

# Notes

## Introduction

- 1 Throughout this text, the constitutionally-based term 'Ireland' is utilised to denote the Republic of Ireland; this terminology does not carry any political connotation as it expresses the country's name as used by the government in its relations with organisations such as the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), the European Atomic Energy Community (Euratom), the European Economic Community (EEC), the European Free Trade Association (EFTA), and beyond, including its relations with countries like the United Kingdom of Great Britain and Northern Ireland (UK), the United States of America (US), and the Union of Soviet Socialist Republics (USSR). Please note that abbreviations are extensively used throughout these footnotes and that the fullest form of each new reference is given when first utilised.
- 2 Among the dignitaries was Seán Lemass, the Irish prime minister. On many other occasions, John F.Kennedy (US president) made similar statements; for instance, on 28 June 1963, he declared in his famous oration Dáil Éireann (Irish lower parliamentary house): 'I sincerely believe that your future is as promising as your past is proud'; he quoted William Butler Yeats in making an oblique reference to the UK's unremitting links with Ireland: 'Let us not casually reduce the great past to a trouble of fools, for we need not feel the bitterness of the past to discover its meaning for the present and the future'. During his visit, he stated: '[In Ireland] the past [is] very real and has made the present very hopeful'. M.FitzGerald, *Irish-American diplomatic relations, 1948 to 1963* (Cork: unpublished University College Cork (UCC) MPhil thesis, 1997), pp. 194-6 & 205; Kennedy oration delivered in Dáil Éireann, 28 June 1963, *Public papers of the Presidents of the United States: John F.Kennedy 1963* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, 1964), pp. 534-9; Kennedy speech given in Limerick, 29 June 1963, *John F.Kennedy 1963*, p. 541; Kennedy address delivered in Washington DC, 15 October 1963, *John F.Kennedy 1963*, p. 784.
- 3 Ireland's contribution to the 1996 Intergovernmental Conference entitled 'The European Union and the new Europe', European Parliament document PE165.980, European Parliament, Bâtiment Robert Schuman, Luxembourg (PE).
- 4 It is crucial to note in this context that European integration is taken to mean Ireland's attitude towards, membership of, and/or participation in post-Second World War Western European – and perhaps even wider international – institutions and organisations that had economic, political and/or social implications for the Irish

- government and nation.
- 5 J.J.Lee quoted in R.McDonnell (ed.), 'Senator Professor Joe Lee', pp. 22-4, in *Graduate* (UCC publication) Autumn 1993, *passim*.
  - 6 Leader article, 'Ireland shines', *Economist*, 17 May 1997.
  - 7 M.Hederman, *The road to Europe: Irish attitudes, 1948-61* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1983), p. 74.
  - 8 Frank Aiken (foreign minister) speaking during a debate in Seanad Éireann (Irish upper parliamentary house), 14 July 1966, *Seanad Éireann parliamentary debates official report (Seanad debates)* vol. 61 col. 1916.
  - 9 A.Moravcsik, *The choice for Europe: social purpose and state power from Messina to Maastricht* (Ithaca: Cornell University Press, 1998), p. 3; J.M.Skelly, *Irish diplomacy at the United Nations, 1945-1965: national interests and the national order* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1997), p. 18. A review of the former appears in the Working Group on European Integration's *Newsletter*, no. 1 June 1999, produced in the Department of History & Civilisation at the European University Institute, Badia Fiesolana, Florence (IUE); it can also be found at <http://www.iue.it/HEC/wg-integ.html> (17 August 1999).
  - 10 The theoretical question is dealt with in detail in Chapter 1 under the heading *Ireland's world position*.
  - 11 P.Keatinge, *A singular stance: Irish neutrality in the 1980s* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1984), *passim*; L.Kennedy, *Colonialism, religion and nationalism in Ireland* (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1996), p. 217. This sub-heading comes from a term liberally employed by Patrick Keatinge to portray the country's approach to neutrality. However, its use in this context does not mean to suggest that Ireland's wider historical experience is necessarily any more unique than it is for any other nation, thus agreeing with Liam Kennedy's view that the Irish are not the 'most oppressed people ever'; his coinage of the acronym 'MOPE' is particularly apt when railing against any 'singular' sense of 'victimhood and exceptionalism'.
  - 12 Ranging from Southern Italy's Mezzogiorno to Puerto Rico, Canada to the Netherlands, Greece to Portugal, Norway to Spain, all of these propositions failed to meet the necessary criteria because of a range of reasons, including, for example, strict relevance to the subject at hand. There was much more to this decision than practical considerations. In the context of the Western world, the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development (OECD) – the successor to the Organisation for European Economic Cooperation (OEEC) – generally placed Ireland near the bottom of its economic league. Two countries still stood out as offering some respite, Denmark and New Zealand; thus, both states are used to contextualise Ireland, as the latter's integration experience may be better understood by placing it in a comparative perspective, most especially in European terms. Nonetheless, the facts of its own peculiar position must be heard in all of their insular and parochial glory. As Liam Kennedy argues, it is obvious that, within a Western comparative framework and despite lagging behind the world's major players at the start of the twentieth century, Ireland was relatively comfortably placed economically. As a neo/post-colonialist ever since the 1920s, it was certainly not comparable to either African or Asian countries at their relative points of decolonisation. Kennedy, *Colonialism, religion and nationalism*, pp. xv & 170-1.
  - 13 The comparative question is dealt with in even more detail under the heading *Ireland's world position* in Chapter 1. In Denmark's case, it was concluded that a

thorough inspection of primary material was neither necessarily pertinent nor practical. A detailed review of corresponding and related secondary material was obviously ascertained as essential and this is presented in the opening chapter; indeed, findings have been integrated throughout this research, but not in any conscious way as a comparative. At any rate, this study regarding Ireland's relationship with the EEC was carried out with Denmark in mind, but was ultimately dependent upon secondary sources only.

- 14 In New Zealand's case, simply because this 'singular' study centres on Ireland's relationship with the EEC, the issue of a 'shadow comparison' was once again concentrated on secondary sources and thus invoked the former's experiences only when it was deemed applicable in the light of the latter's EEC relations.
- 15 This issue is dealt with in some detail under the heading *Ireland's world position* in the next chapter.
- 16 P.Keatinge, *The formulation of Irish foreign policy* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1973), p. 307.
- 17 D.J.Maher, *The tortuous path: the course of Ireland's entry into the EEC, 1948-73* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1986).
- 18 Hederman, *The road to Europe*; D.Keogh, *Ireland and Europe, 1919-1989: a diplomatic history* (Cork: Hibernian Press, 1990). For an extensive assessment of related and relevant articles and texts, see the sections in the *Bibliography* headed *Literature survey* and *Secondary sources*.
- 19 P.Sharp, *Irish foreign policy and the European Community: a study of the impact of interdependence in the foreign policy of a small state* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1990), p. ix.
- 20 P.Gerbet, *La construction de l'Europe* (Paris: Imprimerie nationale, 1983), p. 294. In the original French, this quotation read: 'l'Irlande ... étant en union économique avec la Grande-Bretagne, elle ne pouvait s'en trouver séparée'.
- 21 Primary sources are examined in two sections – headed *Archival appraisal* and *Primary materials* – in the *Bibliography*; both precede secondary sources.
- 22 Éamon de Valera (parliamentary opposition leader) speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 12 July 1955, entitled 'International co-operation and Irish unity', pp. 572-6, in M.Moynihan (ed.), *Speeches and statements by Eamon de Valera, 1917-73* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1980), p. 573.
- 23 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 5 July 1961, *Dáil Éireann parliamentary debates official report (Dáil debates)* vol. 191 col. 266.
- 24 See the sections entitled *Archival appraisal* and *Literature survey* in the *Bibliography*. The main purpose of an extended analysis at the end of the text, however, is clearly to list the primary and secondary source materials employed in the course of this extensive evaluation.
- 25 As previously stated, some of the ground covered in this text was presented in a different context in an MPhil dissertation – *Irish-American diplomatic relations, 1948 to 1963* – and has now been retraced in the light of Ireland's dealings with the European integration concept, as seen through the eyes of successive US governments. Additionally, four other papers have also been completed in the course of this research. One article – 'Irish neutrality and European integration, 1960 to 1972' – records an excellent example of the change in emphasis in Ireland's foreign policy away from political considerations to economic prerogatives, a central theme in this research. Another paper conceived for publication – 'Gli archivi della Comunità europea' – although not directly of much relevance to the text itself, has

proven to be a useful way of trying to assess the value of the ACE, an archive which should have been a crucial resource, but was not. In turn, a third presentation – 'Ireland's experience of European integration: from the "political" to the "economic"' – forms part of both the introductory first chapter and the sixth chapter survey of this investigation, giving a context in which the central subject sits, as well as a comprehensive overview, while a fourth paper – 'Why did Ireland's application fail?' – has helped in drawing some meaningful conclusions. M.FitzGerald, 'Irish neutrality and European integration, 1960-1972', pp. 144-72, in M.Gehler & R.Steininger (eds), *Die Neutralen und die europäische Integration, 1945-1995* (Vienna: Böhlau Verlag, 2000); M.FitzGerald, 'Gli archivi della Comunità europea', pp. 1-9, in C.Pavone (ed.), *Storia d'Italia nel secolo ventesimo: strumenti e fonti* (forthcoming); M.FitzGerald, 'Ireland's experience of European integration: from the "political" to the "economic"', pp. 1-15, unpublished paper presented at a conference – held on 8 December 1995 at the IUE – entitled the *Europeanisation of domestic policy*; M.FitzGerald, 'Why did Ireland's application fail?', 1-8, unpublished paper presented at a workshop – held on 14 December 1998 at the IUE – entitled *Research workshop on the failure of Community expansion, 1961-63*.

- 26 H.Young, 'The man who took us into Europe', *Observer*, 25 October 1998. This quotation was clearly written with the UK in mind, but it equally applies to Ireland. Its author, Con O'Neill, wrote it in the early 1970s as part of an official UK Foreign Office (FO) history of the latter's negotiations to enter the European Communities (EC). H.Young, *The blessed plot* (London: Macmillan, 1998).

## Chapter 1

- 1 Ireland is a part of the geographical British Isles and on the Atlantic fringes of Western Europe. In the context of this text, Northern Ireland is regularly referred to as either a state or country, despite the shortcomings that such definitions present in this particular instance. Between 1922 and 1973, the Northern Irish government basically exercised 'Home Rule' in a kind of provincial self-rule. It controlled every aspect of governmental life that one would expect from an independent and sovereign state, except for jurisdiction over military and foreign affairs. Westminster did not directly control Northern Ireland, the administration at Stormont did. Nevertheless, if its position within the UK was constitutionally guaranteed from 1949, its actual status was different to that of Scotland, Wales or, for that matter, even England. This study regularly uses the terms 'north' or 'northern' in referring to Northern Ireland, much in the same way as it uses 'south' or 'southern' for Ireland. No significance should be attached to such titles and turns of phrase other than the linguistic variety that they offer the text.
- 2 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, pp. 11-4 & 16.
- 3 P.Ginsborg, *A history of contemporary Italy* (London: Penguin, 1990); P.Ginsborg, *L'Italia del tempo presente* (Turin: Einaudi, 1998); P.Ginsborg lecture (paper unavailable) entitled 'The complexities of the Italian Christian Democrats' delivered on 16 November 1998 at the IUE. Ireland's experiences in this period were by no means unique in European terms; indeed, comparisons can well be drawn with Italy.
- 4 Kennedy, *Colonialism, religion and nationalism*, pp. 177 & 179.

- 5 Moravcsik, *The choice for Europe*, p. 5. This question is answered in detail as the central chapters progress.
- 6 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, pp. 14-6. It is worth quoting some of Hederman's analysis at length, as she manages to portray Irish ignorance through typical self-effacing humour. She has written:  

The prevailing Irish attitude to Europe was nostalgic, warm and idealised. (Europe here must be understood to exclude Great Britain and the USSR; the former because the relationship had been so prolonged and emotional that it was on quite a different footing; the USSR because it was, for the great majority of the Irish people a world apart: communist, vast, terrible and largely unknown). As far as 'greater Europe' was concerned popular views might be summed up as follows: Italy was a friendly country, the Italians sympathetic (though politically misguided perhaps) and Rome, as the seat of the Vatican, assumed to be an ally; France was admired for her culture and flair and commemorated in song and poetry for acts of friendship throughout the centuries that had long since been forgotten by the French (and which were inspired more by the political quarrels of the time than any great love of the wild Irish); Denmark, Holland and Belgium were regarded with some envy as small countries which had made their mark on the world (their strong co-operative movements and flourishing agriculture were constantly used as examples in the Irish countryside); Germany provoked more fear than affection but Austria retained its aura of music and glory and romance, mainly perhaps because so few Irish had managed to travel there; the Spanish civil war had had repercussions in Irish political life so the picture was probably a little closer to the reality than that of Portugal, for example, which was associated with Our Lady of Fatima, a somewhat unworldly image; Poland was always regarded with great sympathy, the analogy of repression and invasion acting as a bond; Turkey was looked on more as part of Asia Minor than of Europe but Greece floated in the after-glow of a smattering of classical education administered to most boys and a few girls in Irish secondary schools; the countries of Central Europe caused some confusion because of their changing fates but, again, as with Poland, were regarded with sympathy; Switzerland was a land apart, well-ordered, secure, prosperous and aloof.
- 7 P.Schlesinger, 'On national identity: some conceptions and misconceptions criticized', pp. 219-64, in *Social science information sur les sciences sociales* vol. 26 no. 2 1987, p. 222. This quotation originally comes from E.Barker *et al* (eds), *The European inheritance*, vol. 3 (Oxford: Clarendon, 1954), p. 346.
- 8 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 16.
- 9 Irish government internet publication, 'Statistical tables – population', <http://www.irlgov.ie/iveagh/foreignaffairs/facts/fai/populat1.html> (19 June 1997).
- 10 G.FitzGerald, 'When Ireland became divided', *London Review of Books*, 21 January 1999. This former foreign minister and taoiseach was reviewing R.Fanning *et al* (eds), *Documents on Irish foreign policy, vol.1 1919-22* (Dublin: Royal Irish Academy & Department of Foreign Affairs, 1998).
- 11 Unattributed article, 'Green is good', *Economist*, 17 May 1997.
- 12 Kennedy, *Colonialism, religion and nationalism*, p. 202.

- 13 K.A.Kennedy, 'Irish economy transformed', pp. 33-42, in *Studies* vol. 87 no. 345 1988, p. 33.
- 14 T.Garvin, 'Wealth, poverty and development: reflections on current discontents', pp. 312-25, in *Studies* vol. 78 no. 311 1989, *passim*. The Gross National Product (GNP) figures per capita are given as US\$340, US\$293, US\$224 for Greece, Spain and Portugal respectively in 1957, while the figure for the whole of Italy was US\$516; in turn, Belgium, the Netherlands, France and West Germany (FRG) had totals of US\$1,196, US\$836, US\$943, and US\$927 respectively, while the figures US\$1,057 and US\$1,189 were given as the per capita totals for Denmark and the UK.
- 15 This section draws extensively from the views expressed in a couple of essays on core/periphery and dependency theories. I.Wallerstein, 'Dependence in an interdependent world: the limited possibilities of transformation within the capitalist world-economy', pp. 66-94, in I.Wallerstein, *The capitalist world-economy* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1979); Wallerstein, 'Semiperipheral countries and the contemporary world crisis', pp. 95-118, in Wallerstein, *The capitalist world-economy*.
- 16 Fianna Fáil internet publication, 'The history of Fianna Fáil by Dr.Martin Mansergh, Head of Research', <http://www.iol.ie/fiannafail/his.html> (8 July 1997). The texts that Martin Mansergh especially refers to are: R.Dunphy, *The making of Fianna Fáil power in Ireland, 1923-1946* (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1995); and P.Bew & H.Patterson, *Séán Lemass and the making of modern Ireland, 1945-1966* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1982).
- 17 D.E.Apter, *Rethinking development: modernization, dependency and postmodern politics* (Newbury Park: Sage, 1987), p. 25.
- 18 T.dos Santos, 'The structure of dependence', pp. 225-36, in K.T.Fann & D.C.Hodges (eds), *Readings in US imperialism* (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1971); B.Stallings, *Economic dependency in Africa and Latin America* (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1972), p. 6. Note that the use of export and import figures are used extensively throughout this text to make exactly this point; at the end of this chapter, in the section headed *Irish foreign policy: from the political to the economic*, they help to demonstrate the change in trade orientation away from the UK to European markets and sources during the Lemass years, a process which is analysed in depth in Chapter 6, in the section headed *Changes in orientation: the evidence of exports and imports*.
- 19 N.Collins & F.McCann, *Irish politics today* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989), pp. 6-7 (authors' italics); P.Dicken, *Global shift: the internationalization of economic activity* (London: Paul Chapman, 1992), pp. 4 & 11 (author's italics). This paragraph draws considerably from the latter's view of core/periphery theory; other authors might be chosen to enhance this opinion but, perhaps, it is best left to the former to expound upon Ireland's relative position in the world economy. They have written that:

The world economy can usefully be divided into three areas: the *core*, the *periphery* and *semi-periphery* ... The semi-periphery group are intermediate in status. These countries are not as dependent as the periphery group. They have a much more diversified economic structure and in them industrialisation is well advanced. To a significant extent industry is locally owned and financed. Wage rates and living standards are higher than in the periphery. Countries often move into the

intermediate group through strategies designed to increase their industrial sector substantially. But since these countries do not possess sufficient wealth for such development strategies, they obtain the finance from multinationals. These large international enterprises locate in the semi-periphery because of the relatively high levels of skill in the work-force, developed infrastructure, such as roads and communications, lower wage rates than in the core and financial inducements from government ... This threefold model of the world economy will help us to understand Ireland's current position as a small semi-peripheral capitalist state with a large agricultural sector. The aim of the capitalist state is to provide the conditions for the functioning of an economy which is largely owned by private (non-state) organisations and individuals. In doing this it is constrained by the conditions operating in the international market system.

- 20 R.Crotty, *Irish agricultural production: its volume and share* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1966), pp. 68-83 & 166; B.Laffan, 'Ireland and Denmark in the European Community: political and administrative aspects', pp. 43-62, in *Administration* vol. 29 no. 1 1981, pp. 43-6. In the economic sector in which they had most in common – agriculture – Raymond Crotty is able to point to fundamental differences in their climate, historical development, social structure, and even their topography. Contemporary differences have been noted as well, adding weight to the argument that they are much too dissimilar to be constructively compared in the context of a specific study on Ireland and the EEC. Indeed, as Brigid Laffan has stated:

Ireland and Denmark are 'small states' in terms of size, population and influence capability ... They have open economies, being heavily dependent on external trade and influenced by external economic forces. In 1961, both states applied for membership of the European Community and joined in 1973. This decision was without doubt one of the most important foreign policy decisions taken by either state in the post war period.

In many ways, it was here that the similarities ended because, apart from their relations with the UK, their experiences differed. In her brief comparison, Brigid Laffan has also recounted:

British membership of the Community was the impetus to and precondition of Irish and Danish membership. British attitudes towards European integration and membership of the EEC played an important role in shaping the position adopted by Ireland and Denmark since the 1950s. When in 1956 it became apparent that the six founder member states of the European coal and steel community were preparing to establish an economic community, Britain in an attempt to prevent this proposed instead a west European free trade area under the auspices of the OEEC. Talks on the proposal (Maudling Talks) were held in 1958 ... During these negotiations, the Danes followed the British rather than the continental line favouring a free trade area. Ireland attended these talks but was not at all enthusiastic about membership of any free trade area feeling that high levels of protectionism were still necessary for her nascent industries. Economic dependence on Britain forced her to attend the talks and consider membership. After the failure of the 'Maudling

Talks' the 'outer seven' of which Great Britain was the major state established ... EFTA ... Denmark joined EFTA with the other Scandinavian states. Ireland did not apply for membership. The British government informed the Irish ... that the Association would only include developed economies and that no transitional arrangements would be granted ... The fact that Portugal did join EFTA and was granted concessions did not go unnoticed in Dublin. As agriculture was not to be included in EFTA, this lessened its appeal to the Irish. When British policy towards the EEC altered and she applied for membership in 1961, Ireland and Denmark followed suit. Britain was Denmark's major trading partner in agricultural goods and Ireland's in both agricultural and industrial goods. In 1960, 74 per cent of Ireland's total exports went to the United Kingdom. In Denmark's case, 46 per cent of her agricultural exports went to the UK in that year ... De Gaulle's veto of British membership in 1963 and again in 1967 led to the suspension of the other two applications. The issue of British membership of the Community had to be solved before the other two states could hope to join.

However, the central goal of this text is to record the 'singular' Irish experience in the European context. As a prospective EEC member in the 1960s, Ireland would need special treatment in many areas, including its steel industry, state aid for foreign investment, and its economic development policies. Denmark had political reasons why it wanted and needed the European project to work which were allied to political fears of what integration might ultimately mean; of course, it also needed to join for economic reasons. In Ireland's case, economics were the important consideration; politics did not really enter into the equation and were certainly not a core determinant.

- 21 A.Milward, 'New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the EEC', p. 1 (draft article). This quotation was originally conceived in regard to New Zealand's relations with the UK; it read: 'It is scarcely possible on this globe to be further away from the influence of Britain or the pull of its open markets than New Zealand, but the pattern of production and trade in that distant country was shaped almost entirely by Britain's own history and development'.
- 22 P.Robertson & J.Singleton, 'Britain, the Dominions and the EEC, 1961-1963', p. 1 (draft article).
- 23 Milward, 'New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the EEC', *passim*; Robertson & Singleton, 'Britain, the Dominions and the EEC, 1961-1963', *passim*.
- 24 F.Yachir, 'The future of Southern Europe: Canada or Puerto Rico?', pp. 25-37, in F.Yachir, *The Mediterranean: between autonomy and dependency* (Tokyo: United Nations University, 1989), pp. 36-7.
- 25 L.Kennedy, *The modern industrialisation of Ireland, 1940-1988* (Dundalk: Dungalgan Press, 1989), pp. 3-5.
- 26 This section has made liberal use of a previous dissertation, though mostly for structural purposes, with all quotations specifically referenced; see FitzGerald, *Irish-American diplomatic relations*, *passim*.
- 27 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 16.
- 28 R.Vaughan, *Twentieth-century Europe: paths to unity* (London: Croom Helm, 1979), p. 62.
- 29 Irish government internet publication, 'Ireland in the world: the Irish abroad',



- <http://www.irlgov.ie/iveagh/foreignaffairs/facts/fai/chapter4/abroad/abroad.html> (19 June 1997).
- 30 J.A.Murphy, *Ireland in the twentieth century* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1989), p. 130.
- 31 An excellent example of how Dublin perceived this development in the postwar period is available in the Irish government publication, *European Economic Community* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1961), D/T-S16877L/61, NA. It is fully, and necessarily, assessed in Chapter 3 under the section headed *European Economic Community: the government White Paper*.
- 32 FitzGerald, *Irish-American diplomatic relations*, pp. 16-7. This view utilised Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 23-4. It is worth noting that by this stage Lemass also held the title *tánaiste* (deputy prime minister), which meant that he had emerged fully as de Valera's official heir apparent.
- 33 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 19.
- 34 F.S.L.Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine* (Glasgow: Fontana, 1976), p. 589.
- 35 Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 13.
- 36 T.D.Williams quoted in D.Keogh, 'The Department of Foreign Affairs', p. 290, in Z.Steiner (ed.), *The Times survey of foreign ministries of the world* (London: Times Books, 1982, pp. 275-96.
- 37 FitzGerald, *Irish-American diplomatic relations*, p. 19. This view utilised Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 19.
- 38 Irish government internet publication, 'Ireland in the world – international relations', <http://www.irlgov.ie/iveagh/foreignaffairs/facts/fai/chapter4/internat/internat.html> (19 June 1997).
- 39 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, pp. 19 & 24-5.
- 40 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 25; Seán MacBride (foreign minister) speech delivered to Dáil Éireann, 21 July 1948, *Dáil debates* vol. 112 cols. 1022-3 (original in italics).
- 41 MacBride speaking in Dáil Éireann, 21 July 1948, *Dáil debates* vol. 112 col. 1023.
- 42 MacBride speaking in Dáil Éireann, 13 July 1949, *Dáil debates* vol. 117, cols. 742 & 744-6.
- 43 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, 28; MacBride speech delivered to Dáil Éireann, 13 July 1949, *Dáil debates* vol. 117 col. 748.
- 44 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 37.
- 45 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, pp. 30-1 & 33.
- 46 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 32; C.C.O'Brien, *To Katanga and back* (London: Hutchinson, 1962), p. 14.
- 47 FitzGerald, *Irish-American diplomatic relations*, p. 41. This view was based upon a Dean Acheson (US secretary of state) memorandum, 11 April 1949, 'Memoranda of Conversation', Box #64, Acheson Papers, Harry S.Truman Library, Independence, Missouri (HST).
- 48 FitzGerald, *Irish-American diplomatic relations*, p. 49. This view was based on a MacBride speech delivered to the National Press Club in Washington, 14 March 1951, Irish Information Bulletin #43, 'Foreign Affairs File', Box #151, Democratic National Committee, HST.
- 49 FitzGerald, *Irish-American diplomatic relations*, p. 99. This view was based on a Lemass speech given to the National Press Club in Washington, 1 October 1953, 'Foreign Affairs File', Box #151, Democratic National Committee, HST.

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- 50 *Bunreacht na hÉireann* (1937 constitution) (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1937).
- 51 US government internet publication, 'US Department of State – background notes: European Community, January 1993', [http://www.state.gov/www/background\\_notes/index.html](http://www.state.gov/www/background_notes/index.html) *European Community* (1/93) (31 March 1998).
- 52 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, pp. 37-8.
- 53 Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*, p. 591.
- 54 FitzGerald, *Irish-American diplomatic relations*, p. 77.
- 55 Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*, p. 591; Hederman, *The road to Europe*, pp. 38-9.
- 56 P.D.Sutherland, 'Ireland: where do we really stand on European integration?', pp. 243-54, in *Studies* vol. 78 no. 311, pp. 243-4. This question is dealt with in detail in Chapter 4 under the heading *Ireland and the other two European Communities*.
- 57 S.Greenwood (ed.), *Britain and European cooperation since 1945* (Oxford: Blackwell, 1992), p. 75.
- 58 FitzGerald, 'When Ireland became divided', *London Review of Books*, 21 January 1999.
- 59 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, pp. 35 & 38; de Valera speech delivered to Dáil Éireann, 12 July 1950, *Dáil debates* vol. 122 col. 1608; de Valera's views reported in *Éire/Ireland* (Department of External Affairs bulletin) #136, 19 May 1952.
- 60 Sutherland, 'Ireland', p. 244.
- 61 De Valera speaking in Dáil Éireann, 21 July 1950, *Dáil debates* vol. 122 col. 1608.
- 62 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 35; de Valera's views reported in *Éire/Ireland* #229, 12 April 1954. In the latter interview, it was reported that he preceded this by saying that:
- ... in his younger days, over thirty years ago, he had been an ardent supporter of the idea of a United States of Europe, but that, in recent years, he had become more aware of the magnitude of the difficulties involved. If, for example, Ireland entered into such a Federation her representation in the proposed legislature would probably be so small as to be ineffective, and matters vital to the Irish people could be easily ignored. Ireland's representation in the Council of Europe was now only 4 out of a total of 132 ... The idea of a complete political Federation of Europe was most attractive, but when one got down to the details it was not easy to find a workable scheme ... The larger states, such as France, Germany, Italy, might in the existing circumstances be willing to join such a Federation, each being confident that they were sufficiently powerful to ensure that matters vital to them would not be overlooked. But it was not so with the smaller States. They would of course have gained the security of the collective strength, but they would have lost the power to choose at will policies required to meet their individual political and economic exigencies. To this extent they would have lost their independence. Was the price too high? That was the critical question in regard to a close federal political union for Europe, such as that of the existing United States of America.
- 63 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 36.
- 64 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 36.
- 65 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, pp. 40-2. The government official in question was Gerald Boland making his maiden speech to the Council of Europe Assembly at

- its Third Ordinary Session in 1951.
- 66 Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*, p. 590.
- 67 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 38.
- 68 Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*, p. 625.
- 69 Irish government internet publication, 'Facts about Ireland – the economy', <http://www.irlgov.ie/iveagh/foreignaffairs/facts/fai/chapter5/home5.html> (19 June 1997).
- 70 *Economist*, 21 September 1996. It is interesting to note – especially in the context of the main players who would affect Ireland's membership prospects – that Ludwig Erhard, the German economics minister, only advocated a wider customs and trading union in the form of a 'Europe of the Sixteen'. The German chancellor, Konrad Adenauer, was interested in something more substantial for the Six initially but, at the same time, wanted a mechanism which would allow for an expansion in membership when the time was right.
- 71 *Economist*, 29 March 1997.
- 72 *Economist*, 17 May 1997.
- 73 Much of the basic information in this section has been drawn from M.Gallagher, *Electoral support for Irish political parties, 1927-1973* (London: Sage, 1976), *passim*. This brief review of the domestic positions of political parties and how that pertained to Europe concentrates on Fianna Fáil and acts as an introduction to the political scene; a review section on how this make-up evolved in subsequent years is presented in Chapter 6; it is headed *The political landscape and how it pertained to Europe: Part II*.
- 74 US government internet publication, 'US Department of State – 1996 human rights report: Ireland, January 1997', [http://www.state.gov/www/global/human\\_rights/1996\\_hrp\\_report/ireland.html](http://www.state.gov/www/global/human_rights/1996_hrp_report/ireland.html) (31 March 1998).
- 75 US government internet publication, 'US Department of State – background notes: Ireland, November 1995', [http://www.state.gov/www/background\\_notes/eur\\_bgnhb.html](http://www.state.gov/www/background_notes/eur_bgnhb.html) Ireland (11/95) (31 March 1998).
- 76 Fianna Fáil internet publication, 'Fianna Fáil: the key dates', <http://www.iol.ie/fiannafail/history.htm> (8 July 1997).
- 77 Sutherland, 'Ireland', p. 244.
- 78 Dunphy, *Class, power and the Fianna Fáil party*, pp. 406-7.
- 79 O'Leary, *Irish elections, 1918-1977*, pp. 103-4.
- 80 This assertion is based on a table that appears in FitzGerald, *Irish-American diplomatic relations*, p. 26. It was originally taken from M.Manning, *Irish political parties* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1972), *passim*; C.O'Leary, *Irish elections, 1918-77: parties, voters and proportional representation* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1979), pp. 103-4.
- 81 *Economist*, 17 May 1997; Kennedy, *Colonialism, religion and nationalism*, p. 174.
- 82 This quotation comes from a speech delivered by Mary McAleese, the Irish president, on the occasion of the 21st Jean Monnet Lecture, entitled 'Europe – the challenges of the new millennium', delivered at the IUE on 9 February 1999, <http://www.iue.it/general/jms.htm> (10 February 1999).
- 83 D.Arter, *The politics of European integration in the twentieth century* (Aldershot: Dartmouth, 1993), p. 265. This view utilised E.Anderson, 'Towards a Baltic union, 1920-27', pp. 30-56, in *Lituanus* vol. 12 no. 2 1966, pp. 31-2.
- 84 Arter, *The politics of European integration in the twentieth century*, p. 265. This

- view utilised B.Chubb, *The government and politics of Ireland* (London: Longman, 1971), p. 77 (author's italics).
- 85 Arter, *The politics of European integration in the twentieth century*, p. 265; de Valera radio broadcast delivered to the Irish nation, 17 March 1943, entitled 'The Ireland that we dreamed of', pp. 466-9, in Moynihan (ed.), *Speeches and statements*, p. 466.
- 86 Arter, *The politics of European integration in the twentieth century*, p. 265. This view utilised T.Gallagher, 'The dimensions of Fianna Fail rule in Ireland', pp. 54-68, in *Western European politics* vol. 4 no. 1.
- 87 N.Witoszek, 'Nationalism, postmodernity and Ireland', pp. 101-21, in Ø.Sørensen (ed.), *Nationalism in small European nations* (Oslo: Research Council of Norway, 1996), p. 102. This view utilised C.C.O'Brien, 'The embers of Easter, 1916-1966', pp. 225-40, in O.D.Edwards and F.Pyle (eds), *1916: the Easter rising* (London: MacGibbon and Kee, 1968), p. 237.
- 88 Witoszek, 'Nationalism, postmodernity and Ireland', pp. 102 & 105. This view utilised Schlesinger, 'On national identity', p. 253.
- 89 V.I.Lenin, 'The Irish rebellion of 1916', pp. 353-8, in *V.I.Lenin: collected works vol. 22 December 1915-July 1916* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1974), p. 357.
- 90 Witoszek, 'Nationalism, postmodernity and Ireland', p. 119. This view used J.Lee, *Ireland, 1912-1985* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1990); L.Mjøset, *The Irish economy in a comparative, institutional perspective: report* (Dublin: National Economic and Social Council, 1993).
- 91 J. Bradley, *et al*, *Stabilization and growth in the EC periphery: a study of the Irish economy* (Aldershot: Avebury, 1993), p. 10.
- 92 J.Swift, 'The changing role of ambassadors and embassies', pp. 3-13, in *Administration* vol. 46 no. 1 1998, p. 9.
- 93 S.Hoffmann, *Contemporary theory in international relations* (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1960); A.Milward, *The European rescue of the nation-state* (London: Routledge, 1992), pp. 2-3.
- 94 S.Baker, *Dependency, ideology and the industrial policy of Fianna Fáil in Ireland, 1958-1972* (Florence: IUE PhD thesis, 1987), p. 25.
- 95 R.O.Keohane & S.Hoffmann, 'Institutional change in the 1980s', pp. 1-39, in R.O.Keohane & S.Hoffmann (eds), *The new European Community: decision-making and institutional change* (Boulder: Westview, 1991), p. 6.
- 96 Milward, *The European rescue of the nation-state*, p. 279. A useful set of documents is also available in the European Community Archives, Villa Il Poggiolo, Florence (ACE), that detail trade accords between Ireland and West Germany (FRG) in the early 1950s, specifically tracing the years leading up to the important trade agreement of 1955. 'Irlande/Accord/Commerce/République fédérale d'Allemagne' CEAB 3/193 0-56, *Commission des Communautés Européennes Dossiers de la Haute Autorité de la Communauté Européenne du Charbon et de l'Acier* vol. 1: 1952-1956, ACE. A more detailed analysis of trade relations between Ireland and the FRG in the years specifically under review is presented in Chapter 4 under the heading *Lemass prepares for EEC entry negotiations to begin*.
- 97 Baker, *Dependency, ideology and the industrial policy of Fianna Fáil in Ireland*, p. 9. The two texts that she refers to were T.K.Whitaker, *Economic development* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1958), Department of the Taoiseach (D/T) file S16066B, National Archives, Dublin (NA); Irish government publication,

- Programme for economic expansion* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1958), D/T-S16066B, NA.
- 98 Greenwood (ed.), *Britain and European integration since the Second World War*, pp. 84-7; M.Schaad, 'Plan G – a "counterblast"? British policy towards the Messina countries, 1956', pp. 39-60, in *Contemporary European History* vol. 7 no. 1 1998.
- 99 N.J.Baxter-Moore, 'The impact of European Community membership on the Republic of Ireland', pp. 41-84, in N.Ørvik and C.Pentland (eds), *The European Community at the crossroads: the first twenty-five years* (Kingston: Queen's University Kingston, 1983), p. 44; Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 5 July 1961, *Dáil debates* vol. 191 col. 266.

## Chapter 2

- 1 The Six – also known as the 'Inner Six' – refers to the EEC, the original members of which were Belgium, France, the FRG, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands, while the Seven – the 'Outer Seven' – refers to EFTA, the original members of which were Austria, Denmark, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, Switzerland and the UK; the peripherals – the 'Forgotten Five' – refers to Greece, Iceland, Ireland, Turkey (all members of the OEEC in May 1959) and Spain. The latter is included as a peripheral despite the fact that it was outside the OEEC at that time, while Finland and Liechtenstein are usually incorporated with the Seven because of prompt developments in that direction. C.Archer, *Organizing Europe: the institutions of integration* (London: Edward Arnold, 1994), p. 177; M.Camps, *Britain and the European Community, 1955-1963* (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 1964), p. 211.
- 2 Hubert de Besche (Swedish foreign affairs deputy secretary) quoted in J.D.Brennan (Irish minister, Stockholm) to Con Cremin (Department of External Affairs (D/EA) secretary), 29 May 1959, Department of Foreign Affairs (D/FA) file D/2/3PtI, NA.
- 3 Greenwood (ed.), *Britain and European integration since the Second World War*, pp. 84-5.
- 4 The French government's view – as stated in OEEC Working Party no. 21 (WP#21) documentation – of Ireland, 15 October 1957, D/T-S16160E, NA. The original French refers to Ireland as being amongst '[les] autres pays moins développés'. R.T.Griffiths speaking at a conference entitled *The creation of EFTA* held at the University of Oslo in Norway from 14-17 May 1992 (transcript available from the IUE).
- 5 Whitaker, *Economic development*; Irish government publication, *Programme for economic expansion*; T.W.Moody & F.X.Martin (eds.), *The course of Irish history* (Cork: Mercier, 1967), p. 337.
- 6 Note that relevant events are detailed in T.W.Moody *et al* (eds), 'A chronology of Irish history to 1976', in *A new history of Ireland*, vol. 8 (Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1982), pp. 436-47.
- 7 OEEC WP#13 report entitled 'Rapport Annuel 1956: Irlande – Deuxième Projet de Chapitre', 31 October 1956, CEAB 5/243/1, ACE; OEEC report, 'Irlande 1961' (Paris: OEEC, 1962), p. 2. It should be noted that the main aims of the OEEC and

its participants, as outlined in French, were:

... à conjuguer leurs forces économiques, à s'entendre sur l'utilisation la plus complète de leurs capacités et de leurs possibilités particulières, à augmenter leur production, développer et moderniser leur équipement industriel et agricole, accroître leurs échanges, réduire progressivement les entraves à leur commerce mutuel, favoriser le plein emploi de la main-d'oeuvre, restaurer ou maintenir la stabilité de leurs économies, ainsi que la confiance dans leurs devises nationales.

8 J.H.Whyte, *Church and state in modern Ireland, 1923-1979* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1980), p. 359.

9 T.P.Coogan, *Ireland since the rising* (Westport: Greenwood, 1976), p. 104.

10 Whyte, *Church and state*, pp. 356-8; Coogan, *Ireland since the rising*, pp. 104-5; G.FitzGerald, *Planning in Ireland: a PEP study* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1968), p. 41; O.MacDonagh, *Ireland: the Union and its aftermath* (London: George Allen, 1977), pp. 137 & 141. J.H.Whyte has demonstrated that Tim Pat Coogan takes 1957 as the watershed year, Garret FitzGerald prefers 1958, while Oliver MacDonagh chooses 1959. All three authors, however, agree on the nature of the change. Tim Pat Coogan says: 'In the last few years an enormous psychological change has occurred in Ireland. The conviction that things could be improved has dawned on a people conditioned to believe that they could only get worse'. In turn, Garret FitzGerald talks of the *Programme for economic development* being an 'undoubtedly ... impressive economic achievement ... a transformation of the economy of the Republic and, most important of all perhaps, a transformation of the outlook of the Irish people'. Meanwhile, Oliver MacDonagh romantically feels that 1959 signalled the end of at least one Great Famine legacy, as it 'marked a decisive change in national power and attitude ... economically it stood for a change of heart and will ... To have maintained the courses set since 1945 would have been ... ruinous ... what was achieved in 1959-72 was not merely the attainment of the first goal in a long economic race. It was also, in itself, a completed feat. For the first time in more than a century, the most powerful, that is, the retrogressive, trends in Irish social and economic life had been reversed'.

11 Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 54.

12 OEEC WP#13, 'Rapport Annuel 1956'; *Irish Independent*, 25 January 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA. The OEEC, in its annual report from 1956, saw the UK market as the 'débouché essentiel de la production irlandaise'. Indeed, the UK was the essential outlet for Irish products. Thus, for example, whilst prices for cattle on the hoof exported to the UK were exceptionally favourable at the start of 1955, they were noted as sagging considerably in the second half of the year, primarily because of the effects of larger purchases of Argentine meat; this was noted as continuing into the first three quarters of 1956. Nevertheless, Ireland had, in many ways, maintained its own position by finding other markets. Under the provisions of certain trade arrangements dating from the 1920s, Irish cattle and sheep fattened during a minimal period in the UK benefitted from a system of price guarantees; these arrangements were extended, for a period of at least three years, in March 1956. However, the 'Pigs and Bacon Agreement', a long-term commitment by the UK to purchase all Irish pork exports, expired at the end of April 1956, leaving Irish exports to suffer the vagaries of world market prices, losing the protection offered by the guaranteed UK markets. Nonetheless, in the

- face of this new competition, the Irish government took positive action by instituting a price guarantee system for high quality pork products, which essentially meant bacon, to combat this economic development.
- 13 R.F.Foster, *Paddy and Mr Punch: connections in Irish and English history* (London: Allen Lane, 1993), pp. 31-2.
  - 14 D/EA note included with Irish cabinet minute, 9 October 1956, D/T-S15281A, NA.
  - 15 D/EA note included with Irish cabinet minute, 9 October 1956, D/T-S15281A, NA.
  - 16 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 55-6.
  - 17 Irish delegation's report on a meeting of OEEC WP#22 held between 18-20 March 1957, *circa* late March 1957, D/T-S15281F, NA.
  - 18 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 55-6.
  - 19 Irish commercial counsellor (embassy, London) memorandum on the UK government's attitude to the proposed European common market, 9 October 1956, D/T-S15281A, NA.
  - 20 Irish commercial counsellor (embassy, London) memorandum on the UK government's attitude to the proposed European common market, 9 October 1956, D/T-S15281A, NA; *Irish Independent*, 20 February 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA; *Irish Independent*, 21 February 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA.
  - 21 Department of Industry & Commerce (D/I&C) note on the proposal for a Free Trade Area (FTA) embracing the OEEC countries wishing to join, October 1956, D/T-S15281A, NA.
  - 22 D/I&C note on the proposal for an FTA embracing the OEEC countries wishing to join, October 1956, D/T-S15281A, NA.
  - 23 The departmental secretaries present at this meeting held on 11 October 1956 included Maurice Moynihan (D/T secretary), T.K.Whitaker (Department of Finance (D/F) secretary), Seán Murphy (D/EA secretary), J.C.B.MacCarthy (D/I&C secretary), and J.Dempsey (Department of Agriculture (D/A) secretary).
  - 24 Report of departmental secretaries meeting, 11 October 1956, D/T-S15281A, NA.
  - 25 Report of departmental secretaries meeting, 11 October 1956, D/T-S15281A, NA.
  - 26 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 57-8.
  - 27 Report of departmental secretaries meeting, 11 October 1956, D/T-S15281A, NA.
  - 28 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 57-8.
  - 29 Report of departmental secretaries meeting, 11 October 1956, D/T-S15281A, NA.
  - 30 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 57-8.
  - 31 William P.Fay (Irish embassy official, Paris) to J.J.Molloy (D/EA official), 25 September 1956, D/T-S15281A, NA; report of departmental secretaries meeting, 11 October 1956, D/T-S15281A, NA.
  - 32 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 57-8.
  - 33 Irish government note on proposal for an FTA, *circa* mid-October 1956, D/T-S15281A, NA.
  - 34 Draft report of departmental secretaries meeting, 8 November 1956, D/T-S15281B, NA (author's emphasis).
  - 35 S.Lee, 'Staying in the game? Coming into the game? Macmillan and European integration', 123-147, in R.Aldous & S.Lee (eds), *Harold Macmillan and Britain's world role* (London: Macmillan, 1996), p. 124.
  - 36 *Tipperary Star*, 26 January 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA; *Sunday Press*, 27 January 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA.

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- 37 *Irish Press*, 9 January 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA; *Irish Press*, 10 January 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA.
- 38 *Irish Independent*, 14 January 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA; *Evening Mail*, 14 January 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA; *Irish Independent*, 17 January 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA.
- 39 Costello speech delivered at the Insurance Institute of Cork annual dinner, 12 January 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA.
- 40 Irish cabinet minute, 18 January 1957, CAB 2/17, NA.
- 41 *Irish Independent*, 21 January 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA; *Irish Independent*, 24 January 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA.
- 42 *Irish Times*, 23 January 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA.
- 43 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, backpage cover.
- 44 D/A progress report for January to March 1957, D/T-S15062C, NA.
- 45 This data comes from the following: Central Statistics Office, *Ireland: trade and shipping statistics, passim*. Please note that, due to unavailability, the category 'UK' does not include the relatively insignificant figures for the Channel Islands in 1963 and 1964. Indeed, due to a dearth in data for Norway in 1960 and 1961, the 'rest of EFTA' figures for these years only comprise of the other six EFTA countries; thus, these Norwegian figures have had to be included in the category 'others'. The figures for the latter category have been rounded off so that the total comes to 100% and includes, as the case may be, any remaining countries or products. The categories are broken down as follows:

- 'UK' encompasses Great Britain, Northern Ireland and the Channel Islands;
- 'EEC' obviously comprises Belgium, France, the FRG, Italy, Luxembourg, and the Netherlands;
- 'rest of EFTA' incorporates Austria, Denmark, Finland, Norway, Portugal, Sweden, and Switzerland (note that the UK is specifically not included);
- 'rest of OEEC' only includes those OEEC countries excluded by the EEC and EFTA, thus leaving Greece, Iceland and Turkey, as well as the addition of Spain (this category becomes 'rest of OECD' later);
- 'US' is fairly self-explanatory, comprising the United States;
- 'others' is composed of figures from those remaining countries.

In addition, note the following regarding the various categories that are utilised:

- 'live animals' is, as the title suggests, only made up of live animals;
- 'food, drink & tobacco' comprises foodstuffs of animal origin, fruit, nuts and vegetables, cereals and feeding stuffs, drink and tobacco, plus miscellaneous articles of food;
- 'manufactured goods' encompasses iron and steel, textiles, paper and cardboard, vehicles, chemicals, perfumery, dyes and colours;
- 'others' includes raw materials such as wood, timber and cork, hides, skins and leather, rubber, oils, fats, resins and gum, in addition to parcel post and some temporary transactions.

In Chapter 6, in the section headed *Changes in orientation: the evidence of exports and imports*, these sets of figures from 1957 are contrasted with the subsequent figures for 1966. Also note that these definitions are used throughout the text and the appendices unless specified otherwise.



Please note that the difference in percentages for Irish exports to the UK between 1955 and 1956, when this figure fell from 89.20% to 77.95%, is an interesting point in time to explain why the taking of figures from 1957 to 1966 is as arbitrary as any other set of figures. At a glance, this decrease of over 11% could be thought to be overly-significant. However, there are many instances in any such table of figures appearing as some sort of inexplicable phenomena. When, in this case, the size of Irish exports in that period is considered – just over IR£100 million – a fall of IR£13.75 million worth of exports to the vital UK market remains no 'mere bagatelle', especially in a year when exports themselves fell by nearly 2½%; nevertheless, the fact that Belgian figures rose by 17%, the French by 340%, the German by 60%, the Italian by 80%, and the Dutch by 195%, it can be appreciated that all such jumps have explanations, the general one being that Ireland was looking for new markets wherever it could find them, with the Irish government gradually seeing the benefits and necessity of accessing all European markets.

- 46 Costello speech delivered at the Irish Motor Trader's Association annual dinner, *Irish Independent*, 1 February 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA.
- 47 *Irish Times*, 1 February 1957, D/T-S16159A, NA.
- 48 Irish cabinet minute, 8 February 1957, CAB 2/17, NA.
- 49 Donnchadh Ó Briain (taoiseach's parliamentary secretary) reply in Dáil Éireann to a question tabled by Gerald Sweetman, 25 April 1957, *Dáil debates* Volume 161 Columns 279-280, D/T-S15281G, NA.
- 50 G.Mally, *Britain and European unity* (London: Hansard Society, 1966), p. 31.
- 51 Report of departmental secretaries meeting, 21 February 1957, D/T-S15281E, NA.
- 52 Farrell, *Seán Lemass*, pp. 117-8.
- 53 Lemass response to inquiries in Seanad Éireann, 28 March 1957, *Seanad debates* vol. 47 col. 332. Two senators had related the issue of the government imposing duties on certain imports with developments in Europe. John Douglas, a senator nominated by the previous government, had said:

In a small market such as ours, it is necessary to have a certain amount of protection, but I believe Irish labour is just as competent as that in any other country to produce goods of first class quality at a price which should be able to compete with the markets of Europe. I hope the present Minister will give serious consideration to the protective tariffs which are at present enjoyed by many of our industries, to see whether it could not be possible to reduce that protection and still ensure that we can produce here goods for export which are up to the quality and the standard of similar goods produced in other parts of Europe ... This question must be considered in conjunction within that of a free trade area in Europe. If we in this country are to survive with that free trade area, it is essential we should produce goods which will compete with those produced by other countries within that area. I am convinced we can do it, but it is well that the situation would be reviewed if we are to join with those countries in free trade conditions and if we are to continue to be a prosperous nation.

Owen Sheehy Skeffington, a senator elected by the university electorate, in turn added his view that:

If the cold wind of competition is kept entirely off our countries, they

may wax fat, but they become unhealthy, and perhaps be quite unprepared to enter such an adventure as the European Common Market would provide ... [Thus] with the possibility at some future date – perhaps a not so very far distant one – of participating in the European Common Market, in order to do so, we shall have to have efficient industry. Some of our industries are extremely efficient, both the old and the new, but others are, shall we say, not so efficient. I attribute at least a measure of their failure to reach high efficiency, to the fact that we have been too prone to give them over-protection and not to examine afresh after a period of years whether an industry, which at the start required a protective tariff of 50 per cent., could not after five years do with a protective tariff of 30 per cent or 20 per cent.

- John Douglas speaking in Seanad Éireann, 28 March 1957, *Seanad debates* vol. 47 cols. 325-6; Owen Sheehy Skeffington speaking in Seanad Éireann, 28 March 1957, *Seanad debates* vol. 47 cols. 328-9.
- 54 Lemass speaking in Seanad Éireann, 22 May 1957, *Seanad debates* vol. 48 col. 27.
- 55 Irish cabinet minute, 9 April 1957, Cabinet Minutes (CAB) 2/18, NA.
- 56 Irish government directive to the Irish delegation attending OEEC WP#23, *circa* early March 1957, D/T-S15281F, NA.
- 57 Report on Ireland's submission to OEEC WP#23, *circa* mid-May 1957, D/T-S15281H, NA; Fay to Murphy, *circa* mid-May 1957, D/T-S15281I, NA; MacCarthy report on the 'Consideration of Irish case' by OEEC WP#23, *circa* mid-May 1957, D/T-S15281J, NA; Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 76-8.
- 58 D/A memorandum for the government, 4 April 1957, D/T-S15281F, NA; Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 78-80.
- 59 Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 80.
- 60 Report of departmental secretaries meeting, 12 June 1957, D/T-S15281I, NA.
- 61 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 81-2.
- 62 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 82-3. It should be pointed out that Iceland soon went its own way within this scenario, but the point is that these nations had partially peripheralised themselves and, therefore, contributed to their own later treatment as such.
- 63 Irish cabinet minute, 19 July 1957, CAB 2/18, NA.
- 64 Report of meeting discussing Anglo-Irish trade talks, 12 June 1957, D/T-S15281I, NA.
- 65 Irish cabinet minute, 1 November 1957, CAB 2/18, NA.
- 66 T.O'Carroll (D/I&C official) report of Irish government meeting on EFTA, 7 November 1957, D/FA-348/14/422PtI, NA.
- 67 O'Carroll report of Irish government meeting on EFTA, 7 November 1957, D/FA-348/14/422PtI, NA.
- 68 Whitaker, *Economic development*, *passim*.
- 69 Notes from three meetings between the Irish and UK governments on the implications of an FTA for Anglo-Irish trading arrangements, 12-13 November 1957, D/T-S15281L, NA.
- 70 Notes from three meetings between the Irish and UK governments on the implications of an FTA for Anglo-Irish trading arrangements, 12-13 November 1957, D/T-S15281L, NA.
- 71 Notes from three meetings between the Irish and UK governments on the

- implications of an FTA for Anglo-Irish trading arrangements, 12-13 November 1957, D/T-S15281L, NA.
- 72 D/I&C memorandum for the government on the visit of the UK Paymaster General, 28 December 1957, D/T-S15281N, NA.
- 73 Irish memorandum to OEEC WP#23 on special financial arrangements for countries in the process of economic development, 19 December 1957, D/T-S15281N, NA.
- 74 J.C.Nagle (D/A secretary) to Lewis Croome (UK agriculture official), 21 December 1957, D/T-S15281N, NA.
- 75 D/A memorandum on discussions with the UK government, 2 December 1957, D/T-S15281N, NA.
- 76 Lemass speech delivered to the National Agricultural and Industrial Development Association, 5 March 1958, quoted by Skeffington in Seanad Éireann, 27 March 1958, *Seanad debates* vol. 49 cols. 330-1; *Irish Times*, 6 March 1958. The *Irish Times* had prefaced this Lemass quote with the latter's view that 'if the other countries of Western Europe come together in a freer trade arrangement the implications of an Irish decision to maintain a position of isolation were not attractive to contemplate'.
- 77 Greek, Irish and Turkish submission to OEEC WP#23, 9 January 1958, D/T-S15281G, NA.
- 78 The government's practices were not universally acclaimed; one senator famously said of increases in duties in 1958 that:  
 We are like people who are about to have a 'colossal sale' and who, in order to slash prices later, put them up well in advance. I wonder whether we are not putting on duties now simply for the purpose of cutting them in relation to the Free Trade Area, with a great flourish on the 1st January, 1959. Are we putting on new duties now for the cutting of which we will make an ostensible sacrifice if this Free Trade Area comes about?  
 It is clear that Ireland had made a very conscious decision because Lemass replied in some detail, essentially holding that:  
 I do not think I ever, in any statement, even by implication suggested that no new tariffs were going to be imposed no matter what the circumstances.  
 Skeffington speaking in Seanad Éireann, 27 March 1958, *Seanad debates*, vol. 49 col. 333; Lemass speaking in Seanad Éireann, 27 March 1958, *Seanad debates* vol. 49 col. 337.
- 79 Lemass speaking in Seanad Éireann, 27 March 1958, *Seanad debates* vol. 49 col. 336. He added:  
 Until these conditions exist, until Irish industry is given the opportunity of competing up on equal terms with the industries of other countries, then clearly we will have need to protect them, and the right to protect them, in circumstances where these conditions are not fulfilled, perhaps even under a free trade arrangement.
- 80 Aiken reply in Dáil Éireann to a question tabled by Noël Browne, 12 November 1958, D/T-S16159B, NA.
- 81 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 84-5; John Turner, *Macmillan* (London: Longman, 1994), p. 216.
- 82 *Irish Press*, 15 November 1958, D/T-S16159B, NA.

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- 83 'Irlande/Relation/Pays tiers/CECA', 1961 CEAB 5/953 1-3, ACE; 'Irlande/Relation/Pays tiers/CECA', 1961 CEAB 5/954 1-35, ACE. A particularly good example of this reticence is thoroughly dealt with in Chapter 6 in the section headed *Ireland and the other two European Communities*.
- 84 Draft letter from Lemass to David Eccles (UK Board of Trade (B/T) president), January 1958, D/T-S15281R, NA.
- 85 Lemass speech given to the Dublin Society of Chartered Accountants, 2 February 1959, D/T-S15281R, NA.
- 86 Lemass replies in Dáil Éireann to various questions, 20 May 1959, *Dáil debates* vol. 172 cols. 123-6, D/T-S16159B, NA.
- 87 Lemass replies in Dáil Éireann to various questions, 20 May 1959, *Dáil debates* vol. 172 cols. 123-6, D/T-S16159B, NA.
- 88 Lemass replies in Dáil Éireann to various questions, 20 May 1959, *Dáil debates* vol. 172 cols. 123-6, D/T-S16159B, NA.
- 89 Lemass replies in Dáil Éireann to various questions, 20 May 1959, *Dáil debates* vol. 172 cols. 123-6, D/T-S16159B, NA.
- 90 D/I&C memorandum, 26 May 1959, D/T-S15281R, NA.
- 91 Brennan to Cremin, 29 May 1959, D/FA-D/2/3PtI, NA.
- 92 R.T.Griffiths speaking at the conference entitled *EFTA at the creation* held at the University of Oslo from 14-15 May 1992 (transcript available from the IUE).
- 93 Brennan to Cremin, 29 May 1959, D/FA-D/2/3PtI, NA. Interestingly, Brennan quoted the *New York Herald Tribune* of 27 May 1959 as having said that Switzerland was one of the prime movers in the revival of the FTA negotiations and that 'the Swiss see the new scheme not as a rival to the EEC but as a means of getting negotiations going again for a multilateral association of all Europe'. Thus, Sweden and the UK were not necessarily alone in wanting the peripherals to be excluded.
- 94 Brennan to Cremin, 29 May 1959, D/FA-D/2/3PtI, NA.
- 95 Irish foreign trade committee minutes, 6 September 1957, D/FA-348/14/422PtI, NA; Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 91-3.
- 96 Draft D/F memorandum on 'Economic Relations with Britain', 8 July 1959, D/T-S16674A/61, NA.
- 97 Draft D/F memorandum on 'Economic Relations with Britain', 8 July 1959, D/T-S16674A/61, NA.
- 98 A proposed memorandum on the implications of an EFTA on Anglo-Irish industrial trade showed that, in 1958, only £4,000 of Irish exports to the UK out of a total of £17,843,000 were subject to the full rates of duty, a 'valuable advantage' that Ireland obviously did not want to lose. The creation of EFTA had become a 'matter of most serious concern' to Dublin as its exports were suddenly in danger of rapidly contracting instead of steadily expanding; the added concern of agricultural products being included was that this would have of course meant potentially catastrophic effects. Lemass memorandum, 9 June 1959, D/T-S15281R, NA; Irish cabinet minute, 10 July 1959, D/T-S16674A/61, NA.
- 99 Report on the Anglo-Irish trade talks of 13 July 1959, D/T-S16674A/61, NA.
- 100 Note that the positions of Austria and Portugal within the Seven were unclear at this point in time, and that the Seven therefore comprised of only five nations at that stage.
- 101 UK Department of the Treasury note entitled 'The Relation of a UNISCAN Free Trade Area to Wider European Arrangements', 8 April 1959, GEN613/60

- CAB130/136, Public Record Office, Kew Gardens, London (PRO); Treasury note entitled 'European Trading Association: draft statement of objectives', 14 April 1959, GEN613/61 (Revise) CAB130/136, PRO. Please note that no differentiation is made between the abbreviation CAB for Irish cabinet and UK cabinet minutes as the origins of the file are obvious from other information presented in the rest of the footnote.
- 102 It should not be forgotten that Ireland was no longer in the British Commonwealth – having left in 1948 – but it continued to maintain similar trade preferences dating from before that time and even subsequently.
- 103 Treasury note entitled 'European Trade Association', 27 April 1959, GEN613/76 CAB130/136, PRO.
- 104 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Visit of M.de Besche, 24th-25th April', 13 May 1959, ES(EI)(59)8 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 105 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'European Trade Association: Swedish Proposals', 14 May 1959, ES(EI)(59)13 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 106 FO note entitled 'Problem of non-members of both the European Economic Community and the European Trading Association', 19 May 1959, ES(EI)(59)15 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 107 FO note entitled 'Problem of non-members of both the European Economic Community and the European Trading Association', 19 May 1959, ES(EI)(59)15 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 108 FO note entitled 'Problem of non-members of both the European Economic Community and the European Trading Association', 19 May 1959, ES(EI)(59)15 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 109 FO note entitled 'Problem of non-members of both the European Economic Community and the European Trading Association', 19 May 1959, ES(EI)(59)15 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 110 FO note entitled 'Problem of non-members of both the European Economic Community and the European Trading Association', 19 May 1959, ES(EI)(59)15 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 111 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Commonwealth and European Trade Arrangements', 12 June 1959, ES(EI)(59)23 CAB134/1870, PRO; UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'European Economic Co-operation and Integration: a brief history', 26 June 1959, ES(EI)(59)31 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 112 B/T note entitled 'Current Quotas between the Seven', 21 May 1959, ES(EI)(59)18 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 113 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Brief for the use of Information Officers', 22 May 1959, ES(EI)(59)19 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 114 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Stockholm Group: Information for the Commonwealth', 11 June 1959, GEN613/80 CAB130/136, PRO.
- 115 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Stockholm Group: Information for the Commonwealth', 11 June 1959, GEN613/80 CAB130/136, PRO.
- 116 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Stockholm Group: Information for the Commonwealth', 11 June 1959, GEN613/80 CAB130/136, PRO.
- 117 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Stockholm Group: Information for the Commonwealth', 11 June 1959, GEN613/80 CAB130/136, PRO.
- 118 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Record of Meetings of the Working Party in Stockholm', 17 June 1959, ES(EI)(59)27 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 119 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Stockholm Group: Report to Ministers',

- 17 June 1959, ES(EI)(59)28 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 120 UK cabinet steering committee on EFTA meeting notes, 25 June 1959, GEN613/97 CAB130/133, PRO. Among those present at the meeting were R.F.Bretherton (B/T official), John Coulson (UK Paymaster General official) and F.E.Figures (UK Treasury official).
- 121 Treasury note entitled 'The Position of Portugal in the Stockholm Group', 30 June 1959, ES(EI)(59)34 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 122 Treasury note entitled 'The Position of Portugal in the Stockholm Group', 30 June 1959, ES(EI)(59)34 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 123 Treasury note entitled 'Stockholm Group: Ministerial Meeting, 20th July', 8 July 1959, ES(EI)(59)41 CAB134/1871, PRO; UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Stockholm Group: Ministerial Meeting on 20th July: general brief', 15 July 1959, ES(EI)(59)45 CAB134/1871, PRO.
- 124 Irish government *aide-mémoire*, 26 June 1959, D/T-S15281R, NA; UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Irish Republic's Trade with Europe', 7 July 1959, ES(EI)(59)39 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 125 Irish government *aide-mémoire*, 26 June 1959, D/T-S15281R, NA; UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Irish Republic's Trade with Europe', 7 July 1959, ES(EI)(59)39 CAB134/1870, PRO.
- 126 Bretherton to McCarthy, 25 June 1959, ES(EI)(59)39 (addendum) CAB134/1870, PRO; McCarthy to Bretherton, 6 July 1959, ES(EI)(59)39 (addendum) CAB134/1870, PRO; UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Irish Republic's Trade with Europe', 9 July 1959, ES(EI)(59)39 (addendum) CAB134/1870, PRO; Richard T.Griffiths, 'Ireland and EFTA' (unpublished article).
- 127 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Meeting with Irish Ministers at the Board of Trade on Monday, 13th July, at 10.30a.m.', 20 July 1959, GEN613/93 CAB130/136, PRO.
- 128 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Meeting with Irish Ministers at the Board of Trade on Monday, 13th July, at 10.30a.m.', 20 July 1959, GEN613/93 CAB130/136, PRO.
- 129 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Meeting with Irish Ministers at the Board of Trade on Monday, 13th July, at 10.30a.m.', 20 July 1959, GEN613/93 CAB130/136, PRO.
- 130 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Meeting with Irish Ministers at the Board of Trade on Monday, 13th July, at 10.30a.m.', 20 July 1959, GEN613/93 CAB130/136, PRO.
- 131 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Meeting with Irish Ministers at the Board of Trade on Monday, 13th July, at 10.30a.m.', 20 July 1959, GEN613/93 CAB130/136, PRO.
- 132 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Meeting with Irish Ministers at the Board of Trade on Monday, 13th July, at 10.30a.m.', 20 July 1959, GEN613/93 CAB130/136, PRO.
- 133 A critical point has to be made here, concerning this research into *Ireland and the EEC, 1957 to 1966*, which is that the part played by partition in Anglo-Irish politics became decreasingly important as this period of time passed. Indeed, there was an incontrovertible transition in the handling of this subject by Irish governments from the de Valera years through to the Lemass tenure, culminating in the latter's meeting with Terence O'Neill, the Northern Ireland prime minister, in January 1965. A study of *Northern Ireland's role in Irish-European affairs* –

- regarding economic, political and social issues – is integrated into Chapter 6.
- 134 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Meeting with Irish Ministers at the Board of Trade on Monday, 13th July, at 10.30a.m.', 20 July 1959, GEN613/93 CAB130/136, PRO.
- 135 UK departmental secretaries note entitled 'Meeting with Irish Ministers at the Board of Trade on Monday, 13th July, at 10.30a.m.', 20 July 1959, GEN613/93 CAB130/136, PRO.
- 136 UK cabinet steering committee on EFTA meeting notes, 14 July 1959, GEN613/102 CAB130/133, PRO.
- 137 MacCarthy to Moynihan, 8 October 1959, D/T-S15281T, NA.
- 138 Whyte, *Church and state*, pp. 353-5 & 361.
- 139 Please note that a diagram depicting this relationship has appeared in FitzGerald, 'Irish neutrality and European integration', p. 8.
- 140 Note that from NATO intersection OEEC one would find:
- the two North American members of NATO;
  - countries common to both organisations – that is with security and trade considerations ( $\text{NATO} \cap \text{OEEC}$ ) with Spain peripheral to both;
  - the four OEEC neutrals with Finland depicted outside the OEEC set.
- This would become a little more complex if EEC and EFTA sub-sets from 1957 and 1959 were added in; the position of the peripherals and neutrals, specifically Ireland, would mean that it is not only excluded from the major European trade developments but is also outside the West's major security network. If another major trade organisation, such as the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) was integrated into this set-up, it would be found that Ireland was excluded even further still. Of the countries in question, Ireland was the penultimate member to accede to the GATT, doing so through Agreement N°106 on 22 December 1967. Note that Austria, Belgium, Canada, Denmark, Finland, France, the FRG, Greece, Italy, Luxembourg, the Netherlands, Norway, Sweden, Turkey, the UK, and the US were all members by 1951; Portugal was already affiliated through EFTA and later acceded in 1962. Subsequently, Switzerland signed a bilateral agreement with the US in the 'Dillon Round' of 1962 and acceded in 1966; Spain acceded in 1963 and Iceland acceded after Ireland in 1968. J.H.Jackson, *World Trade and the Law of GATT* (New York: Bobbs-Merrill, 1969), pp. 898-9.
- 141 Keatinge, *The formulation of Irish foreign policy*, p. 307. In October 1966, the Irish mission to the EEC in Brussels finally became a separate diplomatic and independently functioning entity.
- 142 G.David Anderson (UK embassy official, Dublin) to J.A.Belton (D/EA assistant secretary), 2 July 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA.
- 143 Moynihan to Belton, 6 July 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA.
- 144 Aidan Mulloy (embassy official, Brussels) to Sheila Murphy (D/EA official), 8 July 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA.
- 145 McDonald to Cremin, 26 June 1959, D/T-S15281R, NA.
- 146 Moynihan to Belton, 18 July 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA.
- 147 Aiken memorandum entitled 'Establishment of formal diplomatic relations with the EEC', 20 July 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA.
- 148 Molloy to Moynihan, 20 July 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA; Moynihan to Lemass, 20 July 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA.

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- 149 Irish cabinet minute, 21 July 1959, CAB2/20, NA; Moynihan to Cremin, 21 July 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA; D/EA memorandum entitled 'Establishment of diplomatic relations between Ireland and the European Economic Community', 9 October 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA.
- 150 Lemass reply in Dáil Éireann to a question tabled by George Russell, 21 July 1959, D/T-S15281R, NA.
- 151 Lemass reply in Dáil Éireann to a question tabled by George Russell, 21 July 1959, D/T-S15281R, NA.
- 152 Lemass to K.Ticher (Director of Ticher Ltd., Dublin), 30 July 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA.
- 153 D/EA foreign trade committee discussion paper, *circa* late July 1959, D/FA-348/69/II, NA.
- 154 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 21 July 1959, *Dáil debates* vol. 176 cols. 1572-3, D/T-S16671A, NA.
- 155 A.Ó Coinneáin memorandum of a meeting between Lemass and the various ministers and secretaries at the Departments of Finance, External Affairs, Industry & Commerce, and Agriculture, 28 August 1959, D/T-S15281S, NA.
- 156 D/EA memorandum entitled 'Establishment of diplomatic relations between Ireland and the European Economic Community', 9 October 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA.
- 157 Moynihan memorandum, 6 October 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA; Moynihan memorandum, 7 October 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA.
- 158 D/EA memorandum entitled 'Establishment of diplomatic relations between Ireland and the European Economic Community', 9 October 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA; Irish cabinet minute, 13 October 1959, CAB2/20, NA; Moynihan to Cremin, 13 October 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA.
- 159 Cremin to Moynihan, 3 December 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA; Moynihan to Cremin, 3 December 1959, D/T-S16671A, NA.
- 160 Lemass speech delivered to the Federation of Irish Industries, 21 September 1959, D/T-S16666B, NA; Lemass reply to a question posed in Dáil Éireann, 21 October 1959, D/T-S15281T, NA.
- 161 D/I&C memorandum, 14 October 1959, D/T-S15281T, NA; Mally, *Britain and European unity*, p. 42 (author's italics). The preamble to the convention – signed in Stockholm on 4 January 1960 – which established EFTA was quoted by the latter; this text read:

Determined to facilitate the early establishment of a *multilateral association* for the removal of trade barriers and the *promotion of closer economic co-operation* between the members of the OEEC ...
- 162 Garret FitzGerald (Irish Council of Europe Movement executive committee chairman) article in the Irish Council of Europe movement newsletter, March 1960, D/T-S15279B/PtI, NA.
- 163 Lemass draft speech to an intergovernmental committee for the establishment of an FTA, *circa* October 1958, D/T-S15281Q, NA.
- 164 Baker, *Dependency, ideology and the industrial policy of Fianna Fáil in Ireland*, p. 25.
- 165 Lee, *Ireland, 1912-1985*, p. 352.
- 166 B.Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry: Ireland 1956-63', pp. 1-35, paper presented at the conference entitled *The first attempt to enlarge the European Community, 1961-63*, held at the IUE from 17-19 February 1994, p.



- 25.
- 167 International Monetary Fund (IMF), *International financial statistics* vol. 16 no. 1, January 1963; Stallings, *Economic dependency in Africa and Latin America*, pp. 8 & 45. Barbara Stallings says that, though it does not represent dependency *per se*, 'exports and imports as a high percentage of GNP is a necessary precondition for the trade aspect of dependency to be relevant'. In fact, she shows that trade figures as a percentage of GNP for African and Latin American countries were 43% and 29% on average respectively in 1965, but that the figure was more likely to be in the region of 22% for developed countries such as the FRG or UK.
- 168 Draft *aide-mémoire*, 3 December 1959, D/T-S15281U, NA; Irish Council of Europe Movement newsletter, May 1960, D/T-S15279B/PtI, NA.
- 169 Irish foreign trade committee minutes, 9 September 1955, D/T-S15030B, NA.
- 170 MacCarthy to Whitaker, 6 April 1960, D/T-S15281W, NA.
- 171 Irish cabinet minutes, 9 August 1960, D/T-S15030D, NA; Irish government decision, 15 August 1960, D/T-15030D, NA; Jack Lynch (industry & commerce minister) speech to the Dublin Rotary Club, 31 October 1960, D/T-S16877F, NA.
- 172 McAleese, 'Political independence, economic growth and the role of economic policy', p. 286.

### Chapter 3

- 1 Harold Macmillan (UK prime minister) to Lemass, 26 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA; Macmillan to Lemass, 29 July 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA; H. Macmillan, *At the end of the day, 1961-1963* (London: Macmillan, 1973), p. 11. Despite this courtesy, Lemass and Ireland were well down the UK's list of priorities; indeed, the former barely gets a mention in Macmillan's memoirs, except for a brief note on this episode:
- Since the Prime Minister of Eire had made it clear that if Britain went into the Common Market his country would probably wish to do so, I invited him to come for personal consultations in July [1961]. This would be convenient because our talks would take place during the period that United Kingdom Ministers were making their Commonwealth visits. I found Seán Lemass particularly helpful, and enjoyed my meetings with him.
- 2 Note that the various articles of the *Treaty establishing the European Economic Community* (usually referred to as the Treaty of Rome despite the existence of two such treaties) are usually referred to in a shortened, bracketed form throughout this text; therefore, Article 237 of the *Treaty establishing the European Economic Community* is cited as follows in the text: (Article 237). Article 237 of the *Treaty establishing the European Economic Community* in the *Treaties establishing the European Communities* (Luxembourg, Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1973), p. 336.
- 3 Working group of the Council of Europe secretariat report, 'Relations

- Economiques Européennes: la position de certains pays Européens autres que les Six en cas d'adhésion du Royaume-Uni à la Communauté Economique Européenne' (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1961), p. 54. In the original French, this document read: 'si, l'on considère l'ensemble de l'économie irlandaise, les intérêts industriels sont faibles en comparaison des intérêts agricoles et il semble que l'Irlande doive nécessairement assumer un risque dans le domaine industriel si elle veut obtenir des arrangements satisfaisants pour son agriculture'.
- 4 Lemass to Ludwig Erhard (EEC Council president), 31 July 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 5 J.R.A.Bottomley (CRO official) to Christopher J.Audland (FO official), 14 July 1961, M6114/22, FO371/158220, PRO; Cremin to Whitaker, 31 July 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 6 D/T memorandum, 31 July 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA; *Europe* (unofficial daily EEC publication) viewpoint, 3 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 7 B.Gallagher (ambassador, The Hague) to Molloy (D/EA assistant secretary), 3 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 8 *Europe*, 3 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 9 Keogh, *Ireland and Europe*, pp. 232-3.
- 10 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 65; Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 112.
- 11 R.Fanning, 'Irish neutrality: an historical review', p. 31, *Irish studies in international affairs* vol. 1 no. 3 1982, pp. 27-38. Neutrality was a relatively secondary consideration in the process of Ireland's European integration and did not unduly interfere in its relationship with the EEC or its attempted entry. An enlargement upon this particular argument can be found in a previous research paper: FitzGerald, 'Irish neutrality and European integration', *passim*.
- 12 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 14 June 1961, *Dáil debates* vol. 190 col. 179. Originally quoted in Hederman, *The road to Europe*, pp. 68-9.
- 13 Keatinge, *The formulation of Irish foreign policy*, p. 45.
- 14 For the further development of this argument, another research paper goes into some detail: FitzGerald, 'Ireland's experience of European integration', *passim*.
- 15 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, pp. 69-71.
- 16 This supposition has, in fact, been drawn from a table originally used in an FO brief prepared for the UK government talks with a deputation of Irish government ministers held between 18-19 July 1961, *circa* early July 1961, M6114/15, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 17 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 5 July 1961, *Dáil debates* vol. 191 col. 266.
- 18 Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 11 & 34-5.
- 19 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 26 July 1961, *Dáil debates* vol. 191 cols. 1856-8.
- 20 Murphy, *Ireland in the twentieth century*, p. 148.
- 21 B.Lenihan, 'How Lemass threw his hat into the ring', *Irish Independent*, 10 December 1994. This article is a review of M.O'Sullivan, *Séán Lemass: a biography* (Dublin: Blackwater Press, 1994).
- 22 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 8 March 1961, as quoted in W.Durbin (CRO official) to J.A.Robinson (FO official), 17 March 1961, M6114/1, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 23 Lemass interview published in *Handelsblatt* and *Schweizerische Handelszeitung*, 18 May 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.

- 24 Quinlan quoting the remarks of Walter Halstein and Maurice Fauré in Seanad Éireann, 26 July 1961, *Seanad debates* vol. 54 cols. 1360-1. Maurice Fauré had also added his opinion that:
- ... the people who signed the Treaty of Rome regarded it as a first step in the political integration of Europe towards a United States of Europe – I think myself, that this is exactly what it was; and I think, furthermore, that a political will and a political unity is essential. It is essential if we are going to maintain the position of Europe *vis-à-vis* the other continents, such as Africa, and it is vitally essential if we are going to do something about the problem of the reunification of Germany. A united Germany must be brought into the Western community, and in order to do that you have got to have a political will and not just a purely commercial and economic one ... Indeed, this political will which I talk about surpasses all the limited commercial aims, all the economic aims. You can well, perhaps, reproach me for being a dreamer; but to my mind it is this political will for unity, for political integration which will not alone bring about the unity of Europe but will also preserve what is left of liberty in the Western world.
- The conference in question had been held in Dublin exactly two years previous to the senator's speech.
- 25 Frank Biggar (ambassador, Brussels) to Cremin, 18 May 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 26 Donal O'Sullivan (economic counsellor, London) to Hugh McCann (ambassador, London), 30 May 1961, on a conversation between O'Sullivan and Franke (Dutch agriculture ministry director general), D/T-S16877J/61, NA; McCann to Cremin, 31 May 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 27 Lemass to Lynch, 2 June 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA. The taoiseach specified certain considerations with which he wanted to deal; these were listed as:
- the desirability of informing the Six of Ireland's intention to apply to join the EEC if any EFTA country also applied to do so;
  - the best means of subsequently communicating this decision;
  - the desirability of asking the EEC Commission to let Ireland attend discussions for a Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) if other non-EEC countries were also present.
- For chronological reasons, this meeting is detailed in the section *Determining factors – Part III: the UK*.
- 28 B.Gallagher to Cremin on a conversation with van Ittersum (Dutch foreign ministry official), 8 June 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 29 This could, for instance, be a reference to an interview given by the taoiseach in which he was reported to have said that: 'Anything which tends to emphasise the real community of interests between the people of both areas [that is Ireland and Northern Ireland] and the advantages of their reunification will ... contribute to the ending of Partition'. Lemass interview published in *Handelsblatt* and *Schweizerische Handelszeitung*, 18 May 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 30 Biggar to Cremin reporting on a conversation with Paul-Henri Spaak (Belgian deputy prime minister and foreign minister), 24 June 1961, D/T-S16877K/61, NA.
- 31 Preamble to the *Treaty establishing the European Economic Community*, p. 173.

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- 32 Biggar to Cremin, 24 June 1961, D/T-S16877K/61, NA.
- 33 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 25 May 1961, *Dáil debates* vol. 189 cols. 958-9, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 34 E.H.L.Albert (FO official) memorandum, 2 June 1961, on the reported remarks of Mr.Benirschke (Deutsche Presse Agentur London correspondent) relating to the Irish visit of Heinrich von Brentano (West German foreign minister), M6114/5, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 35 A.Meyer (FO official) note, 6 June 1961, M6114/5, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 36 Robinson note, 12 June 1961, M6114/5, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 37 Meyer note, 6 June 1961, M6114/5, FO371/158219, PRO. This official had continued his original remarks by saying that, as far as he was aware, the Irish government had:

... not spoken in this sense either to us or in OEEC or in the Council of Europe. If the Irish want our help they should ask us. There seems to be no good reason for us to hang yet another millstone round our neck for the forthcoming negotiations. In fact the Irish should be able to associate with E.E.C. in much the same way as Portugal I imagine.
- 38 An FO note on the last point – that West Germany intended to keep potential members of the Six informed about the CAP and that they were prepared to discuss it with them – stated: 'X is interesting, & a further indication of German hopes that the prospect of new members will enable them to give less more slowly to the French on agriculture'; the 'X' is marked in ink in Rose's original. E.M.Rose (UK ambassador, Bonn) to F.G.K.Gallagher (FO official), 23 June 1961, M6114/8, FO371/158219, PRO; Robinson note, 29 June 1961, M6114/8, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 39 Cremin to Whitaker, 2 June 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA. The *Irish Times* journalist involved, who wrote the article for the edition dated 30 May 1961, was named as Leo Muray.
- 40 *Irish Press*, 1 June 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 41 *Irish Times*, 6 June 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 42 McCann to Cremin, 7 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA.
- 43 Irish chargé d'affaires *ad interim* (Canberra) on a conversation with Philippe Monod (French ambassador, Canberra), 16 June 1961, D/T-S16877K/61, NA.
- 44 T.J.Horan (minister, Berne) to Cremin, 13 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA. The original French read: 'nous n'y pensons pas'.
- 45 D.R.McDonald (ambassador, Paris) to Cremin reporting on a conversation with Laloy (French foreign office official), 18 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 46 Thomas V.Commins (ambassador, Rome) to Cremin on a conversation with Attilio Cattani (Italian foreign ministry secretary general), 30 June 1961, D/T-S16877L/61, NA.
- 47 Unless clearly indicated otherwise, this section has been completed with the use of the following documents: Garret FitzGerald (Irish Council of the European Movement chairman) report on a visit to the EEC Commission, 11/12 April 1961, D/T-S16023C/61, NA; FitzGerald to Whitaker, 29 April 1961, D/T-S16023C/61, NA; Whitaker to Nicholas Nolan (D/T secretary), 2 May 1961, D/T-S16023C/61, NA.
- 48 Lemass speech delivered at the opening of a Comhlucht Siúicre Éireann Teoranta (the Irish sugar company) accelerated freeze drying plant located in Mallow, County Cork, 24 May 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.

- 49 Robinson note, 19 July 1961, M6114/19, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 50 Article 238 of the *Treaty establishing the European Economic Community*, 336.
- 51 For three main reasons, Greece was viewed as a special case though by the EEC Commission, namely:
- as a consequence of its membership of NATO;
  - because of the threat communism posed in South-Eastern Europe;
  - as a result of its historic trading relationship with Eastern Europe.
- 52 FitzGerald to Lemass, 18 May 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 53 Irish government publication, *European Economic Community* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1961), D/T-S16877L/61, NA. This document is assessed later in this chapter in the section headed *European Economic Community: the government White Paper*.
- 54 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 2 March 1960, *Dáil debates* vol. 179 cols. 983-4. Originally quoted in Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 67.
- 55 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 16 May 1961, *Dáil debates* vol. 189 col. 298. Originally quoted in Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 68.
- 56 Lee, *Ireland, 1912-1985*, p. 608. Original quotation taken from the National Economic and Social Council, *Information for policy* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1985).
- 57 Quinlan speech delivered in Seanad Éireann, 26 July 1961, *Seanad debates* vol. 54 cols. 1356-80; James Ryan (Irish finance minister) reply delivered in Seanad Éireann, 26 July 1961, *Seanad debates* vol. 54 col. 1368; Quinlan speaking in Seanad Éireann, 27 July 1961, *Seanad debates* vol. 54 cols. 1446-7; Ryan replies delivered in Seanad Éireann, 27 July 1961, *Seanad debates* vol. 54 cols. 1446-7.
- 58 National Farmers' Association (NFA) statement, 20 July 1960, D/T-S16877Y/62, NA; D/A report on Ireland and the EEC, August 1960, D/T-16877Y/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 19-23.
- 59 Lemass to Juan Greene (NFA president), 13 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA.
- 60 Whitaker to Cremin, 7 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA.
- 61 Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', p. 20.
- 62 Unattributed article, 'Free Trade Bloc robs city men of jobs', *Sunday Review*, 16 April 1961, 'Patrician Year – 1961' 98/1/62 (formerly D/UhÉ-P5690), NA. This particular story recounted the fact that, because of the effects of EFTA, perhaps up to two hundred jobs had been lost the previous day in a wool-combing factory in Dublin. The plant's management had added that: 'Until we are able to secure other markets or until Ireland joins the EFTA, we have no alternative but to drastically reduce our production'.
- 63 D/T memorandum on a meeting held on 11 July 1961 between Lemass and a deputation from the Irish Congress of Trade Unions (ICTU), 14 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 64 Lemass speech delivered to the Irish Management Institute, 12 May 1961, quoted in *Bulletin from the European Community* vol. 4 no. 4, June 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA; Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 72.
- 65 Bottomley to Audland, 14 July 1961, M6114/22, FO371/158220, PRO.
- 66 McCann to Cremin regarding a conversation with Eric Roll (UK agriculture ministry deputy secretary), 26 May 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA; H.Lintott (CRO official) to Roderick E.Barclay (FO official), 2 June 1961, M6114/4,

- FO371/158219, PRO.
- 67 Biggar to Cremin regarding a meeting with A.H.Tandy (UK chef de mission at the EEC), 23 May 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 68 McCann to Cremin, 18 May 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 69 W.R.Bickford (CRO official) to F.G.K.Gallagher, 6 April 1961, M6114/2, FO371/158219, PRO. This comment was prompted by an *Irish Independent* editorial, from 30 March 1961, on Finnish association with EFTA; indeed, Bickford felt that: 'The Finnish precedent is interesting from Ireland's viewpoint'.
- 70 Lemass speech delivered at the Irish National Convention of Junior Chambers of Commerce held at Shannon Airport, County Clare, 4 June 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 71 Barclay minute, 9 May 1961, M6114/3, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 72 F.G.K.Gallagher note, 9 May 1961, M6114/3, FO371/158219, PRO; Robinson note, 12 May 1961, M6114/3, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 73 F.Mills (CRO secretary of state) to Philip F.de Zulueta (UK prime minister's office official), 15 June 1961, M6114/6, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 74 Whitaker memorandum on a meeting held on 6 June 1961 of departmental secretaries and Irish ambassadors, 7 June 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 75 Lemass to Macmillan, 10 June 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 76 Whitaker memorandum on a meeting held on 6 June 1961 of departmental secretaries and Irish ambassadors, 7 June 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA; O'Carroll note on a meeting held on 8 June 1961 of Irish government ministers and departmental secretaries, 9 June 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 77 Unless otherwise stated, this section has been completed using the Irish government White Paper entitled the *European Economic Community*.
- 78 Whitaker to Cremin, 19 June 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 79 Whitaker memorandum on a meeting held on 6 June 1961 of departmental secretaries and Irish ambassadors, 7 June 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA. Aiken later revealed that, apart from pushing Ireland's candidacy, these meetings also provided the opportunity to promote both Irish trade and foreign exchange earning activities, as well as economic cooperation generally. The Minister for External Affairs said:
- In 1961, in order to emphasise that much was required of our diplomatic service in this regard, I summoned every ambassador and every diplomatic representative home to Ireland. We gave them a full week of discussions, talks and lectures on the various opportunities that existed and told them that they should be followed up to increase our foreign earnings. They were addressed, not only by the Taoiseach, myself, the Minister for Industry and Commerce and the secretaries of the various economic departments but they had discussions with organisations like the Irish Exporters, Córas Tráchtála, Bord Fáilte and the Industrial Development Authority. All the people concerned, who wanted to sell and promote trade, felt it was a very useful thing to have those kind of discussions.
- Aiken speaking in Seanad Éireann, 18 November 1964, *Seanad debates* vol. 58 col. 53.
- 80 O'Carroll note on a meeting held on 8 June 1961 of Irish government ministers and departmental secretaries, 9 June 1961, D/T-S16877J/61, NA.
- 81 Lemass minute, 22 June 1961, D/T-S16877K/61, NA.

- 82 Exchanges between Brendan Corish (Labour party leader) and Lemass in Dáil Éireann, 29 June 1961, *Dáil debates* vol. 190 col. 1340, D/T-S16877L/61, NA.
- 83 Oireachtas is a generic term for Dáil Éireann, Seanad Éireann, and Uachtarán na hÉireann (Irish president). White Papers and bills must be approved at all three stages and be in accordance with the Irish constitution before they reach the next stage of their debate or before they can come into law.
- 84 Cremin note of a conversation with Edward G. Stockdale (US ambassador, Dublin) and Burdett (US State Department official heading British and Northern European affairs), 6 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA. This aspect of the publication is, in itself, worth taking a closer look as this document demonstrates that the Irish government's opinions on the history of European integration had developed to the point where accession to the EEC had become an official foreign policy goal.
- 85 The data has partly been compiled using a table originally published in the White Paper *European Economic Community* and from figures that come from the following publications: Central Statistics Office, *Ireland: trade and shipping statistics, passim*.
- 86 In the middle of May 1961, de Besche (Swedish foreign affairs secretary general) told the other members of EFTA that an enlarged EEC, along the lines that the UK probably favoured – the UK entering, along with some other EFTA countries, although probably only those in NATO, Denmark and Norway, with the other EFTA countries negotiating association – would mean that a country such as Ireland would then find it difficult even to associate itself with the EEC; no consideration was given to a country like Ireland entering the EEC as a full member. R. Steininger, '1961: Europe "at sixes and sevens" – the European Free Trade Association, the neutrals, and Great Britain's decision to join the E.E.C.', pp. 535-68, in *The journal of European economic history* vol. 26 no. 3 1997, p. 553.
- 87 Unless clearly indicated otherwise, this section has been completed with the use of the following documents: D/T memorandum for the government, 27 June 1961, D/T-S16877K/61, NA; Irish government *aide-mémoire* to the Luxembourg government, 5 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA.
- 88 A.E. Furness (CRO private secretary) to K.M. Wilford (UK Lord Privy Seal private secretary) on a meeting held on 30 June 1961 between the Irish ambassador and the UK Lord Chancellor, 30 June 1961, M6114/11, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 89 Robinson note #1, 3 July 1961, M6114/11, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 90 Robinson note #1, 3 July 1961, M6114/11, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 91 Robinson note #2, 3 July 1961, M6114/11, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 92 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 5 July 1961, *Dáil Debates* vol. 191 cols. 206-71.
- 93 Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 126.
- 94 In the original French, the *aide-mémoire* read: 'l'état de la situation commerciale et économique de l'Irlande est tel qu'elle ne peut envisager de devenir membre de la Communauté que dans le cas où la Grande Bretagne aurait décidé de poser sa candidature comme membre'.
- 95 In French, the *aide-mémoire* had held that: 'L'Irlande serait prête à accepter en principe, les dispositions du Traité de Rome comme on l'exige des membres, mais, au stade actuel de son évolution, elle ne serait pas à même de se conformer entièrement à certaines clauses de ce traité dans le laps de temps prévu'.

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- 96 In the original French, the *aide-mémoire* stated that the aims of the *Programme for economic expansion* 'sont conformes à ceux de la Communauté Economique Européenne et leur réalisation sera dans l'intérêt commun'.
- 97 F.O'Brien, *An béal bocht* (Dublin: Dolmen, 1941), *passim*.
- 98 Cremin note of a telephone conversation with Biggar regarding the latter's meetings with Hallstein, Spaak and Hommel (Luxembourg ambassador to the EEC), 6 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA.
- 99 Biggar to Cremin, 7 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA.
- 100 Biggar to Cremin on a conversation with Forthomme (Belgian foreign office director-general for special affairs), 10 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA.
- 101 B.Gallagher to Cremin, 5 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA.
- 102 Brian Ó Ceallaigh (chargé d'affaires *ad interim*, Bonn), 12 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA.
- 103 Commins to Cremin, 6 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA.
- 104 Cremin to Whitaker, 26 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 105 *Europe*, 11 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 106 Cremin note on a conversation with Stockdale and Burdett, 6 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA; FitzGerald, *Irish-American diplomatic relations*, *passim*.
- 107 Cremin to MacCarthy, 7 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA; Bottomley to Audland, 14 July 1961, M6114/22, FO371/158220, PRO. It is very always interesting to note what the officials of one government thought of their counterparts in another. According to informed UK government opinion, Cremin was viewed as being 'markedly friendly and agreeable', but without having shown 'evidence of independence of thought or a readiness to assume undue responsibility'; Whitaker, meanwhile, was seen as follows: 'Brilliantly able, but with a quiet and unassuming but pleasant manner'. Nagle was perceived as having 'a sharp intellect and a considerable flair for patient and astute negotiation'; in addition, it was felt that MacCarthy had 'done very well' and that relations with him were 'excellent'. These views were for the most part positive and, because of their inherent secrecy, fairly reliable as a consequence.
- 108 H.A.F.Rumbold (FO official) memorandum, 1 June 1961, M6114/4, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 109 Macmillan to Lemass, 16 June 1961, D/T-S16877K/61, NA; Macmillan to Lemass, 3 July 1961, D/T-S16877L/61, NA; Lemass to Macmillan, 5 July 1961, D/T-S16877L/61, NA.
- 110 McCann to Cremin, 21 June 1961, D/T-S16877K/61, NA; Cremin memorandum, 21 June 1961, D/T-S16877K/61, NA.
- 111 *Irish Press*, 24 June 1961, D/T-S16877K/61, NA.
- 112 Lemass to Macmillan, 24 June 1961, D/T-S16877K/61, NA.
- 113 Draft agenda for the Anglo-Irish meetings, 28 June 1961, D/T-S16877K/61, NA.
- 114 UK Lord Chancellor's view as quoted in McCann to Cremin, 30 June 1961, D/T-S16877L/61, NA.
- 115 Cremin to Whitaker, 1 July 1961, D/T-S16877L/61, NA.
- 116 Whitaker to Nolan, 4 July 1961, D/T-S16877L/61, NA; draft agenda for the Anglo-Irish meetings, mid-July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 117 Draft agenda for the Anglo-Irish meetings, mid-July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 118 Reginald Maudling (B/T president) quoted in McCann to Cremin, 12 July 1961, D/T-S16877M/61, NA.
- 119 Draft agenda for the Anglo-Irish meetings, mid-July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.



- 120 FO note, *circa* end of June 1961, M6114/9, FO371/158219, PRO; CRO note, *circa* end of June 1961, M6114/9, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 121 De Zulueta to A.W.France (Treasury official), 30 June 1961, M6114/9, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 122 France to de Zulueta, 30 June 1961, M6114/9, FO371/158219, PRO. Cledwyn Hughes (UK Labour party Member of Parliament for Anglesey) question to Braine (CRO secretary of state) on contacts between the UK government and Ireland on the EEC question, 5 July 1961, M6114/14, FO371/158219, PRO.
- 123 Lemass speech reported in the *Irish Press*, 18 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 124 Lemass speech reported in the *Irish Press*, 19 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 125 Lemass interview with the British Broadcasting Corporation (BBC), 18 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 126 Lemass interview with the BBC, 18 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 127 Lemass speech reported in the *Irish Press*, 20 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 128 Lemass speech delivered to Macra na Feirme (an Irish farming organisation) in Wexford, 22 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 129 Keatinge, *A singular stance*, p. 25.
- 130 Preamble to the Bonn Declaration of the Six, 18 July 1961, which is quoted in Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 133; Mally, *Britain and European unity*, pp. 48-9
- 131 Quinlan speaking in Seanad Éireann, 26 July 1961, *Seanad debates* vol. 54 cols. 1356-80.
- 132 Nagle note, 20 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 133 UK Foreign Office minute, 18 July 1961, M6114/24, FO371/158220, PRO.
- 134 In many respects, of course, it suited London that Ireland was trying to enter the EEC as a full member; the latter would not only help to forestall further French hegemony, but it would also probably help to lessen the future federal shape of Europe by diluting it, whether that was in terms of exhausting economic aims by its agricultural demands or political integration through its neutrality.
- 135 Barclay minute, 18 July 1961, M6114/24, FO371/158220, PRO. The West German official in question was Harkort (FRG foreign ministry deputy secretary for economic affairs).
- 136 Bottomley to F.G.K.Gallagher, 20 July 1961, M6114/25, FO371/158220, PRO.
- 137 Cremin memorandum, 26 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA; Cremin to Whitaker, 26 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 138 M.Shanks & J.Lambert, *Britain and the new Europe: the future of the Common Market* (London: Chatto & Windus, 1962), pp. 187 & 233. At least the authors noted that 'there is quite a chance that Eire may get full membership', even if it was one of 'those [states] whose economies are not strong enough to meet the full competition of the Common Market ... [and if] associate status will presumably only be temporary; in the course of time, it is to be hoped that the economies of the associates will be strong enough to stand the pressures of full membership'. Barclay minute, 21 July 1961, M6114/26, FO371/158220, PRO.
- 139 Cremin memorandum, 26 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA; Cremin to Whitaker, 26 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 140 MacLennan to Lintott, 25 July 1961, M6114/26, FO371/158220, PRO.
- 141 Cremin memorandum, 26 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA; Cremin to Whitaker, 26 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 142 Hallstein as quoted in a Molloy memorandum, 29 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA; Mansholt as quoted in N.Piers Ludlow, 'Influence and vulnerability: the role

- of the EEC Commission in the enlargement negotiations', 1-23, paper presented at the conference entitled *The first attempt to enlarge the European Community, 1961-63*, held from 17-19 February 1994 at the IUE, 1; *Irish Times*, 26 July 1961, D/T-S16877N/61, NA; *Gazette de Lausanne* as quoted in A.O'Rourke (chargé d'affaires *ad interim*, Berne) to Cremin, 26 July 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 143 Tandy telegram to the FO, 3 August 1961, M6114/31, FO371/158220, PRO; Tandy to the FO, 4 August 1961, M6114/31, FO371/158220, PRO; J.R.Rich (FO official) note, early August 1961, M6114/31, FO371/158220, PRO.
- 144 B.Gallagher to Molloy, 3 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA. The EEC official in question was Pierre Lucion (Jean Rey's chef de cabinet).
- 145 B.Gallagher to Molloy, 5 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 146 Ludlow, 'Influence and vulnerability', pp. 21-2.
- 147 Florence O'Riordan (chargé d'affaires *ad interim*, The Hague) to Molloy, 3 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 148 O'Riordan to Molloy, 11 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 149 O'Riordan report, 11 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA. The Dutch official in question was Kymmell (Dutch foreign ministry official heading up the European integration division).
- 150 W.Asbeek Brusse, 'Alone within the Six: the Dutch cabinet and the British application for EEC membership, 1960-1963', p. 22, paper presented at the conference entitled *The first attempt to enlarge the European Community, 1961-63*, held from 17-19 February 1994 at the IUE.
- 151 O'Carroll note, 12 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA (emphasis added).
- 152 Vaughan, *Twentieth-century Europe*, p. 152.
- 153 O'Carroll note, 12 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 154 Audland minute, 14 August 1961, M6114/33, FO371/158220, PRO.
- 155 O'Carroll note, 14 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 156 Erhard to Lemass, 14 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA. In the original German, this statement read: 'Zur Unterrichtung des Rates wäre ich Eurer Exzellenz für eine Mitteilung dankbar, inwieweit der Rat bei seinen Ueberlegungen auch das Aide-mémoire in Betracht ziehen soll, das den Mitgliedstaaten der Europäischen Wirtschafts-gemeinschaft am 4. Juli 1961 von der Regierung Irlands überreicht worden ist'.
- 157 Lemass to Erhard, 18 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 158 D.P.Reilly (FO official) minute, 17 August 1961, M6114/33, FO371/158220, PRO.
- 159 Lemass interview conducted with the BBC in Belfast on 4 August 1961 as reported in the *Irish Press*, 5 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 160 B.McSweeney, 'Out of the ghetto: Irish foreign policy since the fifties', pp. 401-2, *Studies* vol. 75 no. 300 1986, *passim*.
- 161 Heath reference made in O'Sullivan and Slevin (Irish embassy official, London) 'Note of discussions between Irish and British Ministers in London on Tuesday, 18th July, 1961', D/T-S16877N/61, NA.
- 162 Nagle to O'Carroll, 5 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 163 Nagle to Molloy, 14 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA. O'Sullivan became Ireland's economic counsellor to the EEC.
- 164 O'Carroll to Nagle, 10 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 165 Biggar to Molloy, 12 August 1961, D/T-S16877O/61, NA.
- 166 Council of Europe report, 'Relations Economiques Européennes', pp. 52-3. In the

- original French, this document read: 'il est peu probable que la République d'Irlande éprouverait de grandes difficultés à adopter le niveau du tarif extérieur commun de la C.E.E. à l'égard des pays tiers ... il lui serait difficile d'accepter la démobilitation des barrières douanières appliquées aux importations en provenance de ses partenaires sur la base du calendrier prévu par le Traité de Rome'.
- 167 Council of Europe report, 'Relations Economiques Européennes', pp. 52-3. In the original French, this document declared: 'La République d'Irlande suit une politique de neutralité que le Gouvernement a proclamé sa volonté de maintenir aussi longtemps que subsisterait le partage de l'Ile ... En outre, l'Irlande partage avec le Royaume-Uni les traditions du droit coutumier et un grand nombre d'institutions qui diffèrent considérablement de celles du continent européen'.
- 168 Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 138.
- 169 Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 141.
- 170 Mally, *Britain and European unity*, pp. 60-83. The latter quoted Heath's speech to the representatives of the Six, delivered in Paris on 10 October 1961.
- 171 Council of Europe report, 'Relations Economiques Européennes', p. 55. In the original French, this document read: 'le Conseil des Ministres, à l'unanimité, m'a chargé de vous suggérer de tenir au début de janvier 1962, à Bruxelles, une réunion pour permettre aux Etats membres de la Communauté d'avoir avec le Gouvernement irlandais un échange de vues sur les problèmes particuliers que pose la demande du Gouvernement irlandais et les conséquences qu'il convient d'en tirer ainsi que sur certaines questions de procédure'.
- 172 Lemass speech to the Cork Chamber of Commerce, 11 November 1961. Originally quoted in Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 143.
- 173 Lemass speaking in Dáil Éireann, 11 October 1961, *Dáil debates* vol. 192 col. 43.
- 174 C.C.O'Brien, 'The embers of Easter' (originally published in the *Irish Times*, 7 April 1966), in D.H.Akenson, *Conor: a biography of Conor Cruise O'Brien*, vol. 2 (Montreal, Canada: McGill-Queen's University Press, 1994); Karl Marx to Friedrich Engels, 2 November 1867, *Karl Marx Friedrich Engels*, vol. 31 (Berlin, Germany: Dietz Verlag, 1974), p. 376. In the original German, this statement from Karl Marx read: 'Ich habe früher Trennung Irlands von England für unmöglich gehalten. Ich halte sie jetzt für unvermeidlich, obgleich nach der Trennung Federation kommen mag'.
- 175 David Bell (Dublin solicitor) to P.Berry (Department of Justice (D/J) secretary), 30 January 1960, 'Proposed establishment of a factory for the production of hand grenades for sale to the Venezuelan Government' D/FA-315/59/343/26, NA; MacDonagh (D/J official) memorandum, 13 February 1960, D/FA-315/59/343/26, NA; D/J memorandum, 9 March 1960, D/FA-315/59/343/26, NA.
- 176 Cremin to Berry, 21 March 1960, D/FA-315/59/343/26, NA.
- 177 Moravcsik, *The choice for Europe*, pp. 5 & 162-3.
- 178 T.C.Salmon, *Unneutral Ireland: an ambivalent and unique security policy* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1989), p. 215; T.Salmon, 'Ireland: a neutral in the Community?', pp. 205-27, *Journal of Common Market studies* vol. 20 no. 3 1982, p. 215.

## Chapter 4

- 1 As Richard Griffiths has written in summarising Ireland's experience of European integration in this period:

Ireland's membership application was perhaps even more closely linked [than Denmark's or Norway's applications were] with that of the United Kingdom. Ireland had not taken part in the EEC/EFTA split of the late 1950s, but had special trading arrangements with Britain dating back to the time when it formed part of the United Kingdom. [Appointed in July 1960 as Lord Privy Seal with special responsibility for Europe] Edward Heath specifically mentioned Ireland in his opening speech to the EEC governments in October 1961, expressing the hope that their trading relationship would be 'subsumed in the wider arrangements of the enlarged Community'. The EEC Council of Ministers signalled the start of negotiations with Ireland in October 1962 but, as in the case of Norway, substantial negotiations never actually opened.

- R.T.Griffiths, 'The European integration experience, 1958-73', pp. 37-70, in K.Middlemas, *Orchestrating Europe: the informal politics of the European Union, 1973-95* (London: Fontana, 1995), pp. 40-3.
- 2 W.Nicoll & T.C.Salmon, *Understanding the new European Community* (New York: Harvester Wheatsheaf, 1994), pp. 214 & 233.
- 3 W.Wallace, 'The British approach to Europe', pp. 107-33, in W.J.Mommsen (ed.), *The long way to Europe: historical observations from a contemporary view* (Chicago: edition q, 1994).
- 4 Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 34-5.
- 5 P.Calvocoressi, 'Neutrality now', pp. 144-59, in S.Harden (ed.), *Neutral states and the European Community* (Oxford: Brassey's, 1994), p. 152.
- 6 E.O'Malley, *Industry and economic development: the challenge for the latecomer* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1989), p. 74.
- 7 E.O'Malley, 'The problem of late industrialisation and the experience of the Republic of Ireland', pp. 141-54, in *Cambridge journal of economics* vol. 9 no. 2, p. 144.
- 8 These figures come from a chart originally used in B.Moore *et al*, 'Industrial policy and economic development: the experience of Northern Ireland and the Republic of Ireland', pp. 99-114, in *Cambridge journal of economics* vol. 2 no. 1 1978, p. 108. The data for Ireland in the period 1945 to 1951 does not appear to be available; presumably, however, this figure was relatively low.
- 9 L.de Paor, *Divided Ulster* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971), p. 133.
- 10 J.Wickham, 'Dependence and state structure: foreign firms and industrial policy in the Republic of Ireland', pp. 164-83, in O.Höll (ed.), *Small states in Europe and dependence* (Vienna: Wilhelm Braumüller, 1983), pp. 168-9.
- 11 Moore *et al*, 'Industrial policy and economic development', *passim*.
- 12 Wickham, 'Dependence and state structure', p. 181.
- 13 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 129 & 175-6.
- 14 G.Cunningham (CRO official) to P.A.R.Brown (B/T official), *circa* mid-November 1962, M6314/19, FO371/164771, PRO; G.L.Pearson (British Trade Commission official in Dublin) to Cunningham, 14 November 1962, M6314/19, FO371/164771, PRO.
- 15 Bradley *et al*, *Stabilization and growth on the EC periphery*, p. 10.

- 16 P.Gerbet, *La construction de l'Europe* (Paris: Imprimerie national, 1983), p. 294. In the original French, the author said: 'l'Irlande ... étant en union économique avec la Grande-Bretagne, elle ne pouvait s'en trouver séparée'.
- 17 Unless otherwise specified, this section – *The Dublin government presents its case in Brussels* – has been completed using the following two documents: *Treaty establishing the European Economic Community*, *passim*; Lemass statement to the EEC Council, 18 January 1962. The full text of this speech given by the taoiseach is available in Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 375-85.
- 18 Whitaker to Lynch, 5 January 1962, D/T-S16877X/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', p. 12.
- 19 Biggar to Sheila Murphy (D/EA official), 30 December 1961, D/T-S16877X/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 12-3.
- 20 Whitaker to Lynch, 5 January 1962, D/T-S16877X/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 14-6.
- 21 Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 18-9.
- 22 D/T memorandum on a meeting held on 9 January 1962 between Lemass, Haughey and representatives from various agricultural organisations, 9 January 1962, D/T-S16877Y/62, NA; D/T memorandum on a meeting held on 11 January 1962 between Lemass, Lynch and a delegation from the ICTU, 11 January 1962, D/T-S17120A/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 22-5.
- 23 Lemass speech delivered to the Árd-Fheis (party conference) of Fianna Fáil held on 16 January 1962 in Dublin, 16 January 1962, D/T-S16877Y/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 25-7.
- 24 Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 145.
- 25 Report on an article in the *Statist*, 26 January 1962, D/T-S17246A/62, NA; O'Sullivan to Cremin, 29 January 1962, D/T-S17246A/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', p. 27.
- 26 Unless otherwise specified, this section – entitled *Second time around* – has been completed using the document: *Treaty establishing the European Economic Community*, *passim*.
- 27 Nolan memorandum of a telephone conversation with Whitaker, 10 February 1962, D/T-S17246A/62, NA; Nolan to Lemass, 10 February 1962, D/T-S17246A/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 27-8.
- 28 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 14 February 1962, *Dáil debates* vol. 193 col. 19.
- 29 Spaak speech reported in the *Irish Independent*, 26 January 1962, D/T-S17246A/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', p. 28.
- 30 Lemass interview with the *Economist*, 9 February 1962, D/T-S17246A/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', p. 28.
- 31 Aiken speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 14 February 1962, *Dáil debates* vol. 193 col. 75.
- 32 Keatinge, *A place among the nations*, p. 76.
- 33 O'Brien, 'Ireland in international affairs', *passim*.

- 34 D.Driscoll, 'Is Ireland really "neutral"?', *Irish Studies in International Affairs* vol. 1 no. 3 1982, pp. 55-61.
- 35 Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 148.
- 36 Irish embassy (London) to D/EA secretary, 7 February 1962, D/T-S17246A/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 28-9.
- 37 FitzGerald, *Irish-American diplomatic relations, 1948 to 1963*, pp. 148-66.
- 38 Irish embassy (Brussels) to D/EA secretary, 19 February 1962, D/T-S17246C/62, NA; Irish embassy (Brussels) to D/EA secretary, 23 February 1962, D/T-S17246C/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 29-30.
- 39 Whitaker to Cremin, 1 March 1962, D/T-S17246D/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 30-1.
- 40 Report of departmental secretaries meeting, 1 March 1962, D/T-S17246D/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 30-1.
- 41 Lemass interview conducted with Radio Telefís Éireann (RTÉ), 15 March 1962, D/T-S17246D/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 31-2.
- 42 Cremin memorandum, 3 April 1962, D/T-S17246F/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 32-3 (author's own emphasis).
- 43 Mally, *Britain and European unity*, pp. 83-91. The latter referred to a speech delivered to the Western European Union (WEU) Council, 10 April 1962, in which the UK Lord Privy Seal added: 'unlike you, we have had to take account of the problems of countries which would be called upon to accept the political and the economic implications of this experiment at one and the same time'.
- 44 *New York Times*, 18 July 1962. Originally quoted in Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 152. It is interesting to note that Harold Wilson, the UK Labour party leader and parliamentary opposition at Westminster, had only just said the previous month that he hoped de Gaulle would not look upon Irish neutrality as a block to full EEC membership, that European defence – and as he termed it the 'cold war' – was catered for by NATO. The UK Labour party, which was itself badly split over the future direction of the EEC, was not helping Ireland in its candidacy by raising such issues, even if at the same time it made the Macmillan government distinctly uncomfortable. Wilson speech delivered in the House of Commons, 7 June 1962, entitled 'A no with nuances', pp. 83-99, in U.Kitzinger, *The second try: Labour and the EEC* (Oxford: Pergamon, 1968), p. 98.
- 45 Salmon, 'Ireland', *passim*; Salmon, *Unneutral Ireland*, p. 239.
- 46 The term 'active neutrality' refers to Ireland's independent foreign policy that included the initiation of a global non-proliferation treaty, a commitment to peacekeeping, and support for consideration of the position to be played by China in global politics; in many respects, Ireland's views at the UN accorded with positions consistently taken by Sweden. The term 'military neutrality' essentially boiled down to considering how best could the Irish government further the state's improving, though inherently weak, economic performance while not making any unnecessary military alliance or defence commitment – joining NATO or WEU – although being prepared to do so if required. FitzGerald, 'Irish neutrality and European integration', p. 4.

- 47 T.D.Williams, 'Irish foreign policy, 1949-69', pp. 136-51, in J.J.Lee (ed.), *Ireland, 1945-70* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1979), *passim*.
- 48 Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 28 & 33.
- 49 Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', pp. 28-9; Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 148.
- 50 Thus, an aspect of the statement delivered by Lemass on 18 January 1962 in Brussels which interested the EEC related to Dublin's interpretation of the 'dumping' provision (Article 91); this particular subject is dealt with in detail in a section entitled *Lemass prepares for EEC entry negotiations to begin*.
- 51 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 146-8.
- 52 Irish government publication, *European Economic Community Part II* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1962).
- 53 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 153-5.
- 54 Biggar to Murphy, 25 July 1962, D/T-S17246L/62, NA; report on departmental secretaries meeting, 7 September 1962, D/T-S17246N/62, NA. Originally quoted in Girvin, 'Economic development and the politics of EC entry', p. 34.
- 55 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 155-8.
- 56 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 155-8.
- 57 Matthew McCloskey (US ambassador to Ireland) to Kennedy, 14 September 1962, 'National Security Files', Box #118, Kennedy Papers, JFK. Most of this material previously appeared in FitzGerald, *Irish-American diplomatic relations*, *passim*.
- 58 Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 159.
- 59 Pierson Dixon (UK ambassador, Paris) telegram to the FO, 17 October 1962, M6314/21, FO371/164772, PRO; Dixon to the FO, 19 October 1962, M6314/21, FO371/164772, PRO.
- 60 J.T.Carroll, 'General de Gaulle and Ireland's EEC application', pp. 81-97, in P.Joannon (ed.), *De Gaulle and Ireland* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1991), p. 89.
- 61 M.Vaisse, 'De Gaulle and the British "application" to join the Common Market', pp. 51-69, in G.Wilkes (ed.), *Britain's failure to enter the European Community, 1961-63: the enlargement negotiations and crises in European, Atlantic and Commonwealth relations* (London: Frank Cass, 1997), *passim*.
- 62 Lintott note, 23 October 1962, M6314/24, FO371/164772, PRO.
- 63 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 158-60.
- 64 Emilio Colombo (EEC Council president) to Lemass, 23 October 1962, D/T-S17339/62, NA. In the original Italian, this document read: 'mi prego comunicarLe che il Consiglio dei Ministri della Comunità Economica Europea ... si è pronunciato sulla domanda del Governo irlandese di aprire negoziati per aderire al Trattato di Roma ... Sono lieto d'informarLa che il Consiglio dei Ministri ha dato all'unanimità il suo accordo a questa domanda di apertura di negoziati'.
- 65 Lemass to Colombo, 9 November 1962, D/T-S17339/62, NA.
- 66 Spaak view referred to in O.Rathkolb, 'The Austrian case: from the neutrals' association approach to a "special arrangement" with the EEC (1961-1963)', pp. 1-29, paper presented at the conference entitled *The first attempt to enlarge the European Community, 1961-63*, held from 17-19 February 1994 at the IUE, p. 25.
- 67 Ray Colegate (EFTA official, Brussels) quoted in R.T.Griffiths & S.Ward, 'United house or abandoned ship? EFTA and the EEC membership crisis, 1961-63', pp. 1-26, paper presented at the conference entitled *The first attempt to enlarge the European Community, 1961-63*, held from 17-19 February 1994 at the IUE, pp. 20-1.

- 68 Lemass statement reported in the *Irish Press*, 24 October 1962. Originally quoted in P.B.Ellis, *A history of the Irish working class* (London: Pluto, 1985), p. 301.
- 69 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 30 October 1962, *Dáil debates* vol. 197 cols. 7-8.
- 70 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 22 November 1962, *Dáil debates* vol. 197 cols. 1688-9.
- 71 Barclay minute, 19 October 1962, M6314/25, FO371/164772, PRO.
- 72 Report of departmental secretaries meeting, 13 December 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 73 J.Laursen, 'The great challenge: Denmark and the first attempt to enlarge the European Community, 1961-63', pp. 1-24, paper presented at the conference entitled *The first attempt to enlarge the European Community, 1961-63*, held from 17-19 February 1994 at the IUE, p. 1.
- 74 These subjects respectively form the basis of the next two sections entitled *Lemass prepares for entry negotiations with the EEC to begin* and *Ireland and the other two European Communities*.
- 75 Unless otherwise specified, this section – entitled *Lemass prepares for EEC entry negotiations to begin* – has been completed using the following: *Treaty establishing the European Economic Community, passim*; draft brief for negotiations with the EEC, circa December 1962, D/T-S17339/62Annex, NA.
- 76 T.K.Whitaker, 'An ceangal le sterling: ar cheart é a bhriseadh?', pp. 82-90, in *Annual report: Central Bank of Ireland, 1976*, p. 86. In Irish, it read: 'nuair a bhí muide ag bisiú an tsaoil bhí Sasana ag dul ar gcúl'.
- 77 H.Böll, *Irishes Tagesbuch* (Köln: Verlag Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1957), pp. 36-8. The author recounts a story where, upon arriving in Westport, County Mayo, without anything except West German marks, his efforts to exchange some of his currency proves to be difficult. The bank manager there told the writer that he would have to send the notes on to Dublin for verification and, eventually, the transaction was conducted successfully in that way. Meanwhile, the author continued his travels in Ireland on credit. It is interesting to note that tourism was quickly recognised in Ireland as an important sectoral employer, as well as a foreign currency earner, and that such accounts soon became things of the past.

Lemass, the new industry & commerce minister, remarked upon the potential that tourism held soon after returning to office in 1957, noting that this type of trade was expected to grow at the rate of 10% *per annum* within Europe, in addition to increased transatlantic trade. In turn, the foreign minister was able to report that over the next six years, Ireland's total income from tourism increased by IR£21 million, that is by 63%, and was very happy to add that 'tourism is becoming a rapidly increasing element in our external earnings'. Lemass speaking in Seanad Éireann, 11 December 1957, *Seanad debates* vol. 48 cols. 1152-3; Aiken speaking in Seanad Éireann, 18 November 1964, *Seanad debates* vol. 58 col. 45.

As Richard Vaughan subsequently wrote: 'In 1970, in Ireland, tourism was the largest single export and the greatest national industry, providing 15 per cent of employment and an income of £101 million'; it should be noted that Sean Barrett, a lecturer in economics at University College, Dublin, has noted that: 'Tourism into the Republic did not grow at all between 1966 and 1986'. However, in the period under review, there is no doubt but that tourism became both a very important source of employment and income, even if its full potential was not realised for another two



- decades. S.Barrett, 'Time to reap the benefits from open skies', *Irish Times*, 8 January 1999; Vaughan, *Twentieth-century Europe*, pp. 194-5.
- 78 Especially when looked at in retrospect, the figures do not mask the reality. Towards the end of 1964, Aiken tried his best to dress up the improvements in Irish export figures, but failed to hide the truth of the situation. He said:
- In 1963 alone, our exports to every single country of the EEC increased and the over-all increase for the Common Market area was 40 per cent in value terms as compared with 1962. To the EFTA area, including Great Britain, our exports increased from £125 million to £140 million, an increase of 12 per cent in the same period. The same level of expansion, namely 12 per cent, is apparent in our export trade to the dollar area for 1963 as against 1962.
- No matter how hard he tried to cover up the fact, the UK remained the first among unequals. Aiken speaking in Seanad Éireann, 18 November 1964, *Seanad debates* vol. 58 cols. 44-5.
- 79 The fears that Dublin held regarding dumping are easily explained, but one of the few effective tools that it previously had at its disposal was the right to introduce a customs duty. As the taoiseach had himself said on more than one occasion, duties such as these were 'increased and extended to protect the output of the Irish manufacturers against imports from the Continent which appeared to be of the character of dumping'. In accepting the Treaty of Rome, Ireland would have to operate by different rules that might not offer such security. Lemass speaking in Seanad Éireann, 27 March 1958, *Seanad debates* vol. 49 col. 328.
- 80 In the light of subsequent developments, this opinion is particularly interesting, especially in relation to Article 119. After its economic effects, it is arguable that the area in which Ireland has been affected most by European integration has been social policy, particularly with regard to the concept of men and women being treated equally, expressly with regard to equal pay for equal work, before the law. It is worth noting that Ireland's civil service bar on married women was revoked during the 1960s, but that societal attitudes were fairly slow to change; it should be mentioned that, of all the civil servants who dealt with the first application for full EEC membership, the only Irish government department that was headed by a woman was the newly formed Department of Transport & Power (D/T&P).
- 81 Lemass to Nolan, 25 September 1962, D/T-S17389/62, NA; Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 13 December 1962, *Dáil debates* vol. 198 col. 1477, D/T-S17389/62, NA.
- 82 *Irish Independent*, 14 December 1962, D/T-S17389/62, NA.
- 83 Lemass to Nolan, 12 December 1962, D/T-S17389/62, NA; *Irish Independent*, 14 December 1962, D/T-S17389/62, NA; Cremin to Whitaker, 18 December 1962, D/T-S17389/62, NA; report of departmental secretaries meeting, 10 January 1963, D/T-S17337/63, NA.
- 84 Lemass speech delivered to the Cork Chamber of Commerce, 15 November 1962, D/T-S17389/62Annex, NA.
- 85 Lemass speech delivered to the Fianna Fáil Árd-Fheis in Dublin, 20 November 1962, D/T-S17389/62, NA.
- 86 Lee, 'Staying in the game?', p. 124.
- 87 Lemass speech delivered at the opening of a new factory in Ennis, County Clare, 3 December 1962, D/T-S17389/62, NA.

- 88 European Communities is a generic term for the three organisations that operated collectively at the forefront of European integration, that is the ECSC, the EEC and Euratom. However, as this particular section makes it perfectly clear, the Irish government was only really interested in membership of one of these.
- 89 Keatinge, *The formulation of Irish foreign policy*, p. 307.
- 90 Lemass speech delivered in Brussels on 18 January 1962 quoted in D/F memorandum on Euratom, *circa* December 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 91 D/F memorandum on Euratom, *circa* December 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 92 Interdepartmental Committee report on Ireland's membership of the ECSC, *circa* December 1962, D/T-S17170/62, NA.
- 93 Francis Biggar (ambassador to Belgium, minister to Luxembourg and chef de mission to the EEC) to Cremin, 8 November 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA. It was Arthur Tandy, the UK chef de mission to the EEC, who had telephoned Biggar.
- 94 Lemass to Nolan, 13 November 1962, D/T-S17170/62, NA; Nolan to Whitaker, 13 November 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 95 Heath speech to the ministers of the ECSC member states, 17 July 1962, D/T-S17170/62, NA; Biggar to Cremin, 8 November 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 96 Whitaker to Nolan, 14 November 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 97 Keatinge, *The formulation of Irish foreign policy*, p. 31.
- 98 Greenwood (ed.), *Britain and European integration since the Second World War*, pp. 70-1; Mally, *Britain and European unity*, p. 39. The latter refers to the association agreement signed between the ECSC and the UK in London on 21 December 1954.
- 99 Keogh, *Twentieth-century Ireland*, p. 229.
- 100 Cremin's view as stated in the report from the departmental secretaries meeting, 13 December 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 101 Lemass to Nolan, 19 October 1961, D/T-S17170/61, NA.
- 102 Lemass to Lynch, 1 November 1961, D/T-S17170/61, NA.
- 103 Interdepartmental Committee report on Ireland's membership of the ECSC, *circa* December 1962, D/T-S17170/62, NA; D/F note on the Irish coal and steel industries, early January 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA.
- 104 'Irlande/Relation/Pays tiers/CECA', 1961 CEAB 5/953 1-3, ACE; 'Irlande/Relation/Pays tiers/CECA', 1961 CEAB 5/954 1-35, ACE (author's emphasis). In the original French, the document read:  
 Dans le case de l'IRLANDE, la Commission s'est abstenue de préciser les demandes de concessions étant donné qu'il ne s'agit que de pourparlers préalables en vue d'une adhésion de l'IRLANDE au GATT. La CECA ferait donc bien de renoncer, elle aussi, à une précision de ses demandes présentées dans la liste commune.
- 105 D/F note on the Irish coal and steel industries, early January 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA.
- 106 Interdepartmental Committee report on Ireland's membership of the ECSC, *circa* December 1962, D/T-S17170/62, NA; D/F note on the Irish coal and steel industries, early January 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA.
- 107 Interdepartmental Committee report on Ireland's membership of the ECSC, *circa* December 1962, D/T-S17170/62, NA; D/F note on the Irish coal and steel industries, early January 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA; Government Information Bureau press release, 14 January 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA.

- 108 Seán Murray (D/F assistant secretary) to J.Connor (D/T&P assistant secretary), 19 December 1962, D/T-S17170/62, NA; report of departmental secretaries meeting, 13 December 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 109 Whitaker memorandum on the implications of Euratom membership for Ireland, *circa* September 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA; T.J.Beere (D/T&P secretary) to Whitaker, 23 November 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA; D/F memorandum on Euratom, *circa* December 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 110 Whitaker memorandum on the implications of Euratom membership for Ireland, *circa* September 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA; D/F memorandum on Euratom, *circa* December 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 111 MacCarthy to Murray, 19 September 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 112 Nagle to Murray, 20 September 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA; D/F memorandum on Euratom, *circa* December 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 113 Beere to Whitaker, 23 November 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 114 D/EA memorandum, 17 November 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA; Irish cabinet minutes, 23 November 1962, CAB2/22, NA; Nolan to Cremin, 23 November 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA; Carroll, 'General de Gaulle and Ireland's EEC application', p. 90.
- 115 Report of departmental secretaries meeting, 13 December 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 116 Report of departmental secretaries meeting, 10 January 1963, D/T-S17337/63, NA.
- 117 Cremin to Whitaker, 15 December 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 118 Note of telephone conversation between the D/EA and Biggar, 20 December 1962, D/T-S17170/62, NA; Whitaker to MacCarthy, 2 January 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA.
- 119 Murray to Beere, 21 December 1962, D/T-S17170/62, NA.
- 120 Biggar to Cremin, 22 January 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA.
- 121 Article 98 of the *Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community* in *Treaties establishing the European Communities* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1973), p. 99.
- 122 Lemass to J.W.de Pous (ECSC Council president), 7 January 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA.
- 123 E.Rumpf & A.C.Hepburn, *Nationalism and socialism in twentieth-century Ireland* (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1977), p. 118; C.Bellò, *L'onesta democrazia di Piero Malvestiti: memorie e documenti* (Milan: Nuove Edizioni Duomo, 1985), p. 259; Biggar to Cremin, 22 January 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA.
- 124 J.P.Slavin (embassy official, London) to Sheila Murphy (D/EA assistant secretary), 29 January 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA. The senior official in question was J.R.A.Bottomley, assistant secretary at the CRO.
- 125 Slavin to Murphy, 31 January 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA.
- 126 Lemass to Carroll, 4 February 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA.
- 127 D/F note on the Irish coal and steel industries, early January 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA.
- 128 Cremin to Whitaker, 15 December 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 129 Whitaker to Cremin, 20 December 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA.
- 130 Article 205 of the *Treaty establishing the European Atomic Energy Community* in *Treaties establishing the European Communities* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1983), p. 624.
- 131 Biggar telephone call to D/EA, 28 February 1963, D/T-S17337/63, NA; Biggar to D/EA, 28 March 1963, D/T-S17337/63, NA.

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- 132 Biggar to Cremin, 3 April 1963, D/T-S17337/63, NA.
- 133 D/F note on the Irish coal and steel industries, early January 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA.
- 134 Whitaker to O'Carroll, 4 February 1963, D/T-S17170/63, NA.
- 135 D/F memorandum on Euratom, *circa* December 1962, D/T-S17337/62, NA; Biggar to Cremin, 3 April 1963, D/T-S17337/63, NA.
- 136 C.de Gaulle, 'Conférence de press tenue au Palais de l'Élysée', 14 January 1963, in *Discours et messages: pour l'effort, août 1962-décembre 1965* (Paris: Librairie Pion, 1970), pp. 61-79; D.J.Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 161. In the original French, de Gaulle declared:  
L'Angleterre ... est insulaire, maritime, liée par ses échanges, ses marchés, son ravitaillement, aux pays les plus divers et souvent les plus lointains. Elle exerce une activité essentiellement industrielle et commerciale et très peu agricole. Elle a, dans tout son travail, des habitudes et des traditions très marquées, très originales. Bref, la nature, la structure, la conjuncture, qui sont propres à l'Angleterre, différent profondément de celles des Continentaux.
- In addition, the French president had also been moved to ask whether the UK government was prepared to accept what he termed:  
... un tarif qui soit véritablement commun, de renoncer à toute préférence à l'égard du Commonwealth, de cesser de prétendre que son agriculture soit privilégiée et encore de tenir pour caducs les engagements qu'elle a pris avec les pays qui font partie de sa zone de libre-échange.
- 137 Report of departmental secretaries meeting, 10 January 1963, D/T-S17337/63, NA.
- 138 W.Kaiser, 'To join, or not to join: the "appeasement" policy of Britain's first EEC application', pp. 144-56, in B.Brivati & H.Jones (eds), *From reconstruction to integration: Britain and Europe since 1945* (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993), p. 148.
- 139 P.Gerbet, 'French attitudes to the foreign policy and defence of Europe', pp. 150-9, in F.-G.Dreyfus *et al* (eds), *France and EEC membership evaluated* (London: Pinter, 1993), pp. 150-2.
- 140 Kaiser, 'To join, or not to join', p. 151.
- 141 Carroll, 'General de Gaulle and Ireland's EEC application', pp. 82 & 96.
- 142 CRO note, 31 January 1963, M10811/5, FO371/171401, PRO.
- 143 French agriculture minister in conversation with Christopher Soames in January 1963, quoted in Arter, *The politics of European integration in the twentieth century*, p. 145 (not my emphasis). Originally cited in Macmillan, *At the end of the day*, p. 365. In the original French, this statement read: 'C'est très simple. Maintenant, avec les six, il y a cinq poules et un coq. Si vous joignez (avec des autres pays), il y aura peut-être sept ou huit poules. Mais, il y aura *deux* coqs'. Brown, *In my way*, p. 220.
- 144 R.T.Griffiths speaking at the conference entitled *EFTA at its creation* held at the University of Oslo from 14-15 May 1992.
- 145 Lemass speech delivered on 16 January 1963 at the opening of the new Potez Industries of Ireland, Ltd., plant in Galway, GIS1/217, NA.
- 146 Lemass speech delivered on 16 January 1963 at the opening of the new Potez Industries of Ireland, Ltd., plant in Galway, GIS1/217, NA.
- 147 Lemass speech delivered to a Fianna Fáil party Comhairle Dáil-Cheantair (constituency committee) in Dublin, 24 January 1963, GIS1/217, NA.
- 148 Carroll, 'General de Gaulle and Ireland's EEC application', p. 90.

- 149 Lemass speech delivered at the Catholic Workers' College in Dublin, 29 January 1963, GIS1/217, NA.
- 150 Lemass speech delivered at the Catholic Workers' College in Dublin, 29 January 1963, GIS1/217, NA.
- 151 T.K.Whitaker, 'From protection to free trade: the Irish experience', pp. 405-23, in *Administration* vol. 21 no. 4 1973, *passim*.
- 152 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 5 February 1963, *Dáil debates* vol. 199 cols. 932-8.
- 153 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 5 February 1963, *Dáil debates* vol. 199 cols. 939-40. Originally quoted in Bew & Patterson, *Seán Lemass*, pp. 141-2 & 174.
- 154 Arter, *The politics of European integration in the twentieth century*, p. 153.
- 155 Mally, *Britain and European unity*, pp. 101-36. The latter quoted from statements delivered by the Belgian, German, Luxembourg, Dutch and UK foreign ministers, as well as the Italian industry minister, in Brussels, 29 January 1963, and from a speech delivered by Hallstein on 5 February 1963 to the European Parliament in Strasbourg.
- 156 CRO memorandum, 31 January 1963, M10811/5, FO371/171401, PRO; M.E.MacGlashan note, early February 1963, M10811/5, FO371/171401, PRO; F.G.K.Gallagher minute, 1 February 1963, M10811/5, FO371/171401, PRO; Gallagher minute, 4 February 1963, M10811/5, FO371/171401, PRO.
- 157 CRO memorandum, 31 January 1963, M10811/5, FO371/171401, PRO; MacGlashan note, early February 1963, M10811/5, FO371/171401, PRO; Gallagher minute, 1 February 1963, M10811/5, FO371/171401, PRO; Gallagher minute, 4 February 1963, M10811/5, FO371/171401, PRO.
- 158 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 166-9 & 185-91.
- 159 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 166-9 & 185-91.
- 160 K.Young, *Sir Alec Douglas-Home* (London: J.M.Dent, 1970), p. 152.
- 161 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 166-9 & 185-91.
- 162 Lemass reply to a question in Dáil Éireann, 10 June 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 216 col. 722; Lemass reply to a question in Dáil Éireann, 3 March 1966, *Dáil debates* vol. 221 col. 922.
- 163 Moore *et al*, 'Industrial policy and economic development', p. 110.
- 164 Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*, p. 630.
- 165 P.J.Hillery (former president and foreign minister) lecture (paper unavailable) entitled 'Ireland's accession to the European Community' presented on 5 March 1998 at the IUE; Whitaker, 'From protection to free trade', pp. 422-3. The latter was originally quoted in Baxter-Moore, 'The impact', pp. 45 & 71.
- 166 T.K.Whitaker speaking at the conference entitled *The first attempt to enlarge the European Community, 1961-63* held from 17-19 February 1994 at the IUE.
- 167 M.Freedman, 'Irish neutrality doesn't forsake the rule of law', *Chicago Daily News*, 16 May 1964, D/FA-96/40 Washington (formerly P150/1), NA.
- 168 Obviously, this particular text is not the place to go into questions such as the complexities of evolving social policy; still, Peter Sutherland has pointed out a couple of important developments regarding the 'doctrines of the supremacy of Community Law and Direct Effect' that deserve a mention, issues which apparently attracted little enough attention in Ireland. Indeed, he added: 'The former of these is of course centrally important to the sovereignty issue as it provides that Community law may override all national laws (including written Constitutions). The doctrine of Direct Effect, established in 1963, provided that under certain conditions the provisions of European law would have Direct Effect and might provide rights and

remedies for individuals that are enforceable against Member States'. Sutherland, 'Ireland', p. 247.

## Chapter 5

- 1 Lemass interview conducted with the *Cork Examiner*, 29 July 1965, 'European Economic Community, 23.6.1965-15.10.1965' D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 2 Williams, 'Irish foreign policy, 1949-69', pp. 144 & 146. It is the opinion of T.D.Williams that 'political collaboration' was a more important result of the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area agreement (AIFTA), and other developments in Anglo-Irish relations, than economic cooperation; however, he freely acknowledges that Lemass himself was 'more concerned with issues such as economic growth and development', thus diverging from the more traditional Fianna Fáil views held by the likes of de Valera and Aiken.
- 3 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 167-8.
- 4 F.Nicholson & R.East, *From the Six to the Twelve: the enlargement of the European Communities* (Harlow: Longman, 1987), p. 84. This text referred to an official Franco-Irish joint communiqué dating from 13 June 1964. Evidence which backs up this opinion regarding the enduring good nature of Franco-Irish economic ties, as well as other links with Europe, are as many as they are varied. Perhaps the fact that it was remarked upon in the writings of authors such as Brendan Behan is proof enough of their positive impact; indeed, in the mid-1950s – possibly in relation to the Italian investors referred to in the section in this chapter entitled *The taoiseach's visit to Rome for the papal consistory* – he wrote that 'the motor assembly people should be as welcome as the flowers of May; they bring Continental technique and a width of ideas as wide as Europe to our shores'. However, flowers wither not long after they bloom; the car assembly industry was one of the manufacturing enterprises which was expected to suffer the most from the onset of free trading conditions. B.Behan, 'On the road to Kilkenny', pp. 155-8, in B.Behan, *Hold your hour and have another* (Aylesbury: Corgi, 1970), p. 155. This article was originally written for the *Irish Press* sometime between 1954 and 1956.
- 5 Nicholson & East, *From the Six*, pp. 84-5; Franco-Irish joint communiqué, 13 June 1964. The former text made reference to an official French cabinet communiqué from 17 June 1964, and also made reference to an official Franco-Irish statement which dated from *circa* 9 July 1964. Again, Brendan Behan recounts some of his own experiences in this regard, especially on the subject of his travels on the 'Continong' in the 1950s. B.Behan, 'I'm back from the "Continong"', pp. 122-5, in Behan, *Hold your hour*, p. 122.
- 6 Nicholson & East, *From the Six*, pp. 84-5; official Franco-Irish joint communiqué, 13 June 1964. Other than economic relations, the other main references were made in regard to their historical ties and close cultural links. In relation to the former, Aiken and de Murville noted 'with satisfaction that no difficulties exist in Franco-Irish relations, which are characterized by a friendship deeply rooted in history and by a mutual and profound sympathy between the two peoples'; regarding the latter, strong reference was made to a future cultural agreement that was going to be negotiated, which would include:
  - developing a programme for more cultural interchange;

- increasing the number of exchange programmes and scholarships;
  - encouraging the teaching of French in Irish schools.
- 7 Aiken speaking in Seanad Éireann, 18 November 1964, *Seanad debates* vol. 58 cols. 41-2 & 45. The foreign minister added his view that:
- Our missions are directly concerned with a wide range of commercial problems involving Governments abroad. These arise principally in connection with the negotiation and operation of trade agreements and other similar arrangements and involve frequent representations to Governments in regard to the modification of official import restrictions. Our missions are called upon to deal with a sizeable volume of inquiries from State-sponsored organisations and from private trade, and to arrange contacts in the commercial and foreign earnings fields for visiting Irish interests. In addition, the missions have to keep in touch with market developments generally in the countries of their accreditation and to explore market opportunities of interest to Ireland. Our missions are as a matter of course required to report on the economic policies of the Governments to which they are accredited and on reactions in their countries of accreditation to developments in the main international economic organisations whose activities are of particular interest to our own economy. It will, I am sure, be appreciated that the duties I have outlined represent a heavy and varied volume of responsibility, especially in view of the size of missions and the other demands on the time of the staff.
- 8 D/F publication of 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, December, 1964', circa late January 1965, 'European Economic Community, 1.1.1965-30.4.1965' D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 9 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 11 November 1964, *Dáil debates* vol. 212 col. 667, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 10 Lemass speech to the NFA in Dublin, 6 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 11 Lemass speech to the NFA in Dublin, 6 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 12 Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 178.
- 13 Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 178.
- 14 Lemass speech to the NFA in Dublin, 6 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 15 Charles Haughey took over as Irish agriculture minister from Paddy Smith when the latter resigned alleging that the taoiseach was sacrificing rural interests for urban advancement.
- 16 *Irish Press*, 27 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; Gallagher, 'Electoral support', p. 27.
- 17 Irish embassy (Brussels) report of a meeting held on 26 January 1965 between Haughey and Jean Rey (Executive Commissioner for Foreign Relations at the EEC), 26 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 18 Irish embassy (Brussels) report on the meeting held between Haughey and Rey, 26 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 19 Irish embassy (Brussels) report on the meeting held between Haughey and Rey, 26 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA. The EEC Commission official in question was Robert Touleman, Head of Section concerned with relations between the Community and third countries. In fact, as a result of the arguments regarding its candidacy, it was ascertained that the 'Austrians could never be full members of the Community', more for political reasons obviously than for anything else. Ireland was

- still conscious of not falling into the same trap as before because of its military neutrality, but mostly as a result of its economic retardation.
- 20 Irish embassy (Brussels) report on the meeting held between Haughey and Rey, 26 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 21 Irish embassy (Brussels) report on the meeting held between Haughey and Rey, 26 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; D/F publication of 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, February, 1965', *circa* late March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 22 Irish embassy (Brussels) report of a meeting held on 27 January 1965 between Haughey and Sicco Mansholt (Vice President of the Commission of the EEC and Executive Commissioner for Agriculture at the EEC), 27 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; D/T report entitled 'Possibility of interim arrangement with the EEC and Britain', 24 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA. It was later said of Mansholt's proposition that:
- His speculation in this regard was in the direction of quantitative access arrangements between Britain and a Community of which Ireland was a member. Britain ... might be willing to accord such an enlarged Community quantitative access on a scale equal to that enjoyed in Britain by Ireland. This access might not necessarily be reserved for Ireland. In return the Community would give a reciprocal tariff quota arrangement to Britain.
- 23 Irish embassy (Brussels) report on the meeting held between Haughey and Mansholt, 27 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; D/T report entitled 'Possibility of interim arrangement with the EEC and Britain', 24 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 24 Irish embassy (Brussels) report on the meeting held between Haughey and Mansholt, 27 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 25 *Irish Press*, 28 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA. The official in question was Rolf Lahr, the West German secretary of state for foreign affairs.
- 26 Note on a meeting held on 31 January 1965 between Haughey and Schwarz (FRG agriculture, forestry & food minister) in Berlin, 31 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 27 *Irish Press*, 3 February 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 28 *Irish Independent*, 4 February 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 29 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 11 November 1964, *Dáil debates* vol. 212 col. 667, D/T-S17427Q, NA; *Irish Independent*, 28 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; *Irish Press*, 28 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; *Irish Times*, 28 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; Lemass memorandum, 1 February 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; Eamonn Kennedy (ambassador, Bonn) to D/EA secretary, 5 February 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 30 Haughey speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 11 February 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 214 cols. 343-4, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 31 Lemass speech delivered to the Chamber of Commerce in Cork, 4 February 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 32 Lemass speech delivered to the Chamber of Commerce in Cork, 4 February 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 33 J.W.Lennon (ambassador, The Hague) to D/EA secretary, 10 February 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; Lennon to D/EA secretary, 23 February 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; Lennon to D/EA secretary, 3 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; Lennon to D/EA secretary, 15 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.



- 34 Lemass speech delivered to the Chamber of Commerce in Cork, 4 February 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 35 McCann to Whitaker, 12 February 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; McCann note, 12 February 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 36 This section, entitled *The taoiseach's visit to Rome for the papal consistory*, makes fairly liberal use of Dermot Keogh's *Ireland and the Vatican*, although all specific references are noted. D.Keogh, *Ireland and the Vatican: the politics and diplomacy of church-state relations, 1922-1960* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1995), *passim*.
- 37 Keogh, *Ireland and the Vatican*, pp. 318-20. By way of illustration, many episodes might be chosen. Rather than repeating those that have already been published, however, it is more profitable to concentrate on a couple of less well-known, although interlinked, events. Firstly, there was the Irish president's trip to Italy in 1950 and, secondly, a later president's inability and reluctance to do the same. The first official trip by an Irish head of state to Italy came in May 1950, when Seán T.O'Kelly paid a visit to the post-war republic. Ostensibly, he went to Rome for a papal audience – soon after causing considerable controversy because of his indiscretion in revealing its contents – and then to Bobbio – in order to commemorate the fourteenth centenary of Saint Columbanus' founding of a basilica there. To enthusiastic greetings from the inhabitants, he noted that it was a great privilege for him to be in Bobbio to venerate an Irish and Italian saint; he addressed his audience in Italian, saying: 'È un gran privilegio per me come capo dello stato d'Irlanda di venire qui per venerare ... nostro santo, adesso vostro santo'. He also used the occasion of his trip to remark that Italy was a progressive and prosperous nation, with a population possessing many qualities, who he encouraged to strive to maintain peace. In Italian, his rather presumptuous and pretentious, never mind to say offensive and patronising, speech read:
- L'Italia ... mi è sembrata un paese molto progredito e prospero. Dovunque una popol-azione molto intensa, sana gente, intelligente, colta, educata: uomini e donne; molti figli; in genere ben vestiti e ben nutriti; le quali cose vogliono indicare un futuro prospero per il vostro popolo, che spero lo raggiunga e mantenga, nella pace, per molti anni.
- Whatever the Italians made of O'Kelly, his successor was invited back in August 1965 on the occasion of the 27th bi-centenary of the death of Saint Columbanus. De Valera declined the invitation, noting that Joseph Shields, the ambassador to Italy, would be there; he regretted not being able to be present, saying that he had 'most happy memories of my former visit'. It is not that so much should be read into the Irish president declining this particular invitation though, just that the Irish view of Italy was for so long coloured by religion alone that Lemass's visit in early 1965 seems to have been all the more incongruous. Seán T.O'Kelly (Irish president) speech delivered in Bobbio (Italy), *circa* 13 May 1950, quoted in *Liberta*, 14 May 1950, 'Bobbio' 98/1/40 (formerly D/UhÉ-P4510), NA; Monsignor Pietro Zuccarino (Bishop of Bobbio) to de Valera, 1 August 1965, 98/1/40, NA; de Valera to Zuccarino, 26 August 1965, 98/1/40, NA.
- 38 Article 44.1.2°, *Bunreacht na hÉireann*, quoted in Kelly, *Irish constitution*, p. 537. This article of *Bunreacht na hÉireann* granted the Catholic Church its 'special position' in Irish society; it read:
- The State recognises the special position of the Holy Catholic Apostolic and Roman Church as the guardian of the Faith professed by the great majority of the citizens.

- This clause was subsequently revoked in the early 1970s by an overwhelming majority in what was the fifth amendment to the Irish constitution; that referendum also deleted a further clause which recognised the other churches operating in Ireland, leaving the constitution to profess the freedom of religious conscience and practice enshrined in law on a general basis.
- 39 Whyte, *Church and state*, pp. 331 & 362-3. It is quite obvious that the Holy See was a particularly important posting in diplomatic terms considering the calibre of its office holders, who included Thomas J.Kiernan (who would serve as the ambassador to the US), Joseph P.Walshe (who had served as external affairs secretary), and Con C.Cremin (who would go on to serve in that position). In later years, it does not appear as if the Vatican continued to have such import. Moynihan to the D/UhÉ secretary, 11 November 1958, 'Holy See: Appt. of Irish Rep. ' 98/1/54 (formerly D/UhÉ-U5111), NA.
- 40 *Irish Press*, 1 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 41 McCann to Thomas V.Commins (ambassador, Holy See), 10 February 1965, 'Visit to Rome of Taoiseach, Public Consistory, Vatican, 25 February 1965', D/FA-96/2/13 (formerly D/FA-P387), NA.
- 42 *Irish Press*, 1 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 43 'Audience with Holy Father of Taoiseach on occasion of Public Consistory, 27 February 1965', D/FA-96/2/14 (formerly D/FA-P387/1), NA.
- 44 Irish ambassador (Holy See) to D/EA secretary, 11 March 1955, 'European Unity', D/FA-96/14/19 (formerly D/FA-14/89 Vatican), NA; Keogh, *Ireland and the Vatican*, *passim*.
- 45 Irish ambassador (Holy See) to D/EA secretary, 21 January 1955, D/FA-96/14/19, NA; Irish ambassador (Holy See) to D/EA secretary, 8 March 1955, D/FA-96/14/19, NA.
- 46 Irish ambassador (Holy See) to D/EA secretary, 3 August 1962, D/FA-96/14/19, NA.
- 47 Nicholas Nolan (D/T secretary) to McCann, 15 February 1965, D/FA-96/2/13, NA.
- 48 C.Richards, *The new Italians* (London: Penguin, 1995), p. 5.
- 49 D/FA report entitled 'Trade and Commercial Relations with Italy' prepared for the Lemass visit to Rome, *circa* mid-February 1965, D/FA-96/2/13, NA.
- 50 D/FA report, *circa* mid-February 1965, D/FA-96/2/13, NA.
- 51 D/FA report, *circa* mid-February 1965, D/FA-96/2/13, NA.
- 52 D/FA report entitled 'Italian Plan for European Political Union' prepared for the Lemass visit to Rome, *circa* mid-February 1965, D/FA-96/2/13, NA; D/FA report entitled 'Analysis of Italian Plan for European Political Union' prepared for the Lemass visit to Rome, *circa* mid-February 1965, D/FA-96/2/13, NA.
- 53 Michael Flynn (Irish embassy first secretary, Rome) note, 28 February 1965, D/FA-96/2/13, NA; D/F publication of 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, March, 1965', *circa* late April 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 54 Flynn note, 1 March 1965, D/FA-96/2/13, NA.
- 55 D/T report, 24 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; D/EA appendix entitled 'Alternative arrangement suggested by the Department of External Affairs', 24 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; Seán F.Murray (D/F official) to Nolan, 24 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA. Murray wrote to say that the report was agreed upon by the departmental secretaries.
- 56 Irish embassy (Brussels) report on the meeting held between Haughey and Mansholt, 27 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 57 D/T report, 24 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.

- 58 D/T report, 24 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 59 Irish embassy (Brussels) report on the meeting held between Haughey and Mansholt, 27 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; D/T report, 24 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 60 D/T report, 24 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; D/EA appendix, 24 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 61 D/F memorandum on 'European Political Integration', *circa* mid-April 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; D.J.Maher (D/F official) to D.O'Sullivan (D/EA assistant secretary), 21 April 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA. Quoted in the report 'European Political Integration', Lemass's speech was delivered to the Fianna Fáil Árd Fheis (annual party conference) on 16 January 1962. Some other notable elements were presented in this document which are worth mentioning in passing. Obviously enough, however, there was nothing new. In the section of the report which dealt with the various efforts that were made to develop the idea of European integration, even before the decision was taken to establish the EEC, little new insight or indeed information was put forward which was not already publicly available. In fact, the same might be said of the part dealing with the establishment of the EEC and the subsequent moves taken in the following five years towards achieving the goal of political integration. Indeed, this also applied to the sections centred on renewed efforts that were subsequently made in 1964 towards this end, as well as to some additional special aspects of European integration. On levels such as these, this Department of Finance presentation did not have very much to offer except as a recapitulation of how Ireland viewed the European political integration process.
- 62 D/F memorandum on 'European Political Integration', *circa* mid-April 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; Maher to O'Sullivan, 21 April 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 63 D/F publication of 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, March, 1965', *circa* late April 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 64 Lemass speech, 6 January 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; D/F publication of 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, February, 1965', *circa* late March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 178-81.
- 65 Biggar to D/EA secretary, 7 April 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA. The official in question here was Mr.Boegner (French permanent representative to the EEC).
- 66 Irish government cabinet minute GC11/1, 27 April 1965, 'Eleventh Government Cabinet Minutes GC11/1-GC11/83 27/4/65-4/8/66' 97/5/1, NA; Nolan to Whitaker, 27 April 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 67 Unpublished Lemass interview, 25 March 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 68 Lemass interview conducted with the *Irish Independent*, 23 April 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; Lemass interview conducted with the *Irish Independent*, 24 April 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 69 Haughey speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 29 April 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 215 cols. 442-3, D/T-S17427Q, NA.
- 70 Lemass note, 3 May 1965, 'European Economic Community, 1.5.1965-22.6.1965' D/T-S17427R/65, NA.
- 71 Lemass reply to a parliamentary question in Dáil Éireann, 4 May 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 215 col. 269, D/T-S17427R, NA.
- 72 J.G.Molloy (ambassador, London) to D/EA secretary, 4 May 1965, D/T-S17427Q, NA; Biggar to O'Sullivan, 7 May 1965, D/T-S17427R, NA.
- 73 Biggar to D/EA secretary, 7 May 1965, D/T-S17427R, NA. Biggar reported on the views of André Rossi (General Rapporteur of the European Parliament).

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- 74 Lemass speech delivered to the National Convention of Junior Chambers of Commerce of Ireland at the International Hotel in Bray, 1 May 1965, D/T-S17427R, NA.
- 75 Williams, 'Irish foreign policy', p. 143.
- 76 Lemass speech, 1 May 1965, D/T-S17427R, NA.
- 77 D/F publication 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, April, 1965', late May 1965, D/T-S17427R, NA.
- 78 Nicholson & East, *From the Six*, p. 85.
- 79 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 13 May 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 215 cols. 1315-20, D/T-S17427R, NA.
- 80 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 13 May 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 215 cols. 1315-20, D/T-S17427R, NA.
- 81 Lemass speaking in Dáil Éireann, 25 May 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 215 col. 1909, D/T-S17427R, NA.
- 82 Irish government cabinet minute, GC11/60, 29 March 1966, 'Eleventh Government Cabinet Minutes GC11/1-GC11/84: 27/4/65-4/8/66', 97/5/1, NA.
- 83 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 13 May 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 215 cols. 1315-20, D/T-S17427R, NA.
- 84 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 13 May 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 215 cols. 1315-20, D/T-S17427R, NA; Irish government cabinet minute GC12/66, 24 October 1967, 'Twelfth Government Cabinet Minutes GC12/8-GC12/76 3/1/67-19/12/67' 98/5/1, NA. It was only on 24 October 1967 that the finance minister, Charles Haughey, obtained cabinet approval for Ireland to join the GATT.
- 85 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 13 May 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 215 cols. 1315-20, D/T-S17427R, NA.
- 86 Whitaker to McCarthy, 19 July 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 87 Brendan Dillon (embassy official, Brussels) to O'Sullivan, 17 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA; Robert McDonagh (chargé d'affaires *ad interim*, Copenhagen) to D/EA secretary, 18 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA; Kennedy to D/EA secretary, 20 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA; Lennon to O'Sullivan, 20 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA; Dillon to O'Sullivan, 20 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA; Dillon to O'Sullivan, 23 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA; Shields to O'Sullivan, 24 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 88 In response to this latest in a series of EEC emergencies, it was noted in Irish diplomatic reports from Italy, for instance, that: 'It is considered that France cannot afford to let the EEC die'; indeed, similar reports from Luxembourg asserted that: 'The feeling is that the present crisis is not very different from previous crises and that, like those, will blow over'. D/F publication 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, July, 1965', 26 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 89 Lemass response to a parliamentary question in Dáil Éireann, 21 July 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 217 col. 1856, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 90 Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 13 May 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 215 col. 1315-20, D/T-S17427R, NA.
- 91 De Paor, *Divided Ulster*, p. 138.
- 92 *Irish Times*, 26 May 1965, D/T-S17427R, NA.
- 93 Biggar to O'Sullivan, 27 May 1965, D/T-S17427R, NA; Lemass speaking in Dáil Éireann, 9 June 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 216 col. 473, D/T-S17427R, NA.
- 94 Lemass speaking in Dáil Éireann, 10 June 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 216 cols. 721-2, D/T-S17427R, NA.

- 95 Seán Flanagan (junior industry & commerce minister) speaking in Seanad Éireann, 7 July 1965, *Seanad debates* vol. 59 col. 339.
- 96 J.F.Shields (ambassador, Rome), 15 July 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 97 D/F publication 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, July, 1965', 26 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 98 D/F publication 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, June, 1965', 28 July 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 99 D/F publication 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, July, 1965', 26 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 100 Lemass interview conducted with the *Cork Examiner*, 29 July 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 101 Lemass interview conducted with the *Cork Examiner*, 29 July 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA; D/F publication 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, July, 1965', 26 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 102 Lemass interview conducted with the *Cork Examiner*, 29 July 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA; D/F publication 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, July, 1965', 26 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 103 Lemass interview conducted with the *Cork Examiner*, 29 July 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA; D/F publication 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, July, 1965', 26 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 104 Lemass interview conducted with the *Cork Examiner*, 29 July 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 105 De Paor, *Divided Ulster*, p. 172.
- 106 Lemass interview conducted with the *Cork Examiner*, 29 July 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 107 D/F publication 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, July, 1965', 26 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 108 D/F publication 'Monthly digest of E.E.C. developments and related matters, July, 1965', 26 August 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA.
- 109 Biggar to O'Sullivan, 27 July 1965, D/T-S17427S, NA. Biggar had been in conversation with Mr.Lucion.
- 110 Irish government cabinet minute GC11/36, 29 November 1965, 97/5/1, NA.
- 111 Irish cabinet minute GC11/40, 10 December 1965, 97/5/1, NA.
- 112 Nicholson & East, *From the Six*, p. 85.
- 113 Lee, *Ireland*, 353. This quotation originally came from the following: J.Lynch, 'Why Ireland joined', in *Community report* vol. 3 no. 1 January 1983, p. 5.
- 114 Nicholson & East, *From the Six*, p. 85; Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 4 January 1966, *Dáil debates*, vol. 219 cols. 1139-40. Lemass actually went on to review the background to the AIFTA, but it is enough to comment on that here, rather than in the main text. In revealing how this new bilateral arrangement had come about, Frances Nicholson and Roger East have explained that the taoiseach mentioned the unsuccessful OEEC-sponsored FTA negotiations during the second half of the 1950s. In Dáil Éireann, they reveal that he now aired the view that Ireland had decided not to participate in EFTA at that point 'because of our expectations at that time that pressures to open up the EEC to include Britain and other West European countries were likely to build up', an interesting case of history seen in retrospect. At least he had the grace to admit that the Anglo-Irish negotiations which immediately followed EFTA's rejection of Ireland were 'largely unsuccessful'. A quick recap of de Gaulle's veto of the UK, with little or no emphasis on the EEC

overlooking Ireland, was followed by him recounting a meeting with Macmillan, and then others with Wilson, in order to remedy the perilous situation in which his government found itself.

115 Nicholson & East, *From the Six*, pp. 85-6; Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 4 January 1966, *Dáil debates*, vol. 219 cols. 1140-41.

116 Nicholson & East, *From the Six*, p. 86; Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 4 January 1966, *Dáil debates*, vol. 219 cols. 1139-61.

117 Nicholson & East, *From the Six*, p. 86; Lemass speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 4 January 1966, *Dáil debates*, vol. 219 cols. 1139-61.

118 Nicholson & East, *From the Six*, p. 86; Cosgrave's reply delivered in Dáil Éireann, 4 January 1966, *Dáil debates*, vol. 219 cols. 1162-75.

119 Nicholson & East, *From the Six*, p. 87.

120 Maher, *Tortuous path*, p. 179; Nicholson & East, *From the Six*, pp. 83 & 86-7.

121 Nicholson & East, *From the Six*, pp. 86-7.

122 Lemass reply to a parliamentary question in Dáil Éireann, 30 March 1966, *Dáil debates* vol. 222 cols. 266-9.

123 The OECD, instituted on 14 December 1960 and taking effect on 30 September 1961, originally included the OEEC states, Canada and the US. It listed its main objectives as follows:

- 'à réaliser la plus forte expansion possible de l'économie et de l'emploi et une progression du niveau de vie dans les pays Membres, tout en maintenant la stabilité financière, et contribuer ... au développement de l'économie mondiale';
- 'à contribuer à une saine expansion économique dans les pays Membres, ainsi que non membres, en voie de développement économique';
- 'à contribuer à l'expansion du commerce mondial sur une base multilatérale et non discriminatoire, conformément aux obligations internationales'.

OECD report, 'Irlande 1967', p. 2. This document is freely used in this section, but is noted if referred to specifically; see Chapter 2 for an analysis of *The OEEC's 1956 annual report*.

124 D.McAleese, 'Political independence, economic growth and the role of economic policy', pp. 271-95, in P.J.Drudy (ed.), *Irish studies 2 – Ireland: land, politics and people* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982), pp. 275-6. As Dermot McAleese has subsequently written:

Associated with ... growth in absolute living standards, and explaining much of it, was a sharp decline in the percentage of the labour force working in agriculture ... and a commensurate increase in the percentage working in industry ...

125 Statistics, upon which these opinions are based, were compiled using the following documents: OEEC report, 'Irlande 1961'; OECD report, 'Irlande 1962'; OECD report from March 1963 entitled 'Irlande 1963' (Paris: OCDE, 1963); OECD report from March 1964 entitled 'Irlande 1964' (Paris: OCDE, 1964); OECD report from March 1965 entitled 'Irlande 1965' (Paris: OCDE, 1965); OECD report from February 1966 entitled 'Irlande 1966' (Paris: OCDE, 1966); OECD report, 'Irlande 1967'.

126 Aiken speaking in Seanad Éireann, 18 November 1964, *Seanad debates* vol. 58 col. 46.

127 OECD report, 'Irlande 1967', *passim*. Statistics, upon which these opinions are based, were compiled using the following documents: OEEC report, 'Irlande 1961'; OECD

- report, 'Irlande 1962'; OECD report, 'Irlande 1963'; OECD report, 'Irlande 1964'; OECD report, 'Irlande 1965'; OECD report, 'Irlande 1966'; OECD report, 'Irlande 1967'; Central Statistics Office, *Ireland: trade and shipping statistics, passim*.
- 128 OECD report, 'Irlande 1967', p. 26.
- 129 OECD report, 'Irlande 1967', p. 28.
- 130 OECD report, 'Irlande 1967', p. 17.
- 131 Lemass reply to a parliamentary question in Dáil Éireann, 18 May 1966, *Dáil debates* vol. 222 col. 1962.
- 132 R.Foster, 'Orangemen backed by Pope', *Observer*, 12 July 1998. However, in writing that this move by Ireland to the European mainstream was the first instance of this phenomenon in nearly three hundred years, Roy Foster may be stretching the point. He was making an historical comparison, and in so doing taking a giant leap, between the Battle of the Boyne in 1690 and the 'Republic's enthusiastic adoption of Community membership over the past 20 years'. This modern version of 'Europeanisation' was equated to a war in which a 'grand coalition representing Spain, the Holy Roman Empire, the Netherlands, Sweden, Denmark, Bavaria and Brandenburg as well as Williamite England', at the very least implicitly blessed in their endeavours by the pope, faced up to the 'French-backed Jacobites'. This, Roy Foster holds, marked the previous instance in which Ireland was located in the 'mainstream of European events'.
- 133 Vaughan, *Twentieth-century Europe*, p. 178.
- 134 This data originally comes from the following publications: Central Statistics Office, *Ireland: trade and shipping statistics, passim*. It should be noted that the same categories were previously utilised in Chapter 2 under the section headed *1957: Ireland and the European integration question*.
- 135 The position Ireland faced was not all bad though; Dermot McAleese has added:  
     One could conclude that Ireland's diminished dependence on the U.K. as an export market has been replaced by an increased dependence on overseas subsidiaries' capacity to find market outlets in the U.S.A. and continental Europe.  
     McAleese, 'Political independence', pp. 277 & 281.
- 136 J.Haughton, 'The historical background', pp. 1-48, in J.W.O'Hagan (ed.), *The economy of Ireland: policy and performance of a small European country* (London: Macmillan, 1995), p. 37; Keogh, *Twentieth-century Ireland*, pp. 290-1.
- 137 Of course, the Seanad provided other opportunities between the years 1957 to 1966 for Ireland's European integration to be debated, but it appears that this platform was usually neglected. One of the few exceptions arose in the summer of 1961, when one of the senators elected by the university electorate, Patrick Quinlan, endeavoured to draw information from the Irish finance minister, James Ryan, an exchange referred to in Chapter 3 under the heading *Determining factors – Part II: domestic considerations*. Patrick Quinlan speech delivered in Seanad Éireann, 26 July 1961, *Seanad debates* vol. 54 cols. 1329-30 & 1356-80; Quinlan speaking in Seanad Éireann, 27 July 1961, *Seanad debates* vol. 54 cols. 1446-7.
- 138 Garret FitzGerald speech delivered in Seanad Éireann, 14 July 1966, *Seanad debates* vol. 61 cols. 1833-920.
- 139 FitzGerald speech delivered in Seanad Éireann, 14 July 1966, *Seanad debates* vol. 61 col. 1852. FitzGerald was referring to an Aiken speech delivered in Dáil Éireann, 11 February 1965, *Dáil debates* vol. 214 col. 205. Referring to a speech that the minister had made in the Dáil the previous year, FitzGerald chided Aiken for saying

so little about the EEC with the words: 'not exactly a dynamic utterance, that speech'. The former had a point, because all that the latter had been prepared to say on the EEC was:

We continue to follow closely the various developments in the European Economic Community through the Embassy in Brussels and by occasional visits by Ministers and officials to the Headquarters of the Organisation. Ireland's application for membership of the Community still stands and it is the intention of the Government to proceed with it at the earliest appropriate moment.

- 140 At this time, the taoiseach established a Department of Labour instead of a Department of European Affairs and, in so doing, devolved some responsibilities away from the Department of Industry & Commerce, thus stressing the emphasis of government policy. FitzGerald speech delivered in Seanad Éireann, 6 July 1966, *Seanad debates* vol. 61 col. 1537; FitzGerald speech delivered in Seanad Éireann, 14 July 1966, *Seanad debates* vol. 61 cols. 1833-920.
- 141 FitzGerald speech delivered in Seanad Éireann, 14 July 1966, *Seanad debates* vol. 61 cols. 1833-920; Aiken reply delivered in Seanad Éireann, 14 July 1966, *Seanad debates* vol. 61 cols. 1873-84. Reference is also made to an Aiken speech delivered in Seanad Éireann, 18 November 1964, *Seanad debates* vol. 58 cols. 47 & 53.
- 142 Haughton, 'Historical background', p. 37; Irish government cabinet minute GC11/60, 29 March 1966, 97/5/1, NA. In domestic terms, the setting up of An Chomhairle Oiliúna (AnCO) in 1966 was only part of the government's strategy to ready the population – in this case through the provision of industrial training – for the onset of free trade; through the latter decision, Aiken was given cabinet permission to ratify the European Convention on Extradition – which had been signed in Paris back in December 1957 – furnishing another instance of the government's adoption of Europeanising influences as a basis for external policy.
- 143 McAleese, 'Political independence', pp. 285-6; Williams, 'Irish foreign policy', p. 141. As T.D.Williams has written, this was the period that marked the 'beginning of the negotiations for a voluntary commitment to European integration'.
- 144 Williams, 'Irish foreign policy', *passim*. T.D.Williams has written that:  
 Aiken ... was not much interested in Europe. At one point he had advocated the reduction of Irish diplomatic representation in Western Europe to one single embassy. Lemass and Whitaker went to Europe ... in their effort to seek admission to the EEC; Aiken said little or nothing ... preference for the UN represented his conception of the respective importance of the UN historical role versus that of the European.  
 In his defence, however, Aiken is on record as having said: 'I am sure that no one who considers the matter carefully would suggest that any of the country's embassies should be closed'. Aiken speaking in Seanad Éireann, 18 November 1964, *Seanad debates* vol. 58 col. 46.
- 145 Notice of Aiken's absence, 2 June 1964, *Dáil debates* vol. 210 col. 298; FitzGerald, 'Irish neutrality and European integration', p. 4.

## Chapter 6

- 1 R.Munck, *Ireland: nation, state, and class struggle* (Boulder: Westview Press,



- 1985), pp. 32-4. Paul Bew and Henry Patterson use similar terminology when assessing Ireland's 'position in the international economy as a small, weak and dependent capitalist economy'. Bew & Patterson, *Seán Lemass*, p. 195.
- 2 Unattributed article, 'Around Europe in 40 years', *Economist*, 31 May 1997. The Luxembourg compromise arose in the first place because de Gaulle viewed the growing influence and power of European institutions as a burgeoning supranational development to the detriment of national independence. He had withdrawn his ministers from EEC meetings in 1965 as a consequence, paralysing the process of European integration.
  - 3 B.Laffan, *Integration and co-operation in Europe* (London: Routledge, 1992), p. 195.
  - 4 G.FitzGerald, 'Joining EEC brought heads and incomes up', *Irish Times*, 29 December 1997.
  - 5 Having been found guilty of inciting rebellion, a charge complicated by him being revealed a homosexual, Roger Casement was hanged as a traitor on 3 August 1916. Within a week of the reinstatement to Ireland of his remains, he was reinterred on 1 March 1965. The Irish president delivered an unpretentious oration at a funeral service accorded the status of a full state occasion; but, it had only been made possible by Wilson's acquiescence in releasing the body. In praising Casement, firstly as a native of Ulster, then as a humanitarian and also as a supporter of nationalism, the symbolism of the occasion was not lost on the domestic or international audience. De Valera speech delivered at Glasnevin Cemetery in Dublin, 1 March 1965, entitled 'At Casement's grave', pp. 603-5, in Moynihan (ed.), *Speeches and statements, passim*; A.J.P.Taylor, 'A patriot for one Ireland', pp. 253-9, in C.Wrigley (ed.), *From the Boer War to the Cold War: essays on twentieth-century Europe* (London: Hamish Hamilton, 1995), p. 253; P.Ziegler, *Wilson: the authorised life of Lord Wilson of Rievaulx* (London: Weidenfeld & Nicolson, 1993), pp. 242-3.
  - 6 Upon the flag's reinstatement, the taoiseach wrote to Wilson about the 'gratitude ... and deep appreciation of the Irish Government and people ... The return of the flag can be welcomed as yet another step towards the building of goodwill and the most friendly relations between our two countries'. Lemass concluded by thanking the UK prime minister for the 'speed and the generosity with which your government responded favourably to our representations for the return of the green flag bearing the words "Irish Republic"'. Symbolic gestures sometimes had tangible effects. R.Donnely, '1916 flag return praised', *Irish Times*, 1/2 January 1997; B.Purcell, 'Lemass praised Wilson for return of 1916 flag', *Irish Independent*, 1/2 January 1997. Both newspaper articles cited a letter from Lemass to Wilson, dated *circa* mid-April 1966.
  - 7 R.Donnely & R.Borrill, 'British feared IRA violence on anniversary', *Irish Times*, 1/2 January 1997. This newspaper article cited a UK cabinet report from Roy Jenkins (UK home secretary) to the UK government, dated *circa* 6 April 1966.
  - 8 Much of the basic information in this section has been drawn from Gallagher, *Electoral support, passim*. It concentrates on the domestic positions of political parties and how that pertained to Europe, especially on how this situation evolved once Fianna Fáil came back to power in 1957; an introduction to this area was presented in Chapter 1; it is headed *The political landscape and how it pertained to Europe: Part I*.
  - 9 Fine Gael internet publication, 'James Dillon', <http://www.finegae.com/jdillon.htm> (8 July 1997).

- 10 Fine Gael internet publication, 'Briefing paper on the history of Fine Gael 1933-1995, including comments on the place of Fine Gael in Irish political life', <http://www.finegael.com/hist.htm> (8 July 1997). It is also very interesting to note that this document concludes by stating that:  
Fine Gael is a party of Europe. In taking our place in a united Europe we will broaden our national identity and partake in a new arrangement where national conflicts will lose their significance. Fine Gael is the only party consistent with the view that Ireland's future is safe within a prosperous and united Europe. Europe will open new possibilities for the advancement of Ireland, a future where every person has a place.
- 11 M.Gallagher, *The Irish Labour party in transition, 1957-82* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1982), p. 50.
- 12 Lyons, *Ireland since the Famine*, p. 586.
- 13 Gallagher, *The Irish Labour party in transition*, p. 130.
- 14 Labour internet publication, 'Labour: history', <http://www.labour.ie/party/history.htm> (9 July 1997).
- 15 Hederman, *The road to Europe*, p. 22.
- 16 Gallagher, *The Irish Labour party in transition*, p. 47.
- 17 Fianna Fáil internet publication, 'The history of Fianna Fáil', <http://www.iol.ie/fiannafail/his.html> (8 July 1997).
- 18 Bradley *et al*, *Stabilization and growth on the European periphery*, p. 10. It is clear that the destination of exports began to alter in the early 1950s, but it was only at the end of the decade that this process began to gather pace; by the mid-1960s, though there was still room for progress, especially in attracting new markets on a consistent and viable basis, it was readily apparent that very real changes were taking place.
- 19 M.Davenport, 'The economic impact of the EEC', pp. 275-308, in R.T.Griffiths (ed.), *The economic development of the EEC*, vol. 12 of 'The economic development of Europe since 1870' (Cheltenham: Edgar Reference Collection, 1997), p. 280. Originally published as M.Davenport, 'The economic impact of the EEC', pp. 225-8, in A.Boltho (ed.), *The European economy: growth and crisis* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1982), p. 230.
- 20 Bradley *et al*, *Stabilization and growth on the EC periphery*, p. 10. Thus, this changing composition of Irish exports has been depicted before, although it was to be some years yet until goods other than animals and food were surpassed by non-agricultural goods as the largest percentage of total exports.
- 21 Davenport, 'The economic impact of the EEC', p. 283 (originally p. 233).
- 22 P.Bew *et al*, *The dynamics of Irish politics* (London: Lawrence & Wishart, 1989), p. 96. This view utilised M.Maguire, 'Ireland', pp. 241-384, in P.Flora (ed.), *Growth to limits: the Western European welfare states since World War II*, vol. 2 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1986), p. 342.
- 23 Munck, *Ireland*, p. 34. This view utilised B.Probert, *Beyond orange and green: the political economy of the Northern Ireland crisis* (London: Zen, 1979), p. 90.
- 24 F.Jameson, 'Modernism and imperialism', pp. 43-66, in T.Eagleton *et al*, *Nationalism, colonialism and literature* (Minneapolis: University of Minnesota Press, 1990), p. 47.
- 25 D.G.Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland* (London: Routledge, 1991), pp. 355-6.
- 26 J.Coakley, 'Fianna Fáil', pp. 191-2, in S.J.Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford companion to Irish history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1998), p. 192; R.J.Lawrence, *The Government of Northern Ireland: public finance and public services, 1921-1964*

(Oxford: Clarendon Press, 1965), p. 102; T.Wilson, *Ulster: conflict and consent* (London: Basil Blackwell, 1989), pp. 151-2. By the end of 1966, it should be noted that although the IRA remained in existence, it appears to have been well-monitored and to have had much of its activities curtailed, although the threat remained; it also seems that it was consciously concentrating on political rather than military means to pursue its aims. C.Keena, 'Garda document details IRA/Sinn Féin links', *Irish Times*, 2 January 1998. This newspaper article cited a document from the Irish police commissioner to Lynch, dated *circa* end November 1966; it also utilised a Peter Berry (Irish Department of Justice secretary) *aide-mémoire* to Lynch, dated *circa* end November 1966.

- 27 In 1959, Lemass related his view to a UK audience, subsequently published in a Fianna Fáil pamphlet, that:

It is, indeed, the simple truth that Ireland is one nation, in its history, in its geography and in its people, entitled to have its essential unity expressed in its political institutions ... Ireland is, by every test, one nation. It is on that essential unity that we found our case for political integration.

However, he followed this assertion up, recognising that there was room for manoeuvre within his image of north-south relations when he asked: 'is it not plain common sense that the two existing political communities in our small island should seek every opportunity of working together in practical matters for their mutual and common good?' Wilson, *Ulster*, p. 4; Farrell, *Seán Lemass*, p. 115. Both quotations were originally taken from S.Lemass, *One nation* (Dublin: Fianna Fáil, 1959), pp. 4-14.

- 28 J.Magee, *Northern Ireland: crisis and conflict* (London: Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974), p. 20. This view utilised a Lemass interview with the *Belfast Telegraph*, 23 June 1959 & 9 July 1959. The taoiseach said:

I have no illusions about the strength of the barriers of prejudice and suspicion which now divide the people, but given good will nothing is impossible. Meanwhile better relations can be fostered by practical co-operation for mutual benefit in the economic sphere ... Even at present, and without reference to any wider issue, we would be prepared to consider and discuss proposals as to how policy might be directed so as to ensure that the economic progress of both parts of the country will be impaired as little as possible by the existing political division.

The previous year, when he ostensibly spoke in Belfast about Ireland's future in a European FTA, he had then advocated his beliefs regarding 'breaking down the barriers of suspicion, antagonism, prejudice and misunderstanding', adding that:

Anything which tends to break or lower these barriers is good; anything which tends to raise or strengthen them is bad. I think it is as simple as that, and certainly that outlook will continue to settle our policy and determine our actions.

Farrell, *Seán Lemass*, p. 114. This speech was originally delivered by the tánaiste to the Irish Association for Cultural, Social and Economic Relations in Belfast on the subject of a European FTA, 10 February 1958.

- 29 Magee, *Northern Ireland*, p. 109. This view utilised a Lemass speech delivered in Tralee in July 1963. On this occasion, the taoiseach stated:

We recognise that the Government and Parliament there [Northern Ireland] exist with the support of the majority of the Six County area – artificial though that area is ... We believe that it is foolish in the extreme

- that in this island and amongst people of the same race there should persist a desire to avoid contacts, even in respect of matters where concerted action is seen to be beneficial. We would hope that from the extension of useful contacts at every level of activity, a new situation would develop which would permit of wider responsibilities in accord with our desires ...
- 30 C.C.O'Brien, 'The embers of Easter', pp. 98-111, in Akenson (ed.), *Conor*, p. 102. This article had originally appeared in the *Irish Times*, 7 April 1966.
- 31 Farrell, *Seán Lemass*, p. 116; T.O'Neill, *The autobiography of Terence O'Neill* (London: Rupert Hart-Davis, 1972), pp. 53 & 83; E.Phoenix, 'O'Neill-Lemass meeting caused unease', *Irish Times*, 3 January 1996; E.Phoenix, 'Files show Labour tried to force O'Neill to introduce radical reforms in north', *Irish Times*, 1/2 January 1997. Brian Farrell's view utilised Lemass speaking in Dáil Éireann, 4 April 1963, *Dáil debates* vol. 201 col. 113.
- 32 Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland*, p. 363; Farrell, *Seán Lemass*, p. 114; O'Neill, *The autobiography*, pp. 72-3; Phoenix, *Irish Times*, 3 January 1996; unattributed article, 'Files reveal IRA was stepping up plans for campaign in 1966', *Irish Times*, 1/2 January 1997. Symbolic change was relatively easy to achieve; more and more, for example, Lemass referred to the country as Northern Ireland rather than as the pejorative 'Six Counties'. Substance was a far more difficult task to accomplish.
- 33 In the previous chapter, the poor state of trade within the island was outlined. On only one occasion in these years did more than 5% of Irish imports come from Northern Ireland; simultaneously, trade figures in the other direction, while not as startling, still demonstrated that the economic barrier was very real.
- 34 C.O'Halloran, *Partition and the limits of Irish nationalism: an ideology under stress* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1987), p. xviii; Phoenix, *Irish Times*, 3 January 1996.
- 35 P.Bew & G.Gillespie, *Northern Ireland: a chronology of the troubles, 1968-1993* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1993), pp. 1 & 4; Lawrence, *Government of Northern Ireland*, p. 102; Northern Ireland government publication, *Economic development in Northern Ireland* (Belfast: Northern Ireland Command Paper no. 479, 1965); Terence O'Neill (Northern Ireland prime minister) address to the Commonwealth Parliamentary Association at Westminster, 4 November 1968. The latter quotation was taken from Magee, *Northern Ireland*, p. 113. Speaking in 1968 of the meetings held three years previously, O'Neill said:
- ... I decided to take the initiative of meeting ... Lemass. I knew he was a hard-headed realist, prepared to recognize the realities of the situation, and I regarded our meeting as a *de facto*, if not *de jure* recognition of Northern Ireland. We agreed from the start to set political and constitutional issues on one side, and concentrate instead upon promoting economic and other forms of practical co-operation – in tourism, in power supply and so on. This was the basis – the sensible, realistic basis – of my two meetings with Mr Lemass ... What I must emphasize is that, from my point of view, the object of such talks was to promote a decent, sane neighbourly relationship ... But if such a relationship is to flourish, it demands sensible restraint and ... prudence ...
- 36 Lemass cajoled Northern Ireland's leaders by stating that there were much better ways of dealing with its problems than just by dispatching deputations to London to plead for help, that the 'bread of charity is never very filling', for example, or humoured them by declaring that 'unity means first that – bringing the people together', that it was not a matter of territorial acquisition. Farrell, *Seán Lemass*, p.

- 115; Bew & Patterson, *Lemass*, p. 11. The former comes from an interview with the *Scotsman* reported in the *Irish Press*, 13 February 1961; the latter quote comes from a retrospective interview with the *Irish Press*, 28 January 1969.
- 37 O'Brien, 'The embers of Easter', p. 101.
- 38 Lemass certainly did not agree with one industrialist, for example, who accused Irish trade unions of having 'communistic influence'. The taoiseach's views regarding the economic effects of European integration were regularly vocalised; the government could create a framework, but the attraction of foreign investment and the readaption of indigenous industry had to be effected by the investors, employers and workers. P.O'Morain, 'Lemass warned of union power', *Irish Times*, 1/2 January 1997. This newspaper article cited various communications between Lemass and the W & R Jacob chairman during 1966.
- 39 Wilson, *Ulster*, p. 88.
- 40 Somewhat presciently, Seamus Heaney wrote of the Northern Ireland situation at that point in time: 'Life goes on, yet people are reluctant to dismiss the possibility of an explosion'. Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 585. This Seamus Heaney quotation originally appeared in the *New Statesman*, 1 July 1966.
- 41 P.O'Morain, 'Nelson Pillar blast created problem', *Irish Times*, 1/2 January 1997.
- 42 Garvin, 'Wealth, poverty and development', p. 320.
- 43 De Valera statement delivered on 1916's fiftieth anniversary, 10 April 1966, entitled 'Easter Rising', pp. 605-7, in Moynihan (ed.), *Speeches and statements*, pp. 605-6; O'Halloran, *Partition and the limits*, pp. 186-8. Clare O'Halloran has written that: 'The inflated rhetoric of de Valera and others sat uneasily with the previous year's pragmatism and showed how little Lemass's so-called realism had challenged received wisdom on partition. Uncompromising irredentism had not been officially rejected by Lemass, but merely laid aside in favour of a "softly softly" approach'.
- 44 Phoenix, *Irish Times*, 3 January 1996. In writing his article reviewing the archival releases on the O'Neill-Lemass meetings, Eamon Phoenix recorded the views of some Unionist MPs, including James Kilfedder. However, summing up the Northern Ireland prime minister's views, he wrote that: 'The main plank of the unionist platform would remain the maintenance of the constitutional position ... this did not mean that it was wrong to discuss matters of common interest with their nearest neighbours on the same island'. Clearly, Lemass was thinking on a different wavelength. John Bowman wrote that the taoiseach suggested to Aiken on 21 January 1966 that, in the future, an Irish unity policy pursued by the Northern nationalists might be better off to recognise the prevailing position, but to espouse its future achievement on a 'federal basis'. J.Bowman, 'Ahern warned Lemass about federal formula', *Irish Times*, 2 January 1998. This newspaper article was based on an exchange of memoranda between Lemass and Aiken, circa late January 1966.
- 45 C.C.O'Brien, 'Two-faced Cathleen', pp. 131-6, in Akenson (ed.), *Conor*, p. 136. This article had originally appeared in the *New York Review of Books*, 29 June 1967.
- 46 Unattributed article, 'Open borders feared', *Irish Times*, 2 January 1998. This newspaper article cited a Northern Ireland cabinet memorandum, dated 8 June 1967.
- 47 N.MacQueen, 'European Union', p. 180, in Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford companion*, p. 180.
- 48 R.B.Finnegan, *Ireland: the challenge of conflict and change* (Boulder: Westview Press, 1983), p. 47. OEEC and OECD estimates put the average rate *per annum* of Irish emigration at 39,400 people in the period from 1951 to 1956, at 43,100 people between 1956 and 1961, and at 16,800 people from 1961 to 1966. OEEC report,

- 'Irlande 1961'; OECD report, 'Irlande 1962'; OECD report, 'Irlande 1967'.
- 49 A.Matthews, *The common agricultural policy and the less developed countries* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1985), p. 198. This view originally utilised Crotty, *Irish agricultural production, passim*. The former writes of the 'consequences of capitalist production relations in nineteenth century Irish agriculture when labour made surplus by the move to land-extensive more profitable cattle production was forced to emigrate'; the latter gets straight to the heart of the matter, unequivocally stating that: 'Historically, the expansion of cattle production in Ireland has not been attended by happy results ... socially or economically'.
- 50 Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 579.
- 51 P.Keatinge, *European security: Ireland's choices* (Dublin: Institute of European Affairs, 1996), p. 111. Elsewhere, he has written: 'Official political commitments to subscribe to a hypothetical EC defence policy started with the government of Seán Lemass'. P.Keatinge, 'Ireland and European neutrality after the Cold War', pp. 157-75, in R.J.Hill & M.Marsh (eds), *Modern Irish democracy: essays in honour of Basil Chubb* (Dublin: Irish Academic Press, 1993), p. 172.
- 52 B.McSweeney, 'Ireland and European integration', pp. 187-93, in *Studies* vol. 79 no. 314 1990, p. 191. He added his view that:  
For most of our history, the principal end in view was reunification. Our neutrality was never absolute or permanent and we negotiated entry into the EC on that condition. Since our first application to join ... neutrality has been conditional upon our readiness to join an integrated defence in the future ... Our non-membership of a military alliance was a policy followed by successive governments because domestic public opinion seemed to favour it and, in the delicate balance of power in the Dail [sic], no party could afford to tamper with it. Neither could they afford to affirm it unconditionally, because it was clear to every government that such an affirmation would have serious consequences for our capacity to negotiate economic benefits in the EC.
- 53 Unattributed article, 'New order forces Irish "rethink" on security', *Irish Times*, 27 May 1996; P.Cullen, 'Congo recalled as Irish watch battle for Zaire', *Irish Times*, 19 April 1997; T.Farrell, 'An Irishman's diary', *Irish Times*, 5 June 1997; P.Keatinge, 'Visitors may marvel at "Jekyll and Hyde" approach to European security', *Irish Times*, 2 July 1996; N.MacQueen, 'Foreign policy', pp. 203-4, in Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford companion*, p. 204; N.MacQueen, 'Neutrality', pp. 385-6, in Connolly (ed.), *The Oxford companion*, p. 386. Patrick Keatinge was using this 'Jekyll and Hyde' analogy in a contemporary context, but it equally applies historically to Lemass's policy – reality versus the symbolic. Under the aegis of the UN, Ireland's neutrality was progressive throughout the late 1950s and immediately beyond. According to Norrie MacQueen, 'neutrality found a more comprehensible diplomatic expression' by that time, a 'reassertion of the international activism of the 1930s'. She added that the country:  
... emerged as a considerable 'middle power' player in UN diplomacy. Positions were taken which were frequently at odds with 'western' interests on issues such as the representation of China ... and nuclear disengagement ... The question of neutrality featured prominently in the national debates over entry to Europe in the 1960s ...  
Neutrality did not hinder Ireland's peace-keeping activities either, but appeared to encourage them; this was most apparent in the Congo during the early 1960s when

- Irish troops were sent there under the UN banner.
- 54 D.Keogh, 'The diplomacy of "dignified calm": an analysis of Ireland's application for membership of the EEC, 1961-1963', pp. 81-101, in the *Journal of European integration history* vol. 3 no. 1 1997, p. 82.
- 55 Greenwood (ed.), *Britain and European integration since the Second World War*, 147. This French government move occurred in March 1966.
- 56 Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland*, p. 19.
- 57 Bew & Patterson, *Seán Lemass*, pp. 191-7; T.Garvin, *The evolution of Irish nationalist politics* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1981); J.Lee, 'Searching for lost European civilisation amid the free market', *Irish Times*, 2 July 1996. The latter argues that in the 1950s the 'founding fathers sought to transcend nationalism by Europeanism'; under Lemass, Ireland also made this transition, but he was certainly less convinced about it than he was about the possibilities of economic advancement within the context of European free trade and integration.
- 58 Farrell, *Seán Lemass*, p. 109.
- 59 Crotty, *Irish agricultural production, passim*; Irish government publication, *Second programme for economic expansion*, p. 22. Raymond Crotty states, for example, that in 1963 the volume of net agricultural production was IR£143m as opposed to IR£130.7m in 1957. Even considering that inflation was relatively low, this performance does not suggest any radical economic advancement in terms of yield. Seamus Sheehy, an agricultural economics professor, wrote subsequently about the various attractions in EEC membership of the CAP, but did not neglect to mention the UK becoming increasingly self-sufficient because of the same reason. FitzGerald, *Irish Times*, 29 December 1997; S.Sheehy, 'CAP may finally ensure viable rural economy', *Irish Times*, 30 December 1997.
- 60 Crotty, *Irish agricultural production, passim*. Raymond Crotty states that the volume of net industrial production in 1963 was IR£211m as opposed to IR£124.2m in 1957; for the tertiary sector these figures read IR£284m and IR£182.7 respectively. In contrast to agriculture, this was the kind of achievement in terms of yield that does suggest radical economic advancement.
- 61 Bradley *et al*, *Stabilization and growth on the EC periphery*, p. 10.
- 62 Kennedy, *Modern industrialisation*, p. 5.
- 63 Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 569.
- 64 In 1957, unemployment in Ireland stood at 78,000 but, by 1966, with unemployment continuing to fall and confidence high, the National Industrial and Economic Council (NIEC) was outlining the possible choices that might credibly lead to full employment. In contrast, the employment rate that O'Neill faced upon taking office was 11.2% for Northern Ireland; his country had not faced such serious economic problems since the Great Depression of the early 1930s. Obviously, the two countries sharing the island were going in totally different directions in economic terms. R.Deutsch & V.Magowan, *Northern Ireland, 1968-73: a chronology of events, 1968-71, vol. 1* (Belfast: Blackstaff, 1973), p. 3; Kennedy, *Economic development*, pp. 71-2; Keogh, 'Diplomacy of "dignified calm"', p. 83.
- 65 Foster, *Modern Ireland*, p. 582.
- 66 Farrell, *Seán Lemass*, pp. 98-124; Keogh, *Twentieth-century Ireland*, pp. 291-5.
- 67 Magee, *Northern Ireland*, p. 162; UK government publication, *The future of Northern Ireland: a paper for discussion* (London: Her Majesty's Stationery Office, 1972).
- 68 J.C.Beckett, *A short history of Ireland* (London: Hutchinson, 1975), p. 185.

- 69 Cardinal Agagianian to de Valera, 8 July 1961, 98/1/62, NA. Obviously, de Valera's main hope was that Ireland's celebrations of Saint Patrick would reflect well on the country in the Vatican's eyes; in this he was not disappointed. He was also keen that Ireland's renown as a Catholic country would be reinforced by such symbols as the number of cardinals present at the celebrations; in turn, of course, this occasion presented an excellent opportunity for the Irish people to show their spiritual devotion. D/UhÉ secretary to Cardinal John D'Alton's secretary, 24 December 1960, 98/1/62, NA.
- 70 Keogh, *Ireland and the Vatican*, *passim*; Whyte, *Church and state*, *passim*. Cooperation between Ireland and Northern Ireland was aided in many ways by Cardinal William Conway, the Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All-Ireland between September 1963 and April 1977. Dermot Keogh has written:  
 Both Dublin and London had been quite happy with the firm leadership offered the nationalist community by the late cardinal. He had been unequivocal in his condemnation of physical force, nationalism and the murderous campaign of the ... IRA ...  
 In his article, John Bowman paid particular attention to the work of Brian Lenihan, Irish justice minister, who introduced some modest reforms in regard to the censorship of films and literary works. J.Bowman, 'Lenihan saw laws as an embarrassment', *Irish Times*, 2 January 1997. This article referred to a Lenihan memorandum for the cabinet, undated *circa* 1965.
- 71 FitzGerald, *Irish Times*, 29 December 1997.
- 72 De Valera, 'Easter Rising', p. 606.
- 73 E.Mac Aogáin, 'Identità culturale e linguistica nella nuova Europa: prospettiva dall'Irlanda', pp. 59-66, in M.Pinna (ed.), *L'Europa delle diversità: identità e culture alle soglie del terzo millennio* (Milan: Francoangeli, 1993), *passim*.
- 74 Ireland – not Éire – remains the official name of the country in English, both in everyday language usage and in the context of international organisations. Article N°4 of Bunreacht na hÉireann provides for this specific naming; it reads: 'The name of the State is Éire, or in the English language, Ireland'. Of course, by Article N°25.4.6, the Irish language version of the constitution prevails in the case of conflict; but, as the name of the state in English is 'Ireland', it is listed alphabetically in agreements and treaties according to the formula furnished in the constitution and through international practice. This was not necessarily the case in Ireland's earliest dealings with Europe. For instance, in the statute which provided the basis for the Council of Europe, it was referred to as the 'Irish Republic', although in much the same way as France was termed the 'French Republic' and Italy as the 'Italian Republic'. However, this practice was to change. Indeed, the Irish foreign minister, David Andrews, reasserted that fact in a written reply to a question from Trevor Sargent (Green Party) in Dáil Éireann, remarking that it was 'longstanding practice to use the English-language version of the name of the State in international organisations. This practice was followed on entry to the European Communities in 1973 and Ireland is listed accordingly'. MacBride speaking in Dáil Éireann, 13 July 1949, *Dáil debates* vol. 117 col. 746; unattributed *Irish Times* article, 'Cá háit sin?', [http:// www.irish-times.com/irish-times/paper/teangabeo/beo4.html](http://www.irish-times.com/irish-times/paper/teangabeo/beo4.html) (3 June 1998); J.M.Kelly, *The Irish constitution* (Dublin: Jurist Publishing, 1980), *passim*.
- 75 N.Atkinson, *Irish education: a history of educational institutions* (Dublin: Allen Figgis, 1969), pp. 172 & 200; J.Coolahan, *Irish education: its history and structure* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1981), pp. 132 & 165. The former view



- utilised a Patrick Hillery (education minister) article published in the *European teacher* no. 1 1962, pp. 7-9. Seminal documents from this era included: Irish government publication, *Investment in education: report of the survey team* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1966); Irish government publication, *Investment in education: annexes and appendices* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1966).
- 76 Finnegan, *Ireland*, p. 63. This view utilised T.Gray, *The Irish answer* (London: Heinemann, 1966), p. 340.
- 77 Fianna Fáil party publication, 'Fianna Fáil manifesto 1932', reproduced in Dunphy, *Class, power and the Fianna Fail party*, p. ii; Fianna Fáil party publication, 'Fianna Fáil manifesto, 9 February 1932', pp. 188-9, in A.O'Day & J.Stevenson, *Irish historical documents since 1800* (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1992); P.Murtagh, 'He let down party and country, blame is his alone', *Irish Times*, 12 July 1997. Note that J.J.Lee used the word 'malaise' to describe the post-war decade, applying 'drift' to the 1970s and beyond. Lee, *Ireland, passim*.
- 78 S.O'Faoláin, *The Irish: a character study* (Old Greenwich: Devin-Adair, 1949), pp. 173-80. Both characteristics were picked out as being responsible for holding Irish people – in this case, writers specifically – back in the past. Lemass and Whitaker were part of the process which broke this mould.
- 79 This F.Scott Fitzgerald quotation comes from McAleese, 'Europe – the challenges of the new millennium', <http://www.iue.it/general/jms.htm> (10 February 1999).
- 80 Keogh, 'Diplomacy of "dignified calm"', p. 86. Dermot Keogh suggests that Lemass was actually 'not an easy or enthusiastic convert to a free trade policy' but, once convinced, that he became a devotee.
- 81 Foster, *Modern Ireland*, pp. 540 & 577-8.
- 82 J.Hanna, 'Always with us', pp. 101-2, in *Books Ireland* no. 212 April 1998; G.Hussey, *Ireland today* (London: Penguin, 1995), p. 12. The former appeared as a book review of F.Ó Muircheartaigh (ed.), *Ireland in the coming times: essays to celebrate T.K.Whitaker's 80 years* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1998).
- 83 Boyce, *Nationalism in Ireland*, pp. 356-7; J.Tratt, *The Macmillan government and Europe: a study in the process of policy development* (London: Macmillan, 1996), p. 8. According to D.George Boyce, 'Lemass took up the Whitaker report, and used his power and skills to hurry along the civil servants, dispel gloom and defeatism, and convince workers and employers of the need for planning'. He subsequently added the opinion that he 'was helped by the general economic climate of the 1960s; and the return in 1965 of ... an adverse balance of payments, together with inflation and disappointing agricultural performance showed that the "economic miracle" was by no means accomplished for all time ... Lemass showed that he could not only replace de Valera in 1959, but keep the party in office in 1961 and then lead it to an impressive victory in 1965'.

Writing on the Macmillan cabinet and government, Jacqueline Tratt's views might equally apply to the Lemass-Whitaker axis; she has written:

The prime minister, although notionally first among equals, traditionally enjoys the facility of gathering about him ... like-minded ministers and advisers for the purpose first, of developing a policy, and secondly, of deciding how best to present that policy to the rest of the cabinet. Many of the prime minister's closest advisers are senior civil servants who have usually had many years' experience of government and often know, better than their political masters, what is and is not politically, socially and economically possible. Serving at the heart of the government, the work

of senior officials in developing government policy, particularly in this case, should not be underestimated.

This does not take much adaption to see how the taoiseach and a senior finance civil servant could have worked so well together. Firstly, although the cabinet had to reflect the different views in Fianna Fáil, there is no doubt but that Lemass was in charge. By 1959, his leadership was no longer a questioned inheritance. With Lynch at the taoiseach's old post in industry & commerce and Aiken safely tucked away in New York, Lemass was able to develop Ireland's European policy and to win over or marginalise any detractors, such as his finance minister. Aided by the latter's secretary, Lemass was able to develop a credible policy which, if questioned because of a lack of progress or too rapid a development, was ignored or passed over.

84 Farrell, *Seán Lemass*, pp. 116-7; O'Neill, *The autobiography*, pp. 68-73.

85 Other examples existed. See, for instance, the relationship between de Valera and the pre-war and war-time Irish external affairs secretary, Joseph P. Walshe, in Keogh, *Twentieth-century Ireland*, *passim*; A. Nolan, *Joseph Walshe and the management of Irish foreign policy, 1922-1946: a study in diplomatic and administrative history* (Cork: unpublished UCC PhD, 1998), *passim*.

86 R. Fanning, *The Irish Department of Finance, 1922-58* (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1978), p. 606.

87 Kennedy, 'Irish economy transformed', p. 41.

88 Fanning, *Irish Department of Finance*, p. 608.

89 Fanning, *Irish Department of Finance*, pp. 609-10; Keogh, 'Diplomacy of "dignified calm"', *passim*. Whitaker references come from a file of official and semi-official correspondence to which both Ronan Fanning and Dermot Keogh had access in compiling their separate analyses.

90 T. Barnard, 'Pigs, bogs and baileys', *Times Literary Supplement*, 5 June 1998. This article originally appeared as a book review of Connelly (ed.), *The Oxford companion*.

91 Laffan, *Integration and co-operation*, pp. 195-6.

92 Farrell, *Seán Lemass*, p. 110.

93 Maher, *The tortuous path*, pp. 195 & 199.

94 Irish government minute G11/21, 7 September 1965, 'Minutes of Governmental Meetings G11/1-G11/84 Minutes: Eleventh Government 21 April 1965 – 15 November 1966', 97/4/1, NA.

95 Gerard Woods took over from Biggar as ambassador to Luxembourg after a government decision on 4 October 1966. In the meantime, as part of a diplomatic reshuffle, Thomas Commins was moved from the Holy See to Paris, Denis McDonald from Paris to Rome (and Ankara), and Joseph Shields from Rome to the Holy See; in turn, Biggar took over as Ireland's new ambassador to Austria and Switzerland. Irish government minute G11/75, 13 September 1966, 97/4/1, NA; Irish government minute G11/78, 4 October 1966, 97/4/1, NA.

96 Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 199; P. Smyth, 'Dublin seeks Euratom treaty amendments', *Irish Times*, 1 October 1996. It is interesting to note in the context of the European Communities, which in 1966 were well on their way to being merged one year later, that the term EEC was used in Ireland for many years to come to mean this new expanded and inclusive entity.

97 Maher, *The tortuous path*, p. 200.

98 Fanning, *Irish Department*, p. 611; Irish government publication, *The accession of Ireland to the European Communities* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1972). This view

- was based on a memorandum prepared in 1975 for Ronan Fanning by the Department of Finance entitled 'Principal developments since 1960'.
- 99 R.Donnelly, 'French veto induced British threats', *Irish Times*, 2 January 1998. This newspaper article cited various George Brown (UK foreign minister) memoranda, dated *circa* 30 April 1967.
- 100 O'Neill, *The autobiography*, pp. 90-1. O'Neill met with Willi Brandt towards the end of March 1967.
- 101 Donnelly, *Irish Times*, 2 January 1998.
- 102 FitzGerald, *Irish Times*, 29 December 1997.
- 103 P.Foot, *The politics of Harold Wilson* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1968), pp. 233-5. It is also interesting to note that, after Lemass's resignation from office, the tánaiste and external affairs minister, Frank Aiken, was no longer listed as a member of the government at the front of the *Dáil debates* due to what might be generously termed as a 'typographical error', although he did make it into the index; perhaps the compilers of these parliamentary reports mistook his absences from the chamber as evidence of the fact that the more important aspects of Irish foreign relations – bilateral relations with the UK and European integration – were mostly being dealt with through the new taoiseach's office, as they had been with his predecessor. General elections were held on 5 March 1957, 4 October 1961, and 7 April 1965 respectively. As a consequence, four governments were formed during the period under review, the first led by Éamon de Valera, the others by Seán Lemass, who took over as taoiseach on 23 June 1959 upon the former's resignation from office; when the latter resigned, Jack Lynch took over to form a new government on 10 November 1966. Note that by Article 28.1° of Bunreacht na hÉireann, the government should comprise of no more than fifteen members and, thus, the amalgamation of ministries or the doubling up of departments under a minister was one way of juggling these figures. Article 28.11.1° of the constitution declares that all the other members of the government are also deemed to have resigned from office upon the taoiseach's resignation, even if they still continue to carry out their duties until their successors have been appointed; effectively, most of the ministers held onto to their posts when Lynch became taoiseach, although there were some changes.
- 104 J.Bowman, 'Lynch went to London to ascertain Britain's policy and progress on EEC', *Irish Times*, 1/2 January 1997. This newspaper article cited a Hugh McCann (Irish external affairs secretary) memorandum compiled after the summit, *circa* 19 December 1966.
- 105 Bowman, 'Lynch went to London', *Irish Times*, 1/2 January 1997.
- 106 Bowman, 'Lynch went to London', *Irish Times*, 1/2 January 1997.
- 107 According to the Irish government, these were the principal grievances of the Catholic community and the nationalist population in Northern Ireland. Using the example of the additional funding being provided on the basis of 'positive discrimination' for the education of minority traditions in Ireland, as well as Ireland's endeavours to promote assimilated schooling, the taoiseach urged the UK prime minister to push O'Neill to introduce a similar programme. He stated that: 'Anything that can be done to reduce political and religious discrimination in Northern Ireland would considerably help to achieve a relaxation in tension'. However, the new taoiseach acknowledged that the UK prime minister had taken various concrete steps to help to improve north-south relations, as well as Anglo-Irish relations, and that he favoured the policy of 'functional co-operation' established by his predecessor. It also

should be noted that one of his briefing documents for the bilateral meeting had listed:

- the negotiation, conclusion and enactment of the AIFTA;
- the return of Casement's remains for reburial in Ireland;
- the reinstatement of the 1916 flag;
- 'the pressure, public and private, brought to bear on the Stormont regime'.

Information on this last item was hazy, so Lynch was advised not to cite this listing, just to be aware of its significance. Bowman, 'Lynch went to London', *Irish Times*, 1/2 January 1997.

108 Bowman, 'Lynch went to London', *Irish Times*, 1/2 January 1997; E.Phoenix, 'O'Neill's policy begins to go badly wrong', *Irish Times*, 1/2 January 1997; unattributed article, 'Irish concerns raised in Lynch-Wilson meeting', *Irish Times*, 1/2 January 1997.

109 J.Downey, 'Second-guessing UK over Europe proved difficult', *Irish Independent*, 1/2 January 1997. In the spring of 1967, the UK foreign secretary, George Brown, embarked with Wilson upon a tour of the European capitals. It soon became apparent that, under Labour, the UK was becoming very serious about reattempting to join the EEC. G.Brown, *In my way: the political memoirs of Lord George-Brown* (London: Victor Gollancz, 1971), pp. 205-6.

110 R.Burke, 'Treaty strengthens EU in important areas', *Irish Times*, 2 October 1997. During his tenure as foreign minister, Ray Burke wrote this article in favour of the Amsterdam Treaty.

## Conclusions

- 1 P.Keatinge & B.Laffan, 'Ireland in international affairs', pp. 200-21, in J.Coakley & M.Gallagher (eds), *Politics in the Republic of Ireland* (Galway: PSAI Press, 1992), pp. 200-5.
- 2 Keatinge & Laffan, 'Ireland in international affairs', pp. 202-5 & 219.
- 3 McAleese, 'Political independence, economic growth and the growth of economic policy', pp. 289-90.
- 4 N.Davies, *Europe: a history* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 1996), p. 1088.
- 5 Sutherland, 'Ireland', p. 243.
- 6 Moravcsik, *The choice for Europe*, pp. 5 & 162-3.
- 7 Aiken speech delivered in Seanad Éireann, 18 November 1964, *Seanad debates* vol. 58 cols. 51-4.
- 8 Bradley *et al*, *Stabilization and growth on the EC periphery*, p. 12.
- 9 R.T.Griffiths & S.Ward (eds), *Courting the Common Market: the first attempt to enlarge the European Community, 1961-1963* (London: Lothian Foundation Press, 1996), p. 4.
- 10 P.Keatinge, 'From community to union', pp. 2-9 & 160, in P.Keatinge (ed.), *Maastricht and Ireland: what the treaty means* (Dublin: Institute of European Affairs, 1992), p. 3 (author's italics).
- 11 D.Dinan, *Historical dictionary of the European Community* (Metuchen: Scarecrow Press, 1993), pp. 137-8; Keatinge, 'From community to union', pp. 3-4; McAleese, 'Political independence, economic growth and the growth of economic policy', p. 278. According to Desmond Dinan, the economic determinants 'had to do with the

expected windfall for Irish farmers of participation in the ... CAP'. Additionally, there were a 'host of other benefits, mostly in the form of grants and loans, that would accrue to Ireland'. However, he has also written that the 'element of political opportunism, by contrast, consisted of the anticipated impact of Community membership on Anglo-Irish relations'. Other than those dubious grounds for hope, the political price remained unknown; it was nonetheless clear that Ireland was happy to pay whatever that turned out to be, once the economic gain proved worthwhile.

- 12 This section is based on the presentation entitled 'Why did Ireland's first application fail?' given at the *Research workshop on the failure of Community expansion, 1961-63*.