

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).



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)

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).

below | Signature of the Treaties of Rome, creating the EEC and EURATOM, 25 March 1957. (European Commission AV Services, P-001321/00-05)

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 membership.

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



above | Jean Monnet and Robert Schuman, 9 May 1960, 10th anniversary of the Schuman Declaration. (European Commission AV Services, P-013586/00-07)

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.

1973

(Jan.) Ireland joins the EC.

(Jan.) Britain and Denmark join the EC.



above | Seán Lemass and Jack Lynch at Dublin Airport before boarding a flight to London for trade negotiations (1961). (Michael Kennedy personal collection)

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



above | 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)

Project Credits |

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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, 1960.

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

below | Minister for External Affairs Frank Aiken with German Chancellor Konrad Adenauer, Bonn, August 1960.

(UCDA P104/8254)



In May 1950 the first chapter of European integration, the Franco-German ‘Schuman Declaration’ leading to the European Coal and Steel Community (ECSC), passed Ireland by. On the periphery of Europe Ireland looked inwards, protective of its political sovereignty and believing in economic self-sufficiency, its industries hidden behind protective tariff barriers. While Europe enjoyed the benefits of post-war economic growth Ireland stagnated.

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.

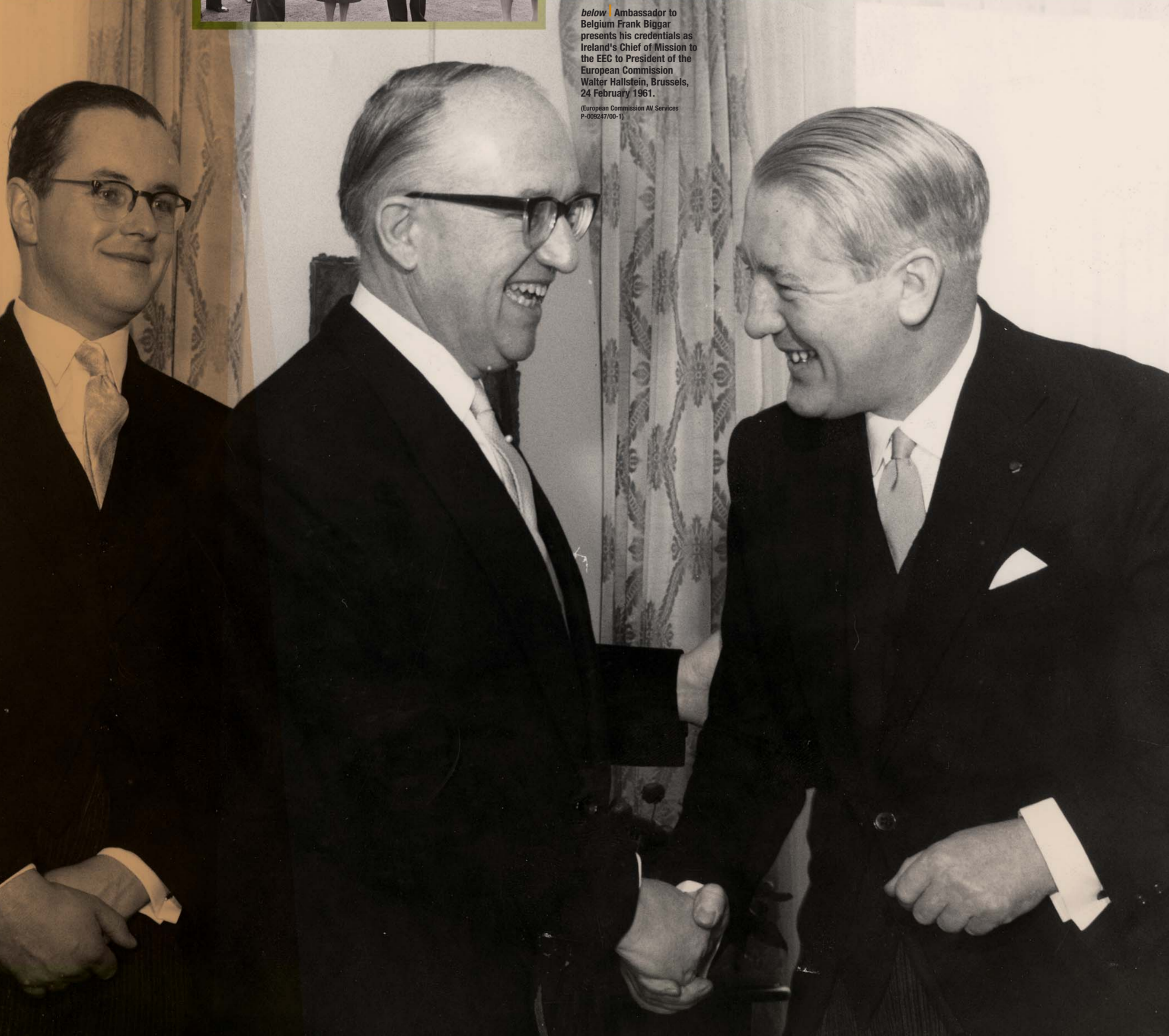
Ireland was not invited by the six original members of the EEC to join them and seemed likely to remain outside its ‘Common Market’. Experts planning to develop the Irish economy settled on a model of economic development through export led growth. The protected Irish economy, in particular its dominant 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.

below | Ambassador to Belgium Frank Biggar presents his credentials as Ireland’s Chief of Mission to the EEC to President of the European Commission Walter Hallstein, Brussels, 24 February 1961.

(European Commission AV Services P-009247/00-1)



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 1962.
(Agence Europe, no. 1169)

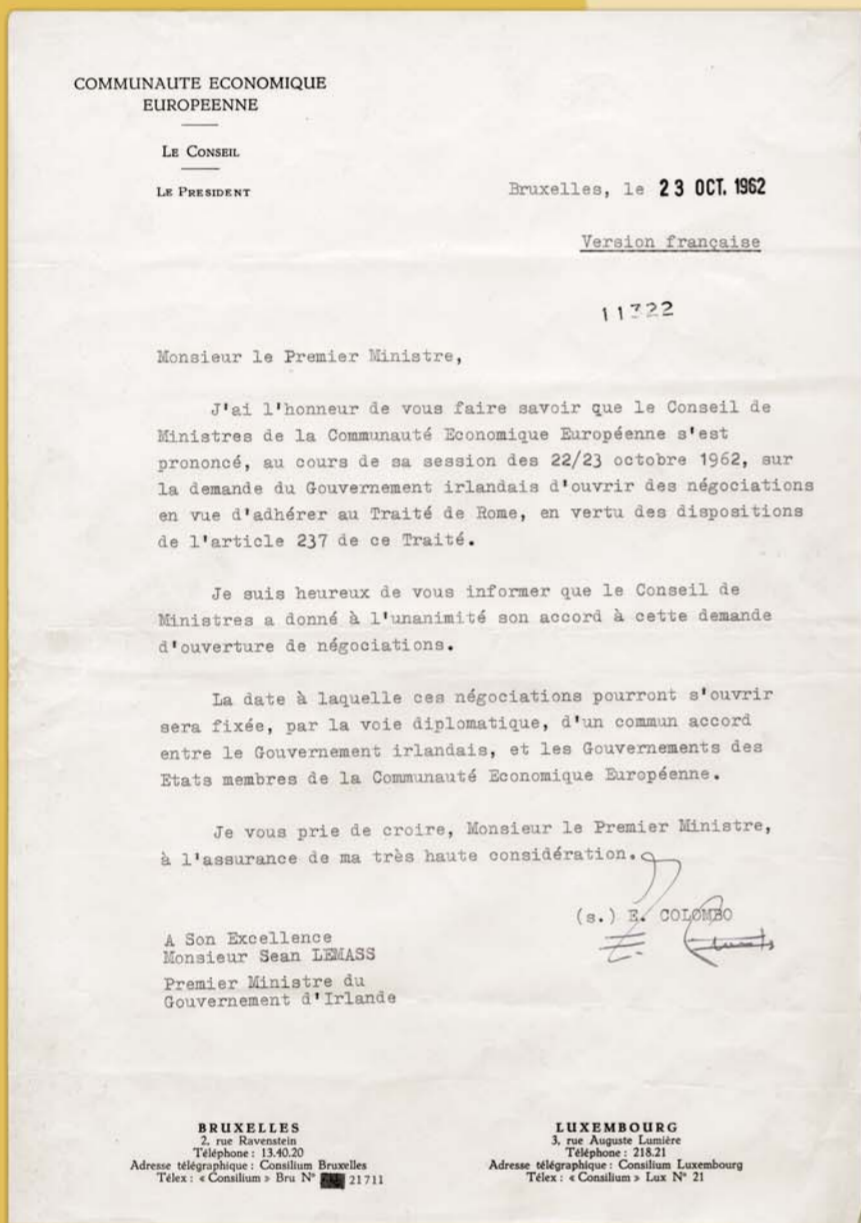
Ireland applied for full membership of the EEC on 31 July 1961. Associate membership was ruled out as it suggested that Ireland was economically underdeveloped. The application was sent as British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan announced that Britain would also apply for EEC membership.

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.



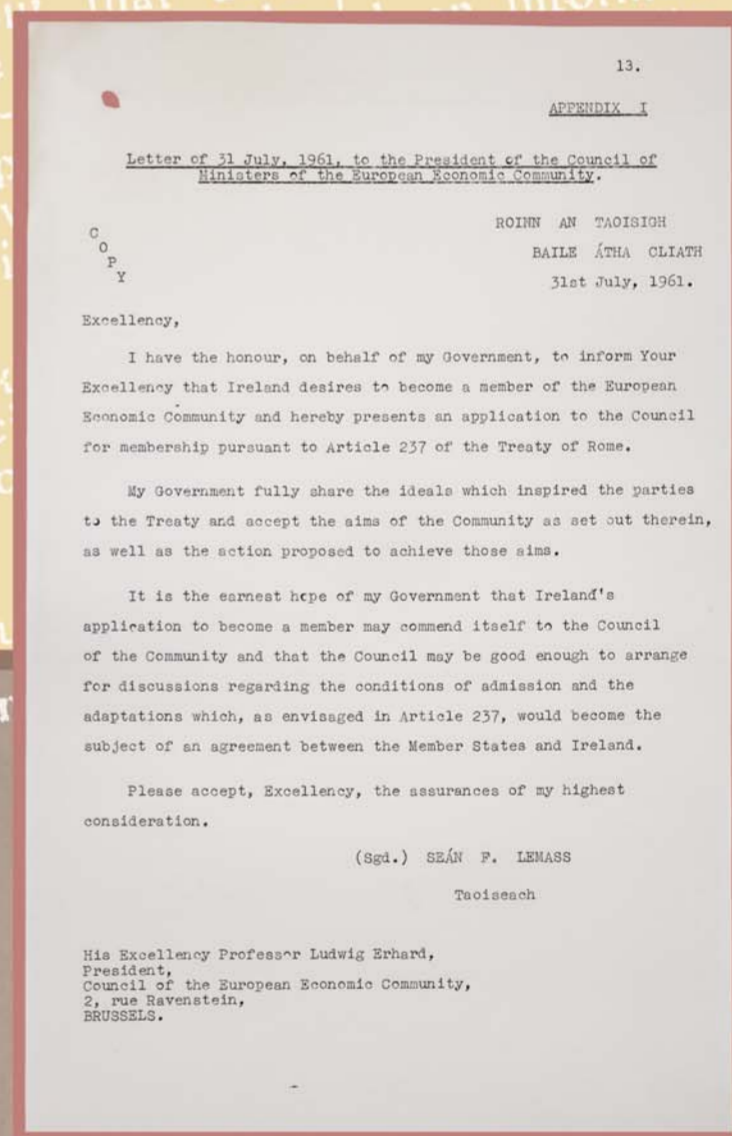
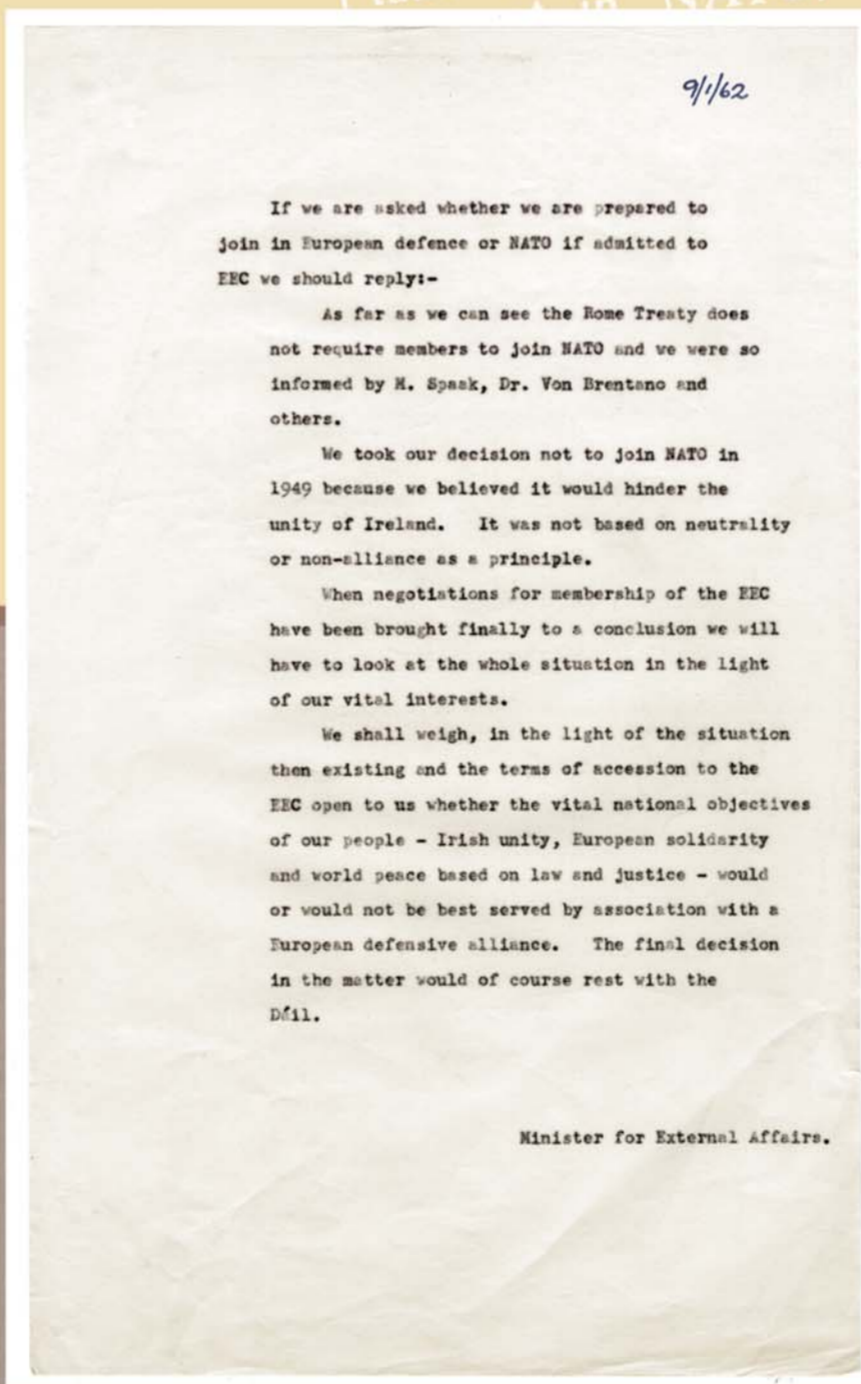
left Letter from Emilio Colombo to Seán Lemass announcing the European Council of Ministers' intention to open accession negotiations with Ireland. (NAI DT S17339/62)

below left Note for Minister for External Affairs Frank Aiken on the implications of EEC membership for Ireland's attitude to NATO, 9 January 1962. (NAI DT S16877X/62)

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)

below Seán Lemass and Jack Lynch at Dublin Airport before boarding a flight to London for trade negotiations (1961). (Michael Kennedy personal collection)



IRELAND IS JOINING E.E.C. FOR POLITICAL REASONS—LEMASS

From DONAL FOLEY

BONN, Tuesday.

Mr. Lemass, to-night said that he was highly pleased with the decision by the Council of Ministers to open negotiations on Ireland's application to join the European Common Market. He was speaking at a press conference at the Government press centre in Bonn before a gathering of journalists from all over the world.

FRANCE CLOSES THE DOOR OF THE E.E.C.

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.

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.



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

above | Siccó 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. *(NAI 2006/53/2)*

ROINN AN TAOISIGH
DEPARTMENT OF THE TAOISEACH
BAILE ÁTHA CLIAITH
DUBLIN
May, 1967.

Excellency,

I have the honour, on behalf of my Government, to refer to the request addressed to the President in office of the Special Council of the European Coal and 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 90 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.

John Lynch,
Taoiseach.

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

CONFIDENTIAL

Discussion with Mr. Eduardo Martino, Member of the Commission of the European Communities in charge of External Relations, at 9 a.m. on 27th July, 1967.

An Taoiseach, Mr. J. Lynch, T.D.	Mr. Eduardo Martino
Mr. C. Haughey, T.D., Minister for Finance	Mr. Axel Herbit, Director- General of External Relations Directorate-General
Mr. S. Morrissey, Ambassador to the European Communities	Mr. Litta Modigliani, Executive Assistant to Mr. Martino
Mr. T. K. Whitaker, Secretary, Department of Finance	Mr. A. Kawonowon, Directorate-General of External Relations
Mr. H. McCann, Secretary, Department of External Affairs	
Mr. B. Dillon, Counsellor, EEC Mission	

Mr. Martino opened the discussion by welcoming the Taoiseach to Brussels. He said that the Commission was in the course of examining the various applications for membership and that a draft text was being prepared. The final version would be available by the deadline of the 30th September and it would be the subject of a preliminary exchange of views at the Council's meeting in the first week of October. Mr. Martino said the report would deal with the political, industrial and agricultural aspects of our application. 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 of views on our application.

2. The Taoiseach, having congratulated Mr. Martino on his appointment to the new Commission, outlined the background to the Irish application for membership. He referred to the

below | Georges Pompidou, Charles de Gaulle and Maurice Courve de Murville, 10th Anniversary of the Signature of the Treaties of Rome, March, 1967. *(European Commission AV Services P-002873/04-9)*

below overlay | Ireland and the Common Market - What The Hell Are We Doing About It? *(Irish Times, 24 June 1966)*



Ireland and the Common Market-2

EUROPE is as far from Ireland as Ireland is from Europe. To the Common Market we are an insignificant, off-shore island. To us the Common Market is some sort of complex organisation and general picture, but no matter how much one attempts to qualify it there can be no doubt that the bridge of communication between us, an applicant country, and the Market, which has never shown much enthusiasm about our application, is not strong enough.

Since our application was put into abeyance when the British one failed in January, 1963, we have neglected Europe. Yet the whole economic plan for this country is based on the assumption that we shall be a member of the Market by 1970. Even the all-embracing Anglo-Irish Free Trade Agreement has been presented by the Government as another step on the road to Europe.

In view of our hopes and ambitions, we have been remarkably complacent about getting into Europe. We seem to think that quietly on

WHAT THE HELL ARE WE DOING ABOUT IT?

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.'*¹ 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, teletypewriter message, 30 April 1969. (NAI 2000/6/386)
2. Kennan to Morrissey, 14 May 1970. (NAI DFA 2003/10/60)

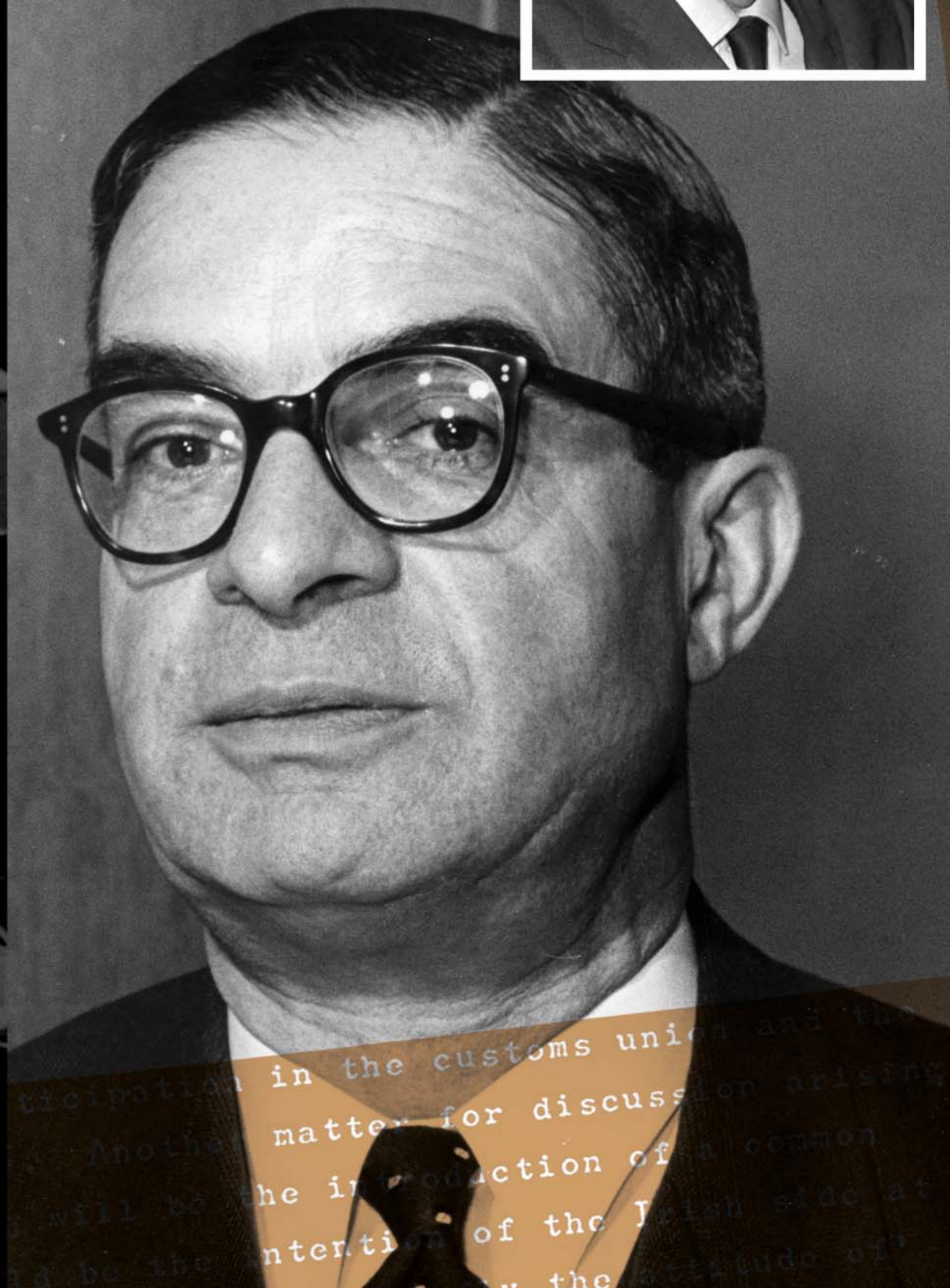
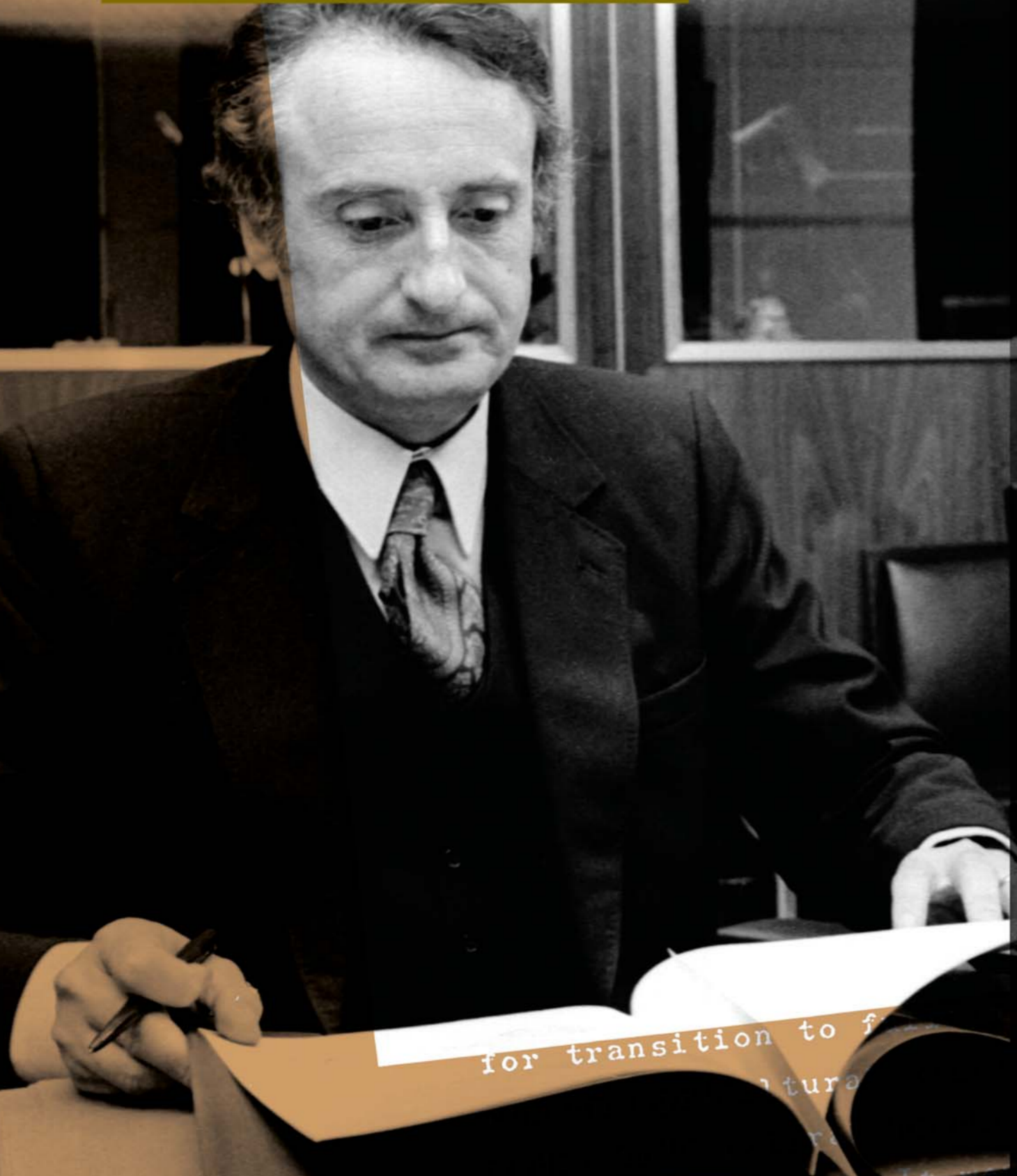
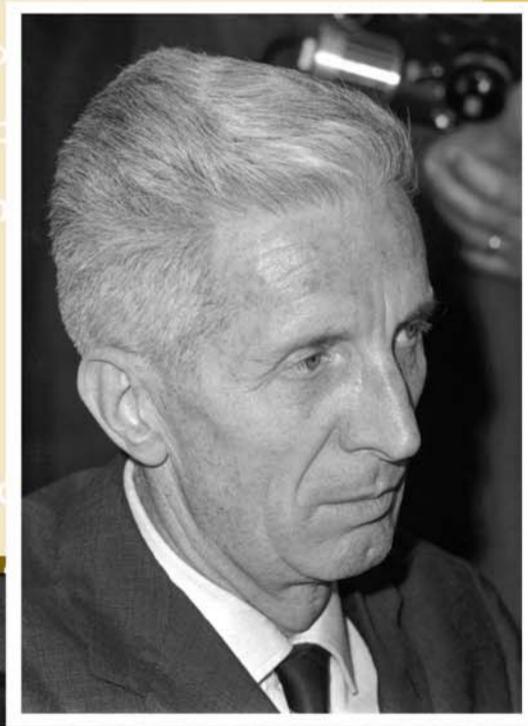
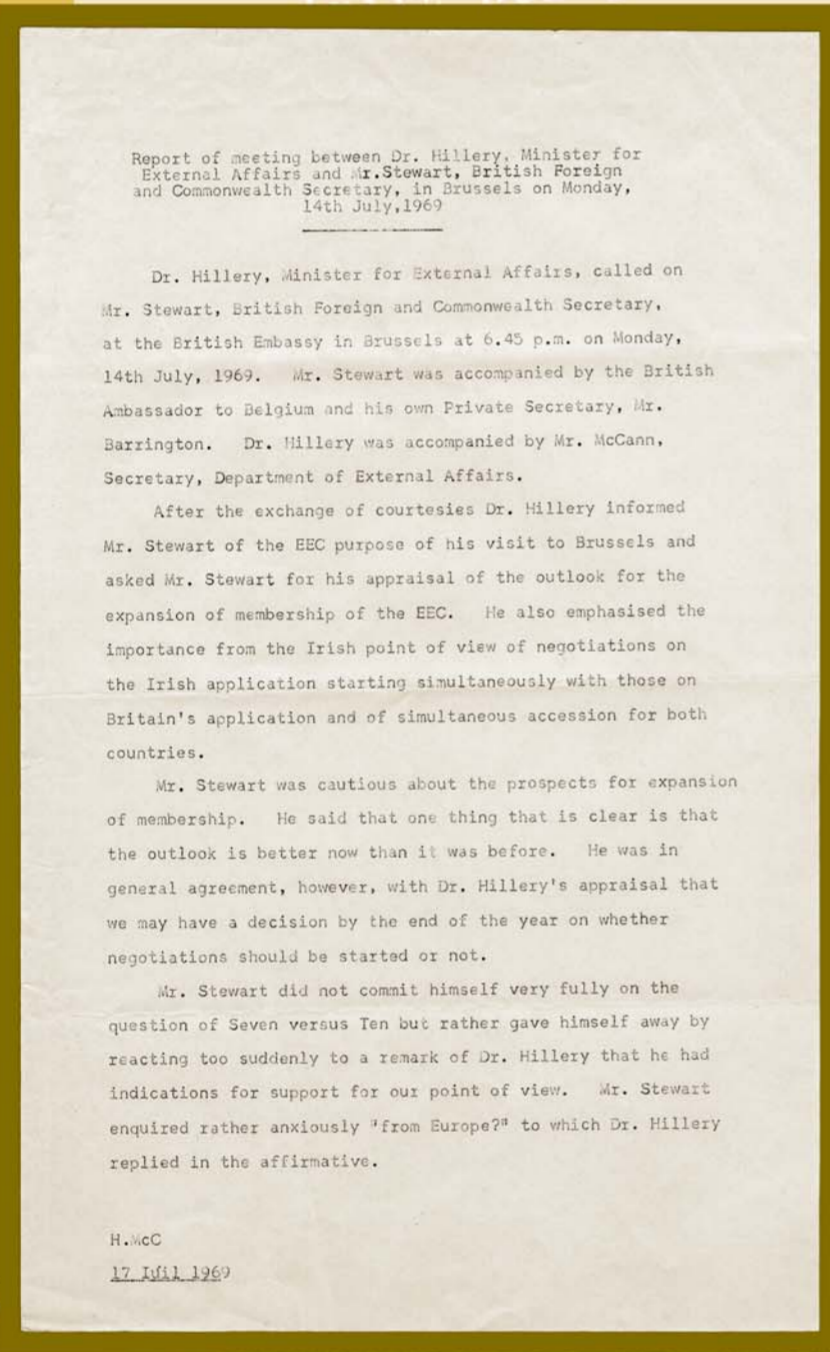
left | Report of meeting between Minister for External Affairs Patrick Hillery and British Foreign Secretary Michael Stewart, Brussels, 14 July 1969. (NAI DFA CM 15/1)

below left | Jean-François Deniau, European Commission member responsible for the Irish, British, Danish and Norwegian accession negotiations. (European Commission AV Services P-002509/01-6)

below right | Jean Rey, 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. (UCDA P204/96)

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



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)

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.'*¹³

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.'*¹⁴ 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.

(NAI 2001/5/1)

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 of Irish incentives for industrial investment, 26 October, 1971.

(UCDA P205/48)

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.

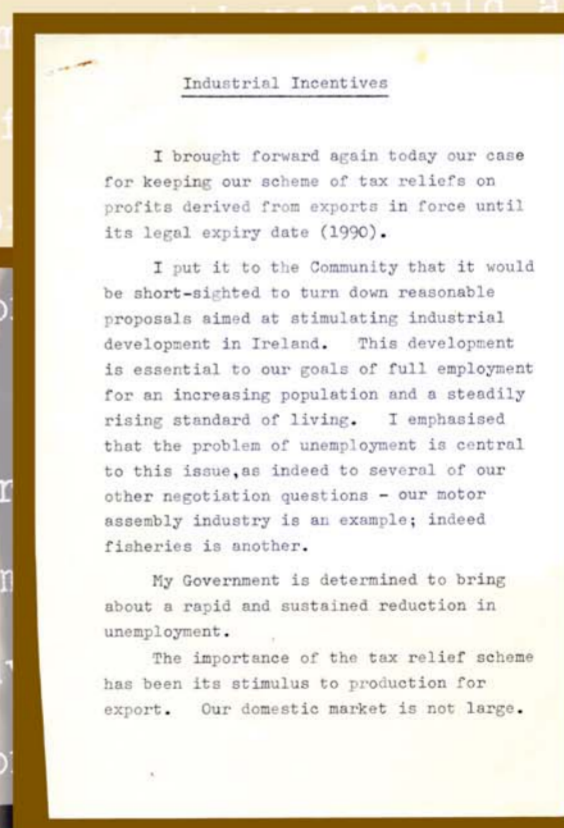
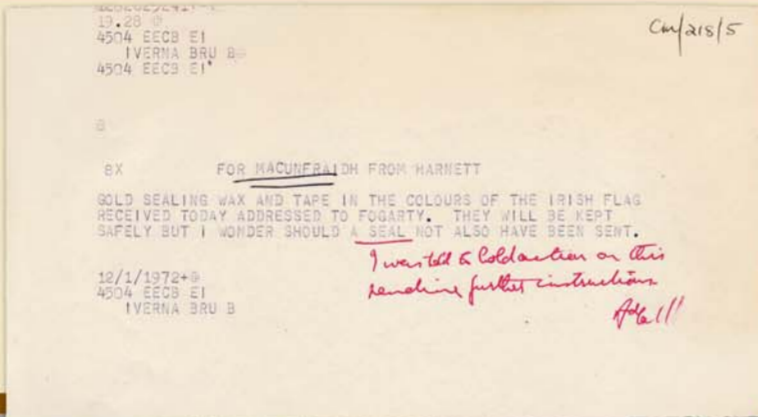
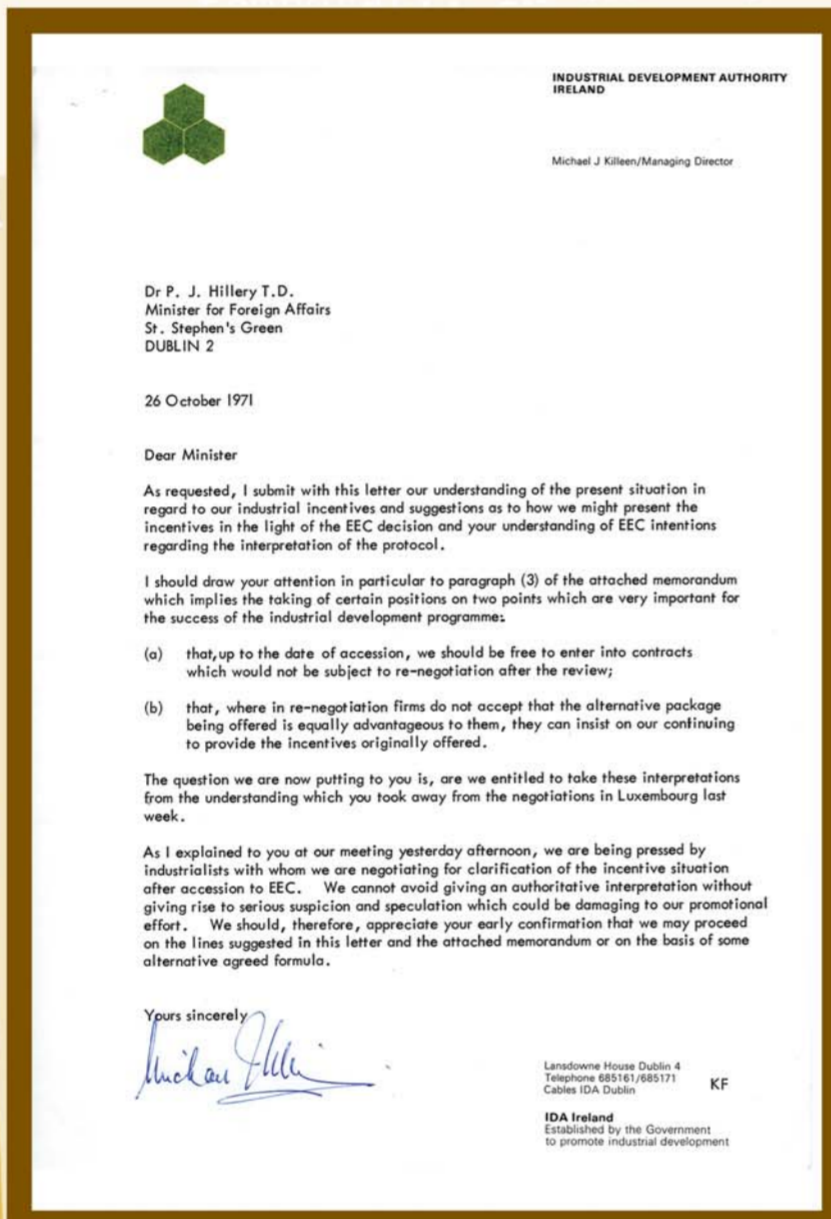
(NAI, 2003/16/496)

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.

(UCDA P205/44)



left | Undated note by Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr Patrick Hillery concerning tax relief on profits from exports.

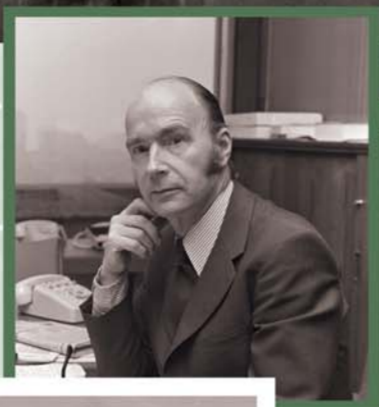
(UCDA P205/48)





Restaurant
on Monday, th

Recipients:



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.

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.

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

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 P-010693/00-1)

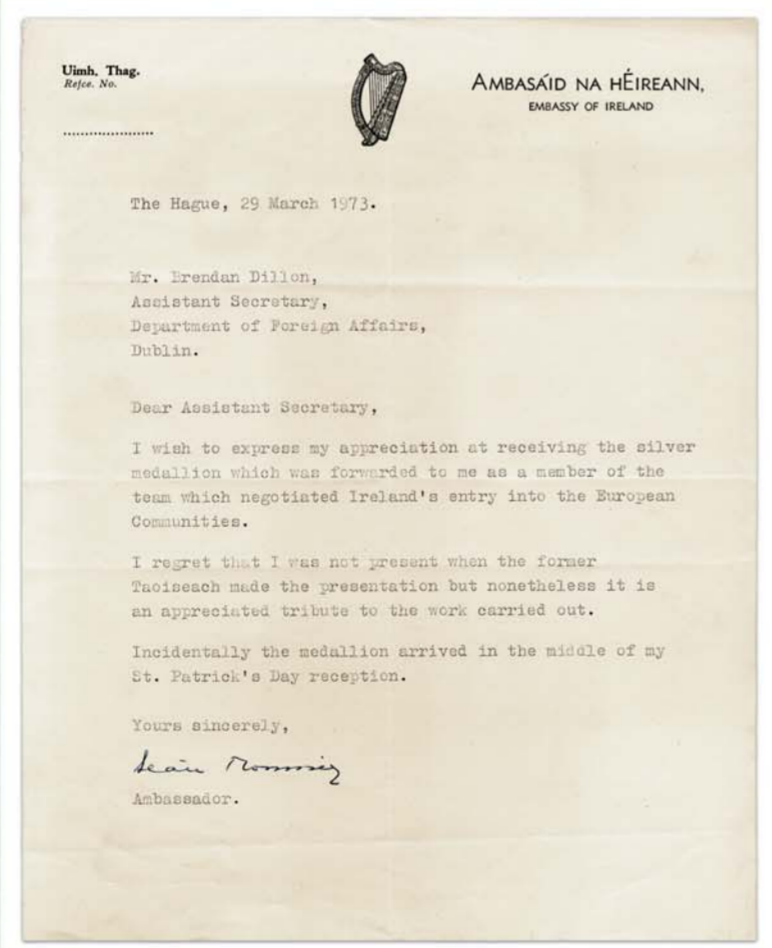
Seán Kennan (first on left) at the signing of a non-proliferation Agreement between the EAEC and the IAEA, Brussels, 5 April 1973. (European Commission AV Services P-003643/02-11)

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)



below | Letter from Seán Morrissey to Brendan Dillon on the arrival of the silver medal given to all members of Ireland's European Communities negotiating team. (NAI 2004/21/548)



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)

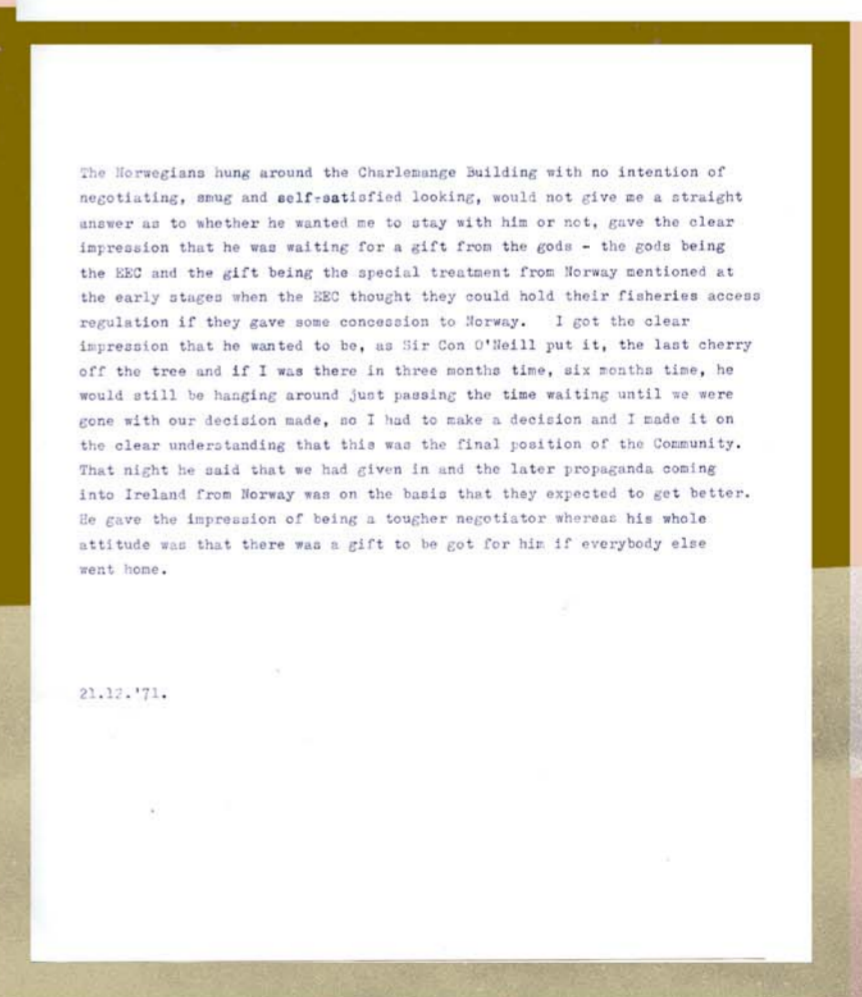
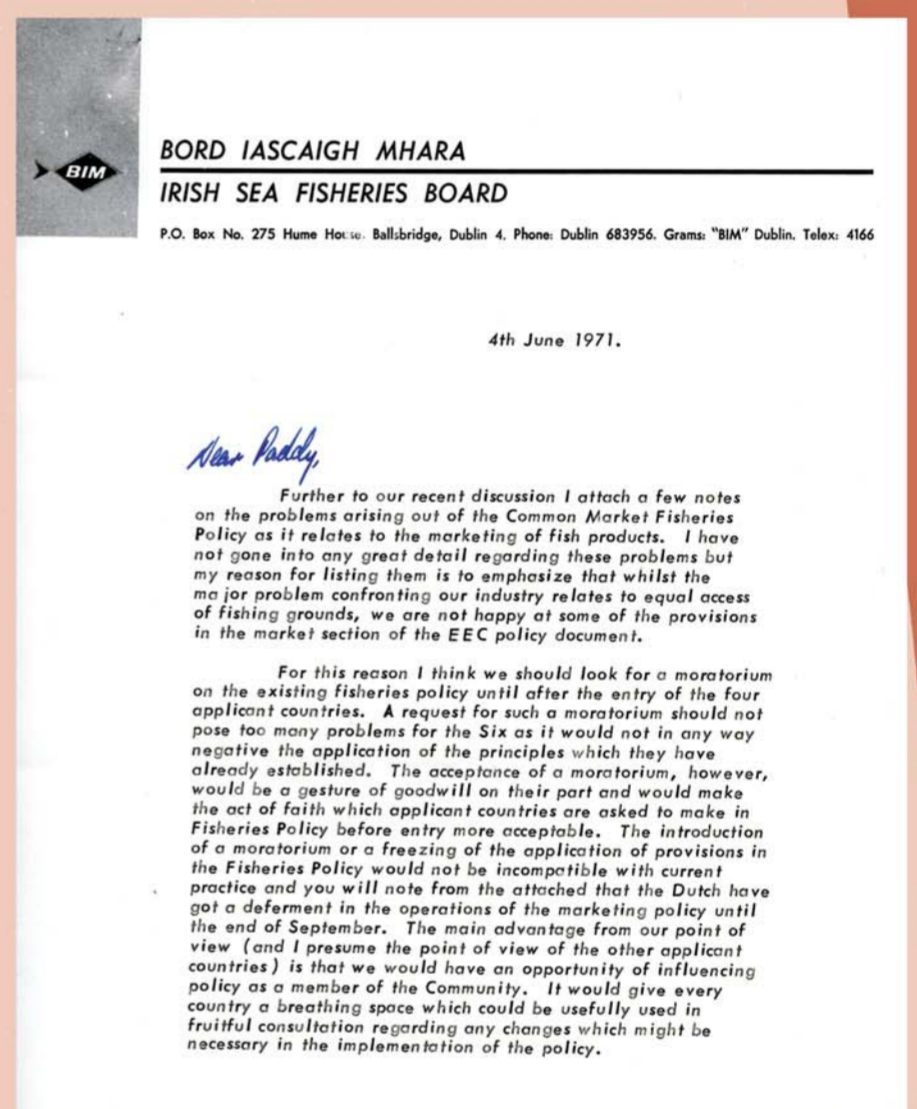
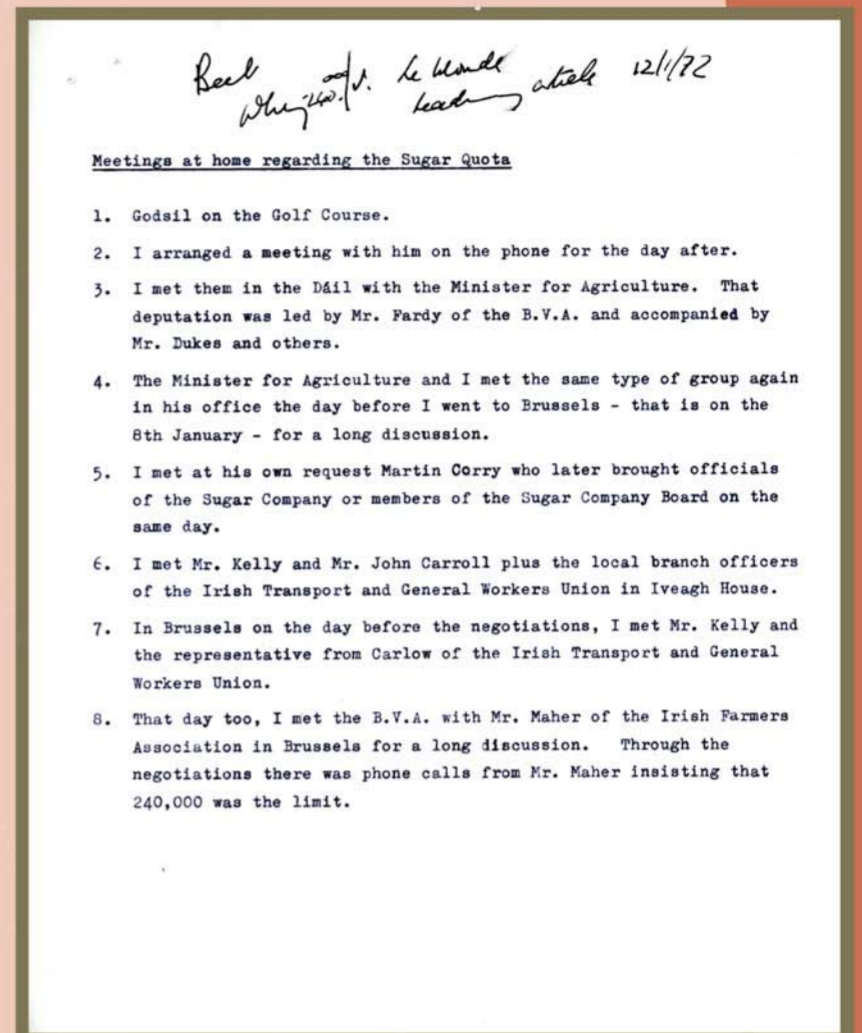
above right | Note by Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr Patrick Hillery concerning meetings with various individuals regarding Ireland's sugar quota, 12 January 1972.
(UCDA P205/49)

centre right | Letter from Brendan O'Kelly (Bord Iascaigh 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.
(UCDA P205/45)

below right | Personal note 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)

CONFIDENTIAL
'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)



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 post-war 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.

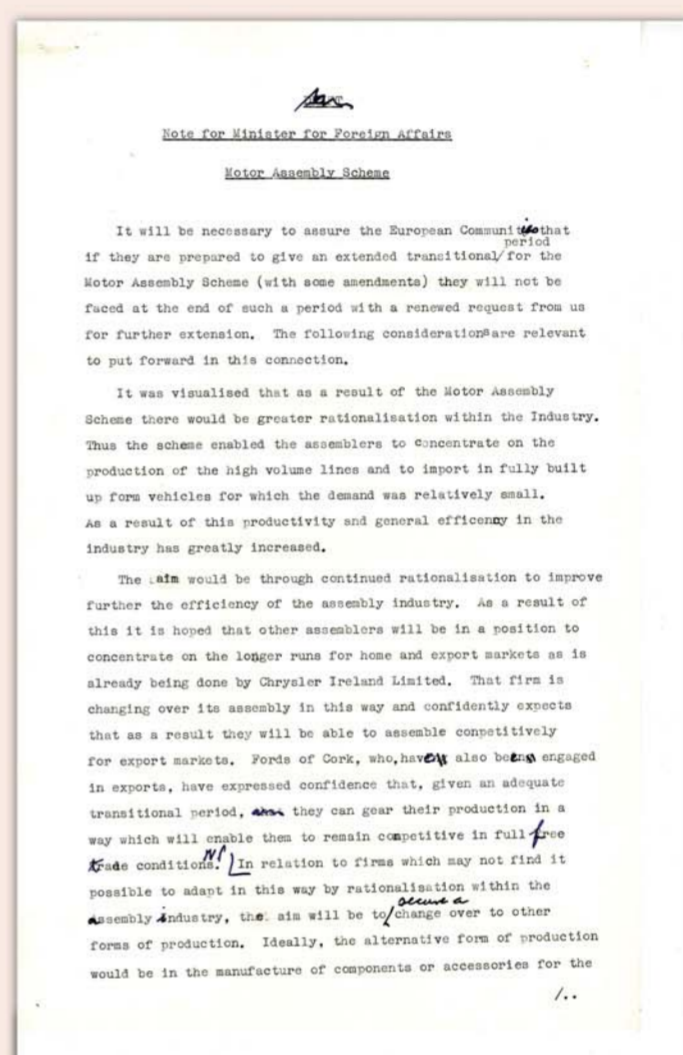
A major Irish achievement was the continuance to 1985 of special arrangements for the Irish motor assembly industry to secure employment and enable it to adapt to free trade. Special arrangements lasting until 1977 were also agreed for the small Irish steel industry to enable it to reorganise. Ireland 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)



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. (UCDA P205/47)

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



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 motor industry.

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

IRISH INDUSTRY WILL EXPAND OR FAIL IN COMMON MARKET
Lynch will implement C.I.O. recommendations

Irish Times Reporter

THE 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 Government would implement the recommendations in full.

*Realise that we have so
the capital
have to give tax incentives*

above | Handwritten note by Minister for Foreign Affairs Dr Patrick Hillery on Ireland's need to provide tax incentives for the development of Irish Industry. (UCDA P205/48)

overlay | Confidential
minute from Seán Morrissey
to Ambassadors to the
members of the EC, 25
March 1970.
(NAI DFA 2001/43/1139)

...membership as compared with what it would be if we
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.

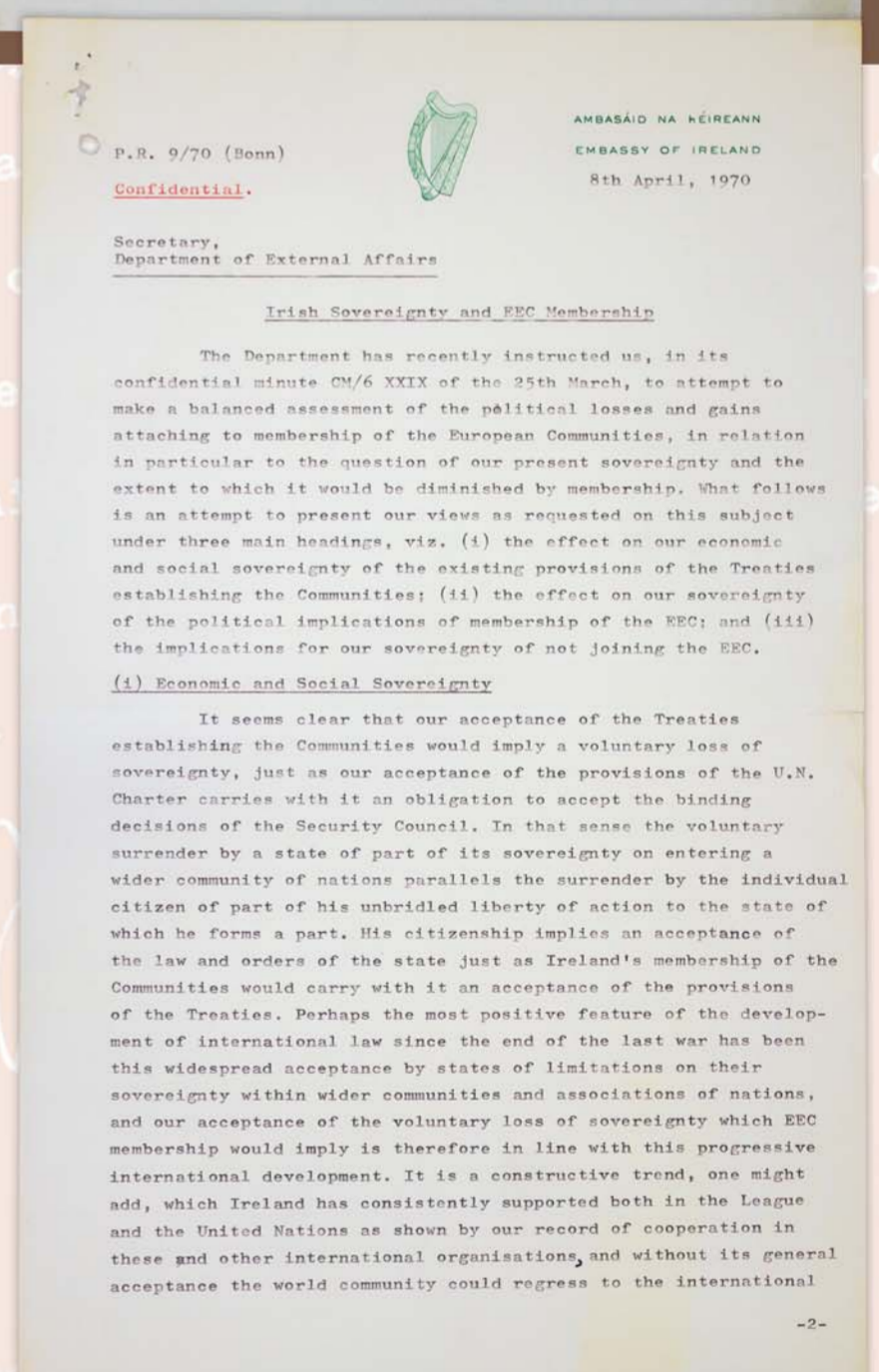
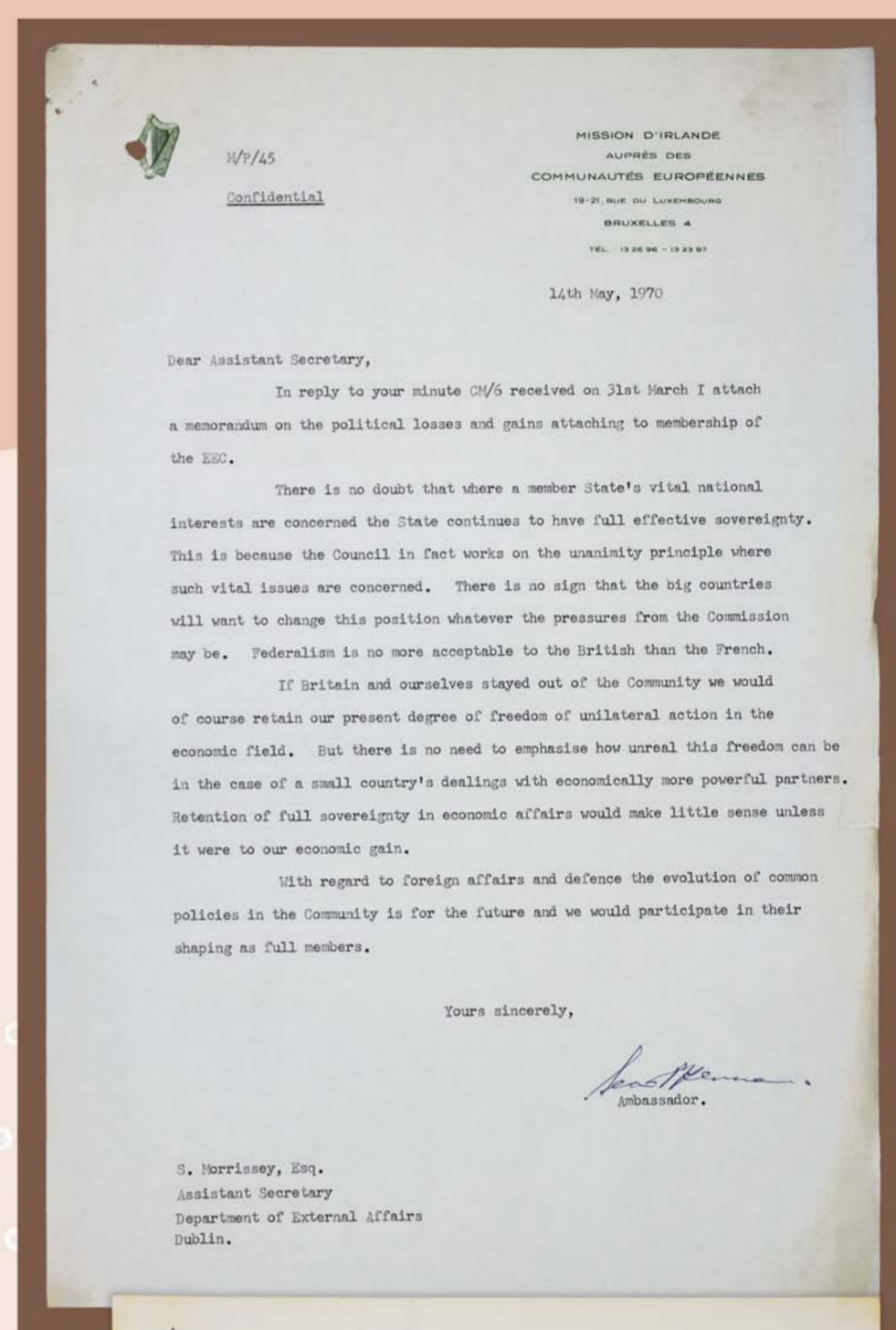
Ireland's achievement of its independence had been painful, involving partition of the country, a civil war, and ca. 6000 fatalities. With this background, when Lemass applied for EC membership in 1961, Ireland's possible loss of sovereignty through EC membership was a significant discussion point and 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 worldwide political influence which could not be ours in isolation.'* Kennan continued that *'membership could obviously contribute significantly towards the ending of Partition.'*¹⁵

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



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.
(NAI 2001/43/1139)

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 IRELAND

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.

'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)



above | Captain Terence O'Neill, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, meeting Frank Aiken, Minister for External Affairs, and Taoiseach Seán Lemass, Iveagh House, Dublin, February 1965.
(Government Information Services)

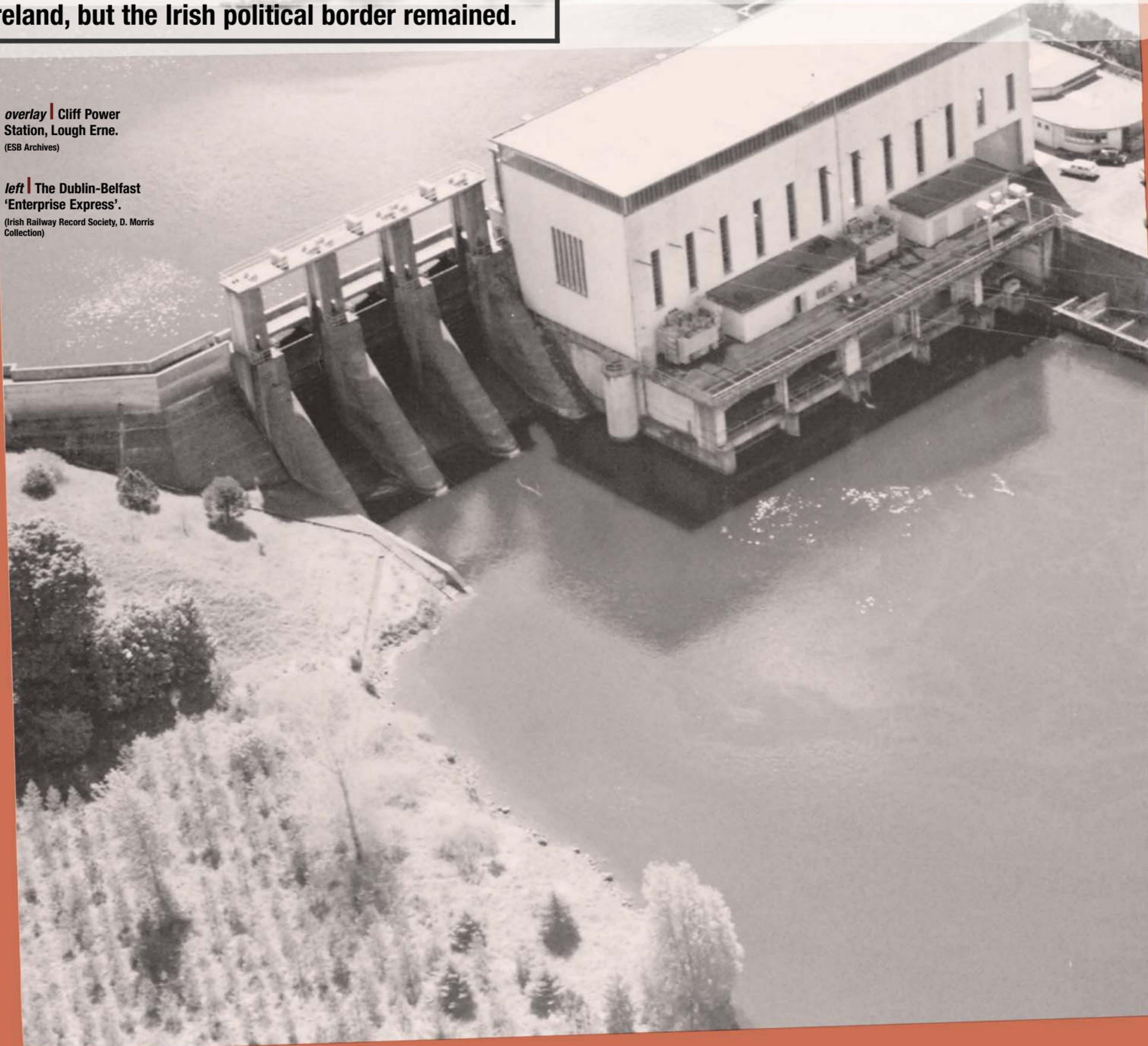


left | Irish Minister for Transport and Power, Erskine Childers and Northern Irish Minister for Commerce Brian Faulkner sign an agreement for cross-border electricity interconnection, Dublin, October 1967.
(Michael Kennedy, Personal Collection)



overlay | Cliff Power Station, Lough Erne.
(ESB Archives)

left | The Dublin-Belfast 'Enterprise Express'.
(Irish Railway Record Society, D. Morris Collection)



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

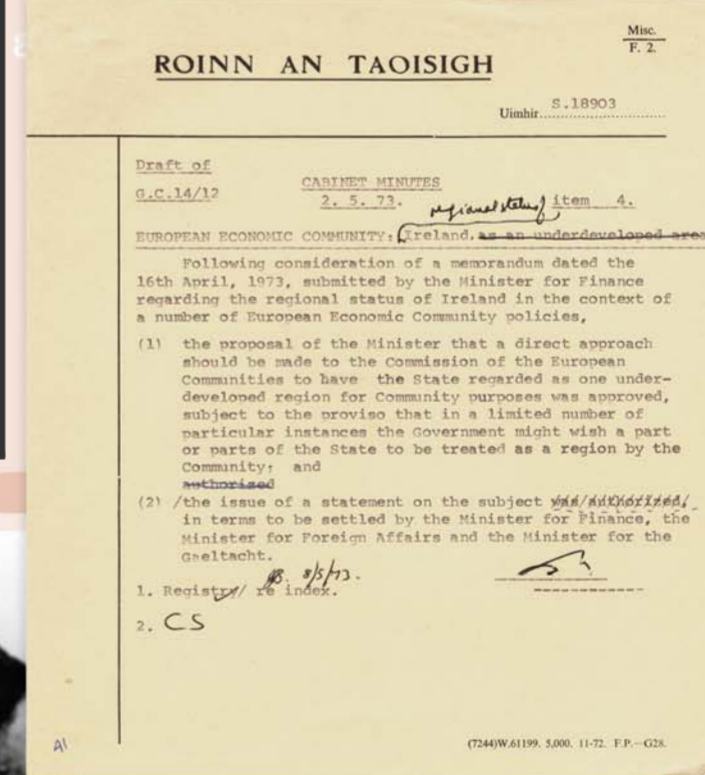
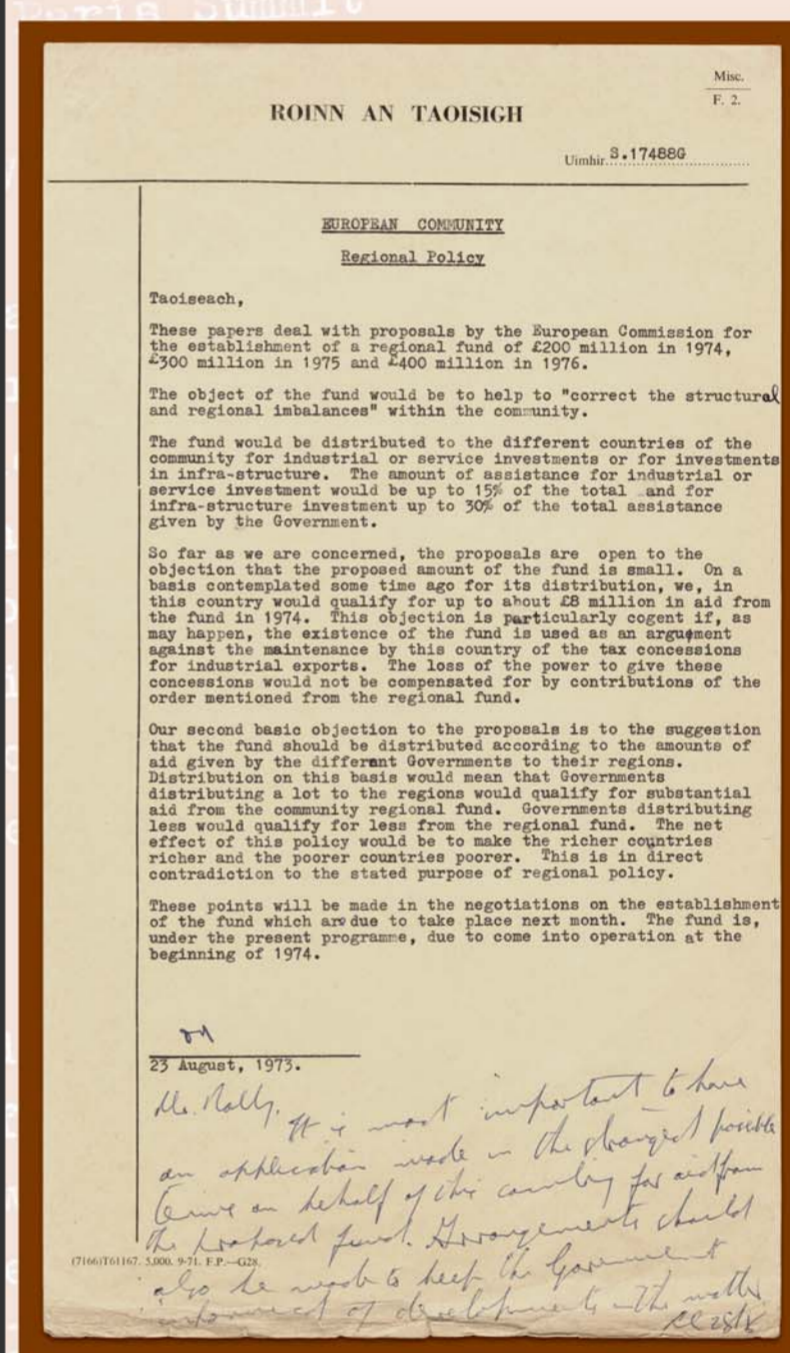
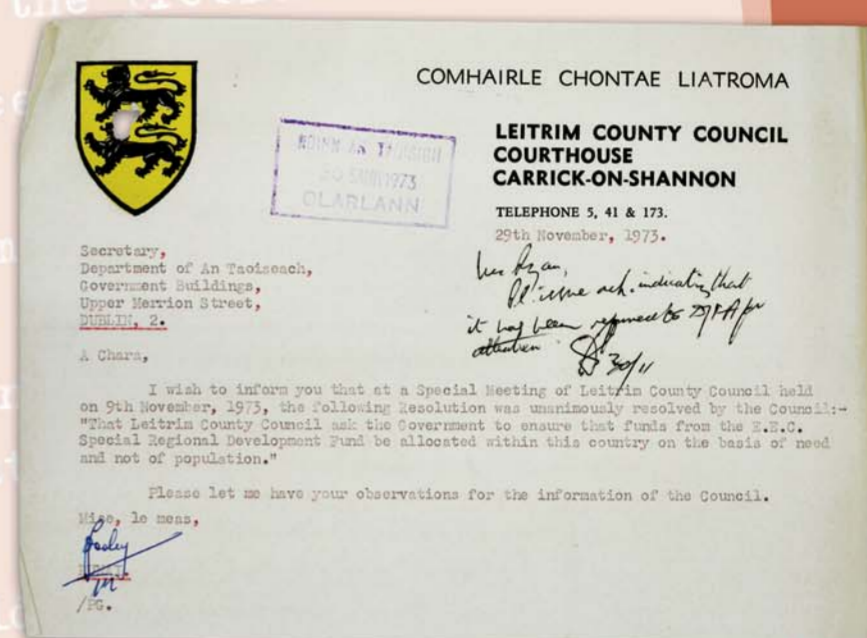
There was also hope expressed that regional development could assist the development of Irish border areas and thus assist in bringing peace to the island.

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)



above | Ireland and The Common Market, Regional Development booklet published by the Department of Foreign Affairs. (Michael Kennedy personal collection)

above | Road repairing in Clifden, Co. Galway, 1948. (BF TY 79/48)

overlay | Aide Mémoire by the Irish Government on the 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'.⁷ 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.

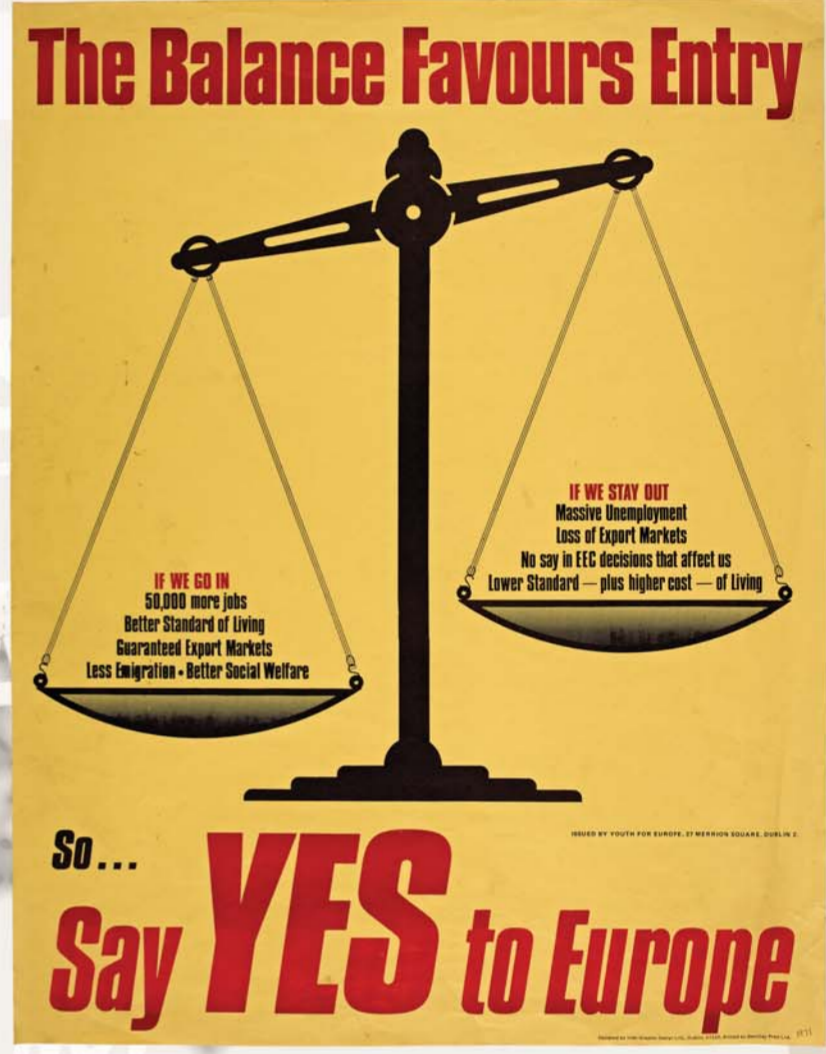
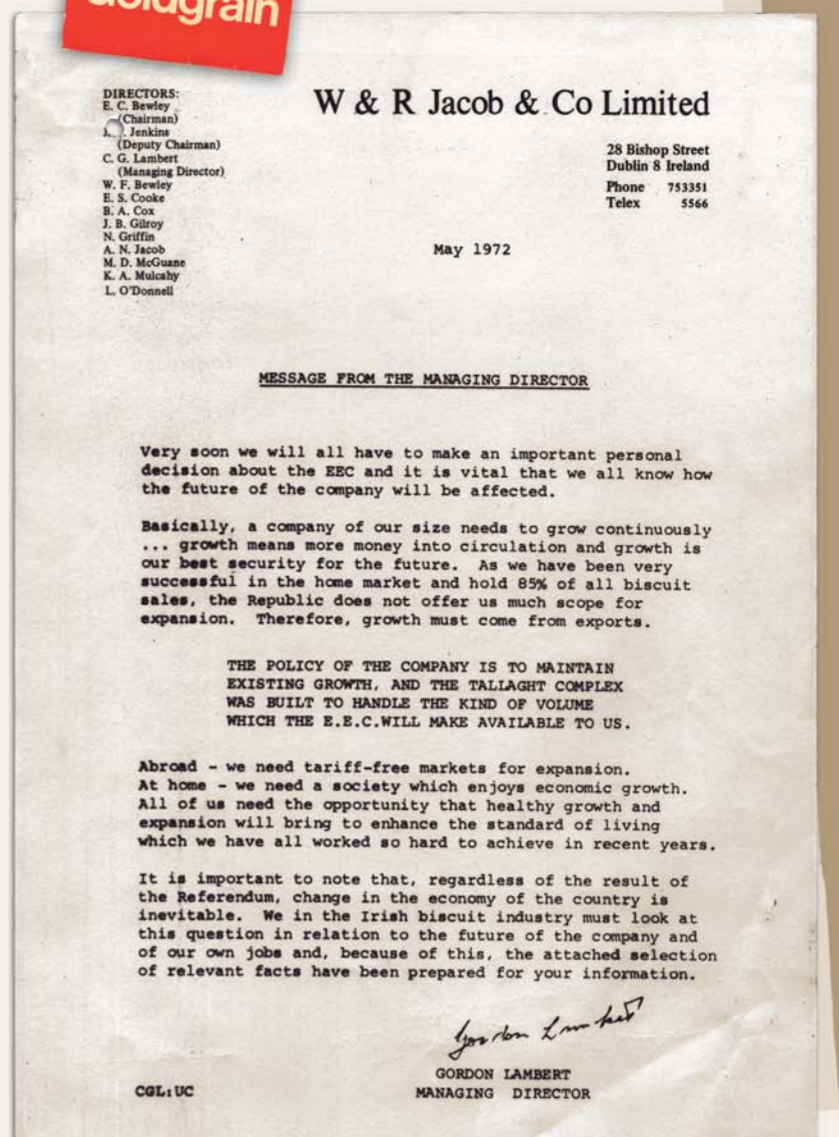
"IN THE COUNTRY'S BEST INTERESTS"

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



★ It is our duty to ensure that the LIES circulated by anti-market forces that German prices are lower than actual German prices are not true.

Actual German prices are lower:
Cheese 22p lower per lb.
Milk 3p lower per pt.
Sugar 3p lower per lb.
Pork 6p lower per lb.
Eggs 10p lower per doz.
Tea 42p lower per lb.



above | Contemporary advertisement by Jacob's Biscuit Company cashing in on public interest in the referendum campaign.
(NAL 2004/22/13)

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.
(NAL 2004/22/13)

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)

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.

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.

"KEEP IRELAND FREE - VOTE NO TO THE EC"

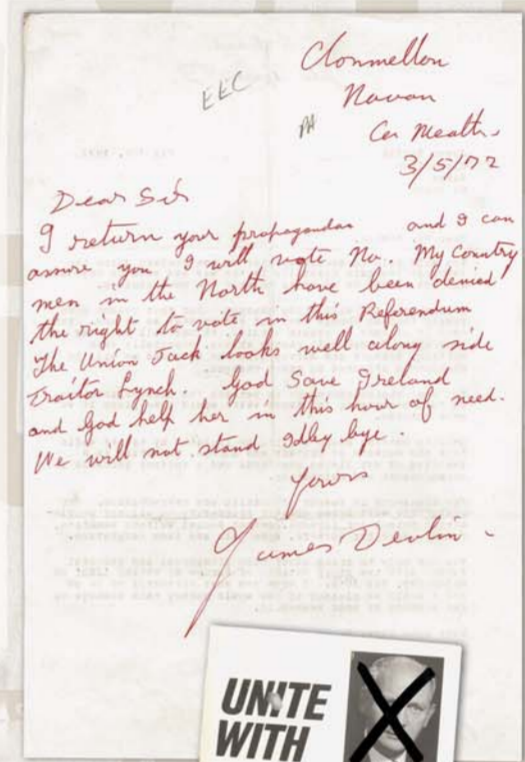
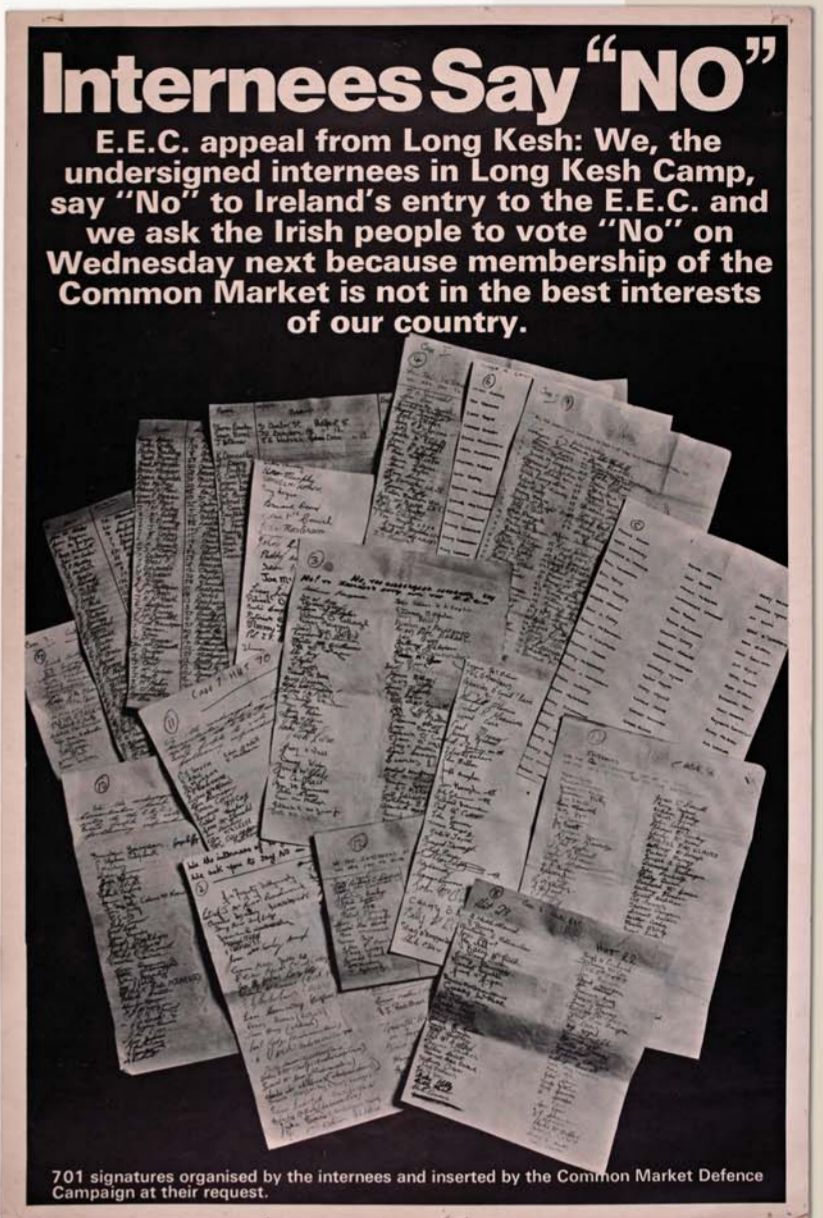
right | Campaign for the No vote. (Photograph Courtesy of The Irish Times)

overlay | For sale by private treaty. Ireland a small but exploitable property ... agents Jack Lynch & Ptnrs. Oppose the Common Market. Sinn Féin. (NLI Ephemera Accession 1597)



above | Internees say "No". EEC appeal from Long Kesh. 701 signatures organised by the internees and inserted by Common Market Defence Campaign at their request. (NLI Ephemera Accession 1596)

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...'. (NLI DT S2004/22/12)



OPPOSE THE COMMON MARKET

ISSUED BY SINN FEIN, 30 PL GARDNER DUBLIN 1

REFERENDUM 1972: THE RESULT

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

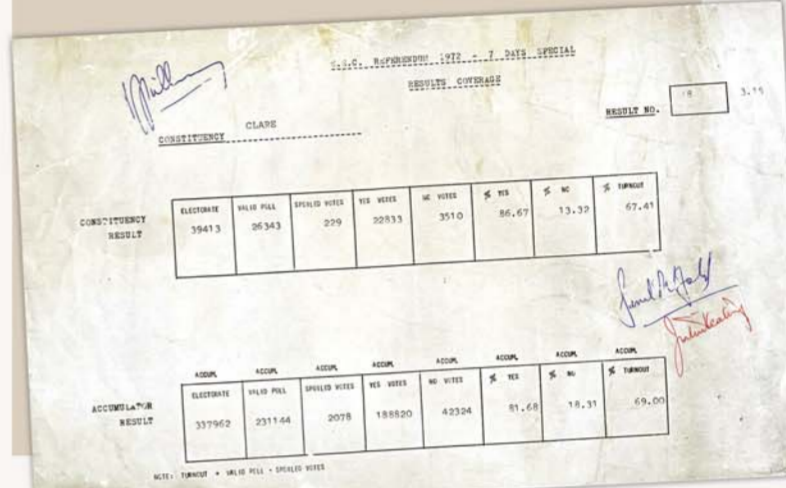
- 83% spoiled vote

The result was an overwhelming 'Yes' vote

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

Counted by constituency-

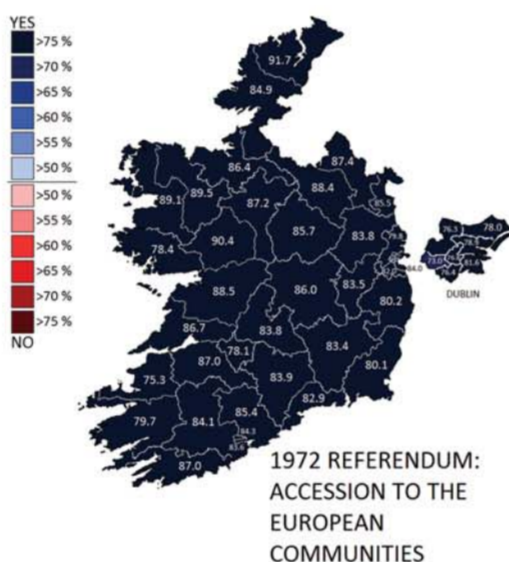
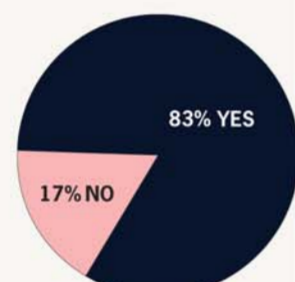
- Donegal North East 91.7% - highest 'Yes' vote
- Dublin South West 73% - lowest 'Yes' vote



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.



CONSTITUENCY	YES	NO
Carlow-Kilkenny	82.9%	17.1%
Cavan	82.4%	17.6%
Clare	82.4%	17.6%
Clare-South Galway	82.5%	17.5%
Cork City North West	82.3%	17.7%
Cork City South East	82.6%	17.4%
Cork Mid	82.1%	17.9%
Cork North East	82.6%	17.4%
Cork South West	82.0%	18.0%
Donegal	82.6%	17.4%
Donegal North East	92.7%	7.3%
Dublin County North	79.8%	20.2%
Dublin County South	82.0%	18.0%
Dublin County West	82.0%	18.0%
Dublin North Central	78.9%	21.1%
Dublin North East	78.9%	21.1%
Dublin North West	78.9%	21.1%
Dublin South Central	82.6%	17.4%
Dublin South East	82.6%	17.4%
Dublin South West	73.0%	27.0%
Dún Laoghaire & Rathdown	82.6%	17.4%
Galway North East	82.6%	17.4%
Galway West	82.6%	17.4%
Kerry North	75.3%	24.7%
Kerry South	75.3%	24.7%
Kildare	82.5%	17.5%
Longford-Offaly	82.6%	17.4%
Limerick East	78.2%	21.8%
Limerick West	82.6%	17.4%
Longford-Westmeath	82.6%	17.4%
Louth	82.6%	17.4%
Mayo East	82.6%	17.4%
Mayo West	82.6%	17.4%
Monaghan	82.6%	17.4%
Monaghan-Louth	82.6%	17.4%
Sligo-Leitrim	82.6%	17.4%
Tipperary North	82.6%	17.4%
Tipperary South	82.6%	17.4%
Wexford	82.6%	17.4%
Wick	82.6%	17.4%

1972 REFERENDUM: ACCESSION TO THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES

COUNTS IN DETAIL IN 42 CONSTITUENCIES

CONSTITUENCY	Electorate	Total poll	Spilled votes	Valid poll	Percentage	FOR	AGAINST	Majority For
CARLOW-KILKENNY	59,415	44,298	412	43,886	73.9%	36,588	7,298	29,290
CAVAN	37,299	27,724	280	27,444	73.6%	24,266	3,178	21,088
CLARE	39,413	26,272	189	26,083	66.2%	22,833	3,250	19,583
CLARE-SOUTH GALWAY	34,823	24,882	214	24,668	70.8%	22,087	2,581	19,506
CORK CITY (North-West)	35,496	25,320	157	25,163	71.3%	21,208	3,955	17,253
CORK CITY (North-East)	36,190	24,000	140	23,860	66.2%	22,887	4,973	17,914
MID-CORK	49,401	38,201	297	37,904	76.7%	31,962	6,942	25,020
NORTH-EAST CORK	50,016	38,318	315	38,003	76.0%	32,439	5,564	26,875
SOUTH-WEST CORK	38,285	28,453	210	28,243	73.9%	25,551	2,692	22,859
NORTH-EAST DONEGAL	37,924	24,584	297	24,287	64.0%	22,574	1,713	20,861
DONEGAL-LEITRIM	38,540	26,123	210	25,913	67.3%	22,005	3,908	18,097
NORTH COUNTY DUBLIN	59,096	40,381	252	40,129	67.8%	32,081	8,125	23,956
SOUTH COUNTY DUBLIN	45,898	32,943	204	32,739	71.1%	26,838	5,901	20,937
DUN LAOGHAIRE/RATHDOWN	57,870	40,129	252	39,877	68.9%	34,105	5,772	28,333
EAST LIMERICK	47,001	34,105	208	33,897	72.8%	29,957	3,940	26,017

THE IRISH TIMES, FRIDAY, MAY 12, 1972



The Taoiseach, Mr. Lynch, at his referendum press conference in Iveagh House, Dublin, yesterday.—(Photograph: Pat Langan.)

Result delights Mansholt

DR. SICCO MANSHOLT, president of the Commission of the European Communities, 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' from Ireland. It makes clear that Ireland takes the lead. I am sure that this 'Yes' is not only of great importance for Europe, but more especially for Ireland.

"I have been many times in Ireland and I know that this is a well-deliberated decision. Now that the choice has been made it will be seen that membership is the best way to develop the future. Ireland will take the benefit of membership from the beginning of the transition period. We are sure that at the summit conference which will take place next October, a political decision will be made that will lead to a European Council which will give special help to the Irish people, with such a majority, will make a great contribution to the other countries which have joined in this historic decision in particular the first."

Entry to Europe is approved by five votes to one in record poll

In a prepared statement, the Taoiseach said the result demonstrated the political realism of the Irish people. It had shown that they were not influenced by the many irrational and irrelevant counter-views 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."

personally, an plea to people as they take a full and equal place in a Community of free democratic nations.

Asked if he wished to be in that Community by his friends in Denmark and Norway, with ferre and idealism.

"SINN FEIN REJECTED

He looked forward to working in friendly cooperation with representatives of the Northern Communities in the many common issues which will arise for both areas of our country in the E.E.C."

Several times he refused to be drawn in the chance of a general election. The most he would say was that there would be one time before June, 1974.

Questioned about the effects of the victory and E.E.C. membership on the border, the Taoiseach said: "I would bring people closer together. An example would be regional development—this could not be confined to separate sides of the border, and to that extent there would be a lot to be said for co-operation in social and economic life. He himself had been speaking for some time of some form of economic council, though he had thought it would be premature to make a move on this now."

He agreed that with the entry of both this country and the United Kingdom into the Community only seven months away, some extent, he said, Ireland could be leaders in this field in the Community.

out by O.R.C. for the European Movement, has 43% in favour, 38% opposed, and 19% undecided.

On a broader view, some commented that the result was a substantial majority, but a margin of five to one was considered amazing.

There was no public reaction, but privately there was no concealment of the satisfaction of the Taoiseach and the Conservative Government and Parliamentary Party.

of the (rather amused) reflexion which the result provoked was whether it might have been, after all, a good idea to yield to the demand for a referendum in Britain. Not long ago a referendum in Ireland would have been expected to be held, but lately the British Taoiseach had a mandate against the favour of entry. The latest, carried

WESTMINSTER PLEASED, SURPRISED

From James Downey

It was a surprise to Westminster that the majority of the party opposed to the E.E.C. vote in the referendum was the Labour Party, and not the Sinn Féin or the Irish Republican Army.

Donegal islands say firm "no"

Two islands off the Donegal coast voted "No" on Inishbofin, and "Yes" on Inishowen. The Donegal Islands Council, which combines the two islands, has announced that it will support the "No" vote.

Corish interprets outcome as party vote

Dr. Corish, leader of the Labour Party, said that the result of the referendum was a party vote. He said that the Labour Party had been the only party to campaign against the E.E.C. and that the result was a reflection of the party's performance.

Million voters give Government effective say in Europe

(Continued from page 1)

decision will be the moving of a Bill in the Dail on the subject of various fringe Republican groups, Official and Provisional, and the

Norway, Belgium

At the same time, the clear alignment of forces that arose on the E.E.C. issue is one of the most positive developments in the last trade union. Republican, Communist and cultural forces against the E.E.C. must be strengthened for the next stage of the struggle for Irish independence. Its perspective should be to forge the closest links between the similar and parallel forces emerging in the Six Counties, North and South. The battle against the monopolies, close-downs and rising prices must be continued. Reforms must be countered by militant trade union action, the statement said.

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.

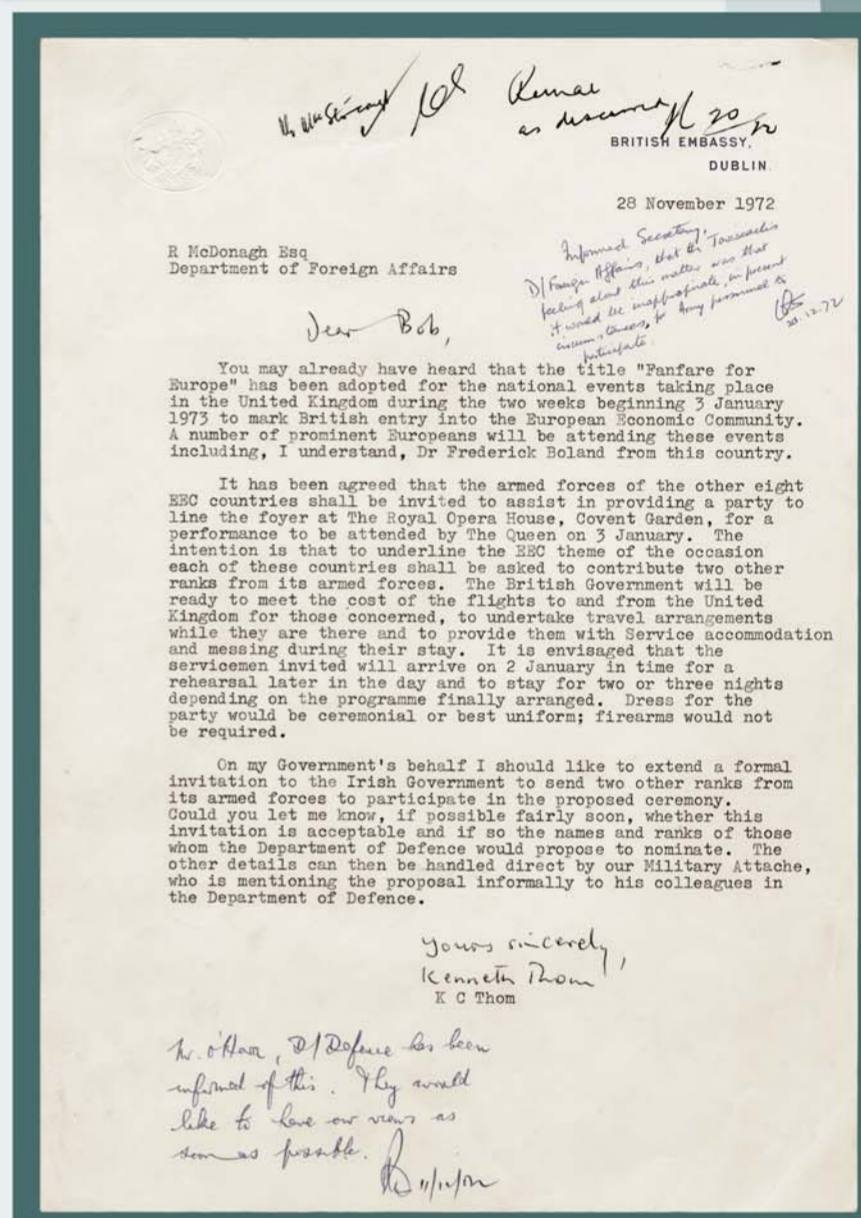
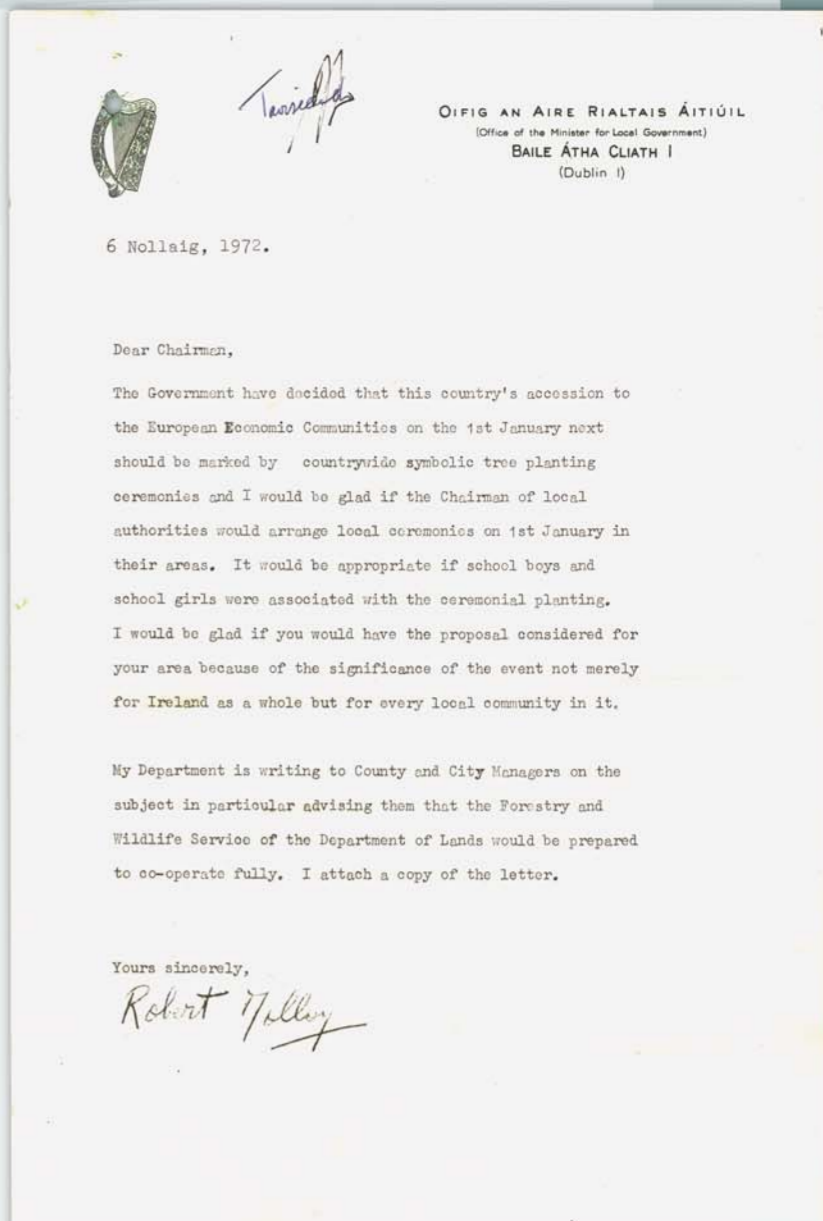
Ireland's national airline - Aer Lingus - took out a full page advertisement on page 3 of the New Year's Day 1973 *Irish Times*. With the line 'The Common Market is a bit Irish' it showed in a surreal cartoon how a selection of flat-capped Irishmen came to terms with Italian pasta, German beer and French 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. (*Irish Times*, 1 January 1973)

below right | Ireland's 160 Euro babies get medallions. (*Irish Independent*, 30 December 1972)

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. (NAI 2004/21/548)

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)



below | Aer Lingus advertisement 'The Common Market is a bit Irish', published 1 January 1973. (Courtesy of the Irish Times)

Ireland's 160 Euro babes get medallions

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 Economic Community.

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

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 has been presented.

Because the Eurobabies were born in so many different parts of the country, the medallions were sent by registered post. Each one is mounted in a presentation case with a parchment certificate.

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

IRELAND 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 Treaty...