### 1950 - 1973

### **IRELAND**

### **EUROPEAN INTEGRATION**

### 1950

(Sept.) Ireland signs the European **Payments Union Agreement.** 

(May) Schuman Declaration on pooling Franco-German coal and steel industries.

### 1951

(Apr.) Treaty of Paris signed by France, West Germany, Italy, Belgium, Holland and **Luxembourg (the Six) creates the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC).** 

### 1953

(Feb.) The ECSC comes into existence.

### 1955

(Dec.) Ireland is admitted to the United Nations.

(June) The Messina Conference agrees to encourage free trade between ECSC members through removing tariffs and quotas.

### 1956

(May) The foreign ministers of the Six open intergovernmental negotiations towards **Treaties establishing a European Economic Community (EEC) and a European Atomic Energy Community (EURATOM).** 

### 1957

(Aug.) Ireland joins the IMF and the World Bank.

(Mar.) Treaties of Rome signed as the first step towards establishing the common market.

### 1958

(Nov.) Programme for Economic Expansion laid before the Oireachtas.

(Jan.) Foundation of the EEC and EURATOM.

### 1959

(June) Seán Lemass (FF) elected Taoiseach.

### 1961

(July) Ireland applies for EEC membership.

(Aug.) Britain and Denmark apply for EEC

(Oct.) European Commission announces negotiations should be opened with Ireland for 'full membership' of the EEC.

### 1963

(Aug.) Second Programme for Economic Expansion.

(Jan.) De Gaulle 'vetoes' Britain's EEC application – Ireland's EEC application goes into cold storage.

### 1964

(Oct.) Harold Wilson (Labour) replaces Sir Alec Douglas Home (Conservative) as **British Prime Minister.** 

### 1965

(Dec.) Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area Agreement (AIFTAA) signed.

(Apr.) The Merger Treaty is signed in Brussels. It merges the executives of the ECSC, EEC, and Euratom to become collectively known as the European Communities (EC).

### 1966

(July) Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area comes into being.

(Nov.) Jack Lynch (FF) replaces Seán Lemass (FF) as Taoiseach

(Nov.) Wilson tells House of Commons that Britain is exploring the possibility of joining EC.

### 1967

(May) Ireland's second application for EC membership.

(May) Britain, Ireland, Denmark and Norway apply for EC membership.

(May) de Gaulle's 'velvet veto' of Britain's second EC application.

(Dec.) European Commission announces that it is not proceeding with Ireland's EC application.

### 1969

(Mar.) Third Programme, Economic and Social Development, 1969-72.

(June) Patrick Hillery replaces Frank Aiken as Minister for External Affairs.

(August) Outbreak of the Troubles in Northern Ireland.

(Apr.) De Gaulle resigns.

(Dec.) Hague Summit reaffirms the agreement of the Six to the enlargement of the Communities.

### 1970

(June) EC entry negotiations formally open with Ireland.

(June) Edward Heath (Conservative) replaces Wilson as British Prime Minister.

### 1972

(May) Referendum on EC entry passed by a large majority.

(Jan.) Denmark, Ireland, Norway and the **United Kingdom sign the Treaties of Accession to the European Communities.** 

(Jan.) Ireland joins the EC.

(Jan.) Britain and Denmark join the EC.



above | Signature of the Treaty of Paris, creating the **European Coal and Steel** Community, 18 April 1951. (European Commission AV Services, P-002720/00-1)

below | Signature of the Treaties of Rome, creating the EEC and EURATOM, 25 March 1957.





above Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, 9 May 1960, 10th anniversary of the Schuman Declaration.

below Taoiseach Jack Lynch, Minister for Foreign **Affairs Dr Patrick Hillery** and the Irish negotiating and accession team, Brussels, 1972. (UCDA P205/182)

above | Seán Lemass and

London for trade negotiations (1961).

(Michael Kennedy personal collec

**Jack Lynch at Dublin Airport** before boarding a flight to





above Taoiseach Jack Lynch and Minister for **Foreign Affairs Dr Patrick** Hillery sign Ireland's accession to the European Communities, Brussels, 22 January 1972.

### Project Credits

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Fáilte Ireland Irish Railway Record Society www.lrishpoliticalmaps.blogspot.ie Mr David Burke (Fianna Fáil) Mr Alan Kinsella Sinn Féin

www.irishelectionliterature.wordpress.com



### THE BACKGROUND TO IRELAND'S FIRST EEC **APPLICATION**

1950-1961

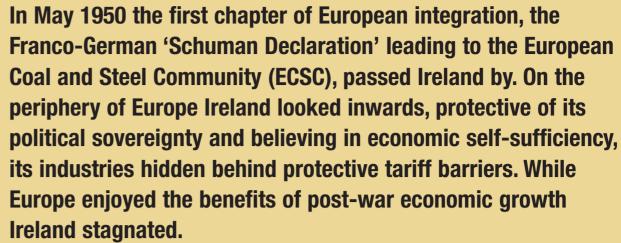
We might find ourselves a political, as well as an economic, anachronism in the midst of the world's largest political and economic entity ?

**Department of Finance memorandum, June 1961.** (NAI DFA CM 15/1)

> above Round table of the First European Commission. From left to right: Renée van Hoof (interpreter); Giuseppe Petrilli; Jean Rey; Piero Malvestiti; Hans von der Groeben; Walter Hallstein; Emile Noël; Robert Lemaignen; Robert Marjolin: Lambert Schaus, Brussels,

(European Commission AV Service P-008949/00-1)

**below** Minister for External **Affairs Frank Aiken with German Chancellor Konrad** Andenauer, Bonn, August



In 1957 the second chapter in European integration began with the Treaty of Rome and its creation of the European **Economic Community (EEC) and the European Atomic Energy** Community (EURATOM). Ireland's fortunes had not improved. Unemployment and emigration were rising, and with lacklustre economic growth forecast, Ireland's future seemed bleak.

Ireland was not invited by the six original members of the EEC to join them and seemed likely to remain outside its 'Common Market'. Experts planning to develop the Irish economy settled on a model of economic development through export led growth. The protected Irish economy, in particular its dominant agricultural sector, would be opened up to foreign markets. Ireland would embrace free trade and competition.

Membership of the EEC became a key foreign policy goal of Fianna Fáil Taoiseach Seán Lemass from the moment he took office in 1959. Europe moved to the centre stage of Irish foreign policy. Lemass believed that Ireland's economy would prosper within the EEC. He was particularly keen on EEC plans to develop a Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) as its price guarantees and export subsidies would suit the agriculturally dominated Irish economy.

Ireland's new export-led economic policy began to work. Irish GNP grew by over 4% in 1959 and 1960. Ireland needed to expand its foreign trade further. But was Ireland sufficiently economically developed to withstand the impact of free trade and competition that EEC entry would bring? Could Ireland join the EEC if Britain, its main trading partner, did not? Aware that a British application was becoming a distinct possibility, in July 1961 the Lemass government published a White Paper on the EEC and let its six member states know that in the event of Britain applying for EEC membership Ireland would also apply.



Taoisea Common Marke Bonn before Mr. Lemass

### THE FIRST **APPLICATION**

### **July 1961** January 1963

The political aims of the Community are aims to which the Irish government and people are ready to subscribe and in the realisation of which they wish to play an active part?

Speech by Lemass to the European Commission, 18 January

(Agence Europe, no. 1169)

COMMUNAUTE ECONOMIQUE EUROPEENNE

> LE CONSEIL LE PRESIDENT

Bruxelles, le 23 OCT. 1962

Version française

Monsieur le Premier Ministre,

J'ai l'honneur de vous faire savoir que le Conseil de Ministres de la Communauté Economique Européenne s'est prononcé, au cours de sa session des 22/23 octobre 1962, sur la demande du Gouvernement irlandais d'ouvrir des négociations en vue d'adhérer au Traité de Rome, en vertu des dispositions de l'article 237 de ce Traité.

Je suis heureux de vous informer que le Conseil de Ministres a donné à l'unanimité son accord à cette demande d'ouverture de négociations.

La date à laquelle ces négociations pourront s'ouvrir sera fixée, par la voie diplomatique, d'un commun accord entre le Gouvernement irlandais, et les Gouvernements des Etats membres de la Communauté Economique Européenne.

Je vous prie de croire, Monsieur le Premier Ministre, à l'assurance de ma très haute considération. Q

A Son Excellence Monsieur Sean LEMASS Premier Ministre du Gouvernement d'Irlande

below | Seán Lemass and Jack Lynch at Dublin Airport before boarding a flight to **London for trade** 

negotiations (1961). (Michael Kennedy personal collection)

left Letter from Emilio

**Council of Ministers'** 

(NAI DT S17339/62)

(NAI DT S16877X/62)

Colombo to Seán Lemass announcing the European

intention to open accession

negotiations with Ireland.

below left Note for Minister for External Affairs Frank Aiken on the implications of EEC membership for Ireland's attitude to NATO, 9 January

below right Letter announcing Ireland's desire to apply for EEC membership from Seán Lemass to President of the Council of the EEC, Ludwig Erhard, 31 July 1961. (NAI DT S16877X/62)

overlay | Ireland is joining the E.E.C. for political reasons - Lemass. (Irish Times, 24 October 1962)

Ireland applied for full membership of the EEC on 31 July 1961. Associate membership was ruled out as it suggested that Ireland was economically underdeveloped. The application was sent as British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan announced that Britain would also apply for EEC membership.

The European Commission's response to Dublin did not indicate when Ireland's EEC entry negotiations might commence Few in Brussels thought Ireland sufficiently developed economically for EEC membership. Some did not take Ireland's application seriously, not expecting an Irish application separate to Britain's. Irish neutrality and non-membership of NATO were also problematic in light of moves for European political integration after the July 1961 Bonn Declaration. The Community examined the British and Danish applications, leaving Ireland's aside.

Lemass addressed the Community's fears directly in a speech to the European Commission in January 1962. In October 1962 he visited the capitals of the Six to emphasise that Ireland was sufficiently economically developed to join the EEC and that Ireland's military neutrality and non-membership of NATO were not obstacles to entry. Lemass's personal diplomacy broke the deadlock. In October 1962 the EEC Council of Ministers agreed to open entry negotiations with Dublin on the basis of full membership.

Five of the Six were in favour of opening negotiations, but France remained hesitant, despite de Gaulle giving Lemass the impression of being well disposed towards Ireland. Britain's entry negotiations took priority and Ireland's negotiations would hardly begin before March 1963.

Then on 14 January 1963 French President General de Gaulle raised doubts over Britain's suitability for EEC membership and vetoed London's application. Ireland's EEC application was within the collateral damage of de Gaulle's 'Non'. The French President did not veto Ireland's application, but with its main trading partner destined to remain outside the EEC there was no point in Ireland going it alone. For the foreseeable future EEC membership was out of reach and Ireland would adopt a dignified 'wait and see' attitude towards Europe.

9/1/62

If we are asked whether we are prepared to join in European defence or NATO if admitted to EEC we should reply:-

not require members to join NATO and we were so informed by M. Spaak, Dr. Von Brentano and

We took our decision not to join NATO in 1949 because we believed it would hinder the unity of Ireland. It was not based on neutrality or non-alliance as a principle.

When negotiations for membership of the EEC have been brought finally to a conclusion we will have to look at the whole situation in the light of our vital interests.

We shall weigh, in the light of the situation then existing and the terms of accession to the EEC open to us whether the vital national objectives of our people - Irish unity, European solidarity and world peace based on law and justice - would or would not be best served by association with a European defensive alliance. The final decision in the matter would of course rest with the Df11.

Minister for External Affairs.

Letter of 31 July, 1961, to the President of the Council of ROINN AN TAOISIGH BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH 31st July. 1961. I have the honour, on behalf of my Government, to inform Your Excellency that Ireland desires to become a member of the European Economic Community and hereby presents an application to the Council for membership pursuant to Article 237 of the Treaty of Rome. My Government fully share the ideals which inspired the parties to the Treaty and accept the aims of the Community as set out therein, as well as the action proposed to achieve those sims. It is the earnest hope of my Government that Ireland's application to become a member may commend itself to the Council of the Community and that the Council may be good enough to arrange for discussions regarding the conditions of admission and the adaptations which, as envisaged in Article 237, would become the subject of an agreement between the Member States and Ireland. Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest (Sgd.) SEÁN F. LENASS

His Excellency Professor Ludwig Erhard, President, Council of the European Economic Community, 2, rue Ravenstein, BRUSSELS.

IRELAND IS JOINING E.E.C. FOR POLITICAL BEASONS-LEWASS

BONN, Tucsday.

Lamass to-night said that he was highly pleased with the decision by regotiations on Ireland's application to join the European ce at the Government press centre in

### IRELAND'S SECOND **APPLICATION**

### January 1963 -December 1967

'Ireland and the Common Market, what the hell are we doing about it?

Irish Times, 24 June 1966.

I have the honour, on behalf of my Government, to refer to the request addressed to the President in Steel Community on 7 January, 1963, that Ireland be

permitted to accede to the Treaty of 18 April, 1951, establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, pursuant to Article 98 thereof.

In consequence of the suspension in January, 1963, of consideration of Ireland's application for membership of the European Economic Community, it was not possible to proceed further at that time with the request for accession to the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community. Ireland's application for membership of the European Economic Community is now being renewed and an application is being made for membership of the European Atomic Energy Community. I have the honour, therefore, to request the Special Council to give favourable consideration to the opening of negotiations with a view to Ireland's accession to the Treaty establishing the European Coal and Steel Community, such accession to take effect concurrently with Ireland's entry to the European Economic Community and the European Atomic Energy Community.

Please accept, Excellency, the assurances of my highest consideration.

His Excellency M. Antoine Wehenkel, President, Special Council of Ministers of the European Coal and Steel Community, Luxembourg.

overlay above France Closes the Door of the EEC. (Irish Times, 20 December 1967)

above Sicco Mansholt (European Commission (Agriculture), Frank Aiken, **Ambassador Frank Biggar** and Jean Rey (European **Commission (External** Relations)), Brussels, November 1963. (European Commission AV Services P-010494/00-1)

left | Letter from Taoiseach **Jack Lynch to Antoine** Wehenkel concerning Ireland's desire to join the **European Coal and Steel** Community, May 1967. (NAI 2009/111/34 Pt II)

right Opening page of the minutes of a meeting between Ireland and the EC **Commission concerning** Ireland's application to the EC, Brussels, 27 July 1967.

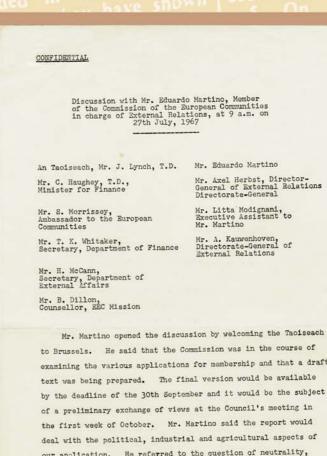
After de Gaulle's veto Ireland's EEC application went into cold storage. Lemass continued to promote Irish economic modernisation. Ireland's economy continued to grow, though at 3% per annum instead of the expected 4.3%. Further trade barriers were removed, and the Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area created from 1966 the correct environment in Ireland for EEC membership. Lemass wished to show that Ireland was responding to the economic changes taking place in 1960s Western Europe.

Irish attempts for an interim trade deal with the EEC failed and the European Commission showed sympathy, but little else, for Ireland's position. There was some domestic discontent in Ireland about an apparently rudderless EEC policy; the truth was that the EEC was not waiting with open arms to welcome Ireland, and Anglo-French tension continued to cloud the enlargement process.

Lemass resigned in November 1966, and was succeeded as Taoiseach by his Minister for Finance, Jack Lynch. When Lynch met British Prime Minister Harold Wilson in December 1966 he learned that Britain was considering a fresh EEC application. If Britain's application were reactivated then Ireland's would be also.

When Wilson and Lynch met on 1 May 1967 Wilson explained that Britain indeed intended to renew its EEC application. He told Lynch that Dublin could count on London's support for simultaneous British and Irish accession. Britain's application was submitted on 11 May. Ireland's followed fifteen minutes later. Five days later de Gaulle's 'velvet veto' explained that conditions were not right for Britain to join the EEC.

Lynch undertook courtesy visits to the capitals of the Six in the second half of 1967. He held a successful meeting with de Gaulle in early November, but as 1967 ended the prospects of EEC membership for Ireland remained as far away as ever. In December the Council of Ministers decided against the formal opening of entry negotiations with any of the applicants. On 19 **December President of the Council of Ministers Karl Schiller told Dublin that the Six were not proceeding with Ireland's EEC** application.



examining the various applications for membership and that a draft text was being prepared. The final version would be available deal with the political, industrial and agricultural aspects of our apolication. He referred to the question of neutrality, which he seemed to suggest might be a possible problem. He proposed that the present meeting should consist of an exchange 2. The Taoiseach, having congratulated Mr. Martino on his

WE DOING

ABOUT IT?



as another step on the road to Europe.

In view of our hopes and ambitions, we have Europe. We seem to think that we detting into

### **ACCESSION NEGOTIATIONS** COMMENCE

### July 1968 -September 1970

'Membership will enable us to participate fully with other democratic and like-minded countries of Europe in the movement towards European unity, based on ideals and objectives to which we as a nation can readily subscribe.

1972 Irish Government White Paper on Europe, p. 67.

Following General de Gaulle's resignation on 28 April 1969 Community enlargement again became possible. Seán Morrissey, Irish Ambassador to the European Communities, sounded a note of caution: 'there is no evidence of euphoria here [Brussels] in regard to enlargement as a result of the resignation.' There would be no overnight Irish accession.

**Patrick Hillery became Minister for External Affairs after** the Irish June 1969 general election, replacing the United Nations-focused Frank Aiken. Hillery's appointment signalled **Dublin's determination to achieve EC membership. Ministerial** visits to the European Commission and to the capitals of the Six took place through summer 1969 promoting a positive image of Ireland across the European Communities. Hillery had to overcome a proposal that Britain's application be dealt with before Ireland's, potentially separating Ireland from its main export market.

Ireland welcomed the agreement of the Six at The Hague in December 1969 that entry negotiations would begin in mid-1970. They eventually began on 30 June 1970, with the first face to face negotiations between Ireland and the Commission commencing in September 1970.

As a result of the Hague Summit and, the decision to complete the Common Market, commence steps towards a **European Monetary System and commence greater foreign** policy co-ordination, the Europe that Ireland was negotiating to join was a more advanced entity than the original Common Market. Newly appointed Irish Ambassador to the European Communities Seán Kennan explained in early 1970 that 'with regard to foreign affairs and defence, the evolution of common policies in the Community is for the future and we would participate in their shaping as members.'2 Kennan understood the primary political goal of European integration as he continued:

The EEC has been such a success in this regard that war between its members is no longer conceived as possible. As a European country with no less an interest in stability and peace on the Continent we would be serving a fundamental political interest of our own by joining and further promoting this endeavour.

1. Morrissey to O'Sullivan, DEA, teleprinter message, 30 April 1969.

indication would be welc

2. Kennan to Morrissey, 14 May 1970. (NAI DFA 2003/10/60)

(NAI 2000/6/386)

President of the European Commission (1967-70). (European Commission AV Services P-008463/00-1)

overlay Opening of negotiations between Ireland and the European Communities, statement by Hillery at the opening of the ministerial level meeting held in Brussels on 21 September 1970.

left Report of meeting

Hillery and British Foreign

Secretary Michael Stewart, Brussels, 14 July 1969.

below left | Jean-François

between Minister for **External Affairs Patrick** 

(NAI DFA CM 15/1)

Deniau, European

Commission member

Norwegian accession

below right | Jean Rey,

negotiations.

responsible for the Irish. British, Danish and

right Edoardo Martino, **European Commission** member responsible for **External Relations from** 1967 to 1970. (European Commission AV Services P-002871/04-D)

(UCDA P204/96)

17 Idil 1969

Report of meeting between Dr. Hillery, Minister for External Affairs and Mr.Stewart, British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary, in Brussels on Monday, 14th July, 1969

Mr. Stewart, British Foreign and Commonwealth Secretary.

at the British Embassy in Brussels at 6.45 p.m. on Monday,

Ambassador to Belgium and his own Private Secretary, Mr.

Barrington. Dr. Hillery was accompanied by Mr. McCann,

Secretary, Department of External Affairs.

14th July, 1969. Mr. Stewart was accompanied by the British

After the exchange of courtesies Dr. Hillery informed

Mr. Stewart of the EEC purpose of his visit to Brussels and

asked Mr. Stewart for his appraisal of the outlook for the

importance from the Irish point of view of negotiations on

the Irish application starting simultaneously with those on

Britain's application and of simultaneous accession for both

of membership. He said that one thing that is clear is that

general agreement, however, with Dr. Hillery's appraisal that

Mr. Stewart did not commit himself very fully on the

question of Seven versus Ten but rather gave himself away by

reacting too suddenly to a remark of Dr. Hillery that he had

indications for support for our point of view. Mr. Stewart

the outlook is better now than it was before. He was in

we may have a decision by the end of the year on whether

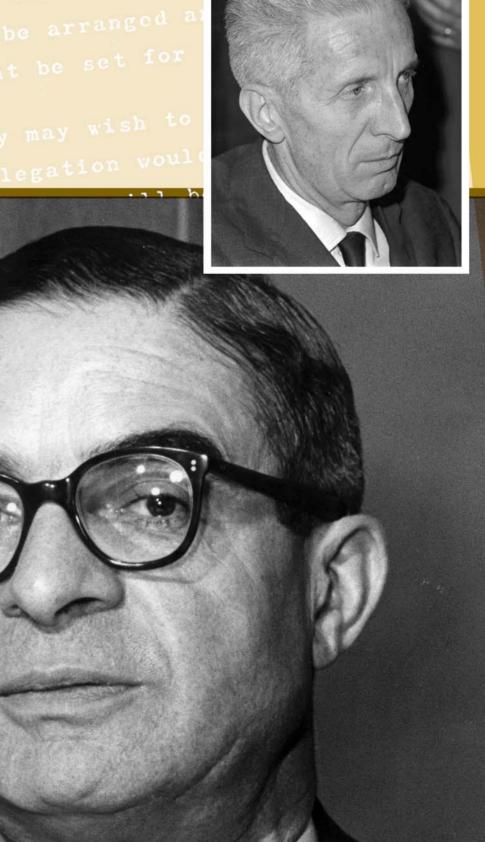
negotiations should be started or not.

Mr. Stewart was cautious about the prospects for expansion

expansion of membership of the EEC. He also emphasised the

Dr. Hillery, Minister for External Affairs, called on





or discus

### NEGOTIATING MEMBERSHIP OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

### September 1970 -January 1972

For the first time in decades we will have the opportunity to compete freely and fairly with neighbouring countries and I have every confidence in our abilities to hold an equal place in the Europe of tomorrow.

Presidential Address by Taoiseach to Fianna Fáil Ard Fheis 1971, RDS Dublin, 20 February 1971.

(NAI 2002/8/405)

right Letter from Michael Killeen, Managing Director, Industrial Development Authority to Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr Patrick Hillery concerning the implications of EC accession for the provision Irish incentives for industrial investment, 26 October, 1971.

below right Teleprinter
message between the
Department of Foreign
Affairs, the Irish Embassy in
Brussels and the Irish
Embassy to the European
Communities concerning
the practicalities and
logistics of Patrick Hillery's
signature of the Treaty of
Accession for Ireland,
January-February 1972.
(NAI, 2003/16/496)

below Taoiseach Jack
Lynch and Minister for
Foreign Affairs Dr Patrick
Hillery sign Ireland's
accession to the European
Communities, Brussels, 22
January 1972.
(European Commission AV Services,
P-011619/00-09)

background Memorandum by Robin Fogarty (Dept of Foreign Affairs) for Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr Patrick Hillery on the transitional arrangements provided for Ireland on joining the European Communities, 3 June 1971. Dr P. J. Hillery T.D.
Minister for Foreign Affairs
Sr. Stephen's Green
DUBLIN 2

26 October 1971

Dear Minister

As requested, I submit with this letter our understanding of the present situation in regard to our industrial incentives in the light of the EEC decision and your understanding of EEC intentions regarding the interpretation of the protocol.

I should draw your attention in particular to paragraph (3) of the attached memorandum which implies the toking of certain positions on two points which are very important for the success of the industrial development programmes.

(a) that, up to the date of accession, we should be free to enter into contracts which would not be subject to re-negatiation after the review;

(b) that, where in re-negatiation firms do not accept that the alternative package being offered is equally devantageous to them, they can insist on our continuing to provide the incentives originally offered.

The question we are now putting to you is, are we entitled to take these interpretations from the understanding which you took away from the negatiations in Luxembourg last week.

As I explained to you at our meeting yesterday afternoon, we are being pressed by industrialists with whom we are negatiating for clarification of the incentive situation after accession to EEC. We cannot avoid giving an authoritative interpretation without giving rise to serious suspicion and speculation which could be demaging to our promotional effort. We should, therefore, appreciate your early confirmation that we may proceed on the lines suggested in this letter and the attached memorandum or on the basis of some alternative agreed formulo.

Yours sincerely:

\*\*Enabland by the Government to promote industrial development.

\*\*Enabland by the Government to promote industrial development.

Hillery preceded Ireland's accession negotiations with further visits to the capitals of Community members to ensure they understood that Ireland would undertake the political and economic obligations of membership. Backing this up a White Paper, agreed by Cabinet in April 1970, *Membership of the European Communities – Implications for Ireland* was published.

Protecting Ireland's interests during the entry negotiations and the transitional period following entry, particularly in trade, agriculture, industry and fisheries were Ireland's main negotiating concerns. The Committee of Secretaries, the Heads of the senior government departments, considered that 'the most important objective for us in these negotiations will be protection during the transitional period of our interests in the British market, particularly as regards agriculture.'3

Despite the fraught state of Anglo-Irish relations, and what turned out to be the worst phase of the Northern Ireland Troubles coinciding with the entry negotiations, Hillery worked closely with his British counterparts to ensure that Britain and Ireland understood matters of joint concern through the entry negotiations.

The negotiating team, led by Hillery, was given considerable freedom by Dublin. The Cabinet discussed Europe only when the most important aspects of the negotiations required a decision. On 15 September 1970, the Cabinet agreed that the negotiators were 'to signify the acceptance, without reservation, of the principle of equal pay for men and women.' The negotiators had a broad outline of what had to be concluded, but there was much detail to be filled in and hard bargaining through the course of the accession talks.

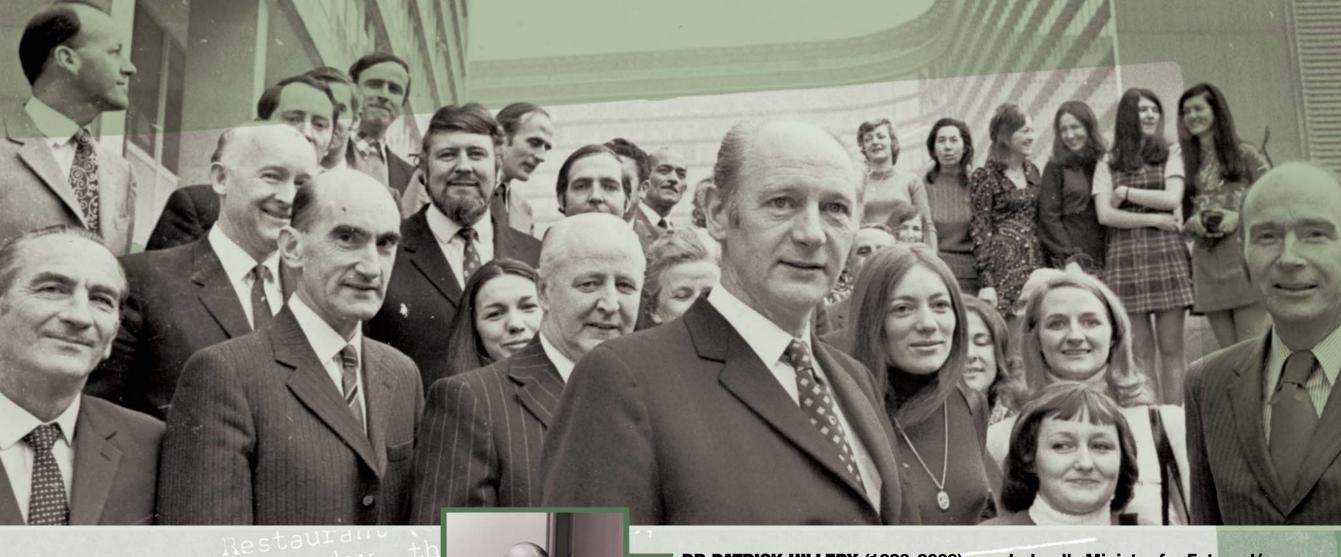
The most significant concerns facing Ireland through 1971 were the five-year transitional measures for industry and agriculture, and the complex question of the Common Fisheries Policy.

The final negotiating session took place on 18 January 1972. The Chairman, Luxembourg's Permanent Representative to the European Communities, Jean Dondelinger, declared all outstanding problems solved and the proceedings closed with appropriate toasts. The signing ceremony for Ireland's EC accession followed at the Palais d'Egmont in Brussels on 22 January 1972.

- 3. Memorandum for the Cabinet 'Proposals, by the Committee of Secretaries, on certain matters arising in connection with possible negotiations for EEC membership', 8 January 1970.

  (NAI 2000/6/391)
- 4. Cabinet Minutes (GC 13/73), 15 September 1970.

left Undated note by **Minister for Foreign Affairs** I wasted to Coldantier on this sending further contractions **Dr Patrick Hillery** concerning tax relief on I brought forward again today our case profits from exports. for keeping our scheme of tax reliefs on profits derived from exports in force until (UCDA P205/48) its legal expiry date (1990). be short-sighted to turn down reasonable are aimed at establishing proposals aimed at stimulating industrial development in Ireland. This development is essential to our goals of full employment for an increasing population and a steadily rising standard of living. I emphasised that the problem of unemployment is central ents to this issue as indeed to several of our If nevertheless it should app other negotiation questions - our motor assembly industry is an example; indeed ould fisheries is another. to these provisions should My Government is determined to bring about a rapid and sustained reduction in sion unemployment. The importance of the tax relief scheme be framed in such a way as has been its stimulus to production for export. Our domestic market is not large. of trade within the enlarged



from top Taoiseach Jack Lynch, Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr Patrick Hillery and the Irish negotiating and accession team, Brussels, 1972.

Dr Patrick Hillery, Minister for Foreign Affairs (1969-72). (European Commission AV Services P-003675/01-9)

Seán Morrissey, presenting his credentials to Walter Hallstein, Brussels, 27 October 1966. (European Commission AV Services

Seán Kennan (first on left) at the signing of a non-proliferation Agreement between the EAEC and the IAEA, Brussels, 5 April 1973.

Robin Fogarty, (second from left), presenting his credentials as Ambassador to Germany, Bonn, 1976.

(Department of Foreign Affairs Archives)

overlay List of recipients of the silver medal given to members of Ireland's European Communities negotiating team. (NAI 2004/21/548) DR PATRICK HILLERY (1923-2008) was Ireland's Minister for External/Foreign Affairs from 1969 to 1972. A Fianna Fáil TD from 1951 to 1973, he was Minister for Education from 1959 to 1965, Minister for Industry and Commerce from 1965 to 1966 and Minister for Labour from 1966 to 1969. After Ireland's entry to the European Community, Hillery was Vice-President of the European Commission with responsibility for social affairs (1973-6). In 1976 Patrick Hillery was elected President of Ireland, holding the post to 1990.

SEÁN MORRISSEY (1916-2002) Assistant Secretary at the Department of External Affairs, led the Irish team of officials negotiating Ireland's entry into the European Community. A former Legal Adviser at the Department of External Affairs (1955-62), he was appointed Assistant Secretary in 1962 and in 1964 was appointed Ambassador to Switzerland. In 1966 Morrissey was appointed head of the Irish Mission to the European Communities. In February 1970 Morrissey was brought back to Iveagh House as Assistant Secretary to head the EC division and in mid-June 1970 was appointed by Patrick Hillery to take charge of Ireland's EC entry negotiating team.

SEÁN P. KENNAN (born 1918) headed the Irish Mission to the EC during the accession negotiations, and was Ireland's Ambassador to the European Communities from 1970 to 1972, and Ireland's first Permanent Representative to the European Communities (1973). Kennan held a variety of overseas postings in London, Paris and Canberra. In 1965 he became Permanent Representative to the European Office of the United Nations at Geneva, from where he was posted to Brussels in 1970.

the

the

CHRISTOPHER P. (ROBIN) FOGARTY (1928-95) was a Counsellor in the Department of Foreign Affairs who played a key role in the writing of the 1972 Irish White Paper on EC membership and was widely known for briefing journalists through the 1973 referendum on EC membership. After holding a number of posts in the United States, Lagos and Copenhagen, he was appointed to the EC entry negotiating team in 1970. Fogarty's abilities were apparent in his grasp of complicated briefs and detail. When Patrick Hillery became Irish EC Commissioner in 1973, Fogarty became for a short period his Chef de Cabinet.

**DENIS J. MAHER** (1916-84) was the Department of Finance representative on the team which negotiated Ireland's EC entry. Maher worked largely on economic and foreign trade issues and was closely involved with the preparation of the various White Papers on Ireland's entry to the EC. His account of the Ireland's accession, which he wrote at the suggestion of Patrick Hillery, was published posthumously in 1986 as *The Tortuous Path - The course of Ireland's entry into the EEC: 1948-73*.

**JAMES O'MAHONEY** was an Assistant Secretary at the Department of Agriculture and Fisheries and a senior member of the EC entry negotiating team.

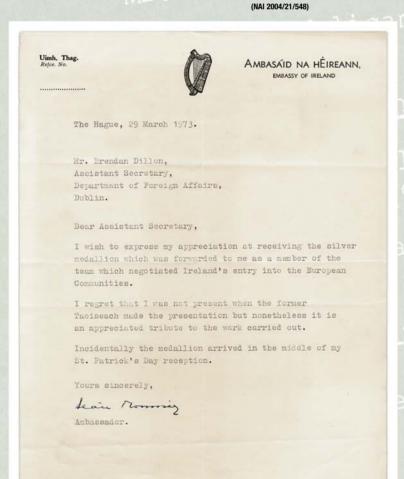
**DESMOND CULLIGAN** was an Assistant Secretary at the Department of Industry and Commerce and a senior member of the EC entry negotiating team.





team.

**Communities negotiating** 



### IRELAND'S KEY NEGOTIATORS

### THE COMMON AGRICULTURE AND FISHERIES POLICIES

The foundations of the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP) and a single European market in agricultural goods were laid in 1958. Ireland supported the CAP from its inception, as it anticipated that it would bring prosperity to Irish farmers and increase the volume of Irish agricultural production. The CAP provided support for the domestic agricultural sector via guaranteed prices, and opened European export markets for Irish agricultural goods at a time when Ireland was a mainly agricultural economy reliant on exports to Britain.

The CAP was a key issue facing Ireland during the accession negotiations. Ireland wanted to look after its domestic agricultural interests, and ensure that Britain did not gain concessions for special arrangements with third countries that would damage Irish agricultural exports to Britain.

The main agricultural products in the Community were subject to the CAP by mid-1968. Ireland's accession negotiations were unexpectedly challenged on the opening day when the Commission introduced proposals for a parallel Common Fisheries Policy (CFP) to be implemented by 1 February 1971. The resulting impasse over the CFP, a highly complex issue, took eighteen months to resolve.

For Ireland, the CFP was dominated by the need to ensure fair competition and maintain existing fishing rights in inshore waters. Ireland relied on inshore fishing and had no deep-sea fishing fleet. It feared that the better-equipped fleets of other member states would deplete its stocks. Ireland thus wanted to protect the three-mile limit of its territorial waters from outside fleets.

Ireland presented doomsday scenarios on the impact of CFP on the Irish fishing industry. The Commission remained stubborn. It argued that Ireland must accept the acquis communautaire on fisheries and hoped to deal with Irish concerns through transitional measures once the CFP came into force.

Following a November 1971 intervention by the head of the British negotiating team, the Commission sought compromise. Ireland obtained a ten-year extension of its fisheries to a twelve-mile limit from Lough Foyle to Cork and in the Irish Sea, and got a far better deal than its original proposal to preserve Irish fisheries to the three-mile limit. This deal introduced conservation of fish stocks to the CFP in a manner not previously incorporated, and while protecting 92% of Ireland's fish catch, also suggested a CFP designed for a Community of Ten rather than Six.

below Trawlers at the entrance to Dublin Port.
(Photograph Courtesy of The Irish Times )

overlay Note submitted by the Irish Delegation re Common Fisheries Policy, 7 Oct 1970.

(UCDA P204/96)

above right Note by
Minister for Foreign Affairs
Dr Patrick Hillery
concerning meetings with
various individuals
regarding Ireland's sugar
quota, 12 January 1972.

Centre right Letter from
Brendan O'Kelly (Bord
lascaigh Mhara) to Minister
for Foreign Affairs Dr
Patrick Hillery on problems
for Ireland's fishing industry
arising from the EEC
Common Fisheries Policy, 4
June 1971.

below right
by Dr Patrick Hillery on
relations with the
Norwegian delegation
during the negotiation of
Ireland's compromise on the
Common Fisheries Policy,
21 December 1971.
(UCDA P205/45)

### 'The British now seem to think our solution more likely to be the basis of a settlement than their own.'

Note by Hillery, 30 June 1971. (UCDA P205/45)

Beel why to be blands attale 121/72

Meetings at home regarding the Sugar Quots

- Godsil on the Golf Course.
   I arranged a meeting with him on the phone for the day after.
- I met them in the Dáil with the Minister for Agriculture. That deputation was led by Mr. Fardy of the B.V.A. and accompanied by Mr. Dukes and others.
- 4. The Minister for Agriculture and I met the same type of group again in his office the day before I went to Brussels that is on the 8th January for a long discussion.
- 5. I met at his own request Martin Corry who later brought officials of the Sugar Company or members of the Sugar Company Board on the
- I met Mr. Kelly and Mr. John Carroll plus the local branch officers
  of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union in Iveagh House.
   In Brussels on the day before the negotiations, I met Mr. Kelly and
- the representative from Carlow of the Irish Transport and General Workers Union.

  8. That day too. I met the B.V.A. with Mr. Maher of the Irish Farmers
- 8. That day too, I met the B.V.A. with Mr. Maher of the Irish Farmers Association in Brussels for a long discussion. Through the negotiations there was phone calls from Mr. Maher insisting that 240,000 was the limit.



BORD IASCAIGH MHARA

IRISH SEA FISHERIES BOARD

P.O. Box No. 275 Hume House. Ballsbridge, Dublin 4. Phone: Dublin 683956. Grams: "BIM" Dublin. Telex: 4166

4th June 1971.

Near Paddy ,

Further to our recent discussion I attach a few notes on the problems arising out of the Common Market Fisheries Policy as it relates to the marketing of fish products. I have not gone into any great detail regarding these problems but my reason for listing them is to emphasize that whilst the major problem confronting our industry relates to equal access of fishing grounds, we are not happy at some of the provisions in the market section of the EEC policy document.

For this reason I think we should look for a moratorium on the existing fisheries policy until after the entry of the four applicant countries. A request for such a moratorium should not pose too many problems for the Six as it would not in any way negative the application of the principles which they have already established. The acceptance of a moratorium, however, would be a gesture of goodwill on their part and would make the act of faith which applicant countries are asked to make in Fisheries Policy before entry more acceptable. The introduction of a moratorium or a freezing of the application of provisions in the Fisheries Policy would not be incompatible with current practice and you will note from the attached that the Dutch have got a deferment in the operations of the marketing policy until the end of September. The main advantage from our point of view (and I presume the point of view of the other applicant countries) is that we would have an opportunity of influencing policy as a member of the Community. It would give every country a breathing space which could be usefully used in fruitful consultation regarding any changes which might be necessary in the implementation of the policy.

The Horwegians hung around the Charlemange Building with no intention of negotiating, smug and self-satisfied looking, would not give me a straight answer as to whether he wanted me to stay with him or not, gave the clear impression that he was waiting for a gift from the gods - the gods being the EEC and the gift being the special treatment from Norway mentioned at the early stages when the BEC thought they could hold their fisheries access regulation if they gave some concession to Morway. I got the clear impression that he wanted to be, as Sir Con O'Neill put it, the last cherry off the tree and if I was there in three months time, six months time, he would still be hanging around just passing the time waiting until we were gone with our decision made, so I had to make a decision and I made it on the clear understanding that this was the final position of the Community. That night he said that we had given in and the later propaganda coming into Ireland from Norway was on the basis that they expected to get better. He gave the impression of being a tougher negotiator whereas his whole attitude was that there was a gift to be got for him if everybody else

21.12.'71.

## THE COMMON MARKET AND IRISH INDUSTRY

Membership of the EC involved participation in a nine-member European customs area with free trade between members and a common external tariff.

Irish trade and industry policy had from the 1930s to the 1950s been predicated on policies of protectionism and self-sufficiency. These policies failed to deliver growth, resulting in unemployment and emigration. In an attempt to boost economic growth, employment and Ireland's overall standard of living, Taoiseach Seán Lemass championed policies developed by civil servants and academics in the 1950s to build the Irish economy through export-led growth.

Ireland would deconstruct its tariff walls and trade restrictions and embrace the cut and thrust of free trade and globalisation. The hope was that by joining the EC Ireland could belatedly join the postwar boom. But could its protected economy withstand the blast of free trade and competition?

EC members set a twelve year transitional period for the introduction of the 'Common Market' set out in the Treaty of Rome. This period was to come to an end on 31 December 1969. By 1 July 1962 the Six had reduced customs duties levied between member states on industrial products to 50% of their 1957 level. On 1 July 1968 a full European customs union came into force. Customs duties for intra-Community trade were abolished, and a common customs tariff was introduced as a replacement for national customs duties in trade with the rest of the world.

A major Irish achievement was the continuance to 1985 of special arrangements for the Irish motor assembly industry to secure employment and enable it to adapt to free trade. Special arrangements lasting until 1977 were also agreed for the small Irish steel industry to enable it to reorganise. Ireland would retain until 1977 quota restrictions on certain textile imports from low cost countries.

Ireland obtained transitional arrangements under which it could gradually dismantle its own trade protection system between 1973 and 1977. Via a special protocol to the accession treaty, Ireland was also able to maintain aids and incentives to industrial development. Ireland would thus participate in a progressive manner with the EC's customs union.

Blissfully unaware of the impending oil crises of the 1970s and economic recession, the 1972 White Paper on Europe anticipated an average of 5% economic growth per annum during the transitional period, and growth surpassing 1960s levels in manufacturing industries.

'I put it to the Community that it would be short-sighted to turn down reasonable proposals aimed at stimulating industrial development in Ireland.'

Memorandum by Dr Patrick Hillery regarding negotiations on industrial incentives, c.1971. (UCDA P205/48)

San

Note for Minister for Foreign Affairs

Motor Assembly Scheme

It will be necessary to assure the European Communit what that period if they are prepared to give an extended transitional for the Motor Assembly Scheme (with some amendments) they will not be faced at the end of such a period with a renewed request from us for further extension. The following considerations are relevant to put forward in this connection.

It was visualised that as a result of the Motor Assembly Scheme there would be greater rationalisation within the Industry. Thus the scheme enabled the assemblers to Concentrate on the production of the high volume lines and to import in fully built up form vehicles for which the demand was relatively small. As a result of this productivity and general efficency in the industry has greatly increased.

The same would be through continued rationalisation to improve further the efficiency of the assembly industry. As a result of this it is hoped that other assemblers will be in a position to concentrate on the longer runs for home and export markets as is already being done by Chrysler Ireland Limited. That firm is changing over its assembly in this way and confidently expects that as a result they will be able to assemble consettively for export markets. Fords of Cork, who, have also better engaged in exports, have expressed confidence that, given an adequate transitional period. What they can gear their production in a way which will enable them to remain competitive in full free frade conditions. In relation to firms which may not find it possible to adapt in this way by rationalisation within the assembly industry, the aim will be to change over to other forms of production. Ideally, the alternative form of production would be in the manufacture of components or accessories for the

left Note for Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr Patrick Hillery (by Robin Fogarty, Dept of Foreign Affairs) on the need for securing a transitional period for the Irish motor industry to adjust following Ireland's joining the European Communities.

below Car manufacturing.
(Photograph Courtesy of The Irish Times)

- 2 -

motor trade. Where, however, this would not prove possible strenuous efforts would be made to attract firms to provide industrial employment using the existing working force in activities not related to the Autor Andustry.



right Irish industry will expand or fail in Common Market.
(Irish Times, 4 September 1962)

# Realise that we have so have s

Irish Times Reporter

HE Committee on Industrial Organisation publishes this morning two interim reports on the preparation of Irish industry for the Common Market. On marketing it recommends that Coras Trachtala services should be expanded and its resources increased to foster and study co-operative marketing.

Dealing with firms which have had the protection of the home market, it says that their possibility of survival as independent entities will depend on finding new markets outside Ireland, or in the large-scale development of existing outlets.

Mr. Lynch, Minister for Industry and Commerce, announced last night that the Govern-

overlay Confidential minute from Seán Morrissey to Ambassadors to the members of the EC, 25 March 1970.

(NAI DFA 2001/43/1139)

did not join the Community, and the Community proceeded without us. The foregoing aspect of membership has, of course, been dealt with in the White Paper, at least to some extent, but the Minister seems to be anxious to get the views of our Ambassadors concerned with membership, and I would be glad of your observations at an early date

# SOVEREIGNTY: THE POLITICAL IMPLICATIONS OF MEMBERSHIP OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

'The member States of the Communities have accepted the limitations involved on their own national freedom of action because they consider that their national interests are best served by membership.'

1972 Irish Government White Paper on Europe, p. 59.

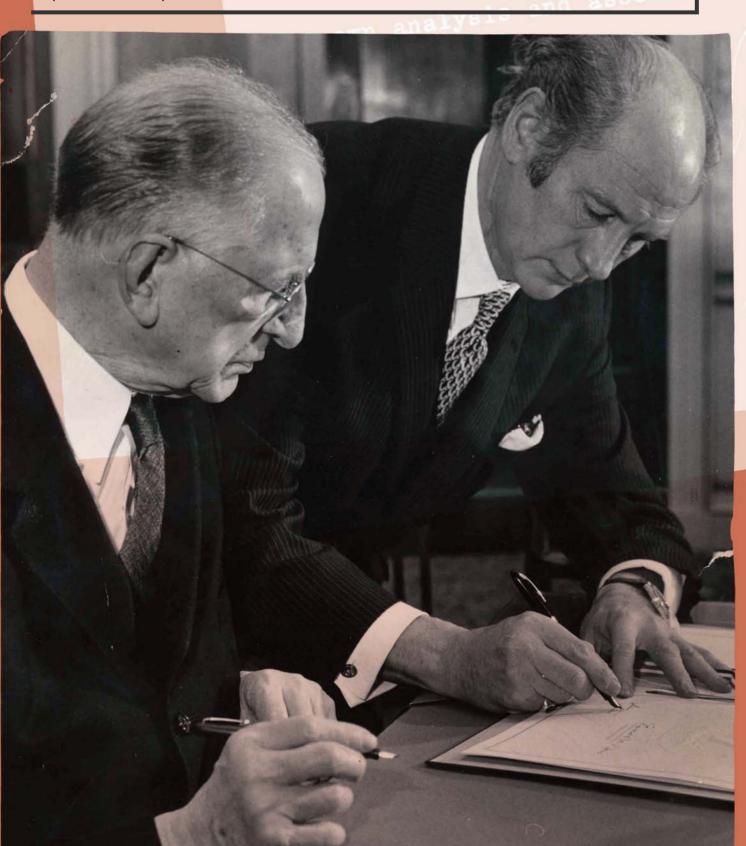
Ireland's achievement of its independence had been painful, involving partition of the country, a civil war, and ca. 6000 fatalities. With this background, when Lemass applied for EC membership in 1961, Ireland's possible loss of sovereignty through EC membership was a significant discussion point and a considerable concern to some. Despite a determination in the Treaties of Rome to establish an ever closer union among the European peoples, and subsequent declarations and statements by the Six, European political union remained a vague concept in the 1960s and early 1970s.

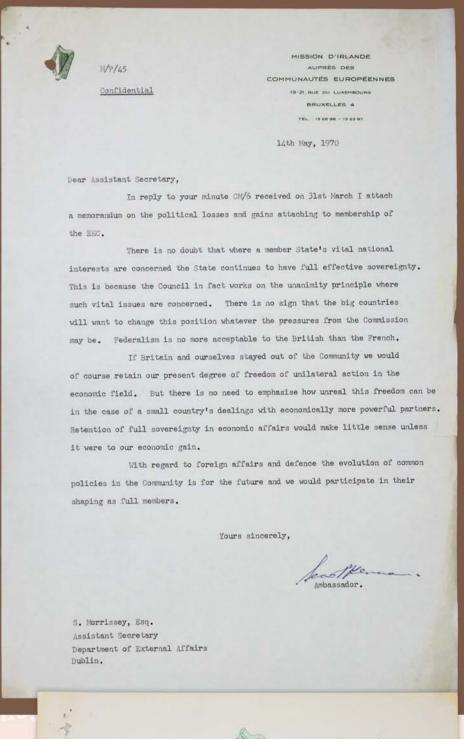
From its first interaction with European integration through its response to the Briand Plan of 1929, Ireland had been cautious about pooling sovereignty, and favoured a Europe of the states through to the early 1960s. Lemass indicated in 1961 and 1962 that Ireland would be prepared to undertake the political commitments of European integration, and was even prepared to forego military neutrality if necessary. However, the Treaties of Paris and Rome as acceded to by Ireland entailed no military or defence commitments. Ireland would, however, participate in exchanges of views on foreign policies between the Nine.

On its own, Ireland was a small country, independent, but with little power to influence global events. In acceding to the EC Ireland was sharing sovereignty, pooling it rather than losing it. As to the future, the 1972 White Paper on Europe gave Dublin's view that 'the achievement of an ever-closer union must be pursued with due deliberation'. Co-operation in the political sphere should develop on a progressive but gradual basis.

As for the ultimate political impact of EEC membership, Seán Kennan expected 'some diminution of our present sovereignty' balanced against membership promoting 'the long-term political aim of reduced dependence on the British market' giving Ireland access to European export markets and a role in the shaping of community policies. In global terms Ireland 'could exercise a world-wide political influence which could not be ours in isolation.' Kennan continued that 'membership could obviously contribute significantly towards the ending of Partition.'5

5. Memorandum 'EEC Membership - Political Losses and Gains'.
(NAI DFA 2001/43/1139)





P.R. 9/70 (Bonn)

Confidential.

Secretary,
Department of External Affairs

Irish Sovereignty and REC Members

The Department has recently instructed us, in its confidential minute CM/6 XXIX of the 25th March, to attempt to make a balanced assessment of the pelitical losses and gains attaching to membership of the European Communities, in relation in particular to the question of our present sovereignty and the extent to which it would be diminished by membership. What follows is an attempt to present our views as requested on this subject under three main headings, viz. (i) the effect on our economic and social sovereignty of the existing provisions of the Treaties establishing the Communities; (ii) the effect on our sovereignty of the political implications of membership of the EEC; and (iii) the implications for our sovereignty of not joining the EEC.

establishing the Communities would imply a voluntary loss of sovereignty, just as our acceptance of the provisions of the U.N. Charter carries with it an obligation to accept the binding decisions of the Security Council. In that sense the voluntary surrender by a state of part of its sovereignty on entering a wider community of nations parallels the surrender by the individual citizen of part of his unbridled liberty of action to the state of which he forms a part. His citizenship implies an acceptance of the law and orders of the state just as Ireland's membership of the Communities would carry with it an acceptance of the provisions of the Treaties. Perhaps the most positive feature of the development of international law since the end of the last war has been this widespread acceptance by states of limitations on their sovereignty within wider communities and associations of nations, and our acceptance of the voluntary loss of sovereignty which EEC membership would imply is therefore in line with this progressive international development. It is a constructive trend, one might add, which Ireland has consistently supported both in the League and the United Nations as shown by our record of cooperation in these and other international organisations, and without its general acceptance the world community could regress to the international

above Letter from
Ambassador Seán Kennan,
Brussels, to Seán Morrissey,
Assistant Secretary,
Department of External
Affairs, on the implications
for Irish sovereignty of EEC
membership.
(NAI 2001/43/1139)

below Opening page of a memorandum from Ambassador Eamon Kennedy, Bonn, to Hugh McCann, Secretary General, Department of External Affairs, Dublin, on the impact on Irish sovereignty of EEC membership.

left President de Valera and Taoiseach Lynch at the signing of the Instrument of Ratification of the Treaty of Accession to the EEC.

(Photograph Courtesy of The Irish Times)

### NORTHERN RELAND

The relationship between Northern Ireland and European integration in Irish foreign policy was at best aspirational between 1950 and 1973. Vague notions circulated about Irish unity within a united Europe, but the partition of Ireland remained. A nightmare scenario facing Dublin was that Britain might gain EC entry before Ireland, placing Northern Ireland inside the EC with the Republic of Ireland remaining outside.

Despite the continuing frosty relationship between Dublin and Belfast, the 1950s saw three significant developments in North-South co-operation in Ireland which at the time were compared to European integration. First was the 1950 cross-border agreement on the Lough Erne Drainage and Development Scheme, which saw the building of two power stations on the River Erne and the solution of historic drainage problems in Lough Erne. In 1952, agreement was reached on the common operation of fisheries in Lough Foyle, following a prolonged territorial dispute over jurisdiction. Finally in 1953, Dublin and Belfast agreed to jointly operate the cross-border Dublin to Belfast railway line.

In the late 1950s moves were made by Northern Ireland industrialists, with the secret blessing of the Belfast government, to get Dublin to reduce tariffs on Northern Ireland exports to the Republic of Ireland. This process began in the early 1960s, and cross-border trade received special treatment in the 1965 Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area Agreement.

**Cross-border** summits at prime ministerial level between Seán **Lemass, Jack Lynch and Northern Ireland Prime Minister Terence** O'Neill took place in 1965, 1967 and 1968, and a considerable degree of cross-border ministerial contact resulted in agreements covering electricity interconnection, legal matters, agricultural and tourism issues.

Relations between Dublin and Belfast had again grown cool by 1968 and there were no lasting results from the 1965 to 1968 meetings comparable to the reconciliation of Franco-German relations following the May 1950 Schuman Declaration.

Civil rights disturbances in 1968 and demands for reform of the Northern Ireland political system led to the outbreak of the Troubles in 1969. Arriving at a solution in Northern Ireland was seen as a Dublin-London issue, and little reference was made to finding a solution within a European context, though diplomats from time to time speculated on the possibilities. Hopes were expressed that European Regional Policy might assist the economic regeneration of the border areas. Following Community membership free cross-Border trade became a reality in Ireland, but the Irish political border remained.

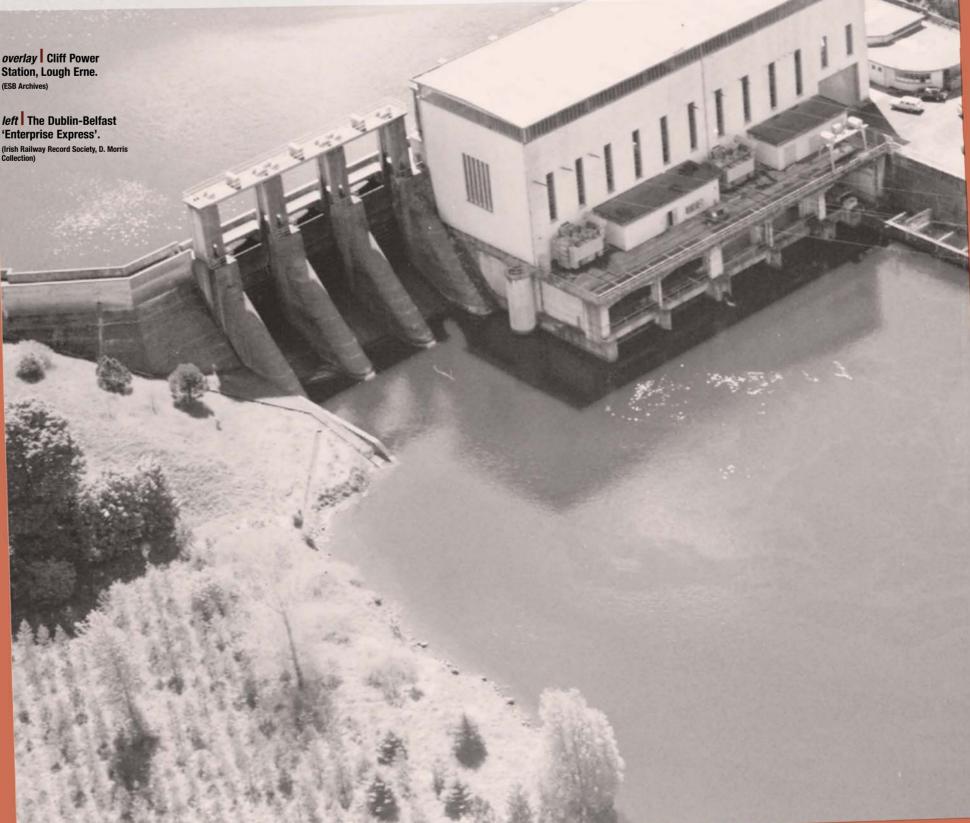
<sup>4</sup>On the Northern Ireland problem it does not seem unrealistic to envisage that membership of the Community (jointly with Britain) will, in the nature of things, ease the way towards eventual abolition of the border, at least in the long term if not in the immediate or medium term.

T.V. Commins, Irish Ambassador to France, to Sean Morrissey, Assistant Secretary, Dept. of Foreign Affairs, 16 April 1970.

(NAI, 2001/43/1139)







### REGIONAL DEVELOPMENT

The reforms of the 1960s made Ireland's economy fit for EC membership, but the economy was not strong enough to deal with the strains of membership at national level, and Ireland's increased prosperity was not shared equally across the country. Community membership would assist Ireland to overcome its economic underdevelopment at national and regional level as European Regional Policy aimed to ensure comparable levels of prosperity across the Community.

The most immediate benefits of Community membership to less-developed areas of Ireland were expected to be from the CAP. Regional and structural policies were not part of the entry negotiations, but during the negotiations Patrick Hillery spoke openly about the regional development problems facing Ireland. He explained that the Community would need to supplement ongoing Irish national measures for regional development such as industrial incentives, grants and fiscal measures and various infrastructural development projects.

Without a well-structured EC regional policy Ireland would suffer greatly under full-scale economic and monetary union, which was initially envisaged by 1980. A September 1971 Cabinet memorandum set out a bleak scenario if regional policy was not adequately designed:

A full-scale economic and monetary union could generate powerful economic forces which would tend to attract the mobile forces of production - labour and capital - to the most efficient centres of production and the area of highest economic activity. This would have serious implications for this country which is faced with high unemployment, emigration, a comparatively small industrial sector and a lower rate of economic growth than the existing community. It is essential, therefore, from our point of view that the community assumes more explicit and wide ranging responsibilities in relation to regional policy.6

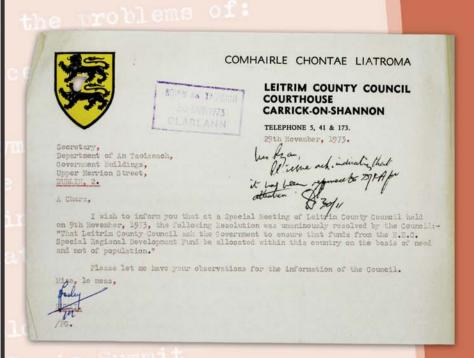
There was also hope expressed that regional development could assist the development of Irish border areas and thus assist in bringing peace to the island.

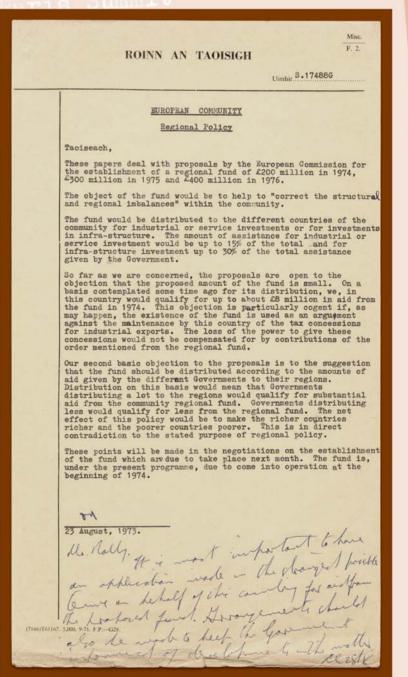
To aid Irish problems over industrial development, a protocol was added to the Accession Treaty recognising Ireland's need to undertake development policies to ensure economic expansion and the improvement of living standards, and allowing the retention of industrial incentives.

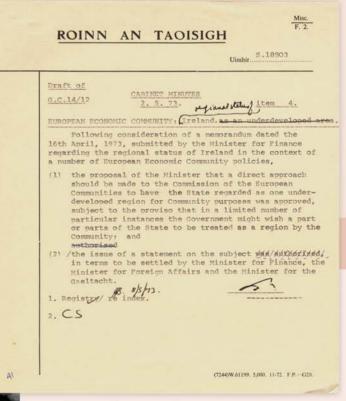
6. Summary of memorandum for government: negotiations on accession to the **European Communities – Economic and Monetary Union, 9 September 1971.** (NAI 2002/8/412)

'Membership will provide the conditions in which we can best pursue our economic and social development; conditions much more favourable to us than if we were to remain outside the Communities.'

1972 Irish Government White Paper on Europe, p. 67.







above Letter from Leitrim **County Council to the** Department of the Taoiseach concerning the provision of regional aid, 29 November 1973. (NAI 2004/21/594) centre | Memorandum by **Dermot Nally, Department of** the Taoiseach for Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave on 'Regional Policy', 25 August 1973. (NAI 2004/21/593) below Draft Cabinet Minute (GC 14/12) to have the Irish state regarded by the European Commission as a single underdeveloped region, 2 May 1973. (NAI 2004/21/593)

Mility regional policy, a above Ireland and The Common Market, Regional conomic and monetary union published by the Department of Foreign vernment should invite the ins Affairs. (Michael Kennedy personal collection) to undertake as a matter of urge new specific problems of considerable magnitude with which

ireland and the common market

regional development

Cliften, Co. Galway, 1948. overlav Aide Mémoire by

above Road repairing in

the Irish Government on the Off the Community need for a comprehensive European regional policy, 13 October 1972. (NAI 2009/111/33)

### REFERENDUM 1972: CAMPAIGN FOR A YES VOTE

Ireland's accession to the European Communities required a change in the Constitution and so the matter was put to a popular vote via a referendum on 10 May 1972. Fianna Fáil and Fine Gael as well as many interest groups and the media campaigned for a 'Yes' vote. The 'No' campaign represented a much smaller group (See Panel 15). Despite the imbalance in size there was a thorough debate in Ireland on EC accession through 1971 and 1972.

Through 1971, the "No" campaign gained ground, and it seemed that public opinion in Ireland was moving from a pro-European stance.

The Department of External Affairs, working closely with the Irish Council of the European Movement, developed a 'Yes to Europe' campaign designed to counter the 'No' campaign. Their key points were selling the immediate benefits of EC membership to the agricultural community through increased prices via the CAP, and the longer term benefits to industry and employment of access to European markets. The government estimated the creation of 50,000 jobs through EC membership by 1980.

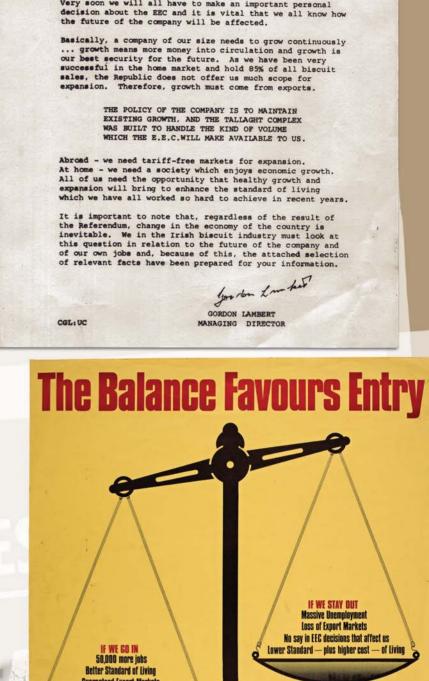
Before the 1995 McKenna judgement, the Irish state did not have to provide information on the pros and cons of any referendum issue. In 1972, the government could freely use state funding to campaign for a 'Yes' vote.

The 'Yes' publicity campaign operated via regular Ministerial speeches, accessible pamphlets, specialised leaflets and newspaper articles. They also used popular prime time television programmes to get their pro-EC entry points across. Very little government time was spent highlighting the possible drawbacks from Community membership.

One of the greatest assets for the 'Yes' campaign was Jack Lynch - his 'Honest Jack' image being fruitfully used to convince ordinary people of the benefits of EC membership. Lynch argued that those who wished to vote 'No' were voting to increase Ireland's dependence on Britain.

Lynch and Hillery canvassed widely among interest groups. A 'Yes' vote would ensure that Ireland, in Hillery's words, achieved 'our national aims of full employment, an end to involuntary emigration and a standard of living for all our people comparable to that enjoyed by our neighbours in Western Europe'. To Hillery the difference between EC membership and staying out was as simple as a full order book if Ireland became a Community member, or an empty one if Ireland stayed out.

7. Speech by Hillery, Annual Dinner of the Association of Advertisers in Ireland, 20 April 1971, quoted in Michael Geary, *An inconvenient wait. Ireland's quest for membership of the EEC* (Dublin, 2010), p. 187.



W & R Jacob & Co Limited

May 1972

MESSAGE FROM THE MANAGING DIRECTOR

you can always say

to a Macobis

Goldgrain

IF WE SO IN
SO, 000 more jobs
Better Standard of Living
Guaranteed Kuport Markets
Less Emigration - Better Social Welfare

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Lower Standard — plus higher cost — of Living

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above Contemporary advertisement by Jacob's Biscuit Company cashing in on public interest in the referendum campaign.

centre Circular letter to staff from Gordon Lambert, MD of W & R Jacob & Co., outlining the importance of the vote to the company's future and urging staff to vote 'yes' to the forthcoming referendum, May 1972.

below Youth for Europe, 'The balance favours entry ... say Yes to Europe'. 1971. (NLI Ephemera Accession 1595)

overlay 'The EEC and prices. What are the facts? ... Vote Yes. Published by Fiana Fail. 10th May 1972. (NLI Ephemera Accession 1598)

GOLD TO SUCH

BEST STORY

BEST STORY

Will not let be a second of the come of

right Going to vote.
(Photograph Courtesy of The Irish Times

★ It is our dual LIES circulated by anti-market German prices actual German



msumers

Actual German prices are lower:
Cheese 22p lower per lb.
Wilk 3p lower per lb.
Sugar 6p lower per lb.

WES

You know that paying only a little more next year for a limited number of food items is not as important as more jobs, better wages—a better Ireland in a better Europe.

Published by Fiana Fail

10/5/72

### REFERENDUM 1972: CAMPAIGN FOR A NO VOTE

Labour and Sinn Féin campaigned for a 'No' vote. Labour argued that Ireland should have applied for associate membership of the EC. The party suggested that as an associate member Ireland would have the right to export all its industrial products to the EC, dismantle trade protection measures more slowly and retain special aid for Irish industry. In short, associate membership would have given Ireland greater freedom of action without the formal ties of EC membership. However, this would have left Ireland without voting rights, and without a say in developing policies of common interest.

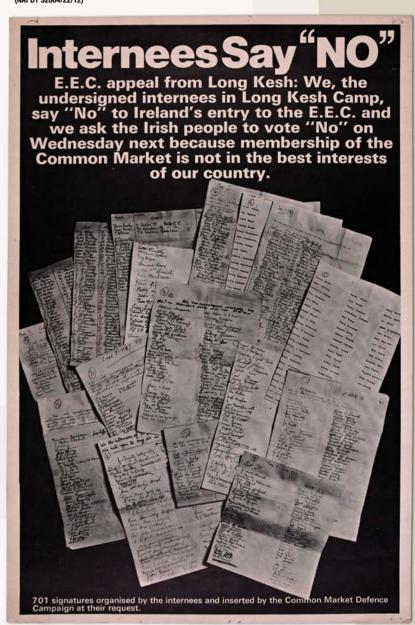
Sinn Féin proposed a 'New Ireland' instead of admission to the Community. This would involve a new constitution, new governmental structures, complete state control over the import and export of capital, state control of industries and of the country's mineral resources.

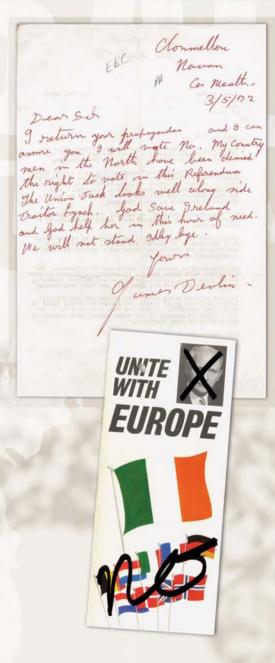
The Irish Congress of Trade Unions at its 1971 national conference said it was not in a position to express any support for Ireland's proposed entry into the EC. At a Special Delegate Conference in January 1972 nine out of thirteen unions with motions tabled were opposed to Ireland's EC membership. ICTU estimated 30,000 job losses if Ireland joined the EC.

A principal aim of the 'No' vote was to protect Irish sovereignty. Here the Common Market Study Group, a broad coalition of the Irish Left including future President of Ireland Michael D. Higgins, Raymond Crotty, Anthony Coughlan and John B. Keane, was the most vocal anti-EC grouping. It was effective in raising the profile of the 'No' vote in the Dublin area. It suggested that the supranationalism of the Common Market was the opposite of genuine internationalism and that the EC demanded the suppression of national sovereignty and the independence of small states. Citing Iceland, Switzerland, Finland, Austria, Sweden, Spain and Portugal, the CMSG argued that the problems of staying out were less than the dangers of entry. Arguments were also made that by joining the EC Ireland would open itself to future defence commitments. A further CMSG argument was that the CAP would result in such changes to Irish agriculture as to reduce the number of farms, create resulting widespread unemployment, greater emigration and the destruction of the social fabric of Irish society.

above Internees say "No".
EEC appeal from Long Kesh.
701 signatures organsied by
the internees and inserted
by Common Market Defence
Campaign at their request.

below Defaced 'yes' campaign leaflet sent by James Devlin, Co. Meath to Taoiseach Jack Lynch, 3 May 1972. In an accompanying letter, Mr Devlin noted how 'My countrymen in the North have been denied the right to vote in this Referendum. The Union Jack looks well along side [sic] Traitor Lynch...'. (NAI DT S2004/22/12)





# IKEEP IRELAND FAMOUS TO THE ECONOMIC OF THE SECOND FAMOUS OF THE SECOND





OPPOSE TE

SSUED BY SINN FÉIN. 30 PL GARDIER DUBLIN I

ARKET

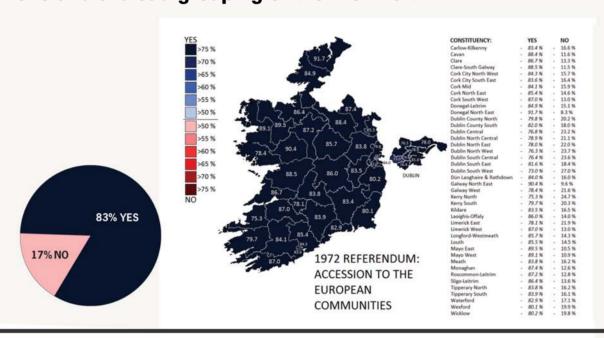
### REFERENDUM 1972: HE RESULI

Membership of the EC would lead to the application of Community legislation to Ireland. This conflicted with Article 15 of the 1937 Constitution which placed the sole and exclusive power for the making of laws for the State in the Oireachtas and expressly stated that no other legislative authority had power to make laws for the State.

The proposal was put forward through referendum to amend the Constitution to add a section which deals with international relations (Article 29) to enable Ireland to join the EC and allow Community legislation to have the force of law in Ireland:

The State may become a member of the ECSC, the EC and the European **Atomic Energy Community. No provision of this Constitution invalidates** laws enacted, acts done or measures adopted by the State necessitated by the obligations of membership of the Communities or prevents laws enacted, acts done or measures adopted by the Communities, or institutions thereof, from having the force of law in the State.

The 'Yes' Campaign had the support of the government and main opposition party, Fine Gael, as well as interest groups and the media. The 'No' Campaign was a much smaller grouping made up of the Labour Party, Sinn Féin, the main trade unions and a broad grouping of the Irish Left.



### **VOTING TOOK PLACE ON** THURSDAY 10 MAY 1972 **BETWEEN 9AM AND 9PM**

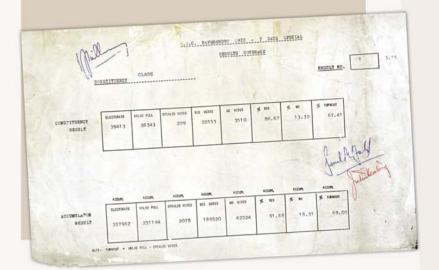
- 1.8 million eligible voters
- 1.2 million voted **70.88% turnout**
- .83% spoiled vote

The result was an overwhelming 'Yes' vote

- 83.1% 'Yes'
- 16.9% 'No'

**Counted by constituency-**

- Donegal North East 91.7% - highest 'Yes' vote
- Dublin South West 73% - Iowest 'Yes' vote



above | EEC Referendum results from Clare Constituency, signed by Patrick Hillery.

left Map showing the constituency breakdown in the referendum on accession to the European Communities, 10 May 1972.

below Taoiseach Jack Lynch at a press conference following the referendum in Iveagh House, Dublin.

### COUNTS IN DETAIL

IN 42 CONSTITUENCIES CARLOW-KILKENNY DUBLIN CENTRAL | CAVAN | Electorate | 37,299 | Total poll | 27,724 | Spoiled votes | 280 | Valid poll | 27,444 | Precentage 70 | 27,444 | FOR: 24,266 | AGAINST: 3,178 | Majority For: 21,088 | Majority For: 19,229 | Majority For: 19,229 | Majority For: 23,500 | Majority For: 19,229 | LOITH | LUNGFURD-WEATH | LUNGFURD-WEATH | LUNGFURD-WEATH | LUNGFURD-WEATH | 47,132 | Electorate | 47,132 | Total poll | 33,310 | Spoiled votes | 33,310 | Spoiled votes | 33,285 | Valid poll | 32,923 | Percentage: 70.6 | FOR: 28,210 | AGAINST: 4,710 | Majority For: 19,229 | Majority For: 23,500 | LOITH | LOITH | LOITH | LUNGFURD-WEATH | LUNGFURD-WEATH | LUNGFURD-WEATH | LUNGFURD-WEATH | A7,132 | Majority For: 33,487 | Total poll | 33,310 | Spoiled votes | 33,310 | Spoiled votes | 33,285 | Valid poll | 32,923 | Valid po DUBLIN NORTH-CENTRAL LONGFORD-WESTMEATH | CORK CITY (North-West) | Majority For: 15,516 | Majority For: 18,269 | Total poll | Spoiled votes | 157 | Valid poll | 25,163 | FOR: 21,208 | AGAINST: 3,955 | Majority For: 17,231 | AGAINST: 3,955 | Majority For: 17,253 | CORK CITY (South-East) | Majority For: 15,516 | Majority For: 18,269 | WEST MAYO | WEST MAYO | Total poll | 34,106 | Total poll | 34,106 | Total poll | 21,469 | Total poll | FOR: 21,595 | SOUTH-WEST CORK | FOR: 21,395 | AGAINST: 2.283 | Majority For: 19,115 | Majority For: 19,157 | Majority For: 19,157 | Majority For: 19,579 | Majority For: 19,579 | Majority For: 19,579 | Majority For: 20,534 | AGAINST: 3,375 | Majority For: 20,534 | AGAINST: 3,375 | Majority For: 20,534 | AGAINST: 3,375 | Majority For: 20,534 | Electorate | 35,999 | Electorate | 35,999 | Electorate | 36,513 | Percentage: 62 | Percentage: 62 | Percentage: 70,4 | Percentage: 62 | Percentage: 70,4 | Percentage: 64 | Percentage: 70,4 | Percentage: 70,4 | Percentage: 70,4 | Percentage: 67,513 | Percentage: 67,513 | Percentage: 67,513 | Percentage: 70,4 | Percentage: 67,513 | Percentage: 70,4 | Percentage: 67,513 | Percentage: 70,4 | Percentage: 70,4 | Percentage: 67,513 | Percentage: 70,4 | Percentage: 70, SOUTH COUNTY DUBLIN

Flectorate

Total poll

ASSOCIATION

ANAIority For: 18,614

Majority For: 19,122

WEXFORD

Electorate

Total poll

Spoiled votes

Spoiled votes

AGAINST: 5,901

Majority For: 20,939

Majority For: 20,939

Majority For: 20,939

DUN LAOGHAIRE/

FOR: 26,838

AGAINST: 5,901

Majority For: 29,905

Percentage: 73.9

FOR: 28,635

AGAINST: 5,823

FOR: 28,635

AGAINST: 7,105

Majority For: 21,530

Major

THE IRISH TIMES, FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1972 The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, at his referendum press conference in Iveagh House, Dublin, yesterday.—(Photograph: Pat Langan.) Entry to Europe is approved by five votes Result delights Mansholt

DR. SICCO MANSHOLT, president of the Commission of the European Community, made a statement in Bonn last night expressing his delight at the result of the Referendum.

He said: 'I wish to express how deeply I welcome this 'yes' is not only of great importance for Europe, but more capecially for Ireland.

"I have been many times in Ireland and I know that this was a well deliberated decision, Now that the choice has been made it will be seen that membership is the best way to develop for the future. Ireland will take the benefits of membership from the housenit conference which will take place next October, a political decision will be made that there has to be a European policy to develop the regions which need special help.

"I would say that this decision of the Irish people, with such a majority, will make a great impression in the other countries which have still to decide and it is for this reason in particular that I am so glad that Ireland is the first."

SINN FEIN REJECTED

In a prepared statement, the Taoisteach said the result demonstrated the political realism of the Irish people. It had shown that they were not influenced by the many firrational and irrelevant counterviews which were put forward.

He continued: "It also shows that, combined with this sense of political maturity and wisdom, there is the spirit of enterprise and idealism, "I, personally, am pleased to have the honour of leading our people as they take a full and equal place in a Comminity of free democratic nations.

"I, personally, am pleased to the victory and E.E.C. membership in the Border, the Taoiseach said it would be premature to have the honour of leading our people as they take a full and equal place in a Comminity of free democratic nations.

"I, hope that we will be joined in Denmark and Norway, with whom we share many common interests and ideals.

"I has prepared statement, the Taoiseach said in the Border, and to that extent are the could be a lot to be said for the connection in social and economic co-operation in social and economic co-operation in social and economic co-operation in social and economic council. Hough the would be premature to the victory and E.E.C. membership in thought it would be premature to the victory and E.E.C. membership in thought it would be premature to make a move on this now.

He agreed that with the entry of both this country and the regional policy would be a priority for freland inside the E.E.C. To munity only seven months away, and with development plans and

WESTMINSTER PLEASED, SURPRISED

"I look forward to working in friendly co-operation with representatives of the Northern communities on the many common issues which will arise for both areas of our country in the E.E.C."

Asked if he thought the size of the victory had a significance as a political verdict on the smaller groups opposing entry, Mr. Lynch would carry the day with a sirbstantial majority, but a margin of five to one was considered amazing.

There was no public reaction, but privately there was no concealing the satisfaction of pro-market-tens of these groups, including the two wings of Sinn Fein, who had used the campaign for their own ends, "I think the people have very emphatically rejected these groups and what they stand for," he said, Asked had the victory given him a mandate against the LR.A., the Taoiseach replied that he had always had a mandate against the LR.A., the Taoiseach replied that he had always had a mandate against the LR.A.

out by O.R.C. for the European Movement, has 43°, in favour, 38°, opposed, and 19°, undecided.
On a broader view, some committed Europeans of all parties

Donegal islands

Say firm "no"

Two islands off the Donegal coast voted "No." On Inishofin, from an electorate of 72, 18 to 18 to 18 to 18 to 19 to 19

Por South Against For 1990 Against For 1

### SLIPPING QUIETLY INTO EUROPE: 1 JANUARY 1973

Ireland joined the EC on 1 January 1973 without fanfare. Ambassador Seán Kennan presented letters to the Council of Ministers formally giving Ireland's assent to the changes brought about by enlargement to the Treaty of Rome. Kennan now formally became Irish Permanent Representative to the European Community. It was eleven and a half years since Lemass first lodged Ireland's application in Brussels Ireland had modernised its economy since 1961 but it still had to catch up with continental Europe in many ways.

There was neither ceremony nor flourish in Dublin or Brussels. RTE radio and television broadcast no programming reflecting the greatest change in Ireland's sovereignty and international relations since independence. The Italian President, in his New Year's message welcomed Ireland, Britain and Denmark, with their 'glorious traditions' into the EC. Norway had rejected accession earlier in 1972, and already almost half the population of Britain were unhappy with EC membership.

A small number of low-key events were held to mark Ireland's accession. Minister for Foreign Affairs Brian Lenihan spoke at an Irish Management Institute celebratory lunch, and tree planting ceremonies were held in every county. Children born on New Year's Day 1973 were presented with a special medal. Opponents of Ireland's entry into the European Communities still maintained that entry would begin a period of great threat to the social, economic and political fabric of Irish society.

Patrick Hillery became Ireland's first European Commissioner and in the weeks ahead Hillery, Irish Ministers and Irish officials began serving in the various Community institutions. Ireland was now a member of the largest trading bloc in the world and an economy second richest only to the United States of America.

Ireland's national airline - Aer Lingus - took out a full page advertisement on page 3 of the New Year's Day 1973 *Irish Times*. With the line 'The Common Market is a bit Irish' it showed in a surreal cartoon how a selection of flat-capped Irishmen came to terms with Italian pasta, German beer and French fashion and how these same men contributed potatoes and Guinness to bemused Frenchmen, Aran jumpers to admiring German Frauleins, an 'O'Brien Steelworks' in the Ruhr and an Irish crane straightening the leaning tower of Pisa. The slogan was 'we have something to contribute economically and socially to European life'. The paper's New Year's Day editorial indulged in purple prose; Ireland was embarking on 'an adventure which, like all adventures, will have perils and problems; it will also have rich opportunities, not the least being the help of friends and neighbours. For we are amongst friends'.

below left | Ireland enters

the EEC without any fanfare.

below right | Ireland's 160

Euro babies get medallions.

above Circular letter from Robert Molloy, Minister for Local Government (1970-3) regarding tree planting ceremonies to mark Ireland's accession to the EEC, 6 December 1972.

centre Letter from K.C.
Thom (British Embassy,
Dublin) to Bob McDonagh
(Department of Foreign
Affairs), 28 November 1972,
regarding participation of
Irish soldiers in a ceremony
marking Britain's accession
to the EEC.
(NAI 2004/21/548)

Vanied

OIFIG AN AIRE RIALTAIS ÁITIÚIL (Office of the Minister for Local Government) BAILE ÁTHA CLIATH I

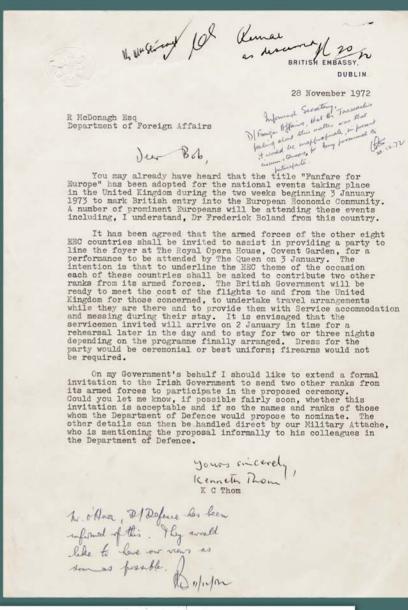
6 Nollaig, 1972.

Dear Chairman,

The Government have decided that this country's accession to the European Economic Communities on the 1st January next should be marked by countryvide symbolic tree planting ceremonies and I would be glad if the Chairman of local authorities would arrange local coremonics on 1st January in their areas. It would be appropriate if school boys and school girls were associated with the ceremonial planting. I would be glad if you would have the proposal considered for your area because of the significance of the event not merely for Ireland as a whole but for every local community in it.

My Department is writing to County and City Managers on the subject in particular advising them that the Forestry and Wildlife Service of the Department of Lands would be prepared to co-operate fully. I attach a copy of the letter.

Yours sincerely, Robert Talley





below Aer Lingus advertisement 'The Common Market is a bit Irish', published 1 January 1973.

Ireland's 160 Euro babes get

### medalions

THE 160 Irish babies born on New Year's Day have been presented with commemorative medallions commissioned by the Irish Council of the European Movement to mark Ireland's entry in the European Econo-

The idea of giving each a Europa Medallion was part of a programme arranged by the Council to mark the historic

The medallion, die-stamped from bronze and dipped in silver, was designed by Mr. Bill Watson, of Wordsmith Ltd., Dublin. It is one and five-eighths of an inch in diameter and an eighth of an inch in depth and weighs 33 grams. Each one is dated 1st January, 1973, and is engraved with the name of the child to whom it

Because the Eurobabies werborn in so many different parts of the country, the medalion were sent by registered post Each one is mounted in a presentation case with a parchmen

Mr. Neville Keery, Director of the Council, says that already it has received letters of appreciation. "I feel sure that each of the medaliions will be of considerable historic interest in the years ahead. Very little was done in Ireland to commemorate the momentous occa-

TRELAND ENTERS E.E.C.
WITHOUT ANY
FANFARES

No official function to mark occasion

By Dennis Kennedy

IRELAND today joins the European Community, along with Britain and Denmark, but without ceremony or flourish.

The provisions of the various T