

CHIEF LUTHULI AND THE UNITED NATIONS

E. S. Reddy

The Forged Letter, 1963

Soon after I was appointed Principal Secretary of the Special Committee against Apartheid in March 1963, I met George Houser, Executive Director of the American Committee on Africa. I was concerned about the general feeling that the Special Committee would be worthless because the problem was insoluble and the Committee was boycotted by the Western Powers. I was anxious to get attention to the work of the Committee.

We thought of messages from Chief Luthuli and Reverend Dr. Martin Luther King, Jr., - who had signed a joint appeal for sanctions in December 1962 - as one of the ways to get attention.

The Special Committee held its first meeting on 2 April and approved an interim report early in May. One evening when I was busy getting that report ready for submission and rather tired, I received a letter dated May 2, 1963, addressed to the Secretary-General by Chief Luthuli.¹ I was so excited that without reading it, I rushed it for the personal attention of the Secretary-General, U Thant, who had great respect for Chief Luthuli. [The text of the letter is in Annex I below].

I then called Diallo Telli, Chairman of the Special Committee, who was leaving next morning to Addis Ababa for the African Summit Conference. I started reading the letter and soon we realised it must be a forgery. I was greatly embarrassed and informed the Secretary-General next morning. He requested Ralphe Bunche to make enquiries through his contacts.

At the request of Diallo Telli, I sent copies of the letter, through the ambassador of Ghana, Alex Quaison-Sackey, to Addis Ababa for Diallo Telli and Oliver Tambo. Mr. Tambo told him that he would enquire.

On June 2, 1963, Chief Luthuli wrote to Oliver Tambo categorically denying authorship of the letter. Tennyson Makiwane came to New York in July with an ANC delegation for a hearing before the Special Committee, and he gave me a photocopy of that letter, together with a covering letter by himself to the Secretary-General, to be passed on to the Secretary-General.

¹ Letters addressed to the Secretary-General used to be sent from the mail room to officials dealing with the subject.

In June 1970, I received a letter from Oliver Tambo enquiring about the forged letter. I do not know why he was interested then.²

The correspondence relating to this forged letter is reproduced in Annex I.

Luthuli Statement on the Rivonia Trial

Robert Resha, ANC representative, was in New York in June 1964, for the Security Council discussion on the Rivonia trial and the situation in South Africa.

Early one morning, we heard the sentences on the radio. He came to my office and showed me a statement by Chief Luthuli. He probably had the statement for some time and was authorised to make consequential revisions in the light of the sentences. He revised the first and seventh paragraphs. I requested my secretary to type it urgently and we rushed to the Security Council Chamber a few minutes before its meeting.

The two African members of the Security Council at the time - Morocco and Ivory Coast - were both French-speaking.³ But the Moroccan delegate, Sidi Baba, knew some English. Robbie gave him the text and he read it to the Council in English. And Robbie then called London to inform the ANC office of the changes he made.

The text of the statement is in Annex II below.

Ban on Chief Luthuli in 1964

In May 1964, new banning orders were served on Chief Luthuli with more stringent restrictions than before. He was restricted to Groutville.

In October that year, I happened to meet Mrs. Mary-Louise Hooper at a party. She told me that she was very worried as the Chief had a heart condition. There was no doctor in Groutville and he could not receive a visitor there, even a doctor, without permission from the Ministry of Justice in Pretoria.

[Mrs. Hooper, an American Quaker, went to South Africa with a tour group in 1956 and then volunteered to become a secretary or personal assistant to Chief Luthuli. She became attached to the family and became friendly with other leaders of the ANC. Some time later she was arrested and expelled by the authorities. But she maintained contact with Chief Luthuli and the ANC.

² Meanwhile in 1967, I received a forged telegram, purportedly from Tennyson Makiwane, about Rhodesia.

³ Arabic was not yet an official language of the UN.

She was elected to membership of the ANC in 1959. She was in the ANC delegation to the African Peoples' Conferences in Accra in 1958, Tunis in 1960 and Cairo in 1961. She was a member of Chief Luthuli's staff when he received the Nobel Peace Prize in Oslo in 1961.

Since return to the United States she had been working without pay with the American Committee on Africa - lecturing, organising meetings and raising funds. She became co-ordinator of the campaign of ACOA to stop bank loans to South Africa.]

I scolded her for not telling me earlier, and asked her to write a letter to the Special Committee against Apartheid requesting a hearing on this matter. The Committee granted the hearing on October 29, 1964,⁴ and published her statement as a document.⁵ [The text is in Annex III below.]

I mailed that statement to several organisations.

At my request, the Reuters Bureau Chief at the UN sent a service message to South Africa asking his office to make enquiries.

I had expected that the South African regime would deny any danger to Chief Luthuli but would quietly facilitate medical assistance. That proved right.

The South Africa Committee of Gothenberg took up the matter with the Swedish government and contacted political parties and organisations in Sweden. A correspondent contacted Mrs. Luthuli to make enquiries.

The government allowed Chief Luthuli to go to Durban for medical treatment - and that was a great relief to him.

In April 1965, Mrs. Hooper sent me a copy of a letter she received from Mrs. Luthuli and another from Dr. Conco who met her in Swaziland. Mrs. Luthuli was apparently given a passport to go to Swaziland.

I informed the Secretary-General, U Thant. We were happy that we could do some good when the situation seemed so gloomy, but decided not to publicise the relaxation of the ban.

The relevant papers are in Annexes III-V.

For further information on Mrs. Hooper, please see:
www.anc.org.za/un/ngo.html

Publication of Chief Luthuli's Speeches

⁴ See UN document A/AC.115/SR.45

⁵ UN document A/AC.115/L.94

In 1968, the United Nations decided to give a Human Rights Award to Chief Luthuli on the occasion of the 20th anniversary of the Universal Declaration of Human Rights.

I decided to publish urgently a collection of speeches and statements of Chief Luthuli in a bulletin of the Unit on Apartheid. I put together what I had in my files, and obtained some from Prof. Tom Karis. I found some more later and published them in a subsequent bulletin.

The ANC published our collection in its ANC Studies series, with credit to the Unit on Apartheid and an introduction by Mr. M.P. Naicker.

I had that reprinted in Berlin in 1982 or 1983, in cooperation with the Solidarity Committee of the German Democratic Republic.

Until I retired from the UN in 1985, I had had no time for research in libraries and archives. After retirement, I checked at Yale University Library, found more items and gave the expanded collection to Mrs. Fatima Meer with a suggestion that she arrange for further research and publication. She rushed into publication, adding several reminiscences of the Chief. I have continued to find more items in my research and they are incorporated in the collection which is on the ANC website.

ANNEX I

CORRESPONDENCE CONCERNING THE FORGED LETTER

THE FORGED LETTER

P.O. Groutville,
STANGER,
NATAL : SOUTH AFRICA
2nd May, 1963.

Mr. U Thant,
Secretary-General,
United Nations Organisation,
NEW YORK

Dear Sir,

As a banned leader of the African people in the Republic of South Africa I wish to bring to your notice some facts about the political set-up here which tends to

stifle the advancement of my people.

No doubt you are aware of the fact that for years the African National Congress the organisation of which I am the National President fought for more rights and better living conditions for the African people. The policy of Non-violence advocated and practised by the African National Congress and our demands has won for the African people better housing, more freedom and better living conditions than exists anywhere else in the so-called independent African states. It is this policy of Non-violence which has touched the hearts of the South African Government and which has prompted them to respond not unwillingly to our demands. Slowly the South African Government has yielded to some of our demands and utilised every possible cent towards uplifting the standard of education, living conditions and health of our people and although our demands will continue we are grateful for what has been achieved.

Contrary to world opinion I still feel that our big racial problem will be solved and that we are moving towards a friendly co-existence between white and black in the Republic of South Africa.

Although I am banned from addressing political meetings, I am nevertheless not imprisoned and enjoy normal association with my family and people. I will never and I have never intended to flee from my country and to set up exile Governments and puppet propagating machines outside its borders. It is my contention that real leaders should be with their people in the struggle.

In contrast with the policy of the African National Congress we have the extremist policy of the Pan Africanist Congress an organisation which has mushroomed over night. This organisation has forced every white citizen of the Republic of South Africa into one camp. Even the liberal minded white people who have always served as a bridge to reach the staunch nationalist white element are wavering in the face of this extremist policy which has put the African people back on the road where they started.

The leader of this organisation Robert Sobukwe, is serving a sentence of imprisonment not for a crime against the Government but a crime against his own people. Who will ever forget the tragedy of Sharpville, an incident which can be directly attributed to Sobukwe and his henchmen. Today you find so called leaders like P.K. Leballo and Patrick Duncan (a white man) both in exile, making sweeping statements of armed insurrection. These very statements will cause the Government to arm themselves to the teeth and causing every white South African to band together.

Sir, in all fairness what would you and I have done if we were in the boots of the South African Government. The circumstances in South Africa are different from those in the rest of Africa. South Africa is economically sound and a growing country industrially. The position is that the white people cannot be

frightened out of their wits like the handful of whites in Kenya and other African states. We deal here with a powerful and determined nation. It is my considered opinion that people like Patrick Duncan and P.K. Leballo whom I believe are trying to commit your honourable organisation to some action which might prove fatal.

Everyday reports of demands for economical sanctions against South Africa reach our ears. Who are the people that will suffer as a result of such action? The very people whom it is sought to help.

Could it be that these continual demands for economic sanctions against South Africa by the United Arab Republic and other individual countries are aimed at favouring their own economic position? If this is the case the indigenous people of South Africa have nothing to gain.

It is the contention of the majority of my people that the bogey of racialism is used to exploit them economically. Puppet politicians are forever collecting money under the pretence that it is needed for the freedom struggle, only to use that money to buy themselves Air Travel tickets to foreign countries where they live in luxury at the expense of their people.

Sir, these few lines are being send to you as a guide in your deliberations on South African affairs. You realise that the contents of this letter could have serious repercussions, so please consider it a personal letter to yourself. Should you however feel that it will be in the interests of my people the contents can be divulged to the Security Council.

Copies of this letter are being dispatched to various organisations in Europe and the United States of America.

Yours in a peaceful struggle,

A.J. Luthuli: NATIONAL PRESIDENT.
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS OF SOUTH AFRICA.

LETTER FROM TENNYSON MAKIWANE TO U THANT, JULY 23, 1963

C/o Hotel Diplomat
108 West 43rd Street
New York, N.Y.
July 23, 1963

Mr. U Thant
Secretary-General
United Nations Organisation
United Nations 17, New York

Dear Mr. U Thant:

About three months ago, our attention was drawn to a letter purporting to be from Chief A.J. Luthuli, President-General of the African National Congress of South Africa. It appears that this letter was sent to you, as well as to other people and organisations in Europe and America. I enclose a photostat of this letter which is dated May 2, 1963.

From the onset it became clear to those of us who represent the African National Congress outside of South Africa that the letter was a blatant forgery and could not have possibly been written by Chief Luthuli. Our Vice-President, Mr. Oliver Tambo, whose offices are in London, then wrote to Chief Luthuli drawing his attention to this document. A reply has been received from Chief Luthuli confirming that this letter is in fact a forgery. I enclose the letter of June 21, 1963 written by Chief Luthuli to Mr. Oliver Tambo, in which he repudiates authorship of the letter of May 2, 1963. Chief Luthuli has requested us to immediately draw your attention to this situation.

I beg to remain,

Yours sincerely,

Tennyson Makiwane
East African Representative of the
AFRICAN NATIONAL CONGRESS

Enclosure:

LETTER FROM CHIEF LUTHULI TO OLIVER TAMBO, JUNE 21, 1963

Private Bag,
GROUVILLE,
Natal, South Africa
21st June, 1963.

Mr. Oliver R. Thambo,
LONDON.
England.

Dear Oliver,

I acknowledge receipt of a copy of a letter purporting to have been written by me to the Secretary of U. N. O. I am shocked and dismayed at the fact that some people, in order to further their dirty ends can sink to such despicable levels.

I categorically deny authorship or any association whatsoever with this letter. I

would sooner see myself dead than be an author of such a letter. In all my political life I have opposed the things which it is now alleged I am thanking the South African government for. I shall continue, whatever the consequences to fight against what this letter so mischievously claims I espouse. The sentiments expressed in this nefarious document are so contrary to my beliefs that I am certain that no one who knows me will ever accept their being associated with me. I am confident that all right thinking people will dismiss with the contempt it deserves this desperate but clumsy fraud by the enemies of the cause of our liberation in our land.

I ask you to take immediate steps to inform the Secretary-General of U.N.O. of my denunciation of this letter. I request you to take the trouble of showing him this my letter to you. You will also see to it that the contents of this my letter are communicated to all our friends and supporters abroad.

I reiterate on behalf of myself and of the oppressed people of South Africa our sincere gratitude and proud admiration for the courageous fight waged by our friends the Afro-Asian and other countries in support of our struggle here. I also take this opportunity to once again commend your own magnificent work and that of our other representatives abroad. All these efforts - our friends', yours and ours here, must be crowned with success in the very near future.

Yours in the struggle,

ALBERT J. LUTHULI.

LETTER FROM OLIVER TAMBO TO E.S. REDDY, APRIL 3, 1970

P.O. Box 1791
Lusaka
3/4/70

Dear Reddy,

I have an extremely peculiar case to handle and I would like you to give me some assistance. Somewhere about 1961 - I should say about the middle of 1961, the Secretary-General received a letter purporting to have been signed by Chief Albert Luthuli in which he was expressing support for apartheid, for Bantu Education and so on. As I recall, the Secretary-General, no doubt stunned by this document, passed the letter to some of the African Representatives, among them, I think, Quaison-Sackey. The letter was suppressed and in the meantime we were contacted about. We naturally declared it a forgery. Later that year Chief Luthuli visited Oslo and I believe he then wrote to the Secretary-General, stating that he had written no such document.

We now want this document or a photostat of it and we want it most urgently. Please do everything you can to trace it, and if you have any news, cable or send an express mail to me at the above address.

I do not have the time to tell you the fantastic and incredible developments that have led to the frantic hunt for this 9-year old document. But you will get the story in time. Meanwhile, please get cracking. Time is against me and I am only just recovering from three weeks of asthma, during which I could not do a stick of work.

I look forward to hearing from you.

Yours sincerely,

Oliver

LETTER FROM E.S. REDDY TO OLIVER TAMBO, 9 JUNE 1970

Dear Oliver,

I have Just received your letter of 3 June concerning the Luthuli letter.

Your dates are somewhat wrong. It was in 1963, not 1960. I enclose copies of the correspondence.

To the best of my recollection, the sequence was as follows. We received the letter on 6 or 7 May, a few hours before the departure of Ambassador Diallo Telli, then Chairman of the Special Committee on Apartheid, for the Addis Ababa Conference. I spoke to him on the phone but could not show the letter to him. We suspected a forgery and advised the Secretary-General, U Thant, who passed the letter on to Dr. Bunche to verify through his contacts.

I also gave a copy to Ambassador Quaison-Sackey who was going to Addis Ababa later so that he could show it to Ambassador Diallo Telli and to you.

After his return, Ambassador Quaison-Sackey told us that you would enquire.

In July 1963 when Tennyson came here with Robbie and Duma,⁶ he gave me a letter to the Secretary-General enclosing the photostat of a letter to you from Chief Luthuli. I passed it on to the Secretary-General immediately.

I have other things to write to you, and will do so soon.

⁶ Robert Resha and Duma Nokwe

Yours sincerely,

E. S. Reddy

Mr. Oliver Tambo
African National Congress
P.O. Box 1791
Lusaka, Zambia

ANNEX II

STATEMENT OF CHIEF LUTHULI ON THE SENTENCES IN THE RIVONIA TRIAL, JUNE 12, 1964

Sentences of life imprisonment have been pronounced on Nelson Mandela, Walter Sisulu, Ahmed Kathrada, Govan Mbeki, Dennis Goldberg, Raymond Mhlaba, Elias Motsoaledi and Andrew Mlangeni in the "Rivonia trial" in Pretoria.

Over the long years these leaders advocated a policy of racial cooperation, of goodwill, and of peaceful struggle that made the South African liberation movement one of the most ethical and responsible of our time. In the face of the most bitter racial persecution, they resolutely set themselves against racialism: in the face of continued provocation, they consistently chose the path of reason.

The African National Congress, with allied organisations representing all racial sections, sought every possible means of redress for intolerable conditions, and held consistently to a policy of using militant, non-violent means of struggle. Their common aim was to create a South Africa in which all South Africans would live and work together as fellow-citizens, enjoying equal rights without discrimination on grounds of race, colour or creed.

To this end, they used every accepted method: propaganda, public meetings and rallies, petitions, stay-at-home strikes, appeals, boycotts. So carefully did they educate the people that in the four-year-long Treason Trial, one police witness after another voluntarily testified to this emphasis on non-violent methods of struggle in all aspects of their activities.

But finally all avenues of resistance were closed. The African National Congress and other organisations were made illegal: their leaders jailed, exiled or forced underground. The government sharpened its oppression of the peoples of South Africa, using its all-white Parliament as the vehicle for making repression legal, and utilising every weapon of this highly industrialised and modern state to

enforce that "legality". The stage was even reached where a white spokesman for the disenfranchised Africans was regarded by the Government as a traitor. In addition, sporadic acts of uncontrolled violence were increasing throughout the country. At first in one place, then in another, there were spontaneous eruptions against intolerable conditions; many of these acts increasingly assumed a racial character.

The African National Congress never abandoned its method of a militant, non-violent struggle, and of creating in the process a spirit of militancy in the people. However, in the face of the uncompromising white refusal to abandon a policy which denies the African and other oppressed South Africans their rightful heritage - freedom - no one can blame brave just men for seeking justice by the use of violent methods; nor could they be blamed if they tried to create an organised force in order to ultimately establish peace and racial harmony.

For this, they are sentenced to be shut away for long years in the brutal and degrading prisons of South Africa. With them will be interred this country's hopes for racial cooperation. They will leave a vacuum in leadership that may only be filled by bitter hate and racial strife.

They represent the highest in morality and ethics in the South African political struggle; this morality and ethics has been sentenced to an imprisonment it may never survive. Their policies are in accordance with the deepest international principles of brotherhood and humanity; without their leadership, brotherhood and humanity may be blasted out of existence in South Africa for long decades to come. They believe profoundly in justice and reason; when they are locked away, justice and reason will have departed from the South African scene.

This is an appeal to save these men, not merely as individuals, but for what they stand for. In the name of justice, of hope, of truth and of peace, I appeal to South Africa's strongest allies, Britain and America. In the name of what we have come to believe Britain and America stand for, I appeal to those two powerful countries to take decisive action for full-scale action for sanctions that would precipitate the end of the hateful system of apartheid.

I appeal to all governments throughout the world, to people everywhere, to organisations and institutions in every land and at every level, to act now to impose such sanctions on South Africa that will bring about the vital necessary change and avert what can become the greatest African tragedy of our times.

ANNEX III

STATEMENT BY MRS. MARY-LOUISE HOOPER AT THE FORTY-FIFTH MEETING OF THE UN SPECIAL COMMITTEE AGAINST APARTHEID, 29 OCTOBER 1967

I should like to call to the attention of the Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid an aspect of the five-year ban recently imposed on Nobel Prize winner, Albert John Luthuli of South Africa, which seems to have escaped general notice - or at least, comment.

As you know, the latest ban was Chief Luthuli's fourth, and was even more restrictive than the previous one (also for five years) which had limited him to the Stanger area. Under the new ban of 24 May he is restricted to the Groutville "Native Reserve," which is a country area containing only African homes, farms, a Post Office, and a few very small stores.

This very narrow physical restriction would not be quite so shocking if it were not for the question of *health*. Chief Luthuli is now sixty-six years of age, and he suffered an extremely grave heart attack about ten years ago, which necessitated the care of a Durban heart specialist, and hospitalised him for many weeks. The attack left Chief with dangerously high blood pressure, which must be constantly watched and regularly inspected by a doctor. He was again hospitalised by this high blood pressure during the 1960 "State of Emergency" when, after an attack on him by a prison warder, he spent weeks in the jail hospital.

When I had the privilege of working with Chief Luthuli in South Africa, he made regular visits to a Durban heart specialist - the same one who had attended him in his first attack - for periodic check-ups. Even under his recently-expired five year ban, he could visit Stanger for these essential check-ups; there are doctors in Stanger. But on the Groutville Mission Reserve there is *not one*.

The Stanger doctors also may not visit him; they are South Africans of Indian descent, who like "Whites" are prohibited from entering African Reserves.

So a great South African - and an honoured world figure - sits deep in a sleepy farming area, with the sword of possibly fatal illness hanging over his head - and *no doctor permitted*.

Indeed, it should be noted that he can telegraph Pretoria, if he should be seized with another heart attack, and beg permission to be visited by his Durban specialist. He could very likely die, too, before administrative wheels would grind out the generous permission!

In closing let me point out the latest development in regard to Chief Luthuli, which emphasises the unyielding, heartless attitude of the South African Minority Government toward this great world citizen.

Last night I was a guest at the annual awards dinner of the Protestant Council of New York. Two thousand five hundred people attended to witness the giving of awards for “excellence” in the fields of peace, human relations, education and communications. Albert John Luthuli, locked away in rural Groutville, Natal, *should have been present* to receive his award for “excellence in human relations”: to be honoured by all, to make his own speech of acceptance, to meet the other men of distinction who were there. An empty chair on the speakers' dais emphasised his absence; his cable of greeting to the dinner gave the reason: “*I have not obtained permission.*”

The awards dinner was much the poorer for his absence; Africa and indeed the world has long been the poorer for the enforced silence of this eloquent voice, the unwilling absence of this experienced statesman and dedicated patriot from its councils.

How much longer will the world endure a South Africa as petty - and as cruel - as this?

ANNEX IV

COMMUNICATION DATED 18 MAY 1965 FROM THE SOUTH AFRICA COMMITTEE OF GOTHENBURG, SWEDEN⁸

The attached communication is the second petition sent by the South Africa Committee of Gothenburg to Prime Minister Erlander concerning the ban on Albert J. Luthuli, the independence leader and winner of the Peace Prize, and the possibly fatal consequences which this could have for him.

Our first communication, dated 24 November 1964 was only answered by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs after a good two months had elapsed and only after various newspapers had drawn attention to the “forgotten” petition. In the attached communication the South African Committee of Gothenburg refutes most of the information sent to us by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, which was based on a memorandum from the Swedish Embassy at Pretoria. We maintain that a Swedish appeal is just as necessary now as before.

The November communication gave rise to two different actions: the Parliamentary Christian Group addressed an appeal to the South African authorities asking that Luthuli should be given his freedom of movement, and the Swedish Amnesty Movement had a similar petition signed by a large number of Nobel Prize winners. The petition was delivered to the South African Legation at Stockholm.

⁸ UN Document A/AC.115/L.139

The attached communication has been sent to the different political parties, to Amnesty and to a number of other organisations for their information.

SOUTH AFRICA COMMITTEE OF GOTHENBURG
Information Office

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SOUTH AFRICA COMMITTEE OF GOTHENBURG
Heurlins plats 5
GOTHENBURG

18.5.65

To:

His Excellency Prime Minister Tage Erlander

In a communication dated 24 November 1964, we drew your attention to the alarming information we had received concerning the dangerous restrictions placed on the Nobel Prize winner Albert John Luthuli by the Ministry of Justice at Pretoria. The information which we received from the United Nations Special Committee on the Policies of Apartheid of the Government of the Republic of South Africa (UN Document, A/AC.115/L.94, 29 October 1964) indicates that Chief Luthuli required constant care and regular examinations by a doctor. However as the result of the new ban of 24 May, Chief Luthuli is now restricted to the Groutville "Native Reserve," where there is no doctor and where he is forbidden to receive visits from anyone, including doctors. Special permission to visit Chief Luthuli must be obtained from the Ministry of Justice at Pretoria, and since a considerable length of time could elapse before such permission was received, and there is some doubt as to the South African authorities willingness to process such applications with the necessary dispatch, Chief Luthuli would be in mortal danger if he suffered an acute heart attack. In view of these circumstances we appealed to you to urge the South African Government, on behalf of the Swedish Government, to remove these restrictions which constitute a danger to Chief Luthuli's life.

If any such appeal was made by your Government, there was no indication of the fact in the reply which the South Africa Committee of Gothenburg received from the Royal Ministry of Foreign Affairs on 28 January 1965. Instead, reference was made to a memorandum which the Ministry received from the Swedish Embassy at Pretoria, stating that Mr. Tamm, the Swedish envoy, had been in touch with Chief Luthuli's doctor - a heart specialist from Pretoria - in July 1964 and that the latter had confirmed that Chief Luthuli had previously suffered from a weak heart but that his health was now decidedly better.

The Ministry's reply reads:

"According to the information which Mr. Tamm received on that occasion, Luthuli was under the constant supervision of a local doctor, and a heart specialist in Pretoria had general permission to visit him. In so far as the Embassy could ascertain in December 1964, the circumstances relating to Chief Luthuli's state of health and care seem not to have undergone any change since the summer."

Since this information does not coincide in all respects with the information which the South Africa Committee of Gothenburg received from the above-mentioned United Nations Committee, we wrote directly to Mrs. Mary-Louise Hooper, the American woman who testified to the United Nations concerning the circumstances of Chief Luthuli's heart disease.

For the past ten years Mrs. Hooper has been a personal friend of Chief Luthuli and has also worked with him daily for two years. She receives regular information concerning him from a close associate of his ... (confidential information omitted.).

In a letter to the South Africa Committee of Gothenburg, Mrs. Hooper states that in her testimony to the United Nations Committee she gave an account of the possibly fatal effects on Chief Luthuli of the restrictions to which he was forced to submit, and gave her assurance that all the information she provided was perfectly true, as was also confirmed. ... (confidential information omitted).

There is no doctor in the Mission Reserve where Chief Luthuli is residing. The nearest doctor is five miles from there and he belongs to the Indian ethnic group in South Africa and, like other South Africans, is subject to the Republic's apartheid laws. For every visit the Indian doctor pays to the reservation for Africans where Chief Luthuli lives, he must obtain a special permit. Neither Chief Luthuli nor his wife are allowed to telegraph in person to the Ministry of Justice at Pretoria, but the request for a visitor's permit must be made through the local authorities, so that it can take at least three hours for a permit to be issued after the application. In the meantime Chief Luthuli could have died as the result of a heart attack.

Mrs. Hooper refutes Envoy Tamm's statements to the effect that Chief Luthuli is now decidedly better. According to her, he has never really recovered from the severe heart attacks he had in 1954 and 1955, and as late as last summer he had a very serious relapse. Chief Luthuli's state of health has admittedly been described, as "quite good" by the doctor who treated him during the so-called treason trial which took place from 1956 to 1960, but high blood pressure and a heart condition continue to be a constant problem for Chief Luthuli.

It is quite true that the heart specialist at Pretoria who treated Chief Luthuli during the so-called treason trial had permission to visit him over a long period, but when Chief Luthuli was again seized with severe heart attacks last summer, the doctor was away on holiday on the coast. This happened on no less than six occasions.

After Mrs. Hooper testified before the United Nations Committee and action was taken in various places, including Sweden, demanding that the South African Government should remove the restrictions on Chief Luthuli, the latter - according to information from a reliable source - obtained permission to travel to Durban by car, at regular intervals to visit his former heart specialist for examinations. Mrs. Hooper urged us to inform you of this as tangible proof of the fact that, in some cases, the South African Government is not entirely insensitive to outside pressure.

In our opinion, however, the restrictions to which Chief Luthuli is being subjected by the Ministry of Justice at Pretoria still constitute a direct threat to his life, and since the South African Government can obviously react positively at times to protests from the outside world, we consider this sufficient reason for making a further Swedish petition on behalf of Chief Luthuli. Accordingly the South Africa Committee of Gothenburg once again appeals to you to urge the South African Government, on behalf of the Swedish Government, to lift the restrictions which it has placed on Chief Luthuli and give him unrestricted freedom of movement and freedom of speech.

Gothenburg, 18 May

SOUTH AFRICA COMMITTEE OF GOTHENBURG
Anders Johansson
Information Secretary

Peter Dencik
Chairman

ANNEX V

LETTER FROM MRS. MARY-LOUISE HOOPER TO MR. REDDY, APRIL 15, 1965 (EXTRACT)

Dear Mr. Reddy,

I am enclosing... a photocopy of the relevant part of the recent letter from Zami Conco, former Deputy President of ANC, now living in Swaziland, where he met Mrs. Nokukanya Luthuli a while ago - evidently she has now received a passport so she can tend to their farm at Mhlotsheni.

I've also made you a typewritten copy of the letter from Dr. Conco, because the combination of his bad handwriting and our bad copying machine make the photocopy almost unreadable!

Enclosure:

LETTER FROM DR. W.Z. CONGO TO MRS. MARY-LOUISE HOOPER
(EXTRACT)

Box 14
Big Bend, Swaziland
26 March , 1965

My dearest Sister,

Without a letter from you in the outside world, we do really feel lost in this part of Africa South - I received the parcel for the first quarter - many thanks! and I will dispatch same to respective people; though it takes time, until you get the right method of transmission. We are still keeping fine. The other day I saw Nokanya (Mrs. Luthuli). She is fine and busy with farming. (The Luthulis have a farm in Swaziland.) She tells me the boss (Chief) is alright, wearing a beard (grey of course), in fairly good health, goes to Durban often for a check up by his doctor. (new!) For all this I think we must be thankful to you for the noise made at U.N.O. ... this is important - the mere drive to Durban, a lunch at the Himalaya Hotel, the sight of the great city of his political career, is a very big tonic: watching crowds - African, Indian and Whites, I am sure makes him feel he is still living in a living world - bustling with activity, buildings - a city going forward - surely this must give him a good feeling. Unlike Groutville Mission, depressing rural atmosphere - though I have got used to it somehow (in Swaziland).

Enclosure 2

LETTER FROM MRS. LUTHULI TO MRS. MARY-LOUISE HOOPER,
NOVEMBER 24, 1964

P/B Groutville, Natal
24 November 1964

My dearest Loui.,

Thanks so much for both yours while here. I wrote to you either in August or September but from your remarks it seems you never received it. I posted it personally in Dbn.⁹ Such things are discouraging.

It appears your state of health has temporarily improved. We are happy for this as well as for securing a house so close to U.N. and a Church house also.

⁹ Durban

Our health: He is not laid down - succeeds to perform his daily duties which at times are very strainuous. He has been described by the Dr. who attended him during the T.T.¹⁰ as "fair". You would notice a marked deterioration at a glimpse after so long.

I had to extract all my teeth in August. I still feel sharp pain and have also lost much weight since.

The daughters are all physically fit but the eldest has grown very lean due to the strain and worry on her. As far as I can judge, she is bearing boldly with it as best as she can though difficult. Not so long ago she got official notification that since October 5, her husband is at Robben Island and a letter will be permissible from both ends at the end of six months. Hilda is a lecturer at St. Aidens Hospital - Durban. I have not succeeded to get a decision re. my passport mainly I think because we are taking too long to submit information required of us. Meanwhile many things are going wrong up there. I get very disturbing news.

It has been my wish to pass to you the following news: One day during October one member of the staff for New York Times inquired through the phone:

Is Chief Luthuli there? When will he be back? It has been reported in U.N. that he is ill and that in the small Mission Station there is no Dr. He can only see one after sending a telegram for permission to Pretoria while meanwhile he might die. Is this true? When did he last see a Doctor?

Replies.

He is not at home at the moment. He returns between 7 and 8 p.m. He is not laid down sick. For his age plus the illness he suffered during 1954 and at the T.T. he is described normal by doctors. Yes there is no Dr. in the Mission Station. The nearest Dr. is five miles away. We would not ourselves send a telegram to Pretoria for permission but would refer the matter to the local Magistrate who would handle it. It happened in 1956 that he required to see a Dr. the local Magistrate granted permission within three hours or so.

A need to see a Dr. has not arisen of late but the Dr. (a heart specialist) who attended him during the T.T. in Pretoria visited, examined and treated him within the last four months. He was at the Coast on holiday and was in possession of a permit to treat him. This happened about six times. He left him pills for use, I understand this is all that can be done unless he suffers an attack in which case he would have to go to hospital.

The two boys are home on holiday now awaiting their examination results.

¹⁰ Treason Trial of 1956-1961

Please forgive my late reply. This is only due to strain and worry giving rise to perpetual postponement even to dearest friends.

Someone dreams of times becoming normal. You will surely get a visit. Love and best wishes from him, and hearty greetings to friends.

How I remember the past with all the good times never to return as it seems. You can learn here that while A is optimistic, I am pessimistic.

H. is much the same. Wishing you all the season's blessings. Kind regards to you and yours plus friends all over. Re. A and help as hinted by you would mean a long story which I cannot go into.

Please do not doubt to write when you can. The fact that we fail does not necessarily mean all people must follow suit.

Your Sister

N.