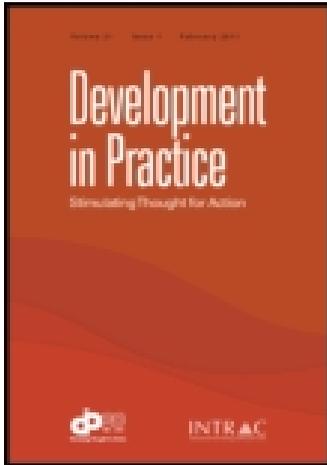


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African philanthropy, pan-Africanism, and Africa's development

Bhekinkosi Moyo* and Katiana Ramsamy

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Reflective and theoretical, this article explores the foundations and principles of African philanthropy and juxtaposes them with pan-African-led development. It pays particular attention to new continental initiatives, such as Agenda 2063. It points out that African philanthropy, by its definition and practice, is the foundation for development. This is because the identity of an African is premised on philanthropic notions of solidarity, interconnectedness, interdependencies, reciprocity, mutuality, and a continuum of relationships. No one embodies these better than Nelson Mandela in his demonstration of the link that exists between pan-Africanism and African philanthropy in the development process.

Cet article, qui adopte une démarche réflexive et théorique, examine les fondations et les principes de la philanthropie africaine et les juxtapose avec le développement impulsé par toute l'Afrique. Il accorde une attention particulière aux nouvelles initiatives continentales, comme l'Agenda 2063. Il fait remarquer que la philanthropie africaine, de par sa définition et sa pratique, est la fondation du développement, ce parce que l'identité d'un Africain est fondée sur des notions philanthropiques de solidarité, d'interconnexion, d'interdépendances, de réciprocité, de mutualité et un continuum de relations. Personne n'incarne mieux ces notions que Nelson Mandela, dans sa démonstration du lien qui existe entre le panafricanisme et la philanthropie africaine dans le processus de développement.

El presente artículo, reflexivo y teórico, examina los fundamentos y los principios de la filantropía africana, yuxtaponiéndolos con el desarrollo impulsado a partir del panafricanismo. En este sentido, destacan en particular las nuevas iniciativas promovidas a nivel del continente, como la Agenda 2063. Asimismo, el artículo señala que, tanto en su definición como en su práctica, la filantropía africana constituye la base del desarrollo, pues la identidad africana responde a ideas filantrópicas de solidaridad, interconectividad, interdependencia, reciprocidad, mutualidad, así como de un continuo de relaciones. Nadie encarna mejor estas ideas que Nelson Mandela, quien durante su vida resaltó la vinculación existente entre el panafricanismo y la filantropía africana a nivel del proceso de desarrollo.

Keywords: Aid; Aid – Development policies; Sub-Saharan Africa

Introducing African philanthropy in development

“During my lifetime I have dedicated myself to this struggle of the African people. I have fought against white domination, and I have fought against black domination. I have cherished the ideal of democratic and free society in which all persons live together in harmony and with equal opportunities. It is an ideal which I hope to live for and to achieve. But if needs be, it is an ideal for which I am prepared to die.” (Nelson Mandela, 20 April, 1964)

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These words by Mandela, and his actions throughout his life, aptly capture the possibilities presented by African philanthropy and pan-Africanism. Throughout his lifetime, Mandela succeeded in achieving most of the developmental quests that any society aspires for: liberation, freedom, democracy, and social justice. In 2008, at the 6th Annual Nelson Mandela Lecture, he said, “*a fundamental concern for others in our individual and community lives would go a long way in making the world the better place we so passionately dreamt of*” (12 July, 2008). He demonstrated this concern for others, and what stands out across his life is his service to humanity and selfless sharing of his life with everyone, including giving of his money, time, and kindness, and even establishing philanthropic institutions to further these ideas. After his death in 2013, his will (which was read publicly) had all the marks of philanthropy. Not only did he give his estate to many deserving causes, he also demonstrated that it is possible for African philanthropy to be the foundation and anchor for development. We argue here that Africa must follow this example if indeed it wishes to progress and achieve sustainable development. For this reason, new African initiatives that build on African philanthropy or its underlying values – such as the Agenda 2063, the African Union Foundation, the African Grant Makers Network and others – should take a page from Mandela’s book on how he lived his life and brought about the developmental imperatives he sought.

Even though there is a gap between the ideal and practice, we are of the view that it is time to revisit the link between pan-Africanism and African philanthropy, given the urgent need for solidarity in resolving conflicts and the opportunities for development in the current economic, social, cultural, and political trends in Africa. Given the current disregard for human dignity in most parts of Africa, especially by the political elite, and the recorded failure of past pan-African projects, we are aware that not everyone will agree with our optimism. Yet we are clear that the pan-Africanist vision is not lost yet; in fact, it is seeing a revival. We are also not arguing for a type of pan-Africanism that ignores the various fundamental differences in history, culture, societal systems, and values across the continent; rather, we recognise diversity and argue for its utilisation as a unifying force for development in Africa. Our intention here is to outline a vision for the implementation of development initiatives from a pan-African and African philanthropy perspective. Additional research will be needed later to establish the challenges and barriers to such an approach, but for the purposes of this article we provide a theoretical reflection and conceptual framework of an African-led development, anchored in principles and values enshrined in both pan-Africanism and African philanthropy. We argue that development cannot be achieved outside the parameters of these values, for through their accountability, transparency, and empowerment components they address one of the vexing issues in African development: that of governance. In this context, we propose that the various African initiatives mentioned must position themselves as beginning points and frameworks for development in Africa. There will be challenges, such as lack of political will, inadequate resources, competing agendas, and incapacities; but these need not be an excuse for not getting on with the agenda of developing Africa.

This article therefore seeks to position African *philanthropy* – a term that was once foreign in Africa, even though its practice has always been a reality, and one that many of us have grappled with for many years to make contextually relevant – at the heart of Africa’s development trajectory. Development ought to be transformative, sustainable, and essentially based on Africa’s own institutions, informed by its own knowledge systems, and supported by its resources. Because the lead author has written extensively on African philanthropy and its practice (including definitions and the status of African philanthropy, as in Moyo 2009a, 2009b, 2010, 2013, Moyo and Aina, 2013 and others),¹ this article does not duplicate these pieces. Rather, the focus is on the core argument relating the key confluences of African philanthropy and pan-Africanism, to position philanthropy as a paradigm for development.

Some brief distinctions in terminology are useful: generally, *philanthropy in Africa* refers to forms of philanthropy that may not necessarily be African but are operational in Africa. Examples include international forms of philanthropy such as foundations that are present in Africa but with origins outside of Africa. *Philanthropy with African features* is any philanthropy that is not bound or limited to a geographic space called Africa but is essentially structured in a value-system that resembles that of the African format and nature. *African philanthropy* differs from these, and is outlined briefly here.

“Though not a common or even user-friendly concept in Africa, philanthropy as a phenomenon perhaps is best captured by the notions of ‘solidarity and reciprocity’ among Africans and some of the features that accompany relational building. As a result, therefore, culture and relational building are central attributes in defining what philanthropy in the African context looks like. Philanthropy is intrinsically embedded in the lifecycle of birth, life and death of many, if not all Africans. At any one given time, one is either a philanthropist or a recipient of one kind or another of benevolence.” (Moyo 2011, 1)

Historically, philanthropy as understood to mean “love for humanity” has always been practised by Africans in their different and unique contexts:

“Understood mainly as giving or helping (in the narrowest sense), or even better more encapsulated as solidarity and reciprocity – this entailed collective or individual efforts towards a social or public good. This conception of good was not divorced from questions of well living, welfare or wellbeing – understood today more in terms of sustainable and people driven and inclusive development.” (Moyo 2011, 1)

It is important to debunk the notion that African philanthropy is informal, indigenous, and “traditional”. Such an analytical or conceptual framework can have the negative effect of perpetually condemning African initiatives and frameworks to the margins. If this happened, the very essence of an African and its development initiatives would be undermined. Of African philanthropy, Moyo writes:

“Due to analytical influence and frameworks primarily from the West, philanthropy in Africa or, to be more specific, African philanthropy, has sometimes been wrongly and maliciously defined as indigenous or informal. Yet African philanthropy is in fact the foundation on which an African’s life and his or her development revolve. It is the foundation upon which modern institutions are built or from which they get their inspiration and identity. The bifurcation between informal and formal misses the central point about African societies; that one is an extension of the other.” (Moyo 2011, 2)

It follows therefore that as a practice, philanthropy cuts through the ontologies and epistemologies of Africans in their various contexts. Most, if not all, Africans define themselves in relation to others, as opposed to the individualism that characterises other, particularly Western, societies. Although not the same as what we are describing as solidarity here, there is a strong resemblance between African solidarity and *minben*² in Confucianism. In Africa however, the most commonly-cited way to describe solidarity is one drawn from the Bantu languages, which in Zulu for example says *umuntu ngumuntu ngabantu*, literally meaning “a person is a person because of people or through other people”. This is profound as it goes deep into the humanist elements of African philosophy. It is Afro-centric and pan-Africanist in thought and practice. The spirit of *ubuntu* engenders reciprocity and envelopes a communalism of interdependency, sharing, oneness, loving, giving, and a sense of a continuum of relationships. In other words, Africans see personhood as a process where one’s humanity is affirmed by acknowledging others’ humanity. Personhood is in essence about communities of interconnectedness; this sense has for the most

part remained intact in most cultures, and where there have been ruptures as a consequence of the colonial encounter, a resurrection is underway simply because there is an understanding that community is a key building block of any society. Archbishop Desmond Tutu of South Africa captured this eloquently when he wrote about *ubuntu*:

“It is the essence of being human. It speaks of the fact that my humanity is caught up and is inextricably bound up in yours. I am human because I belong. It speaks about wholeness, it speaks about compassion. A person with *ubuntu* is welcoming, hospitable, warm and generous, willing to share. Such people are open and available to others, willing to be vulnerable, affirming of others, do not feel threatened that others are able and good, for they have a proper self-assurance that comes from knowing that they belong in a greater whole. They know that they are diminished when others are humiliated, diminished when others are oppressed, diminished when others are treated as if they were less than who they are. The quality of *ubuntu* gives people resilience, enabling them to survive and emerge still human despite all efforts to dehumanize them.” (Tutu 2005, 25–26)

The interdependence and linkages between development and the concept and practice of community cannot be better explained than this. Perhaps even more acutely, this interlinking and interdependence among various elements of an African – for example, between one’s cultural systems and development, or one’s giving and the common good – is best illustrated by Nelson Mandela, whose death in December of 2013 provided a platform for more giving and reflection on how the spirit of *ubuntu* can be used for development. Mandela embodied this philosophy and lived his entire life illustrating this concept, emerging as a legendary philanthropist. Not only did he give of his time, spending 27 years in prison for the liberation of his communities and society, he also went on to give of his money and kindness, and even established many institutions that are geared towards the realisation of the “spirit of *ubuntu*”. Even at death Mandela still remained one of the greatest philanthropists using his will to distribute his estate to many from different spheres: schools, organisations, individuals, and his political party, the African National Congress (ANC). At his memorial service in Johannesburg, it was very clear why Mandela was and still is the greatest philanthropist, humanist, and pan-Africanist. There has never been a funeral as big as that of Mandela. One of his cousins captured Mandela’s philanthropic character very well when he said:

“Madiba shared his life with South Africa, Africa and the whole world. His life was about service to others. He mingled with kings, queens, prime ministers and ordinary people. He was the man of the people. A universal show of unity is a true reflection of what Madiba stood for.” (General Thandoxolo Mandela speaking at Mandela’s memorial service, 10 December 2013)

This article is about how this African philanthropy, with its similarities to pan-Africanism, can be utilised as the foundation and paradigm for transformational development in Africa. Mandela’s life serves to illustrate the possibilities of utilising such a paradigm. For this reason, the article draws much from Mandela’s life examples. There exist other examples as well; however, given the circumstances and context around which this article was written, there is no better example than that of Mandela. What he achieved through his selfless life is an indication of what is possible if Africa uses the values and principles enshrined in philanthropy and pan-Africanism to address developmental and governance questions. These are such features as risk-taking, community-mindedness, service, passion, humility, and solidarity among others. Africa cannot go wrong if it builds its developmental strategies and frameworks derived from these key foundational elements that are also central to the identity of an African. There is no nation or continent that has developed without recourse to its own cultures, so why would Africa be different? Nkosazana Zuma, the current Chair of the African Union, has prioritised African

philanthropy in her strategy at the AU Commission by leading efforts to establish the AU foundation stated; at Mandela's funeral, she reminded us: "*Mandela represented solidarity – he lived these values and was always willing to serve. He was surrendered to the service of humanity*" (10 December, 2013).

It is clear that if African leaders surrendered themselves to the service of humanity, Africa would be well developed, well governed, and a number of conflicts would be eliminated. It is for this reason that we argue for philanthropy to be the paradigm for thought-leadership, as it requires development actors and processes to be at the service of humanity but at the same time to be resilient and absorb the challenges associated with development and transformation. This is what Mandela managed to do: he took risks and was imprisoned for his beliefs; he remained resilient even under immense suffering and spent his life serving humanity. Mandela taught and lived the single best lesson in development. President Obama summed this up very well when he said that *ubuntu* describes Mandela's life (in his statement at Mandela's memorial service, 10 December, 2013). Mandela achieved so much because of his embodiment of *ubuntu* and his teaching of others to find *ubuntu* in themselves. Mandela demonstrated that challenges to this vision can be overcome.

Writing this article, at this particular juncture in Africa's position in global relations and its own development, is significant in the sense that Africa has just recently celebrated 50 years of what many consider democratic governance since the demise of formal colonialism. It is also just over 50 years since the establishment of the Organisation of African Unity (OAU), now the AU, which is the foundation for pan-Africanist thinking – a worldview that emphasises solidarity, unity, and self-reliance among African member states. In these concepts, philanthropy and pan-Africanism are twins in developmental governance processes. Strikingly, the concepts of solidarity, unity, and self-reliance speak directly to the resolution of the challenges facing the continent. Imbedded in each of these are notions of accountability, empowerment, institution-building, and transparency – all key features of governance, which is an area that has vexed Africa for a long time but is crucial if the continent is to progress. This is also a time when Africa is poised to be the next growth centre, globally. Over the last few years, Africa's economic growth rates have averaged five per cent, and seven of the fastest developing economies are in Africa (Ethiopia, Mozambique, Tanzania, Congo, Ghana, Zambia, and Nigeria). This growth is not a result of the extractive sector alone (natural resources) but also of traditional sectors such as retail commerce, transportation, telecommunications, and manufacturing, among others. This has resulted in a growing middle class that has also begun giving back to communities through various philanthropic initiatives.

From a philanthropic point of view, this is the time to consolidate the momentum that has been generated over the last decades specifically for African philanthropy and its role in Africa's development. A number of factors therefore coalesce to make this period opportune for a discussion on African philanthropy and transformative development. Below, we show that African philanthropy is at the heart of Africa's development and as such ought to be *the* paradigm for any developmental frameworks and interventions. This is indeed embedded also in pan-Africanism, an ideology that continues to guide African thinking in general and the AU in particular. On the day of Mandela's passing, the lead author found himself listening to a recording of Mrs Graca Machel's address to the African Grant Makers Network, delivered in October 2012. As if to foreshadow this discussion, Machel told a story of how in 1993 she was invited by the Council on Foundations in the USA to talk about philanthropy in Africa. At that time, there were very few African philanthropic institutions that were recognised as such. Her own foundation, the Foundation for Community Development (FDC) was in its foundational phase and would be launched in 1994. At the meeting, she wanted to portray the differences in approach between African philanthropy and philanthropy from elsewhere. She told the meeting that in Africa, the starting point is a

definition of a cause to be embraced, a cause that Africans feel passionate about; the second point is the generation of ideas to address the identified cause and definition of the scope of what is to be done. The final stage is the question of resources: where the resources will come from to address the cause. In other words, in African philanthropy, Mrs Machel argued:

“money is not the first consideration but rather it is the cause that matters; yet elsewhere particularly in developed societies, in general money is first generated and in addition, due to legislation on how to spend money, the owners are somewhat obliged to then choose a cause to which they can give their money.” (Machel 2012)

This story speaks directly to how as Africans, we first establish ourselves and our movements, and then go on to worry about financial resources. It does not mean that we do not give money in Africa – we do, but the motivation is first and foremost the cause, on which a chain of solidarity is built. This is how the pan-African movement also begun. We are concerned with how we engineer the ways of mobilising resources, time, knowledge, synergies, and of course money, for a cause. Machel’s powerful story underlies the main point that the role of African philanthropy should be one of humility, synergies, and solidarity.

African philanthropy, pan-Africanism, and the quest for self-reliance

“Your neighbour’s granary will never fill up yours.” (Machel 2012)

One can infer these words from Graca Machel to mean that Africa cannot develop fully from foreign support, but rather that Africa needs to be self-sufficient and self-reliant in order to develop in transformative ways. This section traces the relationship between African philanthropy and pan-Africanism in their shared quest to make Africa self-sufficient and self-reliant. Although this article is not a treatise of pan-Africanism in detail, we want to draw the attention of the reader to the fact that both African philanthropy and pan-Africanism as approaches or ideologies have similar foundations and objectives. Both seek the self-reliance of humanity and socially just developmental outcomes. This is not the space to discuss the history of pan-Africanism; save to point out that it was in 1900 that Henry Sylvester-Williams, a Trinidad barrister, organised the first meeting of Africans and Africans of the Diaspora at the London Conference. Sylvester-Williams coined the term “pan-Africanism” for what had previously been called “the African movement”. W.E.B. Du Bois, a promoter of the London Conference, applied the term “pan-African” to a series of six conferences that he convened in the capitals of European colonial empires from 1919 to 1945. As an intergovernmental movement, pan-Africanism was launched in 1958 with the first Conference of Independent African States in Accra, Ghana. Ghana and Liberia were the only sub-Saharan countries that were represented. Thereafter, as independence was achieved by more African states, other interpretations of pan-Africanism emerged, including: the Union of African States in 1960, the African States of the Casablanca Charter and the African and Malagasy Union in 1961, the Organisation of Inter-African and Malagasy States in 1962, and the African-Malagasy-Mauritius Common Organisation in 1964 (Nzewi 2008, 112).

For the purposes of discussing the functional dimensions of both African philanthropy and pan-Africanism, our attention here is on the formation of the Organisation of African Unity in 1963. The OAU was founded as a unifying pan-African institution, to continue the struggle for African liberation, integration, and socio-economic development. At the founding of the OAU in Addis Ababa, many speakers underlined what they saw as fundamental principles around Africa’s development. The majority of these principles are values underpinning African

philanthropy; in the main, these are unity, solidarity, and common purpose for the love of mankind. Speaking at the meeting, His Imperial Majesty Haile Selassie I, said:

“Today we look to the future calmly, confidently and courageously. We look to the vision of an Africa not merely free but united. In facing this new challenge, we can take comfort and encouragement from the lessons of the past. We know that there are differences among us. Africans enjoy different cultures, distinctive values, and special attributes. But we also know that unity can be and has been attained among men [and women] of the most disparate origins, that difference of race, of religion, of culture, of tradition, are no insuperable obstacle to the coming together of peoples. History teaches us that unity is strength and cautions us to submerge and overcome our differences in the quest for common goals, to strive, with all our combined strength, for path to true African brotherhood [and sisterhood] and unity.” (Selassie 1963, 2)

He went on to emphasise the importance of unity which in philanthropic terms would be solidarity, and the other values enshrined in the spirit of *ubuntu*. He said:

“Throughout all that has been said and written and done in these years, there runs a common theme. Unity is the accepted goal. We argue about techniques and tactics. But when semantics are stripped away, there is little argument among us. We are determined to create a union of Africans. In a very real sense, our continent is unmade, it still waits its creation and its creators.” (Selassie 1963, 3)

The question is whether African philanthropy can be that creator of the next face of Africa. Selassie provided the framework and went on to give an example of how solidarity could be a tool for addressing Africa’s challenges at the time. He identified the apartheid regime in South Africa, saying

“We must redouble our efforts to banish this evil from our land. If we use the means available to us, South Africa’s apartheid, just as colonialism, will shortly remain only as memory. If we pool our resources and use them well, this spectre will be banished forever.” (Selassie 1963, 5)

This was echoed by various leaders as they went on to identify crisis points in Africa and argued for solidarity as a weapon to overcome them. It can be argued that during this time, these leaders were in solidarity against oppression and colonial forms.

The challenge today for philanthropy is to identify what solidarity is *for*, as opposed to what is *against*. At the time there was a clear relationship between African philanthropy and what the leaders wanted to achieve. His Majesty Mwami Mwambutsa IV, the King of Burundi, might as well have been describing the history of African philanthropy when he gave his speech:

“The various African civilisations which preceded the colonial era resembled one another from various points of view. For example, the spirit of family solidarity was found everywhere, and the idea of hospitality was similarly general. Indeed, a careful study of the various African civilisations shows surprising similarities which make it clear that African unity is not a chimera-like and superficial construction, but a living entity which requires only to be translated on to the institutional plane.” (Mwambutsa 1963)

The other reason that African philanthropy and pan-Africanism dovetail and speak so deeply to the question of solidarity and unity is that both are geared towards “love for humanity”. Ahmadou Ahidjo, then President of Cameroon, captured this succinctly:

“The voice of Africa has got to be heard, the voice which proclaims in appealing tones its love for mankind, which reminds us that the finest emotion on earth is not simply that aroused by the clash of arms.” (Ahidjo 1963, 15)

In arguing for solidarity, unity, and relational existence, one could not have outlined the reasons more forcefully than Kwame N'krumah (1963, 34) of Ghana:

“No sporadic act or pious resolution can resolve our present problems. Nothing will be of avail, except the act of a united Africa.”

There is no doubt therefore that pan-Africanism was seen by these leaders as a philosophy and an ethical system. As a philosophy, pan-Africanism represented the aggregation of the historical, cultural, spiritual, artistic, scientific, and philosophical legacies of Africans from past times to the present. As an ethical system, pan-Africanism promoted values that were the product of African civilisation and the struggles against slavery, racism, and colonialism (Hakim and Sherwood 2003). The pan-African movement evolved into a political entity with a clear agenda of eradicating all forms of oppression, slavery, and colonialism. It also sought to end racism, the dehumanising treatment of Africans, and aimed at political and socio-economic emancipation of Africa. Those who were involved in the movement included the likes of Marcus Garvey, W.E.B. Du Bois, Kwame Nkrumah, Henry Sylvester-Williams, Julius Nyerere, Jomo Kenyatta, and Nelson Mandela, to name just a few. One common thread among these individuals is their strong belief in solidarity, unity, and self-reliance. The story of Mandela, as told in his autobiography *The Long Walk to Freedom*, is very illustrative of this point. Not only did Mandela urge his colleagues and various political formations to be united against apartheid, he also sought assistance from other African leaders. This is why one of the victories the OAU can claim is the end of apartheid and the establishment of majority rule in South Africa. Today of course, pan-Africanism has evolved and can be seen in the efforts to promote even greater African economic, social, and political integration as spearheaded by the AU (Nzewi 2008, 112).

That Africans' humanity is bound to each other is a theme that dominates the spirit of *ubuntu* and pan-African thinking. This argument would not be complete without quoting extensively from one of the notable anthropologists of all times, Leopold Sedar Senghor of Senegal. He summed up this point aptly:

“Most of us feel that what brings us close to one another and must unite us is our position as underdeveloped countries, formerly colonised. Nor is that wrong. But we are not the only countries in that position. If fact could be said objectively to be whole truth, then African unity ought one day to dissolve with the disappearance of underdevelopment. I am convinced that what binds us lies deeper ... what binds us is beyond history. It arises from geography, ethnology, and hence from culture. It existed before Christianity and Islam; it is older than all colonization. It is that community of culture which I call African-ness. I would define it as ‘the sum total of African civilised values’; African-ness always shows the same characteristics of passion in feelings, and vigour in expression. The consciousness of our community of culture, our African-ness, is a necessary preliminary to any progress along the road to unity.” (Senghor 1963, 85)

An intended objective of pan-Africanist thinking was also that countries would be self-reliant and shake off dependence on the West. Hence the OAU Charter makes reference to the fact that all people have a right to control their own destiny. The preamble of the Charter states that the leaders are:

“...inspired by a common determination to promote understanding among our peoples and cooperation among our states in response to the aspirations of our peoples for brother-hood and solidarity, in a larger unity transcending ethnic and national differences.”

This became one of the main objectives of the OAU, “to promote the unity and solidarity of the African states as well as coordinate and intensify their cooperation and efforts to achieve a better

life for the peoples of Africa". Such better life could only be realised if Africa became self-reliant. For this reason, the *Monrovia Declaration of Commitment of Heads of State and Government, of the OAU on guidelines and measures for national and collective self-reliance in social and economic development* (1976) stressed the need:

"[t]o ensure that member states individually and collectively restructure their economic and social strategies and programmes so as to achieve rapid socio-economic change and establish a solid domestic and intra-African base for a self-sustaining, self-reliant development and economic growth."

The Declaration went further to commit member states and their leaders to "*individually and collectively establish national, sub-regional and regional institutions that would facilitate the attainment of the objectives of self-reliance and self-sustainment*". It was very clear from this declaration that "*development policies ought to reflect adequately Africa's socio-cultural values in order to reinforce Africa's cultural identity*". The result was a series of declarations and frameworks that finally led to the Treaty establishing the African Economic Community which, among other issues, also stressed the need for solidarity and collective self-reliance. What runs through the entire treaty are the self-reliance and cooperation themes, captured very well by one of the primary objectives of the Treaty, which is:

"[t]o promote economic, social and cultural development and the integration of African economies in order to increase economic self-reliance and promote endogenous and self-sustained development." (OAU 1991)

The concept of self-reliance is at the core of philanthropy. In Kenya and India, for example, self-reliance was utilised for development purposes, albeit with different objectives. In post-independence Kenya, the self-reliance initiative of *harambee* (meaning "let us all pull together") was used for rural development through the voluntary contribution of resources such as labour and cash (Waithima 2012, 5–6; Ngau 1987). *Harambee* was successful in the sense that over the period 1980–84, 12% of all national capital was generated through *harambee* while, by the end of 1980s, about 50% of all secondary schools were built through the initiative (Waithima 2012, 5–6). The strategy of *harambee* is still apparent in present-day Kenya, even though at some point it was politicised. We continue to see communities pulling together in Kenya in particular when there are disasters or humanitarian crises. The recent attack on the Westgate mall brought a number of Kenyans together and collectively raised many resources to respond to the catastrophe. The same was true after the 2007 election violence and the famine that faced some parts of Kenya. Similarly, in India in the 1900s, the *swadeshi* (meaning self-sufficient) movement was an economic strategy of the Indian citizens aimed at removing the British Empire from power, improving the economic conditions in the country, and promoting the notion of self-help, fellow-feeling, solidarity, and a sense of national identity (Radhakrishnan and Rao 2013, 1–2; Flanya 2013). The Négritude cultural movement also emphasised self-reliance, African self-determination, solidarity, and self-respect (Banoum 2011).

It can thus be concluded that the theme of self-reliance has been used over the years by individuals, movements, communities, and organisations for economic and political independence as well as self-independence. From being the overarching goal for individuals and movements to being identified as the blueprint for attaining independence and socio-economic development by communities and organisations, self-reliance is both a strategy and an ideology (Kim and Isma'il 2013, 586). It is also a key feature of philanthropy and pan-Africanism. The main point here is that different philanthropic practices are underpinned by the desire for self-reliance. This is the issue today that the AU and other pan-African institutions are trying to settle in the various initiatives that are aimed at developing Africa. Below is a short discussion of some of those processes.

Self-reliance and self-sufficiency today

Today a number of frameworks and initiatives are in place precisely to address the twin questions of self-reliance and self-sufficiency. Most of these are at the pan-African level while others are at the national and regional levels. To put things into perspective, and summarise where we are today: our reference is the year 2013 and the activities that caught the attention of many. The year 2013 marked the 50th anniversary of the founding of the OAU, and was greeted by many celebrations and reflections. The 21st AU Summit was held in Addis Ababa in May 2013, and the theme centred on Pan-Africanism and the African Renaissance. Key decisions from this Summit that are relevant to this article include:

- the creation of an AU Foundation for voluntary contributions towards financing the AU;
- further commitment to gender mainstreaming and youth empowerment;
- an African common position on the Post-2015 Development Agenda;
- an effective implementation of the Roadmap on Shared Responsibility and Global Solidarity for AIDS, Tuberculosis, and Malaria;
- the establishment of an African Capacity for Immediate Response to Crises and the substantial increase of contributions to the Peace Fund; and
- the need to build innovative, flexible, action-oriented, and balanced international partnerships.

This was at the backdrop of a continental vision that the AU has developed – Agenda 2063 – that seeks to envision what Africa would be in 50 years: a continent free from poverty and conflict, where socio-economic development is driven by its own citizens. This of course cannot happen unless the twin concepts of self-reliance and self-sufficiency are central in this kind of visioning. The Draft Framework Document outlining this agenda states that:

“Agenda 2063 should be seen as an opportunity to recreate the African narrative by putting to perspective to enthuse and energise the African population and use their constructive energy to set and implement an achievable agenda for unity, peace and development in the 21st century. The thrust of the Agenda 2063 is a programme of social, economic and political rejuvenation that links the past, present and the future in order to create a new generation of Pan-Africanists that will harness the lessons learnt and use them as building blocks to consolidate the hope and promises of the founding parents for a true renaissance of Africa.” (AU 2013a, 15)

Just like the project of pan-Africanism, Agenda 2063 might fail without political leadership. There is also a danger that this too might be shelved if it is not grounded on Africa’s peoples. It might suffer the fate of such great initiatives as the Abuja Treaty, the Lagos Plan of Action, and the Final Act of Lagos. There is also a danger of a lack of resources to finance the implementation of this agenda. For this reason, it is important that the Agenda also includes local mobilisation of resources. There is no doubt that Agenda 2063 is an aspiration that is also captured in the consultations around the post-2015 MDGs framework. What has emerged particularly from the African continent is a realisation that for Africa to progress, its economies must be transformed structurally. However, there is recognition too that economic growth alone will not lead to inclusive development.

For this reason, the agenda of the continent also includes addressing conflicts and wars. To do so, once again the AU has drawn lessons from African philanthropy and established an initiative that builds on solidarity. The African Solidarity Initiative (ASI) is a programme of the Peace and Security department of the AU dedicated to resolving conflicts on the continent by utilising social capital and other solidarity principles. With its core message as “Africa helping Africa”, this

initiative was launched at the 19th Ordinary Session of the Policy Organs of the Union in July 2012. Its main mandate is to mobilise support from within the continent for countries emerging from conflict in line with the AU policy on Post-Conflict Reconstruction and Development. This initiative has been described by the AU as:

“a process intended to harness and expand the spirit of African solidarity and self-help to support on-going efforts on post conflict reconstruction and development in a number of African countries.” (see pamphlet by the AU on ASI)

Many of the principles underpinning this initiative are similar to those of African philanthropy. For example, the main objectives of this initiative include:

- deepening the essence of African solidarity and promote a paradigm shift which centre-stages African mutual assistance as a key dimension for enhanced and effective development of the continent; and
- providing a unique opportunity for generating additional “outside the box” ideas for addressing PCRD challenges, by actively involving African countries, relevant organisations/institutions, parastatal, private sector, philanthropy organisations/foundations, academia, civil society, faith-based organisations, African experts, and the Diaspora.

When launching ASI, the ministers of foreign affairs underlined the importance of solidarity in the achievement of peace and development. They said:

“Our objective is to promote African solidarity, mutual assistance and regional integration; and propel the continent to a higher level of development and self-confidence; driven by the motto: ‘Africa helping Africa’.” (Declaration on the Launch of the African Solidarity Initiative [ASI] for the Mobilisation of Support for Post Conflict Reconstruction and Development in Africa)

Speaking at the Africa Solidarity Initiative conference at the AU Commission in February 2014, President Jacob Zuma of South Africa made the point that this idea of African solidarity is not new but was utilised during the liberation struggle. As such it is important that African countries are in solidarity with those emerging from conflict. He further underscored the point that African solidarity is rooted in African culture and pan-Africanism. At this conference, a number of countries pledged their support for ASI in general and the African Union Mission in the Central African Republic in particular. For example, Ethiopia pledged US\$500,000; South Africa pledged US\$1 million and political support; Nigeria pledged US\$3.5 million and technical support; Algeria pledged US\$1 million and airlifting of troops; Cote d’Ivoire pledged US\$500,000, and Gambia pledged US\$50,000. There were pledges also from Europe, Asia, and the Americas. In many ways this underscored the closeness and interdependence between African philanthropy and development. In African cultures one’s neighbour cannot go hungry when the other could give help; this is reflected in African philanthropy. Giving and sharing is at the heart of philanthropy. This is precisely what ASI is promoting. The challenge of course will be to make this home-grown and driven by Africans themselves.

The other continental initiative that is worth discussing in this context is the African Union Foundation, a new development in Africa. The AU Foundation was established through an Assembly Decision which created it as a vehicle for voluntary contributions towards financing the African Union (see Decision on the Establishment of an African Union Foundation for Voluntary Contributions towards Financing the African Union; Doc.Assembly/AU/6 (XX1)). This occurred against the backdrop of the High-Level Panel on Alternative Sources of Financing

for the African Union that was headed by former President of Nigeria, Olusegun Obasanjo. In May 2013, Obasanjo submitted his report which recommended five options:

- Private sector funding
- Levy on insurance premiums (rate of 1%)
- Levy on international travel (US\$2.5 for travel outside the continent and US\$1 for travel within the continent)
- Tourism and hospitality (US\$1 for each hotel stay)
- Import levy (0.2% on goods imported from outside the continent)

The recommendation to establish a foundation was made as part of the framework to hold donations from the private sector and other contributions. In briefing potential Foundation council members at the AU Commission on 1 February 2014, the AU Chairperson Nkosazana Dlamini-Zuma said:

“The foundation is one of the mechanisms to help Africa take charge of its own affairs. Africa is very rich but Africans are very poor, and this has to change, be turned around to eradicate poverty. Poverty is not an accident; it is man-made and can be removed by the actions of people.” (Quoting Mandela; notes taken by the lead author, who attended the meeting in Addis Ababa)

She went on to state that the foundation will prioritise funding, especially for the Agenda 2063 pillars, such as human development, youth development and entrepreneurship, regional integration, women and gender equality, and management of diversity. In this regard she said the mission of the foundation is to:

“[m]obilize resources in support of the African Union’s vision of an integrated, people-centered and prosperous Africa, at peace with itself and taking its rightful place in the world ... It is time for Africa to mobilize our own resources in support of our development and take charge of our own destiny.” (See Press Release No.40/22nd AU Summit: Newly Established ‘African Union Foundation’ Holds Inaugural Promoters’ Meeting in Addis Ababa, 1 February 2014)

In many ways, the foundation will be catalytic in mobilising Africans for an African agenda for development. As such it must not be seen only in financial terms but rather as a mobilisation tool for active participation in affairs affecting Africans. Dlamini-Zuma summarised this very well:

“The Foundation will strive to more deeply engage Africa’s private sector, African individuals and communities, and leading African philanthropists to generate resources and provide valuable insight on ways in which their success can accelerate Africa’s development. The issue of domestic and alternative sources of funding has been an intrinsic element of the continent’s commitments of the Pan-African values of self-determination, solidarity and self-reliance.” (Press Release No. 40/22nd AU Summit: Newly Established ‘African Union Foundation’ Holds Inaugural Promoters’ Meeting in Addis Ababa, 1 February 2014)

These and other initiatives such as the African Grant Makers Network, the Africa 50 Fund, and other already-existing philanthropic initiatives are aimed at addressing the many challenges facing Africa such as poverty, a heavy disease burden, high rates of unemployment, rampant corruption and conflicts, weak intra-African trade, and slow integration. In the midst of these problems and the pessimism and doubt that exist amongst African leaders and their citizens, is it possible for the continent to reduce and ultimately end its excessive dependence on outside forces to provide aid for development? We maintain that it is possible, especially if the above initiatives and others are aggressively implemented. African countries ultimately need to bear

the primary responsibility for the continent's challenges; Africa is the major driver of its own renaissance through self-determination and self-reliance. The opportunities for African partnership and strategies which focus on solutions to African problems exist and are becoming a must, as discussed above. In recent years, a number of developments in African countries have taken place (and still occur presently) which prove that African self-reliance and self-determination are possible. The continent was dubbed "hopeless" on the cover of the May 2000 issue of *The Economist*, but this is a stigma that Africa is slowly but surely shedding. Eleven years later, on the cover of the December 2011 issue, *The Economist* hailed Africa as "the hopeful continent".

Today, the African continent is one of the fastest-growing and emerging economic regions in the world. The continent has clearly realised that it has to take its destiny into its own hands and that it has to draw upon its own resources to achieve sustainable development. There has been an increasing awareness of the need to integrate economically, socially, and environmentally in order to achieve sustainable development. Moreover, there is a recognition that improved access to education (especially for women), market liberalisation and privatisation, democratisation, and increased regional and sub-regional economic integration and cooperation are important for progress and self-reliance. This is happening in Africa. According to the World Bank's "Africa's Pulse" report, most African economies are flourishing, and the GDP growth rate in Africa could reach 5.3% in 2014 and 5.5% in 2015 (World Bank 2013, 2). The report maintains that this is due to strong government interventions such as investments, and higher production in the mineral resources, agriculture, and service sectors.

Through initiatives such as the African Union Roadmap on Shared Responsibility and Global Solidarity (2012–15), the fight against AIDS, TB, and malaria in Africa has met with some prominent success. The initiative, which urges African countries to increase domestic funding for health and decrease their reliance on external donor funding, has resulted in at least seven million people receiving HIV treatment across Africa, with nearly one million added in the last year. Additionally, new HIV infections and deaths from AIDS continue to fall (UNAIDS Press Release 2013). This is due to strong leadership and shared responsibility in Africa working together and looking within for solutions to combat these diseases.

Other improvements that the continent has made are marked by the fact that in general a number of countries are at peace even though conflicts still persist in North Africa and some parts of sub-Saharan Africa (in Somalia, Central African Republic, and Sudan, among others); education is being prioritised and more children are attending school; and life expectancy has risen by a tenth in the last decade. Also, consumer spending will almost double in the next 10 years, modern technology is being embraced and used to increase productivity, and citizens of African countries are voting and trying to hold their governments accountable.

While many will argue that these improvements are to a large extent due to outside influences and foreign aid, the main saviours of the continent have been its own people and the active role that they are undertaking to make progress in their countries. The citizens of Africa are calling for better leadership and governance, they are embracing self-determination and innovation, and they are using their own resources to make progress. No doubt, much of this is due to the rise in commercial activities like remittances by Africa's Diaspora and African philanthropy-factors that are driving the process of reducing the continent's dependence on external aid and promoting self-reliance.

While the progress in independent Africa should be applauded, it is important to note that Africa's transformation is still incomplete. The continent has a long way to go to be free from poverty, disease, and conflict and to achieve full self-reliance. But the potential and opportunities exist if only we harness the power of African philanthropy and its underpinning values that are also key features of pan-Africanism. Equally crucial are strategies to address some of the

challenges that might arise in the process such as lack of political will, inadequate funding, competing agendas, and corruption, as we have seen in the past with similar progressive initiatives. However, embedded within the African philanthropy framework are questions of governance, transparency, and accountability, for how can one be in solidarity with others unless they are accountable. This should be the foregrounding for any developmental initiative.

Conclusion

The central argument of this article is that African philanthropy, by its very definition and practice, is and ought to be the foundation upon which transformational development takes place in the continent. Sharing its values, foundations, and premises with pan-Africanism, African philanthropy as an achievable development paradigm was illustrated in our lifetime by no other than Nelson Mandela. Mandela's philanthropic work epitomised solidarity, interconnectedness, interdependencies, reciprocity, mutuality, loving, sharing, passion, humility, risk-taking, and a continuum of relationships. Embedded in each of these are notions of accountability, empowerment, institution-building, and transparency – all key features of governance and all key features for development. This is what African philanthropy is about: surrendering oneself to the service of humanity while being resilient and absorbing the challenges associated with development and transformation.

The article also illustrates that self-sufficiency and self-reliance are key features of philanthropy and pan-Africanism. Both are central to the envisioning of a number of frameworks and initiatives in Africa today such as Agenda 2063 and the African Solidarity Initiative. Also, as an ideology and a strategy, both are possible in Africa. African countries and the people of Africa, in the past and at present, have looked towards their own resources and capabilities for development. That said, if African philanthropy exudes values such as self-reliance, self-sufficiency, interconnectedness, interdependencies, reciprocity, accountability, and empowerment, African philanthropy then ought to be the foundation upon which transformational development takes place in the continent. In other words, it is possible for African philanthropy to be an anchor and foundation for development despite all the challenges thrown against it. For in the words of J. E. Casely Hayford (quoted in Owusu 1992, 379), “*our system being a communal one, it is a case of sink or swim with the family and the community... educated or uneducated, we sink or swim with our people*”.

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Notes

1. In the previous articles, the lead writer has also focused specifically on the distinction between African philanthropy, philanthropy in Africa, and philanthropy with African features.
2. *Minben* is a doctrine that requires the government to treat the welfare of the common people as the foundation of its wealth and power; see the discussion by Shi and Lu 2010.

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