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Gary Crethers
CSUSB

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Desmond Tutu (1931–2021)

By Gary Crethers

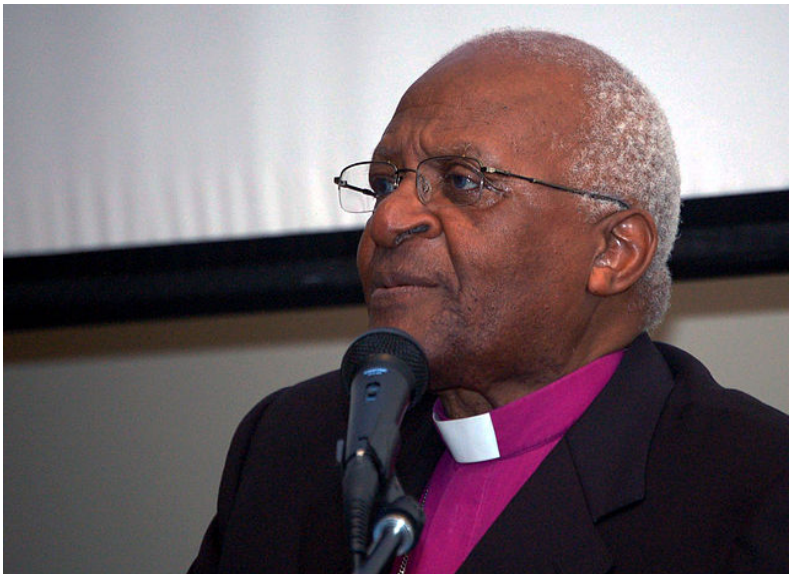

Figure 1. Desmond Mpilo Tutu (1931–2021) delivering a speech at the first International Ethics Conference at the University of Botswana in 2009. Courtesy of Wikicommons.[1]

Desmond Mpilo Tutu (1931–2021), Archbishop Emeritus of the South African Anglican Church, had a saying: "A person is a person through other persons. None of us comes into the world fully formed."[2] As journalist John Allen wrote in his biography,

[1] Cmdr. J.A. Surette, United States Navy, "South African Anglican Archbishop Desmond Tutu," December 7, 2009, Wikicommons, public domain, https://commons.wikimedia.org/wiki/File:South_African_Anglican_Archbishop_Desmond_Tutu.jpg.

[2] Tutu was the Archbishop Emeritus from 1986 to 1996. He was succeeded by Njongonkulu Winston Hugh Ndungane (b. 1941) later in 1996. Desmond Tutu, *The Essential Desmond Tutu,* ed. John Allen (Claremont, SA: David Phillip Publishers, 1997), 5-6.

Rabble-Rouser for Peace (2006), Archbishop Tutu was central to the anti-apartheid movement (1912–1992) in South Africa. Winner of the Nobel Peace Prize in 1984, he used his notoriety to address injustices of an apartheid system that the South African government established to segregate people based on race. Former Bishop of Lesotho from 197 to 1978, and General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches (SACC) 1978 to 1985, Tutu said, "One day no one was listening. The next I was an oracle."[3] Archbishop Tutu passed away on December 26, 2021, at the age of ninety. As the first Black Anglican Bishop in South Africa, Tutu rose from poverty in the poor Black village of Makoeteng near Klerksdorp in the Northwest Province, South Africa to prominence as a leader in the movement to end the apartheid system in South Africa.[4]

Tutu lost no time in using his influence. Meeting Canadian Prime Minister Brian Mulroney (b. 1939) in December 1984, Tutu, as representative of the United Democratic Front (UDF), toured capitals of several countries, attempting to influence them to support the anti-apartheid movement in South Africa.[5] The movement was an international effort to convince corporations and nations to oppose the system of apartheid established in South Africa by the National Party government soon after its election to office in 1948.[6] Apartheid (apartness) was a system of regulations

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[3] John Allen, *Rabble-Rouser for Peace: The Authorized Biography of Desmond Tutu* (New York: Free Press, 2006), 245.
[4] Allen, 9.
[5] The United Democratic Front was created in 1983. It was a coalition of South African civic society organizations with African National Congress veterans as leaders. Desmond Tutu was a leading patron. Allen, 206.
[6] The National Party ran on a policy of Apartheid, strict separation of the races. The electorate of 1948 had been reduced to whites, some colored and Indian South Africans, with black South Africans banned. The policies of Apartheid were gradually introduced between the election of 1948 and the eventual ending of membership in the British Commonwealth in 1961. Albert Grundlingh, "Book Four: Industrialization, Rural Change and Nationalism - Chapter Three - Afrikaner Nationalism in the 1930's and 1940's," South African History Online, accessed June 2, 2022, https://www.sahistory.org.za/archive/book-4-

used to separate people based on a division into four basic races: White, Coloured, Indian, and Black.[7] Tutu was able to influence the Canadian Prime Minister's perspective toward apartheid after they met. Mulroney then proceeded to convince the Canadian Parliament to pressure the British government to "invoke political and economic sanctions and take the lead in the Commonwealth and at the UN on the issue."[8] The next year, in 1985, Tutu, then-Bishop of Johannesburg, had an effect on political figures in France. Meeting the then-French Prime Minister Laurient Fabius (b.1946), the two went for a walk and, without mentioning sanctions against South Africa, Fabius recalled Tutu impressing him. Fabius stated, "A white minister, walking with a black bishop without police protection—that's freedom." [9] The next day, the French government declared sanctions against the apartheid government of South Africa.[10] The astute use of his position to gain attention and sympathy for the cause of the Black majority seeking an end to the apartheid system in South Africa was an example of the moral force that Bishop Tutu was able to wield as a spiritual leader.

Desmond Tutu Early Life

Born October 7, 1931, Desmond Mpilo Tutu's parents belonged to the two main linguistic groups of South Africa. His mother was Motswana from the Sotho-Tswana group, and his father was Xhosa. His father, Zachariah Zelilo Tutu (1901–1971), was a teacher; his mother, Aletta Dorothea Mavoertsek Mathlare (c.

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industrialisation-rural-change-and-nationalism-chapter-3-afrikaner-nationalism-1930s.

[7] Clifton Crais and Thomas V. McClendon, "Introduction," in *The South African Reader: History, Politics, Culture*, eds. Clifton, Crais and Thomas V. McClendon (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 2-6; Allen, 55-61.

[8] Allen, 245.

[9] Allen, 245.

[10] Allen, 245.

1905–1984), was the strongest influence in his life. Tutu was quoted as saying of his father, "He thought the Xhosa's were God's gift to the world."[11] Tutu was not attracted to the priesthood as a child but grew up around the church; his paternal grandfather, Solomon Tutu (n.d.), was a minister in the Black Methodist Church.[12] Desmond Tutu went to a progressive Black high school but suffered from a bout of tuberculosis and missed months of school. Tutu managed to graduate and ultimately attended the Pretoria Bantu National College in 1951. The buildings of the teaching college were constructed in the style of a round hut. According to John Allen, Tutu joked, "Rectangular buildings were probably not good for our Bantu psyche."[13] The government was trying to use architecture to indoctrinate Black people into accepting the government's idea of appropriate housing.

Initially, Tutu was not politically active. He continued to pursue a teaching career and married one of his father's star students, Nomalizo Leah Shenxane (b.1933) in 1955. The implementation of the South African Nationalist Party's education plan for Black people led to discriminatory pay scales. As Hendrik Verwoerd (1901–1966) chief architect of the apartheid system stated, "The Bantu teacher must be integrated as an active agent in the…development of the Bantu community. He must not feel above his community, with a consequent desire to become integrated into the life of the European community."[14] It was at this point, as a young teacher, that Tutu decided to apply to become a priest in the Anglican Church in 1955. He decided that he would do better as a religious figure, not for idealistic reasons, but because he could not afford to go to medical school.[15] This decision would lead Tutu out of his Transvaal home to St Peter's Theological College in Rosettenville, Johannesburg where he

[11] Allen, 10-11.
[12] Allen, 33.
[13] Alen, 34, 46, 48.
[14] Allen, 61.
[15] Allen, 61.

finished his studies. Tutu was ordained on December 11, 1960.[16] In 1962, he was given a scholarship to attend King's College in London, United Kingdom, ultimately earning a master's degree in theology.[17]

Tutu had four children: a son, Trevor Thamsanqa (b. 1966), and three daughters, Mpho Andrea (b. 1963), Naomi Nontombi (b. 1960), and Theresa Thandeka (b. 1957). While in London, Tutu's financial condition was inadequate for a family man, and his scholarship had to be increased after some negotiation with the Anglican Church and the World Council of Churches who funded his education.[18] Tutu was noted for his sense of humor and infectious laughter, which served him well in situations as diverse as meetings with royalty to defusing street violence at home.[19]

Man of Action

Before the 1948 election of the Nationalist Party, South Africa had racist policies not unlike the United States or the British colonies. Upon achieving power, the new National Party's government began implementing strict racist legislation, known as the apartheid system, creating four basic categories as the basis of national cultural divisions: "White, Indian, Coloured, and Black."[20]

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[16] St. Peter's Theological College was later consolidated as Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa as a response to the Group Areas Act limiting black attendance to schools in white areas, St Peter's was one of the schools relocated to the new campus in Alice, Transiki in 1963. Allen, 69-70; Philippe Denis, "Ecumenical Education and Social Change: The Case of the Federal Theological Seminary of Southern Africa," *The Ecumenical Review* Vol. 65, no. 2 (2013): 244–57, https://doi.org/10.1111/erev.12039.

[17] Allen, 95.

[18] Allen, 90.

[19] Allen, 95.

[20] The racial divisions in South Africa created by the apartheid policies of the National Party government were based on color distinctions. Whites were of European descent, mainly from the United Kingdom, and Africaaners were the descendants of the original Dutch colonists. The Indians were descended from laborers and other immigrants from India. Coloureds (British spelling) were mixed race, White and Black. Blacks were the indigenous people who were to

Black people, who comprised sixty-eight percent of the population, were divided into ethnically based groups to be allocated poor and unwanted lands called Bantustans for so-called Home Rule on about thirteen percent of South African territory.[21] In 1948, Nelson Mandela (1918–2013), then a member of the African National Congress Youth League, described the new apartheid system as follows: "The often-haphazard segregation of the past three hundred years was to be consolidated into a monolithic system that was diabolical in its detail, inescapable in its reach and overwhelming in its power."[22]

The African National Congress (ANC), the Pan-Africanist Congress (PAC), and similar groups routinely protested apartheid regulations. The Sharpeville massacre on March 21, 1960, occurred when members of the PAC protested the implementation of "Pass Laws," which prohibited black South Africans from entering designated areas without a government-issued pass. At the protest, the police opened fire without notice, killing sixty-nine and wounding an estimated 185 to 190 persons. According to Allen, Tutu, then a student at St. Peter's Theological College in Rosettenville, Johannesburg, said that "he was in a state of shock" upon learning of the massacre, but at that time did not consider joining the protests. Allen wrote, "The events of 1960, Tutu's final year at college, were a watershed in the history of the country."[23]

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be separated by tribal affiliation and regulated to citizenship in Bantustans, the undesirable territories in South Africa. Allen, 55-56.

[21] Home Rule meant establishing tribal governments nominally independent but in reality totally dependent upon the South African government. It was a mechanism to rule the ten Bantustans established by the 1951 Bantu Authorities Act. Some three million persons, nearly a fifth of the population in 1960, were removed. Allen, 55-56; Crais and McClendon, "Introduction," 4-5; Clifton Crais and Thomas V. McClendon, "Apartheid and the Struggle for Freedom," in *The South African Reader: History, Politics, Culture*, eds. Clifton Crais and Thomas V. McClendon (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 279-281.

[22] Allen, 55-56.

[23] The Sharpeville massacre led to a declaration of a national state of emergency, banning of the ANC and PAC. The ANC response was to form an armed wing the Umkhonto we Sizwe (Spear of the Nation or MK) which set off bombs to

Tutu returned from the United Kingdom to teach at the Federal Seminary in Alice, Transeki, South Africa.[24] In 1968, after the Soviet occupation of Czechoslovakia, he preached a sermon "condemning oppression, drawing an analogy between South Africa and Eastern Europe."[25] This was one of his earliest speeches that heralded the beginning of his political involvement. During student protests at that time, when the police surrounded protestors with snarling dogs, Tutu waded into the crowd and joined the students, a defining act that would become one of the hallmarks of his willingness to brave danger to stand up for the oppressed.[26] In 1972, Tutu was appointed to the position of African Director at the Theological Education Fund in London. He gained experience in his travels across Africa, assessing and recommending grants for the theological training of students.[27]

June 1976, saw the beginning of national student rebellions against overcrowding and the mandatory use of the Afrikaans language in the Soweto region.[28] The protests spiraled into an indictment of the entire system of apartheid. Over 660 student youth were killed during the ten months of the rebellion.[29] One of the more widely-known members that emerged from the rebellions was Steve Biko (1946–1977), who was one of the leaders of the Black Consciousness movement which "espoused the inward transformation of people's souls as a necessary

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destroy power towers, but their leadership was captured in 1963 leading to Mandela's arrest. Allen, 69-70; Crais and McClendon, "Apartheid and the Struggle for Freedom," 283.

[24] Federal Seminary was created in Alice, Transiki in 1963. Philippe Denis, *The Ecumenical Review,* 244, 247.

[25] Allen, 110.

[26] Allen, 110-111.

[27] Allen, 123.

[28] Afrikaans is the language that evolved out of the original Dutch settlers language in Southern Africa starting in the seventeenth century. It became one of the official languages of South Africa. Britannica, T. Editors of Encyclopedia, "Afrikaans language," *Encyclopedia Britannica*, January 3, 2020, https://www.britannica.com/topic/Afrikaans-language.

[29] Allen, 154.

condition to fighting oppression."[30] He was involved with the South African Students Organization, which was critical to the student rebellions. Biko was murdered in police custody in September 1977.[31] Tutu, who had been sent to Lesotho as Bishop in 1976, returned to give a speech at Biko's funeral during which he articulated his increasingly politicized vision:

> Steve started something that is quite unstoppable. The powers of injustice, of oppression, of exploitation, have done their worst and they have lost. They have lost because they are immoral and wrong and our God, the God of Exodus, the liberator God, is a God of justice and liberation and goodness. Our cause, the cause of justice and liberation, must triumph because it is moral and just and right.[32]

Later, in an article published in 2010, Tutu further explained his views on Christianity. He wrote, "In the face of injustice and oppression it is to disobey God not to stand up in opposition to the injustice and oppression."[33] In March 1978, Tutu was appointed General Secretary of South African Council of Churches (SACC), a position which, according to historian Roni Mikel Arieli, "brought him to prominence in the context of the anti-apartheid struggle."[34]Affiliated with the World Council of

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[30] Clifton Crais and Thomas V. McClendon, "From Soweto to Liberation," in *The South African Reader: History, Politics, Culture*, eds. Clifton Crais and Thomas V. McClendon (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 358.
[31] Crais and McClendon, "From Soweto to Liberation," 358.
[32] Allen, 164.
[33] Desmond M. Tutu, "The First Word: To Be Human Is To Be Free," *Journal of Law and Religion* Vol 30, No. 3 (2015): 388, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24739242.
[34] Roni Mikel Arieli, "Between Apartheid, the Holocaust and the Nakba: Archbishop Desmond Tutu's Pilgrimage to Israel-Palestine (1989) and the Emergence of an Analogical Lexicon," *Journal of Genocide apartheid*

Churches (WCC), it became a base for revived mass action against the apartheid under Tutu's leadership.[35]

Tutu increased his activism with his involvement in the SACC. In 1979, Tutu issued a statement protesting the Group Areas Act (1951), which redlined racial groups to segregated residential and business sections in urban locations. Historian Roni Mikel Arieli cites Tutu as saying the Group Areas Act was,

> "The [South African] government's final solution to the African problem." And [Tutu] argued that the policy of the P.W. Botha's administration "was deliberately designed to have Africans starve to death, not because there was no food, but because it was the policy the government had defined and was now pursuing."[36]

Tutu attempted to stay out of party politics claiming, "I'm not a thinker, I can't analyze things. I'm a feeling person, maybe I get inspirations."[37] He was involved with the formation of a National Forum starting in 1983, as an attempt to bring the African National Congress (ANC) and its rival Pan Africanist Congress (PAC) together. The ANC was founded as an all-race party in 1912 and was originally called the South African Native National Congress. The group changed its name in 1923 to the ANC. The PAC was formed as a breakaway because of the involvement of Communists and Whites in the ANC.[38] Many of the leaders of these movements had been imprisoned or killed by the apartheid government, but

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Research, Vol 22, No. 3, (2019) 337, https://doi:10.1080/14623528.2019.1673606.

[35] Arieli, "Between Apartheid, the Holocaust and the Nakba," 337.

[36] Botha was President of South Africa at the time. Arieli, "Between Apartheid, the Holocaust and the Nakba," 338; Clifton Crais and Thomas V. McClendon, "The Discarded People, Introduction," in *The South African Reader: History, Politics, Culture*, eds. Clifton Crais and Thomas V. McClendon (Durham, NC and London: Duke University Press, 2014), 335.

[37] Allen, 206.

[38] Allen, 69.

Tutu's position as a religious leader afforded him the opportunity to rise up in the anti-apartheid movement. Tutu was one of the spiritual authorities in the formation of the United Democratic Front (UDF), formed in November 1983, which had some 575 affiliates from all political groups. The UDF was active in boycotting the 1984 national elections that gave limited rights to the Indian and Coloured racial groups in an attempt to divide the voting block of non-Whites. The apartheid South African government hoped to divide the Indian and Coloured votes from those of Black people to prop up the current government.[39] The UDF was active in boycotts and worker actions and was instrumental in pressuring the government for change.

In 1984, Tutu was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize for his unrelenting activism and fearless defense of the rights of all South Africans. Criticized in the South African press for the same reasons, Tutu doubled down in his acceptance speech stating, "Blacks are systematically being stripped of their South African citizenship and being turned into aliens in the land of their birth. This is apartheid's final solution, just as Nazism had its final solution for the Jews in Hitler's [1889–1945] Aryan madness."[40]

As protests intensified in South Africa throughout the 1980s, Tutu defused crowds in confrontations with the police. On February 15, 1986, nineteen people were killed by police leading to three days of rioting in Alexandria township. In a meeting held at the local stadium, Tutu told protesters he would go to the government to have their demands met. The South African government leader, Pieter Willem Botha (1916–2006), refused to meet and Tutu had to tell a crowd of forty-thousand that he had nothing to offer. The people booed when he pleaded for them to not become "cannon fodder for the police."[41] As he left, the youths in the crowd told him the police would attack and, at first, they

[39] Allen, 206, 207.
[40] Arieli, "Between Apartheid, the Holocaust and the Nakba," 341.
[41] Allen, 229

refused to let him get to his car. Tutu said he had never felt threatened by an angry crowd like that before.[42]

Across the world, an anti-apartheid movement grew after the Soweto uprising. Increasingly in the 1980s, the movement to pressure the South African government to end apartheid with economic sanctions and disinvestment in South African industries was an alternative to violent revolution.[43] Tutu, angered by the heartless policies of the South African government moving millions of Blacks to barren Bantustans, told Danish reporters in 1979 that Denmark should not buy South African coal, committing himself to sanctions and divestment.[44]

ANC activists and supporters had debated the sanctions and divestment movement since the 1960s after the South African government banned the ANC from assembling. But it was only in the 1980s after Tutu began pressuring international leaders, and the global anti-apartheid campaign supported by the ANC, UDF, and Congress of South African Trade Unions grew, that real implementation of sanctions occurred. The divestment movement was meant to pressure institutions, corporations, pension plans of universities, etc., to end investment in South African companies and government institutions. An example of sanction was the United Nations Security Council resolution which called for an arms embargo against South Africa.[45] Another example was in 1986, the United States Senate passed the Lugar Bill, against the veto of President Ronald Reagan (1911–2004), approving sanctions against South Africa. United States Senator Richard Green Lugar (1932–2019) gave credit to Bishop Tutu for his impassioned efforts. Of Reagan, Tutu said in an interview with the US press that "he sits there like the great white chief of old [who] can tell us black people that we don't know what is good for us, the white man knows."[46]

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[42] Allen, 229.
[43] Allen, 175-176, 178-179.
[44] Allen, 178-179.
[45] Allen, 167.
[46] Allen, 260-262.

Botha became ill in 1989 and had to step down as president of South Africa. He was replaced in office by Frederik Willem de Klerk (1936–2021).[47] In 1989, de Klerk attempted to visit then-newly elected President George H. W. Bush Sr. (1924–2018), however, de Klerk was discouraged by the State Department and the meeting never took place. Upon visiting Margaret Thatcher (1925–2013), Prime Minister of the United Kingdom, in 1989 she bluntly told de Klerk that apartheid must go.[48] Meanwhile, faced with intensifying protests around the country, sanctions, and the possible hunger strike deaths of detainees, the apartheid government agreed to meet with a delegation of ministers led by Tutu, and, in a move that surprised Tutu, agreed to release political prisoners. This was an indication of changes that the de Klerk administration was willing to undertake. In September 1989, days before the inauguration of de Klerk as State President (the position replacing the former title of Prime Minister), de Klerk decided to allow protest marches to occur for the first time without the authorization of police violence as in the past.[49]

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[47] F.W. de Klerk died just over a month before Tutu passed away. Allen, 299-300.

[48] Allen, 299-301.

[49] F.W. de Klerk (his first and middle name abbreviated), Nobel Peace Prize winner with Nelson Mandela in 1993, spent most of his speech advocating for the new South African Constitution, with Constitutional Courts that would guarantee the rights of all. He had a long family background in the Nationalist Party, with his father Jan de Klerk serving in Parliament and as a cabinet minister. He was raised in the smallest and most conservative branch of the three Dutch Reformed Churches. F. W. de Klerk was initiated into the Broederbond, while attending Potchefstroom University, "the secret society of the Afrikaner elite that reaches into every governmental, business, academic, and cultural group identified with the Afrikaner nation." He earned a law degree, graduating with honors. De Klerk was Education Minister under the Botha administration from 1984 to 1989, and when he became acting president in 1989, had not previously given any indication as to what direction he would take the country. Yet in April 1990, government officials and the ANC as well as other parties "met to discuss the guidelines for negotiating a transitional government and ultimately a new constitution." Secret talks between Mandela and de Klerk led to an agreement to have for five years a national unity government with proportional representation, and after that a simple majority rule. The agreement

Tutu had contacted leaders of several countries to pressure de Klerk into abolishing apartheid. Late in 1989, de Klerk met with Tutu and then visited Nelson Mandela in prison.[50] On February 2, 1990, de Klerk gave a speech to the South African parliament in which he declared political parties were to be unbanned, including the Communist Party, which caused an "audible gasp" from the audience.[51] The Segregated Facilities law, passed under the Separate Amenities Act in 1953, would be repealed, and Mandela would be released on February 11, 1990, after twenty-seven years in prison.[52] Upon learning of the speech, Tutu said, "It's incredible…Give him credit. Give him credit, I do."[53] The release of Mandela was an occasion of joy in South Africa; over 50,000 persons went to greet him in downtown Cape Town. As one journalist put it, "The reaction evoked by Mandela's presence was

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was announced on February 12, 1993. Elections were held in the spring of 1994 with Mandela winning the presidency and de Klerk becoming deputy president. Asked why he did what he did de Klerk was elusive, saying "There are certain crevasses in my mind which even my friends do not have the right to probe." He did mention that when on a trip to the USA in 1976 he claims to have seen "more racial incidents in one month there than in South Africa in a year." He was "noted for his ability to summarize accurately and succinctly the issues between his Afrikaans colleagues…and suggest compromises to their problems." Known for his calm demeanor, there were still incidents when he and Mandela had conflicts. One example occurred after the transitional government election, when he and Mandela exchanged insults in a parking lot after de Klerk and the National Party were accused of being the cause of high crime rates in South Africa. As the chair of the Nobel Peace Prize Committee noted at the time de Klerk and Mandela received that award, "These are not saints. They are politicians in a complicated reality." Darrell D. Irwin, "Awards for Suffering: The Nobel Peace Prize Recipients of South Africa," *Contemporary Justice Review,* Vol. 12, no. 2 (2009): 157–70; Betty Glad and Robert Blanton, "F. W. de Klerk and Nelson Mandela: A Study in Cooperative Transformational Leadership," *Presidential Studies Quarterly* 27, no. 3 (1997): 565–90.

[50] Tutu first met Mandela in college. Mandela had no recollection. Allen, 48-49.

[51] Glad and Blanton, 567.

[52] Glad and Blanton, 567.

[53] Glad and Blanton, 567.

'something akin to Moses handing down the Ten Commandments.'"[54]

In December 1989, Tutu made a controversial visit to Israel and Palestine. The Israeli government, according to Arieli, was conducting a "flourishing trade between the two countries [Israel and South Africa], especially in the defense sector."[55] This was despite the 1987 agreement on sanctions against South Africa that Israel had signed. The United States was pressuring Israel to honor the arms embargo against South Africa, and the presence of Tutu, a known supporter of Palestinian rights, was not welcomed by the Israeli government.[56] While there, Tutu visited the Holocaust Museum and asked about forgiveness and the plight of the Palestinians. This was not taken well and graffiti, "Tutu is a black Nazi pig," was spray-painted on the Anglican Church in Jerusalem. Upon arrival in New York in January 1990, Tutu was the target of a water-bomb thrown by Jewish protestors.[57] Controversy never seemed to hamper Tutu. He was used to the South African press' opposition and was fearless when it came to presenting himself to the people, rich or poor.

Truth and Reconciliation

Tutu was Archbishop of Cape Town and Primate of the Church of Southern Africa for the Anglican Church from 1986 until his retirement in 1996. South Africa held its first universal national elections in 1994 after intense negotiations between de Klerk and Mandela. Issues of justice remained and in 1996, as a well-known figure in the anti-apartheid movement, who had years of experience in negotiating sticky situations and working with world leaders, Archbishop Emeritus Tutu was selected as chairman of the

[54] Glad and Blanton, 568.
[55] Arieli, 345-346.
[56] Arieli, 345-346.
[57] Arieli, 349-350.

Truth and Reconciliation Commission (TRC).[58] The TRC was the innovative approach used by South Africa to discover those responsible for crimes against the people, particularly by the state and third force allies of the state, as well as crimes committed by all sides of the conflict over apartheid. Allen says, "Tutu advocated for 'restorative justice,' which 'seeks to rehabilitate both victim and perpetrator.'"[59]

With a staff of five or six, the TRC was initially given eighteen months to complete its work. It was an impossible task.[60] For example, in the Province of the Transvaal alone the TRC documented some 112 massacres between 1990 and 1992.[61] Initially, the TRC had difficulties getting anyone except victims of violence to come forward.[62] The Commission allowed confessions in exchange for amnesty; otherwise, if the parties were found guilty at a later point, there would be prosecutions. Time was running out on the purview of the TRC when a group of officers from the security branch involved in "death squads" decided to send lawyers to discover if they could be granted amnesty.[63] The group killed so many people in the Black community before the 1994 elections, they apparently lost count of the number of victims. While many members of the TRC balked at allowing the men to come forward because of the extreme nature of their crimes, Bishop Tutu encouraged the commissioners to reconsider, emphasizing that this was the job of the TRC, and unless they were willing to face the perpetrators, the commission would fail.[64]

The TRC extended the period of its existence not ending until 2003, originally only eighteen months, and increased its staff

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[58] Emeritus position was created for Archbishop Tutu upon his retirement as a show of respect for his years of leadership in the church. Allen, 349-350.
[59] Allen, 347.
[60] Allen, 352.
[61] Allen, 329.
[62] Allen, 352-353.
[63] The most senior was brigadier Jan Hattingh Cronje, former commander at the death squad headquarters, a farm called Vlakplaas, and later head of Northern Transvaal Security Police. Allen, 353.
[64] Allen, 352-353.

to over three hundred from an original seventeen recommended. There were three committees, of which Desmond Tutu served on the committee to investigate violations of human rights.[65] Some 293 members of the former government made applications, 229 of which came from security police. As one officer explained, the cases showed "how the police typically took detainees into the bush, murdered them and disposed of the bodies."[66] The TRC thus served as a means for secret state operatives to come forward about the crimes they committed. As Tutu declared,

> Perpetrators were given the chance to come to terms with what they had done, to make a full disclosure and then obtain amnesty in an example of restorative justice, which was more about healing than about punishment, more about forgiveness and reconciliation than about retribution and revenge.[67]

Writing in 2004, Tutu put a gentler face on the struggle against apartheid. He stated,

> We celebrate a decade of freedom and democracy in South Africa by commemorating the wholly unexpected and quite spectacular victory over one of the world's most vicious political systems and the relatively peaceful transition from repression to freedom in 1994.[68]

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[65] The other two committees were one for amnesty decisions, and another for reparations for victims Tutu was not involved with the other committees. Allen, 346-352.
[66] Allen, 354.
[67] Desmond Tutu, "The Struggle for Social Justice in Post-Apartheid South Africa," *Peace Research* Vol. 37, no. 1 (2005): 109, http://www.jstor.org/stable/24469689.
[68] Tutu, "The Struggle for Social Justice," 109.

The victory of the freedom struggle stunned the world as a bloodbath had been anticipated. Instead of retribution, there was reconciliation. But the road to this reconciliation between Black and White was paved with the blood of thousands of victims. Tutu wrote that the 1996 Constitution of the Republic of South Africa gave basic rights to all South Africans, a home, healthcare, and education, regardless of skin color.[69] Ever willing to speak truth to power, Archbishop Emeritus Tutu did not mince words about where priorities in the world were, and where he thought they should be.

Tutu International Ministry

One of the most controversial issues in which Tutu was involved was the issue of gay and lesbian rights. Speaking from Southwark Cathedral, London, in 2004, Tutu denounced the forced withdrawal of a candidate for Bishop because he was homosexual, stating, "The Jesus I worship is not likely to collaborate with those who vilify and persecute an already oppressed minority."[70] In a statement in 2010, Tutu said, "No one should be excluded from our love, our compassion or our concern because of race or gender, faith or ethnicity-or because of their sexual orientation."[71]

Internationally, Tutu was invited to speak and offer counsel in many places because of his respected authority as a negotiator and counselor for peace. For example, in 1993, soon after Bill Clinton (b. 1946) was elected as President of the United States, Tutu was invited to visit the White House. At that time, the Clinton administration decided to use his visit as cover for announcing the

[69] Tutu, "The Struggle for Social Justice," 111-112.
[70] Allen, 372-373.
[71] Beyrer, Chris, Pascale Allotey, Joseph J Amon, Stefan D Baral, Mary T Bassett, Harriet Deacon, et al. "Archbishop Desmond Tutu and the Universality of Health and Human Rights," *The Lancet* (British Edition) 399, (2022): 503-4, https://doi.org/10.1016/S0140-6736(22)00121-0.

recognition of Angola.[72] According to the National Security Advisor, Anthony Lake (b. 1939), because of the controversy this recognition would arouse, "Tutu was probably the least controversial of any foreign figure at the time in Washington."[73] Tutu was, by the time of the Clinton administration, an international figure known as an advocate for peace and reconciliation.

In other matters, Tutu was not afraid to enter dangerous territory, such as when he visited Liberia in 1994 during the Liberian Civil War (1989–1997) to meet with politician and warlord, Charles Taylor (b. 1948). Taylor, at the time a warlord, would later become President of Liberia (r. 1997–2003) and eventually become a convicted war criminal for crimes against the people. Tutu attempted to broker a truce and Taylor promised a cease-fire. Tutu's assessment of Taylor, as a delegation member recalled, was "as a highly unstable person whose word was not to be trusted."[74]

In the lead up to the United States' invasion of Iraq and its coalition allies in 2003, Tutu spoke out against the operation. He called Condoleezza Rice (b. 1954), former National Security Advisor to then-President George W. Bush (r. 2001–2009), asking her not to invade without the United Nations' authorization. He joined the worldwide protests against the invasion of Iraq on February 15 and 16, 2003, in New York City, leading with call and response style oratory: "Now I ask you what do we say to war? ('No!') I can't hear you! (Laughter.) What do you say to war

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[72] Angola had upon independence in 1975 been divided between the Soviet Union and Cuban supported government the MPLA, and South African and the United States supported opposition UNITA. By recognizing the MPLA government the Clinton administration was admitting defeat in attempting to overthrow the government of the MPLA. Republicans in Congress would find it problematic. Steven Holmes, "Washington Recognizes Angola Government," *New York Times*, May 20, 1993, https://www.nytimes.com/1993/05/20/world/washington-recognizes-angola-government.html?smid=url-share. Accessed June 2, 2022.

[73] Allen, 376.

[74] Allen, 377.

('NO!')"[75] Tutu's authority was compared to Gandhi's "truth force" by former Vice President of the United States Al Gore (r. 1993–2001) in an interview.[76]

Conclusion

Tutu was involved in many diverse roles and occupations throughout the course of his life. However, he is perhaps most known for his critical work in the anti-apartheid movement and the Truth and Reconciliation Commission in South Africa. He raised a family and ascended in the Anglican Church, becoming the first Black Archbishop in South Africa. Only in later years as a public speaker was he able to earn a lucrative income signing up with an American agency.[77] He wrote a book about spirituality with the Dalai Lama (b. 1935) but was very private about his own spiritual practices and when told that the Dalai Lama meditated for five hours every day, Tutu replied "that's too much." [78] He was known to retreat for an hour or so a day to meditate as an important part of his practice. Tutu had no fear of approaching both the poor and the powerful to promote the values he fiercely believed in. Desmond Tutu, in whatever role he played, stood up against injustice and will be remembered as a vociferous advocate for the downtrodden.

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[75] This author also was involved in organizing the anti-Iraq war protests in Los Angeles at the same time. Allen, 389.
[76] Allen, 394.
[77] Allen, 371.
[78] Bstan-'dzin-rgya-mtsho (Dalai Lama), Desmond Tutu, and Douglas Carlton Abrams, *The Book of Joy: Lasting Happiness in a Changing World* (Toronto, Ontario: Viking, 2016), 19-20.

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Author Bio

Gary Crethers is a graduate student in the master of arts in history program at California State University, San Bernardino. He graduated magna cum laude from California State University, Long Beach with a bachelor of arts in geography. At sixty-seven years of age, he decided to obtain his master's degree after a diverse career. Gary has worked in the graphics industry and as a community radio D. J. and served as one of the U.S. co-founders of Rock Against Racism, all while advocating against militarism. Living in the high desert with his cat and several thousand books, the author enjoys the life of a semi-desert rat.