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Middle Powers and Commercial Diplomacy

British Influence at the Kennedy Trade Round

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palgrave
macmillan

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Softcover reprint of the hardcover 1st edition 1999 978-0-333-73984-6

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Published by
PALGRAVE MACMILLAN
Houndmills, Basingstoke, Hampshire RG21 6XS and
175 Fifth Avenue, New York, N. Y. 10010
Companies and representatives throughout the world

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Outside North America

ISBN 978-1-349-40948-8

ISBN 978-0-333-98435-2 (eBook)

DOI 10.1057/9780333984352

Inside North America

ISBN 978-0-312-22044-0

This book is printed on paper suitable for recycling and made from fully managed and sustained forest sources.

A catalogue record for this book is available from the British Library.

Library of Congress Catalog Card Number: 98-49904

For Grandma Knowles

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Preface

Generally, too few political scientists make use of historical materials in their theory-building efforts. International relations scholars are particularly guilty of grand theorizing on the basis of narrow, secondary sources. In the area of foreign policy analysis Deighton complains that 'Much of what is written about conceptual, strategic and foreign policy issues is based on secondary sources, even for periods for which archival evidence is available.'¹ International relations theory can only benefit from a larger empirical base for its theory building. American scholars have dominated this field, and their scientific approach seldom incorporates the historical emphasis inherent in the British literature. John Lewis Gaddis rightly points out that 'political scientists who generalize but do not use archives are missing an important opportunity.'²

Existing accounts of the Kennedy Round have missed just such an opportunity. They are either based on personal experience of American officials or on secondary material, and written almost exclusively from an American perspective. They suffer from focusing exclusively on US-European Economic Community (EEC)³ dialogues; little mention is made of other participants. This narrow focus, while understandable at the time of writing – when most official records were secretly filed away in government departments – needs re-examination. Recently opened British and American government documents provide a broader perspective on the Kennedy Round negotiations. These documents reveal an active and creative British role that has been entirely missed.

In 1995 the British Department of Trade and Industry gave me access to previously closed Board of Trade documents at the Public Record Office in Kew. I also studied recently opened material of the Board of Trade, Foreign Office and Treasury departments. These extensive files include all written documentation received and produced by the Board of Trade during the Kennedy Round negotiations and include reports of the state of the negotiations, telegrams flowing between Geneva and London, memos of interdepartmental meetings between Board of Trade officials and the British delegation to Geneva, and memos of similar meetings with other departments such as the Foreign Office and Treasury as well as the Cabinet. More interestingly, they include records of the many bilateral meetings with

Community and American officials. These were both formal and informal, taking place in government offices, embassies and restaurants in the various capitals.

In the United States, I researched the archival material at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library, the John F. Kennedy Library, and the Dean Acheson collection at the Sterling Memorial Library at Yale University. I also reviewed the Dean Acheson Papers at the Truman Library which were passed on to me by Professor John Young of Leicester University. At the two Presidential libraries some of the documents on the Kennedy Round and Anglo-American relations were made available as recently as 1995.⁴ In both libraries I found that a large amount of the material was either closed or sanitized. Extensive classification of Presidential documents proved to be especially problematic at the JFK library where so much material remains closed. Beginning my research, I had assumed that American documents would be more open to research than British, but my experience shows this to be wrong. It would appear that the 1992 Waldegrave Initiative has indeed generated a more liberal attitude on the part of departmental records officers to declassification.⁵ Though less extensive and more sanitized than the British documents, the American documents also show extensive bilateral meetings between politicians and officials of every level of the various participating countries. Similar to the British documents there are reports, memos, cables, notes, letters – a plethora of communications between American officials, and between American officials and their counterparts from other participating countries.

The research for this book was made possible by a Moody Grant from the LBJ Foundation, and research awards from the Research Foundation, University of Connecticut, and Manchester Metropolitan University, to which I am most grateful.

Thanks to the staff at the Lyndon B. Johnson Library – in particular to John Wilson – who were very helpful and friendly, and made my trip to Austin, Texas, useful and enjoyable. Similarly, thanks to the staff at the Public Record Office in Kew who were equally efficient and helpful.

I should like to thank Mrs Stella Wood, Departmental Records Officer at the Department of Trade and Industry, for her assistance with the Board of Trade documents which at the time were classified. She kindly agreed to my request to see the documents covering the Kennedy Round so that I could research them. I am grateful to John Young for passing on relevant documents from the Dean Acheson

Papers at the Truman Library, Independence, Missouri.

I am grateful also to the people who made important comments on the book: Betty Hanson, Martha Gibson, Garry Clifford, Geoff Berridge, Andrew Williams and Phil Deans. Thanks also to Kirsten Burke and Daryl Webb for help with wordprocessing.

I would like to record a personal thanks to several people. For encouragement and support in my early education I thank three excellent teachers: Dave Clayton, Dave Taylor and Jeff Taylor. My nine-year-old son Robert and seven-month-old daughter Katie didn't exactly help in the writing of this book. But their demands for attention sometimes brought a welcome distraction, and their delightful sense of humour often reminded me that life is such fun. The richest and most loving support came from my husband, Wayne Shannon. He read and commented on the many drafts of each chapter. His unceasing encouragement was the major factor in the completion of this work. Finally, this book is lovingly dedicated to my grandmother, Annetta Knowles, who helped make my early childhood so memorable and happy.

NOTES

1. A. Deighton, 'Say it with documents: British policy overseas, 1945–1952', *Review of International Studies*, 18 (1992) 393–402.
2. J. L. Gaddis, 'The expanding data base', *International Security*, 12 (1987) 3–21. Quoted in J. Melissen, 'Intra-alliance summitry: Macmillan, Kennedy and the road to Nassau, 18–20 December 1962', *Diplomacy and Statecraft*, 7 (1996) 652–87. See also R. H. Immerman, 'In search of history – and relevancy: breaking through the "Encrustations of Interpretation"', *Diplomatic History*, 12 (1988) 341–56. For an excellent analysis of the problem of selection bias in the use of historical documents see I. S. Lustick, 'History, historiography, and political science: multiple historical records and the problem of selection bias', *American Political Science Review*, 90 (1996) 605–18.
3. This was the title of the now European Union in the 1960s and to save confusion will be the one used throughout this book.
4. These were the papers of Francis Bator (Deputy Special Assistant to the President) and Henry Fowler (Under Secretary and Secretary of the Treasury). Relevant sections of the United Kingdom Country Files of the National Security Council were opened as recently as 1992.
5. See R. Aldrich, 'The Waldegrave Initiative and Secret Service archives: new materials and new policies', *Intelligence and National Security*, 10 (1995) 192–7.

List of Abbreviations

ASP	American Selling Price
CAP	Common Agricultural Policy
CET	Common External Tariff
ECSC	European Coal and Steel Community
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IGA	International Grains Agreement
NAFTA	North American Free Trade Agreement
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organization
STR	Special Trade Representative
TEA	Trade Expansion Act
US	United States
USTR	United States Trade Representative
WEU	Western European Union