Protectionism to liberalisation: Ireland and the EEC, 1957 to 1966

This item was submitted to Loughborough University's Institutional Repository by the/an author.


Additional Information:

- This book was published by Ashgate and the definitive version is available from: http://www.ashgate.com

Metadata Record: https://dspace.lboro.ac.uk/2134/2355

Publisher: © Ashgate

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

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

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

The section listing primary sources is preceded by the archival analysis, which explains why certain archives were used and also assesses the value of
particular conferences or workshops that took place during the course of this investigation. In turn, an extensive list of secondary sources encompassing pertinent Irish and foreign materials is presented in the customary alphabetical form, following on from a brief essay reviewing and surveying the current state of the literature.

Archival appraisal *

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

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

* Please note that a review of the NA, written for Richard Griffiths' 'European integration web site', may be found at [http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/history/rtg/res1/hitch.html#ire](http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/history/rtg/res1/hitch.html#ire) (10 March 1999); a review of the ACE, written in conjunction with Richard Griffiths for his 'European integration web site', is also available at [http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/history/rtg/res1/hitch.html#haec](http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/history/rtg/res1/hitch.html#haec) (10 March 1999).
carrying out extensive oral history interviews with eye-witnesses was considered as a very real option and, of course, is doubtlessly a rewarding one in itself once care is taken to cross-reference material; however, this particular option was not taken up – except to confirm certain nuances – in part because of the abundance of archival materials accessible at the NA, but also as a result of similar testimonies already existing in the public domain through the publication of written memoirs and, indeed, interviews previously conducted in newspapers and for archives.

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

As was previously stated, the Irish diaspora was another area that has been assessed, at the level of diplomatic confidential reports and by integrating the views of the wider Anglicised world into the background study of Irish actions. In particular, the US acted as a 'godfather' figure to Europe throughout the post-war period. Indeed, it was 'American pragmatism' which actively pushed for the integration of Europe, a point made abundantly clear to Ireland by successive US presidents. It must be said that documentation originally found in the US as the archival basis for an MPhil thesis – centred on the subject of Irish-American diplomatic relations, 1948 to 1963 – germinated promptings to investigate Ireland's first attempt at integration. In fact, a deep understanding of the specific importance of the US to the question of European integration and of its repercussions for Ireland has thus shown itself to be a principal aspiration of this research. John F.Kennedy evoked the dictum that 'there are no permanent enemies', citing it to reflect the development of better Anglo-Irish relations in the early 1960s. Indeed, as time progressed, the subject of partition played less of a role in government decision-making, at the national and international level, reflecting a change in
foreign policy orientation away from the political to the economic. A central question remained: to what degree were such evaluations of Anglo-Irish relations true and what influence did this bilateral consideration have on Ireland's European policies? The resolution to this particular issue lay in much of the material already gathered, including oral histories such as those previously conducted with former Irish foreign ministers Frank Aiken and Liam Cosgrave, as well as in other US based archival materials extensively employed in the presentation of this research.

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

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

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

In spite of this, conferences and workshops held at various stages during the course of this research proved to be excellent opportunities to talk to those most intimately involved from the past and the present – eyewitnesses and integration historians alike – allowing issues central to integration history to be raised. The transcript of one such conference – entitled *The creation of EFTA*, held at the University of Oslo from 14-17 May 1992 – provided the
basis for the development of subsequent views on EFTA's relevance to Ireland; another – entitled The first attempt to enlarge the European Community, 1961-63, held at the IUE from 17-19 February 1994 – explored the background to the various membership applications in political terms and initially proved to be a useful tool from which to view research on Ireland's first attempt to join the EEC. A further conference – entitled Neutral states in Europe and European integration, 1945-1994, held at the University of Innsbruck from 6-9 April 1995 – allowed the Irish integration experience to be compared and contrasted with those of other neutrals; in addition, another – entitled The Europeanisation of domestic policy, held at the IUE on 8 December 1995 – afforded historians and political scientists the opportunity to listen to and forge each others views, proving to be an important formative experience in the application of theory to Ireland's process of European integration. Workshops entitled Research workshop on the failure of Community expansion, 1961-63, and EU enlargement and the myth of the 'awkward partner' – held at the IUE on 14 December 1998 and 22 June 1999 respectively – were especially helpful in placing Ireland into its proper national, as well as European and wider international, context. It was ultimately primary source material, utilised comprehensively throughout this research, which was to be the most useful resource however; indeed, this was more likely to be from the Irish archives than from any other source.

Primary materials

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

**Department of Foreign Affairs**

Secretary's Office (P Series)
Cultural Division Files (Series 305)
Confidential Reports (Series 313)
Trade Division Files (Series 314, 315 & 348)
Information – Publications (Series 316)
Consular Division Files (Series 317)
Protocol Division Files (Series 401)
Press & Information Section Files (Series 414)
Council of Europe: United Nations – Political and Legal Division Files (Series 417)
Visits to Ireland and Irish Visits Abroad (Series 434)
Protocol Division Series (Series 436)
Economic Division (EC Series)
European Communities Division (Common Market Series)
Embassy Canberra (Consular Files)
Protectionism to liberalisation

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

Department of the Taoiseach
Cabinet Minutes
Government Cabinet Minutes
General Files (S Series)

- UK sources Public Record Office, Kew Gardens, London

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

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

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

- US sources Dwight D. Eisenhower Library, Abilene, Kansas

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

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

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

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

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

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

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

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


- **miscellaneous** official Irish government publications

  *Bunreacht na hÉireann* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1937)  
  *Dáil debates* (Dublin: Stationery Office, various)  
  *Seanad debates* (Dublin: Stationery Office, various)
Protectionism to liberalisation


*Economic development* (Dublin: Stationery Office, 1958)

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

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

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

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

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

- **miscellaneous** newspapers, reviews and magazines

*Books Ireland*

*Community report*

*Cork Examiner*

*Economist*

*Graduate*

*Irish Independent*

*Irish Press*

*Irish Times*

*London Review of Books*

*Observer*

*Sunday Independent*

*Sunday Press*

*Sunday Tribune*

*Times Literary Supplement*

*Working Group on European Integration Newsletter*

- **miscellaneous** other primary source materials

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

*Council of Europe report, 'Relations Economiques Européennes: la position de certains pays Européens autres que les Six en cas d'adhésion du Royaume-Uni à la Communauté Economique Européenne'* (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 1961)

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

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

*European Communities official text, 'Treaty establishing the European Economic Community', in Treaties establishing the European Communities* (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1973)
Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1973)
Irish Council of Europe Movement publication, 'Opportunity: Ireland and Europe' (Dublin: Irish Council of Europe Movement, 1972)
IMF reports, International financial statistics (New York: International Monetary Fund, various)
Marx, K., Karl Marx Friedrich Engels, vol. 31 (Berlin: Dietz Verlag, 1974)
OECD reports, 'Irlande' (Paris: OECD, various)
OEEC reports, 'Irlande' (Paris: OEEC, various)
Weidenfeld, W., & W.Wessels (eds), Europe from A to Z: guide to European integration (Luxembourg: Office for Official Publications of the European Communities, 1997)

Literature survey *

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

* A bibliographical list on the subject of Ireland and European integration, supplied for Richard Griffiths' 'European integration web site', may be found at http://www.let.leidenuniv.nl/history/rtg/res1/ire-bibl.html (10 March 1999) and is based on the list of secondary sources given at the end of this thesis.
Despite the fact that very little of this particular material directly touched upon the subject of this text and despite the fact that access to the data on this subject in the archives has been very limited up until fairly recently because of the thirty year rule, secondary studies have in fact been extensively carried out on matters of relevance to this research on Ireland's integration into the EEC. There is, it must be said, a plethora of material available on the subject. The evaluation presented here of the most valuable secondary source material is essentially a list of suitable texts with informed comments. However, it gives indications of the gaps in the history of Irish integration policy, many of which have been filled by this piece of research, while also assessing the readings themselves critically. It thus takes the form of an extensive historiographical review.

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

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

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

Some texts have concentrated on specific subject areas, as with Patrick Keatinge in his respected text *A singular stance: Irish neutrality in the 1980s*, a study that is clearly more interested in the implications of integration
on neutrality rather than in anything else; indeed, Dermot Keogh has concentrated on the diplomatic elements involved in this relationship. Meanwhile, this PhD thesis contends that recent mainstream Irish history texts – excepting Dermot Keogh's *Twentieth-century Ireland: nation and state* or J.J. Lee's *Ireland, 1912-1985: politics and society*, which actually do deal with the question of Ireland and the EEC with a level of insight – suffer from the fact that such analyses cannot concentrate on the particular aspect that is central to this discussion. Ronan Fanning's *Independent Ireland* is clearly an example of this phenomenon, as is John A. Murphy's *Ireland in the twentieth century*. At the same time, Terence Brown's fascinating *Ireland: a social and cultural history* obviously deals with the issue from another historical perspective altogether. Therefore, a substantial gap exists in our knowledge of European integration. An extensive investigation into the history of Ireland's European integration, not only into the EEC, utilising the material that has been continually released, was badly needed; this text therefore forms the basis of one of the first documentary based investigations carried out to date.

**Secondary sources**

Amin, S., *Unequal development: an essay on the social formation of peripheral capitalism* (Hassocks: Harvester, 1976)
Archer, C., *Organizing Europe: the institutions of integration* (London: Edward Arnold, 1994)
Baker, S., *Dependency, ideology and the industrial policy of Fianna Fáil in Ireland*
Barrington, R., Health, medicine and politics in Ireland, 1900-1970 (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1987)
Barry, F., 'Peripherality in economic geography and modern growth theory: reflections from the Irish experience' (draft version)
Baxter-Moore, N.J., 'The impact of European Community membership on the Republic of Ireland', pp. 41-84, in N.Ørvik & C.Pentland (eds), The European Community at the crossroads: the first twenty-five years (Kingston: Queen's University Kingston, 1983)
Behan, B., Hold your hour and have another (Aylesbury: Corgi, 1970)
Bellò, C., L'onesta democrazia di Piero Malvestiti: memorie e documenti (Milan: Nuovo Edizioni Duomo, 1985)
Böll, H., Irisches Tagesbuch (Köln: Verlag Kiepenheuer & Witsch, 1957)
Boyce, D.G., Nationalism in Ireland (London: Routledge, 1991)
Brown, T., Ireland: a social and cultural history, 1922-79 (Glasgow: Fontana, 1981)
Browne, N., Against the tide (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1988)
Cardoso, F.H., & E.Faletto, Dependency and development in Latin America (Berkeley: University of California Press, 1978)

Childs, D., Britain since 1939: progress and decline (London: Macmillan, 1995)

Chubb, B., & P.Lynch (eds), Economic development and planning (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1969)


Chubb, B., The politics of the Irish constitution (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1991)

Collins, N., & F.McCann Irish politics today (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1989)


Coogan, T.P., Ireland since the rising (Westport: Greenwood, 1976)


Coombes, D., (ed.), Ireland and the European Communities: ten years of membership (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1983)


Crotty, R., Irish agricultural production: its volume and share (Cork: Cork University Press, 1966)

Crotty, R., 'Ireland: a case of peripheral underdevelopment or capitalist colonial undevelopment?', pp. 265-74, in G.Day & G.Rees (eds), Regions, nations and European integration: remaking the Celtic periphery (Cardiff: University of Wales, 1991)


Dinan, D., 'After the "Emergency": Ireland in the post-war world', pp. 85-103, in Éire-Ireland vol. 24 no. 3 1989


Driever, K., 'Probleme einer nachholender Integration: Irische Erfahrungen in der EG/EU', pp. 315-24, in Aussenpolitik vol. 45 no. 4 1994

Driscoll, D., 'Is Ireland really neutral?', pp. 55-61, in Irish studies in international affairs vol. 1 no. 3 1982
Drudy, P.J., & D.McAleese (eds), Ireland and the European Community (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1984)
Duffy, T., 'Ireland and nuclear power', pp. 73-92, in L'Irlande Politique et Sociale no. 4
Edwards, O.D., Eamon de Valera (Cardiff: GPC, 1987)
Ellis, P.B., A history of the Irish working class (London: Pluto, 1985)
Fann, K.T., & D.C.Hodges (eds), Readings in US Imperialism (Boston: Porter Sargent, 1971)
Fanning, R., The Irish Department of Finance, 1922-58 (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1978)
Fanning, R., Independent Ireland (Dublin: Helicon, 1983)
Fanning, R., 'Irish neutrality: an historical review', pp. 27-38, in Irish studies in international affairs vol. 1 no. 3 1982
FitzGerald, G., Planning in Ireland: a PEP study (Dublin: Institute of Public Administration, 1968)
FitzGerald, G., Towards a new Ireland (Dublin: Torc, 1973)
FitzGerald, M., 'Ireland's experience of European integration: from the "political" to the "economic"', pp. 1-15, unpublished paper presented at a conference entitled the Europeanisation of domestic policy held at the IUE on 8 December 1995
FitzGerald, M., 'Why did Ireland's first application fail?', pp. 1-8, unpublished paper presented at a workshop entitled Research workshop on the failure of Community
Protectionism to liberalisation

... 1961-63, held at the IUE on 14 December 1998
Foster, R., Modern Ireland, 1600-1972 (London: Allen Lane, 1989)
Gallagher, M., Political parties in the Republic of Ireland (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1985)
Gallagher, T., & J.O'Connell (eds), Contemporary Irish studies (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1983)
Gallagher, T., 'The dimensions of Fianna Fail rule in Ireland', pp. 54-68, in Western European politics vol. 4 no. 1 1981
Garvin, T., 'Wealth, poverty and development: reflections on current discontents', pp. 312-25, in Studies vol. 78 no. 311 1989
Geiger, T., 'Why Ireland needed the Marshall Plan but did not want it: Ireland, the Sterling Area and the European Recovery Program, 1947-1948', University of Manchester Department of History Working Paper no. 44
Girvin, B., Between two worlds: politics and economy in independent Ireland (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1989)
Girvin, B., 'Nationalism, democracy, and Irish political culture', pp. 3-28, in B.Girvin...


Griffiths, R.T., 'Ireland and EFTA' (unpublished article)


Protectionism to liberalisation

763-800, in W.Lipgens & W.Loth (eds), Documents on the history of European integration vol. 3 (Berlin: Walter de Gruyter, 1988)


Hillery, P.J., 'Ireland and Britain in the European Community', pp. 1-11, in Administration vol. 24 no. 1 1976

Hoffmann, S., Contemporary theory in international relations (Englewood Cliffs: Prentice-Hall, 1960)


Kaiser, W., 'To join, or not to join: the "appeasement" policy of Britain's first EEC application', pp. 144-56, in B.Brivati & H.Jones (eds), From reconstruction to integration: Britain and Europe since 1945 (Leicester: Leicester University Press, 1993)

Karsh, E., Neutrality and small states (London: Routledge, 1988)


Keatinge, P., (ed.), Ireland and EC membership evaluated (London: Pinter, 1991)


Keatinge, P., 'From community to union', pp. 2-9 & 160, in P.Keatinge (ed.),
Maastricht and Ireland: what the treaty means (Dublin: Institute of European Affairs, 1992)
Kennedy, L., Colonialism, religion and nationalism in Ireland (Belfast: Institute of Irish Studies, 1996)
Kennedy, M., & J.M.Skelly (eds), Irish diplomatic history, 1919-69: from independence to internationalism (Dublin: Four Courts Press, 1999)
Kennedy, M., & E.O'Halpin, Ireland and the Council of Europe: from isolation towards integration (Strasbourg: Council of Europe, 2000)
Keohane, R.O., & S.Hoffman (eds), The new European Community: decisionmaking and institutional change (Boulder: Westview, 1991)
Kersten, J.W., Policies for rural peripheral regions in the European Community (Saarbrücken: Breitenbach, 1990)
Killeen, M.J., Industrial development and full employment (Dublin: IDA Ireland, 1976)
Laflam, B., 'Ireland and Denmark in the European Community: political and administrative aspects', pp. 43-62, in Administration vol. 29 no. 1 1981
Laflam, B., Integration and co-operation in Europe (London: Routledge, 1992)
MacKernan, P., 'Irish foreign policy: context and concerns', pp. 172-89, in *Administration* vol. 35 no. 2 1987
McAleese, D., 'European integration and the Irish economy', pp. 152-71, in *Administration* vol. 35 no. 2 1987


McSweeney, B., 'Out of the ghetto: Irish foreign policy since the fifties', pp. 401-12, in *Studies* vol. 75 no. 300 1986

McSweeney, B., 'Ireland and European integration', pp. 187-93, in *Studies* vol. 79 no. 314 1990


Milward, A., 'New Zealand, the United Kingdom and the EEC' (unpublished article)


Moody, T.W., & F.X. Martin (eds), *The course of Irish history* (Cork: Mercier, 1967)


Moravcsik, A., 'EU enlargement and the myth of the "awkward partner"', pp. 1-2, unpublished paper presented at a workshop entitled *EU enlargement and the myth of the 'awkward partner'* held at the IUE by the Working Group on European Integration on 22 June 1999

Moynihan, M., *Currency and central banking in Ireland, 1922-60* (Dublin: Central Bank of Ireland, 1975)


Murphy, A.E., (ed.), *Economists and the Irish economy from the eighteenth century to the present day* (Blackrock: Irish Academic Press, 1984)


Murphy, S., 'The new Europe and Irish neutrality', pp. 377-88, in *Studies* vol. 79 no. 316 1990


O'Brien, F., *An béal bocht* (Dublin: Dolmen, 1941)


O'Carroll, J. P., & J. A. Murphy (eds), *De Valera and his times* (Cork: Cork University Press, 1983)


O'Malley, E., 'The problem of late industrialisation and the experience of the Republic of Ireland', pp. 141-54, in the *Cambridge journal of economics* vol. 9 no. 2 1985


De Paor, L., *Divided Ulster* (Harmondsworth: Penguin, 1971)

Pierson, P., 'The path to European Union: an historical institutionalist perspective' (draft version)


Probert, B., Beyond orange and green: the political economy of the Northern Ireland crisis (London: Zen, 1979)

Rathkolb, O., 'The Austrian case: from the neutrals' association approach to a "special arrangement" with the EEC (1961-1963)', pp. 1-29, paper presented at a conference entitled The first attempt to enlarge the European Community, 1961-63, held at the IUE from 17-19 February 1994


Raymond, R.J., 'Irish neutrality: ideology or pragmatism?', pp. 31-40, in International affairs vol. 60 no. 1 1983/4


Robertson, P., & J.Singleton, 'Britain, the Dominions and the EEC, 1961-1963' (draft article)

Rumpf, E., & A.C.Hepburn, Nationalism and socialism in twentieth-century Ireland (Liverpool: Liverpool University Press, 1977)


Schlesinger, P., 'On national identity: some conceptions and misconceptions criticized', pp. 219-64, in Social science information sur les sciences sociales vol. 26 no. 2 1987


Sobiela-Caanitz, G., 'L'Irlande du Nord', pp. 113-20, in Les régions d'Europe (Paris:
Protectionism to liberalisation

Presses d'Europe, 1973)
Stallings, B., Economic dependency in Africa and Latin America (Beverly Hills: Sage, 1972)
Sutherland, P.D., 'Ireland: where do we really stand on European integration?', pp. 243-54, in Studies vol. 78 no. 311 1989
Swift, J., 'The changing role of ambassadors and embassies', pp. 3-13, in Administration vol. 46 no. 1 1998
Tait, A.A., & J.A.Bristow (eds), Ireland: some problems of a developing economy (Dublin: Gill & Macmillan, 1972)
Thomas, C., & A.Thomas, Historical dictionary of Ireland European Historical Dictionaries no. 20 (London: Scarecrow Press, 1997)
Vaughan, R., Twentieth-century Europe: paths to unity (London: Croom Helm, 1979)

Whelan, B., 'The European Recovery Program (the Marshall Plan) and Ireland: summary and assessment', pp. 78-84, in *Éire-Ireland* vol. 24 no. 3 1989

Whitaker, T.K., 'From protection to free trade: the Irish experience', pp. 405-23, in *Administration* vol. 21 no. 4 1973


Whitaker, T.K., 'Land of Change', pp. 4-18, in *Éire-Ireland* vol. 22 no. 1 1987


Witoszek, N., 'Nationalism, postmodernity and Ireland', pp. 101-21, in Ø.Sørensen (ed.), *Nationalism in small European nations* (Oslo: Research Council of Norway, 1996)


