



From the Desk of Jennifer Davis

November 5, 1996

Dear Friend of The Africa Fund,

I wanted to share these two enclosures with you as indicators of the ongoing richness of current Africa Fund program.

Dumisani's memo about our new grant for work with state and local officials outlines exciting program we can now undertake to end the Washington monopoly on Africa policy making.

The second enclosure provides an informal review of the "kitchen cabinet" backing up Thabo Mbeki, South Africa's Deputy President, and Nelson Mandela's probable successor. Many of you will recognize the faces of people we worked with while they were refugees or political prisoners.

Vusi Mavimbela was one of a two-person youth team we sent to campuses in 1985, building the sanctions movement that eventually helped smash apartheid. Frank Chikane spoke at meetings across the U.S. in his days as General Secretary of the beleaguered South African Council of Churches. Others you know as names on the long list of political prisoners we all carried to demand that South Africa Unlock Apartheid's Jails.

We are proud that these old friends, assuming vast new responsibilities, still turn to us for help in meeting these challenges.

So the struggle continues.



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Tilden J. LeMelle, Chairman
Jennifer Davis, Executive Director

TO: Jennifer Davis
FROM: Dumisani Kumalo, Projects Director
DATE: 5 November 1996

I have good news, which you may want to share with The Africa Fund Trustees and some of our key supporters. Just as momentum in support for Africa appeared to be dragging badly, we are on the verge of another exciting breakthrough.

The program staff at the Carnegie Corporation (Foundation) told me yesterday that they have recommended to their board a new grant of \$100,000 a year for two years for our work with state and city public officials. This will enable us to expand that unique Africa constituency we have achieved in their ranks; a constituency capable of sounding a clear voice for Africa and impacting on Washington's Africa policy.

Now we can move ahead quickly with our plans to hold a *National Consultation on Africa* for a core group of state legislators from across the U.S., in early April, in Washington D.C. I propose inviting key state legislators along with Congressional leadership, some of our allies from the non-governmental community and officials from the White House and the State Department.

If we pull our forces together early in the new administration, we can avoid the reactive pattern of the last two years in which we were forced to spend too much time responding to attacks on Africa. Let's move swiftly to develop ways for Americans to strengthen emerging African democracies and impact positively on U.S. policy.

We will follow up on the D.C. consultation with meetings in the Midwest, the South and the East. This way we can make sure that we reach legislators where they work, engaging them along with the communities in which they function.

These regional meetings will further empower city and state public officials, giving them the data they need to intervene effectively on Africa policy from the local level. *This is going to be our chance to involve newly-elected public officials along with recently elected men and women now assuming leadership roles because of term limitations.*

Thinking about strategies to maximize the impact of our work, I keep recalling the lesson of our amazingly successful peoples' sanctions against apartheid. That took the involvement of community groups, unions, academics, women and student groups around the country. I hope the Carnegie grant will serve as the seed money which enables us to find ways of reaching out and revitalizing those key grassroots networks, at the same time as we reach out to new constituencies.

The next two years hold both threat and promise. There will be a new Congress, hopefully less hostile than this past one. There may be new young staffers willing to listen to us if we speak coherently. But we will still have to deal with budget cutters and isolationists.

We have the advantages of consistency, dedication and an agenda we care about. Focusing on our goals, I am sure we can carry our long-time friends along with us, and win a new generation to recognizing that Africa is a continent rich in its people, its imagery, its promise. If we keep our sense of challenge and excitement we can help emerging African democracies face the new millennium with hope and confidence.





The Africa Fund

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Tilden J. LeMelle, *Chairman*
Jennifer Davis, *Executive Director*

All the deputy president's advisers



Rev Frank Chikane

Mojanku Gumbi

Essop Pahad

DESPITE running the second most important political office in the country, the deputy president's budget — currently at R9,3-million, 6% up on last year — is one of the smallest. Thabo Mbeki has five advisers and a director and deputy director of communications. Notably none of them is white, and not all are ANC supporters.

Essop Pahad

Parliamentary counsellor

MBEKI'S first appointment, Pahad serves as his eyes and ears in Parliament, and also within the South African Communist Party (SACP), where he is a member of the central committee and the politburo.

Born into a prominent Transvaal Indian Congress family and immersed in politics from an early age, Pahad and his brother Aziz (now deputy minister of foreign affairs) have known Mbeki since their student days in the 1960s.

Pahad was a leader of the Transvaal Indian Youth Congress; both brothers were banned in January 1964. On being arrested for breaching their banning orders, they applied for exit permits and left for London, where they consolidated their friendship with Mbeki.

Pahad and Mbeki finished MA degrees at Sussex University at the same time. Pahad's in African politics and economics. He later earned a PhD in history and started working full-time for the SACP, spending 10 years in Prague on the editorial council of the *World Marxist Review* before returning to London to work for the African National Congress in the Political Military Council which was co-ordinated by Aziz, until returning to South Africa in 1990.

"I keep him abreast of things in Parliament, I am his eyes and ears," he says. "He attends caucus meetings, but I'll inform him of what's going on in the committees, and if our own MPs have problems with any Bill from the executive."

Mojanku Gumbi

Legal adviser

SHE joined Mbeki's office in 1994, having already established a working relationship with the leadership through her involvement, as an Azanian People's Organisation (Azapo) executive committee member, in the preparatory committee for the Patriotic Front.

She was national director of the Black

Lawyers' Association, a former attorney and then advocate at the Pretoria Bar, after award-winning school and university careers.

Deciding to become Mbeki's legal adviser was "politically difficult", she recalls: "I had to decide whether it was a genuine offer, or politically strategic in terms of achieving a balance. It was already clear Azapo was not going to participate in the elections and I agreed with the reasons for not doing so. I am Black Consciousness through and through, but we are all in the liberation movement and have a common agenda, to an extent. Politically, I am very comfortable here.

"My job covers legal and political issues, and cuts across most areas of the deputy president's work. I pick up on critical legislation — I can't deal with all of it, international agreements and so on."

The Reverend Frank Chikane

Special adviser

HE joined Mbeki's office in November last year and functions as his chief of staff. He has known Mbeki since 1984, when he was first travelled abroad. He was asked to come in to "empower" Mbeki's office, "to enable him to execute his responsibilities within the Government of National Unity as effectively as possible".

The former secretary general of the South African Council of Churches, Chikane left the SACC after serving as a commissioner on the Independent Electoral Commission and went to Harvard University's Kennedy School to complete a two-year master's degree in public administration. He returned in 1995 to become senior research officer in the University of Cape

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Vusi Mavimbela

Moss Ngoasheng

Thami Ntentei

Town's Religious Studies Department.

"I take responsibility for running his office. I am like his chief of staff," he says.

Vusi Mavimbela

Policy adviser

AS Mbeki's link-man between the tripartite Alliance, other political parties and constituencies such as youth and women, Mavimbela functions as his political adviser. He deals with requests from organisations wanting Mbeki to address them and will write speeches for such occasions, although Mbeki writes his own key speeches.

He also does research for policy documents Mbeki writes, such as the August 1994 discussion document, *From Resistance to Reconstruction*, and the *Strategy and Tactics* document released at the 1995 conference of the ANC.

From Vryheid in Natal, Mavimbela attended the University of Zululand, leaving the country in 1976 to join Umkhonto weSizwe. He spent time in Angola, Zambia, Swaziland, trained in radio journalism in Moscow, and in intelligence in East Germany and Cuba.

He was a political instructor in Angola, and was an aide to Josiah Jele (Political Military Council secretary in Lusaka in the 1980s) when he first met and was impressed by Mbeki. He served underground in Swaziland for two years before returning to Lusaka.

He was political education officer on the Provisional National Youth Secretariat chaired by Peter Mokaba, then completed a social science degree at the University of Natal, Durban in 1993. He then worked in Durban for ANC Intelligence until called by Mbeki to work for him in his office.

Moss Ngoasheng

Economics adviser

DRAWN into ANC politics while at school in Pietersburg, Ngoasheng worked as a clerk in Lebowa before being arrested in 1978 for ANC activities and convicted under the Terrorism Act.

He arrived on Robben Island for a seven-year sentence five days before his 21st birthday, and has known Nelson Mandela since then. While in prison he did a degree in economics, international politics and development administration through Unisa.

Released in 1985, he was part of the United Democratic Front in the then-Northern Transvaal. Later he worked at the University of Natal, Durban as a researcher of youth and unemployment, and did an honours degree in industrial sociology, following up with an MPhil in development economics at Sussex University.

On his return in 1990, he worked with the ANC's economic policy unit and the industrial strategy project at the University of Natal, had a brief spell consulting, then joined Gencor's policy and strategy unit. He had met Mbeki on a number of occasions over the years.

"Basically, my role is to assist his strategic thinking around the economy. I deal more with the politics of economy than core economic policy," he says.

Ngoasheng is co-chair of the Labour Market Commission. He serves as Mbeki's link-man, liaising with the different ministries, getting an overview of decisions taken and how what impact they will have in other areas of government.

Thami Ntentei

Director of communications

BORN and bred Sowetan, he was expelled from the University of Zululand for involvement in student politics and did not complete his BComm degree.

During a brief stint teaching at his old school, Morris Isaacson High in Soweto, he joined the ANC underground and left South Africa in February 1976, undergoing 10 months' journalism training in Moscow before being posted to Angola, where he was involved in the first Radio Freedom — the voice of the ANC — broadcast from that country.

Posts in Madagascar and Ethiopia followed, where he set up Radio Freedom units before being recalled to Lusaka in 1982 to become director of Radio Freedom, around the time Mbeki took over as head of the ANC's Department of Information and Publicity.

He returned to South Africa in August 1991 after six months' management training at the Canadian Broadcasting Corporation, and set up the Radio Freedom Institute for Broadcast Journalism in Johannesburg. He worked for the Democratic Education Broadcasting Unit (Debu) before joining Mbeki's office in May 1994.

"Our role is manifold," he says. "It's public relations, media liaison, press statements, advising [the deputy president] on media-related issues. I sit in on policy meetings with his advisers."