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*W. MAIL 16/11/90*  
**ANC to march in Cape city centre Marches against**

By GLENDA DANIELS: Cape Town  
A MAJOR campaign aimed at "creating conditions for the rapid removal of apartheid restrictions and unjust laws" is being launched by the African National Congress in the Western Cape.

This week thousands of pamphlets were distributed in the Cape calling on people to join a march in the city centre tomorrow. The pamphlet reads: "It is nearly the end of 1990. Since February 2 we have heard plenty of sweet promises from FW de Klerk and the Nats. But ask yourself — has your life really changed?"

The ANC has arranged with the railways to provide free transport and permission has been applied for.

The campaign is being run under the banner of "Peace Not Promises: Real Change Now".

Its demands are: The immediate release of political prisoners and the return of exiles; an end to spiralling prices on basic commodities; for em-

ployers to negotiate in good faith with unions and to resolve current disputes; the immediate scrapping of undemocratic town councils and management committees; and the demand for a constituent assembly.

A rent boycott and possible stayaway are presently being discussed in all structures of the ANC-COSATU-SACP-UDF alliance and mandates will be taken on these actions shortly.

The ANC said in a statement this week there was a growing feeling that the terms and spirit of the Pretoria Minute were being interpreted to narrow, short-term political advantage by the government, and that "while the ANC remains resolutely committed to the negotiation process, the responses of those with power leave many wondering what has changed."

"The government must stop using our comrades as pawns or hostages to try and force us into political positions on terms favourable to them and determined unilaterally."

**local authorities**

By TSHOKOLO MOLAKENG

PROTEST marches across the Reef this weekend mark the intensification of a countrywide campaign against local authorities — the focus of much of the township violence in recent weeks.

The Civic Associations of Southern Transvaal, an umbrella body of 38 civic associations, has arranged marches to various Transvaal Provincial Administration offices, where protesters will deliver memorandums to the officials tomorrow.

The demands include the resignation of councillors; scrapping of all rent and service charge arrears; immediate restoration of electricity and water supplies; and dissolution of racial local government and their replacement with a freely elected non-racial local government with a single tax-base and one city council.



# TUTU BY TUTU

WHEN an American visitor asked a group of politics-watchers "Where does Tutu stand now?" and no one knew, I thought it was time to find out.

I got in queue behind the Deputy Foreign Minister of Sweden, Bengt Sare-Soderbergh, at a cottage in the grounds of Ipelegeng Centre in Soweto last Saturday.

Archbishop Tutu emerged in a T-shirt from Egypt, bade the Swedes "God bless you", and called me to say I should ask anything but ask fast; he wanted to watch Pirates and AmaZulu on TV.

Tutu removed the Swedes' ash-trays with a grimace and slipped off his shoes. He lay on a sofa so that I had his bare feet practically under my nose. I could have tickled his soles without moving my elbows. Not many archbishops, I guessed with a certain pride, could unbend that far.

I wanted to know if Tutu was breaking out of the ANC's orbit, and leading his church to total independence. The answer seemed to be ja/nee.

Tutu has no qualms about barring his priests from joining parties — "it means we can address all sides equally sharply. We are not this or that party in prayer. We are free to say 'Thus saith the Lord' while we continue fighting for justice."

At the same time he makes it clear that his frame of reference is very much an ANC's frame — their fight for justice is also his fight for justice, and even his terminology is loaded: "Nelson" and "Chief Gatsha Buthelezi".

Is this good enough? I'm not sure. I tentatively put it to Tutu: maybe he, like the Chief Justice, should forfeit the normal right to hold political sympathies. The ANC's concept of justice is not the only concept in the pot.

Tutu wishes to facilitate; and people might balk if they felt themselves being facilitated into someone else's direction. (In fact, a day later Dr Buthelezi rejected Tutu's round-table for this reason).

Tutu laughed a laugh to whip foam off beer and said: "I am me. I didn't drop out of the sky. I try to be balanced and fair but I am human, not amorphous."

He had resigned as patron of the UDF, he said, and would have resigned from Azapo's National Forum except they saved him the trouble by "going into desuetude" (ha! marvelous word).

I'd heard that in one township walkabout in the August violence he went only to ANC territory. Didn't the hostel people also need greeting and blessing?

Tutu slid into a tangent about the need for a culture of tolerance and recognition of diversity. I believed him. He's totally sincere. Maybe to ask for total detachment as well is to ask for Superman. And yet, you could count on your thumbs the South Africans with the brain and soul to potentially offer truly national leadership. We're entitled to ask more of them than of lesser mortals.

Sanctions: With vanished jobs all over and the retrenched workers living on park pigeons, had he any regret?

"None at all. It was due to the Government's intransigence. It had to be done."

A year ago Archbishop Desmond Tutu was one of the most controversial people in the

country — and now he hardly ever makes the news.

Why is he out of the limelight?

Has he changed? **DENIS BECKETT** visited him in Soweto to find out the answers.



ARCHBISHOP DESMOND TUTU: he answers questions about himself, modestly talking of "I", "you" and "we" all in a single sentence. And the result is confusing.

And now, what's the point of keeping up sanctions now?

"When I am convinced the process is irreversible, I will not only call for the lifting of sanctions but also ask for new investment."

When does irreversibility arrive?

"The remaining pillars of apartheid have to go."

Like what?

To me, it's an odd Christianity that can limit the lives of millions because of a statute that in reality affects about a quarter of a percent of them, but I suppose Tutu is in a better position to know Christianity.

I'll bet — on the strength of intangibles like a look in his eye — that Tutu will snap out of the sanctions delusion before the ANC does. He removed the legitimacy of investing and my guess is that he will replace it. Although whether replacing legitimacy has a bearing on investor confidence is something else again.

On the confidence factor, Tutu demands faith. "Nobody can predict. You couldn't have predicted how your married life would turn out. You make a commitment; you don't ask for guarantees."

"I see the prospects of turning out well as better than the prospects of turning out ill — who could have believed Namibia? — and I am not just whistling in the dark. Listen to the young people: it's incredible how deeply committed they are to non-racialism."

"When you say 'South Africa is for all of us, black and white together', they respond, they repeat it, it's incredible."

Is he bothered by the view that the end of apartheid means nirvana?

"It must be said over and over again that if apartheid disappears tonight, you do not get a new house tomorrow. The artificial lid on people's aspirations will be lifted, but

that doesn't mean they cease to strive. Freedom brings responsibility — something we haven't always spoken about."

"We simply cannot go on using apartheid as an alibi. Look at our ecological responsibility in the townships. Why should we live like pigs? Of course this is rooted in apartheid, because when one is in a depression situation it needs a great deal of oomph to say let us keep clean, let us keep proud. But we should show humanity, to say: despite all your efforts to dehumanise us, we have not succumbed."

What is to be done about the apparently growing convention that says it is okay to urinate on the pavement, concrete or grass regardless?

(Pause). "I think we need a new dose of black consciousness — when you feel a deep respect for yourself you acquire respect of others."

On the changes of 1990, it is said that at synod Tutu described his "delight at seeing Nelson walking free into the open holding his Winnie". The synod burst into laughter, and Tutu now uses different terms to describe the same feeling.

"Most of us, except poor Dr Treurnicht, had a huge dose of euphoria. But we were brought down to terra firma quite sharply from the shootings and violence afterwards, and realised there was still a long slog ahead."

Why then Tutu's sharp lowering of profile?

"I always said I was only an interim political leader, and I meant it. There were many things that only the church could do. We did some incredible things at St George's. Some of them were only ... — Tutu takes a deep breath and puts heavy emphasis into the word — "... JUST religious. We'd start off with a prayer and that would be the only religious thing about it. Then the banned organisations would take over. They were political rallies, really."

"I'm not ashamed to have done those things. Where else could people find the space to release pent-up emotions? Since February there hasn't been the same need. That does not mean we withdraw. We still support the squatters in Hout Bay. We still walk with the people in Soweto. We will always be on the side of the marginalised."

As often as not Tutu talks to himself either in the second person — "the Government tried to pillory you ... and to hammer a baboon's foetus to your wall" — or the third: "when we were in Duduza, and they were about to necklace that fellow, we know only that this couldn't happen." The purpose is modesty, to avoid an overdose of "I" but there are times when Tutu can be "I", "you" and "we" all in a single sentence and the result is confusing.

Tutu describes his use of silence. At times when crowds are large and emotions high and chaos looms, "I say to the people: 'Now show that you are disciplined; keep quiet'. An incredible silence descends."

"Once in Cape Town there were 30 000 people on the Parade, and the only sound was the droning of the police helicopters. It was quite remarkable. A calm and peace comes over and people are reminded of their capacity to love."

Tutu is nervous on these occasions, never sure that people will listen to him: "After all, who am I to tell them to be tjoepstil?"

So far they always have listened, but Tutu feels it has sometimes been touch and go. Once in Alexandra tension was at red heat, and Tutu was contemplating meeting his Maker.

"There are many who feel that we keep defusing them. We urge calm, and their anger subsides. Their moment goes, and then they get clobbered when we leave. People were saying: 'You can't go, you can't go! The police will attack when you go!' But I cannot be everywhere. I had to go. I could feel the resentment. If just one stone had been thrown at that moment, it would have triggered a storm. It could have been curtains."

Instead, it was AmaZulu's kick-off and I had to let Tutu go. I drove home thinking that however I might disagree with his specifics, I'd been in the presence of as much greatness as is to be had in our nation.



*W. Mail 16/11/90*  
**ANC consults its  
membership on  
tricameral talks**

16/11/11

THE African National Congress is expected to open talks with leaders of the tricameral parliament soon — after seeking a direct mandate from its branches around the country.

It seems likely that the mandate will be overwhelmingly in favour of such a meeting. The request to the branches to discuss the issue is believed to be the first exercise of its kind by the organisation, and comes amid criticism of undemocratic decision-making by the national executive committee (NEC).

The request for discussion on the issue came in a letter from the NEC to branches nationally. Decisions are to be forwarded to regional offices.

ANC secretary general Alfred Nzo confirmed that the meeting was on the cards but said the national office was still awaiting all the responses from the regions before commenting on what the membership had decided.

Judging by the overwhelming support given the NEC to go ahead by all branches that had discussed the issue this week in the Border region, chances are these talks will go ahead.

Regional president Rev Makhenkesi Stofile says the ANC's talking with these leaders is a "non-issue as there is no difference between the leaders of the homelands and (House of Representatives leader Allan) Hendrickse or (House of Delegates leader Amichand) Rajbansi".

Indications from the Transkei regional office were that people there also had no problem with the issue.

Since the ANC was unbanned in February, it has been difficult for some of its membership, especially those used to the tradition of consultation and mandate in organisations like Cosatu, to accept the NEC taking major decisions without "adequate consultation".

— E!news