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SECRET

15 October 1969

MEETING WITH MR. H. MULLER, MINISTER FOR  
FOREIGN AFFAIRS OF SOUTH AFRICA

Mr. Muller, accompanied by Ambassador Botha, saw me today and he said that his Government protests the statements made by the Secretary-General on two occasions regarding his Government. The first statement referred to the Secretary-General's speech made in Addis Ababa early in September in one of the sessions of the OAU Summit Conference. The second statement was the one made in the course of his Introduction to the Annual Report. His Government was very much exercised by these harsh statements, particularly so because the United Nations is a peace organization and the Secretary-General is a man of peace. In the whole of Africa, South Africa is the only country which enjoys peace. So his Government does not understand why the Secretary-General has been advocating measures which are likely to disturb peace.

I replied to him that I had to reject his protest for the following reasons: In my position I have to comply with the decisions taken by deliberative organs like the General Assembly and the Security Council and both my statements he referred to were made only within their context. Apart from this functional understanding, I told Mr. Muller that I personally agree with the substance of those resolutions and I feel very strongly that the policies pursued by his Government are wrong, and in the long run they are not in the interest of his Government or the people of South Africa. I also said that in his view there may be peace in South Africa but I would like to ask him if there is peace with justice. I told him that I had been following the South African newspaper comments of my speeches and that I am fully aware of the reaction in his country.

He replied that his Government was very much disturbed by the Secretary-General's statements and that is why he was instructed to protest personally to the Secretary-General. I repeated to him that I would categorically reject his protest.

He asked me if the Secretary-General is required to follow the same lines adopted by the General Assembly or the Security Council. He cited a hypothetical instance whereby the General Assembly or the Security Council were to adopt a resolution condemning the Buddhist religion in which the Secretary-General strongly believes. In such a contingency, what would be the position of the Secretary-General. I told him that such a contingency is extremely unlikely, but if the General Assembly or the Security Council were to adopt such a resolution condemning the Buddhist religion, I have two choices open to me. The first choice is to comply with the decision and declare to the same effect or, if my conscience is not clear, to resign from my post. In the case of resolutions regarding South Africa, I am personally convinced that they are the right resolutions and so I have to stress the substance of these resolutions whenever there is an opportunity.

Then Mr. Muller said that it was a pity that the Secretary-General could not find his way to send a special representative to South Africa as he had requested. I told him that I could send a special representative to South Africa only within the framework of the relevant resolutions of the General Assembly or the Security Council but not on the basis of what his Government wanted, namely, "to be informed of the true facts regarding South Africa". I told him that I have no mandate to send someone to South Africa to listen to what he had to say. He then said that although the Secretary-General has

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wrong impressions of his country from the debates and discussions at the United Nations, he is convinced that things are moving in favour of his Government. He cited the example of friendly relations of South Africa with Botswana, Lesotho and Swaziland. He also said such relations are extending to some other African countries as well. I told him that for geographical reasons I can well understand his good relations with the three countries named, but I cannot accept his contention that similar relations are extending to other countries. I told him that in Addis Ababa I found the emotional state of African Heads of State and Government towards South Africa much more intense than I have observed in previous years. Some African leaders even ridiculed the idea of Malawi's sending a white ambassador to South Africa, since South Africa would not accept a black ambassador. Mr. Muller said his Government's relations with Malawi were good and it was Malawi which decided to send a white ambassador, and it was not his Government which insisted on sending one.

Before departure Mr. Muller said that in spite of our sharp differences on this issue, he hoped that my personal relationship with Ambassador Botha would remain cordial. I told him that my relations with Ambassador Botha have been always cordial and, in spite of our differences, I would continue to regard Ambassador Botha as a perfect gentleman and a fine diplomat.

UNITED NATIONS  NATIONS UNIES

INTEROFFICE MEMORANDUM

CONFIDENTIAL

TO: The Secretary-General *Hour 15/2*

Date: 20 February 1964

THROUGH: Mr. C.V. Narasimhan  
Chef de Cabinet

FILE NO.: \_\_\_\_\_

FROM: E.S. Reddy, Secretary,  
Expert Group on South Africa *[Signature]*

SUBJECT: Three communications from the  
Expert Group to the Secretary-General

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1. I am enclosing herewith three documents which the Expert Group has asked me to transmit to the Secretary-General in advance of the meeting with him tomorrow : an informal report on the work of the EGSA, a note on the consensus within the Group, and a draft press release for publication tomorrow.

2. Reference is made in the first document to the intention of the Group to submit an interim report before 15 March. This decision was taken on a proposal by Ambassador Djerdja, who felt that it should be submitted in view of the negative reply of South Africa, the current trials in the country and other recent developments. He feels that the Security Council may be asked to take some decision on the trials. The Group has not decided on the substance of such a report, but intends to discuss it after the meeting with the Secretary-General.

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EXPERT GROUP ON SOUTH AFRICA

20 February 1964

Short Report to the Secretary-General on the  
initial work of the Expert Group on South Africa

Since the Secretary-General last met the Group, on 27 January, the members have been engaged on an intensive study of material on South Africa. They have met informally members of the Special Committee on Apartheid.

Mrs. Myrdal (Chairman) has been in Geneva and Sweden. While in Geneva, she had discussions with representatives of the World Council of Churches and the International Commission of Jurists. Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye and Sir Hugh Foot have been in London where they met Mr. Oliver Tambo and Mr. Robert Resha, leaders of the A.N.C., and other South African exiles (representatives of the P.A.C. will be seen later). They also met the Working Party on South Africa formed by the British Council of Churches. They made a visit to the British Foreign Office where they were assured that the British Government is anxious to give to the Group all possible assistance and information.

The Expert Group has invited certain representatives of organizations and others, who have been in contact with United Nations organs, to report their views in writing and the first replies are now coming in.

Sir Edward Asafu-Adjaye has now returned to Ghana to meet urgent professional commitments there, and does not expect to re-join the Group until April.

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Now that the other members of the Group have re-assembled under Mrs. Myrdal's chairmanship in New York, they have met the provisional Secretary-General of the Organization of African Unity (Ambassador Tesfaye Gebre-Egzy) and propose to embark on a brief series of discussions with experts on South Africa available here in the United States. The Group has in mind that in the latter part of March a visit might be made to Africa to meet representatives of South African organizations in Dar es Salaam and elsewhere. (The Group might split up and make separate visits to some other countries in Africa.) On the way back to New York, it is proposed to stop in Geneva and then to visit London for several days to meet South African exiles and others who can assist the work of the Group. The Group then proposes to be at work on the preparation of its final report from the middle of April to the middle of May.

Having in mind the growing urgency of the situation, the Group proposes to submit to the Secretary-General an interim report in the first half of March.

The Group feels that a public announcement should now be made, in view not least of the reply by the South African Government, and a draft announcement is attached for consideration.

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..... Also enclosed is a tentative statement giving certain principles on which the members of the Group are agreed.

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20 February 1964

1. The Dangers

It is essential to emphasize the importance and the dangers and the urgency of the problem of South Africa. It is a problem not only for South Africa, but for all Africa and, indeed, for the whole world. Only if there is a full realization of the importance and the dangers and the urgency of the problem is there any hope of securing the drastic decisions required to avoid a violent conflict with incalculable international consequences.

2. The Principle of National Consultation

The basic and essential principle in tackling the problem is that all the people of South Africa should be brought into consultation about their own future and the government of their own country. The strong case for a national convention in which all the people of South Africa are adequately represented should therefore be made the main recommendation.

3. The Agenda for a National Convention

The various aspects of the South African problem and the means of achieving the objectives of the Security Council should be considered and discussed in the report of the Expert Group as ideas and suggested priorities in an agenda for such a representative convention. By so

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doing, a lead will be given without any attempt to impose rigid and final conclusions in matters which should ultimately be decided by the representatives of all the people of South Africa.

4. International Pressure

There is ample evidence that the South African Government will not be persuaded to abandon its present evil policies except by maximum concerted international pressure. The role of the United Nations thus becomes crucial. The first purpose of exerting the pressure will be to bring about a fully representative national convention of the kind proposed.

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already issued

Statement by the Spokesman of the Secretariat

The refusal of facilities and cooperation by the Government of South Africa is profoundly regretted by the Secretary-General and the members of the Expert Group. The views of the Government of South Africa are, of course, well-known but the refusal of facilities for a visit to South Africa makes it difficult to obtain the views of various representatives in South Africa. The Expert Group will utilize other available ways and means for this purpose.

Members of the Expert Group have already had informal discussions with members of the Special Committee on Apartheid and have also had an informal discussion with the provisional Secretary-General of the Organization for African Unity. They have also undertaken preliminary discussions in New York, London and Geneva, with representatives of South African organizations and other persons and organizations concerned with the South African situation.

The Group proposes to visit some capitals in Africa and Europe to hear the views of representatives of South African organizations and of others concerned with the South African situation.