

CONFIDENTIAL

39383 - 1

OO UKMIS NEW YORK  
RR WASHINGTON  
GRS 444  
CONFIDENTIAL

FM FCO 021520Z DECEMBER 81  
TO IMMEDIATE UKMIS NEW YORK  
TELEGRAM NUMBER 826 OF 2 DECEMBER 1981  
INFO ROUTINE WASHINGTON, PARIS, DAR ES SALAAM, VIENNA, UKMIS GENEVA

YOUR TELEGRAM NO 1409: ELECTION OF UN SECRETARY-GENERAL

1. WE ENDORSE THE HARD LINE YOU HAVE TAKEN AGAINST THE IDEA OF A SPLIT TERM. WHILE THERE DO NOT (NOT) SEEM TO BE ANY LEGAL OBJECTIONS TO THE SECURITY COUNCIL MAKING SUCH A RECOMMENDATION, THE COUNCIL WOULD CLEARLY BE WRONG TO DECIDE NOW THAT A MAN SHOULD TAKE OVER THE OFFICE IN THE COURSE OF 1984 WHATEVER HE MIGHT DO OR WHATEVER MIGHT HAPPEN TO HIM IN THE INTERIM. SPLIT TERMS FOR SECURITY COUNCIL MEMBERSHIP ARE NOT REAL PRECEDENTS SINCE IT IS COUNTRIES RATHER THAN INDIVIDUALS WHO ARE ELECTED.
2. SALIM'S OWN POSITION IN THE INTERIM WOULD BE A DIFFICULT ONE. IF HE WERE TO CONTINUE AS TANZANIAN FOREIGN MINISTER THERE WOULD BE AN OBVIOUS CONFLICT OF DUTY. WALDHEIM'S POSITION WOULD ALSO BE DIFFICULT, THOUGH HIS POLITICAL ACTIVITIES MIGHT BE LESS AFFECTED THAN HIS MANAGEMENT OF THE SECRETARIAT, ON WHICH HE MIGHT FEEL UNDER AN OBLIGATION TO CONSULT HIS DESIGNATED SUCCESSOR. THIS NEED NOT (NOT) BE ALTOGETHER A BAD THING, THOUGH IT MIGHT HAVE UNWELCOME IMPLICATIONS FOR THE URQUHART SUCCESSION.
3. WE FEAR THAT THE PRESENT NON-PERMANENT MEMBERS WOULD HAVE LITTLE COMPUNCTION ABOUT PRE-EMPTING THE RIGHTS OF THE COUNCIL TWO YEARS HENCE AND THE SPLIT-TERM IDEA MAY BE HARD TO STOP. IF A VOTE SEEMED LIKELY MINISTERS WOULD NO DOUBT WISH TO CONSIDER



CONFIDENTIAL

39383 - 1

CAREFULLY WHETHER YOU SHOULD VETO. BUT THERE IS A RISK THAT, WHATEVER THE PROCEDURAL ARGUMENTS WE MIGHT ADVANCE, IT WOULD BE SEEN AS A VOTE AGAINST SALIM AND AS INCONSISTENT WITH THE POSITION WE HAVE TAKEN HITHERTO ON HIS CANDIDATURE.

4. IT SEEMS TO US THAT THE AMERICANS MIGHT BE PREPARED TO ADOPT A SOFTER LINE ON SALIM IF HE WAS NOT TO TAKE OFFICE FOR AT LEAST TWO YEARS SINCE ONE ELEMENT IN THEIR THINKING HAS BEEN THE NEED TO AVOID JEOPARDISING THE PROSPECTS IN NAMIBIA IN THE MORE IMMEDIATE FUTURE. WE LOOK FORWARD TO FURTHER NEWS ON AMERICAN VIEWS.

5. WE ARE CONCERNED AT THE TRANSPARENCY OF THE PROCEEDINGS IN THE SECURITY COUNCIL HITHERTO AND SHOULD WELCOME IT IF IT WERE POSSIBLE TO DEVISE A SYSTEM WHICH DID NOT REVEAL THE NEGATIVE VOTE OF A PERMANENT MEMBER UNLESS THERE WERE 2 VOTES IN FAVOUR. MINISTERS WILL OBVIOUSLY WISH TO TAKE THE CONFIDENTIALITY OR OTHERWISE OF THE VOTING INTO ACCOUNT WHEN CONSIDERING WHETHER YOU SHOULD VOTE AGAINST ANY MANIFESTLY UNSUITABLE CANDIDATES THAT MAY PRESENT THEMSELVES.

6. GRATEFUL IF FUTURE TELEGRAMS ON THIS SUBJECT COULD ALL BE IMMEDIATE.

CARRINGTON

[COPIES SENT TO NO 10 DOWNING ST.]

NNNN

LIMITED

UND

CCD

EAD

S AM D

MCAD

WED

PS

PS/LPS

PS/MR HURD

PS/MR LUCE

PS/LORD TREFGARNE

PS/PUS

MR BULLARD  
LORD BRIDGES  
MR DAY  
SIR A ACLAND  
MR GOODISON

COPIES TO:-  
MR BERMAN LEGAL ADVISER

2

CONFIDENTIAL



GRS 600  
CONFIDENTIAL

CONFIDENTIAL

FM UKMIS NEW YORK 012314Z DEC 81

TO PRIORITY FCO

TELEGRAM NUMBER 1409 OF 1 DECEMBER,

INFO WASHINGTON, PARIS, DAR ES SALAAM, VIENNA, UKMIS GENEVA.

MY TEL NO 1395: ELECTION OF UN SECRETARY GENERAL.

1. OTUNNU (UGANDA) HAS BEEN QUICK INTO HIS STRIDE AS PRESIDENT OF THE COUNCIL. HE IS SEEING ALL MEMBERS OF THE COUNCIL INDIVIDUALLY, PLUS THE TWO CANDIDATES, TODAY (1 DECEMBER) AND TOMORROW AND TELLING THEM THAT HE INTENDS TO PROCEED AS FOLLOWS. HE IS CONSCIOUS OF THE URGENCY BUT ALSO OF THE NEED NOT TO GET THE WRONG DECISION BY RUSHING THINGS. HE PLANS A FOUR-STAGE APPROACH. FIRST, HE WILL TRY TO DISCOVER WHETHER A SPLIT TERM IS A VIABLE OPTION: IF NOT, IT SHOULD BE PUT TO REST. SECONDLY, HE WILL ENQUIRE OF THE CHINESE AND THE AMERICANS WHETHER THEIR OPPOSITION TO THE TWO PRESENT CANDIDATES IS IMMUTABLE. IF SO, HE WILL, THIRDLY, ASK THE TWO CANDIDATES TO STAND ASIDE TEMPORARILY TO ENABLE THE COUNCIL TO CONSIDER ALTERNATIVES. ASSUMING THAT THEY AGREE, HE WILL, FOURTHLY, UNDERTAKE CONSULTATIONS TO IDENTIFY A SHORT LIST OF CANDIDATES ON WHOM THE COUNCIL COULD THEN PROCEED TO VOTE.

2. OTUNNU SAW ME THIS AFTERNOON. I APPLAUDED THE CLARITY OF HIS ANALYSIS AND SAID THAT I SAW NO DIFFICULTIES ABOUT HIS APPROACH. I SAID UNEQUIVOCALLY THAT THE UK WAS OPPOSED TO A SPLIT TERM: IT WOULD BE A DEAL UNWORTHY OF THE SECURITY COUNCIL: IT WAS IMPRACTICABLE, BECAUSE GOVERNMENTS COULD NOT BE EXPECTED TO AGREE NOW TO THE APPOINTMENT IN 1984 OF AN INDIVIDUAL WHO MIGHT BY THEN HAVE BECOME PERSONALLY OR POLITICALLY UNACCEPTABLE: MOREOVER, IF CANDIDATE X WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO CERTAIN GOVERNMENTS NOW, WHAT REASON WAS THERE TO BELIEVE THAT HE WOULD BECOME ACCEPTABLE IN TWO OR THREE YEARS' TIME? FINALLY, THE CANDIDATE WHO SERVED FOR THE FIRST PORTION OF A SPLIT TERM WOULD HAVE SEVERELY DIMINISHED AUTHORITY.

3. OTUNNU INDICATED THAT PERSONALLY HE SYMPATHISED WITH THESE VIEWS, BUT HE SAID THAT BOTH THE CHINESE AND THE RUSSIANS HAD CONFIRMED TO HIM TODAY THAT THEY WERE READY TO CONSIDER A SPLIT TERM. BUT THE CHINESE HAD MADE IT CLEAR THAT THEY WOULD INSIST THAT WALDHEIM AND SALIM SHOULD BE TREATED IN EXACTLY THE SAME WAY IN ANY DOCUMENT ENSHRINING THE SPLIT TERM, WHEREAS THE RUSSIANS SEEMED MORE ATTRACTED BY A SIMPLE EXTENSION OF WALDHEIM'S APPOINTMENT (SEE PARA 5 BELOW). THE CHINESE HAD MADE ABSOLUTELY CLEAR THAT THE LATTER WAS UNACCEPTABLE TO THEM. THE CHINESE HAD NOT RAISED ANY OBJECTION TO OTUNNU'S PROPOSED FOUR STAGES AND HAD CONFIRMED THAT THEIR OPPOSITION TO WALDHEIM WAS IMMUTABLE. NOR HAD WALDHEIM EXPRESSED ANY OPPOSITION TO WHAT OTUNNU PROPOSED.

CONFIDENTIAL

/4.



## CONFIDENTIAL

4. ON THE TIMING, I URGED OTUNNU TO COMPLETE PROCEEDINGS IN THE COUNCIL BY 15 DECEMBER WHEN THE GA'S SESSION IS DUE TO END. HE AGREED: IT WAS NECESSARY TO QUOTE STEM THE RISING TIDE OF PANIC UNQUOTE. HE HOPED TO COMPLETE THE FIRST TWO STAGES BY TOMORROW EVENING (THIS OF COURSE DEPENDS ON HIS GETTING FROM MRS KIRKPATRICK A CLEAR STATEMENT OF THE IMMUTABILITY OF US OPPOSITION TO SALIM).

5. ONE OF WALDHEIM'S CAMPAIGN MANAGERS HAD EARLIER TOLD ME THAT OVNNIKOV (USSR) HAD SEEN HIM THIS MORNING AND CONFIRMED THAT, AS SURMISED IN PARAGRAPH 11 OF MY TELEGRAM UNDER REFERENCE, THE RUSSIANS WERE HOPING TO EXPLOIT THE CHINESE PROPOSAL FOR A SPLIT TERM AND TURN IT INTO A SIMPLE EXTENSION OF WALDHEIM'S APPOINTMENT FOR TWO YEARS. WALDHEIM OF COURSE WOULD WELCOME THIS. AN UNHOLY ALLIANCE IS THUS IN THE PROCESS OF BEING FORGED BETWEEN WALDHEIM AND THE RUSSIANS. I AM FAIRLY CONFIDENT, HOWEVER, THAT IT WILL FOUNDER ON CHINA'S IMPLACABLE OPPOSITION TO WALDHEIM. WALDHEIM'S CAMPAIGN MANAGER (PROTRASKA - AUSTRIAN AMBASSADOR TO UNESCO) AND LEPRETTE (FRANCE) BOTH FEEL THAT A SHORT EXTENSION OF THIS KIND WOULD LEAVE WALDHEIM WITH VIRTUALLY NO AUTHORITY, SOMETHING THAT WOULD PLEASE THE RUSSIANS. I AGREE WITH THEM.

PARSONS

LIMITED

UND

PS|

PS|LPS

PS|MR LUCE

PS|MR HURD

PS|LORD TREFGARNE

PS|PUS

MR BULLARD

MR DAY

LORD BRIDGES

SIR A ACLAND

MR GOODISON

COPIES SENT TO  
No. 10 DOWNING STREET

2

## CONFIDENTIAL