

**Small files: South Africa  
1953-1961, South-West Africa  
1961: Small files: S...**

*HS L 179:191*



Dag Hæmmarshjólðs saml.

South Africa

5 April - 17 Aug. 60

Louw, Eric H. (Foreign Minister of the  
Union of South Africa)

- 6 messages to D.H.
- 9 messages from D.H.

Message to H.E. Mr. Louw from the Secretary-General

In a resolution (S/4300) adopted by the Security Council on 1 April 1960, the Council requests the Secretary-General to make such arrangements as would adequately help in upholding the purposes and principles of the Charter in the situation treated by the Council in the resolution. The Council states that the Secretary-General, in making such arrangements, should act in consultation with the Government of the Union of South Africa. It finally requests the Secretary-General to report to the Council whenever necessary and appropriate.

On the basis and within the framework of the authority of the Secretary-General as established in the Charter, I have now to meet the request of the Security Council. For that purpose it is necessary for me to consult with the Government of the Union of South Africa. Assuming that this would be most convenient for you, it is my intention to visit the Union at the earliest date suitable to you.

I would appreciate to get your reply to this suggestion as a matter of urgency.

5 April 1960

56

CONFIRMATION COPY  
OF MESSAGE TRANSMITTED

4537NY/4 NEWYORK 95/93 18 0023EDST

LTF

H.E. MR. ERIK LOUW

MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS

PRIMSEC

PRETORIA (SOUTHAFRICA)

DUE TO CIRCUMSTANCES WHICH ARE WELL KNOWN TO YOU, IT WILL NOT  
BE POSSIBLE FOR ME TO FOLLOW UP PLANS AS ALREADY AGREED.  
HOWEVER, IT REMAINS MY FIRM INTENTION TO COME TO SOUTH  
AFRICA FOR A SHORTER

P2/45/43

VISIT WITHIN THE TIME ORIGINALLY PLANNED. I HOPE THAT THIS  
WILL NOT CAUSE YOU TOO MUCH INCONVENIENCE. I WILL INFORM  
YOU AS SOON AS I CAN SUGGEST A NEW TIME TABLE. KIND REGARDS

DAG HAMMARSKJOLD SECRETARY-GENERAL OF THE UNITED NATIONS

COL NIL

RCA POSN 1

4537NY UNATIONS 0027EDST

CKXX CLR

RECD NY4537/3-4 0029 IQ

UNITED NATIONS  
JUN 18 12 28  
TELEGRAPH UNIT

20 July 1960

Dear Mr. Martin,

Will you kindly convey to His Excellency Mr. Eric Louw,  
Minister of External Affairs, the following message:

"Referring to the message which you transmitted to me through your Mission on 19 July 1960, I wish to inform you that I now regard it as rather likely that I can arrive in Pretoria on Friday, 29 July. It would be my hope that I could stay for our discussions in Pretoria until 2 or 3 August. It is, of course, with the greatest regret that I cannot now adhere to the full schedule which I had envisaged earlier. I shall inform you concerning the precise date of my arrival at the Johannesburg airport. Kind regards,  
Dag Hammarskjold, Secretary-General."

Sincerely yours,

Dag Hammarskjold  
Secretary-General

Mr. Henry Powell Martin  
Acting Permanent Representative  
Permanent Mission of the Union of South Africa  
to the United Nations  
655 Madison Avenue, 15th Floor  
New York 21, N.Y.

INFO. COPY

SG

RCA POSN 77

4537NY UNATIONS

4537NY/9 S NEWYORK 111 24 1500EDST UNGOVT

ETAT PRIORITE

HIS EXCELLENCY

MR. ERIC LOUV

MINISTER OF EXTERNAL AFFAIRS

PRINSEC PRETORIA (SOUTHAFRICA)

FURTHER TO MY MESSAGE OF 20 JULY I WISH TO INFORM YOU THAT  
DUE TO THE NEW MANDATE GIVEN TO ME BY THE LAST SECURITY  
COUNCIL DECISION ON THE CONGO, I AM OBLIGED TO FURTHER  
POSTPONE MY

P2

ARRIVAL IN PRETORIA STOP I HOPE NOW HOWEVER TO BE ABLE TO  
ADHERE TO THE NEW SCHEDULE WHICH WOULD BRING ME TO JOHANNESBURG  
ON 1 AUGUST STOP I WOULD HOPE TO BE READY TO DEPART NOT LATER  
THAN 4 AUGUST STOP STOP I SINCERELY TRUST THAT THIS SCHEDULE  
WILL BE ACCEPTABLE

P3/11

STOP PLEASE ACCEPT ASSURANCES OF MY HIGHEST CONSIDERATION

DAG HAMMARSKJOLD

UNATIONS

COL 20 1 4

CLR'''

UNITED NATIONS  
1950 JUL 24 PM 3:08  
TELEGRAPH UNIT

CY 33 LEO 106 02 1735Z

INFO COPY

AUG 2 1960

FILE NO.

ACTION

TO

*Cordier*

UNATIONS NEWYORK

B 312

FROM SEGGEN TO CORDIER CABLED TODAY H E LOUW MINISTER OF EXTERNAL  
AFFAIRS PRETORIA QUOTE SINCE MY PRESENCE IN LEOPOLDVILLE NEXT  
DAYS HAS BEEN ABSOLUTELY ESSENTIAL I FIND IT IMPOSSIBLE TO ARRIVE  
PRETORIA AS PREVIOUSLY AGREED STOP I CAN NOW ONLY HOPE TO ARRIVE NEXT  
WEEK

P2

STOP WILL YOU KINDLY ADVISE ME WHEN PRIME MINISTER WILL BE AVAILABLE  
STOP I SINCERELY REGRET THAT IT HAS BEEN NECESSARY TO CHANGE OUR  
SCHEDULE SO FREQUENTLY CHA BUT I AM CERTAIN THAT YOU WILL UNDERSTAND  
THAT ONLY THE MOST IMPERATIVE REASONS WOULD LEAD ME TO THIS STEP  
STOP HIGHEST

P3/6

ESTEEM DAG HAMMARSKJOLD SECRETARY GENERAL UNQUOTE

COL NIL

UNITED NATIONS  
1960 AUG -2 PM 3:45  
TELEGRAPH UNIT

INCOMING CODE CABLE

TO: CORDIER  
FROM: SECRETARY-GENERAL  
DATE: 4 AUGUST 1960 1200  
NUMBER: B-337

to E. Louw

Please transmit following reply to Minister Foreign Affairs Union South Africa: "Through Headquarters at New York I have received from the Union Government a reply to my message about the impossibility in which I find myself to carry through the agreed timetable for my visit to the Union.

I note that you fully appreciate that the urgent and dangerous nature of the problem with which I am presently dealing necessitates the postponement of my visit. Personally I deeply regret that the vital need to deal from hour to hour personally with a situation which has extremely grave potentialities reaching far beyond Africa should have fully engaged me just at the time when another question of such importance as the one under consultation with you required action.

As you remember, the plan agreed upon would have ended with talks in Pretoria on 7th of August. You now mention that it has been announced that a referendum will take place on October 5th on the question whether South Africa should adopt a Republic form of government and that, therefore, my visit after a postponement, would take place in an unfavourable atmosphere of political controversy. I find it difficult to see how in this respect there would have been any difference between the final date for governmental discussions already agreed upon and the date at which discussions now, I hope, would be possible.

Another consideration will have to be kept in mind. You are well aware of the very great significance attached by the UN, represented by a unanimous Security Council, to the Congo crisis. However, you also know the importance Member Governments, likewise expressing themselves through

INCOMING CODE CABLE

TO: CORDIER  
FROM: SECRETARY-GENERAL  
DATE: 4 AUGUST 1960 1200  
NUMBER: B-337

to E. Louw

Please transmit following reply to Minister Foreign Affairs Union  
South Africa: "Through Headquarters at New York I have received from the  
Union Government a reply to my message about the impossibility in which  
I find myself to carry through the agreed timetable for my visit to the  
Union.

I note that you fully appreciate that the urgent and dangerous nature  
of the problem with which I am presently dealing necessitates the postponement  
of my visit. Personally I deeply regret that the vital need to deal from  
hour to hour personally with a situation which has extremely grave  
potentialities reaching far beyond Africa should have fully engaged me just  
at the time when another question of such importance as the one under  
consultation with you required action.

As you remember, the plan agreed upon would have ended with talks in  
Pretoria on 7th of August. You now mention that it has been announced that  
a referendum will take place on October 5th on the question whether South  
Africa should adopt a Republic form of government and that, therefore, my  
visit after a postponement, would take place in an unfavourable atmosphere  
of political controversy. I find it difficult to see how in this respect  
there would have been any difference between the final date for governmental  
discussions already agreed upon and the date at which discussions now, I  
hope, would be possible.

Another consideration will have to be kept in mind. You are well  
aware of the very great significance attached by the UN, represented by a  
unanimous Security Council, to the Congo crisis. However, you also know  
the importance Member Governments, likewise expressing themselves through

INCOMING CODE CABLE (B-537 Page 2)

the Security Council, attach to the questions we were to discuss. I do not believe it would be understood that because of my attending to duties regarding the first problem and of the ensuing short postponement consultations between me and the Union Government were rendered impossible.

Were consultations, as you suggest, not to take place at this stage and while I am in Africa, but only after the General Assembly, it would undoubtedly have the most unfavourable impact on the treatment of the matter in question in the General Assembly. In the report I must make to the Security Council on my return I would have to state fully the circumstances, and it is to be foreseen that the Council then would wish to convene in order to consider the situation.

For the reasons I have indicated I repeat my offer to come to Pretoria as early as I possibly can, and I must reiterate my suggestion that you let me know which days to Prime Minister might be available. Were it to be only for a day or two, even such a short contact, which I am certain can be arranged, would have the greatest importance for the further development.

With personal regards, Dag Hammarskjöld".

Obviously, LCUWS reply cannot be taken seriously. The real reason is probably to be found in the Congo and more particularly in Katanga.

(Underlined word as per copy)

25 July '60

SG

H.E. Mr. Erik Louw,  
Minister for Foreign Affairs,  
PRIMSEC  
Pretoria (South Africa)

Sorry to hear about your difficulties. Will then of course adjust my time table lengthening my first stay in Leopoldville and shortening ~~ing~~ second. Thus count on my arrival for August 3rd with discussions up to, and if necessary including 7th. I gratefully accept the Prime Minister's kind invitation to dinner, and hope that no unforeseen developments ~~will~~ <sup>will</sup> interfere. Kind regards.

Dag Hammarskjöld  
Secretary-General of the  
United Nations.

10 August 1960

Message for His Excellency Eric Louw  
Minister of External Affairs  
Pretoria  
Union of South Africa

I wish to acknowledge your message of 9 August and to express my appreciation for rearranging the schedule for my visit to the Union of South Africa.

I am now rather certain that I will be able to visit Pretoria between 22 and 24 August. I shall advise you later concerning the details of my travel plans.

Yours sincerely,

Dag Hammarskjöld

Message for His Excellency Eric Louw  
Minister of External Affairs  
Pretoria  
Union of South Africa

10 August 1960

I wish to acknowledge your message of 9 August and to express my appreciation for rearranging the schedule for my visit to the Union of South Africa.

I am now rather certain that I will be able to visit Pretoria between 22 and 24 August. I shall advise you later concerning the details of my travel plans. Yours sincerely,

Dag Hammarskjöld  
Secretary-General

49

17 August 1960

Message for His Excellency Mr. Eric Louw

Referring to my message of 10 August 1960 in which I indicated that I would visit Pretoria between 22 and 24 August, I have now to inform you that due to certain developments in the Congo with which you are no doubt familiar I cannot adhere to that schedule.

In your message of 9 August 1960, you stated that the dates of 2 and 3 September would also be agreeable for a meeting with the Prime Minister. I should now like to ask you whether these dates might be reserved for the visit to South Africa which I still hope to make before the session of the General Assembly.

Yours sincerely,

Dag Hammarskjöld

INCOMING CODE

TO: Secgen  
FROM: Cordier  
DATE: 5 July 1960(1705Z)  
NUMBER: 684

Following is reply from Louw:

"I have received your telegram in reply to my my previous message.

(2) As regards concluding portion of your third paragraph it would appear that you may not have fully understood the position probably due to my own telegram not having explained more fully.

(3) In view of your belief that your visit should not be postponed the Union Government will as before do its best to assist in meeting the difficulties with which you are faced in the Congo.

(4) By again rearranging very important commitments Prime Minister and I can make available Thursday afternoon 11th. and Friday 12th. and perhaps Saturday morning for discussions.  
Personal regards. Eric Louw.

S E C R E T.

16th April, 1960.

Ref.: 10/3/1.

Louw, Eric H.

Dear Mr. Hammarskjold,

Further to my note of the 15th April, 1960, I have been instructed to convey to you the following message from the Hon. Eric H. Louw, Minister of External Affairs of the Union of South Africa:

"I have the honour to refer to your message of 5th April in which inter alia you suggest coming to South Africa for the purpose of consulting with the Union Government in regard to Resolution S/4300 adopted by the Security Council on 1st April.

2. On April 6th I asked the South African Permanent Representative to the United Nations to inform you that a reply could not be sent until I had received the reports of the discussions at the Security Council, and had an opportunity to study them.

I also made it clear at the time that this communication was without prejudice to the Union's position and that it did not imply any recognition of United Nations authority in a matter so clearly within the Union's domestic jurisdiction.

3. Thereupon you informed me, through our Permanent Representative, that you appreciated the speedy reply to your first communication. You also explained that your approach was limited to consultations rendered necessary by instructions addressed to you for certain action to be undertaken on the basis of your authority as Secretary-General under the Charter, and that such consultation would not require any prior recognition from the side of the Union Government of United Nations authority.

2/...

His Excellency Mr. Dag Hammarskjold,  
Secretary-General of the United Nations,  
NEW YORK, N.Y.

4. This statement made by you in your capacity as Secretary-General, and thus with the authority derived by you from the Charter, would appear to remove the difficulty with which the Union Government has been confronted, viz. that consent to discuss the Security Council's Resolution with the Secretary-General would imply recognition of the United Nations' right to intervene in the domestic affairs of South Africa and, therefore, the competence of the Council in the present matter.

As you know, the Union has since 1946 strongly contested the claim that the United Nations General Assembly is competent to discuss and to pass resolutions regarding South Africa's racial policy. Furthermore, I myself and subsequent Union delegations to the United Nations General Assembly, have repeatedly quoted from the records of the San Francisco founding conference, to show that the plenary session of that conference unanimously approved a report of Commission II, viz. that Articles 55 and 56 relating to Human Rights and Fundamental Freedoms could not be resorted to for the purpose of circumventing the clear provision of Article 2(7) that "nothing contained in this Charter" would authorise the United Nations to intervene in the domestic affairs of a Member-State. We have similarly shown that attempts to claim competence on the grounds that the Union's internal policies created a threat to world peace and security could not be seriously entertained and were only used as a pretext.

5. The above, in broad lines, has always been, and still is, the attitude of the Union Government in regard to intervention by the United Nations (whether by the General Assembly or by the Security Council) in the domestic affairs of South Africa. This was the attitude of the previous Government as well.

6. Having once more briefly set out the Union Government's attitude on the juridical position, I return to your statement conveyed to me last Thursday (April 7th), viz., that consultations with yourself would not require prior recognition from the Union Government of United Nations authority.

7. You will recall that when it was learned last year that you proposed visiting Africa, a cordial invitation was then extended to you to include South Africa in your itinerary - an invitation which at that time you were unfortunately not able to accept.

8. In connection with your proposed visit to South Africa, I must, however, point out that it would be better to defer it until the Judicial Commissions will have completed their enquiry and submitted their reports.

9. I will be accompanying our Prime Minister to London during the first two weeks of May and it has occurred to me that if you are able to come to England at that time, we may be able to have preliminary consultations after the conclusion of the Commonwealth Prime Ministers' Conference. You could then visit South Africa at a later date, perhaps in July or August, before the following General Assembly of the United Nations.

I will appreciate hearing from you in regard to the above suggestion."

Yours sincerely,

AWC:dg

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

TO: Secretary-General

Most immediate

FROM: Cordier

NUMBER:

DATE: 5 August 1960

Following is reply from Louw: *— Through Delegation,*

Quote: I have received your telegram in reply to my previous message.

2. As regards concluding portion of your third paragraph it would appear that you may not have fully understood position probably due to my own telegram not having explained it more fully.

3. In view of your belief that your visit should not be postponed the Union Government will as before do its best to assist in meeting the difficulties with which you are faced in the Congo.

4. By again rearranging very important commitments Prime Minister and I can make available Thursday afternoon 11 and Friday 12 and perhaps Saturday morning for discussions.

Personal regards. Eric Louw.

Unquote



PERMANENT MISSION OF THE  
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
15th FLOOR-665 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.

TELEPHONE TEMPLETON 6-1700

PERSONAL AND  
CONFIDENTIAL.

Ref.: 10/3/1/1.

19th July, 1960.

Dear Mr. Hammarskjöld,

I have been asked to convey to you the following message from the Minister of External Affairs in reply to your telegram to him:

"I thank you for your telegram and fully appreciate the position.

However, as the Prime Minister has other firm commitments from the beginning of August, it is trusted that you would find it possible at least to start your visit on the date originally arranged.

A full programme has already been worked out for your entire visit but it appears from your telegram that you are now contemplating a shorter stay. I suggest therefore that we suspend the remainder of the programme until you know how much time you will have at your disposal after completion of the primary purpose of your visit, namely consultation with the Union Government.

Kind regards,

Eric Louw."

Yours sincerely,

ACTING PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE.

His Excellency Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld,  
Secretary-General,  
United Nations,  
NEW YORK, N.Y.



PERMANENT MISSION OF THE  
UNION OF SOUTH AFRICA TO THE UNITED NATIONS  
15th FLOOR-655 MADISON AVENUE  
NEW YORK 21, N. Y.  
TELEPHONE TEMPLETON 6-1700

Ref.: 10/3/1/1

25th July, 1960.

Dear Mr. Hammarskjöld,

I have been asked to convey to you the following further telegraphic message from the Minister of External Affairs:

Begins.

Your telegram of July 24th.

Revised dates unfortunately quite impossible owing to longstanding engagements of Prime Minister. Suggest you arrive August Third with discussions on Fourth, Fifth and if necessary Seventh.

Prime Minister hopes you can arrive early enough on August Third to dine with him as that is the only evening he has free during period in question. Please accept assurances highest consideration.

Ends.

Yours sincerely,

H.P. Martin  
ACTING PERMANENT REPRESENTATIVE.

His Excellency Mr. Dag Hammarskjöld,  
Secretary-General,  
United Nations,  
NEW YORK, N.Y.

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

TO: SEC GEN LEOPOLDVILLE

FROM: CORDIER

AWC:dg

DATE: 28 July 1960

IMMEDIATE

NUMBER:

You received through South African mission following message from Louw:  
Quote

Since receipt of your telegram of July twenty fifth I have learned from New York that you may now come special United Nations plane arriving here afternoon August 2nd. We would be happy to fall in with this alternative but in order to avoid confusion would be grateful to receive confirmation earliest. UNQUOTE.

Martin informed me that under this schedule Prime Minister would give you dinner on evening August third and talks would begin morning August fourth. Under these circumstances would assume that you might want to arrive afternoon August third.

Martin awaiting a reply for Louw.

OUTGOING CODE CABLE

AWC:dg

TO: Secretary-General, Leopoldville  
FROM: Cordier  
DATE: 3 August 1960  
NUMBER:

Most immediate

You have received following reply from Minister External Affairs South Africa.

Quote It is with regret that the Union Government has noted that circumstances have obliged you further to postpone your visit. As I indicated to you in London the Union Government looked forward to having discussions with you along the lines of our preliminary talks. We had therefore arranged to fit your visit and also subsequent postponements into a complicated Governmental domestic and political programme.

2. I of course fully appreciate that the urgent and dangerous nature of the problems with which you are at present dealing necessitated the postponements of your visit. Meanwhile as a result of the further postponement a complication has arisen through the announcement today that a referendum will take place on October the fifth on the question whether South Africa should adopt a republican form of government. This means that in the event of your postponed visit a referendum campaign will then be in progress and that the talks would take place in the unfavourable atmosphere of political controversy into which your visit would inevitably be drawn.

3. Therefore while reaffirming the Government's cordial invitation to come to South Africa we feel that your visit should rather be postponed until after the next General Assembly when matters could be discussed in a more propitious atmosphere. Personal regards. Unquote

I told Plimsoll confidentially contents this letter. He was astounded and felt it was simply a not too plausible excuse for postponing the talks. Certainly in early weeks, that is to say next week or week following, <sup>long</sup> before actual referendum date it would still seem to be possible for talks to take place without being involved in serious complications with issues referendum.

## OUTGOING CODE CABLE

TO: Secretary-General, Leopoldville  
FROM: Cordier  
DATE: 3 August 1960  
NUMBER:

You have received following reply from Minister External Affairs South Africa.

Quote It is with regret that the Union Government has noted that circumstances have obliged you further to postpone your visit. As I indicated to you in London the Union Government looked forward to having discussions with you along the lines of our preliminary talks. We had therefore arranged to fit your visit and also subsequent postponements into a complicated Governmental domestic and political programme.

2. I of course fully appreciate that the urgent and dangerous nature of the problems with which you are at present dealing necessitated the postponements of your visit. Meanwhile as a result of the further postponement a complication has arisen through the announcement today that a referendum will take place on October the fifth on the question whether South Africa should adopt a republican form of government. This means that in the event of your postponed visit a referendum campaign will then be in progress and that the talks would take place in the unfavourable atmosphere of political controversy into which your visit would inevitably be drawn.

3. Therefore while reaffirming the Government's cordial invitation to come to South Africa we feel that your visit should rather be postponed until after the next General Assembly when matters could be discussed in a more propitious atmosphere. Personal regards. Unquote

I told Plimsoll confidentially contents this letter. He was astounded and felt it was simply a not too plausible excuse for postponing the talks. Certainly in early weeks, that is to say next week or week following, <sup>how</sup> before actual referendum date it would still seem to be possible for talks to take place without being involved in serious complications with issues referendum.

9th August, 1960

Personal

Dear Mr. Hammarskjold,

Following on the message which Mr. Wieschhoff asked me to transmit to South Africa last evening, I have received this further message for you from the Minister of External Affairs:

"I have received your telegraphic message conveyed by Wieschhoff. Government fully appreciate your difficulties which we have done our utmost to meet by agreeing to three postponements of your visit, thereby necessitating rearrangement by Prime Minister of important engagements.

"According to Wieschhoff's message it is even now uncertain whether you will be able to visit South Africa at time indicated. In order to meet your difficulties Prime Minister is prepared once more to rearrange important engagements to enable discussions from 22nd and including 24th August. Should these dates be impossible for you only other available dates are 2nd and 3rd September.

"It would be appreciated if you would advise me promptly as soon as you know when you can come".

Yours sincerely,

Mr. Dag Hammarskjold  
Secretary-General  
United Nations  
New York. N.Y.