

Bibliography

As was stated in the introduction, four main sources of primary archive material were utilised in writing *Protectionism to liberalisation: Ireland and the EEC, 1957 to 1966*. A deeper evaluation of this documentation is presented here, as these sources were not comprehensively assessed in that earlier section; a similar approach – a brief assessment in the introductory chapter and an indepth analysis plus bibliographical listing – has also been used for secondary materials. This bibliography is therefore divided into four sections in order to present an archival appraisal and a catalogue of primary materials, a literature survey and a list of secondary sources. Nonetheless, it might be worth pointing out that sources have worked in concert with each other throughout this investigation.

The section listing primary source materials that have been employed is divided under four principal headings, together with an additional miscellaneous grouping of primary sources; they reads as follows:

- **Irish sources** National Archives, Bishop Street, Dublin
- **UK sources** Public Record Office, Kew Gardens, London
- **US sources** Harry S.Truman Library, Independence, Missouri
Dwight D.Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas
John F.Kennedy Library, Boston, Massachusetts
Lyndon B.Johnson Library, Austin, Texas
- **EU sources** EC Archives, Villa Il Poggiolo, Florence
European Parliament, Bâtiment Robert Schuman,
Luxembourg
- **miscellaneous** official Irish government publications
newspapers, reviews and magazines
other primary source materials

The section listing primary sources is preceded by the archival analysis, which explains why certain archives were used and also assesses the value of

particular conferences or workshops that took place during the course of this investigation. In turn, an extensive list of secondary sources encompassing pertinent Irish and foreign materials is presented in the customary alphabetical form, following on from a brief essay reviewing and surveying the current state of the literature.

Archival appraisal *

As was previously made apparent, the archives utilised during this research were meant to concentrate on domestic political considerations, Anglo-Irish relations, the wider diaspora, and Ireland's process of European integration. Right from the outset, it should be made clear that internal factors played a pivotal role in this case study on Ireland and the EEC because, as was articulated, there was a real need for cabinet, departmental and inter-governmental debates on the subject to be more thoroughly assessed; other components, although secondary, completed the framework within which this singular element operated.

With the incorporation of debates and legislation enacted in Dáil and Seanad Éireann into this investigation – as well as an extensive evaluation of the relative importance of lobby groups (agricultural, federal, industrial) – a much more coherent picture of the role played by domestic political considerations in Ireland's European integration process emerged as a direct result. The National Archives in Dublin however provided the most abundant source of materials. The analytical approach adopted with regard to this documentation was one of assessment from the top of the bureaucratic ladder downwards, concentrating the research at the level where serious decisions were being made. The General Files (S Series), Cabinet Minutes and Government Minutes subsequently proved to be the most important source material available in the Department of the Taoiseach; in addition, the Department of Foreign Affairs also possessed a rich vein of material, with the Secretary's Office Files (P Series), Common Market Series and Confidential Reports being the most important deposits. Access to Department of Industry & Commerce, as well as Departments of Defence, Finance and Justice, materials proved to be more problematic. Furthermore, the possibility of

* Please note that a review of the NA, written for Richard Griffiths' 'European integration web site', may be found at <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/history/rtg/res1/hitch.html#ire> (10 March 1999); a review of the ACE, written in conjunction with Richard Griffiths for his 'European integration web site', is also available at <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/history/rtg/res1/hitch.html#haec> (10 March 1999).

carrying out extensive oral history interviews with eye-witnesses was considered as a very real option and, of course, is doubtlessly a rewarding one in itself once care is taken to cross-reference material; however, this particular option was not taken up – except to confirm certain nuances – in part because of the abundance of archival materials accessible at the NA, but also as a result of similar testimonies already existing in the public domain through the publication of written memoirs and, indeed, interviews previously conducted in newspapers and for archives.

The materials that were readily available at the Public Record Office in London proved to be rather impressive, somewhat unexpectedly, with regard to this research. Relations with the UK were extremely pertinent to Dublin's policy regarding the EEC; at no time was this better illustrated than when Ireland's dependence upon the success or failure of the UK's first application for full EEC membership is considered. Looking at the question from the Irish perspective only – without fully assessing the material obtainable at the PRO – would have been to ignore what was shown to be a constituent element in the construction of this research's central argument. In reality, the repercussions of London's actions upon Ireland's own views of European integration proved to be irrefutable as a consequence; indeed, the fact that it was still dealt with by the Commonwealth Relations Office, not by the Foreign Office, amply demonstrates where Ireland stood. Dublin's problem was that a correlation on policy strategy did not apply, certainly not in the same terms, the other way round.

As was previously stated, the Irish diaspora was another area that has been assessed, at the level of diplomatic confidential reports and by integrating the views of the wider Anglicised world into the background study of Irish actions. In particular, the US acted as a 'godfather' figure to Europe throughout the post-war period. Indeed, it was 'American pragmatism' which actively pushed for the integration of Europe, a point made abundantly clear to Ireland by successive US presidents. It must be said that documentation originally found in the US as the archival basis for an MPhil thesis – centred on the subject of *Irish-American diplomatic relations, 1948 to 1963* – germinated promptings to investigate Ireland's first attempt at integration. In fact, a deep understanding of the specific importance of the US to the question of European integration and of its repercussions for Ireland has thus shown itself to be a principal aspiration of this research. John F. Kennedy evoked the dictum that 'there are no permanent enemies', citing it to reflect the development of better Anglo-Irish relations in the early 1960s. Indeed, as time progressed, the subject of partition played less of a role in government decision-making, at the national and international level, reflecting a change in

foreign policy orientation away from the political to the economic. A central question remained: to what degree were such evaluations of Anglo-Irish relations true and what influence did this bilateral consideration have on Ireland's European policies? The resolution to this particular issue lay in much of the material already gathered, including oral histories such as those previously conducted with former Irish foreign ministers Frank Aiken and Liam Cosgrave, as well as in other US based archival materials extensively employed in the presentation of this research.

Lastly, in relation to the primary source materials, the question of Ireland and the EEC has been actively assessed and investigated directly from Europe's perspective; additionally, other questions were also posed:

- How important was Ireland's membership of the EEC to the Six?
- What were the views of the European institutions?
- How did Ireland react to the various developments in European trade in the late 1950s?

Part of the answer to the first two questions is indicated by the level of material available at the European Community Archives in Florence, although, to be perfectly honest, a review of the relevant sources available there did not prove to be as promising as would originally have been expected or hoped. The same thing could obviously be said about access to information at the European Parliament in Luxembourg, though to be fair this is also dictated by the lack of powers initially accorded to this institution and to the superior availability of material at national level. Indeed, the material available on Ireland from these sources is best described as scant. However, this in itself is both informative and illustrative, tending to demonstrate the lack of importance attached to Ireland by both the Six and the Seven. With regard to the initially envisaged possibility of fulfilling a significant proportion of the aims of this research through the wide use of material located at the ACE and the PE, the answer turned out to be rather negative. A sample of the available material was still utilised, demonstrating that these archives are relevant to some degree but, nonetheless, a personal assessment of their potential for further related research remains pessimistic.

In spite of this, conferences and workshops held at various stages during the course of this research proved to be excellent opportunities to talk to those most intimately involved from the past and the present – eyewitnesses and integration historians alike – allowing issues central to integration history to be raised. The transcript of one such conference – entitled *The creation of EFTA*, held at the University of Oslo from 14-17 May 1992 – provided the

basis for the development of subsequent views on EFTA's relevance to Ireland; another – entitled *The first attempt to enlarge the European Community, 1961-63*, held at the IUE from 17-19 February 1994 – explored the background to the various membership applications in political terms and initially proved to be a useful tool from which to view research on Ireland's first attempt to join the EEC. A further conference – entitled *Neutral states in Europe and European integration, 1945-1994*, held at the University of Innsbruck from 6-9 April 1995 – allowed the Irish integration experience to be compared and contrasted with those of other neutrals; in addition, another – entitled *The Europeanisation of domestic policy*, held at the IUE on 8 December 1995 – afforded historians and political scientists the opportunity to listen to and forge each others views, proving to be an important formative experience in the application of theory to Ireland's process of European integration. Workshops entitled *Research workshop on the failure of Community expansion, 1961-63*, and *EU enlargement and the myth of the 'awkward partner'* – held at the IUE on 14 December 1998 and 22 June 1999 respectively – were especially helpful in placing Ireland into its proper national, as well as European and wider international, context. It was ultimately primary source material, utilised comprehensively throughout this research, which was to be the most useful resource however; indeed, this was more likely to be from the Irish archives than from any other source.

Primary materials

- **Irish sources** National Archives, Bishop Street, Dublin

Department of Foreign Affairs

Secretary's Office (P Series)

Cultural Division Files (Series 305)

Confidential Reports (Series 313)

Trade Division Files (Series 314, 315 & 348)

Information – Publications (Series 316)

Consular Division Files (Series 317)

Protocol Division Files (Series 401)

Press & Information Section Files (Series 414)

Council of Europe: United Nations – Political and Legal Division Files (Series 417)

Visits to Ireland and Irish Visits Abroad (Series 434)

Protocol Division Series (Series 436)

Economic Division (EC Series)

European Communities Division (Common Market Series)

Embassy Canberra (Consular Files)

Embassy Holy See
Embassy Rome
Embassy Stockholm (Political Files D Series)
Embassy Washington (Economic Files E Series)
PMUN New York (miscellaneous)

Department of the Taoiseach

Cabinet Minutes
Government Cabinet Minutes
General Files (S Series)

- **UK sources** Public Record Office, Kew Gardens, London

European Free Trade Area: Steering Group (CAB 130)
Economic Steering Committee (CAB 134)

- **US sources** Harry S.Truman Library, Independence, Missouri

Acheson, Dean
Democratic National Committee
Ewing, Oscar R.
Hoffman, Paul G.
Matthews, Francis P.
Naval Aide Files
Oral History Interviews
President's Committee on Foreign Aid
President's Secretary's Files – Appointments
President's Secretary's Files – Intelligence
President's Secretary's Files – NSC Meetings
President's Secretary's Files – Subject
SMOF: Psychological Strategy Board
Snyder, John W.
Sweeney, Joseph
Tannenwald, Theodore
White House Central Files – Confidential
White House Central Files – General
White House Central Files – Official

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Dulles, John F. – Special Assistants – Chronological
Dulles, John F. – Subject
Dulles, John F. – Telephone Calls

Dulles, John F. – White House Memoranda
Herter, Christian A. – Chronological
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Lodge, Henry Cabot
Oral History Interviews
White House Central Files (Ann Whitman)
White House Central Files – Confidential
White House Central Files – Dulles-Herter
White House Central Files – General
White House Central Files – Official
White House Central Files – President's Personal Files
White House Office – Staff Secretary – International

- **US sources** John F. Kennedy Library, Boston, Massachusetts

National Security Files
Oral History Interviews
President's Office Files
White House Central Files

- **US sources** Lyndon B. Johnson Library, Austin, Texas

Confidential File
National Security File
President's Daily Diary
Vice-Presidential Security File

- **EU sources** EC Archives, Villa Il Poggiolo, Florence

Dossiers de la Haute Autorité de la Communauté Européenne du Charbon et de l'Acier

- **EU sources** European Parliament, Bâtiment Robert Schuman, Luxembourg

Irish government submission, 'The European Union and the new Europe'
(Luxembourg: European Parliament document PE165.980, 1996)

- **miscellaneous** official Irish government publications

Bunreacht na hÉireann (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1937)
Texts concerning Ireland's position in relation to the North Atlantic Treaty (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1950)
Dáil debates (Dublin: Stationery Office, various)
Seanad debates (Dublin: Stationery Office, various)

Central Statistics Office, *Ireland: trade and shipping statistics* (Dublin: Stationery Office, various)

Economic development (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1958)

Programme for economic expansion (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1958)

European Economic Community Part I (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1961)

European Economic Community Part II (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1962)

Membership of the European Communities: implications for Ireland (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1970)

The accession of Ireland to the European Communities (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1972)

- **miscellaneous** newspapers, reviews and magazines

Books Ireland

Community report

Cork Examiner

Economist

Graduate

Irish Independent

Irish Press

Irish Times

London Review of Books

Observer

Sunday Independent

Sunday Press

Sunday Tribune

Times Literary Supplement

Working Group on European Integration *Newsletter*

- **miscellaneous** other primary source materials

Borchardt, K.-D., *European integration: the origins and growth of the European Union* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1995)

Council of Europe 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)

Economic & Social Research Institute, various papers (Dublin: Economic & Social Research Institute, various)

European Communities official text, 'Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community', in *Treaties establishing the European Communities* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1973)

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- OEEC reports, 'Irlande' (Paris: OEEC, various)
- Secretariat of the European Commission for Europe report, *Economic survey of Europe in 1959* (Geneva: United Nations, 1960)
- US government publications, *Public papers of the Presidents of the United States* (Washington DC: Government Printing Office, various)
- Weidenfeld, W., & W.Wessels (eds), *Europe from A to Z: guide to European integration* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1997)
- World Bank publications, *World development report* (Washington DC: World Bank, various)

Literature survey *

The availability of some secondary source materials has been of much benefit in constructing a framework within which to place this doctoral research.

* A bibliographical list on the subject of Ireland and European integration, supplied for Richard Griffiths' 'European integration web site', may be found at <http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/history/rtg/res1/ire-bibl.html> (10 March 1999) and is based on the list of secondary sources given at the end of this thesis.

Despite the fact that very little of this particular material directly touched upon the subject of this text and despite the fact that access to the data on this subject in the archives has been very limited up until fairly recently because of the thirty year rule, secondary studies have in fact been extensively carried out on matters of relevance to this research on Ireland's integration into the EEC. There is, it must be said, a plethora of material available on the subject. The evaluation presented here of the most valuable secondary source material is essentially a list of suitable texts with informed comments. However, it gives indications of the gaps in the history of Irish integration policy, many of which have been filled by this piece of research, while also assessing the readings themselves critically. It thus takes the form of an extensive historiographical review.

Of the texts that have been closely examined, the best have included Paul Sharp's valuable study centred on the impact of interdependence on Ireland; however, because he did not have access to the material that has been released in the last few years, he has based his arguments on material in the public domain. Miriam Hederman was also limited in this way and concentrated on the role of domestic organisations and the media in Ireland. Susan Baker worked from documentation made available by Fianna Fáil, but her use of secondary source or publicly published papers concentrated on the performance of that political party as the government party rather than as the government *per se*; thus, the departmental documentation which has subsequently become available has thrown valuable light on this subject as well, putting her work into its appropriate setting as a result. Indeed, with the notable exception of D.J.Maher's study, most of these historians and political scientists have not had free access to the relevant archival material. In itself, his investigation is undoubtedly the single-most important into Ireland's early relationship with the EEC published to date. Though thorough and based on exhaustive research, its great strength is nevertheless its major weakness, because he has based his work almost totally on the Department of Finance records, to which he had unprecedented access; by necessity, his work is inherently 'limited' as a consequence and suffers from being too close to that department's specific perspective. A comprehensive analysis of this material through parallel techniques, coupled with an indepth investigation of other relevant documentation, has provided a much more rounded answer.

Generally speaking, it is only relatively recently that historians have begun to have access to the archival material dating from the early 1960s, the exact area where this research has concentrated; relevant archival material continued to be released throughout the duration of this research, enabling this PhD to examine chronologically the various proposed themes and to explore

the question well into the mid-1960s. This reading has also revealed obvious gaps in our knowledge of an essential part of Irish history, indeed in the history of European integration, and thus one goal of this thesis has been to rectify, at least in part, this particular anomaly. Rather than repeating the bibliography, the most relevant texts are assessed here. John McCarthy's publication, *Planning Ireland's future: the legacy of T.K. Whitaker* is, for example, a collection of essays which puts the contribution of Whitaker, the aforementioned civil servant, into perspective. The editor's own essay is a rich source of information on the work of the latter, especially with his emphasis on the 'turnaround' aspect of Whitaker's contribution to Ireland's economy. Meanwhile, Ronan Fanning gives a concise history of the economic situation in the lead-up to this period; indeed, Joseph Lee's short contribution again deals with the years before this time, while John Bradley's account is based on developments in the economy from the 1960s. Finally, Bernard Share gives a cultural and social context in which the 1950s and the effects of Whitaker's programme are outlined. By its very nature, however, this collection only sketches aspects of Ireland's experience of European integration rather than giving an indepth appraisal of the precise subject at hand, that is Ireland's relations with the EEC between 1957 and 1966.

Other texts have concentrated on domestic economics rather than upon the shaping of a new foreign economic policy. Brian Farrell gives a concise, but detailed, view of Ireland's economic performance in the writing of his biopic on *Seán Lemass* and is particularly strong on the latter's pragmatism, indeed *volte-face*, in economic orientation. Elaborating on the subject of Ireland and Northern Ireland, Liam Kennedy gives a very well argued insight, in *The modern industrialisation of Ireland*, into economic policy at this time by comparing the two economies on the island. Indeed, it has to be said that this study is invaluable because it traces the evolution of what he calls 'the long-established distinction between a broadly industrial North and an agrarian South' to a time when Ireland became more industrialised and its northern neighbour steadily became deindustrialised. On the other hand, Joseph Lee and Gearóid Ó Tuathaigh, writing in *The age of de Valera*, give a succinct, although limited, view of the changes that Lemass wrought. This has in fact been done more thoroughly by Paul Bew and Henry Patterson, particularly in their book on *Seán Lemass and the making of modern Ireland, 1945 to 1966*, but one should remember that this argument comes from a distinctly Marxist perspective.

Some texts have concentrated on specific subject areas, as with Patrick Keatinge in his respected text *A singular stance: Irish neutrality in the 1980s*, a study that is clearly more interested in the implications of integration

on neutrality rather than in anything else; indeed, Dermot Keogh has concentrated on the diplomatic elements involved in this relationship. Meanwhile, this PhD thesis contends that recent mainstream Irish history texts – excepting Dermot Keogh's *Twentieth-century Ireland: nation and state* or J.J.Lee's *Ireland, 1912-1985: politics and society*, which actually do deal with the question of Ireland and the EEC with a level of insight – suffer from the fact that such analyses cannot concentrate on the particular aspect that is central to this discussion. Ronan Fanning's *Independent Ireland* is clearly an example of this phenomenon, as is John A.Murphy's *Ireland in the twentieth century*. At the same time, Terence Brown's fascinating *Ireland: a social and cultural history* obviously deals with the issue from another historical perspective altogether. Therefore, a substantial gap exists in our knowledge of European integration. An extensive investigation into the history of Ireland's European integration, not only into the EEC, utilising the material that has been continually released, was badly needed; this text therefore forms the basis of one of the first documentary based investigations carried out to date.

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