

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-83916-7 - Twentieth-Century Diplomacy: A Case Study of British Practice, 1963-1976

John W. Young

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Twentieth-Century Diplomacy

In contrast to most works of international history, which dwell on particular relationships, strategies, wars or crises, the questions in this book concern the way in which diplomacy was actually conducted. The period 1963–76 saw significant changes in diplomatic practice globally. It was particularly a time of change for Britain as the country negotiated its declining world power and joined the European Community and as economic problems forced spending cuts. Looking at the reform of the British Diplomatic Service and Foreign Office as well as the role of ambassadors, the use of ‘special’ envoys, summits and state visits, John Young sheds light on how diplomacy was organised in order to put into effect the country’s foreign policy and on how diplomatic practice changed over time to make it more effective. Drawing comparisons with other countries, especially the United States, this study focuses on the means of diplomacy rather than the ends.

JOHN W. YOUNG is Professor of International History at the School of History, University of Nottingham. His previous publications include *Britain and the World in the Twentieth Century* (1997), *Britain and European Unity, 1945–99* (2000) and, as co-author, *International Relations since 1945: A global history* (2004).

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-83916-7 - Twentieth-Century Diplomacy: A Case Study of British Practice, 1963-1976

John W. Young

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Twentieth-Century Diplomacy

A Case Study of British Practice, 1963–1976

John W. Young

University of Nottingham



CAMBRIDGE
UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-83916-7 - Twentieth-Century Diplomacy: A Case Study of British Practice, 1963-1976

John W. Young

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

CAMBRIDGE UNIVERSITY PRESS

Cambridge, New York, Melbourne, Madrid, Cape Town, Singapore,
São Paulo, Delhi

Cambridge University Press

The Edinburgh Building, Cambridge CB2 8RU, UK

Published in the United States of America by Cambridge University Press,
New York

www.cambridge.org

Information on this title: www.cambridge.org/9780521839167

© John W. Young 2008

This publication is in copyright. Subject to statutory exception
and to the provisions of relevant collective licensing agreements,
no reproduction of any part may take place without
the written permission of Cambridge University Press.

First published 2008

Printed in the United Kingdom at the University Press, Cambridge

A catalogue record for this publication is available from the British Library

Library of Congress Cataloguing in Publication data

Young, John W., 1957–

Twentieth-century diplomacy: a case study of British practice, 1963–1976 /
John W. Young.

p. cm.

Includes bibliographical references and index.

ISBN 978-0-521-83916-7 (hardback)

1. Great Britain–Foreign relations administration. 2. Great Britain–
Foreign relations–1964–1979. 3. Diplomacy–History–20th century.

I. Title. II. Title: 20th century diplomacy.

JZ1572.Y68 2008

327.41009'046–dc22

2008028873

ISBN 978-0-521-83916-7 hardback

Cambridge University Press has no responsibility for the persistence or
accuracy of URLs for external or third-party internet websites referred to
in this publication, and does not guarantee that any content on such
websites is, or will remain, accurate or appropriate.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-83916-7 - Twentieth-Century Diplomacy: A Case Study of British Practice,
1963-1976

John W. Young

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

For my grandchildren

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-83916-7 - Twentieth-Century Diplomacy: A Case Study of British Practice, 1963-1976
John W. Young
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Contents

<i>List of abbreviations</i>	<i>page</i> viii
<i>Preface</i>	ix
1 Introduction	1
2 Policy and policy-makers	11
3 The diplomatic machine	31
4 Resident ambassadors	59
5 Special missions	87
6 Bilateral summits	115
7 Multilateral diplomacy	142
8 State visits	170
9 Recognition and diplomatic relations	198
10 Conclusion	226
<i>Select bibliography</i>	229
<i>Index</i>	238

Cambridge University Press
978-0-521-83916-7 - Twentieth-Century Diplomacy: A Case Study of British Practice, 1963-1976
John W. Young
Frontmatter
[More information](#)

Abbreviations

CHOGM	Commonwealth Heads of Government Meeting
CO	Colonial Office
CPRS	Central Policy Review Staff
CRO	Commonwealth Relations Office (to 1966); Commonwealth Office (1966–8)
EC	European Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
FCO	Foreign and Commonwealth Office
FO	Foreign Office
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
MLF	Multilateral Force
MOD	Ministry of Defence
MP	Member of Parliament
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OAU	Organisation of African Unity
ODM	Ministry of Overseas Development
OPD	Overseas Policy and Defence Committee
SEATO	Southeast Asia Treaty Organisation
UAE	United Arab Emirates
UDI	Unilateral Declaration of Independence
UN	United Nations
US	United States
USSR	Union of Soviet Socialist Republics
WEU	Western European Union

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-83916-7 - Twentieth-Century Diplomacy: A Case Study of British Practice, 1963-1976

John W. Young

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface

I say, emphatically, that it is necessary to the wellbeing of the state to conduct diplomacy ceaselessly, either openly or secretly, and in all places, even in those from which no present fruits are reaped . . .

Cardinal Richelieu, from his *Political Testament*¹

As chief minister of France during the Thirty Years War, Richelieu was one of the first statesmen to understand that, for foreign policy aims to be pursued effectively, ambassadors must be posted to a wide range of countries, not just a few select capitals. The methods of his diplomacy were an essential factor in the cardinal's success abroad. Yet historians have generally been reluctant to pay much attention to diplomatic practice as an important element of government policy. This book analyses the practice of one country in a particular period, based on archival sources and adopting a historical methodology. The focus is on Britain, a significant player on the world stage but one in 'the second rank', during the premierships of Alec Douglas-Home, Harold Wilson and Edward Heath, 1963–76. These years saw significant changes in diplomatic practice globally, as improvements in air travel contributed to a growing frequency of international meetings, and there was a rise in the number of both independent states and international organisations. It was particularly a time of change for Britain, as the country moved from a world role and lingering imperial commitments to membership of the European Community, and as economic problems forced spending cuts on overseas posts and the need to boost exports led to an intensification of moves to use diplomats in trade promotion. There were also major changes in the way Britain's diplomatic machine was organised, with the merger of the Foreign, Commonwealth and Colonial Offices into a single ministry.

In contrast to most works of international history, then, which dwell on particular strategies, bilateral relationships, regional issues, wars or

¹ G. R. Berridge, ed., *Diplomatic Classics: Selected texts from Commynes to Vattel* (Basingstoke: Palgrave, 2004), 116.

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-83916-7 - Twentieth-Century Diplomacy: A Case Study of British Practice, 1963-1976

John W. Young

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

x

Preface

crises, the questions here concern *how diplomacy was actually conducted*. For example, to take just one element, that of summitry: how frequently did prime ministers engage in meetings at leaders' level and why? What advantages did they see in such meetings? Did their discussions achieve more than they would have done if they had been held at foreign ministers' level? How did bilateral summits differ from multilateral ones in terms of frequency, structure and tactics? Individual chapters look at a range of other issues, including the purposes and structure of the Diplomatic Service, the role of resident ambassadors, the use of 'special envoys', the exploitation of state visits to achieve policy ends and how London coped with the increasing tendency of states to break off relations for symbolic reasons. Throughout the book, comparisons are drawn with other countries, especially the United States. It is hoped that as well as encouraging historians of international relations to consider diplomatic practice alongside the other elements that they address, the book will provide a valuable discussion for those who already study diplomatic practice, that it will broaden understanding of British foreign policy in the period and that it will contribute to the analysis of such specific phenomena as summits, ambassadorships, state visits and diplomatic recognition. It may also provide a foundation for comparative studies between different countries and time periods.

There are many people without whom the book would not have come to fruition, in particular the Arts and Humanities Research Council, which awarded funding for a period of study leave during which I completed the writing-up. I am also grateful to the British Academy, which provided me with a grant to study the period 1964-70, and the University of Nottingham, which provided both financial support and study leave. Numerous academic colleagues had an impact on the arguments, including Richard Aldrich, Nicholas Cull, Mike and Saki Dockrill, Erik Goldstein, Sean Greenwood, Keith Hamilton, Peter Hennessy, Michael Hopkins, Matthew Jones, C. John Kent, Fredrik Logevall, Spencer Mawby, Jan Melissen, Philip M. Taylor, Donald Cameron Watt and Neville Wylie. Donna Lee and Lorna Lloyd read and commented on parts of the manuscript. I hope these will understand if I single out Geoffrey Berridge, a former colleague at the University of Leicester and one of the world's leading academic experts on diplomatic method, who influenced many of the ideas in this book and commented on the manuscript.

I am grateful to the following archives and libraries for their help: National Archives at Kew; British Library; Churchill College Archive Centre; Bodleian Library, Oxford; British Library of Political and Economic Science; Institute of Historical Research, London; the Official

Cambridge University Press

978-0-521-83916-7 - Twentieth-Century Diplomacy: A Case Study of British Practice, 1963-1976

John W. Young

Frontmatter

[More information](#)

Preface

xi

Publications section of the University of Leicester Library; Liddell Hart Centre, King's College, London; National University of Wales, Aberystwyth; the Hallward Library at Nottingham University; the US National Archives; Lyndon Johnson Library, Austin; and the Virginia Historical Society, Richmond. Those who gave permission for me to see specific private papers collections are acknowledged in the bibliography and I would like to repeat my thanks to them here. Finally, I am deeply grateful to my wife, Helen, for reading over the manuscript and to her, my children – Julie, Linda, David, Frazer and Jacob – and my mother for their support.