

Documents on IRISH
FOREIGN POLICY

Volume XI
1957~1961

Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann An Chartlann Náisiúnta
An Roinn Gnóthaí Eachtracha agus Trádála

Cáipéisí ar Pholasaí Eachtrach na hÉireann

Imleabhar XI

1957 ~ 1961

EAGARTHÓIRÍ

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Acadamh Ríoga na hÉireann
Royal Irish Academy



An Chartlann Náisiúnta
National Archives



An Roinn Gnóthaí
Eachtracha agus Trádála
Department of
Foreign Affairs and Trade

Royal Irish Academy National Archives
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In memoriam Ronan Fanning (1941–2017)

Abbreviations

The following is a list of the most commonly used abbreviated terms and phrases in the volume, covering both documents and editorial matter. Other abbreviations have been spelt out in the text.

DFA	Department of Foreign Affairs collection, National Archives, Dublin
TSCH/3/S	Department of the Taoiseach, S series files, National Archives, Dublin
EEC	European Economic Community
EFTA	European Free Trade Association
FAO	Food and Agriculture Organisation
GATT	General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade
IBRD	International Bank for Reconstruction and Development
ICAO	International Civil Aviation Organisation
ILO	International Labour Organisation
IMF	International Monetary Fund
IRA	Irish Republican Army
MP	Member of Parliament (UK)
NAI	National Archives, Dublin
NATO	North Atlantic Treaty Organisation
OEEC	Organisation for European Economic Co-operation
ONUC	Organisation des Nations Unies au Congo
TD	Teachta Dála (Member of Dáil Éireann)
UCDA	University College Dublin, Archives Department
UNESCO	United Nations Economic, Social and Cultural Organisation
UNOGIL	United Nations Observer Group in Lebanon
UNTSO	United Nations Truce Supervision Organization

Preface

The National Archives Act, 1986, provides for the transfer of departmental records more than thirty years old to the National Archives of Ireland for inspection by the public, unless they are certified to be in regular use by a Department for administrative purposes, or unless they are certified as withheld from public inspection on one of the grounds specified in the Act. The bulk of the material consulted for this volume comes from the records of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade and the Department of the Taoiseach, all of which are available for inspection at the National Archives of Ireland at Bishop Street in Dublin. Other material comes from the holdings of the University College Dublin Archives Department. The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade documents in the National Archives of Ireland have been made available to researchers since January 1991.¹

The concept of a multi-volume series of documents on Irish foreign policy was put forward in 1994 by the then Department of Foreign Affairs. Mr Ted Barrington, then the Political Director of the Department, brought the proposal to a meeting of the Royal Irish Academy's National Committee for the Study of International Affairs of which he was then a member. The then Tánaiste and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Mr Dick Spring, sanctioned the proposal, which was also welcomed by the then Director of the National Archives of Ireland, Dr David Craig, whose permission was necessary for the publication of material in his care. The Royal Irish Academy agreed to become a partner in the venture when Council approved its foundation document on 3 April 1995.

The main provisions of that document are:

- that the basic aim of *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy (DIFP)* is 'to make available, in an organised and accessible way, to people who may not be in a position easily to consult the National Archives, documents from the files of the Department which are considered important or useful for an understanding of Irish foreign policy';
- that an Editorial Advisory Board, comprising representatives of the Department, of the Academy and of the National Archives, in addition to senior Irish academics working in the fields of modern history and international relations, would oversee decisions on publication;
- that the *DIFP* series would 'begin at the foundation of the State and publish volumes in chronological order' and that the basic criterion for the selection of documents would be their 'use or importance in understanding the evolution of policies and decisions'.

¹ The Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade was known as the Department of External Affairs from December 1922 to 1971. From January 1919 to December 1922 the Department was known as the Department of Foreign Affairs or the Ministry of Foreign Affairs (see *DIFP I* for further details).

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These arrangements found public expression in the 1996 White Paper on foreign policy, *Challenges and Opportunities Abroad* (16.48), which provided that:

As part of the Government's desire to encourage a greater interest in Irish foreign policy, it has been agreed that the Department of Foreign Affairs, in association with the Royal Irish Academy, will publish a series of foreign policy documents of historic interest. It is hoped that this initiative will encourage and assist greater academic interest in the study of Irish foreign policy.

Provision for *DIFP* was first included in the Department's Estimates for 1997 and a preliminary meeting of what became the Editorial Advisory Board, in Iveagh House on 10 April 1997, agreed that an assistant editor should be appointed in addition to the editors nominated by the National Committee for the Study of International Affairs: Professors Ronan Fanning MRIA, Dermot Keogh MRIA and Eunan O'Halpin MRIA. Dr Michael Kennedy was appointed in June 1997 when work began on the selection of documents. Dr Kennedy was in January 1998 designated as executive editor, and is responsible for the direction and day-to-day running of *DIFP*. At the meeting of December 2003 of the *DIFP* Editorial Advisory Board the important contribution of the National Archives to *DIFP* was officially recognised and the National Archives formally became a full partner to *DIFP*. Accordingly, Ms Catriona Crowe, Senior Archivist at the National Archives, who had attended meetings of the editors since June 1997 was formally appointed an editor of the *DIFP* series. Having joined *DIFP* in 2005, Dr Kate O'Malley was appointed Assistant Editor in 2008 and has been an editor of the *DIFP* series since 2014. Professor Ronan Fanning stepped down as an editor in 2016, as did Ms Catriona Crowe on her retirement from the National Archives in the same year. In 2017 Professor Bernadette Whelan MRIA became an editor of *DIFP* following her nomination and approval by Council of the Royal Irish Academy.

The first volume, *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy I*, covering the period 1919 to 1922, was published in November 1998 in the run-up to the eightieth anniversary of the founding of the Department of Foreign Affairs in January 1919. Subsequent volumes have been published at two-yearly intervals, with volume XI being published in November 2018.

Introduction

This eleventh volume in the *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy (DIFP)* series covers the four years and six months from April 1957 to October 1961. It encompasses two Fianna Fáil administrations: the April 1957 to June 1959 government of Éamon de Valera, his final term as Taoiseach, and the first government of Seán Lemass, which ran from June 1959 to October 1961.

The volume concentrates largely, though not exclusively, on two major themes in post-war Irish foreign policy: an active and independent-minded engagement with the United Nations (UN) and the quest for membership of the European Economic Community (EEC). The British–Irish relationship, traditionally the central theme of Irish foreign policy and always its most important long-term focus, was, despite the ongoing Irish Republican Army (IRA) ‘Border Campaign’, somewhat eclipsed by engagement with the UN and the EEC as the 1950s gave way to the 1960s. A gradual warming in relations between Dublin and London commenced following Lemass’ appointment as Taoiseach in June 1959. British–Irish economic relations and London’s intentions regarding EEC membership provided a significant strategic dimension to Dublin’s considerations behind Ireland’s 1961 application for membership of the EEC.

A consistent figure through *DIFP XI* is the Minister for External Affairs, Frank Aiken. April 1957 saw Aiken return to Iveagh House to begin an unbroken 12-year tenure as foreign minister. Mirroring Éamon de Valera’s engagement in the League of Nations in the 1930s, Aiken championed Ireland’s role in the UN with a strong focus on decolonisation, nuclear disarmament and improving East–West relations in the Cold War. However, after June 1959 Lemass provided the strategic guiding vision for Ireland’s foreign relations. This became particularly apparent after Lemass, a former champion of trade protection, began to direct Ireland towards membership of the EEC. Aiken’s dominance over Ireland’s UN policy was within parameters set by Lemass. Aiken enjoyed considerable latitude in the conduct of Ireland’s policies at the UN, but his internationalism could conflict with Lemass’ more pro-Western and European focus. Despite these differences of emphasis, there was no obvious disagreement between the two over foreign policy matters. Lemass’ ‘presidential’ style of government contained a place for Aiken’s UN activism, and Aiken enjoyed a harmonious working relationship with Lemass as Taoiseach, as he had previously with de Valera.

With Aiken often absent for long periods in New York at the UN, Lemass played a significant role in the evolution and execution of Irish foreign policy, at times working directly with the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, Cornelius ‘Con’ Cremin, to direct and focus Ireland’s foreign relations. Thus there was continuity between de Valera, at least to 1948, Costello, during his second term from 1954 to 1957, and Lemass in maintaining the role of the Taoiseach as the ultimate directing force of Ireland’s foreign relations. In practical terms this is reflected in *DIFP XI* in the

increased number of high-level foreign policy documents reproduced from the archived files of the Department of the Taoiseach from 1959 to 1961.

Military neutrality remained a cornerstone of Ireland's foreign policy. So too, despite Aiken's politically neutral stance at the UN, was a pro-Western and strongly anti-communist outlook. There was strain between these aspects of foreign policy, but in public the visible international face of Ireland was evident in a strong independent line at the UN. Ireland did not get involved in what were seen as entangling alliances, and even involvement in the Non-Aligned Movement was a step too far for Aiken.

The Cold War remained the dominant global backdrop to Irish foreign policy and, building on *DIFP X*, *DIFP XI* contains further insights into Irish planning for a third world war. It gives limited insights into Cold War security and intelligence co-operation with the Western Bloc and NATO powers, in particular Britain and the United States. It also covers low-key contacts with the Soviet Union, with which Ireland would not establish diplomatic relations until the 1970s.

Readers will note, and the series editors wish to flag at this early point, that it has not been possible to cover all missions evenly in the volume. As documents were selected certain subjects naturally presented themselves as the major themes in the volume. However – and this was commented on by senior figures in the Department of External Affairs in the late 1950s – the quality of reporting, in particular confidential reporting, from missions was not uniformly high. This is reflected in the choice of content in *DIFP XI*.

The Department of External Affairs had since the 1930s paid only passing attention to trade and global economic matters. With the quest for EEC membership now vying with activism at the UN for a central position in Irish foreign policy, a form of diplomacy more focused on economics began to emerge in Dublin. The commencement of economic planning at national level, Lemass' overall guidance of foreign relations and the desire to boost Ireland's economic development through the growth of exports were largely responsible for this development.

From the 1960s, the demands of developing Ireland's global trading position meant that its diplomats took on additional responsibilities as the role of embassies as promoters of Ireland's economic interests expanded. External Affairs began to work with their counterparts in semi-state bodies promoting trade and industrial development. European integration meant that economics and politics were now together at the core of Irish foreign policy. With the quest for EEC membership came recognition that Ireland's next steps in the international community might well involve the hitherto unimaginable dilution of the sovereignty that had been the cornerstone of Irish foreign policy since independence.

Frank Aiken's return to Iveagh House in April 1957 saw no immediate changes to the direction of Ireland's foreign policy. Day-to-day concerns over the appointment of a new United States ambassador, the position of

Hungarian refugees in Ireland and economy measures in the Department of External Affairs soon gave way to an older, longer-term issue. Aiken returned to the perennial question of ending the partition of Ireland. A direct approach to London and the possibility of raising partition at the UN were both considered. London heard, but did not listen to, Aiken. Raising partition at the UN was, after much consideration, dropped by the spring of 1958.

For Aiken the focus of high-level foreign policy was the UN General Assembly in New York. The late 1950s and the early 1960s saw exceptional Irish activism at the General Assembly. Aiken and a team led from New York by Permanent Representative (Ambassador) to the UN Frederick H. Boland, and from Dublin by Conor Cruise O'Brien, head of the UN Section at Headquarters, took an overtly internationalist, independent and forthright attitude to UN affairs. Strategic planning by Boland was intensive; deft speech-writing, normally by Cruise O'Brien, was of critical importance. The General Assembly took precedence for Aiken over all other areas of Irish foreign policy as Ireland followed an independent, neutral line taking as its guide the UN Charter.

Energetic engagement with the UN saw a significant widening of the scope of Irish foreign policy. The most significant areas of Ireland's engagement with the UN in the later 1950s and early 1960s were the form of independence and future government of Algeria, the creation of demilitarised zones in continental Europe, promoting nuclear non-proliferation, supporting discussion of the admission of China to the UN, strident opposition to apartheid in South Africa and vocal support for decolonisation. Self-determination for Cyprus, the independence of Tibet and the then emerging area of support for human rights globally and strategies for development aid which did not stray from Catholic social principles were also significant components in Ireland's engagement with the UN. Ireland often acted alone in the General Assembly, but it found common purpose with like-minded small and medium powers and increasingly worked with the growing Afro-Asian bloc in the General Assembly.

Ideas flowed freely between Dublin and New York over Ireland's role in the UN. The pro-Western Boland often acted as a brake on the more independent-minded Cruise O'Brien, who sought common purpose in the General Assembly with many of the emerging states of Africa and Asia and often looked to Scandinavia for inspiration, if he needed it, for Ireland's UN policy. Boland was more circumspect, but nonetheless definite, in damping down the sometimes over-idealistic Aiken.

Aiken sought to capitalise on Ireland's quest to act independently in the General Assembly by introducing plans for international agreements to make the Cold War world a safer place. His 1957 plan for the joint withdrawal of NATO and Warsaw Pact forces from zones in central Europe exemplified this. So did his desire to prevent the spread of nuclear weapons. The proposal emerged in 1958 as a leading aspect of Ireland's agenda at the UN. Subsequently championed by Aiken at the General Assembly year on year, this initiative, based on moral principles as well as on straightforward fears for the future of humanity, ultimately gained widespread international

support and led to the Nuclear Non-Proliferation Treaty of 1968, which remains one of Ireland's greatest achievements at the UN.

In certain cases, such as Algeria and the creation of demilitarised zones in Europe, UN policy came into conflict with Irish relations with states, particularly France and Germany, with which Ireland sought to negotiate membership of the EEC. This would also be the case with Italy over the South Tyrol, and Belgium over decolonisation and peacekeeping in Congo. Algeria also brought members of the Irish diplomatic service into conflict, as the strongly Francophile Ambassador to France William Fay and Cruise O'Brien consistently differed in opinion over its best future.

Ireland's support for discussion of the question of the admission of the People's Republic of China to the UN brought with it a skirmish with the United States Catholic hierarchy, most notably in a clash with Cardinal Spellman of New York, and with pro-Irish and Catholic elements of the United States media. This flared up in the autumn of 1957 and lasted into 1958, though it soon diminished in intensity. The 'China Vote' question had a wider impact on Ireland in the divided world of the Cold War. It led some, in particular in the United States foreign service, to question Ireland's anti-communism. Aiken prefaced his actions with reference to Ireland's neutrality between the Cold War blocs and his belief that the UN was a cornerstone of international order and society: thus membership needed to be all-inclusive. There was, Aiken believed, no harm in discussing the question of whether Beijing or Taipei would represent China in the UN, as the UN had to be a representative global body. The fact that a matter might be controversial was not a reason, in Aiken's judgement, not to raise it.

Ireland showed in the late 1950s what a small state could achieve in the General Assembly, and Irish approaches met with the agreement of many likeminded UN members. A vindication of Ireland's attitude was Boland's election by his peers to serve as President of the General Assembly for 1960. It was a difficult session which included filibustering speeches by Fidel Castro and others, and the occasion where Soviet Premier Nikita Khrushchev allegedly banged his shoe on the table in front of his seat during a stormy debate. Boland famously broke his gavel in an attempt to bring the General Assembly to order during one particularly unruly meeting. Boland's manner, learned from a career in multilateral diplomacy stretching back to the League of Nations in the 1930s, gave him a particular aptitude for the diplomatic requirements of representing Ireland at the UN. He was adept at stairwell and corridor diplomacy and knew intimately the lie of the land in the UN's New York headquarters. While holding the Presidency of the General Assembly Boland developed a strong working relationship with senior officials in the Secretariat close to Secretary-General Dag Hammarskjöld. He was regarded by them very much as a UN insider.

By the end of 1960 Ireland had emerged as a compromise candidate for a one-year temporary term on the Security Council for 1962. Ireland's position in the General Assembly, military neutrality in the Cold War and its UN track record provided a solid basis for approval by the members of the UN for it to hold for the first time a seat at the UN's top decision-making body.

Activism in the General Assembly was a focused political policy, albeit one with global significance and ramifications. From its first year at the UN, Ireland had considered the wide obligations of UN membership, in particular active involvement in the emerging concept of UN peacekeeping operations. Legislative changes were required to allow larger formations from the Defence Forces to serve overseas, but small groups of soldiers could deploy under UN auspices if requested. In the summer of 1958 groups of officers were deployed with UNTSO in Sinai and UNOGIL on the Israel-Lebanon border in pioneering missions that began Ireland's involvement in UN peacekeeping.

In summer 1960 Secretary-General Hammarskjöld asked Ireland to deploy military forces in the ground-breaking ONUC peacekeeping mission to stabilise the newly independent Congo, where central government was collapsing and internal conflict within the state was in danger of becoming a Cold War proxy conflict. The mission saw the first overseas deployment by battalion-sized Defence Forces units. Rules of operation had to be established by these Irish battalions and by their UN masters alike. The deployment, to the province of Katanga in south-eastern Congo, was not without its costs. Katanga had announced its secession from Congo in July 1960 and was attempting to establish itself as an independent state. It was a volatile location for UN peacekeepers. The deaths of nine Irish soldiers in the 'Niamba Ambush' in Northern Katanga in November 1960 showed the dangers of UN deployment as well as the need to develop Defence Forces training for UN missions.

Aiken's view was that, while Ireland would provide military units for UN service, once those units deployed they were under the command of the UN and, except for logistical and supply issues, were not the responsibility of Ireland and not to be made contact with. It was a correct attitude, but it meant that valuable opportunities were lost to find out what was happening in Congo and in particular in Katanga, where Irish ONUC battalions were based.

For a relatively new UN member, Ireland played a considerable role in ONUC. In January 1961 Chief of Staff of the Defence Forces Lieutenant-General Seán McKeown was appointed ONUC Force Commander. His recent reorganisation of Ireland's military structures had impressed the UN Secretariat and he was seen as having suitable experience to lead ONUC from Congo's capital city, Leopoldville. In the spring of 1961 Hammarskjöld approached Aiken to see if the head of the UN Section in External Affairs, Conor Cruise O'Brien, would be released for UN service, ultimately as the Secretary-General's Special Representative in breakaway Katanga.

Cruise O'Brien's posting from June to October 1961 saw the UN's lightly armed ONUC peacekeepers go to war with Katanga in September 1961 in an attempt, called 'Operation Morthor', to end Katanga's secession. Operation Morthor saw the Defence Forces go into combat for the first time since the end of the Irish civil war in 1923. The plan had Hammarskjöld's approval. Using his high-level contacts in the Secretariat, Boland discovered in the days after Operation Morthor's failure that the Secretariat had given Cruise O'Brien and the commander of UN forces in Katanga, Brigadier-General K.A.S. Raja of the Indian Army, the green light to commence the operation.

The UN denied this for many years, and made Cruise O'Brien a convenient scapegoat for its failings in Katanga in September 1961.

ONUC Force Commander Lieutenant-General McKeown was sent operational orders for Operation Morthor. Yet he was excluded from much of the planning for the operation, most of which was conducted at the UN headquarters in Elisabethville, Katanga's capital city, by Raja. Raja insisted to Cruise O'Brien that Katangese forces would soon surrender to those of ONUC. He was wrong. With units from the Irish 35th Battalion taking casualties in Elisabethville during Operation Morthor and surrounded and held hostage in the mining town of Jadotville, 100 kilometres north of the Katangese capital, Lemass and Aiken had a major foreign policy crisis on their hands as they faced into a general election in October 1961.

Ireland lacked diplomatic representation in Congo, the nearest mission being the newly established office in Lagos, Nigeria. Boland's reports from New York convey growing UN discontent at what was happening in Katanga. Aiken was despatched, on Lemass' orders, to Congo to assess the situation on the ground. While he was in Congo, Hammarskjöld flew to Katanga to try to arrange a ceasefire, only to die in still mysterious circumstances in a plane crash. Boland was among those proposed as a replacement Secretary-General. With the high level of Irish involvement in Katanga and his own presidency of the General Assembly in mind, Boland followed Lemass's advice to disassociate himself from these suggestions.

DIFP XI ends with the situation in Katanga unresolved and the UN coming to terms with Hammarskjöld's death. Cruise O'Brien's fate and the position of the Irish soldiers captured in Jadotville would not be resolved until late October 1961. The UN too had unfinished business in Katanga, and *DIFP XII* will cover these issues, as the Congo crisis continued to have ramifications for the Department of External Affairs.

While the UN held centre stage, the Europeanisation of Ireland's foreign policy commenced in the late 1950s as, in an attempt to stimulate export-led economic growth, economic planning brought the country out of the trade protectionism introduced in the 1930s. The 1950s had been a grim decade for Ireland economically and socially. Greater trade and economic connections with Europe and an engagement with European integration were seen as mechanisms by which to begin Ireland's economic transformation into a modern open economy.

The future of Ireland's dominant agricultural sector played a substantial role in strategies guiding Ireland's engagement with European integration. Ireland projected itself as a still developing economy and argued that its agricultural and industrial sectors would need careful handling if they were to enter an unprotected European market. Early thoughts about membership of the European Free Trade Association (EFTA) lapsed over its failure to embrace agriculture. De Valera was not a supporter of the supranational agenda that European integration of the 1950s embraced. Ireland had barely noticed the signing and ratification of the Treaty of Rome that founded the EEC in March 1957. The drive for engagement with Europe increased in June 1959 when Seán Lemass replaced de Valera as Taoiseach.

Under Lemass' guidance, Ireland began to consider an application for membership of the EEC. This was part of the fundamental restructuring of Ireland's national economic policies which began in the late 1950s. Lemass had been a supporter of trade protection in the 1930s but by the 1950s he had come to embrace economic planning, export-led growth and free trade as ways to kick-start the flagging Irish economy. He was strongly supported, particularly by the Department of Finance, for many years a bastion of economic orthodoxy. The Department was now led by a young and energetic Secretary, T.K. 'Ken' Whitaker. Whitaker promoted Keynesian methods of economic expansion and export-led growth to develop Ireland's economy and provide a channel for inward investment which would act as a spur to further growth. The Department of External Affairs shared the Finance view and was strongly in favour of increasing trade with Europe. The Department of Agriculture was also supportive, on the basis that more trade with Europe would lessen dependence on the British market for agricultural exports. Some other departments, notably Industry and Commerce, were slower to shed a protectionist mindset.

Lemass' accession saw changes in the conduct of foreign policy. With Aiken absent for lengthy periods at the UN in New York, Lemass regularly dealt directly with the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs, Con Cremin. This relationship harked back to the years from 1932 to 1946, when the long-serving Secretary of the department, Joseph Walshe, had worked directly to Taoiseach and Minister for External Affairs Éamon de Valera. Because the expansion of foreign trade and export-led growth were central to Lemass's modernising vision, consideration of foreign economic policy came to the fore after 1959. When the Heads of Missions met in Dublin in the summer of 1961, improving Ireland's foreign trade potential, opening new markets and increasing exports were high on the agenda. This was all in the context of Lemass' ultimate goal of Irish EEC membership.

Lemass' 'presidential' style of government was reflected in the growth in influence on the economic aspects of foreign policy of the 'Committee of Secretaries'. From the late 1950s the Secretaries of the departments of External Affairs, Finance, Industry and Commerce and Agriculture had for the first time begun to meet regularly to discuss Ireland's foreign trade policy. In consultation with the Secretary of the Department of the Taoiseach, by 1961 they were framing economic policy in the context of Ireland's increasingly active engagement with European integration.

In the summer of 1959 the Cabinet agreed that Ireland needed to establish diplomatic relations with the EEC. Ireland's Ambassador to Belgium was therefore accredited to the EEC. In a wider context, Ireland's membership of the World Bank and the General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade (GATT) also progressed, establishing a multilateral backdrop to increased engagement with the EEC. But Ireland did not yet have diplomatic relations with every EEC member state. Nor did it have resident representation in the other aspirant EEC members, Denmark and Norway.

In the debate between applying for EFTA or EEC membership, the balance ultimately came down on EEC membership, particularly after 1958

when the EEC moved to create a Common Agricultural Policy. It was still unclear whether Ireland would be judged economically fit for EEC membership and whether suitable transitional arrangements could be agreed that took into account the underdeveloped state of Ireland's agricultural and industrial sectors. But even more important for Dublin was the impact that EEC membership might have on the all-important British–Irish trade relationship. Dublin also had to consider whether associate or full membership of the EEC could be agreed for Ireland and whether military neutrality would be compatible with EEC membership, especially given that the six founding members of the EEC had in the Bonn Declaration of 1961 made known their hopes for a European political union. For economic, political and defence reasons it was by no means clear that Ireland would be deemed suitable for EEC membership.

An Irish application for EEC membership took on a greater level of reality by the late spring of 1961 when it became clear that Britain was seriously considering EEC membership. The implications for British–Irish trade and economic relationships of British membership of the EEC with Ireland still outside meant that Ireland would have to apply for EEC membership should Britain do so. By June 1961 Dublin was prepared to submit its application for full membership of the EEC to the President of the Council of Ministers in Brussels. During June Ireland's ambassadors in the five EEC capitals where Ireland had representation approached their respective foreign ministries making Ireland's case for full membership; finally, and in advance of Britain, on 31 July 1961 Ireland applied for EEC membership. There was a certain naivety and uncertainty to the application. This was encapsulated in the posting of Ireland's application direct to the President of the Council of Ministers in Brussels, whereas Britain and Denmark later formally presented their letters of application via their ambassadors to the EEC.

Ireland's Ambassador to the EEC, Frank Biggar, played a key role in the unfolding EEC membership application process. He acted as the central conduit between Dublin, the Council of Ministers and the European Commission, while gently explaining to Dublin that Ireland's application was still not fully accepted in Brussels and among the capitals of the Six. Political and economic issues as well as Ireland's military neutrality and non-membership of NATO continued to be raised by the Six. Among EEC members, diplomats and officials from the Netherlands and Belgium were particularly helpful in providing explanations and analysis to Ireland on the status of Ireland's application. Biggar and his colleague in The Hague, Brian Gallagher, provided Dublin with explanations and assessments based on these contacts of where Ireland's application stood and where concerns had arisen on the part of the Six. Ireland's ambassadors in Paris, Rome and in particular Bonn did not always play a leading role in Ireland's EEC application until Ireland had formally applied for membership.

Through the summer of 1961 Dublin had to clarify aspects of its EEC application. It had to emphasise that Ireland was economically fit for EEC membership and willing to accept future political and even defence obligations, there not being any neutrals in the Community, and the other

applicants, Britain and Denmark, being members of NATO. To explain Ireland's position across the EEC, Whitaker and Cremin, with the assistance of Ireland's ambassadors in the countries concerned, embarked on a tour of the capitals of the Six in September 1961. Despite these diplomatic moves to assuage fears that Ireland's economically underdeveloped status was an impediment to EEC membership, there was still no certainty that the Council of Ministers would accept Ireland's application. It appeared by autumn 1961 that the Council was treating Ireland on a different basis to Britain and Denmark. Dublin received reports from Ambassador Hugh McCann in London suggesting that Britain was not in fact supportive of Irish membership of the EEC and was working against Ireland's bid. This proved to be unfounded. By late September 1961 the Council of Ministers had referred Ireland's application to the European Commission: the question remained of when the Commission would begin to consider Ireland's application and open negotiations with Dublin.

Irish concentration on the UN and the EEC application often pushed the British–Irish relationship to the sidelines in the late 1950s and early 1960s. However, good relations with London and the long-term goal of Irish unity remained central to Irish foreign policy. The growing economic and social role of the Irish community in Britain and the developing Irish metropolitan diaspora across the country had become an issue for Irish diplomats in London. They felt that the new generation of Irish immigrants seemed less interested in the traditional concerns of the Irish in Britain. In particular, they lacked interest in ending partition, looked less to Ireland and were embracing modern British consumer society and, indeed, blending into British life.

On returning to office in 1957 Frank Aiken tried and failed to secure a public British commitment to end partition and support Irish unity. It was an approach he had also attempted during his 1951 to 1954 term in Iveagh House. Taoiseach de Valera was unable in 1957 to convince his ministers to engage in detail with a study on the matters likely to arise in connection with possible reunification. It is significant that de Valera's heir apparent, Seán Lemass, effectively ignored this exercise.

Within the Department of External Affairs, Conor Cruise O'Brien put forward new ideas on relations with Northern Ireland, in essence replacing propaganda with persuasion, as well as emphasising that the consent of a majority of the population of Northern Ireland was required to end partition. The idea of using the UN as a forum for raising partition, and issues of electoral gerrymandering and economic and social discrimination in Northern Ireland, was discussed and dismissed. The only concrete new direction taken for relations between Dublin and Belfast was proposals for new forms of functional co-operation, particularly the removal of barriers to trade, made largely in the context of the ongoing European integration project. De Valera was guarded in his response to these suggestions. In practical terms cross-border co-operation remained low-key, the brief period of co-operation over infrastructural projects in the mid-1950s having by now stalled as a result of the disruption and mistrust generated by the IRA's 'Border Campaign' of 1956–62, which absorbed much of the energies of officials involved in high-

level Anglo-Irish relations. Dublin was concerned that political disaffection among the Nationalist minority in Northern Ireland could evolve into tactical support for the IRA. The 'Border Campaign' was also a concern to Irish diplomats in the United States, where sections of the Irish diaspora, being further from the realities of Irish life, remained sympathetic to militant republicanism. Dublin's long-standing policy was that Irish unity would not be brought about by force and the Irish embassy in Washington DC and Ireland's consulates in New York, San Francisco and Chicago sought to dampen political and financial support for the IRA among the Irish diaspora.

Lemass' arrival in office in June 1959 offered new hope for British-Irish relations and in particular for cross-border relations. Though hoping ultimately for Irish unity, Lemass favoured cross-border economic co-operation as a mechanism to improve north-south relations. Shortly after taking office, he held meetings with British Prime Minister Harold Macmillan – with whom Ireland's Ambassador to Britain, Hugh McCann, already had a good relationship – and Secretary of State for Commonwealth Relations Lord Home, in an attempt to improve the tenor of British-Irish relations and to establish a basis for an improved relationship with the government of Northern Ireland. Lemass was pragmatic in his political actions, favouring the practical, and generally eschewing the emotive anti-partition rhetoric associated with de Valera. But while British-Irish relations improved through regular meetings between Lemass and Aiken and their British counterparts on political and, increasingly, on economic matters, there was no parallel thaw in relations with Belfast during Lemass' first term in office.

Dublin's Northern Ireland policy was characterised by a multi-track approach of seeking to hold meetings with interested parties across the political spectrum within Northern Ireland; to begin a limited strengthening of cross-border trade by lifting tariffs on certain Northern Ireland goods; to continue to condemn the IRA campaign; to continue to raise the issue of discrimination against the Nationalist minority; and to maintain that Irish unity by peaceful means remained the ultimate goal. Lemass' steps to develop an agenda of co-operation and extend the hand of friendship to Belfast met with little success. Northern Ireland Prime Minister Lord Brookeborough refused to meet Lemass.

The United States figured highly in Irish foreign policy priorities. While Ireland was generally regarded by the American public with affection, within the policy-making community the memory of Ireland's wartime neutrality, the 1949 decision to refuse NATO membership, and Ireland's unexpectedly vigorous and independent approach at the UN from 1957 onwards caused some resentment. In particular, while Ireland was profoundly anti-communist, its enthusiastic support for African and Asian decolonisation and its refusal to yield to American pressure on the issue of discussing the admission of the People's Republic of China to the UN rankled with Washington. On the other hand, Washington was relieved when Frederick H. Boland was elected president of the General Assembly for 1960, defeating a Czechoslovak candidate, on grounds both of Ireland's Western leanings and of his acknowledged competence and experience.

Nevertheless, in continuation of practice during the Second World War era, the Department of External Affairs oversaw continued liaison between Irish Military Intelligence (G2) and the US Central Intelligence Agency on Cold War issues such as communist and pro-Soviet activities in Ireland, and the occasional visits of Soviet officials to Ireland. A parallel liaison, also overseen by the Department of External Affairs, continued with British security agencies.

Relations between Dublin and Washington were not helped by problems of diplomatic representation. In American terms Dublin in the 1950s was a very minor mission, completely overshadowed on most significant issues by the United States embassy in London. Dublin was concerned both at the lack of diplomatic experience and at the political pedigree of United States Ambassador to Ireland Scott McLeod, a one-time FBI agent turned State Department inquisitor who had directed the McCarthyite purge of officials suspected of being communist, or homosexual, between 1953 and 1957. In Washington, Ireland's Ambassador John J. Hearne, who had been a highly effective and well-connected envoy in Canada, came under considerable personal strain in the late 1950s and the quality of his political reporting was noticeably affected. Despite the yearly White House 'Shamrock Ceremony', which Hearne had initiated, and sentimental support for Ireland in Congress, Ireland had almost no real traction in the American policy system.

The election of Catholic Irish-American John F. Kennedy as President of the United States in November 1960 seemed to offer an opportunity for great change. But Kennedy, while proud of his Irish roots, was far more concerned with developing the Anglo-American special relationship and with the epoch-defining Cold War. Despite vague hopes that Dublin would somehow gain greater leverage in Washington, in policy terms Ireland remained a side-show for Washington. When Thomas J. Kiernan succeeded Hearne as Ambassador to the United States in 1960, one of his main objectives was to secure the agreement of President Kennedy to make a state visit to Ireland. Kiernan enjoyed some success: while Kennedy ruled out a visit to his ancestral homeland for the time being, he made clear his personal interest in his Irish roots not only to Kiernan but to other Irish diplomats whom he encountered on his global travels.

If relations with the United States were on the verge of improving, those with the Soviet Union and its satellite states in Eastern Europe remained poor and very limited. Contact with Eastern bloc states was limited to minor trade and consular matters. Irish and Eastern Bloc diplomats in European capitals occasionally spoke while attending international fora, when Soviet diplomats often took the opportunity to ask their Irish counterparts why Dublin would not open diplomatic relations with Moscow. There was no public or political appetite in Ireland for diplomatic dealings with communist states, which were seen as oppressive and anti-religious regimes. Trade and travel between Ireland and Eastern bloc countries was extremely limited. The UN General Assembly was the one forum where there was some limited discourse between Irish and Eastern European diplomats on matters such as decolonisation, where the Soviet Union realised that Ireland had not blindly adopted a pro-Western line.

The Cold War and the possibility of a third world war in which nuclear weapons would feature form a constant backdrop to Irish diplomatic reporting. In Dublin, civil service and military personnel undertook piecemeal emergency planning of Ireland's response to the outbreak of an East–West nuclear war, the 1961 Berlin Crisis providing a significant impetus to planning. While Ireland's 'War Book' for the period remains a classified document, *DIFP XI* has gathered documents giving an insight into emergency planning in the Department of External Affairs, including the procedures to be put in place in overseas missions should a superpower conflict erupt.

The structure of the Department of External Affairs remained fairly constant from 1957 to 1961. Two new missions were opened, reflecting the identification of new foreign policy priorities. The Representation to the EEC in Brussels (co-located with the Irish Embassy to Belgium), established in 1959, had the key task of preparing the ground for an eventual Irish application. The Embassy to Nigeria established in Lagos – the first Irish diplomatic mission in Africa – reflected Ireland's particular interest in the decolonising world.

Early in 1958 Con Cremin relinquished his post as Ambassador to Great Britain and took the helm of the Department as secretary. He succeeded Seán Murphy, a veteran of the Dáil Éireann foreign service of 1919 to 1922. Cremin oversaw a period of transition and continued generational change in the Irish diplomatic service whereby further members of the generation who had built the Department of External Affairs – Seán Murphy, John J. Hearne and Michael Rynne – retired. The senior ranks of the department were now almost all filled by career diplomats who had been recruited into the service from the late 1920s. A notable exception was Josephine McNeill, who had been brought in by then Minister for External Affairs Seán MacBride in 1950. McNeill headed missions in Switzerland and Austria and remained Ireland's only female minister plenipotentiary.

Within External Affairs the Political and UN sections were perceived as the best routes to advancement for the ambitious, while the Permanent Representation to the UN and the London and Washington embassies had replaced the Embassy to the Holy See as pinnacles of overseas postings. It was also clear that over time the Irish Embassy to the EEC would become a key post. Once the jewel in the crown of Irish diplomacy, the Embassy to the Holy See had become by the 1960s a platform from which to observe the world of international Catholicism rather than a key source of advice and guidance on international affairs as it had at times been from the 1930s to the early 1950s. The vexed question of the status and ownership of Jerusalem's Holy Places was one matter where the views of the Holy See continued to have a direct impact on Irish foreign policy: Ireland's adherence to the Vatican's line was a key contributory factor to the policy not to grant *de jure* recognition to the state of Israel.

From 1957 to 1961 the Irish foreign service remained almost completely focused on the northern hemisphere and the Western powers. Conor Cruise O'Brien suggested that this was at odds with Ireland's support for the emerging states of Africa and Asia at the UN. Developments in Asia, in

particular in China and Japan, were followed remotely by individual officials with a personal interest in the region. Resident missions in Beijing and Tokyo were as yet over a decade away. Thought in Dublin was moving towards opening an embassy in New Delhi, which would happen in 1964.

Under Lemass the trajectory of Irish foreign policy was clearly Western and, more importantly, European. Furthermore, economic and trade considerations were coming to the fore. This was reflected in the drive to work more closely with state agencies promoting Irish exports and foreign investment in Ireland. This was signposted by the 1961 Heads of Missions conference, where the reorientation of Ireland's foreign service and diplomatic activities towards economic matters and foreign trade, and the imperative of securing EEC membership, was stressed. These would become ever more significant drivers of foreign policy in the course of the 1960s, following de Gaulle's veto of Britain's EEC membership application (and thereby of Ireland's) in 1963.

By the late 1950s, there was considerable frustration within Iveagh House at the lacklustre nature of confidential political reporting from many overseas missions. Indeed, this factor partly explains the editors' selection of material for *DIFP* XI. Conor Cruise O'Brien and his colleagues Eoin MacWhite and John Belton were particularly critical of what missions were reporting, or failing to report. They singled out Washington, without taking account of Ambassador John Hearne's considerable personal difficulties. Reporting from Madrid, the Holy See, Rome and Bonn, among other missions, was also often substandard or infrequent. The obvious contrast was provided by reports from the Permanent Representation to the UN and the embassies in London, Paris and the EEC in Brussels, all of which showed what active and engaged diplomats could achieve. Indeed, Frederick H. Boland's reports on the Congo Crisis of 1960 and 1961 display a highly nuanced understanding of Secretary-General Hammarskjöld's motivation and mindset in a period where Hammarskjöld was under considerable pressure from the Soviet Union.

The opening of Ireland's first embassy on the African continent in Nigeria emphasised the new direction in Irish foreign policy which had been signalled at the UN as well as through the growing role of Irish missionaries as non-governmental organisations (NGOs) in sub-Saharan Africa. Ireland's self-image as a victim of British colonisation and as a supporter of decolonisation fuelled a wish to assist the transition to independence among new states of post-war Africa. Nigeria had a large Irish Catholic and Protestant missionary presence, and was also seen as having potential for developing trading links. It was not by chance that in 1960 Lemass chose to attend the independence celebrations in Lagos and that Aiken attended those in Leopoldville in Congo. Ireland had become a vocal critic of apartheid in South Africa through the UN, though the self-styled Irish honorary consul in Johannesburg, R.I.C. Scott-Hayward, saw fit to expose his own racial prejudices, criticising Dublin, in particular Conor Cruise O'Brien, for its stance against apartheid at the UN. Questions of race, human rights and migration were a growing factor in Irish foreign policy, and issues of

immigration and race in Britain and the United States began to receive attention in embassy reports.

As the 1960s began, the possibility of Ireland rejoining the British Commonwealth was occasionally raised in the context of eventual Irish unity, but this was never a likely scenario. Irish diplomacy in Canada and Australia focused on the one hand on maintaining links with the Irish diaspora, and on the other on bilateral relations. Canada and Ireland were of like mind on many issues of development and conflict resolution with which the UN was beginning to engage, and this undoubtedly enriched bilateral dealings. In contrast, in Canberra the issue of the appropriate form of credentials of the Irish Ambassador to Australia continued to dog Irish–Australian diplomatic discourse. This essentially political row over the precise wording of a legal diplomatic document would not be solved until the mid-1960s.

The Department of External Affairs was involved in two particularly controversial matters in the late 1950s and early 1960s. *DIFP XI* covers the department's role in the granting of passports to Irish babies, most often the children of unmarried mothers, to facilitate overseas adoption, particularly in the United States of America. While individual case files remain restricted, the documents in this volume come from policy files which are open to the public. Although there is evidence of some disquiet within the Department, the view was taken that the practice adhered to guidelines for overseas adoption stipulated by the Catholic Archbishop of Dublin, Dr John Charles McQuaid, and was also within the terms of the 1952 Adoption Act. Attitudes within the Department regarding illegitimacy and adoption were very much in tune with a national consensus that stigmatised unmarried mothers and their offspring.

The second controversial area was the proposed granting by the Department of Justice of permanent residency rights in Ireland to Otto Skorzeny, a former Wehrmacht Commando feted by Hitler and known for his wartime exploits and larger-than-life personality. Skorzeny and his wife, Ilse, Countess Finkelstein, first visited Ireland in 1957. Then permanently resident in Spain, they bought an estate and farm at Martinstown near the Curragh in County Kildare. In 1959 the Department of Justice proposed granting Skorzeny the right to reside permanently in Ireland, on the basis that he had been tried for and acquitted of war crimes. Although Conor Cruise O'Brien initially supported that view, Frank Aiken was unalterably opposed to Skorzeny's long-term residence because he considered that this would draw unwanted negative attention onto Ireland. The Department of External Affairs informed Justice accordingly. Iveagh House prevailed. Skorzeny continued to occasionally visit Ireland in the early 1960s on the basis of temporary residence. He and his wife rarely visited Martinstown after 1963 and sold the property in 1971.

DIFP XI ends in October 1961, just as the results of that month's general election returned Seán Lemass and Fianna Fáil to government. Aiken remained at the Department of External Affairs. The period since the dissolution of the Dáil on 8 September had seen a full-blown foreign policy

crisis emerge for Ireland in the Congo as the UN went to war with the breakaway province of Katanga, and Irish peacekeepers went into combat under the blue flag, took casualties, and were captured and made prisoners of war. Although a ceasefire had temporarily halted fighting in Katanga, its ramifications were being felt in UN headquarters. Frederick H. Boland had removed himself from the running to succeed Hammarskjöld as UN Secretary-General, but the positions of Conor Cruise O'Brien as the Secretary-General's Special Representative in Katanga, and of General Seán McKeown as ONUC Force Commander, remained uncertain.

Unclear too were the prospects for Ireland's EEC application, in the aftermath of the decision by the Council of Ministers to refer the Irish application to the European Commission with a view to preparing the way for entry negotiations. Would the Commission seek to deal with Ireland's application alongside those of Britain and Denmark, or would Ireland's letter be placed to one side to be dealt with as an afterthought? But the overall trajectory of Irish policy appeared clear. No long-term harm had been done to Ireland's position in the UN by the organisation's Congo adventure. Ireland's economy was growing, the country was slowly modernising, and membership of the EEC remained a real medium-term possibility and a top foreign policy aim. With British-Irish relations improving and cautious liberalisation of cross-border trade on the island of Ireland under way, it seemed that closer to home too Irish foreign policy makers had every reason to be optimistic in the early 1960s.

Records of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade, and other archival sources
Until the passage of the National Archives Act (1986), government departments in Ireland were under no compulsion to release their archives. The Department of the Taoiseach, however, has voluntarily released material since the mid-1970s. The records of the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade have been released on an annual basis since 1991.

In the late 1920s the Department of External Affairs established a numerical registry system for filing its papers. Under this system a list of subject categories corresponding to the main areas of the department's work was drawn up and each subject category was assigned a unique number code. For example, the number code 26 was allocated to files and papers dealing with the League of Nations. Individual files within each number category were assigned a unique sub-number. File 26/95 deals with the Irish Free State's candidature for the League of Nations Council in 1930. This registry and filing system, known colloquially as 'number series' files, was further developed in the mid-1930s. The existing two-digit prefixes had the number 1 added to them; for example, the 26 series became the 126 series and so on. A further development took place in the late 1930s with the 1 being replaced by a 2, thus 126 became 226.

As the Second World War drew to a close, a further 300 series was established, to be joined by a 400 series in the later 1940s. These two file series remained the core of the Department's general file registry for the next 20 years. Individual file reference numbers became increasingly complex

within this system as the Department of External Affairs grew in size and scope. For example, the number code 305 was initially allocated to political files, but this classification grew in size and complexity as the Registry at External Affairs grew. To take one case, file 305/57 and its sub-parts deal with the European Recovery Programme, while 305/14 and its sub-parts deal mainly with Northern Ireland and partition. The 305/57 sub-series contains over 500 files and at their most complex such series can contain files such as 305/57/205/2/2, this being the second sub-part of the second part of file 305/57/2, or files such as 305/57/2 and 305/57/II where the Arabic and Roman numerals each designate a different file. As involvement in European integration progressed, certain of these number series files were located together and renamed in a new 'CM' (Common Market) series. *DIFP* for the first time publishes documents from this series in *DIFP XI*.

The most sensitive information held by the Department of External Affairs was kept in the Secretary's Files Series. This collection began in the 1920s, with files being designated S with a number following (not to be confused with the separate Department of the Taoiseach S Series files.). In later years A and P series were created, as well as a PS series for the Private Secretary to the Secretary. These series were held under lock and key in the Secretary's office and were only made available to certain senior officials under specified conditions. The S Series was a target for widespread destruction during the wartime invasion scares of 1940. The majority of the Secretary's office files consulted for this volume come from the P series and PS series.

Material generated in Irish missions abroad is held at the National Archives in Dublin in the Embassies Series collection. Due to weeding and the routine destruction of documents, the Embassies Series is often patchy. The archived files of the Permanent Representation to the UN are intermittent but contain highly valuable material. Little survives from the Washington Embassy for the period covered by this volume. Where Embassies Series files do survive there is an understandable degree of overlap with Headquarters' number series files.

The main files from the Department of the Taoiseach are known as the 'S-files' series. They begin at S1 and progress numerically (S1, S2, S3, etc.) in a roughly chronological order with individual files often broken up into many alphabetical sub-parts.

In recent years the National Archives of Ireland has undertaken a renumbering of some sub-series in the Department of External/Foreign Affairs collection. Details of this change can be found on the National Archives website (www.nationalarchives.ie). With reference to the material contained in *DIFP XI*, the former '300 Series' is now known as DFA/5, the former '400 Series' as DFA/6 and the Secretary's Files known as DFA/10. In a similar renumbering of its Department of the Taoiseach collection, Cabinet Minutes can now be found in the TSCH/2/ series and the 'S files' collection is now TSCH/3/. In all cases mentioned the original file reference remains within the new reference. Hence the former '300 series' file 305/134 becomes DFA/5/305/134 and S14921A becomes TSCH/3/S14921A.

Editorial policy and the selection of documents

The executive editor and assistant editor are responsible for the initial wide choice of documents for each volume of *DIFP*. These documents are then assessed jointly at periodic group meetings by the executive editor, the assistant editor and the three editors, to select the most appropriate documents for publication. Due to the growth in the number of missions and the expansion of Ireland's diplomatic network it has not been possible to provide a broad overview of Ireland's overseas missions in volumes covering the post-war years. The editors have instead prioritised the selection of material to make sure that *DIFP* volumes reflect the main areas and themes of Irish foreign policy.

The documents in this volume are presented in chronological order based on date of despatch. The text of documents has been reproduced as exactly as possible. Marginal notes and annotations have generally been reproduced in footnotes; annotations have however sometimes been reproduced in the body text when to have reproduced them as footnotes would have reduced the clarity of the document from the reader's point of view. Where possible, the authors of marginal notes have been identified. There have been no alterations of the text of documents nor have there been any deletions without indication being given of where changes have been made. Nothing was omitted that might conceal or gloss over defects in policymaking and policy execution. The use of the term 'matter omitted' refers to the editing out of routine discussion.¹ All material reproduced was already open to the public at the relevant repository.

At some points in the text the footnotes refer to documents that were 'not printed'. Either the document referred to could not be found or it contained routine or repeated information found elsewhere in the documents selected and so was not printed. Where it was impossible to decipher a word or series of words, an ellipsis has been inserted or the assumed word inserted with an explanatory footnote. Spelling mistakes have been silently corrected, but capitalisation, punctuation and contemporary spelling have in the main been left as found in the originals. Additions to the text appear in square brackets. Original abbreviations have been preserved and either spelt out between square brackets or explained in the list of abbreviations.

At all times efforts have been made to confirm the identity of the senders and recipients of unsigned letters, and in cases where identity is impossible to establish a footnote has been inserted to that effect. In a number of cases in this volume documents are from specific departments to the government or

¹ The guidelines of the Department of Foreign Affairs state that 'There may be no alteration of the text, no deletions without indicating the place in the text where the deletion is made, and no omission of the facts which were of major importance in reaching a decision. Nothing may be omitted for the purpose of concealing or glossing over what might be regarded by some as a defect of policy.'

However, certain omissions of documents are permissible to avoid publication of matters that would tend to impede current diplomatic negotiations or other business.

In addition, the above guidelines are to be interpreted in conjunction with the obligations laid out in the National Archives Act (1986) and the Freedom of Information Act (1997), the provisions contained in which are to be regarded as taking precedence'.

cabinet and it is not possible from these documents to discover the identity or identities of authors.

In correspondence, English was the working language of Irish diplomats. It is evident from the archives that written communication in Irish was only used for documents of symbolic national importance, although Irish was spoken by a number of diplomats and many officials were bilingual. In correspondence, the Irish language was more commonly used for salutations and in signatures. In many cases there was no consistent spelling of Gaelicised names. These have not been standardised and are reproduced as found.

Encrypted telegrams were sent in three forms of code. ‘Personal Code’ was person-specific and usually used only by heads of missions. ‘Dearg’ (‘Red’ in the Irish language) code was the highest level of encryption, and then came ordinary code.

In the majority of cases where paragraphs are numbered in documents there is no paragraph numbered ‘1’ and numbering begins at ‘2’. This was the preferred style of the 1950s and 1960s and documents have been left as found.

Due to the increase in telegram and telex traffic among the documents selected for this volume of *DIFP*, the editors have conflated groups of telegrams covering the same theme and sent sequentially over short periods of time. This has reduced the number of one-line telegrams published as single documents and aims to give a greater sense of flow to telegram traffic.

The authors of the documents reproduced tended to refer to Britain as ‘England’ or made no distinction between the two geographical entities, and the editors have not thought it necessary to insert [*sic*] at all relevant points throughout the volume.

Acknowledgements

As research for *DIFP* XI commenced in January 2017 we were greatly saddened by the death of our fellow *DIFP* editor and colleague Professor Ronan Fanning. Ronan was one of the founding editors of the *DIFP* series and its champion within the Royal Irish Academy. He coedited *DIFP* volumes I to X, where his masterful understanding of diplomatic records as historical sources, his long engagement with the history of Irish foreign policy and with the study of contemporary international affairs, and his astute understanding of power were inspiring and invaluable for two decades. We pay tribute to his role as a founding editor of *DIFP* and record his immense contribution to the *DIFP* series.

Many people were involved in the production of Volume XI of *Documents on Irish Foreign Policy*. The assistance of the following is particularly acknowledged by the editors:

At the Department of Foreign Affairs and Trade: Niall Burgess, Secretary General of the Department; Fiona Flood, Clare Hanratty, Frances Kiernan, and Maureen Sweeney.

At the Royal Irish Academy: Professor M. Peter Kennedy, President of the Academy; Laura Mahoney, Executive Secretary of the Academy; Dr James Quinn, Executive Editor of the Academy’s *Dictionary of Irish Biography*; Dr

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Charles Dillon, Eagarthóir of the Academy's *Foclóir Stairiúil na Gaeilge*, Hugh Shiels, Facilities Manager at Academy House, Ruth Hegarty, Managing Editor of Publications and our *DIFP* colleague Dr John Gibney.

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Michael Kennedy
Dermot Keogh
Eunan O'Halpin
Kate O'Malley
Bernadette Whelan
16 August 2018

List of Archival Sources

National Archives of Ireland

Department of Foreign Affairs

CM Series

Confidential Reports

313 Series

Embassies Series

London Embassy

Ottawa Embassy

Number Series Files

300 Series (DFA/5)

400 Series (DFA/6)

Secretary's Files (DFA/10)

A Series

P Series

Department of the Taoiseach

Cabinet Minutes (TSCH/2)

S Series (TSCH/3)

University College Dublin Archives Department

Frank Aiken papers (P104)

Biographical Details

This list gives priority to the main Irish ministerial, diplomatic and administrative figures who appear in the text. Key foreign figures have also been identified, but generally in less detail. Minor figures, or people who receive only an occasional mention, have been identified in the text in footnotes. More comprehensive biographical details of Irish figures may be found in the Royal Irish Academy's *Dictionary of Irish Biography*. The term 'Headquarters' refers to the headquarters of the Department of External Affairs which from 1922 to 1941 was in Government Buildings, Dublin and since 1941 is at Iveagh House, St Stephen's Green, Dublin 2.

Aiken, Frank (1898–1983) TD (Sinn Féin, Fianna Fáil) (1923–73); educated at Christian Brothers School, Newry; succeeded Liam Lynch as Chief of Staff of the IRA (April 1923) and issued the ceasefire orders which ended the Civil War; Minister for Defence (1932–9), for Lands and Fisheries (June–November 1936), for the Co-ordination of Defensive Measures (1939–45), for Finance (1945–8), for External Affairs (1951–4 and 1957–69), for Agriculture (March–May 1957); Tánaiste (1965–9).

Barry, Colonel Brendan M. (1901–72) Director of Military Intelligence (G2) (1958–62).

Belton, John A. (1903–69) educated at Blackrock College and University College Dublin; Headquarters (1929–34); Secretary, Paris Legation (1934–7); Headquarters (1937–41, 1949–50); Secretary, High Commission, London (1941–3); Counsellor, High Commission, London (1943–5); Chargé d'Affaires, Stockholm (1946); Minister Plenipotentiary to Spain (1946–9); Consul to West Germany (1950); Minister to the Federal Republic of Germany (1951–5); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1955–9, 1967–8); Ambassador to Sweden (1959–64), with concurrent postings to Finland (1962–4) and Norway (1963–4); Ambassador to Canada (1964–7).

Berry, Peter (1909–78) Principal Officer, Department of Justice (1948–57); Assistant Secretary, Department of Justice (1957–61); Secretary, Department of Justice (1961–71).

Biggar, Frank (1917–74) educated at Blackrock College, Dublin; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1941–3); Vice-Consul, New York (1943–6); Secretary, Rome Legation (1946–8); Headquarters (1948–54); Counsellor, London Embassy (1954–9); Minister to Portugal (1959–60); Ambassador to Belgium (1960–6) and concurrently Chief of Ireland's Missions to the European Communities; Ambassador to Switzerland and, concurrently, Austria (1966–73); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1973–4).

Boland, Frederick H. 'Fred' (1904–85) educated at Merchant Taylor's School, London, Catholic University School, Dublin, Clongowes Wood College, Trinity College Dublin, King's Inns, Dublin, Harvard University, University of Chicago, and University of North Carolina; entered Department of External Affairs (1929);

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Junior Administrative Officer (1930–1); First Secretary, Paris Legation (1932–4); Head, League of Nations Section, Headquarters (1934–6); Principal Officer, Foreign Trade Section, Department of Industry and Commerce (1936–8); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1938–46); Secretary, Headquarters (1946–50); Ambassador to Britain (1950–6); Permanent Representative (Ambassador) to the United Nations (1956–64).

Boland, Kevin (1917–2001) TD (Fianna Fáil) (1957–70); Minister for Defence (1957–61), for Social Welfare (1961–5), for Local Government (1965–70); leader of Aontacht Éireann (1971–6).

Brennan, Joseph Desmond (1901–71) educated at St Columb's College, Derry; Department of Industry and Commerce (1923–33), of Agriculture (1933–5); Staff Officer, London (1935–9); Vice-Consul, New York (1939–42); Consul, Boston (1942–7); First Secretary, Washington DC (1947–50); Counsellor, Washington DC (1950–6); Minister to Sweden and Norway (non-resident) (1956–9); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1959–61).

Brooke, Sir Basil, Lord Brookeborough (1878–1973) Prime Minister of Northern Ireland (1943–63).

Butler, William B. 'Billy' (1914–61) Junior Executive Officer, Headquarters (1934–41); Third Secretary, Headquarters (1941–4); Second Secretary, Berne (1944–8); First Secretary, Headquarters (1948–51); Counsellor, Headquarters (1951–4), Holy See (1954–7), Canberra (1957–60); Minister to Argentina (1960–1).

Callanan, Colonel Richard J. (1901–86) Director of Military Intelligence (1952–8).

Clark, Peter M. (1908–79) educated at Mount Sion CBS, Waterford; Department of Finance (1926–56); Assistant Secretary, Department of Defence (1956–73).

Clutterbuck, Sir Alexander (1897–1985) British Ambassador to Ireland (1955–9); Permanent Under-Secretary of the Commonwealth Relations Office (1959–61).

Commins, Thomas Vincent (1913–85) educated at Rockwell College and University College Dublin; Department of Agriculture (1933–41), of Supplies (1941–5), of Industry and Commerce (1945–6); Commercial Secretary, Washington DC (1946–8); Counsellor, Headquarters (1948–54); Paris (1954–5); Chargé d'Affaires en titre, Lisbon (1955–9); Minister to Argentina (1959–60); Ambassador to Italy (1960–2), to the Holy See (1962–6, 1970–4), to France (1966–70); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1974–7).

Conway, John Mary 'Jack' (1896–1988) educated at St Mary's College, Rathmines and Belvedere College, Dublin; Department of Defence (1923–30); Headquarters (1930–5); Vice-Consul, New York (1935–9); Consul, New York (1939); Secretary, Ottawa (1939–47); Consul, Chicago (1947–54); Representative to the United Nations (1955–6); Consul General, New York (with personal rank of Minister Plenipotentiary (1959–61)) (1954–61).

Coyne, Thomas 'Tommy' (1901–61) Assistant Secretary, Department of Justice (1946–9); Secretary, Department of Justice (1949–61).

Cremin, Cornelius 'Con' (1908–87) educated at St Brendan's, Killarney, University College Cork, and at Athens, Rome, Munich, and Oxford; Third

Biographical Details

Secretary, Headquarters (1935–7); First Secretary, Paris (1937–43); Chargé d’Affaires ad interim, Berlin (1943–5), Lisbon (1945–6); Counsellor, Headquarters, (1946–8); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1948–50); Minister Plenipotentiary / Ambassador to France (1950–4); Ambassador to the Holy See (1954–6), to Britain (1956–8, 1963–4); Secretary, Headquarters (1958–63); Ambassador to the United Nations (1964–74).

Cruise O’Brien, Conor (1917–2008) TD (Labour Party) (1969–77); educated at Sandford Park School and Trinity College Dublin; Junior Administrative Officer, Department of Finance (1942–3); Third Secretary, Headquarters (1943–5); Second Secretary, Headquarters (1946–8); First Secretary, Headquarters (1949); Counsellor, Headquarters (1950–5); Managing Director, Irish News Agency (1950–5); Counsellor, Paris (1955), Headquarters (1956–1960); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1960–1); United Nations Secretary General’s Special Representative, Katanga (1961); resigned from the Department of External Affairs (Dec. 1961); Vice-Chancellor, University of Ghana (1962–5); Albert Schweitzer Professor of Humanities, New York University (1965–9); Minister for Posts and Telegraphs (1973–7); member of the European Parliament (1973); member of Seanad Éireann (1973–9); editor-in-chief, *The Observer* (1979–81). In 1962 he married Máire MacEntee (q.v.).

Cullen, Louis M. (born 1932) educated at University College Galway, University of Paris, and the London School of Economics; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1959), Rome (1961–3), Paris (1962); Lecturer, Department of History, Trinity College Dublin (1963–71); elected a fellow of Trinity College Dublin (1968); Associate Professor of History (1971–9); Personal Chair in History, Trinity College Dublin (1979–2003).

de Valera, Éamon (1882–1975) TD (Sinn Féin, Fianna Fáil) (1917–59); born in New York of an Irish mother, brought to Ireland in 1885; educated at Bruree National School, Co. Limerick, Christian Brothers School, Charleville, Co. Cork, Blackrock College, Co. Dublin, the Royal University of Ireland, Dublin, and Trinity College Dublin; teacher of mathematics at Rockwell College, Co. Tipperary and Blackrock College, Co. Dublin; Commandant of the Third Battalion, Irish Volunteers during the 1916 Rising; imprisoned in England (1916–17); elected for East Clare (July 1917), elected President of Sinn Féin (October 1917); President of Dáil Éireann (April 1919 – January 1922); opposed the Treaty; served with the Republican Forces during the Civil War; founder of Fianna Fáil (May 1926); President of the Executive Council and Minister for External Affairs (1932–7); Taoiseach and Minister for External Affairs (1937–48); Taoiseach (1951–4, 1957–9); President of Ireland (1959–73).

Devlin, Denis (1908–59) educated at O’Connell Schools, Dublin, Belvedere College, Dublin, University College Dublin, Munich, and the Sorbonne, Paris; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1935–8); First Secretary, Rome (1938–9); Consul, New York (1939–40); First Secretary, Washington DC (1940–7); Counsellor, London (1947–9), Headquarters (1949); Minister Plenipotentiary to Italy (1950–8), to Turkey (1951–8); Ambassador to Italy (1958–9). Devlin is highly regarded as a mid-twentieth century Irish modernist poet.

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Dowd, Hubert J. 'Bertie' (1918–2010) educated at Trinity College Dublin; entered the civil service in 1935; Assistant Private Secretary to the Taoiseach (1951–66); Private Secretary to the Taoiseach (1966–72); Assistant Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach (1973–80); Deputy Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach (1980–3).

Dulles, John Foster (1888–1959) United States Secretary of State (1953–9).

Durnin, Brian (1912–80) Radio Éireann (1937–8, 1945–9); Radio Nations, League of Nations Secretariat (1938–45); Second Secretary, Headquarters (1949–54); First Secretary, Headquarters (1954), Washington DC (1954–61); Counsellor, Headquarters (1961, 1969–77); Permanent Representative (non-resident) to the Council of Europe (1962–7); Ambassador to Australia (1967–9).

Ennis, Roisín (1897–1988) Private Secretary to the Minister for External Affairs (1951–54, 1957–69).

Fay, William P. 'Bill' (1909–69) educated at Clongowes Wood College, King's Inns, and University College Dublin; barrister (1931–7); Attorney General's Office (1937–41); First Secretary, Headquarters (1941–6); Secretary, London (1946–7); Chargé d'Affaires, Brussels (1947–50); Minister Plenipotentiary to Sweden and Norway (1950); Legal Adviser, Headquarters (1950–4); Ambassador to France (1954–60), to Canada (1960–4), to the United States (1964–9).

Fogarty, John (1913–67) United States Congressman (Democrat: Rhode Island) (1940–67).

Gallagher, Brian (1909–84) born in Glasgow; educated at the University of Glasgow and Corpus Christi College, Oxford; Department of Finance (1934–9); Private Secretary to the Secretary, Department of Supplies (1939–41); Superintending Officer, Department of Supplies (1941–3); First Secretary, Headquarters (1943–6); Counsellor, Headquarters (1946–8); Chargé d'Affaires ad interim, Madrid (1948–9); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1949–51); Minister Plenipotentiary, Stockholm and Oslo (1951–5); Ambassador designate, Canberra (1955–6) (posting not implemented); Minister Plenipotentiary, The Hague (1956–8); Ambassador to the Netherlands (1958–62), to the Federal Republic of Germany (1962–4); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1964–70); Ambassador to Spain (1970–4).

Gallagher, Eamonn (1926–2009) educated at St Eunan's, Letterkenny; Revenue Commissioners (1945–9); Third Secretary, Headquarters (1949–50); Vice-Consul, Boston (1950–1), New York (1951–9); Second Secretary, Headquarters (1959–61); First Secretary, Brussels (1961–3), Paris (1963–8), Headquarters (1968–70); Counsellor, Headquarters (1970–72); Chargé d'Affaires, Headquarters (1972); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1973–5); Deputy Secretary, Headquarters (1975–6); Assistant Director General, European Commission (1976–7); Director General, Fisheries Directorate, European Commission (1977–90); Ambassador of the European Union to the United Nations, New York (1990–2).

Hammarskjöld, Dag (1905–61) Secretary-General of the United Nations (1953–61).

Hearne, John Joseph (1893–1969) educated at Waterpark College, Waterford and University College Dublin; called to the Bar (1919); Assistant Parliamentary Draftsman (1923–9); Legal Adviser, Headquarters (1929–39); called to the Inner

Bar (1939); High Commissioner to Canada (1939–49); Ambassador to the United States (1950–60).

Hogan, Gabriel Patrick Sarsfield (1901–89) Assistant Secretary, Department of Finance (1948–61).

Holmes, Denis (1923–2002) educated at University College Dublin; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1951, 1955–7), Washington DC (1951–4); Second Secretary, Bonn (1957–63); First Secretary, Bonn (1963–4); Chargé d’Affaires, Copenhagen (1965–8); Counsellor, Headquarters (1969–71), Mission to the European Communities, Brussels (1971–3); Ambassador to India (1973–8), to Singapore (non-resident) (1975–8), to Malaysia (1975–8), to Spain (1978–83), to Algeria (1978–83) (non-resident), to Tunisia (1978–83) (non-resident).

Horan, Timothy Joseph ‘Joe’ (1912–75) educated at University College Cork; entered the Department of External Affairs in 1938 as Third Secretary; Consul, New York (1942–5); Acting Head of Consular Section, Headquarters (1945–6); First Secretary, Madrid (1946–7), Paris (1947–9); Counsellor, Headquarters (1949–52); Chief of Protocol (1952–5); Minister to Argentina (1955–9); Assistant Secretary (1959–60); Minister to Switzerland (1960–2); Ambassador to Spain (1962–7), to Sweden (and concurrently Finland) (1967–73); Permanent Representative to the United Nations at Geneva (1973–5).

Iremonger, Valentin (1918–91) educated at CBS Synge Street, Dublin and Coláiste Mhuire, Dublin; Department of Education (1943–6); Third Secretary, Headquarters (1946–8); Private Secretary to the Minister (1948–50); First Secretary, Headquarters (1950–6) (seconded to the Department of Social Welfare for 1953), London (1956–8), The Hague (1958); Counsellor, London (1959–64); Ambassador to Sweden (1964–8), to Norway (1964–8); Minister Plenipotentiary to Finland (1964–6); Ambassador to Finland (1966–8), to India (1968–73), to Luxembourg (1973–9), to Portugal (1979–80). Iremonger was a well-known author and poet.

Keating, Paul (1924–80) educated at Trinity College Dublin and the Sorbonne; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1949–51); New York Consulate-General (1951–6); Second Secretary, Permanent Mission to the United Nations, New York (1956–9); First Secretary, Headquarters (1960–2), London (1962–4); Counsellor, London (1964–7); Chef de Protocol (1967–8); Ambassador to Nigeria (1968–70), to the Federal Republic of Germany (1970–2); Political Director, Headquarters (1972–3); Deputy Secretary, Headquarters (1973–4); Secretary, Headquarters (1974–7); Ambassador to Britain (1977–8), to the United Nations, New York (1978–80).

Kennan, Seán P. (born 1918) educated at O’Connell Schools, Dublin and the National University of Ireland; served in the Revenue Commissioners and the Department of Industry of Commerce; entered the Department of External Affairs as First Secretary in 1950; First Secretary, London (1955–6), Paris (1956–60); Chargé d’Affaires ad interim, Canberra (1960–3); Counsellor, Headquarters (1963–5); Permanent Representative to the European Office of the United Nations, Geneva (1965–70); Ambassador of Ireland to the European Communities (1970–2); Permanent Representative of Ireland to the European Communities (1973); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1974); Ambassador to Italy (1974–8), to Canada (1979–83).

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Kennedy, Eamonn Lucas (1921–2000) educated at O’Connell Schools, Dublin and University College Dublin; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1943–7); Consul, New York (1947); Second Secretary, Ottawa (1947–9); First Secretary, Washington DC (1949–50), Paris (1950–5), Headquarters (1955–6); Counsellor, Permanent Mission to the United Nations, New York (1956–61); Ambassador to Nigeria (1961–4), to West Germany (1964–70), to France (1970–4); Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York (1974–8); Ambassador to Britain (1978–83), to Italy (1983–6).

Kenny, Marguerita Elizabeth ‘Rita’ (1903–79) Temporary Typist and Writing Assistant, Department of Posts and Telegraphs (1921–3); Writing Assistant and Clerical Officer, Land Commission (1924–42); seconded at this grade to the Department of External Affairs (1942); Minor Staff Officer in charge of the Passport and Travel Permit Office (1947–52); Staff Officer Grade III in charge of the Passport Office (1952–60); Executive Officer in charge of the Passport Office (1960–8).

Kiernan, Thomas J. (1897–1967) educated at St Mary’s College, Rathmines, University College Dublin, and London University; Department of Inland Revenue (1919–24); Secretary, London (1924–35); Director, Radio Éireann (1935–41); Minister to the Holy See (1942–6); Representative to Australia (1946–50); Ambassador to Australia (1950–5); Minister to the Federal Republic of Germany (1955–6); Ambassador to Canada (1956–60), to the United States (1960–4).

Laithwaite, Sir Gilbert (1894–1986) educated at Clongowes Wood College and Trinity College, Oxford; Principal Private Secretary to Viceroy of India (1936–43); Assistant Under-Secretary of State for India (1943–9); British Representative, Dublin (1949–50); Ambassador to Ireland (1950–1); British High Commissioner, Pakistan (1951–5); Permanent Under-Secretary, Commonwealth Relations Office (1955–9).

Lemass, Seán (1899–1971) TD (Republican, Fianna Fáil) (1924–66); educated at O’Connell Schools, Dublin; took part in the 1916 Rising and the War of Independence; opposed the Anglo-Irish Treaty; interned during the Civil War; founder member of Fianna Fáil (1926); Minister for Industry and Commerce (1932–9, 1941–8, 1951–4 and 1957–9), for Supplies (1939–45); Tánaiste (1945–8, 1951–4 and 1957–9); Managing Director, *Irish Press* (1948–51); Taoiseach (1959–66).

Leydon, John (1895–1979) educated at St Mel’s College, Longford, and St Patrick’s College, Maynooth; entered the British Civil Service (1915), served in War Office and Ministry of Pensions; Assistant Principal Officer, Department of Finance (1923–7); Principal Officer (1927–32); Secretary, Department of Industry and Commerce (1932–9 and 1943–55), Department of Supplies (1939–46).

McCann, Hugh (1916–86) educated at Belvedere College, Dublin and London School of Economics; Department of Lands (1933–40), of Industry and Commerce (1940–3), of Supplies (1943); Commercial Secretary, London (1944–6); Headquarters, Dublin (1946–8); Counsellor, Washington DC (1948–54); Minister to Switzerland (1954–6); Minister (non-resident) to Austria (1954–6); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1956–8); Ambassador to Britain (1958–63); Secretary, Headquarters (1963–74); Ambassador to France (1974–81); Representative to the OECD (1975–81); Ambassador (non-resident) to Morocco (1975–81).

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MacCarthy, James Charles Brendan (1908–90) educated at O’Connell Schools, Dublin and the University of London; Department of Finance (1930–41), of Supplies (1941–5); Assistant Secretary, Department of Industry and Commerce (1945–53); Deputy Secretary, Department of Industry and Commerce (1953–6); Secretary, Department of Industry and Commerce (1956–72).

McCauley, Leo T. (1895–1974) educated at St Columb’s College, Derry, and University College Dublin; lecturer in classics, UCD; Department of Finance (1925–9), entered the Department of External Affairs (1929); Chargé d’Affaires, Berlin (1929–33), Holy See (1933–4); Consul General, New York (1934–46); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1946–9); Ambassador to Spain (1949–54), to Canada (1955–6), to the Holy See (1956–62).

McDonagh, Robert (1924–2015) educated at Presentation College, Glasthule and Trinity College Dublin; after serving in the Department of Supplies, the Department of Industry and Commerce and the Revenue Commissioners, entered the Department of External Affairs in 1949; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1949–51, 1955–7, 1958–61), Madrid (1951–2), Washington DC (1952–4), Stockholm (1957–8); First Secretary, Headquarters (1961–2); Chargé d’Affaires, Copenhagen (1962–5); Counsellor, Headquarters (1965–70); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1970–3); Ambassador to West Germany (1973–6); Deputy Secretary, Headquarters (1976–7); Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs (1977–8); Ambassador to Italy (1978–83); Permanent Representative to the United Nations, New York (1983–9).

McDonald, Denis Ronald (1910–83) educated at University College Cork; Office of the Revenue Commissioners (1934–8); Headquarters (1938–41); Secretary, Rome (1941–3), Vichy/Paris (1943–6); Counsellor, Holy See (1946–9); Chef de Protocol, Headquarters (1949–52); Counsellor, Headquarters (1952–4); Minister Plenipotentiary to Belgium (1954–9); Ambassador to Belgium (1959–60), concurrently head of Ireland’s Mission to the EEC; Ambassador to France (1960–6), to Italy and Turkey (1966–75), to Egypt (1975–6).

MacEntee, Máire (born 1921) educated at University College Dublin, the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies and the Sorbonne, Paris; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1947–8), Paris (1948), Madrid (1948–51); Second Secretary, Headquarters (1951–2); seconded to Department of Education (1952–6); First Secretary, Headquarters (1956–61); representative to the Council of Europe (1961); resigned from the Department of External Affairs in 1961. In 1962 she married Conor Cruise O’Brien (q.v.).

McKeown, Lieutenant General Seán (1910–98) Chief of Staff of the Defence Forces (1960–1, 1962–71); Force Commander, ONUC (1961–2). McKeown also used the Irish version of his surname, ‘MacEoin’.

MacLennan, Ian (1909–86) British Ambassador to Ireland (1959–64).

McLeod, Robert Walter ‘Scott’ (1914–61) United States Ambassador to Ireland (1957–61).

MacMahon, Lieutenant General Peadar (1893–1975) Secretary, Department of Defence (1927–58).

McNeill (née Ahearne), Josephine (1895–1969) educated at Loreto Convent, Fermoy and University College Dublin; married, 1923, James McNeill (1869–1938) (High Commissioner, London (1923–8) and Governor General of the Irish Free State (1928–32)); Minister to the Netherlands (1950–5), to Sweden (1955), to Switzerland and Austria (1956–60).

MacWhite, Eoin (1923–72) educated at University College Dublin and at universities in Edinburgh, Oxford, Madrid, and Rome; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1947–9), Rome (1949–51), Berne (1952–5); First Secretary, Irish Representation to the Council of Europe (1955–7), Headquarters (1957–60), Paris (1960–2); Counsellor, Paris (1962–3), Headquarters (1963), Canberra (1963); Ambassador to Australia (1964–7), to the Netherlands (1967–72). Son of Ambassador Michael MacWhite (1882–1958).

Molloy, John ‘Jack’ (1916–92) educated by the Christian Brothers and at University College Dublin; Department of Industry and Commerce (1934–41); Department of Finance (1941–6); First Secretary, Headquarters (1946–9); Counsellor, London (1949–54); Counsellor, Headquarters (1954–7); Chef de Protocol (1957); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1958–64); Ambassador to Britain (1964–70); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1970–3); Ambassador to the United States (1973–8), to the Holy See (1978–80).

Mooney, May (1907–97) Private Secretary to the Secretary of the Department of External Affairs (1951–72).

Morrissey, Seán (1916–2002) educated at Belvedere College, Blackrock College, the National University of Ireland and King’s Inns; called to the Bar (1940); Leinster Circuit (1940–8); Civil Service Legal Service (1948–54); Assistant Legal Adviser, Headquarters (1954–5); Legal Adviser, Headquarters (1955–62); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1962–4, 1970–3); called to the Inner Bar (1963); Ambassador to Switzerland and Austria (1964–6); Head of Irish Mission to EEC (1966–70); lead negotiator in Ireland’s EEC entry negotiations (1970–2); Ambassador to the Netherlands (1973–80).

Moynihan, Maurice (1902–99) educated at Christian Brothers School, Tralee, and at University College Cork; entered Department of Finance (1925); Secretary to the Government (1937–48, 1951–60); Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach (1937–60); Governor of the Central Bank of Ireland (1961–9). Brother of Seán Moynihan (Secretary to the Government (1932–7) and Assistant Secretary, Department of Finance (1937–52)).

Murphy, Seán (1896–1964) educated at Clongowes Wood College and University College Dublin; solicitor; Secretary, Paris (1920); Representative of the Irish Free State, Paris (1923); Administrative Officer, Headquarters (1925–7); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1927–38); Minister to France (1938–50); Ambassador to Canada (1950–5); Secretary, Headquarters (1955–7).

Murphy, Sheila Geraldine (1898–1983) Dáil Éireann publicity department (1921–2); Secretariat of the Provisional Government (1922–3); Private Secretary to the Irish High Commissioner, London (1923–6), to Secretary, Headquarters (1926–46); Archivist, Headquarters (1933–46); Second Secretary, Headquarters (1947–9);

Biographical Details

First Secretary, Headquarters (1949–51), Paris (1952–9); Counsellor, Headquarters (1960–2); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1962–4).

Nagle, John Charles ‘Jack’ (1911–96) educated at University College Cork, University College Dublin and Trinity College Cambridge; Department of Finance (1933–40); Department of Agriculture (1940–48); Assistant Secretary, Department of Agriculture (1948–55); Deputy Secretary, Department of Agriculture (1955–8); Secretary, Department of Agriculture (1958–71).

Nolan, Brendan T. (1930–81) educated at the National University of Ireland; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1956–9); Secretary, Permanent Mission to the United Nations, New York (1959–64); First Secretary, Headquarters (1964–8), Permanent Mission to the United Nations, Geneva (1968–72); Counsellor, Headquarters (1972–3); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1973–6); Ambassador to Switzerland (1976–81), to Israel (1976–81).

Nolan, Nicholas George (1907–84) educated at Victoria School, Hong Kong, Presentation College, Cork, and University College Dublin; Office of the Revenue Commissioners (1925–32); Department of Finance (1932–6), of Industry and Commerce (1936–9); Headquarters (1939–46); Counsellor, Holy See (1946–7); Assistant Secretary to the Government and Assistant Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach (1947–61); Secretary to the Government and Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach (1961–72).

Nunan, Seán (1890–1981) born in London; member of the Irish Volunteers, fought in the 1916 Rising; Clerk of Dáil Éireann (1919); Secretary to Éamon de Valera (1919–21); Registrar, Dáil Éireann loan in the USA (1919–21); Consul General, New York (1932–8, 1946–7); First Secretary, London (1938–41); Consul General, Washington DC (1941–6); Minister to the United States (1947–50); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1950); Secretary, Headquarters (1950–5).

O’Beirne, Aedan P. (1915–2010) educated at Blackrock College, Dublin; Department of Agriculture (1935–7), of Lands (1937–9, 1945–8), of Defence (1939–45), of Finance (1948–9); Third Secretary, Washington DC (1949–50); Second Secretary, Headquarters (1950–1), Bonn (1951–5, 1955–7), The Hague (1955), Washington DC (1957–60), Buenos Aires (1960); First Secretary, Lagos (1960–2), Headquarters (1962–4, 1966–7, 1973–6), Hamburg (1964–5), Paris (1965–6), Department of Finance (1967–73); Counsellor, Headquarters (1976–7).

Ó Caoimh, Aindrias (1912–94) Attorney General of Ireland (1954, 1957–65); President of the High Court (1966–74); member of the European Court of Justice (1975–85).

O’Ceallaigh, Brian (born 1923) educated at St Mary’s College, Rathmines and University College, Dublin; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1949–53), Bonn (1953–61); First Secretary, Headquarters (1961–4); Consul-General, Chicago (1964–70); Counsellor, Headquarters (1970–3); Chargé d’Affaires, Headquarters (1973–6), Cairo (1977–8); Ambassador to Egypt (1978–85).

O’Ceallaigh, Seán Thomas (1883–1966) TD (Sinn Féin, Fianna Fáil) (1919–45); educated at O’Connell Schools, Dublin; took part in the 1916 Rising; Ceann Comhairle (Speaker) of Dáil Éireann (1919); Irish representative to the Paris

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Peace Conference (1919) and representative in Paris (1919–22); opposed the Anglo–Irish Treaty; Sinn Féin Envoy to Italy, to United States (1924–6); founder member of Fianna Fáil (1926); Minister for Local Government and Public Health (1932–9); Tánaiste (1937–45); Minister for Finance (1939–45); President of Ireland (1945–59).

Ó Cearbhaill, Tadhg (1919–2010) educated at the North Monastery, Cork; Revenue Commissioners (1937–46); Department of Industry and Commerce (1946–61); Assistant Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach (1961–6); Secretary, Department of Labour (1966–81).

O'héideáin (Hayden), Seán (1916–86) educated at University College Dublin and the Angelicum University, Rome; Clerical Officer, Land Commission (1935–40); Captain, Defence Forces (1940–4); Land Commission (1945–9); Third Secretary, Headquarters (1949, 1953–6), Washington DC (1950–2); Secretary, Buenos Aires (1952), Holy See (1957–61); Consul General, Chicago (1961); Minister to Argentina (1961–4); Counsellor, Headquarters (1964–7), Washington DC (1967–73); Deputy Head of Mission, Washington DC (1973–6); Permanent Representative to the Council of Europe (1976–7); Ambassador to Argentina (1977–81).

Ó Foghlú, Ronán / Foley, Ronan (1919–72) educated at Coláiste Mhuire and University College Dublin; Office of Public Works (1938–57); Department of the Taoiseach, Private Secretary to the Taoiseach (1957–66); Principal Officer, Department of the Taoiseach (1966–72).

O'Riordan, Brendan McCarthy (1908–98) educated at CBS Synge Street, Dublin, Belvedere College Dublin, and University College Dublin; Revenue Commissioners (1927–31); Vice-Consul, New York (1931–8); Consul, Boston (1939–42); First Secretary, Headquarters (1942–5, 1952–4); Consul, New York (1945–6); First Secretary, Canberra (1946–52), Paris (1952); Counsellor, Headquarters (1954–5, 1957–68); Permanent Representative to the Council of Europe (1955–7).

O'Riordan, Florence 'Florrie' (1922–94) educated at University College Galway; active in Clann na Poblachta in the late 1940s; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1950–3, 1954–9), Canberra (1953); Secretary, The Hague (1960–4); First Secretary, Washington (1964–6), Canberra (1966–7), Headquarters (1968–70); Counsellor, United Nations, New York (1971–4); Ambassador to Australia (1975–81), to New Zealand (1975–81), to Denmark (1981–6), to Norway (1981–6), to Iceland (1981–6), to Austria (1986); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1986).

O'Sullivan, Daniel (1923–86) educated at St Brendan's College, Killarney, University College Cork and University College Dublin; Department of Industry and Commerce (1935–40), of Supplies (1940–46); Secretary of the Valuation Office (1947–59); Principal Officer, Department of the Taoiseach (1959–66); Assistant Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach (1966–72); Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach (1972–80).

O'Sullivan, Donal (1915–2006) educated at St Finbarr's College, Cork, Presentation College, Cork, University College Dublin; Department of Agriculture (1935–56); First Secretary, London (1956–9); Economic Counsellor,

Biographical Details

London (1959–61); Counsellor, Irish Mission to the EEC (1961–4); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1964–70); Ambassador to Britain (1970–7).

O’Sullivan, Tadhg (1926–99) educated at Scoil Fhursa, Galway, Coláiste Iognáid, Galway and University College Galway; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1949, 1952–5); Secretary, Brussels (1949–52), Berne (1955–60); First Secretary, Headquarters (1960–1), Permanent Mission to the United Nations (1961–6); Counsellor, Permanent Mission to the United Nations (1966–7), Headquarters (1967–70); Ambassador to Nigeria (1970–4), to Austria (1974–80); Deputy Secretary, Headquarters (1980); Ambassador to the United States (1981–5); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1985); Ambassador to the Soviet Union (1985–7), to France (1987–91).

Ronan, Seán (1924–2000) educated at the Capuchin College, Rochestown, Cork, Presentation Brothers’ School, Cork, and University College Dublin; Revenue Commissioners (1942–6); Department of Finance (1947–9); Third Secretary, Headquarters (1949–50); Consul General, New York (1950–1); First Secretary, Headquarters (1951–5); Consul General, Chicago (1955–60); Counsellor, Headquarters (1960–4); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1964–72); Ambassador to West Germany (1972–3); European Commission (1973–7); Ambassador to Greece and Israel (1977–84), to Japan and South Korea (1984–8).

Roosevelt, Eleanor (1884–1962) diplomat and political activist, First Lady of the United States (1933–45); Chair of the United Nations Commission on Human Rights (1946–52), of the Presidential Commission on the Status of Women (1961–2).

Ryan, Dr James (1891–1970) TD (Sinn Féin, Fianna Fáil) (1918–22, 1927–65); educated at St Peter’s College, Wexford and University College Dublin; medical doctor; took part in the 1916 Rising; opposed the Anglo-Irish Treaty; founder member of Fianna Fáil (1926); Minister for Agriculture (1932–47), for Health and Social Welfare (1947–8, 1951–4), for Finance (1957–65); Member of Seanad Éireann (1965–9).

Rynne, Michael Andrew Lysaght (1899–1981) educated at Crescent College, Limerick, Our Lady’s Bower, Athlone, Clongowes Wood College, University College Dublin, King’s Inns, Dublin and at universities in Rome, Paris, The Hague, Berlin and Munich; Assistant Legal Adviser, Headquarters (1932–6); Head of League of Nations Section, Headquarters (1936–9); Legal Adviser, Headquarters (1939–50); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1951–3); Ambassador to Spain (1954–61).

Scott-Hayward, Reginald Ivor Callendar (1888–1979), Justice of the Peace and insurance broker; self-styled Honorary Consul of Ireland in Johannesburg.

Shields, Joseph (1911–73) educated at Trinity College Dublin; legal assistant, Land Registry (1934–6); Land Commission (1936–47), including a secondment to the Press Censor’s Office during the Second World War; joined the Department of External Affairs in 1947; Consul, Boston (1947–56); Counsellor, Washington DC (1956–60); Consul, New York (1961–2); Ambassador to Italy and Turkey (1962–66), to the Holy See (1966–70), to Canada (1970–3).

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Skentelbery, Michael Leo (1917–90) educated at North Monastery CBS, Cork and at University College Cork; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1942–6); Second Secretary, Washington (1947–8); First Secretary, Headquarters (1948–50); First Secretary, Paris (1950–2), Canberra (1952–4); Chargé d’Affaires ad interim, Canberra (1954–7); Counsellor, and Chef de Protocol, Headquarters (1958–62); Minister to Argentina (1962–4); Ambassador to Argentina (1964–73).

Skorzeny, Otto (1908–75) Austrian-born SS-Obersturmbannführer in the Waffen-SS during the Second World War best known for his commando operations, most significantly his July 1943 rescue of Benito Mussolini from custody in the Apennine Mountains. After his de-Nazification in 1952 Skorzeny was free to travel and in 1959 qualified for an Austrian passport. He and his wife purchased an Irish property – Martinstown House, the Curragh, Co. Kildare – in 1959. He was refused an Irish residency permit and rarely visited the property after 1963, selling it in 1971.

Thant, U (1909–74) Secretary-General of the United Nations (1961–71).

Tinney, Mary (1924–2006) educated at University College Dublin; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1948–50); Secretary, Stockholm (1950–4); Second Secretary, Headquarters (1954–7); Secretary to the Cultural Relations Committee (1954–7); First Secretary, Headquarters (1957–62); Counsellor, Paris (including delegate to the OECD) (1963–70); Permanent Representative to the Council of Europe (1970–73); Ambassador to Sweden and Finland (1973–8), to Belgium (1978–85), to Kenya (1985–7).

Traynor, Oscar (1886–1963) TD (Republican, Sinn Féin, Fianna Fáil) (1925–7, 1932–61); member of the Irish Volunteers; took part in the 1916 Rising; Brigadier of the Dublin Brigade of the IRA during the Anglo-Irish War; opposed the Anglo-Irish Treaty; founder member of Fianna Fáil (1926); Minister for Posts and Telegraphs (1936–40), for Defence (1939–48, 1951–4), for Justice (1957–61).

Ward, Andrew (1925–99) educated at St Colman’s College, Fermoy and Trinity College Dublin; entered the Civil Service in 1946 and transferred to the Department of Justice in 1950; Administrative Officer (1950–4); Assistant Principal Officer (1955–60); Principal Officer (1960–7); Assistant Secretary (1967–70); Deputy Secretary (1970); Secretary (1971–86).

Warnock, William (1911–86) educated at High School, Dublin and Trinity College Dublin; Third Secretary, Headquarters (1935–8); First Secretary, Berlin (1938–9); Chargé d’Affaires ad interim, Berlin (1939–43); First Secretary, Headquarters (1944–6); Chargé d’Affaires en titre, Stockholm (1947–50); Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to Switzerland (1950–4); Assistant Secretary, Headquarters (1954–6); Minister Plenipotentiary and Envoy Extraordinary to the Federal Republic of Germany (1956–9); Ambassador to Germany (1959–62), to Switzerland (1962–4, 1973–6) and concurrently to Austria (1963–4), to India (1964–7), to Canada (1967–70), to the United States (1970–3).

Whitaker, Thomas Kenneth ‘Ken’ (1916–2017) educated at Christian Brothers School, Drogheda and London University; entered the Civil Service in 1934; Department of Education (1936–8); of Finance (1938–1950), Deputy Assistant Secretary, Department of Finance (1950–3); Assistant Secretary, Department of

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Finance (1953–6); Secretary, Department of Finance (1956–69); author of *Economic Development* (1958); Governor of the Central Bank of Ireland (1969–76); Member of Seanad Éireann (1977–82); Chancellor of the National University of Ireland (1976–96); President of the Royal Irish Academy (1985–7); arguably the most influential civil servant in the history of the Irish state, in 2002 Whitaker was voted ‘Irishman of the 20th Century’ by viewers of RTÉ.

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No. 1 NAI DFA/10/2/220

Memorandum from Frank Biggar to Con Cremin (London)

LONDON, 26 March 1957

On my recent visit to Birmingham I took the opportunity to have a talk with Mr. Frank Short¹ of the Executive Committee of the Anti-Partition League. Mr. Short, who is from the North of Ireland (Antrim, I think) is a teacher in a large school run by the Oblate Fathers in St. Anne's parish in the centre of Birmingham. He is of middle age and impressed me as a sensible type of man.

Mr. Short said that the great difficulty in maintaining the enthusiasm – and consequently the membership – of the League in Birmingham was the absence of a positive day-to-day programme to work on. He felt therefore that the League's best policy in present circumstances was to concentrate on establishing groups or clubs which would be primarily social in purpose but whose Anti-Partition character could be relied upon. He thought that such a group would have to be of somewhat a different nature than the existing Irish societies in Birmingham. It is perhaps significant in this regard that Mr. Short did not attend the function of the Midlands Irish Society that evening. He told me that domestic reasons prevented him from doing so but I got the impression that he does not think very highly of the Society from the Anti-Partition point of view. As I have reported elsewhere the Society is largely composed of doctors and other professional men and our experience is that, by and large, business and professional men do not care to be too openly associated with political movements.

Mr. Short accordingly felt that the type of group to be aimed at was one which would be composed of more working-class elements. He envisaged it meeting fairly regularly for activities of a definitely Irish character although they would be of a more social than political kind. He mentioned the possibility of showing Irish films and I pointed out that there was quite a good selection of these now available from Aer Lingus, the Irish Tourist Board and the Embassy.

As you know, this idea of maintaining the membership and enthusiasm of the Anti-Partition League by concentrating on social rather than strictly Anti-Partitionist activities is one which has recently begun to be viewed with a good deal of favour by leading members of the League.

I asked Mr. Short whether he thought there was much sympathy for Sinn Féin and the I.R.A. amongst the Birmingham Irish. Mr. Short felt that it was difficult to give a firm judgement. He thought that the I.R.A. raids in the Six

¹ Frank G. Short (1904–86), Birmingham-based National Chairman of the Executive Council of the Anti-Partition of Ireland League.

Counties had a certain emotional appeal and that, in the same way, Sinn Féin tended to attract a certain sentimental support. He doubted, however, whether there was any likelihood of any considerable part of this support being translated into concrete terms.

Mr. Short had been much impressed by Cardinal D'Alton's recent proposals for the solution of Partition.¹ He was of the opinion that they would be favoured generally by the Irish in this country and he did not think that a return to the Commonwealth would present any insurmountable difficulty provided the unity of Ireland had been substantially assured.

No. 2 NAI DFA/10/2/232

Telegram from John J. Hearne to Seán Murphy (Dublin) concerning the appointment of Scott McLeod as United States Ambassador to Ireland (No. 29) (Secret)

WASHINGTON DC, 26 March 1957

My telegram 28.² I see no reason why Government would withhold agrément.

No. 3 NAI DFA/10/2/220

Extract from a letter from Con Cremin to Seán Murphy (Dublin) (Personal and Confidential)

LONDON, 2 April 1957

[matter omitted]

My personal opinion naturally is that it reflects fairly accurately what was said but in these matters there is always the risk of different individuals putting the emphasis in different places. However, the main points are not, I think, subject to doubt, viz., the feeling conveyed by both Lord Silkin³ and George Brown⁴ and also indeed to some extent by Pakenham,⁵ that it would be very difficult to put the abolition of partition across here without its being accompanied by some kind of association between a re-united Ireland and this country. The only aspect of the talks of possible substance that I forgot to include in the note at the time (but while it is interesting it is not, I think, very important) is that at one point in the discussions, Lord Silkin, or George Brown, referred to the Noel Browne episode as having constituted a cold douche for Labour sympathisers.

[matter omitted]

¹ In March 1957 Cardinal John D'Alton proposed a solution to the partition of Ireland within the context of a federal Ireland with governments in Dublin and Belfast re-associating the Commonwealth.

² Not printed.

³ Lewis Silkin, 1st Baron Silkin (1889–1972), Minister of Town and Country Planning (1945–50).

⁴ George Brown (1914–85), later Lord George-Brown, Deputy Leader of the Labour Party (1960–70), Leader of the Opposition (1963), Secretary of State for Economic Affairs (1964–6), Foreign Secretary (1966–8).

⁵ Frank Pakenham, 7th Earl Longford (1905–2001), First Lord of the Admiralty (24 May 1951 – 13 October 1951).

No. 4 NAI TSCH/2/2/18

*Extract from the minutes of a meeting of the Cabinet
'European Free Trade Area'
(GC 8/5) (Item 5) (S 15281G)*

DUBLIN, 9 April 1957

Following consideration of a memorandum dated the 8th April, 1957,¹ submitted by the Taoiseach on the subject of the proposed European Free Trade Area, it was decided

- (1) that a memorandum on the lines of the document attached to the memorandum dated the 8th April, 1957, should be submitted to Working Party No. 23 of the Organization for European Economic Co-operation, the final text of the memorandum, for submission accordingly, to be settled by the Taoiseach and the Minister for Industry and Commerce; and
- (2) that the memorandum should include an intimation to the effect that Ireland is willing to submit herself to independent examination, at suitable intervals, by the appropriate institution of the Free Trade Area and to assume obligations of membership when it has been established, as a result of such examination, that her economy has attained a better relationship with the economies of those member countries of the Area which are at present more highly industrialised than Ireland.

No. 5 NAIDFA/10/1/78

*Circular to all missions by Conor Cruise O'Brien concerning passport
applications from persons wishing to visit Communist states
(350/287)*

DUBLIN, 10 April 1957

1. In future, reference should be made to the Department for a decision in the case of all applications for passports from applicants who disclose that they propose to visit a Communist or Communist dominated country, e.g., the U.S.S.R. (including Lithuania, Latvia and Estonia), Eastern Germany, Poland, Rumania, Czechoslovakia, Bulgaria, Hungary, Albania, the People's Republic of China, North Vietnam and North Korea. Similarly, as heretofore, the Department's decision should be sought where an Office has reason to believe that such, though not specifically disclosed, may be the intention of applicants. A full report, with the Office's comments and recommendation, should be submitted in connection with each case referred for decision.
2. The foregoing instructions will not apply in the case of Yugoslavia.
3. The Department's circular minute 350/287 of the 26th January, 1956,² is hereby cancelled.

¹ Not printed.

² *DIFP X*, No. 391.

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No. 6 NAI DFA/10/2/232

*Extracts from a letter from Joseph D. Brennan to Seán Murphy (Dublin)¹
(10.1) (10.2) (Private and Confidential)*

STOCKHOLM, 15 April 1957

In connection with the forthcoming change of American Ambassadors I should mention that critical articles have been appearing in the Scandinavian press concerning the appointment of Mr. Scott McLeod to Ireland as Ambassador. I think it well to mention also that some weeks ago when I was talking to the American Ambassador here, I mentioned that Mr. McLeod was rumoured to be going to Ireland. To this Mr. Cabot² expressed surprise but then added that that probably Ireland was the only country who would accept him. To this I said that I had met Mr. McLeod and he did not appear to be the ogre so generally depicted in the columns of the American newspapers. I made nothing of it at the time, but a couple of weeks later when I met Mr. Cabot again at a dinner party he approached me and referred to our conversation and said that he was sorry he had been so flippant about Mr. McLeod. He did not intend to say anything derogatory about Mr. McLeod, whom he knew as a man who was doing a necessary work, though occasionally an unpleasant one. I said I perfectly understood his first remarks and knew that he was speaking facetiously.

[matter omitted]

I talked to Mr. Raynor³ about Mr. McLeod's appointment and he said that he had known him well and the odium which was heaped upon him a few days ago was because he was reported to be the instrument of Senator McCarthy⁴ in the State Department and that his appointment to the post as Security Officer had been arranged, or pressed for, by Mr. McCarthy.

Even though his appointment is accepted by Ireland there would still be the hurdle for Mr. McLeod of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee. That Committee is in Democratic hands now and it is quite conceivable that it will decline to endorse Mr. McLeod.

[matter omitted]

No. 7 NAI DFA/5/313/30B

*Extracts from a letter from Brian Gallagher to Seán Murphy (Dublin)⁵
'European Grand Design'
(4/44) (26/7) (Confidential)*

THE HAGUE, 15 April 1957

With reference to your telegram No. 6⁶ relative to the 'European Grand Design' which has been mooted by the British Foreign Secretary⁷ I have the

¹ Marked seen by Frank Aiken.

² John Moors Cabot (1901–81), United States Ambassador to Sweden (1954–7).

³ Hayden Raynor (1906–63), United States Chargé d'Affaires, Oslo (1955–8).

⁴ Joseph McCarthy (1908–57), United States Senator for Wisconsin (1947–57), known for his campaign of anti-Communist witch hunts in mid-1950s America.

⁵ Marked seen by Frank Aiken.

⁶ Not printed.

⁷ Selwyn Lloyd (1904–78), British Foreign Secretary (1955–60).

honour to say that a copy of the report of March 12th from the Ambassador in London¹ reached me later in the day on which I sent you my telegram No. 3.² I made an appointment with the Secretary-General³ of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs for Tuesday, April 16th; the Minister himself is at the present time in America for a meeting of ECOSOC.

[matter omitted]

The Secretary-General asked me what was our attitude towards the 'E.G.D.'. I told him that I had no specific information from my government, that I had been asked only to obtain information about the Dutch attitude for the purpose of briefing our Minister for the next meeting of the Council of Europe. I said however that our attitude towards any proposals which would give military responsibilities to a European organization would in my opinion be somewhat similar, as things stand, to that of Sweden and Switzerland. There was of course a difference. Switzerland was permanently neutral on principle. Sweden's neutrality was dictated by her geographical position and consideration for Finland. Neither policy was likely to change except in the event of Russian aggression against any of these three countries. Our policy of non-involvement in military alliances was due to the partition of Ireland. If that problem were settled we might, and I emphasized the word might, find ourselves in the same camp with the rest of Western Europe. The Secretary-General appreciated the point but said the 'G.D.' provided for a parliamentary assembly without any responsibility, military or otherwise. A unified Secretariat for all European bodies working in the same city, which would probably have to be Paris, would, he thought, offer some progress towards the ideal, but he admitted that Sweden and Switzerland would be unlikely to have anything to do with a Secretariat which handled military matters.

[matter omitted]

No. 8 NAIDFA/6/440/11

Letter from Frederick H. Boland to Conor Cruise O'Brien (Dublin)
NEW YORK, 16 April 1957

I don't know whether the Department has any current assessment of the progress of events in Algeria. If you have, we would be interested to get a copy of it.⁴

Although it seems to me that the French Government is going from bad to worse and spoiling the merits of any case it had by allowing unchecked brutalities in the course of its policy of repression, I am increasingly doubtful of the wisdom of the Algerian National Liberation people in obstructing the French Government's idea of holding elections in Algeria even though they

¹ Not printed.

² Not printed.

³ Baron Samuel John van Tuyll van Serooskerken (1905–94), Secretary General of the Dutch Ministry of Foreign Affairs (1952–65).

⁴ Marginal note by Conor Cruise O'Brien: 'Dr MacWhite, I should like to see again Amb. Fay's latest reports on this situation. CCOB.'

would take place under outside surveillance. Even the Tunisians and Moroccans seem to have become extremely doubtful of the Algerian stand on this point.

Have you any reliable information as to what really lies behind the Algerian attitude? If you wish, I could have a talk with the unofficial Algerian agency here and try and find out something about it. Remembering what a tremendous asset the results of the 1918 elections were to Sinn Féin, the Algerians would appear, *prima facie*, very foolish in following a course which suggests they are not quite certain how elections would turn out. That is hardly a very firm foundation for a demand for national self-determination!

No. 9 NAI TSCH/3/S9361G

*Memorandum for Government by Éamon de Valera
'Partition: Study of practical problems arising on re-integration of national
territory'*

DUBLIN, 16 April 1957

The Taoiseach desires to draw the attention of Ministers to the fact that, at a meeting held on the 2nd February last,¹ the Government decided

- (1) that, with a view to the preparation of specific detailed proposals for the re-integration of the national territory, each Department should undertake forthwith, in respect of matters with which it is concerned, an intensive study of all the practical problems that may be expected to arise in that connexion, including problems relating to the harmonization, subject to due allowance for legitimate local and sectional interests, of policies and methods concerning agricultural and industrial development, social services, health services, education and other matters; and
- (2) that, for the purposes of the study, it may be assumed
 - (a) provisionally, that a separate legislature, with powers corresponding to those at present exercised by the Six-County Parliament, will be created or recognized in respect of either the present Six-County area or a smaller area, such as the area in which those who are at present opposed to re-integration form a homogeneous majority, and
 - (b) that the powers at present reserved by the British Parliament will be transferred to a Parliament for all Ireland.

Subsequently, with a view to assisting Departments in making the study referred to above, the Department of the Taoiseach, on the 12th ultimo, circulated to all Departments copies of a memorandum on the subject of the powers of the Parliament of the Six Counties, and the powers excluded therefrom, under the Government of Ireland Act, 1920.²

2. The Taoiseach recommends that each Department should now be instructed to proceed with the study referred to above and to furnish the result of the study (in the case of each Department other than the Department

¹ See *DIFP X*, No. 535.

² Not printed.

of External Affairs) to the Department of External Affairs, with a view to the submission to the Government, by the Minister for External Affairs, of a comprehensive memorandum embodying the results of the study in respect of all Departments.

No. 10 NAI TSCH/2/2/18

*Extract from the minutes of a meeting of the Cabinet
'International Monetary Fund and International Bank for Reconstruction
and Development: Membership'
(GC 8/7) (Item 2) (S 13201B)*

DUBLIN, 18 April 1957

Following consideration of a memorandum dated the 12th April, 1957,¹ submitted by the Minister for Finance, the Minister was authorized

- (1) to apply, on behalf of Ireland, for membership in the International Monetary Fund and in the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development; and
- (2) to arrange for the drafting of the necessary enabling legislation.

No. 11 NAI DFA/10/4/21

*Letter from Frederick H. Boland to Conor Cruise O'Brien (Dublin)
NEW YORK, 23 April 1957*

I have been considering the part of your note of your recent interview with the Taoiseach which deals with the possibility of bringing the question of Partition, or some aspects of it, before the United Nations.²

I rather gather that your idea is that, as a first step at any rate, it would be better, instead of raising the issue as a whole, to concentrate on some particular aspect of Six County discrimination on which we could make an effective showing. The idea seems to me worth considering; but we would need, I think, to give careful thought to the exact *modus operandi*.

As you know, questions of discrimination come within the purview of the Commission on Human Rights. Within the Commission, they are the particular concern of the Sub-Commission on prevention of discrimination and protection of minorities. The Commission on Human Rights has just been considering the report of the 9th Session of the Sub-Commission, particularly the chapter of the report dealing with discrimination in the matter of religious rights and practices. It reached the conclusion, apparently, that the material required for proper consideration of this subject is not yet complete and it asked the Secretary-General to invite governments to send in their views as soon as possible in order that all relevant material might be available to the rapporteur by the 15th August next.

May this not afford us the kind of opportunity we want? I admit there are a number of points which require close attention in considering it. One is

¹ Not printed.

² Not printed.

whether we are going to base our complaints of discrimination on religious or on other grounds. Another is whether we are going to complain of discrimination generally or to select some particular aspect of it, e.g., housing which, though representing a narrower front, would enable us to mount a more effective attack. Then there is the question whether we do better to start on a low level like the Sub-Commission on discrimination or whether it would be wiser to raise the matter in the 3rd Committee of the next Assembly when the report of the Commission on Human Rights comes up for consideration. *Prima facie*, I think the former course is the better because it gives us a whole series of shots at the target. We would begin by trying to get something about housing into the report of the Sub-Commission (perhaps without referring to the Six Counties at all); we would get a further opportunity when the report of the Sub-Commission came up at the Commission on Human Rights. We could intervene again when the report of the Commission came before the 3rd Committee and if necessary we could have another whack at the question when the report of the 3rd Committee came up at the Assembly. The whole question of tactics and procedure is very important however and requires much more study than I have given it.

Perhaps you would have it examined in the Department and let me have the benefit of your views about it. Our best gambit might possibly be to try to get on to the Sub-Commission on discrimination ourselves.

No. 12 NAI DFA/6/417/153/1A

Extracts from a letter from Frederick H. Boland to Seán Murphy (Dublin)
(Personal) (Confidential)

NEW YORK, 23 April 1957

After some consideration, I thought it would be a wise move if I went up to Washington to have a chat with John with a view to ensuring smooth cooperation in future between the Embassy and the Permanent Mission.

[matter omitted]

I had a most pleasant and successful day with John. He and Mona were very kind. John and I talked the whole business over, not on the basis of John Hearne and Fred Boland simply, but with a view to placing the relations of the Embassy and the Permanent Mission on a harmonious and mutually helpful basis for the future. I am glad to say that John and I saw eye to eye on every point. He gave me a number of 'tips' and suggestions, with all of which I agree entirely and which I intend to follow carefully in the future. We decided to keep the thing on a personal basis and not try to write anything to one another about it. I think that is wise. As you know, the psychologies are always more important than rules and regulations – 'the letter killeth but the spirit giveth life'. In any case I came away feeling quite happy and glad that I made the visit. It has, I believe, completely cleared up any misunderstandings that existed and I am convinced there will be no more in future.

John is very well but still much worried, I think, about the things of which you are aware.

No. 13 NAI TSCH/3/S9361G

Letter from James T. Godfrey to Maurice Moynihan (Dublin)

DUBLIN, 23 April 1957

I am desired by the Minister for Industry and Commerce¹ to refer to the decision of the Government, taken at their meeting on 2nd February, 1957,² to the effect that each Department should undertake, in respect of matters with which it is concerned, an intensive study of the problems that might arise in connection with the re-integration of the national territory.

Whilst certain progress has already been made in the matter, the Minister considers that, in relation to this Department, further work on the study at this stage would not be justifiable particularly having regard to the uncertainty as to the future position which has been introduced by the Free Trade Area proposals and by the proposals in regard to Six County transport. The Minister suggests, therefore, that the study should be deferred for reconsideration when the situation in these regards has been clarified.

No. 14 NAI TSCH/2/2/18

Extract from the minutes of a meeting of the Cabinet

'Partition: Study of practical problems arising on re-integration of national territory'
(GC 8/9) (Item 2) (S 9361G)

DUBLIN, 26 April 1957

Following consideration of a memorandum dated the 16th April, 1957,³ submitted by the Taoiseach on the subject of the study by Departments of the practical problems arising on the re-integration of the national territory, it was decided that each Minister (other than the Minister for External Affairs) should inform the Minister for External Affairs of his view as to whether there would be any value, so far as his Department is concerned, in pursuing, in the present circumstances, the study referred to in the decision taken at the meeting held on the 2nd February, 1957.⁴

No. 15 NAI DFA/6/428/20/2

Extract from a letter from John J. Hearne to Seán Murphy (Dublin)
(Confidential)

WASHINGTON DC, 27 April 1957

[matter omitted]

I asked our host what, in his opinion, the likelihood is of an atomic world war III. Dr. Libby⁵ shook his head. The sense of his reply was that the

¹ Seán Lemass TD.

² See *DIFP X*, No. 535.

³ See No. 9.

⁴ See *DIFP X*, No. 535.

⁵ Willard F. Libby (1908–80), American physical chemist noted for his role in developing radiocarbon dating, who worked on the Manhattan Project during the Second World War and in 1960 was awarded the Nobel Prize for Chemistry.

Russians had more sense than to start such a war. He implied that the United States itself would not start such a war.

Dr. Libby has high hopes for the progressive development and use of atomic energy for peaceful purposes. He spoke to me and others in our vicinity at table enthusiastically of that project.

[matter omitted]

No. 16 NAI TSCH/3/2011B/61

*Memorandum for Government by the Department of External Affairs
‘The continuance of certain diplomatic missions abroad’*

DUBLIN, 29 April 1957

1. The Government has requested the Minister for External Affairs to examine the possibility of closing down, for reasons of economy, the following diplomatic missions abroad:-
 - a) The Embassy in Spain;
 - b) The Legations in Italy, Sweden, Holland, Belgium, Switzerland, Portugal and the Argentine; and
 - c) The Permanent Delegation to the Council of Europe.
2. The closing down of the Legation in Italy, Sweden and Switzerland would involve the closing of the missions to Turkey, Norway and Austria, respectively, to which countries the Ministers concerned are dually accredited. These countries are similarly represented in Ireland. The position of the mission to the Council of Europe, where no element of reciprocity exists, will be dealt with separately below.
3. As a Legation is the outward and visible sign of diplomatic relations, the closing of a mission implies the breaking off of diplomatic relations. The immediate consequence would be the closing in Ireland of the mission of the country concerned.
4. The breaking off of diplomatic relations is a deliberate act which is only undertaken for very grave reasons. The main reasons recorded in history for such action between the sending and receiving State are:-
 - a) a condition of hostility short of war or actual war;
 - b) constitutional changes in the headship of either State;
 - c) revolutionary change of Government in either State; and
 - d) extinction of either State.

There is no known case in history of a State terminating a diplomatic mission to another State avowedly for no reason other than economy.
5. The States concerned would inevitably regard this step as an unfriendly, not to say insulting, act. They would neither be impressed nor reconciled by the amount of overall savings effected by the simultaneous closing of several missions. Each State would consider that the friendship and good relations that so happily existed between it and Ireland, as evidenced and proved by diplomatic relations, were not worth the amount shown in the Book of Estimates. For example, the Argentine, reflecting with gratification on the extremely friendly relations with Ireland so eloquently described during the recent visit of the official Irish delegation

- to the Admiral Brown celebrations, would find it very difficult to understand why those friendly relations were not worth £4,445 per annum.¹
6. Apart from the lessening of friendship and goodwill of the countries, factors which cannot, of their nature, be evaluated in terms of money, the material effects of the closing down of the Missions would be:-
 - a) the transfer of protection of Irish citizens from Irish missions to British Consular Offices, a reversion to the position of the early 'twenties. All consular, passport and visa services would also have to be transferred;
 - b) the withdrawal of the assistance given by these Missions (i) to the expansion of the export trade, and (ii) to the development of tourism in Ireland;
 - c) the abandonment of all cultural and propaganda work; and
 - d) the cessation of all reports on political, economic and cultural matters.
 7. The closing of Missions in Ireland would have the following material effects:-
 - a) the loss of the income to the country of the money now spent by the Missions concerned;
 - b) the dismissal of all the Irish staff now employed by such Missions;
 - c) the effect on potential tourists who would not like to travel to a country where their own country had no representation; and
 - d) the disgruntlement of the countries which would now have left on their hands expensive premises in Dublin which they have purchased or acquired on long leases.
 8. There are other consequences which go beyond the immediate relationships between Ireland and the individual countries concerned. The principal of these would be:-
 - a) The external credit of, and possibility of foreign investment in, Ireland would be seriously affected by the public admission that the financial position of the country was so acute that, for the sake of saving less than £100,000, Ireland broke off diplomatic relations with eleven countries and retained Missions in only five countries.
 - b) The Government and Unionist Press of Northern Ireland would be presented with convincing proof of their persistent contention that the financial and economic condition of the 26 Counties is so low that they would be very foolish to contemplate any form of re-unification of the country.
 - c) In this, the first year of membership of the United Nations, the greatest symbol and hope of international cooperation, where the Irish delegation has played such a distinguished part, Ireland would enter into a condition of isolation from the small countries of Europe, including particularly the Scandinavian and Benelux groups. Ireland would thus not only depart from the concept of solidarity and

¹ Admiral William Brown (1777-1857), Irish-born founder of the Argentine navy.

collaboration with the free countries of Western Europe, but would be cut off from the diplomatic contacts from which flow the goodwill and support so badly needed in the various international organisations of which Ireland is a member. The loss of such good will and support for Ireland's claim to special treatment in the Free Trade Area Plan can be easily imagined.

9. The Mission to the Council of Europe in Strasbourg was established at the insistent request of the Oireachtas delegates to the Council Assembly. If the Mission were now to be closed, the Permanent Delegate would have to be returned to the Department of External Affairs where Council of Europe affairs would occupy him whole-time. He would have to travel to Strasbourg at regular intervals. The consequent amount of saving arising from the closing of the Mission would be the difference between the rent and allowances of the post and the cost of frequent travelling and subsistence expenses between Dublin and Strasbourg. Ireland, incidentally, would be the only country which, having established a Mission to the Council of Europe, closed it down on grounds of economy.
10. If the Missions under review are closed, the following domestic consequences would ensue:—
 - a) The premises of the residences and chancelleries involved would have to be disposed of. One of these has been purchased and the others are held under varying terms of leasehold. They have practically all been furnished and equipped by the Office of Public Works at considerable expense.
 - b) All members of the staff concerned, except those locally recruited who would have to be dismissed, would have to be recalled to the Department. The officers involved would be —
 - 1 Ambassador
 - 5 Ministers Plenipotentiary
 - 2 Chargés d'Affaires
 - 1 Counsellor
 - 5 Third Secretaries.

The Department of Finance has ruled that the present establishment of the Headquarters staff of the Department cannot be increased. There would, accordingly, be the fourteen redundant officers, eight of whom, being of a rank equivalent to Assistant Secretary, would be impossible to place in other Departments. All of the administrative staff of the Department who were recruited during the last fifteen years and who now range from Counsellor to Third Secretary entered the services of the Department in the reasonable expectation of normal promotion based on the number of missions abroad. This expectation would be shattered by the closing of the missions under review. The feeling of the staff concerned, in such circumstances, could only be one of frustration, not to say deception.

11. The Annex to this Memorandum¹ sets out in respect of each country concerned:—

¹ Not printed.