

campaign could prove “counterproductive.” The democracies must learn how to deal with different political systems, Callaghan said in his opening remarks, “for if we don’t learn how to live with them, then with the rapid development of nuclear technology *we shall certainly die with them.*” Callaghan also affirmed that Britain would brook no more U.S. meddling in Southern Africa; instead the British would themselves tie Rhodesian Prime Minister Ian Smith to a definite “irreversible” timetable for majority rule. British Foreign Minister David Owen is scheduled to visit southern Africa over Easter for meetings with leaders of the front-line states and probably Smith himself in an attempt to break the deadlock which has stalled negotiations so far.

On the issue which has caused the most visible rift between the U.S. and Britain — landing rights for the Anglo-French supersonic airliner Concorde — Callaghan made his position non-negotiable. “The Concorde should be allowed to land in New York. Period,” he told reporters. Foreign Secretary David Owen added on the USA’s nationally televised Today show: “I think you’ve got to be careful of not being seen by the rest of the world to be barring technological progress just because it happens in countries outside your own.”

While Carter lavished praise on the so-called “special relationship” — a favorite cliché in Atlanticist circles to describe the post-war arrangement under which Britain became a junior partner to the United States, Callaghan clearly saw the situation in another light. He explained to the press that Britain’s role in the present relationship was as an “interpreter,” giving Carter a “second view,” a much more “informed view of the world” than he could expect to get from his own advisors.

From this vantage point, Callaghan laid out the task facing the industrialized world during his address to the

National Press Club — an urgent message on the necessity for economic growth on a world-wide scale — which the U.S. press largely ignored. “Our task is to see how we can help overcome poverty and unemployment...in an era of the most rapid change caused by the unprecedented speed of technological development,” Callaghan told the gathering. He warned that the present unemployment situation in the West is dangerously reminiscent of the early 1930s. “Our forecast is this,” Callaghan said, “On present policies there is likely to be slow growth in output in the western world, little improvement in living standards, continuing high unemployment in a number of countries and major problems for the non-oil lesser developed countries. What sort of world are we trying to create? What is it we intend to do? That kind of scenario in the industrialized world can only lead to disillusionment among our young people, it can lead to changes in political stability, to changes in political systems and this to my mind is the overriding problem which the leaders of the western world have got to address themselves.”

Callaghan is intent that the London OECD economic summit beginning May 7 — for which he is personally overseeing preparations — will provide the opportunity for the European countries to take economic policy out of the hands of Wall Street and promote trade and development. He told reporters in Washington that the West must seize the chance to change existing financial institutions at that time, or be prepared to create a new monetary system, there may not be another chance.

“Let no one believe that the actions of the new Administration are uncoordinated,” Callaghan told the press, “...or that a series of actions are being taken which are uncoordinated.” Their action is based on careful and well-planned design, Callaghan admitted, after two days of meetings with Carter and members of his Trilateral Cabinet, including Vance, Brzezinski and Blumenthal.

Press Covers Callaghan Visit — Who Do You Trust?

New York Times, March 12, 1977

“President Carter and Prime Minister Callaghan of Britain concluded two days of discussions today, evidently confident that they had forged a close friendship and made progress on a wide variety of international problems...Jody Powell, the White House Press Secretary said later that they had expressed a mutual desire for an early resolution of the (landing rights for Concorde — ed.) problem...”

London Daily Telegraph, March 12, 1977

“(Callaghan) told reporters that he had put the Anglo-French position to the President, ‘which is that it should be allowed to land in New York. Period.’ On being questioned further, Callaghan said that he had given a

warning that the barring of Concorde would ‘create a great deal of division and heat’ in Britain and France...”

Washington Post, March 11, 1977

“President Carter welcomed yesterday British Prime Minister James Callaghan as the leader of our ‘closest allies and friends.’ After formalities, the two immediately began talks on major economic problems, Rhodesia and human rights...Carter spoke of the ‘special relationship’ which the United States enjoys with the ‘mother country.’ He promised future cooperation in both security and economic areas.”

London Times, March 11, 1977

Doubted whether “cosy feeling” generated by all the talk

of "special relationship" would "suffuse the substantive discussions." Noted that the first meeting between Callaghan and Carter abruptly came to an end as soon as the topics of human rights and Rhodesia were raised.

Financial Times, March 11, 1977

Referred to "pique" in British diplomatic circles over the snub to Callaghan. "Mr. Carter is not as a matter of fact accepting these invitations (to the dinner in Callaghan's honor sponsored by the British Ambassador — ed.) Normally he would send Vice President Mondale in his stead, as happened with the Canadian and Mexican visits last month. But Mr. Mondale, it is found, has a speaking engagement tomorrow night in Atlanta, Georgia and will not attend. The senior guest will be Mr. Warren Burger, the Chief Justice....The British, it is reliably reported from informed sources in the diplomatic community are a little miffed about this."

The Sun, March 12, 1977 (by Henry Trehwhitt)

"...Speculation is growing in the diplomatic community...that Mr. Carter's outspokenness may be self-defeating....In an address to the National Press Club, Prime Minister James Callaghan of Great Britain volunteered the observation that Mr. Carter 'does not shoot from the hip'....What prompted Mr. Callaghan's observation was not clear. Some British diplomats, however, are known to be among those who worry that Mr. Carter is too outspoken for his own good."

Prensa Latina, March 12, 1977

"Observers" described the meeting between Carter and Callaghan as "difficult" and said that it did not significantly advance Anglo-U.S. relations. The meeting was estimated to include "divergences" on dealing with the economic crisis in the industrialized world."

Callaghan Gets 'No Confidence' Vote Threat

Days after British Prime Minister James Callaghan arrived back in Britain following his meetings with Carter, Callaghan has been confronted with his most serious parliamentary crisis — a threatened vote of censure led by the Conservative Party. The Conservative motion — to be put March 21 — caps attempts to push the Callaghan government away from its efforts to consolidate an all-European policy of close cooperation with the Arab states, the Third World and the socialist bloc. Significant pressure has been building on the government to take a more "positive" attitude towards U.S. initiatives.

The most direct indication of this pressure came from the U.S. visit of the Conservative Shadow Foreign Secretary John Davies one day following Callaghan's departure. Davies met with U.S. Secretary of State Vance, Defense Secretary Brown, energy czar Schlesinger, UN Ambassador Young, as well as Henry Kissinger and a number of undisclosed top financial and business representatives in New York. In an interview, Davies attacked the Callaghan government's policy on Rhodesia, and called for a joint American-British sponsored referendum on majority rule in that country — a policy that would provoke both Rhodesia's white minority government and black African leaders, and heighten the possibility of war.

Liberal party leader David Steel has offered to pledge his party's support for the Callaghan government, which has a minority of one in the House of Commons, as long as the government modified its policies to suit the Liberals — which would mean abandoning those issues

on which the government has achieved consensus with trade unions. Without such modification, Steel warned that "the Government cannot hope to maintain itself in office and the Liberal Party would have no hesitation in forcing an early General Election."

Although the chances are slim that a general election would be called, especially given Callaghan's repeated assurances that the government intends to remain in office for at least another year to see its industrial strategy through, the censure vote cannot help but limit Callaghan's scope for action. The cornerstone of the government's strategy is the cooperation it is forging between trade unions and industrialists to promote economic recovery through expanded industrial output and exports, especially to the Third World and socialist bloc. The coordinated Tory-Liberal attack on the government's legislative program would destroy key sections of the government's social contract with the trade unions, for example the promise to extend industrial democracy as embodied in the Bullock Report soon to be introduced into Parliament in some form, and make Callaghan's ability to remain Prime Minister impossible.

Increasing the pressure on the government, Tory chief Thatcher, in conjunction with West German Christian Socialist Union leader Franz Joseph Strauss, has created a pan-European coalition, the European Democratic Union, pledged to bring a "new morality" to Europe by providing "intellectual content and political direction to these new dissatisfactions with Socialism in practice" which Thatcher maintains are spreading.