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## Lord Carrington: Lament of an oligarch

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*Unlike America's Cyrus Vance, Britain's Lord Carrington—although sounding the same themes as his U.S. colleague—spoke with the worldview of a seasoned British aristocrat. As the following excerpts show, with every sentence, his contempt for the United Nations itself and for the dozens of delegations from the Third World permeates his remarks. He ridiculed the U.N. as a "talk-shop"—in fact, he blurted, "That is what diplomacy is all about; 'jaw, jaw, not war, war,' as Winston Churchill said." In a rambling discourse that dwelt at length with the crises in the Middle East, southern Africa, and so forth, Carrington consistently sounded Cold War themes.*

*But Carrington was most explicit in opposing the thrust from the member-nations of the European Monetary System and the Nonaligned for a new world monetary system. "We must all guard against the creation of new bodies whose primary function is the exchange of rhetoric." The meaning of his remark was not lost on his audience. Even more than Vance, Carrington sounded the firm opposition of the Anglo-Americans to virtually the entire rest of the U.N. membership. Perhaps the Chinese and Israeli delegations applauded.*

...I represent a Government which is determined to avoid mere rhetoric, both in what it says about its domestic policies and in the conduct of its overseas relations. Words count, obviously. But they only really count when they are linked to reality and when they can be translated into action. Sometimes when I read United Nations resolutions, I cannot escape the wicked thought that they are more inspired by rhetoric than reality. If progress is to be made in solving the world's problems, it will be by realistic discussion leading to realistic action. However glittering the oratory, it can only be a means to an end...

There were 51 founder members of the United Nations. Now there are 152. Last week we welcomed Saint Lucia, formerly a British territory, as the 152nd member. I congratulate the Government and people of Saint Lucia on their achievement of full independence. This near-tripling of the membership is largely due to the dissolution of the great colonial empires. The United Kingdom worked with and not against that trend. This month we mourned Lord Mountbatten, who was a pioneer of decolonisation. Since last year's General Assembly, besides St. Lucia, the Republic of Kiribati has achieved full nationhood. We look forward to Saint

Vincent joining them on 27 October. It remains our policy to respect the wishes of the peoples of our few remaining dependent territories. It is for them to determine their own future in accordance with the principles of the U.N. Charter. We shall therefore continue to give every support and encouragement to any of them who seek independence. Where there are difficulties, we will do our best to overcome them. In particular, we want to bring Belize to secure independence as soon as possible.

The dismantling of the British Empire has led to the creation of another institution which is often accused of being a mere talking shop. I refer, of course, to the Commonwealth. If you are looking for an example of how valuable a talking shop can be, you need go no further than the Commonwealth meeting in Lusaka two months ago. Talk there led first to greater understanding between the countries concerned and then to action to try to solve the problem of Rhodesia...

... the scale of the Warsaw Pact's military build-up is a matter of serious and legitimate concern to all other European countries. So far the Warsaw Pact has shown little willingness to allay these concerns in any practical way. So we on the Western side have no alternative but to respond. Otherwise the balance on which detente depends will be lost. Nor can we accept that detente should be a principle applied in Europe but ignored in the rest of the world. As I have already said, we are one world. Detente, if it is to work anywhere, must work everywhere. We in the British Government are ready to work for greater confidence, stability and real cooperation. But this must be a two-way process, with give and take coming from both sides. It is in this spirit that we will approach the CSCE review meeting in Madrid.

... I have spoken of the dangers of rhetoric. In this field of international economic relations, those dangers are perhaps at their greatest. We must all guard against the creation of new bodies whose primary function is the exchange of rhetoric. The first step has to be a substantial improvement in the state of the world economy. It is increased production, not words, which creates resources. And without increased production, how can there be transfer of resources from rich to poor, whether at home or overseas, through increased aid, trade and investment? So our first priority must be to bring about the right framework in which more resources can be produced.

This is why my Government has taken steps to cut public expenditure right across the board. This is inevitable if we are to put our economy in order and if we are to be able to help the less developed countries to achieve prosperity. We are no less concerned than others about the large proportion of the world's population that is unacceptably poor. Nor are we turning our backs on the North-South Dialogue, despite its frustrations...