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PP DAR ES SALAAM

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PP LIMA

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PP UKMIS GENEVA

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SIA. A. P. L. M.

M. G. S. D. S. M.

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CONFIDENTIAL

FROM UKMIS NEW YORK 1212Z OCT 81

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1115 DATED 27 OCTOBER 81

INFO PRIORITY DAR ES SALAAM, VIENNA, LIMA, UKMIS GENEVA, WASHINGTON, PARIS

ELECTION OF UN SECRETARY GENERAL

SUMMARY

1. THE SECURITY COUNCIL HELD FOUR BALLOTS THIS MORNING (27 OCTOBER) BETWEEN SALIM AND WALDHEIM. THEY WERE INCONCLUSIVE. SALIM CAME OUT THE BETTER IN THE FIRST ROUND WITH 11 VOTES TO WALDHEIM'S 10. BUT HE RECEIVED ONE VETO AND ONE PERMANENT MEMBER CONTINUED TO VOTE AGAINST HIM IN THE SUBSEQUENT ROUNDS. BY THE FOURTH ROUND THE VOTES IN HIS FAVOUR HAD FALLEN TO SIX. WALDHEIM ALSO RECEIVED ONE VETO (PRESUMABLY FROM CHINA) IN EACH ROUND BUT THERE WERE ELEVEN OR TEN POSITIVE VOTES IN HIS FAVOUR THROUGHOUT. THE COUNCIL IS TO MEET AGAIN TOMORROW MORNING (28 OCTOBER) BY WHICH TIME SALIM MAY HAVE WITHDRAWN AND OTHER CANDIDATES MAY HAVE ENTERED THE RING.

DETAIL

DETAIL

2. DETAILS OF THE FOUR BALLOTS WERE AS FOLLOWS (PM = PERMANENT MEMBER):

	SALIM			WALDHEIM		
	YES	NO	ABST	YES	NO	ABST
BALLOT 1						
PM'S	2	1	2	4	1	-
NON-PM'S	9	1	-	6	3	1
TOTAL	11	2	2	10	4	1
BALLOT 2						
PM'S	2	1	2	4	1	-
NON-PM'S	8	1	1	7	2	1
TOTAL	10	2	3	11	3	1
BALLOT 3						
PM'S	2	1	2	4	1	-
NON-PM'S	6	1	3	6	2	2
TOTAL	8	2	5	10	3	2
BALLOT 4						
PM'S	1	1	3	4	1	-
NON-PM'S	5	1	4	6	3	1
TOTAL	6	2	7	10	4	1

3. AFTER THE SECOND BALLOT THE PANAMANIAN PROPOSED AN ADJOURNMENT OF ONE HOUR. THIS WAS OPPOSED BY THE PHILIPPINES, THE PANAMANIAN PROPOSAL WAS PUT TO THE VOTE AND LOST 6-4-4 WITH ONE MEMBER NOT PARTICIPATING. AFTER THE THIRD BALLOT THE PANAMANIAN PROPOSAL WAS REVIVED BY MEXICO. AFTER SOME PROCEDURAL DEBATE IT WAS AGREED TO HOLD A FOURTH BALLOT AND THEN ADJOURN UNTIL TOMORROW MORNING.

4. SINCE THE COUNCIL ADJOURNED THE RUSSIANS HAVE TOLD THE PRESS THAT THEY DID NOT EXERCISE THEIR VETO, THUS POINTING THE FINGER AT THE AMERICANS FOR VETOING SALIM.

PARSONS

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DESKBY 280900Z

FROM UKMIS NEW YORK 272123Z OCT 81

TO IMMEDIATE F C O

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1119 DATED 27 OCTOBER 81

MIPT AND YOUR TELNO 646: ELECTION OF UN SECRETARY GENERAL

1. AS INSTRUCTED, I VOTED FOR WALDHEIM AND ABSTAINED ON SALIM THROUGHOUT.
2. WE KNOW FROM CLANDESTINE OBSERVATION THAT IT WAS THE AMERICANS WHO VETCED SALIM. (THE US MISSION DO NOT KNOW THAT WE ARE IN NO DOUBT AS TO HOW THEY VOTED AND IT IS MOST IMPORTANT THAT THEY SHOULD NOT KNOW) I BELIEVE THAT THE OTHER VOTE AGAINST SALIM CAME FROM THE PHILIPPINES. WE WERE ALSO ABLE TO OBSERVE THAT THE RUSSIANS ABSTAINED ON SALIM THROUGHOUT. IT IS CLEAR THEREFORE THAT THE FRENCH JOINED THE CHINESE IN VOTING FOR HIM UNTIL THE FOURTH ROUND, WHEN THEY MOVED TO AN ABSTENTION. IF WE ARE RIGHT ABOUT THE PHILIPPINES, ALL THE OTHER MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL, INCLUDING THE GDR, THUS VOTED FOR SALIM ON THE FIRST ROUND. BUT THE MAINTENANCE OF THE VETO AGAINST HIM LED TO RAPID EROSION OF HIS SUPPORT IN ROUNDS 3 AND 4.
3. WALDHEIM'S SUPPORT, BY CONTRAST, REMAINED SOLID AND INCLUDED FOUR OF THE FIVE PERMANENT MEMBERS (THE FRENCH DOUBLE-VOTED ON THE FIRST THREE ROUNDS). BUT THE CHINESE VETO REMAINED FIRM TOO. THE FACT THAT THE CHINESE CONTINUED TO VETO WALDHEIM EVEN AFTER THE VOTES IN FAVOUR OF SALIM HAD FALLEN BELOW NINE IN ROUND 3 SUGGESTS THAT THEY ARE DETERMINED TO MAINTAIN THEIR OPPOSITION TO WALDHEIM UNTIL THE END IN ORDER TO ENSURE THE ELECTION OF A THIRD WORLD CANDIDATE.
4. I ASSUME THAT SALIM WILL NOW WITHDRAW (OR THAT, IF HE DOES NOT, HE WILL NO LONGER BE A SERIOUS CONTENDER) AND THAT A NUMBER OF THIRD CANDIDATES WILL JOIN THE CONTEST. WE SHALL PROBABLY NOT KNOW UNTIL TOMORROW MORNING WHO THEY ARE: IF THEY ARE NUMEROUS, THERE MAY BE A MOVE TO POSTPONE FURTHER

BALLOTING FOR A WHILE. BUT, THE FIRST BALLOT TOMORROW IS BETWEEN WALDHEIM, PEREZ DE CUELLAR, ORTIZ DA ROSAS AND RAMPHAL WITH OR WITHOUT SALIM. I WOULD PROPOSE, FOLLOWING MY TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH WILLIAMS TODAY, TO VOTE FOR THE FIRST TWO AND TO ABSTAIN ON THE OTHERS IN THE EARLY ROUNDS BUT STOP VOTING FOR WALDHEIM IF HIS VOTE FALLS BELOW NINE. I WOULD ALSO PROPOSE TO START VOTING FOR ORTIZ DA ROSAS, AS WELL AS PEREZ DE CUELLAR, IF HE BEGINS TO SCORE SUBSTANTIALLY BETTER THAN DE CUELLAR.

5. ALTERNATIVELY, I WOULD BE QUITE HAPPY, IN THE LIGHT OF PARAGRAPH 2 OF YOUR TELNO 646, TO VOTE FROM THE OUTSET FOR ORTIZ DA ROSAS, AS WELL AS WALDHEIM AND DE CUELLAR. AS YOU KNOW, I HAVE A SLIGHT PERSONAL PREFERENCE FOR DE CUELLAR. I THINK THAT, IF ELEVATED TO THE SECRETARY GENERALSHIP, HE WOULD BE LESS LIKELY TO BE POMPOUS AND STARCHY THAN ORTIZ DA ROSAS. BUT BOTH ARE ANGLOPHILES AND MEN OF COMMONSENSE AND MODERATION. THERE IS LITTLE TO CHOOSE BETWEEN THEM.

PARSONS

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FM LUXEMBOURG 271447Z OCT 81
TO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK
TELEGRAM NUMBER 1 OF 27 OCTOBER
INFO IMMEDIATE FCO

FROM PRIVATE SECRETARY

1. YOU WILL WISH TO KNOW THAT WALDHEIM HAS TWICE TELEPHONED THORN TO URGE COMMUNITY GOVERNMENTS ON GROUNDS OF EUROPEAN SOLIDARITY TO VOTE FOR HIM. THORN TOOK THE LINE THAT THIS WAS NOT THE COMMISSION'S BUSINESS, BUT THAT HE WOULD PASS THE MESSAGE TO THE SECRETARY OF STATE IN HIS PRESIDENCY CAPACITY. APPARENTLY, WALDHEIM BETRAYED ANXIETY THAT SALIM MIGHT GET NINE VOTES ON THE FIRST ROUND. HE THOUGHT THAT HE WOULD BE VETOED, BUT HE COULD NOT BE SURE.

FCO ADVANCE TO:

FCO - UND PS PS/MR HURD LORD N GORDON LENNOX

THOMAS

[Handwritten signature]

ADVANCED AS REQUESTED

NNNN



PS

Mr Goodison

cc PS/PUS

Sir A Acland.

ELECTION OF THE UN SECRETARY-GENERAL

PROBLEM

- A B 1. In his telegrams 1118 and 1119 Sir A Parsons has reported on yesterday's deadlock in the Security Council and made recommendations about how he should vote today.

RECOMMENDATION

- / 2. I submit a draft telegram of instructions.

ARGUMENT

3. There may be some garbling in paragraph 4 of Sir A Parsons' second telegram. In view of the possibility of a number of third candidates joining the contest, it is not clear why he ~~stated~~ ~~assumed~~ that the first ballot would be between the 4/5 named in the third sentence. This may be just an assumption.

4. Sir A Parsons proposes to stop voting for Waldheim when his support dips below nine votes. Given our repeated assurances of support (and our failure to join in vetoing Salim) Ministers may prefer to continue to support him until he withdraws. Since we can vote in parallel for other candidates we would lose little if anything. The successful candidate would be unlikely to hold this against us. And there is always the very slight chance that if there is no agreement on another candidate support for Waldheim could grow again.

C 5. On Perez de Cuellar the Secretary of State has already decided that we should lean towards him (FCO telegram no 646).

Sir A Parsons has said that he would make an excellent Secretary-General.

/6. On Ortiz,



6. On Ortiz, opinions are less clear cut. It is agreed that he is able, experienced and generally well disposed towards the West. We are inclined to discount the possibility that he could use the Secretary-Generalship to embarrass us in any very serious way over Falklands. We voted for him in 1971. But Mr Ridley, whom the Private Office consulted last night, while agreeing that Mr Ortiz is a competent and experienced man, also described him as not altogether truthful or trustworthy. Sir A Parsons has also expressed reservations about his personal style. Against this background and given the Secretary of State's instructions that we should lean towards Perez, it seems better that Sir A Parsons should abstain on Ortiz unless and until he establishes a clear lead over Perez.

7. Ministers may like to be aware ^{that} in addition to the possible candidates already named in the correspondence, Prince Sadruddin Aga Khan has now arrived in New York from Geneva. Prince Sadruddin was High Commissioner for Refugees from 1965 to 1977 since when he has been doing odd jobs for the Secretary-General and running the 'Bellerive' group on nuclear affairs. Successive British Governments have had a high opinion of him but it is unlikely that he would do well in the elections as his wealth and rank might count against him and he has been rather away from the centre of UN affairs in recent years.

D E F 8. Personality reports on Perez, Ortiz and Prince Sadruddin's Who's Who entry are attached.

William

N C R Williams
United Nations Department

28 October 1981

/ agree



Confidential

I agree with Mr Williams, in thinking that we should continue voting for Waldheim until he falls out. Otherwise, Sir A Parsons's proposals on Perez de Cuellar are certainly right. Ortiz can wait.

Woodward

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