

# Tutu's vision of love and acceptance spelt out in biography

In 'Rabble-rouser for Peace', Archbishop Desmond Tutu's biography by his former press secretary, John Allen, former President FW de Klerk acknowledges that he may have 'failed' to expose apartheid-era human rights abuses. In this extract from the book, Allen focuses on Tutu's commitment to finding reconciliation through truth

DESMOND TUTU spelt out his vision for reconciliation in South Africa in 1987, in a series of presentations to an Anglican church consultation.

He likened the country under apartheid to the depiction of the world in the book of Genesis after the fall of Adam and Eve – a place where harmony had been shattered by sin-alienation, disharmony and separation.

Quoting the Bible, he said the church's calling was to work for the fulfilment of God's vision of "a new heaven and a new Earth," in which "the wolf shall dwell with the lamb, and the leopard shall lie down with the kid". But this would not be achieved without offending the powerful:

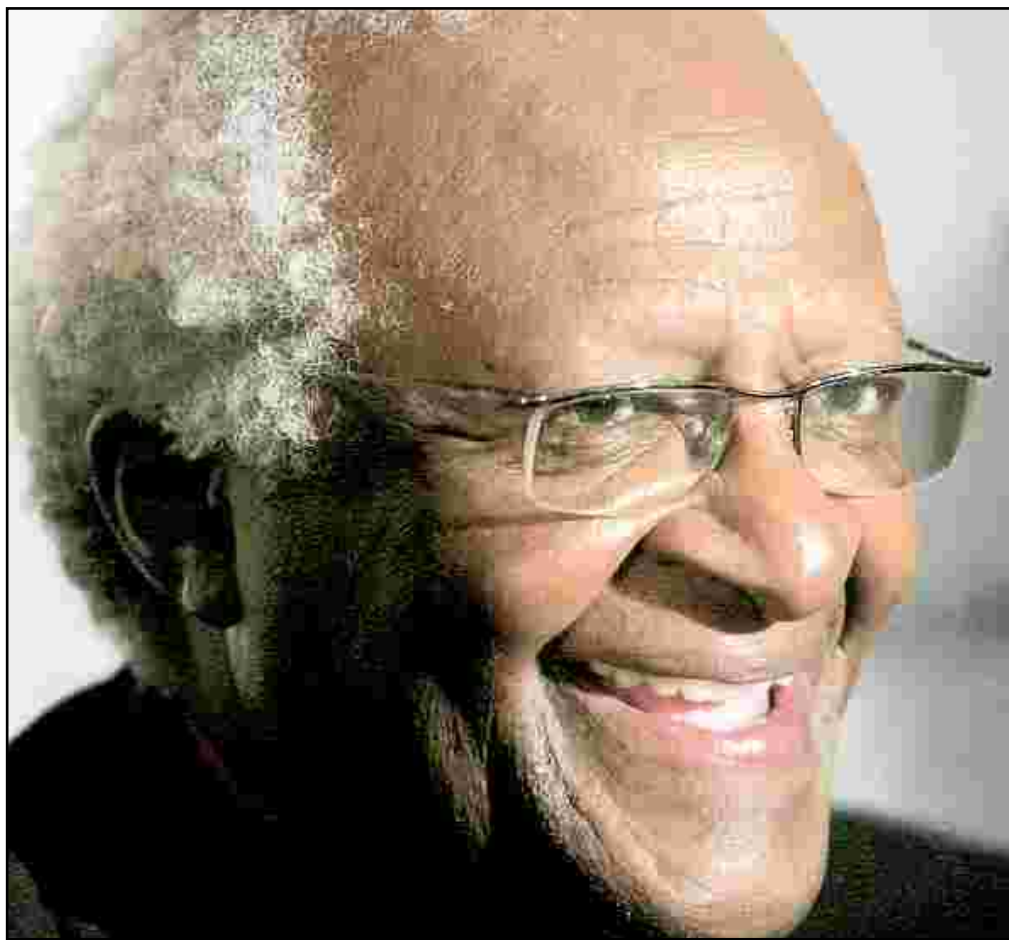
"Often there have been those who have wanted to provide a spurious kind of reconciliation... a crying of 'peace, peace, where there is no peace', a daubing of the wall with whitewash, a papering over of the cracks instead of dealing with the situation as it demands, seriously facing up to the unpleasantness of it all.

"In South Africa, we have often heard people speaking disapprovingly of what they have called 'confrontation', which they then opposed to 'reconciliation'.

"In this way ... glorious gospel words have fallen into disrepute and have been horribly devalued so that many came to think that 'reconciliation' meant making peace with evil, immorality, injustice, oppression and viciousness of which they are the victims and, quite rightly, they have rejected such a travesty of the genuine article.

"How could anyone really think that true reconciliation could avoid a proper confrontation?"

Although Tutu developed this statement as a theological rationale for the struggle, it also neatly summarised the thinking that underpinned his main preoccupation for the better part of the next two decades. As apartheid was dismantled, he insisted – initially in the churches, then to FW de



**Lasting legacy:** Archbishop Emeritus Desmond Tutu arrives at the Artists for a New South Africa's gala fundraiser in honour of his 75th birthday in Beverly Hills, California. Tutu has long insisted that South Africans work through the consequences of apartheid to achieve reconciliation.

Klerk, and eventually through the Truth and Reconciliation Commission – that if South Africans were to overcome the damage of apartheid they had to face up to and work through its consequences.

He advocated an explicitly Christian model of achieving reconciliation, involving three separate, successive transactions. Two of them required action from the perpetrators or beneficiaries of apartheid; the third involved a generous response from its victims.

His best-known elucidation of the model was delivered at a national conference of South African church leaders near Rustenburg nine months after Mandela's release. The conference brought together an unprecedented range of South African churches. In an opening sermon, Tutu made the point that church leaders could not cred-

ibly preach reconciliation to the country if they were not reconciled among themselves.

For this reconciliation to happen, he said, those responsible for apartheid first had to confess their sin.

In the second transaction, the victims were under a "gospel imperative" to forgive. In the third, those who had committed wrongs had to make restitution.

His sermon was followed by a moving apology for apartheid from another speaker, Willie Jonker, a theologian from Stellenbosch University, the intellectual heart of Afrikaner nationalism.

The apology, endorsed the next day by the main white Dutch Reformed Church, sent ripples through the Reformed church family and the Afrikaner community. From one side, black and coloured Dutch Reformed churches

questioned the sincerity of the white church and Tutu's right to accept the confession; from the other side, a furious PW Botha telephoned the church's moderator to protest.

Tutu denied he had spoken for the conference but said he refused to impose limits on God's grace.

Tutu said the Dutch Reformed confession marked a "quite shattering" moment in the life of the country: "God has brought us to this moment... I speak only for myself. I cannot, when someone says, 'Forgive me,' say 'I do not.'"

Some months later Tutu asked FW de Klerk for a private meeting, at which he urged the then president to make a formal apology for the suffering apartheid had caused.

Two years later, De Klerk did apologise: "It was not our

intention to deprive people of their rights and to cause misery but eventually apartheid led to just that... Yes, we say we are sorry."

Tutu thought the apology was qualified and that De Klerk was not yet prepared to admit apartheid was evil, but he urged that it be accepted. The issue would return to haunt their relationship during the proceedings of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission.

As the evidence of atrocities mounted, the commission turned its attention to the leaders under whom they had occurred. Tutu was instrumental in calling to account three leaders in particular: PW Botha, FW de Klerk and Winnie Madikizela-Mandela.

He did so not as a dispassionate adjudicator of the law. He was an emotional, committed advocate, dealing with people he already knew well and was willing to bend over backwards to persuade them to make the confessions by which they could have the forgiveness they were being offered.

De Klerk made his first presentation to the TRC before the amnesty hearings of Vlakplaas commanders Jac Cronje and Dirk Coetzee and their men. He acknowledged that security forces had developed "unconventional counter-strategies".

But "within my knowledge and experience, they never included the authorisation of assassination, murder, torture, rape, assault or the like".

Neither did he or his colleagues "directly or indirectly ever suggest, order or authorise any such action". When he gave evidence a second time, the confessions of the Security Branch's commanders and underlings had changed the landscape.

He reiterated his apology of 1993 but added: "Many things happened which were not authorised... The recent information of atrocities I find as shocking and as abhorrent as anybody else."

Under extensive cross-examination, he rejected the

contention that his government had presided over state-sanctioned violence.

The next day, Tutu's face crumpled up when a journalist asked him about the hearing at a news conference. Tutu said he had hoped for statesmanship. He could not comprehend how De Klerk could insist he had been unaware of atrocities.

The commission's frustration at failing either to pin responsibility for violations of human rights on De Klerk, or to engage him in Tutu's effort to find a white leader to accept accountability for atrocities, was displayed in the embarrassing weakness of its finding against him.

FW de Klerk acknowledged in his autobiography that the TRC had badly damaged his image. After its main report was published, a newspaper headlined his presence at a meeting of the State Security Council in 1984 at which an education minister wanted two teachers in the Eastern Cape town of Cradock "removed".

Fifteen months later, the teachers were among four people murdered by the police. De Klerk told the newspaper the intention had been that the teachers should be transferred to another town.

The writer, exploring the damage that the clash between Tutu and De Klerk did to their relationship, asked De Klerk what had gone through his mind when he heard of the deaths of the teachers.

De Klerk replied: "At no time was any decision taken of which I was part, where I felt, 'this is actually authorising assassination or cold-blooded murder.'"

The international launch of *Rabble-rouser for Peace* will take place in Cape Town next Thursday. Tomorrow in the Weekend Argus, read how Tutu urged former president PW Botha to recall his mother's internment in a British concentration camp in the hope of persuading him to stop the forced removals of black South Africans from urban areas.

Under extensive cross-examination, he rejected the

## Make or break time for the PAC

DESPITE the political, ideological and strategic differences that are said to exist between the ANC and the PAC, evidence suggests they share some common behaviour when it comes to battles over leadership.

Since the PAC has generally been dismissed by its rivals – and critics both inside and outside its ranks – as no more than a "punctured tyre", the battle for its soul has not been treated as a big deal by the media.

The summary suspension by Motsoko Pheko of his deputy, Themba Godi, an MP and chairman of parliament's select committee on public accounts, has not received much attention, and certainly nothing like the attention William Gumede has given an over-sensationalised battle for the soul of the ANC.

But what of the PAC, and hopes of a new ascendance?

Whether this has a chance to become a reality will be clearer at the 8th congress of the party at the Qwa Qwa campus of the University of Free State tomorrow.

The scale of enthusiasm among the organisers and the membership does appear to vindicate the view held by most PAC cadres that this one is going to be a "make or break" effort for the organisation.

Evidence of this is that no fewer than a dozen candidates indicated their wish to enter the contest for the seat of president. The list has now been reduced to five names. Among them are secretary-general Mofihli Likotsi, who is also an MP, and deputy president Godi.

Even though Pheko has not yet indicated publicly that he is running – he has not told his colleagues in the PAC national executive either – a group of cadres is busy lobbying for his retention for six months or a year as a form of "grand exit."

The name of Thami ka Plaattjie, a former secretary-general, has also been mentioned among the presidential candidates. His supporters want him to become the running mate of ex-Apla commander Letlapa Mphahlele, who is most likely to win the race and replace Pheko.

Most PAC members feel he has an "impeccable" record of struggle and has a courage which has not been equalled by any of his former colleagues in the Apla high command.

Others admire his down-to-earth humility and his ability to speak out against corruption. They feel he is the symbol of the renaissance the PAC needs so badly to become a serious and constructive opposition to the ANC.

It will certainly not be a smooth process for Mphahlele. The other candidates are doing everything in their power to eliminate him from the race.

MXOLISI MGXASHE

He and scores of his supporters have already been disqualified from participating in the congress on claims that their registration did not meet the August 31 deadline.

Secretary-general Likotsi, who was Pheko's kingmaker at the last congress, is in the forefront of Mphahlele's spoilers and has vowed to deliver 850 delegates.

According to the PAC constitution, a delegate to a congress must be backed by 20 members of a branch, and this means Likotsi's support is no less than 17 000. He says there is nothing in the PAC constitution that prevents people who joined a day before the congress from attending congress as delegates the following day.

He says with confidence: "Voting calves are a very normal thing in a democracy and they are used all over the world. They are the ones who voted the ANC into power in all the elections we have had since the new dispensation."

Mthuthuzeli Mama, Pheko's security adviser, disagrees, and says the results of the recent local government election showed very clearly that the PAC was not able to get even a "lousy" 100 votes in most areas. "Where does Likotsi get 17 000 members?"

He thinks the PAC is just not ready to convene a congress now and should postpone it to June next year when it would have raised the necessary resources.

Mama says it is unfortunate that preparations for the congress have been handled only by the current leadership and the men who are contesting the presidency.

He feels the preparatory and credentials committees should have included the other candidates and people who do not belong to any faction.

Mphahlele disagrees and says that the right to postpone the congress rests with the delegates. His disqualification and Godi's suspension, are going to be the first hot issues to be tackled at the congress and will become a big test of the PAC's capacity to resuscitate itself.

A good number of PAC members throughout the country, including some working behind the scenes, are hoping that the congress will bring about a radical change for the better, and end the scorn the PAC has suffered from its critics and rival parties.

They feel ashamed of the low status of the party and the peripheral place it occupies today.

*Mgxashe writes ahead of the PAC's 8th national congress, which starts tomorrow.*

### Zuma...

The rule of law is a very important part of our constitution. The judge has made his decision. Let us respect it.

Zuma has not been cleared by a court but slipped through on technicalities. That does not mean he is not guilty. Until he proves he is innocent, his dream of becoming President is doomed.

I am sick of seeing Zuma's face. If he takes over, SA will be another Zimbabwe. No country will invest here.

I can't remember when last I threw up, but the picture of Zuma grinning like a Cheshire cat holding comrade Vavi's hand made me puke my liver up. – Rob Henry

The Argus had no difficulty in making the full judgment in the Schaik case available. Why is the same not



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done in the Zuma case? Is it because the judgment was Zuma-positive?

I'm an educator and a Sattu member. They definitely have not received a mandate from me and thousands of other members to call for Zuma's reinstatement as deputy president of SA.

If Zuma becomes president I'll take my family and leave this country.

My little brother behaves better than Zuma. He will run this country down.

Zuma has destroyed years of HIV/Aids prevention messages and strategies. He will be morally liable for many infections.

Cosatu, get a life. How can you possibly back Zuma for president? Be prepared to lose members as we definitely cannot depend on you and your mindset.

God help this country if Zuma gets his dirty feet back into parliament. Can't he go and work with Mugabe? They suit each other very well.

### Chiefs...

What an amazing advertisement Kaizer Chiefs fans are for South Africa as the host nation for the 2010 World Cup. For how long are these hooligans going to be allowed to get away with such barbaric behaviour?

If Chiefs fans go on the rampage after a league defeat what can we expect if South Africa go out in the first round in 2010?

If we lose the chance to host the

World Cup, blame it on the Chiefs 'fans'.

### Others...

Since 1994 the City of Cape Town has not had a council that lasted five years. There is too much fighting. The only people holding the city together are the staff. They should get a bonus, not the city managers.

I have just completed my Employment Equity Act declaration form. It is interesting to note that blacks are categorised as African while everyone else is colours. If I was living in another country my nationality would be as per the country, example French. When are we going to get away from apartheid?

There are so many cadres who are praising their own heroic deeds in order to win recognition so they can

ride the government's gravy train. It makes a mockery of the deeds of the real heroes. The majority of these being false were herding cattle in Transkei when we faced the 'Trojan horse' in Belgravia Road.

The ANC is a marxist party, not a democratic party. Like all marxist parties, it dooms the country it dictates to.

Why does Mandela not comment on the farce he is responsible for starting? I campaigned in the UK for the ANC. I was a fool.

If the N2 Gateway tenants received their keys in early July but only moved in now, does this mean it has taken almost three months for beneficiaries to go through the workshop?

Re the SMS from a 21-year-old who failed his driving test for the fourth time, in the last few days I have heard from a few youngsters falling for the

same reason. Funny, they were all white.

To the 21-year-old who failed because he/she was driving too slowly, it is fair. Driving too slowly is just as dangerous as speeding. Don't blame the traffic cops because you can't get a job without a licence. Your customers would have received their deliveries faster through mail.

To the racist who moans about the Cape being mostly for so called coloureds, do you hear us moaning about the Transkei being mostly for Xhosas?

Mr Mbeki and his ilk merely expose their ignorance. Of course black people are in the minority in the Western Cape – so what? Xhosa people are in the minority in KwaZulu, Zulu people in Transkei. Can non-Xhosa people buy land in Transkei? Why not? Generations of non-Xhosas

lived in the Western Cape before the Xhosa people even had a written language, never mind knowing where the Cape was.

Proteas, don't flatter yourselves. Against big guns you fall from hero to zero quickest.

Has Bandana Day died out? I only saw two people wearing bandanas yesterday, and one of them was me. Where's the show of support?

Well done, editor, for arranging the car-free day and petrol price-cut articles next to each other.

The people complaining about the 'blikkiesdorp' in Sea Point actually deserve their property losing value. Before the graffiti it looked like sleeping quarters at a building site. Now it looks like a crackhouse in Manenberg.

Why are the people of Mandalay still getting power failures? I missed my

job interview the other day because when the power goes off my alarm clock goes off as well. It's hard when black people get all the jobs already and us coloureds don't, and that was an opportunity for me. Who can I sue?

### And finally...

The UFO is here to intercept Richard Dyantyi. I hope Jacob Zuma will be next.

The two lights moving over Simon's Town were Zuma and Dyantyi looking for Chuck Norris to help them.

Greetings from Planet Zog, Earthlings. I have been scouring your country for a week, and asked 3 748 people 'Where is your leader?' but nobody knows. Please help a confused alien.

Beam me up, Scotty. There are too many Msimangs down here.