changes, which also contributed to Africa's loss of interest in South-South cooperation. Ultimately, Africa had ownership, but it was not self-reliant enough to take-off.

Throughout the 1980s and 1990s, Africa attempted to follow its own development path and find its own solutions to its own problems through national and collective self-reliance, ultimately ending dependency on aid. This also failed.

Against this backdrop, the TICAD responded to African leaders' calls for a new international partnership to support Africa's own efforts toward national and collective self-reliance. The TICAD has become the ideal platform to put Japanese SS-TrC accumulated experience into practice. Furthermore, Japan's south-south

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diplomacy also contributed to its inclusion in the Global Agenda for Development, thus joining forces with the UNDP co-organizer of TICAD through its Special Unit for South-South Cooperation.

Gradually, the TICAD II and III deepened its twin principles with Africa regional mechanisms, particularly the NEPAD with a mutual recognition of each one's role and with SSC mutually prioritized as an important modality of cooperation.

The TICAD IV-V were organized alongside the post-Busan commitment for aid effectiveness, the rise of SSC among Global South countries, and the African input with the Nairobi Outcome Document of the UN-HLC on SSC that urged donors to support SSC beyond ODA through TrC including for capacity building. Japan responded with a package of US$32 billion and further expansion of the role of SSC through the inclusion of TrC as a component of SSC to transfer Asian knowhow through TICAD.

The TICAD VI and VIII despite recognizing Japan's promotion of SSC-TrC activities in their Final Declarations, did not mention its programs and projects in the Nairobi and Yokohama implementation Plans. Does this mean that the lower references in terms of identification of projects in the Action Plans, the lower the appropriateness of the overall process? In part yes, because as shown above, it will be more difficult to monitor JICA's TrC activities. However, in terms of implementation process there is no change. Other reasons to the lower institutionalization of SSC-TrC in Africa were also mentioned above. Although this paper found reasonable evidence that TICAD contributed to redefine development multilateralism through the inclusion of SSC-TrC in its framework, it also showed that there's still potential for SSC-TrC to address Africa's mega-development trends through the TICAD.

Based on the TICAD VIII pillars, this paper suggests that forthcoming TICAD IX needs to push forward Africa's structural transformation with SS-TrC at the forefront. Given Japan’s shrinking ODA budget, TICAD IX agenda should clearly specify an SSC-TrC strategy with financial, technical, and human resources to strengthening coordination between JICA and AUDA-NEPAD to support African countries long-term partnership with Japan through TrC implementation.

Overall, this paper contributed to the broader literature on SS-TrC by placing emphasis on the concepts of self-reliance and self-help, to understand their importance to the concept of SSC, and why from an historical perspective SSC has not advanced in Africa. Finally, drawing on three decades of TICAD, the extent of its contribution to improving Africa's self-reliance through SSC was positively demonstrated. Nevertheless, it seems evident that if TICAD is to leverage SSC effectively at all levels, then renewed policy, institutional, and development cooperation between JICA and all stakeholders is needed in TICAD IX.

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