# Dr T. K. Whitaker Papers

P175

**Descriptive Catalogue** 



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#### CONTEXT

### **Biographical History**

Thomas Kenneth Whitaker (b. 1916) was born in Rostrevor, County Down to Edward and Jane Whitaker (née O'Connor). The family moved to Drogheda when he was five years old and he attended the Christian Brothers school there.

He sat the Civil Service Clerical Officers examinations in 1934, achieved first place and joined the civil service. The following year he successfully applied for the position of executive officer; in 1937 he was made an assistant inspector of taxes; and in 1938 he became an administrative officer in the Department of Finance. In 1943 he was promoted to assistant principal; by 1947 he was a principal officer; and in 1955, at the very young age of 39, he was appointed Secretary to the Department of Finance.

His career as a civil servant flourished and he exercised unprecedented influence in shaping Irish economic policy in the late 1950s and 1960s. The publication in 1958 of Whitaker's *Economic Development*, known as 'the grey book', is widely accepted as a landmark in Irish economic history.

His surprise appointment as Secretary had taken place at a time when Ireland's economy was in deep depression. Economic growth was non-existent, inflation apparently insoluble, unemployment rife, living standards low and emigration at a figure not far below the birth rate. Whitaker believed that free trade, with increased competition and the end of protectionism, would become inevitable and that jobs would have to be created by a shift from an essentially agricultural economy to one based on industry and services. He formed a team of officials within the department which produced a detailed study of the economy, culminating in a plan recommending policies for improvement. The plan was accepted by the government and was transformed into a White Paper which became known as the First Programme for Economic Expansion.

Subsequently, Whitaker steered Ireland's programme of trade liberalisation and structural reform in the 1960s. Economic growth accelerated as a result. In 1973, Ireland acceded to the EU in a process in which he played an instrumental role as Governor of the Central Bank of Ireland, a position to which he had moved in 1969. He served as Governor until he took early retirement in 1976.

His influence was not confined to economic matters. In 1965 he liaised with Jim Malley, private secretary to Terence O'Neill, Prime Minister of Northern Ireland, and was able to successfully organise the unprecedented meeting between Seán Lemass and O'Neill.

Although Whitaker had left the Department of Finance in 1969, he remained policy advisor to Jack Lynch on Northern Ireland. As a result, a document entitled 'The Constitutional Position of Northern Ireland in IV parts' was created, which analyzed the historical development of the situation in Northern Ireland, the pro and antipartition views, and possible reconciliation between North and South.

Whitaker worked with the Ford Foundation to secure funding to launch the Economic and Social Research Institute of Ireland in 1960, and was its president

from foundation for over fifteen years.

In 1977, the then Fianna Fáil Taoiseach Jack Lynch nominated Whitaker as a member of the 14th Seanad Éireann, where he served as an independent (i.e. non-party) senator from 1977 to 1981. In 1981 he was nominated to the 15th Seanad by the Fine Gael Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald, where he served until 1982. FitzGerald also appointed him to chair a Committee of Inquiry into the Irish penal system. He also chaired a Parole Board or Sentence Review Group for several years.

Whitaker served as Chancellor of the National University of Ireland from 1976 to 1996. He was President of the Royal Irish Academy and, as such, a member of the Board of Governors and Guardians of the National Gallery of Ireland, from 1985 to 1987. He has had a very strong love for the Irish language throughout his career and the seminal collection of Irish poetry, An *Duanaire: Poems of the Dispossessed 1600-1900*, edited by Seán Ó Tuama and Thomas Kinsella was dedicated to him.

From 1995–6 he chaired the Constitution Review Group, an independent expert group established by the government, which published its report in July 1996.

Ken Whitaker also served as first Chairman of the Scholarship Board of the O'Reilly Foundation and first Chairman of the Agency for Personal Service Overseas (APSO). He is a Fellow of the International Academy of Management.

In 2001, an RTÉ programme voted Whitaker the "Irishman of the 20th Century" and in 2002 he received the "Greatest Living Irish Person" award. Dundalk Institute of Technology opened a building named in his honour in 2001 and in 2005 Whitaker Square, a commercial development in Dublin's docklands, was also named in his honour.

# Archival History

Deposited by T.K. Whitaker in successive stages, 1994–9.

#### CONTENT AND STRUCTURE

#### Scope and Content

Papers relating to T.K. Whitaker's lengthy career as a public servant, economist and influential public figure including:

Northern Ireland, 1965-94: the constitutional position of Northern Ireland; crossborder political relations, the Sunningdale Agreement, 1973 and aftermath; devolution and power sharing initiatives; the Anglo-Irish Agreement (Hillsborough, 1985) and reactions; Northern Ireland associations and organisations.

Finance: the national economy and the banking system, 1927–69; a memoir of his period as Director of the Central Bank, 1979; papers relating to national programmes for economic development, 1963–83; Ireland and the European Union.

Lectures, broadcasts and papers, 1949–89. Papers relating to his involvement with educational, social and cultural bodies, 1969–96.

# System of Arrangement

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### CONDITIONS OF ACCESS AND USE

#### Access

Available by appointment to holders of a UCDA reader's ticket. Produced for consultation in digital format.

#### Language

English, occasional Irish and French

#### **Finding Aid**

Descriptive catalogue

#### **DESCRIPTION CONTROL**

#### Archivist's Note

Two files from Dr Whitaker's papers have been available for consultation for some time: a file on Northern Ireland , 1965–9; and a file on free trade v protectionism in Irish economic policy-making, 1959–60. These have been incorporated into this catalogue as P175/1 and P175/50 respectively

Cataloguing of the Northern Ireland papers and part of the Finance and other files was carried out by Antoinette Doran who also wrote this introductory matter, in 2010–11. The remainder of the financial and other files was catalogued by Seamus Helferty and the descriptive catalogue edited in 2012–13.

#### ALLIED MATERIALS

#### **Published Material**

*Financing by credit creation*, T.K. Whitaker (1947)

Interests, T.K. Whitaker (1983)

Ireland in the coming times: essays to celebrate T.K. Whitaker's 80 years, Fionán Ó Muircheartaigh, T. K. Whitaker (1997)

# 1. NORTHERN IRELAND

# 1.1. Northern Ireland letters and memos, 1965-89

**P175/1** January 1

January 1965-September 1969

62 items

### Northern Ireland: letters and memos, 1965-9

Copies of memoranda, drafts of speeches, correspondence and related documents. Contains reports on meetings between successive Taoisigh, Seán Lemass and Jack Lynch, and the Northern Prime Minister, Captain Terence O'Neill, in both Dublin and Stormont. Also comprises documents concerning the Civil Rights movement, the escalation of the Troubles in 1969, and a copy of TKW's memorandum entitled 'The Constitutional Position of Northern Ireland in IV Parts'. Includes:

- Account by TKW (7pp) of the first visit by Seán Lemass as Taoiseach to Northern Ireland, 14 January 1965.
- Letter from Northern Ireland Prime Minister, Captain Terence O'Neill to TKW expressing gratitude 'for all your explanations and translations' during a visit to Dublin and inviting TKW and his wife to visit for a weekend (19 January 1968, 1p).
- Letter from Captain Terence O'Neill to TKW thanking him for his 'kind letter' and describing politics as 'often an art of compromise'. O'Neill quotes Winston Churchill and refers to the need to 'stand up for the things one believes in' (18 December 1968, 1p).
- Typescript copy of a speech by An Taoiseach Jack Lynch at a dinner in honour of Thomas McEllistrim, former TD, in Tralee, outlining the Irish government's position and policies on Northern Ireland (20 September 1969, 10pp).
- Copy of a letter from TKW to Taoiseach Jack Lynch discussing the type of 'constitutional setting' which would be acceptable to the majority of people in Northern Ireland (22 September 1969, 2pp).
- Text of the statement by Patrick Hillery, Minister for External Affairs, delivered at the general debate of the 24<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly of the United Nations. The speech initially refers to conflicts throughout the world and UN policy, and then discusses the situation in Northern Ireland (26 September 1969, 14pp).
- Copy of a memorandum entitled 'The Constitutional Position of Northern Ireland in IV Parts' by TKW. The document analyses the historical development of the situation in Northern Ireland, the pro-partition view, the anti-partition view, and possible reconciliation between North and South (not dated, 53pp).

**P175/2** October–December 1969

27 items

### Northern Ireland: letters and memos, late 1969

Correspondence concerning the constitutional position of Northern Ireland, between TKW and Taoiseach Jack Lynch, Denis Maher [Assistant Secretary, Department of Finance], Cardinal William Conway, and the Office of the Minister for Foreign Affairs. Contains revised copies of TKW's memorandum on The Constitutional Position of Northern Ireland in IV Parts'. Includes:

- Typescript list of the contents of the file (2pp).
- Manuscript note from Cardinal Conway to TKW in Irish referring to comments on the Constitution which will be sent from Rome (11 October 1969, 1p).
- Manuscript covering letter and typescript copy of notes by the Taoiseach to TKW prepared for use in a debate on Northern Ireland (16 October 2010, 5pp); reply by TKW containing comments and recommendations on the content of the notes (18 October 1969, 8pp).
- Copy of a typescript letter from TKW to the Taoiseach entitled 'Reunification-the Constitutional Setting', which sets out revised proposals for the Finance paper on the constitutional aspects of partition (27 October 1969, 5pp).
- Copy of a revision of the confidential memorandum entitled The Constitutional Position of Northern Ireland in IV Parts' by TKW (November 1969, 47pp).
- Holograph letter from the Taoiseach to TKW acknowledging receipt of the memorandum and stating that 'it is an excellent one prepared with characteristic care' (4 December 1969, 1p).
- Copy No 5 of a confidential Department of Foreign Affairs memorandum for the information of the government entitled 'Policy in relation to Northern Ireland' (28 November 1969, 9pp).
- **P175/3** February 1970–December 1971

55 items

### Northern Ireland: letters and memos, 1970-1

Correspondence between TKW and Northern Ireland Prime Minister, Captain Terence O'Neill; and TKW and Taoiseach Jack Lynch; together with memoranda and related documents concerning Northern Ireland's financial position and Irish government policy on the North. Includes:

- Typescript list of file contents (4pp).
- Letter from K. Murphy, Department of Finance (12 February 1970, 1p) enclosing copies of material relating to the Northern Ireland economy, mainly an undated Finance memorandum on 'The financial implications of ending Partition' (23pp).

- Letter from Lord Crowther, St James's Street, London SW1, to TKW, referring to his own remarks at an unidentified meeting in Belfast, concerning the size of the UK subsidy to Northern Ireland and the difficulty of getting an accurate indication of its extent (24 February 1970, 1p).
- Letter from Captain Terence O'Neill to TKW thanking him for contacting the private office of Charlie Haughey, Minister for Finance, and referring to a possible visit by the British Chancellor of the Exchequer Roy Jenkins to Ireland, 'after the budget' (4 April 1970, 1p).
- Holograph covering letter from TKW to Taoiseach Jack Lynch concerning a paper prepared by TKW in advance of his dinner party meeting with the Governor of Northern Ireland [Ralph Francis Alnwick Grey] (6 July 1971, 1p); copy of the paper by TKW entitled 'N.I. A Possible Solution' which outlines the need for a constitutional change in Northern Ireland and possible avenues of political development (6 July 1971, 4pp).
- Holograph and typescript copies of a secret note by TKW on a dinner party meeting at the home of E.M.R. [Mon] O'Driscoll, Chairman of the Allied Irish Banks Group, which was attended by James Callaghan [British Shadow Home Secretary], Lord Grey [Governor-General of Northern Ireland], Lieutenant General Harry Tuzo [General Officer Commanding Northern Ireland], Bishop William Philbin [Bishop of Down and Connor], Monsignor Mullally, Maurice Hayes [Chairman, Community Relations Commission], and Dr Eric Gallagher (14 October 1971, 13pp); correspondence between TKW and Eric Gallagher concerning the date of the dinner party and TKW's note (November 1991, 2 items).
- Holograph letter from TKW to Taoiseach Jack Lynch commenting on the necessity for the Irish government to 'make a strong statement against the horror of the IRA campaign in the North' (3 November 1971, 1p).
- Holograph letter from Lynch to TKW acknowledging his letter of 3 November and referring to his subsequent speech at the Fianna Fáil National Executive. He states that he will 'return to the subject again' (11 November 2010, 1p).
- Typescript letter from G.B. Newe, Northern Ireland Minister of State, to TKW acknowledging his 'encouraging' letter on his appointment. Newe refers to the expectations placed upon him and invites TKW to a 'strictly private' meeting in the North on his next visit (29 November 1971, 1p).
- Copy of paper entitled 'Effect on exports from the State of changes in economic growth in Northern Ireland' by T. O'Connell, Central Bank (not dated, 4pp).

P175/4 January–December 1972

*c*160 items

### Northern Ireland: letters and memos, 1972

Correspondence, memoranda and related documents concerning meetings with Northern Ireland government representatives; correspondence concerning the escalation of violence in the North; and draft documents outlining proposals for progress. Correspondents include G.B. Newe [Northern Ireland Minister of State], David James MP, Terence O'Neill [former Northern Ireland Prime Minister], and Taoiseach Jack Lynch. Includes:

- Holograph and typescript note by TKW outlining the main points discussed at a lunch meeting at Stormont Castle between TKW, G.B. Newe, Norman Dugdale [Secretary, Department of Health], Paddy Shea [Secretary, Department of Education], and Ken Bloomfield [Deputy Secretary, Cabinet Office] (11 January 1972, 4pp).
  - Copy of a document entitled 'Northern Ireland: An Agenda for Compromise' with an annotation 'handed to me by Terence Baker, ESRI' (18 January 1972, 9pp).
  - Typescript drafts of a letter from TKW to G.B. Newe commenting on a paper given by Newe in September 1971. TKW outlines his views on Northern Ireland and potential steps towards a political resolution (28 January 1972, 4 items).
  - Copy of a holograph letter from TKW to Taoiseach Jack Lynch discussing his introduction to the Conservative MP David James and James's interest in Northern Ireland. TKW suggests a possible meeting between James and the Taoiseach to facilitate his putting forward the possibility of a 'united Ireland solution' to the Conservative Party leadership (4 February 1972, 2pp).
  - Holograph and typescript note by TKW on the visit by Lord O'Neill of the Maine [former Northern Ireland prime minister] to Áras an Uachtaráin to meet President de Valera at which TKW was in attendance (21 April 1972, 2pp).
  - Copy of a typescript letter from TKW to the Taoiseach discussing a visit to Belfast to hear 'a Protestant view' expressed by Rev. John Young [Presbyterian Minister] and Terence Duncan [Belfast businessman] (29 May 1972, 3pp).
  - Copy of a handwritten letter from TKW to Taoiseach Jack Lynch (19 May 1922, 1p) enclosing 'the result of recent thinking', a secret document (5pp) containing TKW's proposals for 'Draft Heads of Agreement' to be adopted by the governments of the United Kingdom and Ireland. The proposals include the creation of an Assembly in Northern Ireland and the establishment of an Irish Co-operation Council (May 1972, 5pp).
  - Copy of a typescript letter from TKW to David James MP expressing his views about potential 'new arrangements' between the Irish and British governments on Northern Ireland. He refers to the need for a new agreement or treaty

- P175/4 and outlines the points made in the 'Draft Heads of Agreement'
  - document (10 August 1972, 5pp).
    Copy of a typescript letter from James Callaghan MP to TKW stating that he is writing a book on Northern Ireland and has used some of TKW's ideas in the final chapter. He concludes with the statement 'as you are aware, imitation is the sincerest form of flattery' (24 November 1972, 1p); reply from TKW to Callaghan welcoming the use of his ideas in the publication and insisting 'I certainly do not want any "credits". Someday, I may write my own memoirs' (29 November 1972, 1p).
- P175/5 January–December 1973

49 items

# Northern Ireland: letters and memos, 1973

Correspondence and other documents relating to the NI (Emergency Powers) Bill; the Sunningdale Agreement; and the prospect of a united Ireland as a member, with the UK, of the EEC. Correspondents include Jack Lynch, G.B. Newe, David James, Garret FitzGerald, Trevor West, and Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave.

- Typescript list of file contents (5pp).
- Holograph letter from David James to TKW discussing the current political situation with regard to NI and the British press coverage being received by Liam Cosgrave. Reference is made to the White Paper on Northern Ireland Constitutional Proposals debate and the possibility of a united Ireland as a member, with the UK, of the EEC (4 April 1973, 5pp).
- Typescript copy of a letter from TKW to David James acknowledging receipt of the Northern Ireland (Emergency Powers) Bill and briefly outlining some criticisms of its contents (2 May 1973, 1p).
- Typescript copy of a letter from G.B. Newe to Jack Lynch concerning the possible resignation of Lynch as leader of Fianna Fáil over the 'Littlejohn Affair' (21 August 1973, 1p).
- Holograph letter from Gordon Richardson, Governor, Bank of England to TKW acknowledging his letter of sympathy at the recent London bombings (12 September 1973, 2pp).
- Typescript letter from Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave to TKW acknowledging his message of congratulations at the outcome of the Sunningdale talks. Cosgrave expresses his appreciation for the 'valuable contribution' made by TKW towards building relations between North and South (12 December 1973, 1p).

**P175/6** December 1973–March 1974

5 items

# Sunningdale Agreement

Published copy of the Agreed Communique from the Tripartite Conference, Sunningdale issued by the Government Information Services, Dublin; and press cuttings from Irish newspapers on reactions to the agreement.

P175/7 January–October 1974

22 items

### Northern Ireland: letters and memos, 1974

Correspondence concerning the collapse of the Sunningdale Agreement; invitations to TKW to attend and speak at events, and attend conferences on Northern Ireland; and requests for comments on publications. Correspondents include David James, Donal Barrington, Ken Bloomfield [Office of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland], Sir John Peck, Jack Lynch, and Professor N. Gibson [New University of Ulster].

- Typescript list of contents (1p).
- Typescript copy of a letter from TKW to Donal Barrington discussing the speech given by the Revd Martin Smyth, Grand Master of the Orange Order, at the Irish Association meeting held in the Shelbourne Hotel (29 April 1974, 2pp).
- Typescript copy of a letter from Brian McK. McGuigan, Malone Road, Belfast, to Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien, Minister for Posts and Telecommunications, and copied by the writer to TKW among others, placing blame on the Irish government, the Fianna Fáil opposition and the SDLP for the breakdown of the Sunningdale Agreement (3 June 1974, 2pp).
- Holograph letter from Ken Bloomfield to TKW acknowledging TKW's 'kind letter' concerning the collapse of the Sunningdale Agreement and suggesting that some 'quiet and informal talk with friends in Dublin would undoubtedly be useful' (10 June 1974, 1p).
- Copy of a holograph letter from TKW to Sir John Peck containing comments on the draft of Peck's book (30 July 1974, 2pp).
- Typescript copy of a paper by TKW entitled 'The Northern Ireland Problem'. Copy contains a manuscript annotation stating that it was prepared in late 1974 for a talk by Raymond Whitaker (TKW's son) to the Rotary Club of York (not dated, 8pp).

**P175/8** October 1974–December 1975

23 items

### Northern Ireland: letters and memos, 1975

Correspondence, press cuttings, pamphlets, and notes concerning informal visits to Dublin by Northern Ireland representatives; and publications relating to the situation in Northern Ireland. Correspondents include David James, Niall McGahon [Head of Finance, Bord Fáilte], Garret FitzGerald, John D. A. Robb, Maurice Hayes, and John Oliver.

- Includes:
- Typescript list of file contents (1p).
- Typescript document entitled 'Northern Ireland-the early 1975 Desiderata' outlining the central actions required to enable peace in Northern Ireland, such as the abolition of internment without trial and the establishment of a power-sharing administration (not dated, 3pp).
- Typescript letter from Garret FitzGerald to TKW acknowledging TKW's note and enclosures on Northern Ireland, and referring to internment and the establishment of Special Courts (26 February 1975, 1p).
- Holograph letters from Maurice Hayes and John Oliver of the Northern Ireland Constitutional Convention to TKW thanking him for his hospitality during their visit to Dublin (3 December 1975, 2 items).
- **P175/9** 1975, 77

2 items

#### Fianna Fáil policy on Northern Ireland

Copy of a press release by Fianna Fáil elaborating party policy on Northern Ireland (29 October 1975); and copy of Fianna Fáil's 1977 general election manifesto, *Action Plan for National Reconstruction*, referencing the 1975 policy document.

**P175/10** January 1976–December 1977

25 items

#### Violence in Northern Ireland, 1976-7

Papers, press cuttings and correspondence concerning the growing violence in the North, constitutional issues, and power-sharing initiatives.

Includes:

• Typescript text of a speech by Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave to a combined meeting of the Dun Laoghaire Constituency Executive, Fine Gael, and all branches in the Dun Laoghaire Constituency, outlining government policy on the campaign of

violence in Northern Ireland (12 January 1976, 8pp).

- Holograph and typescript drafts of a paper by TKW entitled 'Northern Ireland-Possible Points of Agreement' (early 1977, 8pp).
- Holograph and typescript drafts of a paper by TKW entitled 'Some Financial and Economic Considerations' delivered at a Glencree Seminar on 'An Independent Ireland' (February 1977, 6pp each).
- Copy of a paper, 'Interpretation of the Northern Ireland Problem: An Appraisal' by John Whyte, Department of Political Science, Queen's University, Belfast (July 1977, 32pp).
- Typescript letter from G.B. Newe to TKW outlining negative reactions in the North towards Fianna Fáil's return to government. Newe suggests that the Taoiseach must be careful to ensure his 'roving ambassador' makes contact with a wide spectrum of Unionists and advises caution and discretion when he or other members of the government are making statements about Northern Ireland. Letter forwarded by TKW to Taoiseach Jack Lynch (30 July 1977, 1p).
- **P175/11** February–April 1978

18 items

#### Talk to Publicity Club of Ireland, 1978

(18 February 1978, 24pp).

Contextual material, drafts and correspondence relating to a talk by TKW to the Publicity Club of Ireland at the Montrose Hotel, Stillorgan, Dublin on 30 March 1978. The talk, 'Some Points on Policy' focuses on TKW's two special fields of interest, Northern Ireland and economic planning.

Includes:
Typescript text of a speech by the Taoiseach Jack Lynch at the Fianna Fáil Árd Fheis, RDS, Dublin containing a lengthy section on Northern Ireland policy and economic development

**P175/12** March–December 1978

34 items

# Taoiseach's visit to the United States; speeches and articles by TKW, 1978

Correspondence, press cuttings and copies of speeches, statements and articles concerning Taoiseach Jack Lynch's visit to the US; and lectures and articles by TKW on the need for a transitional move away from direct rule; and other papers sent to TKW on Northern Ireland.

Includes:

 Holograph covering letter from Norman Gibson [New University of Ulster] to TKW (19 April 1978, 1p) referring to the enclosed

paper, 'Pluralism in Ireland', given by him to the Irish Council of Churches in Dublin (7 April 1978, 15pp).

- Holograph covering letter from Una O'Higgins O'Malley to TKW referring to a paper given by TKW and enclosing a 'rough draft' of a document which may 'provoke some thought' on Northern Ireland (20 May 1978, 2pp); typescript copy of the document entitled 'Draft statement which might be subscribed to by unaligned politicians' by Una O'Higgins O'Malley (not dated, 1p); copy of an *Irish Press* article 'Forget unity until the violence ceases' by Una O'Higgins O'Malley (20 March 1978. 1p).
- Holograph covering letter from Frank Murray, Department of the Taoiseach, enclosing the texts of recent speeches made by the Taoiseach (1 June 1978, 1p); typescript copy of a speech by the Taoiseach at the St Regis Hotel, Fifth Avenue, New York, for the Irish American community in which he discusses the need for a system of power-sharing in Northern Ireland (24 May 1978, 5pp); typescript copy of a statement by the Taoiseach to Dáil Éireann concerning his visit to the US and his address to the Special Session of the United Nations General Assembly on disarmament (30 May 1978, 6pp).
- Typescript copy of a letter from TKW to Douglas Gageby [ editor, *Irish Times*] enclosing an article for possible publication (12 June 1978); typescript copy of the article by TKW entitled 'Northern Ireland Now' (12 June 1978, 7pp); typescript copy of a letter from TKW to Gageby thanking him for publishing his article and attaching a newscutting from the same issue of the newspaper reporting remarks made by Margaret Thatcher dismissing any action that may bring about a 'weakening of the union' (20 June 1978, 2 items).
- Typescript text of the Ewart-Biggs Memorial Lecture given by Conor Cruise O'Brien at Queen's University, Belfast, entitled 'The Northern Ireland Connection in Irish-British Relations' (23 June 1978, 25pp).
- Manuscript copy of a note from TKW to Garret FitzGerald expressing admiration for GFG's 'most statesmanlike speech' during the Michael Collins Memorial at Béal na Bláth (not dated, 1p); typescript reply from GFG to TKW thanking him for his kind letter (24 August 1978, 1p).
- Typescript text of a talk given by TKW at Queen's University, Belfast entitled 'The Republic of Ireland since Independence' (1 December 1978, 11pp).
- **P175/13** January 1979–January 1980

#### 48 items

### Power-sharing in Northern Ireland, 1979

Press cuttings, correspondence, copies of publications and speeches mainly concerning the need for an end to violence in the North through power-sharing initiatives.

Includes:

- Holograph draft and typescript copies of a letter from TKW to Taoiseach Jack Lynch outlining his reservations on the 'apparent hardening of the Fianna Fáil line' on Northern Ireland. He lists the key policy issues which he believes should be focused on by the government, including a new constitution for Northern Ireland and the devolution of power through the establishment of an executive responsible to an assembly elected through proportional representation (5 September 1979, 3 items); typescript response from Jack Lynch to TKW acknowledging TKW'S policy outline and referring to a speech made by Sile de Valera, seen to be challenging official Fianna Fáil policy on Northern Ireland (17 September 1979, 1p).
- Press cuttings from various publications including the Irish Times, Irish Press and Irish Independent concerning the speech made by Sile de Valera TD at the General Liam Lynch Commemoration ceremony in Fermoy (September 1979, 12 items).
- Note from Conor Cruise O'Brien to TKW enclosing the text of his Fourth Christopher Ewart-Biggs Memorial Lecture delivered at University College, Oxford entitled 'Britain, Northern Ireland and the Republic: Attitudes, Options and a Positive Programme (23 October 1979, 15pp). Holograph notes by TKW on the speech (23 October 1979, 1p).
- Holograph and typescript drafts of notes by TKW for Taoiseach Charles Haughey concerning policy in relation to Northern Ireland including, 'double minority' status, a new constitution and self-governance (December 1979, 3 items).
- **P175/14** January–December 1980

20 items

### Federalism and the Haughey/Thatcher talks, 1980

Correspondence, press cuttings and papers concerning federalism and its possible application to Northern Ireland, and Taoiseach Charles Haughey's statements and meetings concerning the North.

- Typescript letter from A.E. Richie, Canadian Ambassador to Ireland, to TKW referring to the attached copy of a statement by Canadian Prime Minister Pierre E. Trudeau after the Québec Referendum, on sovereign status and federalism (22 May 1980, 1p); copy of the statement (not dated, 4pp).
- Holograph note from Una O'Higgins-O'Malley, Cross Avenue, Booterstown, County Dublin, to TKW enclosing a copy of a draft article and notes and referring to the work of Dr John Oliver and the need for his points to 'get to Mrs T[hatcher] NOW!' (28 June 1980, 1p); copy of the article by Una O'Higgins O'Malley entitled 'Towards reconciliation in Northern Ireland' for possible publication in the *Belfast Telegraph* (June 1980, 4pp); holograph notes by O'Higgins-O'Malley on the

#### T.K. Whitaker Papers

P175/14

Ammerdown Conference on Northern Ireland (June 1980, 7pp). Typescript communiqué issued on behalf of Taoiseach Charles Haughey after a meeting between him and Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher in Dublin Castle. Reference is made to the need to further develop a 'unique relationship between the two countries' and to joint studies which have been commissioned (8 December 1980, 3pp).

**P175/15** January–October 1981

48 items

### Northern Ireland: correspondence and lectures, 1981

Correspondence, notes, copies of articles and lectures, and press cuttings relating to requests to TKW to contribute to meetings and conferences; his proposals for devolution and a new constitution for Northern Ireland; events in Northern Ireland generally, and the Irish economy.

- Correspondence with Jeremy Morse, Chairman, Lloyds' Bank Ltd and a member of the editorial committee of *The Round Table. The Commonwealth Journal of International Affairs* and with Evan Charlton, editor of the journal, concerning the possibility of TKW contributing a piece on 'the current state of affairs between Dublin, Belfast and London' (January-August 1981, 18 items); together with an off-print of the article entitled Ireland: the way forward' (July 1981, 12pp) with annotations by TKW.
- Printed text of a speech by Taoiseach Charles Haughey in Dáil Éireann, 11 March 1981, on Ireland's defence policy (8pp), marked by TKW where reference is made to Northern Ireland and 'the most appropriate defence arrangements for the island as a whole'.
- Correspondence with Marigold Johnson, Executive Secretary, British Irish Association, Poland Street, London W1, concerning TKW's lecture to the Assosiation's agm (March-April 1981, 3 items) together with a list of guests expected to attend the lecture (3pp) and the annotated text of the talk 'The Irish Question Today' (18 May 1981, 20pp).
- Copy of an address by Senator John A. Murphy entitled 'The H-Blocks campaign and public opinion' given to the Cork Rotary Club. Murphy describes the 'virulent Anglophobia' which defines a campaign 'marked by a reactionary and negative chauvinism' (27 July 1981, 5pp).
- Draft (4pp) and copy (2pp) of a letter from TKW to Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald outlining his opinions on the H-Block campaigns and the public finances. TKW expresses his full agreement with the 'courageous views' given by John A. Murphy and endorses John Devine's political analysis of the campaign in the previous day's *Sunday Independent*. He calls on the Irish government to definitively distance itself from the actions of the Provisional IRA. In terms of fiscal policy, a

reduction in wages is advocated in order to boost competitiveness (3 August 1981).

- Cuttings from Irish newspapers on the hunger strike campaign (August 1981, 20 items).
- Draft letter from TKW to the editor of the *Sunday Tribune* correcting that paper's mis-interpretation of his reference to loyalty to a Northern Ireland constitution in his *Round Table* article, with a cutting from the newspaper containing the relevant article (30 August-6 September 1981, 3 items).
- Holograph and typescript draft of a letter from TKW to the editor of the *Irish Times*, correcting the paper's report of a quote attributed to him during the Seanad debate on the Family Planning Act 1979 (12 October 1981, 2 items).
- Pages from the *Official Report Seanad Éireann* containing the text of TKW's contribution to the motion on a constitutional review (5pp) together with the text of Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald's contribution (9 October 1981, 36pp).
- Correspondence between TKW and Sarsfield Hogan, Shelbourne Road, Dublin, discussing Irish economic problems, TKW's Senate contributions, Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald's remarks on leading a 'crusade' towards a united Ireland such as that envisaged by Theobald Wolfe Tone and Thomas Osborne Davis, and the possible solutions to ending Northern violence (October 1981, 3 items).

**P175/16** December 1980–February 1981

42 items

# Ditchley Foundations Conference on 'Northern Ireland-the international dimension', 20–22 February 1981

Correspondence, preliminary documents and reports of the conference.

- Correspondence with Philip Adams, Director of The Ditchley Foundation concerning TKW's participation in the conference (December 1980–January 1981, 5 items).
- Copy of the outline programme and agenda (2pp). List of participants (5pp) and terms of reference (1p).
- Background documents on the Ditchley Foundations (4 items).
- Copies of the reports of group discussions annotated by TKW.
  - 1. Group A: economics (3pp)
  - 2. Group B: societal (4pp)
  - 3. Group C: political (6pp).
- Copy of a report by an unidentified participant entitled 'Comments written after attending a conference organised by the Ditchley Foundations, 20–22 February 1981' (12pp) giving an analysis of conference proceedings.

**P175/17** December 1980–August 1981

12 items

#### Maze Prison hunger-strikes, August 1981

Copy of a holograph letter from TKW to Sir Leonard Figg, British Ambassador to Ireland, enclosing a copy of his *The Round Table* article 'Ireland: The Way Forward' (12pp), which TKW hopes will confirm his 'objectivity and reasonableness'. He requests that the British government recognize the need 'to defuse clever, emotive propaganda' and to discuss proposals for the improvement of prison conditions generally in line with international standards (13 August 1981, 2pp).

Reply from Sir Leonard, British Embassy, Dublin to TKW, referring to the difficulties encountered by the British Government in the 'propaganda war' and clarifying the position of his government on the question of giving special 'conditions' to the prisoners. 'We have to live with and administer any concessions we make and this accounts for a degree of caution which the media, and perhaps even the Irish Government, find irritating' (20 August 1981, 2pp).

He encloses a list (1p) of statements made and answers to parliamentary questions given by Humphrey Atkins, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, dealing with the Maze Prison protest, together with copies of the statements and answers (37pp) and four Northern Ireland Office pamphlets dealing with the protest.

**P175/18** [1977]–December 1981

27 items

# Comparative study of Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland, 1981

Copies of various official reports, academic papers, and articles from journals gathered by TKW for use in the preparation of his working paper containing a comparative economic study of the Republic and Northern Ireland. Includes:

- Correspondence between TKW and Trevor Matthews, Secretary, Role of the Church Committee, Church of Ireland House, Dublin 6 concerning a request for TKW to produce a working paper on employment and unemployment north and south, for delivery at a Role of the Church Committee meeting (27–30 July 1981, 3 items).
- Typescript copy of the working paper by TKW on 'The Irish economic scene, North and South' for the meeting of the Role of the Church Committee of the Church of Ireland (17 November 1981, 9pp).
- Copies of two information reports issued by the Economic Section, Planning and Marketing [Allied Irish Banks?] containing commentaries on the Northern Ireland economy (February 1981, 10pp; July 1981, 8pp).

- Letter from Kieran A. Kennedy, Director, Economic and Social research Institute, Burlington Road, Dublin 4 (10 June 1981, 1p) enclosing 'some references relating to Northern Ireland' (1p) and a copy of an article by Bob Rowthorne on 'Northern Ireland: an economy in crisis' from the *Cambridge Journal of Economics* 1981 (31pp).
- Typescript covering letter from Paul Turpin, Secretary, National Economic and Social Council to TKW (24 June 1981, 1p) enclosing minutes of a meeting between members of the Northern Ireland Economic Council and the National Economic and Social Council (12 June 1981, 2pp).
- Covering note from John Simpson, Queen's University, Belfast, to TKW enclosing typescript notes conveying 'a "surface" impression from a bigger piece of work I have undertaken' on Northern Ireland's economy and the cost of the Troubles (not dated, 2 items).
- Copies of two papers by Professor N.J. Gibson: 'The political future of Northern Ireland: some economic factors', given to the Social Study Conference, Corrymeela, Ballycastle (August 1979, 14pp); and 'Costs and Benefits to the Irish Republic of a United Ireland', given to the Dublin University Business and Economics Society (3 March 1981, 8pp).
- **P175/19** April–July 1982

19 items

# British government White Paper on devolution, 1982

Papers relating to Secretary of State for Northern Ireland James Prior's White Paper on devolution.

Includes:

- Photocopy of the White Paper, Northern Ireland: A framework for devolution (April 1982, 20pp).
- Pages from Seanad Éireann Official Debates containing TKW's contribution to the debate on the White Paper on Northern Ireland (16 April 1982, 3pp).
- Cuttings from Irish daily and Sunday newspapers on the White Paper and Anglo-Irish relations generally (April–July 1982, 11 items).
- **P175/20** March 1983–May 1984

40 items

### Northern Ireland: correspondence and memos, 1983-4

Correspondence, memoranda, articles and press cuttings on general Northern Ireland affairs. Includes:

• Correspondence with Monsignor James J. Murray, Executive Director, Catholic Charities of the Archdiocese of New York,

who had attended the Ditchley Foundations Conference in February 1981, mainly concerning a statement by Cardinal Terence Cooke, Archbishop of New York, on Irish-America and Northern Ireland, 'one of the most thorough and perspective documents on this complex subject written in recent years' (March-May 1983, 12pp).

- Correspondence and memoranda relating to the formation of the Two Traditions Group, Belfast (April 1983, 12pp).
- Press cuttings from Irish newspapers reporting and commenting on the establishment and work of the New Ireland Forum (June 1983–January 1984, 23 items) including a cutting from the Evening Herald (6 April 1983) containing an article headed 'Dr T.K. to chair Ireland Forum'. Annotated by TKW 'Knocked on head by C.J.H.[aughey]'.
- Correspondence between Colm O hEocha, President of University College Galway and TKW concerning O hEocha's appointment as chair of the New Ireland Forum. Correspondence is in Irish (June 1983–May 1984, 5 items).
- Copy of letter from TKW to Lochlann Aiken highlighting a factual error in an interview given by Frank Aiken Jr. (Lochlann's brother) to *The Sunday Press* about his late father's decision to quit politics. In the interview it had been incorrectly stated that Frank Aiken accompanied Seán Lemass on his first meeting with Terence O'Neill in Belfast (4 July 1983, 1p); copy of a letter to Geraldine Kennedy, Political Correspondent, *The Sunday Press*, enclosing a copy of the letter to Aiken (4 July 1983, 1p).
- Copy of a confidential working document prepared by the Secretariat of the New Ireland Forum for consideration by the Forum in plenary session, entitled 'A comparative description of the economic structure and situation, North and South (7 July 1983, 136pp).
- Copy of an article by TKW entitled 'Postscript (early 1983)', intended as a postscript to his *Round Table* article published in 1981 (May 1983, 11pp). Letter from Seán Donlon, Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs (16 June 1983, 1p) commenting on the article and disagreeing with TKW's view of the position of the SDLP in deciding not to participate in the Northern Ireland Assembly.
- **P175/21** January–December 1984

25 items

### Northern Ireland: correspondence and memos, 1984

Correspondence, publications and press cuttings mainly concerning the New Ireland Forum report and British-Irish negotiations on the North.

Includes:

• Copy of a typescript letter from TKW to Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald, passing on 'some impressions' from the previous week's British Irish Association conference in Cambridge. He

- **P175/21** refers to the presence of a DUP representative, Peter Robinson, and to the difficult position facing the SDLP, partially caused by the New Ireland Forum report which has raised 'the constitutional nationalist ante'. A potentially partisan reference in Minister for Foreign Affairs Peter Barry's speech is also discussed (17 September 1984, 2pp); Typescript letter of reply from Garret FitzGerald thanking TKW for his comments and acknowledging the 'delicate path' they are treading (24 September 1984, 1p).
  - Text of 'Anglo-Irish relations-the crossroads ahead', the remarks of Peter Barry TD, Minister for External Affairs at the British Irish Association conference in Cambridge (11pp). Programme for the conference (2pp).
  - Text of 'A new Ireland-the acceptance of diversity', remarks by John Hume MEP [to the British Irish Association conference?] (8pp).
  - Typescript draft and printed copy of a letter from TKW to the editor, the *Irish Times*, referring to the New Ireland Forum report and the recent Anglo-Irish summit (29 November-1 December 1984, 3pp).
  - Letter from TKW to John Kelly TD congratulating him on his comments published in the *Irish Times* concerning the 'myths' underpinning the New Ireland Forum with regard to an all-Ireland solution for Northern Ireland and the 'Unionist veto' on constitutional change (10 December 1984, 1p); reply from John Kelly to TKW stating his agreement with TKW's letter to the editor of the *Irish Times* (12 December 1984, 1p).
  - Typescript note from Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald to TKW acknowledging TKW's letter to the editor of the *Irish Times* and stating, 'there is still hope but I do not know if we shall eventually bridge the remaining gap' (21 December 1984, 1p).
  - Copy of *The challenge of Northern Ireland* (Furrow booklet, 1984) containing a contribution by TKW, 'Ireland: the way forward' (11pp).
  - Copy of 'Opportunity Lost. A Unionist view of the report of the Forum for a New Ireland', published by the Ulster Unionist Party (12 November 1984, 16pp).
- **P175/22** November 1985–October 1986

15 items

# Anglo-Irish Agreement, 1985 and British Irish Association conferences, Oxford, 1986

Papers, correspondence and press cuttings concerning reactions to the Anglo-Irish Agreement and the proceedings of the British Irish Association conferences held at Oxford in January and September.

Includes:

• Copy of the Anglo-Irish Agreement (15 November 1985, 16pp) with a handwritten note by TKW on the significance of the use, in the text of the Agreement, of 'a majority' rather than 'the

majority'; on Kensington Close Hotel notepaper (1p).

- Papers relating to the British Irish Association Conference, Balliol College, Oxford, 10–12 January 1986, including a list of participants (6pp) and a statistical package (27pp) prepared for participants by the Irish Information Partnership, mainly relating to security issues in Northern Ireland.
- Handwritten note by TKW on the Anglo-Irish Agreement (8 January 1986, 2pp) for use at the Balliol conference.
- Copy of a paper by Tom Hadden and Kevin Boyle on 'The Anglo-Irish Agreement-the way forward' (7 January 1986, 3pp) submitted to the Committee on the Government of Northern Ireland of the Northern Ireland Assembly.
- Letter from Seamus Mallon MP (24 March 1986, 1p) enclosing a copy of his maiden speech in the House of Commons (20 February 1986, 2pp).
- Copy of a speech entitled 'The Anglo-Irish Agreement-the dangers' delivered by Senator Mary Robinson in the Clarence Hotel, Dublin (22 April 1986, 8pp).
- Papers relating to the British Irish Association Conference, Christ Church, Oxford, 19–21 September 1986, focusing on the Anglo-Irish Agreement, including a programme (2pp), and a list of participants (6pp). Copies of papers given at the conference by John A. Murphy, 'A changing Catholic identity in the Republic?' and Tom Hadden and Kevin Boyle, 'Hopes and fears for Hillsborough' (10pp). Handwritten notes by TKW on proceedings (4pp).
- Holograph draft and typescript copy of a letter from TKW to Seán Donlon, Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs, discussing the need for a 'flexible approach' in attempting to maintain negotiations on devolution in the face of strong Unionist opposition to the Anglo-Irish Agreement. TKW expresses his opposition to a 'symbolic' presence in Northern Ireland, such as the Anglo-Irish secretariat at Maryfield (23 September 1986, 2 items); reply from Donlon expressing hope for a devolved form of Northern Ireland government in the future (3 October 1986, 1p).
- **P175/23** January–November 1987

40pp

### British Irish Association Conference at Cambridge, 1987

Papers relating to the British Irish Association Conference, Emmanuel College, Cambridge, 18–20 September 1987 including a programme (1p) and a list of participants (6pp).

- Also includes:
- Typescript extract from an article 'Ireland: Land of change' by TKW published in *Eire* (Spring 1987). The extract refers to the current economic climate and the need for equality and agreement to improve investment and create jobs in Northern Ireland (Spring 1987, 2pp).
- Copy of the Interim Report of the Standing Advisory Commission

### T.K. Whitaker Papers

P175/23

on Human Rights concerning equality of opportunity and employment in Northern Ireland (March 1987, 4pp).

- Copy of a Northern Ireland Office leaflet on equality of opportunity in employment in Northern Ireland (April 1987, 4pp). NIO press release (15 September 1987, 5pp) on the launch by Tom King MP, Secretary of State for NI, of a guide to effective practice in religious equality of opportunity.
- Copy of an off-print from *Political Communication and Persuasion* containing a special report on The Northern Ireland Crisis in Perspective' by Pierre Joannon (1987, 12pp).
- St Patrick's Cathedral, Dublin programme for a memorial service for the victims of the Enniskillen bombing on 8 November 1987 (15 November 1987, 4pp).

**P175/24** March–October 1988

7 items

# Anglo-Irish Agreement, 1988 and SDLP-Sinn Fein dialogue

Material relating mainly to the Anglo-Irish Agreement and talks between the SDLP and Sinn Féin parties. Includes:

- Letter from Alan Dukes TD, leader of Fine Gael, to TKW concerning his attendance at the British Irish Association Conference in Ditchley. 'I attended the recent British/Irish (*sic*) Association Conference in Ditchley and I came away profoundly depressed by the views I heard there from a number of Unionists and, indeed, from a number of non-Unionists' (21 October 1988, 1p). He refers to a document sent to Dukes by TKW entitled 'Reflections on the SDLP-Sinn Fein dialogue', a copy of which is on the file (1p). Handwritten note to Noel [Dorr?] enclosing a copy of the same document (15 September 1988, 1p).
- Copy of a pamphlet published by the Inter-Church Group on Faith and Politics entitled 'Towards an island that works: Facing divisions in Ireland'. Contains annotations by TKW (March 1988, 36pp).
- Copy of an SDLP publication, *Policy Briefing No. 3* (not dated, 4pp) containing a statement by Dr Garret FitzGerald TD on the Anglo-Irish Agreement.
- Press cuttings on Sinn Féin/SDLP talks (September 1988, 4 items).

# 1.2. Additional Northern Ireland files, 1957-94

**P175/25** [1957]–71

50pp

# The name of the State, the national territory and constitutional reform

Copies of memoranda, correspondence and extracts from speeches and publications concerning the naming of the Irish State and the definition of its national territory as stated in Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution.

Includes:

- Copy of a personal handwritten letter from TKW, Central Bank, to Taoiseach Jack Lynch enclosing copies of minutes he wrote in early 1968 'on a matter that remains topical. I still adhere to what I said then' (8 March 1971, 1p).
- Copy of a minute by TKW for the Minister [for Finance?] entitled 'Name of the State', on the views of the Constitution Committee on the name and extent of the national territory (5 January 1968, 3pp).
- Copy of a further minute by TKW in response to the Minister's reservations on the general thesis underpinning TKW's minute of 5 January (8 February 1968, 2pp).
- Handwritten notes by TKW on possible constitutional reform (not dated, 2pp).
- Copies of various minutes and memoranda on the extent and name of the national territory and use of the terms 'Ireland', 'Republic of Ireland'. 'Six Counties' and 'Northern Ireland' (17pp).
- Copies of extracts from speeches by Taoisigh Eamon de Valera and Sean Lemass on the issue of partition and the peaceful means by which it might be ended (1957–65, 25pp).

**P175/26** November 1969–January 1975

14 items

#### The Constitution of Northern Ireland

Press cuttings, publications and papers concerning the creation of a new constitution for Northern Ireland.

- Copy of a confidential memorandum from an unidentified source on 'The Constitutional Position of Northern Ireland', examining the historical development of the present position; the pro-partition and anti-partition cases; and the expected evolution of the position (revised November 1969, 47pp).
- Off-print from the Anglo-American Law Review of an article by Professor Claire Palley entitled 'The Evolution, Disintegration and Possible Reconstruction of the Northern Ireland Constitution' (May 1972, 11pp).

- Press cuttings of a series of six articles by Senator John Kelly in The Irish Press entitled 'A Constitution for the New Ireland' (May–June 1972, 6pp).
- White Paper on Northern Ireland Constitutional Proposals, presented to Parliament by [William Whitelaw] the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (March 1973, 34pp).
- White Paper on The Northern Ireland Constitution. Presented to Parliament by [Merlyn Rees] the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (July 1974, 24pp).
- **P175/27** July 1978–December 1979

50 items

#### ESRI Survey on attitudes in the Republic to Northern Ireland

Copies of memoranda, correspondence, press releases. publications and press cuttings concerning the Economic and Social Research Institute's survey, Attitudes in the Republic of Ireland to the Northern Ireland Problem by E.E. Davis and R. Sinnott (October 1979, 173pp). Contains a published copy of the survey; memoranda responding to criticisms of the survey's methodology and findings, particularly on support for the IRA in the Republic; annotated memoranda, minutes and notes sent to TKW as President and member of the Executive Committee of the ESRI; and copies of correspondence sent to E.E. Davis and Dr Kieran A. Kennedy, Director of the ESRI, from various American sociologists.

Includes:

- Copy of a letter from James F. Meenan, Chairman of the ESRI Council, to Martin O'Donoghue, Minister for Economic Planning and Development, outlining the background of the survey and the consultation undertaken prior to publication with the Department of Foreign Affairs (24 October 1979, 2pp).
- Handwritten minute by TKW of the meeting of the ESRI Executive Committee at which reactions to the published report were reviewed (23 October 1979, 2pp).
- Further handwritten notes by TKW (1p) expressing doubts as to the validity of the authors' findings and the quality of their judgement with regard to 'sympathy with IRA motives'.
- **P175/28** April 1981–January 1983

13 items

# Correspondence with Northern Ireland politicians and clergy, 1981

Correspondence and related papers, some concerning TKW's *Round Table* article, the FitzGerald/Thatcher talks, Anglo-Irish joint studies, and peace initiatives. Includes:

- Letter from John Hume MEP to TKW expressing thanks for TKW's efforts on behalf of playwright Brian Friel with the American Irish Foundation, and praising TKW's article on Seamus Delargy. Also contains a copy of the *New York Times* review of Brian Friel's play, *Translations* (10 April 1981, 2 items).
- Typescript letter from Cahal B. Daly, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnois, to TKW (18 September 1981, 1p) congratulating him on the publication of his *Round Table* article and his reappointment to the Senate. He encloses a copy of his homily entitled 'Mercy, Justice and Peace' given at the Ardagh and Clonmacnois diocesan pilgrimage to Knock (6 September 1981, 15).
- Copy of published reports on 'Anglo-Irish Joint Studies' presented to both houses of the Oireachtas by Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald (11 November 1981, 58pp). Contains studies on possible new institutional structures, citizenship rights, economic co-operation and measures to encourage mutual understanding. Also contains holograph notes by TKW (2pp).
- Letter from Maurice Hayes, Department of the Civil Service for Northern Ireland, Upper Newtownards Road, Belfast to TKW (12 November 1981, 1p) referring to a recent meeting at which TKW gave a paper. The Public Service Training Council would probably be in touch about the possibility of TKW participating in the annual forum for Permanent Secretaries which it runs.
- List of participants, including TKW, attending the British Irish Association Conference at Lambeth Palace, London, 27 November 1981 (5pp).
- Correspondence between TKW and David Cook, Rugby Road, Belfast, Deputy Leader of the Alliance Party of Northern Ireland, concerning a speech given by Cook at Trinity College, Dublin which was subsequently published as an article in the *Irish Times*. TKW makes reference to his *Round Table* article, and points to the divergences between their two outlooks, stating that he is 'more nationalistic' and 'less committed to power-sharing' than Cook (23 December 1981, 2pp; 4 January 1982, 2pp). A copy of Cook's amended speech is included (22 October 1981, 5pp).
- **P175/29** December 1984–January 1994

7pp

### Self-determination

Correspondence, documents and press cuttings concerning dialogue between Sinn Fein and the SDLP in 1988 and 1994 on the issue of self-determination. Content mainly centres on Sinn Fein's refusal to accept that referenda on self-determination should be held separately and concurrently in the North and South. Includes:

• Copy of a published letter from TKW to the editor, the Irish

**P175/29** *Times*, on the subject of the 1984 Anglo-Irish Summit and the options outlined in the New Ireland Forum report. (1 December 1984, 1p).

- Extract from an article by TKW 'Ireland: land of change' from *Éire-Ireland*, Spring 1987 (2pp).
- Copy of letters to John Bowman (5 January 1994, 1p) and Michael McDowell (15 January 1994, 1p) praising articles written by each in the *Irish Times* and *Sunday Independent* respectively on the subject of self-determination and Sinn Fein's reaction to the Downing Street Declaration (January 1994, 2 items); copy of an enclosure sent with each letter, a minute by TKW entitled 'Reflections on SDLP-Sinn Fein Dialogue' (30 September 1988, 2pp).

**P175/30** January–February 1991

4 items

# Correspondence with Senator David Norris concerning picketing

Correspondence between TKW and Senator David Norris, Seanad Éireann, concerning the New Consensus movement's 'peace picket' of the Sinn Fein Ard Fheis, calling on Sinn Fein to withdraw support for the IRA and pursue democratic and peaceful political action.

- Copy of a letter from TKW to Senator David Norris, Seanad Éireann (5 February 1991, 2pp) expressing his reluctance 'to take part in pickets or marches of any kind ... While demonstrations may at times be a spectacular way of letting off steam, or be effective in gaining media attention in an effort to influence public opinion, it seems preferable, in principle, that <u>major</u> political, economic and social issues should, in a democracy, be kept off the streets and be dealt with through the media, the political parties, Government and Parliament'.
- Reply from Senator Norris (13 February 1991, 1p). The picket is perhaps a slightly clumsy instrument but I think many of us feel it is almost the only democratic method left open to people who wish to apply pressure to a group that has unilaterally and without any reference to democratic processes taken onto itself the right to declare war on a section of the population in the north of this island and, indeed, upon the whole of the neighbouring island in the name of the people of Ireland on a mandate of about 2% of the national vote'.
- Copies of New Consensus leaflets advertising the picket (2 items).

# 1.3. Northern Ireland associations and organisations, 1969-87

**P175/31** November 1969–April 1975

50 items

### Irish Association for Cultural Economic and Social Relations

Correspondence, texts of lectures, papers and reports by the Irish Association for Cultural Economic and Social Relations, an organisation 'founded on the belief in a community of interest between all the people in this island whatever constitutional arrangements there may be', concerning North/South relations; the establishment of a Council of Ireland; the Irish Constitution; and opportunities for political development in Northern Ireland. Includes:

- Draft (17pp) and final version (18pp) of a questionnaire for members of the two committees of the Association, North and South, to assist in structuring the objectives and methods of the Association (November 1969–April 1970).
- Copy of a personal letter from TKW to Professor Norman Gibson, New University of Ulster, acknowledging receipt of a copy of Gibson's address to the Association (15pp) and outlining 'some of the thoughts I have about new arrangements in Northern Ireland and between London and Dublin' (8 August 1872, 4pp).
- Copy of a paper by Donal Barrington, Council of Ireland in the Constitutional Context published by the Association (27 February 1973, 24pp).
- **P175/32** November 1970–October 1972

20 items

### Movement for Peace in Northern Ireland

Correspondence, policy documents, press releases, reports and notices concerning the formation of the organisation known as the Movement for Peace in Northern Ireland. Contains copies of its Constitution and lists of steering group committee members in the North and South including Garret FitzGerald, Conor Cruise O'Brien and Declan Costello.

Includes a letter from Declan Costello, Clonskeagh, Dublin 6 to TKW concerning the formation of the organisation, enclosing copies of foundation documents (8pp) and requesting his agreement to include his name on a list of prominent individuals who are commending the Movement (1 November 1970, 1p). **P175/33** September 1972–April 1975

24 items

### New Ulster Movement

Reports, correspondence, memoranda, news-sheets and discussion documents issued by the New Ulster Movement concerning their political lobbying activities and organisational restructuring.

Includes:

- Letter from Brian McK. McGuigan, Chairman of the Political Committee of the NUM, to TKW enclosing a copy of a letter sent to David Andrews, Fianna Fáil Chief Whip (17 January 1975, 1p), together with a copy of the NUM pamphlet entitled 'Our Future' (3pp) outlining the need for a self-governing structure in Northern Ireland and the possibilities created by the forthcoming Constitutional Convention election (17 January 1975, 1p).
- Copies of publications entitled Two Irelands or One (May 1972, 16pp); A New Constitution for Northern Ireland (August 1972, 10pp); Ireland-Towards the Return of the Rule of Law (December 1972, 16pp); and Tribalism or Christianity in Ireland (September 1973, 30pp).
- Copy of the New Ulster Movement memorandum to the Oireachtas All-Party Committee on Irish Relations (30 April 1974, 6pp).
- **P175/34** May–June 1973

8 items

### Youth in Action for Peace

Correspondence and related documents concerning the development of the Youth in Action for Peace movement in Northern Ireland, headed by its President, Lord O'Neill [Raymond Arthur Clanboy O'Neill]. The movement was initiated by the Northern Ireland Association of Youth Clubs to provide activities and projects which enable inter-denominational youth interaction. Includes a copy of a letter from TKW to Lord O'Neill expressing thanks for his letter and lunch in Dublin, organised to promote the Youth in Action for Peace movement. TKW explains that the Central Bank has no statutory power to give donations to charitable organisations, but encloses a personal subscription to the movement (23 May 1973, 1p).

**P175/35** June 1973–August 1978

19 items

#### Enterprise Ulster

Correspondence, reports and press releases concerning the establishment and activities of Enterprise Ulster, the Northern Ireland statutory body tasked with promoting business. Mainly contains correspondence between Patrick Shea, Chairman, Enterprise Ulster, Ormeau Avenue, Belfast, and TKW. Includes:

- Letter from Patrick Shea to TKW requesting advice on his new post as Chairman of Enterprise Ulster, specifically in relation to EEC funding for cross-border schemes such as the reconstruction of the Ballyconnell Canal linking the Shannon and Lough Erne (26 June 1973, 2pp).
- Drafts of a letter from TKW to An Taoiseach Jack Lynch describing a visit to Northern Ireland by Irish senior civil servants to learn about the work of Enterprise Ulster. A synopsis of Paddy Shea's career and a quotation from a letter sent by him to TKW outlining moderate Unionists' disenchantment with the British government is attached. Reference is also made to TKW's criticism of the Government's proposed finance measures and his negative opinion of the introduction of work-sharing practices. (30 July 1978, 2 items).
- Typescript note compiled by the Departments of Economic Planning and Labour on the advantages and disadvantages of the Irish government introducing a similar body to Enterprise Ulster (4 August 1978, 3pp).
- **P175/36** January–July 1978

25 items

### **Co-Operation North**

Reports, press cuttings, press release and correspondence relating to the launch of 'Co-Operation North', a programme established within the Republic to promote cross-border initiatives among businesses and communities. TKW acted as chairman of the meeting among voluntary bodies, trade unions, state-sponsored bodies, local authorities and commercial organisations which approved the proposal to establish 'Co-Operation North'. Includes:

- Copy of a draft report by the Acting Coordinating Committee of Co-Operation North containing an outline of proposals for the establishment of the programme (May 1978, 27pp).
- Notes for TKW to assist him in chairing the foundation meeting (22 June 1978, 3pp); and handwritten preparatory notes by TKW (2pp).
- Letter from Tomás Ó Fiaich, Archbishop of Armagh, to TKW seeking advice on the organisation of an inter-denominational

- P175/36 day of events in Armagh to encourage visitors from the Republic, in line with the Co-operation North programme (12 July 1978, 2pp).
- **P175/37** July 1981–September 1986

25 items

#### Northern Ireland Voluntary Trust

Correspondence, annual reports and briefing documents concerning fund-raising and campaigning by the Northern Ireland Voluntary Trust, a part-funded government initiative established in 1979 to encourage voluntary community projects in Northern Ireland. Correspondence is generally between Hugh Frazer, Director, David Cook, Chairman, Irish Voluntary Trust, Brunswick Street, Belfast, and TKW. Includes:

- Letter from David Cook to TKW referring to their meeting to discuss a fund-raising campaign in the Republic; meetings with other influential individuals; a request for advice from TKW on an enclosed draft of a letter to Ben Dunne seeking a meeting; and progress with fund-raising activities in the UK (1 April 1982, 3pp); copy of a reply by TKW congratulating Cook on his 'brilliant showing' in the Belfast South by-election and suggesting changes to his draft letter to Ben Dunne (15 April 1982, 2pp).
- Letter from David Cook to TKW requesting a letter of support from the NIVT Republic of Ireland Supporters Group, which includes TKW, for inclusion with a news-sheet publicising the work of the trust in the Republic. This publication coincides with the transmission of an appeal on RTÉ Radio 1. Enclosed is a draft letter of support and a previously published newssheet to coincide with a Radio 4 appeal in Britain (10 January 1986, 3 items).
- **P175/38** January–March 1987

200pp

#### **Project of Churches on Human Rights**

Correspondence and drafts of a report for publication by the Project of the Churches on Human Rights and Responsibilities in the United Kingdom and the Republic of Ireland. The Project brings together Protestant and Catholic representatives, as well as academic, administrative and legal advisors, to create a publication on human rights issues in Northern Ireland. Primarily relates to TKW's role as a member of the Advisory Board, his attendance at meetings, and his review of sections of the report, 'Rights and Responsibilities', for publication.

### 1.4. Statements, speeches and interviews, 1960-93

**P175/39** June 1960–November 1993

50 items

#### TKW radio interviews

Correspondence, scripts and notes mainly relating to broadcasts which feature TKW on the subject of Northern Ireland, and in particular the first meeting between Terence O'Neill and Seán Lemass, 14 January 1965. Contains a transcript of the BBC broadcast on 'O'Neill meets Lemass' (December 1975); transcript of an RTÉ interview with Rodney Rice (January and March 1985); and a transcript of the interview with TKW in the BBC 'History Makers Series' (February 1992). Contextual material incorporates TKW's notes, news extracts, and copies of correspondence between TKW, Terence O'Neill and Jim Malley [O'Neill's private secretary]. Also contains material relating to Lord O'Neill's death (June 1990).

Includes:

- Copy of the script for a radio programme, 'O'Neill meets Lemass', broadcast in the BBC Northern Ireland series 'Modern Irish History. People and Events' (Autumn 1975, 41pp).
- Copy of a *Sunday Press* article by TKW written shortly after the death of Terence O'Neill recalling the first O'Neill/Lemass meeting and subsequent encounters (June 1990, 2pp).
- Copy of a letter from TKW to Jim Malley concerning the death of Terence O'Neill. He refers to his 'rapidly' written article in the Sunday Press and the many inaccuracies printed in news articles concerning the first O'Neill/Lemass meeting. The suggestion is made that all those involved in that meeting who are still living should compile an agreed account for the historical record which could be sent to Professors of Irish History at major universities (18 June 1990, 2pp).
- Handwritten draft by TKW and typescript copy of Jack Lynch's remarks at Lord O'Neill's memorial service (8 June 1991, 3pp).
- **P175/40** August 1968–June 1973

50 items

#### Speeches and statements by Taoiseach Jack Lynch

Copies of speeches and statements made by Taoiseach Jack Lynch on the subject of Northern Ireland or containing significant reference to Northern Ireland. Contains speeches made at Fianna Fáil functions such as Ard Fhéiseanna and meetings of the National Executive, Cumainn, Comhairlí Dáil Cheanntair, and Cáirde Fáil; but also at international fora such as the United Nations, and as guest speaker at events organised by professional and cultural bodies. Contains copies of *Éire Ireland*, Bulletin of the Department of Foreign Affairs with texts of and extracts from

the Taoiseach's speeches.

Includes:

- Partial list of speeches on the file (1p)
- Copy of The Taoiseach John Lynch TD. Speeches and Statements. Irish Unity. Northern Ireland. Anglo-Irish Relations. August 1968–October 1971. Published by the Government Information Bureau (106pp)
- Typescript address by Jack Lynch, broadcast on RTÉ, entitled 'All Irish traditions', outlining the views of the Irish government and calling on the people of Northern Ireland and the British government to help resolve the conflict peacefully. A plea is made for non-interference with scheduled Orange Order parades (11 July 1970, 2 items); holograph note of congratulations from TKW to the Taoiseach on 'a fine speech' (13 July 1970, 1p).
- Issue of *Éire Ireland* (30 October 1970, 5pp) containing the text of the Taoiseach's speech to the UN General Assembly on the occasion of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the UN.
- Issue of *Éire Ireland* (3 September 1971, 8pp) containing the text of the Taoiseach's statement following the introduction of internment in Northern Ireland.
- **P175/41** June 1973–October 1974

8 items

### Speeches and statements by Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave

Copies of texts and published versions of speeches and statements by Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave dealing exclusively with the situation in Northern Ireland.

- Text of his address to the 1900 Club at the Dorchester Hotel, London (2 July 1973, 15pp).
- Texts of opening and closing remarks by him at the Sunningdale Conference (December 1973, 15pp).
- Copy of his address to the Oxford Union, arguing the motion 'That this house considers that British policy towards Ireland has always been too little, too late' (31 October 1974, 8pp).

### **2. FINANCE**

### 2.1 The National Economy and the Banking System, 1926-69

**P175/42** 1926–53

300pp

### The link with sterling

Extracts from reports, texts of relevant legislation, memoranda and minutes relating to the link with sterling.

- Includes:
- Extracts from the report of the Banking Commission, 1926 (9pp).
- Extracts from the Currency Act, 1927 (1p).
- Copy of the Currency (Amendment) Act, 1930 (10pp).
- Pages from Seanad Éireann Debates (14 October 1931, 20pp) on a motion to establish a joint committee of both houses of the Oireachtas to examine currency, reserves, and the credit and financial position of the country in light of the British government's decision to abandon the gold standard.
- Extracts from the report of the Commission of Inquiry into Banking, Currency and Credit, 1938 (15pp).
- Copy of a memorandum for the Government on the Commission of Enquiry into Banking, Currency and Credit, 1938: Minority Report No 1 (148pp).
- Off-print of a talk by TKW to the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland on 'Ireland's external assets' (29 April 1949, 20pp).
- Copy of a top secret External Affairs memorandum for the Government on the possible devaluation of sterling and depression in Britain and the USA (23 June 1949, 8pp).
- Copy of a note by TKW for the Minister for Finance [Patrick McGilligan] on the External Affairs memorandum (30 June 1949, 6pp).
- Text of an unidentified lecture given by Seán MacBride, Minister for External Affairs, on the link with sterling (18 October 1949, 15pp).
- Press cuttings from Irish and British newspapers on monetary policy, the link with sterling and the possible devaluation of the Irish currency (October–December 1949, 10 items).
- Copy of a Finance memorandum for the Government on financial policy (16 October 1951, 23pp).
- Copy of a confidential memorandum on Ireland's relationship with the Sterling Area Pool (January 1953, 8pp).

**P175/43** May 1948–December 1952

200pp

### Commercial bank liquidity (alternatives to sterling)

Department of Finance memoranda, some correspondence and related material including handwritten and typescript tables on assets and reserves, concerning aspects of banking liquidity and the link with sterling. Material dates mainly from 1952. Includes

- Copy of a note by TKW for the Minister on alternative strategies for the investment of the Central Bank's and the commercial banks' sterling assets, and whether commission payments in the purchase and sale of sterling securities might be reduced by the two working together (27 May 1948, 4pp).
- Copy of an undated memorandum by the Irish Banks' Standing Committee on the repatriation of sterling assets through the banking system, annotated by TKW (5pp) together with a Finance minute for TKW commenting on the memorandum as 'a disappointing document' (21 January 1950, 4pp).
- Typescript extracts from speeches in Seanad Éireann by Professor George O'Brien on the Finance Bill, 1950 and the Supplies and Services Bill, 1951 (March 1952
- Copy of a memorandum on the flight of capital (March 1952, 4pp).
- Memorandum on external assets of the Central Bank, commercial banks and departmental funds (September 1952, 66pp).
- Copy of a memorandum on the liquidity of the Irish banking system (December 1952, 19pp).
- Copy of a memorandum on some aspects of the link with sterling (December 1952, 40pp).
- Copy of a memorandum headed 'Summary of recent memoranda on external assets, link with sterling and banking liquidity' (December 1952, 12pp).
- **P175/44** 1951; 1971–2

25pp

### Correspondence with Professor Sioma Kagan

Correspondence between TKW and Sioma Kagan, initially when Kagan is resident at Nelson Road, Scarsdale, New York, when the subject of the correspondence is the Irish economy. Includes two letters from Kagan (1 September 1951, 1p; 29 November 1951, 2pp) with excerpts from a memorandum by TKW on Irish government financial policy, annotated by Kagan (12pp). The later correspondence (November 1971–May 1972, 5 items), when Kagan is Professor of International Business at the University of Missouri-St Louis, is largely of a social nature.

**P175/45** 1955–62

12 items

### Reform of the banking system in Ireland

Memoranda and notes relating to proposals for the reform of the banking system in Ireland.

- Copy of an undated and unidentified draft memorandum (60pp) entitled 'Introductory note on the Central Bank's functions and duties' with sections on the evolution of central banking in Ireland; the Central Bank as bank of issue and as custodian of national external reserves; as the Government's banker; as the custodian of bank reserves and as the bank of central clearance, settlement and transfer; and as the bank of rediscount and lender of last resort.
- Handwritten and typescript notes by TKW on the present arrangements for bank financing of the Exchequer (not dated, 12pp).
- Copy of a memorandum by TKW for [Gerard Sweetman] the Minister for Finance, containing his observations on the views of the Governor of the Central Bank on a recent decision not to allow bank lending rates in Ireland rise in line with increases in Britain, and the Minister's wish to discuss possible associated reforms in banking (29 March 1955, 3pp) with an attached memorandum entitled 'Desirable banking reforms' (29 March 1955, 4pp).
- Copy of a typescript note by TKW on stages in the evolution of central banking in Ireland (July 1960, 4pp).
- Copy of a paper prepared by TKW for circulation to members of the Central Bank Board on 'The rediscount rate of the Central Bank – symbol or interest rate?' (July 1960, 5pp).
- Letter from Dr Maurice Moynihan, Governor of the Central Bank, to TKW (8 March 1961, 1p) referring to previous discussions on the submission to the Board of the Central Bank of a comprehensive programme for the gradual development of the Bank's functions and activities and referring to a memorandum to this end (originally attached but not now present), prepared by Mr Oslizlok, head of the Bank's Economics Section; copy reply from TKW (27 March 1961, 1p) praising the 'balanced and comprehensive' nature of the memorandum.
- Copy of a letter from TKW to Moynihan (27 March 1961, 1p) enclosing a copy of a note (2pp) he had made some years ago on the nature of the responsibility laid on the Central Bank by Section 6 of the Central Bank Act, 1942.
- Summary of the conclusions and suggestions contained in the memorandum prepared by Mr Oslizlok (7 April 1961, 5pp).
- Copy of a personal and confidential letter from TKW to Moynihan on the present state of their discussions on the Central Bank's functions and activities (24 January 1962, 4pp).

**P175/46** March 1957–July 1958

250pp

### Memoranda on aspects of the Irish economy, 1957

File consisting mainly of memoranda prepared for the information of members of the Government by the Department of Finance, the Department of the Taoiseach, and the Department of Industry and Commerce; and by academic economists; providing a general overview of the economic position with analysis of specific aspects including:

- capital development needs;
- the balance of payments;
- need for an integrated programme of national development;
- powers of the Central Bank and the need for banking reform;
- monetary and banking systems and the adequacy of banking reserves;
- savings and investments;
- state and local authority aid towards the housing programme;
- proposed membership of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development.

Includes copies of Department of the Taoiseach memoranda entitled 'Some comments (March 1957) on the current economic position' (17pp) and 'The Powers of the Central Bank' (2 April 1957, 31pp).

**P175/47** May–July 1957

29 items

### Critique of Irish banking and currency system – correspondence with Professor C.F. Carter

Memoranda, correspondence, and reports arising from a memorandum by C.F. Carter, Professor of Economics at Queen's University Belfast, Professor Louden Ryan, Trinity College Dublin, and Patrick Lynch, University College Dublin on the Irish banking system and whether it has the capacity to supply the credit needs of an expanding economy.

- Includes:
- Copy of the memorandum by Carter, Ryan and Lynch for the Capital Investment Advisory Committee (14 May 1957, 5pp).
- Copy of a personal letter from TKW to Carter containing some comments on the memorandum (6 June 1957, 3pp), copies to Ryan and Lynch.
- Copy of a letter from J.J. McElligott, Governor of the Central Bank to T.G. Hickey, editor, *The Statist*, responding critically to the journal's analysis of Irish banking and finance, with particular reference to a recent article from the journal's *Home Banking Supplement*. McElligott argues against a gradual inflationary policy advocated by the article, outlining the reasons why such a policy would be unsuitable for the Irish

- P175/47 economy (15 July 1957, 5pp). Copy sent to TKW for his information.
- **P175/48** June–July 1957

6 items

### Reform of the banking system in Ireland

Memoranda, notes and correspondence relating to proposals for reform of the banking system in Ireland. Includes:

- Copy of a memorandum from [Seán Lemass] the Minister for Industry and Commerce for the information of each member of the Government, consisting of an extract from a paper delivered by N.J. Gibson, Department of Economics, Queen's University, Belfast to the Statistical and Social Enquiry Society of Ireland on 17 May 1957 on 'An amended Irish monetary system' (28 June 1957, 9pp).
- Note by TKW for [Dr James Ryan] the Minister for Finance (2 July 1957, 1p) commenting on Mr Gibson's paper and attaching a commentary referring to contrary views expressed at the meeting when the paper was delivered (5pp).
- Copy of a memorandum from the Minister for Industry and Commerce for the information of each member of the Government (5 July 1957, 5pp) consisting of an extract from *The Statist* on banking reform, with a note by TKW for the Minister for Finance that he proposes to speak to him about the matter.
- Minute by TKW headed 'Notes on further memorandum of 3 July 1957 from Professor Carter and Messrs Lynch and Ryan' referring to an exchange of memoranda as a useful startingpoint for an approach to reform of the banking and currency system (8 July 1957, 2pp).
- Copy of a letter from TKW to Professor C.F. Carter, Queen's University, Belfast (9 July 1957, 1p) referring to an exchange of memoranda and proposing an informal discussion on the question of banking reform.
- **P175/49** December 1957–March 1958

14 items

### Economic development

Correspondence arising mainly from the circulation by TKW of a draft memorandum on productive investment and economic development. Correspondents include Erskine Childers, Minister for Lands; J.C. Nagle, Secretary, Department of Agriculture; M.D. McCarthy, Director, Central Statistics Office; Professor C.F. Carter, Queen's University, Belfast; Professor Louden Ryan,

Trinity College, Dublin; and Patrick Lynch, University College Dublin.

- Letter from Erskine Childers, Minister for Lands, to TKW, marked 'Informal for you only', outlining attitudes and obstacles to development within the Department of Agriculture. He describes problems faced in the production and export of meat, fish, fruit and vegetables. He identifies the 'real problem' facing economic development as an 'absolutely appalling' level of education after the age of fourteen and a 'lack of social patriotism' (16 December 1957, 3pp).
- Copy of a draft Industry and Commerce memorandum for the government entitled 'The use of artificial fertilizers, including observations on the proposals of the Minister for Industry and Commerce for the establishment of an ammonium nitrate factory' (February 1958, 6pp).
- Strictly confidential letter from C.F. Carter, Queen's University Belfast to TKW (3 March 1958, 3pp) in response to the draft memo. He is 'in strong agreement with your general approach' and wishes 'that similar thinking was going on at Stormont'. He includes comment on 'substantial points' and matters of exposition'. Further letter from Carter (15 March 1958, 2pp) with subsequent comments.
- Personal and confidential letter from Louden Ryan, Trinity College Dublin, with annotations by TKW. I liked your draft and what follows is comment rather than criticism' (15 March 1958, 8pp); with a later letter with additional comment (19 March 1958, 6pp).
- Personal and confidential letter from Patrick Lynch, Terenure, Dublin, to TKW. When I had read the full text I re-read the Introduction and decided that the mood of understatement pervading it was deliberate and that your concluding chapter will pass judgement on past policies as well as make recommendations for the future. Otherwise I would have expected you to begin with a recognition that our present plight is particularly serious, not because successive Governments have been remiss, but because they have done their best and their best has not been good enough. I should have been greatly tempted to open the study with a summary of the conclusions which I draw from the text: the cost-raising effects of protection in a contracting home market; the failure of employment-creating projects to foster self-sustaining economic growth; the discovery that indiscriminate injections of capital are not enough'.

**P175/50** October 1959-February 1960

150pp

### Protectionism v Free Trade

File entitled 'Correspondence about the removal of protection' containing copies of memoranda and correspondence from Department of Finance archives collated by TKW as encapsulating the arguments pro and anti-protectionism. Includes material relating to:

- Finance proposals to move from high tariff protection;
- the possibility of Ireland joining the European Free Trade Association of the Outer Seven and the implications for Irish industry;
- proposals for improved economic relations with Great Britain.

Contains Finance memoranda, commentary from other departments, Industry and Commerce; mainly and correspondence between TKW, Secretary General, Finance; J.C.B. MacCarthy, Secretary General, Industry and Commerce; M. Ó Muimhneacháin, Secretary General, Department of the Taoiseach; Con C. Cremin, Secretary General, External Affairs; and J.J. McElligott, Governor of the Central Bank.

**P175/51** 1961

10 items

#### The future of the International Monetary Fund

Draft amended memorandum of this title by TKW (January 1961, 6pp). Related material includes extract from a speech by [Frank Aiken], Minister for External Affairs at the General Debate in the 13<sup>th</sup> Session of the General Assembly of the UN, proposing that the IMF should act as a World Central Bank (September 1958, 1p); copy of the statement by J.J. McElligott, Governor, Central Bank, at the discussion of the IMF annual report (29 September 1959, 2pp); and press cuttings.

**P175/52** June–October 1965

27pp

### **Rediscounting of Exchequer Bills**

Papers relating to the rediscounting of Exchequer Bills mainly consisting of TKW's copies of correspondence and memoranda circulated to directors of the Central Bank for discussion. Includes:

 Copies of correspondence between the Irish Banks' Standing Committee and the Governor of the Central Bank and the Secretary, Department of Finance (June-August 1965, 6

items).

- Copy of a memorandum on 'rediscount of Exchequer Bills. Practice in other countries' (9pp).
- Letter from Dr Maurice Moynihan, Director, Central Bank, to TKW (25 November 1965, 2pp) indicating the main points of discussion on the question of the discounting of Exchequer Bills at the meeting of the Central Bank Board on 20 October, from which TKW was unavoidably absent.
- Department of Finance minute by TKW analysing and commenting on the memorandum on the practice of other countries in discounting Exchequer Bills (26 November 1965, 4pp)

**P175/53** December 1966–June 1967

9 items

### Correspondence relating to the Public Capital Programme

Correspondence between TKW and M. Ó Muimhneacháin, Governor of the Central Bank, concerning their differing opinions on the level at which the public capital programme should be set, and the projection of a growth rate of 4%.

I remain convinced that planning, programming or projecting which takes continuing large deficits in external payments among its basic assumptions is unsound and will lead to further setbacks and discouragement. The validity of the view that persistent external deficits may be "tolerable" is a matter on which, it seems, we are unlikely to agree' (Ó Muimhneacháin to TKW, 22 May 1967, 3pp).

I am surprised that you should repeat your strictures on planning, programming or projecting which is not conditioned to the maintenance of a balance on current account in external payments. I have many times – the latest being my letter of 22 Bealtaine – explained why I consider this too extreme a standard for application in Ireland today' (TKW to Ó Muimhneacháin, 24 May 1967, 1p).

**P175/54** February–June 1967

50pp

# Correspondence with the Central Bank: Public Capital Programme, 1967–8

File consisting mainly of correspondence between TKW and Dr Maurice Moynihan, Governor of the Central Bank, mainly relating to the Governor's view, contrary to that of the Minister and the Secretary of the Department of Finance, that proposed increases in public capital expenditure, in increased borrowing from external sources, and in commercial bank credit being made **P175/54** available to the government were inadvisable. Includes copies of letters from the Secretary to Mr D.S.A. Carroll, Chairman of the Irish Banks' Standing Committee.

**P175/55** May 1968–September 1971 [–May 1973]

75pp

## University courses in economics and mathematics for administrative civil servants

Correspondence between TKW, Secretary, Department of Finance, and academic leaders concerning the lack in the universities of suitably designed courses to fulfil the needs of the public service people with high qualifications in economics with a for approach. Correspondents mathematical include Professor Maurice Kennedy, Department of Mathematics, University College Dublin; Dr M.D. McCarthy, President, University College Cork; Dr W.J. Louden Ryan, Trinity College Dublin; and Professor James Meenan, Department of Political Economy, University College Dublin. Initial correspondence concerns the failure of the UCD honours course in economics and mathematics to fulfil the purpose for which it was intended and how this might be rectified, with much comment by Finance officials. Includes copies of correspondence between Dr Brendan Menton, Department of Finance, and Professor James Meenan, after TKW's departure from Finance.

**P175/56** July–October 1968

160pp

### Correspondence with the Governor of the Central Bank on credit advice, 1968

Correspondence, memoranda, tables and related material concerning the general monetary situation with particular reference to the availability of credit and the balance-of-payments deficit.

- Copy of a Finance memorandum headed 'Considerations relevant to measuring the level of external reserves and the net capital inflow' (26 July 1968, 17pp).
- Copy of a letter from Dr Maurice Moynihan, Governor, Central Bank of Ireland, to TKW, Secretary, Department of Finance (8 August 1968, 4pp) relaying the substance of discussion at the previous day's meeting of the Central Bank Board on 'the monetary situation and prospects' including the budget deficit, the 1968–9 capital programme, credit policy' and the need for corrective action. Copy of TKW's reply. 'As regards credit policy, I would not advise any restrictive action regarding bank advances until the September returns were available and could

be studied by reference to macro-economic projections for 1968 and 1969 ... While caution and watchfulness are necessary, we should not be premature in putting a brake on economic activity when we need to keep it high on employment grounds' (9 August 1968, 3pp).

- Letter from Moynihan to TKW (15 August 1968, 1p) referring to discussion of his letter of 9 August at the previous day's Central Bank Board meeting and enclosing copies of draft letters to the Minister for Finance (3pp) and the Irish Bank's Standing Committee (1p) reiterating the Central Bank's view on the need for urgent change in credit policy.
- Copy of a handwritten letter from TKW on holiday in Cárna to [C.J. Haughey] the Minister for Finance. 'The Governor insists on rushing things. While I have taken a "no fuss" line with him, and do genuinely want to have a better assessment of the b.[alance] of payments prospects, I fear that the inflationary pace is "hotting up" too much and I would not be against a little braking now. Some warning from the Govt. is necessary; else both income and public expenditure increases may get out of hand (17 August 1968, 2pp).
- Copy of a letter from Moynihan to TKW (21 August 1968, 2pp) referring to a memorandum sent on 2 August [not present] on public capital expenditure in 1969–70 and 1970–1, the content of which he finds 'deeply depressing' based as it is on the principle of 'planning on the hypothesis of continuing large balance-of-payments deficits'.
- Handwritten notes by TKW on 'Signs of increased inflationary pressure' (not dated, 4pp).
- Copy of a confidential Finance memorandum (29 August 1968, 15pp) headed 'Projection of national income and expenditure for 1968'.
- Finance note annotated by TKW on the feasibility of an Autumn budget (10 September 1968, 5pp).
- Copy of a letter from TKW to the Minister for Finance (11 September 1968, 12pp) consisting of a detailed analysis of economic and financial policy in the light of the Central Bank's expressions of concern at growing inflationary pressures.
- Copy of a Finance memorandum for the government containing a review of the current economic situation and the proposal to impose controls on hire-purchase (30 September 1968, 11pp).
- Draft of a confidential letter from C.J. Haughey, Minister for Finance to the Governor of the Central Bank (September 1968, 2pp) with a handwritten draft by TKW (3pp), and drafts (6pp) and copy of the secret letter ultimately sent by the Taoiseach in the absence of the Minister for Finance due to ill-health (15 October 1968, 4pp) responding to the Governor's letter of 23 August and informing him of proposed rises in taxation and restrictions on credit.

P175/57 August–October 1968

20 items

### **Current economic situation**

File of this title containing memoranda, correspondence and related documents mainly concerning the prospect of adverse developments in the economy caused by inflation; and the consequent need for heavier taxation.

Includes:

- Correspondence between Maurice Moynihan, Governor, Central Bank, and TKW, Secretary of the Department of Finance, articulating their differing views on the need for corrective action on the economy (August 1968, 3 items) with copies of drafts and letters from the Governor to Charles Haughey TD, Minister for Finance (August 1986, 3pp) and D.S.A. Carroll, Chairman, Irish Banks' Standing Committee (August 1986, 1p) advocating urgent attention on the part of the government and the banking system to address growing inflationary tendencies, with an interim reply from the Minister drafted by TKW (27 August 1986, 1p).
- Draft and copy of a Finance memorandum for the Minister headed 'Economic and Financial policy' (11 September 1968, 12pp) addressing the Central Bank's concerns.
- Copy of the Economic and Social Research Institute Quarterly Economic Commentary (September 1968. and (dd0) Department of Finance notes (9 October 1968, 8pp) on the ESRI forecast, the assumptions it contains and a comparison with Finance's own projections.
- Copy of a letter from Taoiseach Jack Lynch to the Governor of the Central Bank (15 October 1968, 4pp) responding, in the absence of the Minister for Finance through illness, to the Governor's letter of 23 August, and agreeing that a moderate degree of restraint needs to be introduced into the economy. Copy of the Governor's reply (17 October 1968, 2pp). Copy of a Finance minute on the likely effects of hire-purchase restrictions (not dated, 3pp).
- P175/58 September–November 1968

40 items

#### **Financial proposals**

File of this title containing memoranda, correspondence and related documents mainly concerning proposed actions on credit to address the prospect of adverse developments in the economy caused by inflation.

- Copy of a Finance memorandum for the Government entitled 'Review of current economic situation and proposal to impose controls on hire-purchase' (30 September 1968, 11pp).
- Press cuttings from Irish daily newspapers speculating on the

need for credit controls and the likelihood of a supplementary budget in November, and reporting the Taoiseach's assumption of the responsibilities of the Minister for Finance (October 1968, 7 items).

- Minute entitled 'Suggested paragraphs for speech by the Taoiseach to the Dublin Chamber of Commerce' (October 1968, 4pp).
- Copy of a secret note on yields from turnover tax (October 1968, 2pp). Copy of a handwritten note by TKW for the Taoiseach on 'Financial position current account (22 October 1968, 2pp). Handwritten note for TKW by an unidentified Finance official, for his meeting with the Taoiseach on the question of the supplementary budget (21 October 1968, 2pp).
- Copy of a Finance supplementary memorandum for the government headed 'Review of current economic situation and proposal to impose controls on hire-purchase' (22 October 1968, 5pp).
- Copy of a confidential memorandum from the Departmental Committee on Public Expenditure (October 1968, 5pp) containing revised estimates of the current and capital budget positions based on end-September returns.
- Copy letters from TKW to the Taoiseach concerning the beef incentive scheme (23 October 1968, 5pp) and milk subsidy (25 October 1968, 2pp), with a copy of a typescript note by TKW on the milk subsidy (23 October 1968, 2pp).
- Copy of a Finance memorandum for the government headed 'Facts on milk subsidies, market returns and stocks' (28 October 1968, 4pp).
- Copy of a Posts and Telegraphs memorandum for the Government headed 'Proposed increases in Post Office charges' (November 1968, 10pp).
- **P175/59** January–May 1969

80pp

# Correspondence with the Central Bank: Public Capital Programme, 1969–70

Correspondence and memoranda relating to the formulation of the public capital programme, the Budget, inflation and the general economic position.

- Copy of a letter from TKW to Dr Maurice Moynihan (17 January 1969, 5pp) referring to previous correspondence and meetings concerning the public capital programme for 1968–9, outlining and analyzing the heads of expenditure and the domestic and foreign borrowing requirements.
- Copy of a memorandum by TKW for the Minister for Finance on the 'truly worrying' financial position (30 January 1969, 8pp). 'I am sorry that at a time when "pie in the sky" is seasonable, I have to serve cold porridge. But magna est veritas ...'

### T.K. Whitaker Papers

#### P175/59

- Brief general note from TKW for the Minister on the public capital programme (19 February 1969, 3pp).
- Copy of a letter from D.S.A. Carroll, Chairman, Irish Banks' Standing Committee, to TKW (13 February 1969, 4pp) on the effects of current inflation levels on the banking sector.
- Copy of a Finance memorandum for the Government on the Budget, 1969/70 (19 February 1969, 33pp).
- Copy of a letter from D.S.A. Carroll, Chairman, Irish Banks' Standing Committee, to TKW (21 February 1969, 6pp) mainly concerning Exchequer requirements from the banks.
- Typescript copies of three letters from TKW to the Minister for Finance (28 March 1969, 2pp; 16 April 1969, 4pp; 5 May 1969, 1p) on the budget position, the deficit and the need to curb inflation.

**P175/60** January 1969

15 items

### Draft statement on economic trends and incomes

Material relating mainly to the formulation of an incomes policy for 1969.

Includes:

- Three slightly differing drafts of a statement issued by the Government on main economic trends in 1968, developments in wages and salaries during the year and considerations effecting income increases in 1969 (January 1969, 12pp each). Government Information Bureau summary of the Government statement (January 1969, 3pp).
- Copy of a Finance memorandum for the Government on incomes policy in 1969 (21 January 1969, 2pp).
- Copy of a draft memorandum on the revision of salary scales for officers of local authorities (not dated, 2pp).
- Cuttings from Irish daily newspapers on the need for income restraint (22–28 January 1969, 4 items).
- **P175/61** February–July 1969

175pp

#### **Incomes policy**

File of this title mainly containing copies of material originating from the National Industrial Economic Council General Purposes Committee.

Includes:

 Copies of agendas and minutes of meetings of the General Purposes Committee of the National Industrial Economic Council, together with papers tabled for consideration at meetings, concerned overwhelmingly with the formulation of an incomes policy (February–July 1969, 120pp).

- P175/61
- Cuttings of articles 5–12 of a twelve part series from the *Irish Independent* (25 April–8 May 1969) on industrial relations, with contributions from trades unionists, industrial lawyers and the paper's own correspondents. Other cuttings from Irish daily newspapers mainly concern incomes policy (May–July 1969, 4 items).
- Pages from Seanad Éireann Parliamentary Debates reporting the second stage debate on the Industrial Relations Bill, (14 May 1969, 24pp). Copy of the Industrial Relations Act, 1969 (10pp).
- **P175/62** March 1969

2 items

### Interview [with Léargas]

Draft (9pp) and copy (9pp) of an interview with TKW on economic planning and capital investment as he prepares to leave the Department of Finance, and including reference to the reorganisation of the Department, prices and incomes policy, the role of the Central Bank, and the idea of Dublin as a money market.

### 2.2 National Programmes for Economic Development, 1963-83

**P175/63** July–November 1963

### 50pp

### Second Programme for Economic Expansion, 1964: comments on the Central Bank's views on the Second Programme

File containing various Finance memoranda and related papers dealing with the Central Bank's comments on those aspects of the Second Programme relating to public expenditure and balance of payments.

- Copy of a letter from Dr Maurice Moynihan, Governor, Central Bank, to TKW (5 July 1963, 16pp) containing his observations on the draft general outline of the Second Programme, submitted to him in June.
- Copy of an undated memorandum (6pp) for the Cabinet Committee on the draft (July 1963) general outline of the Second Programme, containing as an appendix observations of the Governor of the Central Bank on the June draft (5pp).
- Copy of a letter from C.F. Carter, Vice-Chancellor of the University of Lancaster, to TKW (25 July 1963, 3pp) giving his views on the Governor's comments on aspects of the Second programme.
- Drafts of a Finance note dealing with the Central Bank's criticism of the Second Programme (October 1963, 17pp).

**P175/64** December 1963

3 items

### Second Programme for Economic Expansion, 1964: comments of the International Monetary Fund and the International Bank for Reconstruction and Development

Photocopy of a letter from Brian Rose, European Department, International Monetary Fund, Washington D.C. to TKW, conveying his personal comments on the Second Programme for Economic Expansion with which he is 'in general sympathy both with the aims of the Programme and with the methods which you will use to implement it' (26 December 1963, 5pp). Copy letter of acknowledgement (30 December 1963, 1p). Photocopy of a letter from S.R. Cope, Director of Operations Europe, International Bank for Reconstruction and Development, Washington D.C. to TKW enclosing comments on the Second Programme (31 December 1963, 4pp).

**P175/65** February–March 1964

50pp

# Second Programme for Economic Expansion, 1964: correspondence with the Central Bank

Correspondence between TKW, Secretary-General, Department of Finance, and Dr Maurice Moynihan, Governor of the Central Bank, with related notes and memoranda, concerning the Bank's views of aspects of the Second Programme.

- Includes:
- Copy of a Central Bank draft memorandum on the Second Programme (12 February 1964, 18pp).
- Typescript and handwritten notes by TKW commenting on specific points in the Central Bank memorandum (6pp).
- Copy letter from TKW to Moynihan (2 March 1964, 1p) enclosing his observations on those parts of the Bank's memorandum commenting on the public expenditure and balance of payments elements of the Second Programme (5pp).
- Suggested amendments to the Central Bank memorandum, heavily annotated and amended (9pp) and further handwritten notes by TKW (7pp) on revised draft paragraphs of the memorandum.
- Copy letter from TKW to Moynihan (23 March 1964, 1p) enclosing suggested amendments to the Central Bank draft memorandum (6pp).
- Further correspondence between TKW and Moynihan concerning the Governor's wish to circulate to members of the Board of the Central Bank, extracts from earlier correspondence on the Second Programme (March 1964, 4 items).

**P175/66** March–April 1964

90pp

### Second Programme for Economic Expansion, 1964: comments in the Central Bank Report on the Second Programme

Extract from the Central Bank's Annual Report containing its views on the Second Programme.

Includes:

- Letter from Dr Maurice Moynihan, Governor, Central Bank, to TKW, Secretary, Department of Finance (31 March 1964, 1p) enclosing a revised draft of that part of the Report dealing with the Second Programme (26 March 1964, 20pp) 'which embodies a considerable number of amendments made in the light of your suggestions. I am sorry that I have not found it possible to accept them all'.
- Letter from Moynihan to TKW (24 April 1964, 1p) enclosing a draft of that part of the Report dealing with incomes (11pp).
- Letter from TKW to Moynihan (28 April 1964, 1p) enclosing comments on that part of the Report dealing with incomes and the balance of payments (3pp).
- Copy of a list of amendments to the Report for circulation at a meeting of the Board on 6 May 1964 (8pp).
- Copy of that part of the draft Report headed 'General Review' (28 April 1964, 38pp) together with handwritten notes on the first three pages of the draft (5pp).
- **P175/67** March–May 1964

20pp

### Second Programme for Economic Expansion, 1964: notes for a chapter on financial and monetary aspects

Typescript copy of an outline chapter on financial and monetary aspects, prepared by TKW for inclusion in Part II of the Second Programme for Economic Expansion, 1964 (24 March 1964, 3pp) and circulated among Department of Finance officials for information. Various tables and statistics used in the preparation of the chapter, such as current figures for the taxation of public authorities, for direct and indirect taxation as a percentage of total taxation, and main heads of and increases in current government expenditure (10pp).

**P175/68** September 1976–May 1977

9 items

### Green Paper on Economic and Social Development, 1976–80

Material relating to the Green Paper on Economic and Social

P175/68 Development, 1976–80 and reaction to its content

Includes:

- Copy of the published Green Paper on Economic and Social Development with extensive annotations and marginal comment by TKW (September 1976, 39pp).
- Copy of the National Economic and Social Council report *Prelude to Planning* (October 1976, 75pp) with passages marked by TKW.
- Copy of an article by Jim Dunne in *Business and Finance*, 'Genesis of a Green Paper' (September 1976, 2pp).
- Copy of an article by Tom Ferris in *Management*, journal of the Irish Management Institute, on *Prelude to Planning*, the NESC report (October 1976, 3pp).
- Copy of a paper by Kieran A. Kennedy on 'Increasing employment in Ireland', read at a symposium of the Statistical and Social Enquiry Society of Ireland and reprinted from the Society's *Journal* (November 1975, 14pp).
- Text of a talk by TKW on 'National Development' delivered to participants in the Social Studies Diploma Course at Maynooth College. Contains a broad outline of Ireland's economic development, with quotations and analysis from the Green Paper to illustrate the current economic position with regard to inflation and international competitiveness (16 October 1976, 10pp).
- Copy of 'A new industrial policy: the key to survival', the first part of a study commissioned by the Bank of Ireland (October 1976, 6pp).
- Copy of the National Economic and Social Council Comments on Economic and Social Development, 1976–80 (May 1977, 37pp).
- **P175/69** December 1977–May 1978

15 items

### White Paper on National Development, 1977-80

Material relating primarily to the White Paper on National Development 1977–80 (January 1978). Includes:

- Copy of the White Paper on National Development with corrections and annotations by TKW including holograph notes at the end of the booklet itemising criticisms of its content (January 1978, 69pp).
- Draft text of TKW's speech for the Seanad debate on the White Paper, with holograph corrections and amendments. Issues raised in relation to the Paper include lack of consultation leading to overly ambitious targets for growth and a lack of focus on educating the public on the 'intimate link between incomes restraint and job creation' (May 1978, 17pp).
- Text of the speech by [Dr Martin O'Donoghue] the Minister for Economic Planning and Development during the Seanad

debate on the White Paper (May 1978, 3pp).

- Text of an address by TKW to the Publicity Club of Ireland entitled 'Some Points on Policy' referring to economic planning and to Northern Ireland. Discussion on the White Paper on National Development highlights the overly optimistic projected growth figures and the lack of long-term planning for budgetary and external deficits. Other criticisms include unrealistic wage projections and the lack of options based on different economic scenarios to present to social partners for negotiation. Proportional representation, power-sharing, the Sunningdale Council and the EEC are briefly referenced in relation to Northern Ireland (30 March 1978, 5pp).
- Cutting from the *Irish Times* of a letter to the editor from Cormac O Broin, President, St Vincent de Paul referring to reported remarks by TKW implying that some unemployed people lacked the incentive to seek work. Reply from TKW indicating that his 'main point in referring recently to the £110 million or so spent on dole, without any direct return to the community, was to suggest that, without tremendous additional cost, more could be done by way of useful public works to create jobs and so take some of the unemployed off the register' (May 1978, 2 items).
- Copies of papers produced by Bank of Ireland Group Planning, on Summary of the Government's White Paper; National Development, 1977–80 (18 January 1978, 14pp); on Government Finances (23 January 1978, 13pp) with a revised copy sent to TKW (February 1978, 13pp); and on Central Government Finances (April 1978, 4pp).
- Press cuttings from Irish daily newspapers and from financial journals containing comment and analysis of the White Paper (January–May 1978, 10pp).
- **P175/70** June–July 1978

10 items

### Green Paper on Development for Full Employment, June 1978

Material relating to the Green Paper on Development for Full Employment and to the general economic situation in the country.

- Copy of the Green Paper extensively annotated by TKW (June 1978, 90pp).
- Handwritten notes by TKW on specific points in the paper (4pp) and handwritten (21pp) and typescript (14pp) copies of the text of his remarks during the Seanad debate on the Green Paper and final revised text (7pp) (5 July 1978).
- Press cuttings from the *Irish Independent* containing an article by Jim Glennon, political correspondent, 'Jobs for all for good, says O'Donoghue' (19 June 1978) and a leading article 'Job

realities' (26 June 1978).

- Copy of a letter from Dr Brendan Menton to Niall Crowley, Chairman, Allied Irish Banks, agreeing with his reported comments on the work-sharing proposals contained in the Green Paper and commenting extensively on the Green Paper's employment targets (26 June 1978, 2pp).
- Copy letter from TKW to Professor Ivor Kenny, Director General, Irish Management Institute, (26 July 1978, 1p) correcting references by Kenny in an article in *Management* suggesting TKW was in favour of the unemployed being assigned to community service work in exchange for the dole; together with a copy of the article (4pp).
- Text of a talk by TKW entitled 'Employment Aims' delivered at the Fianna Fáil Comhairle Ceanntair, Dublin South-East, Burlington Hotel. Contains criticism and analysis of the employment objectives, solutions and targets set out by the Green Paper (19 September 1978, 6pp).
- Text of remarks by TKW proposing the toast at the dinner of the Institution of Structural Engineers (18 November 1978, 2pp) mainly concerning the national economy and the need for restraint and discipline in wage demands.
- Text of remarks by TKW to an unidentified audience in Galway (12 December 1978, 8pp) on the 'jobs problem', conditions for the expansion of manufacturing industry, the need for incomes restraint and the significance of exchange rate policy in the context of the European Monetary System.
- Copy of Observations of the Higher Education Authority on Paragraph 7.33 in the Green Paper, Development for Full Employment (November 1978, 11pp).
- Copy of the National Economic and Social Council's *Comments* on *Development for Full Employment* (December 1978, 100pp).
- **P175/71** January–March 1979

18 items

### White Paper on the Programme for National Development 1978-81

Material concerning the White Paper on the Programme for National Development 1978–81 and reactions to its content. Includes:

- Copy of the White Paper on the Programme for National Development 1978–81 with corrections and annotations by TKW (January 1979, 122pp).
- Detailed handwritten notes by TKW on the White Paper (January 1979, 12pp).
- Copy of a Confederation of Irish Industry *Newsletter* devoted to the White Paper (January 1979, 8pp).
- Text of the opening speech by the Minister [for Economic Planning and Development, Martin O'Donoghue] at the Seanad Debate on the White Paper. (1 March 1979, 16pp).

- P175/71
- Handwritten speaking notes by TKW for his contribution to the Seanad Debate on the White Paper (1 March 1979, 20pp).
- Copy of a paper by Dr Brendan Menton, 'Review of 1978 and outlook for 1979' (February 1979, 6pp) with corrections by TKW to tabular figures
- Copies of Bank of Ireland, Economic Section, Planning and Marketing, *Information Reports*: Summary of the White Paper on the Programme for National Development, 1978–81 (8 January 1979, 26pp); Assessment of the White Paper on the Programme for National Development, 1978–81 (17 January 1979, 32pp); Government Employment Targets (February 1979, 17pp).

**P175/72** 1981–3

6 items

### The Way Forward: National Economic Plan, 1983-7

Reports and papers concerning the Irish economic situation and the publication of and reaction to The Way Forward. National Economic Plan, 1983–7.

- Text of a paper by TKW entitled 'Future Possibilities' delivered at a seminar of the Council for Social Welfare, Kilkenny. The paper outlines the prospects for future economic growth globally, within the EEC and finally in Ireland, focusing on the need to implement pay restraint, adjust national expectations, and improve productivity (7 November 1981, 10pp).
- Copy of The Way Forward: National Economic Plan, 1983-7 with handwritten annotations and corrections by TKW (21 October 1982, 116pp).
- Text of a paper by Louden Ryan entitled 'Economic planning in Ireland' delivered to the Irish Management Institute. Paper provides an overview of Ireland's economic situation and its causes, then discusses the content of the government's National Economic Plan. Annotated 'Ken. This is a copy of the talk I gave to the IMI group on 1/11/82 following your talk' (1 November 1982, 11pp).
- Copy of a letter from Niall Crowley, Michael O'Keefe, Jim Culliton, Brian Slowey, Michael Smurfit, Patrick McGrath and Michael Dargan to Garret FitzGerald, incoming Taoiseach. Marked 'secret', the letter voices concern at the economy and the huge difficulties facing the industrial sector and offers support to the incoming government in eliminating the budget deficit and improving competitiveness (26 November 1982, 4pp).
- Copy of a Bank of Ireland, Economic Section, Planning and Marketing *Information Report* on 'The National Economic Plan, 1983–7' (22 October 1982, 20pp).
- Copy of *The Irish Economy*, 1983–87, a report by Davy Kelleher McCarthy Ltd, economic consultants (1983, 39pp).

**P175/73** December 1982–March 1983

140pp

### Employment Task Force and Sectoral Development Committee

File of this title containing background papers, arranged A–G, on the Employment Task Force, providing contextual information on its establishment within the economic planning structures introduced by the Fine Gael/Labour Programme for Government. The Task Force was a cabinet committee served by the Taoiseach's Department, with links to the National Planning Board, to advise on policies to increase national output and employment.

- Copy of the Fine Gael/Labour Programme for Government (December 1982, 29pp).
- Summary of the economic aspects of the Coalition Programme (6pp).
- Copy of a letter from John Bruton, Minister for Industry and Energy, to Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald outlining the programmes of action which should be undertaken by the Employment Task Force (19 January 1983, 3pp) and enclosing outline proposals on job-sharing, work schemes for the unemployed, a more dynamic role for employment exchanges, double-jobbing, and the potential for co-operative enterprises (11pp).
- Copy of a letter from Padraic White, Managing Director, IDA Ireland, to John Bruton (21 February 1983, 1p) enclosing a memorandum on 'IDA priorities for industrial action' (4pp)
- Copies of Department of Finance papers on how the new planning for development structures would work; on residual employment and training functions; and on obstacles to growth and measures to deal with them (23pp).
- Copy of a letter from Dr T. Hardiman, Stillorgan Road, Dublin to Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald (17 January 1983, 1p) enclosing his observations on the structures relating to the proposed National Planning Board (3pp).
- Copy of a memorandum from P. Ó hUiginn, Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach, to Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald on the new planning structure (22 February 1983, 9pp).
- Copy of the text of the presidential address by R. O'Connor to the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland on employment creation and unemployment problems in Ireland in the 1980s (3 March 1983, 43pp).
- Memorandum by TKW on economic planning structures (3 March 1983, 3pp).

### 2.3 The Central Bank of Ireland

### 2.3.1. Central Bank functions, 1969-76

P175/74 February 1969–February 1972

200pp

### Correspondence and notes of interviews with the Minister for Finance and the Taoiseach

File of this title containing drafts and copies of mostly confidential correspondence between TKW and the Taoiseach, and successive Ministers for Finance, and C.H. Murray, Secretary, Department of Finance; copies of secret notes by TKW of meetings between himself and successive Ministers for Finance; and material on the economic situation supplied to the Taoiseach for speeches.

Correspondence concerns the general economic and monetary position and the balance of payments deficit; budgetary proposals; wage, price and cost inflation; responsibility for credit control; review of credit policy; the public capital programme; difficulties in the planning process for the proposed new Central Bank building; and new designs for currency notes. The majority of the correspondence and notes are from 1969-70.

- Includes:
- Copy of a letter from TKW to [C.J. Haughey] Minister for Finance (12 February 1969, 3pp) written immediately before taking up the position of Director of the Central Bank and positing a new relationship between the Bank, the Department of Finance and the Government involving greater communication and policy integration.
- Copies of correspondence between TKW and the Minister for Finance, and TKW and the Taoiseach, concerning difficulties in the planning process for the new Central Bank premises (July 1969-January 1970, 5 items).
- Copy of a secret note of a meeting with the Minister for Finance (3 November 1969, 4pp) as well as an abridged version made for the purpose of a confidential report to the Board of the Central Bank (2pp).
- Copy of a brief note of a meeting with the Taoiseach (12 December 1969, 1p)
- Copy of a handwritten letter from TKW to the Taoiseach (16 December 1969, 1p) enclosing 'a couple of paras. on the economic situation, as requested' (4pp) [for inclusion in a speech?].
- Copy of a secret note of a pre-Budget interview with the Minister for Finance (13 April 1970, 4pp).
- Copy of a secret note of an interview with [George Colley TD] the Minister for Finance (2 June 1970, 3pp).
- Copy of a strictly confidential note by TKW of an interview with the Minister for Finance (14 January 1972, 3pp).

### **P175/75** May 1969

30pp

# Correspondence with An Taoiseach, Jack Lynch TD, concerning the Budget, 1969

Typescript copy letter (8 May 1969, 1p) and typescript copy of a manuscript letter (5 May 1969, 1p) from TKW to Jack Lynch enclosing some material for the Taoiseach's speech in the Budget debate; together with some additional paragraphs to be inserted in the letter of 5 May (1p); typescript notes for the Taoiseach's speech (8pp); and handwritten (7pp) and typescript (12pp) drafts of the notes.

**P175/76** October 1969–May 1970

175pp

# Confidential Department of Finance information regarding the financial position, October 1969–May 1970

File of this title containing copies of correspondence between TKW and C.H. Murray, Secretary, Department of Finance, often concerning the content of confidential memoranda for government from the Minister for Finance, and of memoranda for the Minister from the Secretary, copies of which are sent to the Governor for information. Correspondence and memoranda mainly concern the general economic situation and the budgetary outlook; the public capital programme; the balance of payments deficit; price and income inflation; and full disclosure of profits by the Associated Banks. Also contains handwritten notes and tables by TKW and comment by Central Bank personnel on the content of memoranda.

**P175/77** [1970]

2 items

### Central Bank projections to 1980

Copies of two Central Bank memoranda dealing with the projected effects of Ireland's membership of the E.E.C. on the economy generally and agriculture in particular in the coming decade..

- Copy of 'Projections of the Irish economy to 1980 in the light of E.E.C. membership', a Central Bank document prepared by Kieran A. Kennedy and Dara McCormack in conjunction with Professor W.J.L. Ryan, TCD (26pp).
- Copy of 'The effects of E.E.C. membership on agriculture' by J.S. Oslizlok (5pp).

**P175/78** May 1970–March 1971

### 300pp

### Confidential Department of Finance information regarding [the] financial position, May 1970–March 1971

File of this title containing copies of correspondence between TKW and C.H. Murray, Secretary, Department of Finance, often concerning the content of confidential memoranda for Government from the Minister for Finance, and of memoranda for the Minister from the Secretary, copies of which are sent to the Governor for information. Correspondence and memoranda mainly concern the Third Programme and foreign reserves; Estimate allocations for 1971-2 and Exchequer borrowing requirements; the general economic situation and budgetary outlook; credit policy and the current and capital budgets; the balance of payments deficit; price and income inflation; and monetary policy. Includes the text of a statement to the Dáil by George Colley TD, Minister for Finance (28 October 1970, 28pp) on the implementation of anti-inflationary measures; and a copy of a secret memorandum from the Central Bank Board to the Minister on prospects and policies for 1971 (19 January 1971, 11pp).

### **P175/79** December 1970–February 1971

50pp

### Central Bank notes on inflation

Letter from Dermot Scott, editor, *Public Affairs*, Institute of Public Administration, Lansdowne Road, Dublin 4, to TKW, Governor Central Bank of Ireland, Fitzwilton House, Dublin 2, concerning TKW's agreement to assist in the preparation of a special issue of the journal on inflation (16 December 1970, 1p) and attaching a list of relevant questions (2pp). Drafts and copies of notes prepared by four Central Bank economists in response to Scott's questions, mainly dealing with the nature of inflation, the control of inflation, and the effect of inflation on growth.

**P175/80** September 1972–February 1973

45pp

### Budget 1972–3: correspondence and papers

Correspondence between TKW and C.H. Murray, Secretary, Department of Finance, concerning aspects of Budgetary planning such as projected deficits and Exchequer borrowing requirements, together with Central Bank comment on Finance projections. Includes:

• Copy of a minute of a meeting between officials of the Central

Bank and the Department of Finance on financing public expenditure, 1972–3 (27 October 1972, 3pp).

- Copy of a Central Bank National Economy Research Division memorandum containing a mid-year estimate of Government current revenue (November 1972, 8pp).
- Analysis of the Fianna Fáil and Coalition budgetary proposals in the general election campaign, 1973 (February 1973, 5pp).
- **P175/81** July 1972–December 1973

170pp

### Budget 1973–4: correspondence and papers

Correspondence between TKW and C.H. Murray, Secretary, Department of Finance, concerning aspects of the current and capital budgets such as projected deficits, Exchequer borrowing requirements from the Associated Banks, and the 'outstanding success' of the recent National Loan, with regular reviews of these as the year progresses.

- Copy of a Finance memorandum for the government on the Current Budget outlook for 1973–4 (14 July 1972, 11pp).
- Copy of a Central Bank minute of a meeting between officials of the Bank and the Department of Finance, 14 November 1972, to discuss financing Budgets for 1972–3 and 1973–4 (2pp).
- Copy of a Finance memorandum for the government on the capital budget for 1973–4 (8 December 1972, 20pp).
- Draft letter from TKW to Murray (March 1973, 7pp) containing a comprehensive review of government economic policy.
- Copy of a letter from TKW to Richie Ryan TD, Minister for Finance, offering congratulations on his appointment, suggesting an early meeting, and referring briefly to the economic and monetary situation (15 March 1973, 2pp).
- Copies of three Finance memoranda for the government on the current budget, 1973-4 (16 March 1973, 7pp); on public capital programmes, 1973-4 (20 March 1973, 4pp) and on inflation (21 March 1973, 19pp).
- Copy of an undated Central Bank memorandum on monetary policy, 1973–4 policy desiderata and corresponding monetary estimates (10pp).
- Copy of 'a few paragraphs' drafted by TKW for the Minister which might be of service to him if he were to make a speech in open forum at the International Monetary Fund annual meeting in Nairobi (September 1973, 3pp).

**P175/82** December 1972–April 1973

75pp

### Winding down inflation

Correspondence, notes and press cuttings mainly relating to the Central Bank's views on the problem of incomes and price inflation in Ireland. Includes:

- Text of a talk by TKW to the ITGWU Thursday Workshop on The meaning of inflation' (14 December 1972, 11pp).
- Copy of a draft letter for TKW to C.H. Murray, Secretary, Department of Finance, seeking 'to put on record what appears to me to be the most important elements in the conjunctural situation in so far as it affects economic policy in 1973/74' (January 1973, 2pp).
- Drafts and copy of a confidential letter from TKW to George Colley TD, Minister for Finance, conveying his thoughts on economic, fiscal and monetary policy for the following year (22 January 1973, 5pp) mainly relating to the high rate of incomes and prices inflation in Ireland.
- Copy of a letter from TKW to Professor Louden Ryan, TCD, concerning the necessity for a 'Fourth Programme' to cover the years of Ireland's progression to full membership of the European Economic Community. The proposed programme is described as 'an important (and possibly even the only) means of bringing about the degree of consensus on economic and social development which might make possible a <u>rational</u> solution of our major economic problem a higher rate of inflation of money incomes and prices than afflicts our competitors' (6 February 1973, 2pp).
- Letter from C.H. Murray, Secretary, Department of Finance, to TKW (7 February 1973, 1p) enclosing a copy of a note (9pp) on incomes policy prepared for the Ministers for Finance, Labour and Industry and Commerce, an agreed interdepartmental document which has taken account of the views of all the departments concerned; with comments by P.A. Fahy, Central Bank on points raised in the note (15 February 1973, 4pp).
- Letter from T. Ó Cearbhaill, Department of Labour, to TKW enclosing a copy of a letter to C.H. Murray, Secretary, Finance, mainly concerning the Department of Labour's views on the significance of employment policy (28 February 1973, 3pp).
- Copy of a paper prepared by the National Economy Research Division of the Central Bank on Employment and unemployment in the Irish economy, 1973–8' (February 1973, 5pp).

**P175/83** November 1973–January 1975

300pp

### Budget 1974: correspondence and papers

Correspondence between TKW and C.H. Murray, Secretary, Department of Finance, concerning aspects of the current and capital budgets. The file consists mainly of copies of confidential Finance memoranda for the government supplied by Murray for TKW's information.

Includes

- Copies of Finance memoranda for the government on:
  - 1. the capital budget for 1974–5 (8 November 1973, 8pp);
  - 2. the capital budget for 1974–5 (21 February 1974, 22pp)
  - 3. the current economic situation and short-term prospects (22 July 1974, 18pp);
  - 4. public expenditure in 1974 in excess of budgetary allocations (8 August 1974, 7pp);
  - 5. the current economic situation and short-term prospects (28 August 1974, 70pp);
  - 6. expenditure and financing budget, 1975 (9 September 1974, 7pp).
  - 7. estimates, 1975 (21 October 1974, 26pp).
- Copy of a letter from TKW to Murray (27 February 1974, 5pp) replying at some length to a query from a meeting of the government as to whether additional resources might be obtained from the Central Bank or Associated Banks to obviate the need for the reduction of £22 million in the public capital programme recommended by Finance.
- Copy of a letter from TKW to Richie Ryan TD, Minister for Finance (5 September 1974, 6pp) concerning the significant increases in taxation and foreign borrowing being contemplated by the government to finance additional current expenditure
- **P175/84** October 1974

9 items

### Views of economists on economic policy

Cuttings from the *Irish Times* containing six articles by economists from UCD, TCD and the ESRI on measures necessary to protect growth and employment, and the problems of inflation and balance of payments. Handwritten notes by TKW (2pp) referring to the previous day's press conference on the Central Bank's *Autumn Bulletin* at which he had sought to emphasize their support of expansion. Drafts of two letters from TKW to C.H. Murray, Secretary, Department of Finance, commenting on the recent academic analysis of the Central Bank's alleged deflationary policy and its alleged view that higher unemployment is necessary to tackle inflation. **P175/85** January 1975

### 100pp

### Budget 1975

Papers relating to the 1975 budget including the text of the financial statement of the Minister for Finance (15 January 1975, 52pp). Principal features of the budget presented to Dáil Éireann on Wednesday 15 January 1975 by Mr Richie Ryan TD, Minister for Finance (19pp). Text of a speech by Liam Cosgrave TD, Taoiseach, to the Galway Regional Conference of Fine Gael, dealing with certain aspects of the 1975 budget, circulated to Central Bank Directors (30 January 1975, 15pp).

**P175/86** February 1975

4 items

### Capital adequacy, bank profits, bank standards

Minute from a member of Central Bank staff to TKW (25 February 1975, 1p) attaching copies of three memoranda.

- 1. Capital adequacy in licenced banks by B. Daly (19 February 1975, 15pp) dealing with the standards used by the Central Bank in assessing capital adequacy.
- 2. Bank profits (6pp) dealing with the appropriate level of profitability and adequate capitalization in the Associated Banks.
- 3. Licensing and supervision of banks (14pp) setting out the Central Bank's present requirements and standards for licensed banks with suggested additions, revocations and amendments.
- **P175/87** March 1975–February 1976

#### 260pp

### **Budget 1975: Department of Finance memoranda**

File consisting largely of copies of confidential Finance memoranda for the government supplied by C.H. Murray, Secretary, Department of Finance for TKW's information, and associated correspondence concerning such matters as problems in the financing of the Exchequer in 1975 and the size of the Exchequer overdraft facility at the Central Bank.

Includes memoranda on:

- Control of public expenditure and quarterly examination of expenditures (3 March 1975, 12pp).
- Budgetary outlook for 1975 (1 April 1975, 11pp).
- Exchange rate of the Irish pound (9 April 1975, 10pp).
- The regime (including taxation) to apply to the first round of exclusive offshore petroleum exploration licences (8 April 1975,

20pp).

- Expenditure and resource forecasts for 1976 (18 April 1975, 10pp).
- Inflation and public policy (19 May 1975, 12pp).
- Public expenditure policy, 1976–9 and guidelines for the preparation of the 1976 estimates (22 May 1975, 35pp).
- Exchequer financial resources and foreign borrowing, 1976–9 (22 May 1975, 8pp).
- Public expenditure policy, 1976–9 and guidelines for the preparation of the 1976 estimates (18 September 1975, 22pp).
- Public expenditure and resources, 1976 (13 November 1975, 2pp).
- Income policy in 1976 (14 November 1975, 13pp).
- Programme budgeting (9 December 1975, 15pp).
- Management of the economy up to 1980 (5 January 1976, 25pp).
- Control of public expenditure (6 February 1976, 15pp).

Also includes minutes of meetings between official of the Central Bank and the Department of Finance to discuss the public finances (10 October 1975, 2pp; 12 November 1975, 4pp).

**P175/88** February–May 1976

8 items

### Irish Trust Bank

Letter from Coopers & Lybrand, Fitzwilton House, Wilton Place, Dublin 2, to TKW, Governor, Central Bank of Ireland, Fitzwilton House, Wilton Place, Dublin 2 (11 February 1976, 1p) enclosing a report of their examination of Irish Trust Bank Limited (15pp) requested by the Governor under powers conferred upon him by Section 17(3) of the Central Bank Act, 1971. Copies of Central Bank notes on the financial condition of Irish Trust Bank as at 31 December 1975 (February 1976, 5pp); possible courses of action (February 1976, 4pp) and procedures to be adopted (February 1976, 1p). Press cuttings of articles reporting the collapse of the bank (March–May 1976, 3 items).

### 2.2.2. Central Bank Memoir, 1979

**P175/89** March 1979

2 items

# Memoir by TKW: 'The Central Bank and Government, 1969-76'

Two copies of a typescript unpublished memoir by TKW outlining his experiences as Governor of the Central Bank, 1969–76.

Copy No.1, marked 'Not for publication' and autographed 'March 1979 T.K. Whitaker' (181pp) contains a table of contents.

Second copy has slight variations with some few handwritten amendments and marginalia (181pp).

The memoir contains an analysis of the relationship between the Central Bank and the Government, and provides details of the advice provided by the Central Bank on the Department of Finance's budgetary policies. The autonomy of the Central Bank during this period is discussed, particularly in relation to the management of credit control, interest rates and external reserves. The narrative uses excerpts from memoranda, reports, notes, speeches and correspondence with successive Ministers of Finance: Charles Haughey, George Colley, and Richie Ryan; and with C.H. Murray, Secretary of the Department of Finance, to illustrate its analysis.

The text is divided into twelve chapters entitled as follows:

- I. Introduction
- II. Advice and Comment, 1969/70
- III. Responsibility for Credit Policy
- IV. Advice and Comment, March 1970–December 1970
- V. Advice and Comment, End 1970–Mid 1972
- VI. Regulation of Interest Rates
- VII. Central Bank Lending to Government
- VIII. Advice and Comment, Mid 1972–End 1973
- IX. Advice and Comment, 1974
- X. Advice and Comment, January, 1975–February 1976
- XI. Management of External Reserves

XII. Reflections

Also contains appendices as follows:

- Appendix 1. Stages in the Evolution of Central Banking, 1942– 68
- Appendix 2. Monetary Policy: Talk to Commerce and Economics Society, UCD, on 5 November 1975, by TKW
- Appendix 3. Incomes Policy: Significant extracts from Central Bank publications

**P175/90** March 1979–January 1983

12 items

### Central Bank memoir: correspondence

Correspondence relating to the circulation of and reaction to TKW's Central Bank memoir. Correspondents include C.H. Murray, Governor of the Central Bank; Bernard Breen, General Manager of the Central Bank; Liam Ó Murchú, Presenter, Radio Telefis Éireann; and Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald. Includes

- Handwritten list by TKW of the distribution of seven bound copies of the memoir including a copy sent to C.H. Murray for deposit in the Central Bank archives (March 1979, 1p).
- Letter from Bernard Breen, Central Bank to TKW (26 April 1979, 4pp) with extensive comment on the subject of the memoir. 'The seventies will I suppose be seen in retrospect like the fifties as another testing and sickly time for the national economy. The anaemia of the fifties was cured by the injection of good, self-assertive, domestic blood (though I don't think you were even a doctor then). The fever of the seventies only partly caused by the 'oil bug' is not so easily cured because of the difficulty of getting us to take the prescription. We in the Bank can be justifiably proud that we did our duty. We diagnosed, prescribed and then coaxed, cajoled and even bullied, privately and publicly, to have our treatment adopted. Indeed one of the great benefits of your work is to see it all together'.
- Handwritten copy letter from TKW to Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald, recommending changes in the structure of the Central Bank to provide for the appointment of a Deputy Governor, a matter he had discussed with Richie Ryan when he was Minister for Finance and TKW was Director. He encloses a relevant extract from his memoir (26 January 1983, 3pp).

### 2.2.3 Central Bank Memoir: sources and drafts

**P175/91** 1942–60

300pp

### Central Bank Act, 1942, related legislation, and Central Bank functions

Copies of statutes, memoranda, notes and correspondence relating to the functions of the Central Bank and proposals to amend these, particularly in the context of currency control and reserve requirements. Includes:

• Central Bank Bill, 1942 explanatory notes with some small

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annotations by TKW (March 1942, 6pp).

- Typescript notes explanatory of the Central Bank Bill, 1942 with some handwritten amendments (1942, 104pp).
- Copy of the Central Bank Act, 1942 (112pp).
- Note on the Coinage Bill, 1949 (1p) and on internal and external reserves (6pp).
- Copy of a memorandum by Cecil Lavery, Attorney General, entitled 'Currency - rate of exchange with sterling' (4 October 1949, 4pp).
- Copy of the Coinage Act, 1950 (23pp).
- Note for the Minister for Finance on Central Bank reserve requirements (24 November 1952, 2pp).
- Copy of an undated memorandum on 'Question of amending the Central Bank Act, 1924. Points mentioned by the Minister' (3pp).
- Copies of memoranda by TKW on 'Liquidity and marketability' (24 June 1953, 4pp) and on 'Valuation of assets of Legal Tender Note Fund' (1 March 1956, 2pp).
- Handwritten notes on heads of banking legislation (not dated, 6pp).
- Copy of letter from TKW to Declan Costello TD, concerning an article in the *Economist* on 'Central Banks for New Dominions' and its relevance to the Central Bank of Ireland (13 August 1956, 2pp); reply from Costello to TKW thanking him for the 'most interesting letter' on which he would like to make comments (15 August 1956, 1p).
- Copy of a letter from TKW to J.J. McElligott, Governor of the Central Bank, concerning the execution of the Order under the Currency (Amendment) Act, 1930 which would allow the admission of United States dollars and U.S. Government securities to the Legal Tender Note Fund (18 August 1956, 1p); with a copy of a letter from TKW to the Minister for Finance [Gerard Sweetman] elaborating the reasons for the order (17 August 1956, 2pp).
- Memorandum by TKW on 'Stages in the evolution of Central Banking in Ireland' (16 July 1960, 3pp); note on the Central Bank, its functions and the role of the Governor (not dated, 1p); and copy of a paper circulated to members of the Central Bank Board by TKW on 'The rediscount rate of the Central Bank symbol or interest rate (July 1960, 5pp).
- **P175/92** December 1968–March 1975

150pp

### **Relations between Government and the Central Bank**

Copies of material concerning the general relationship between Government and the Central Bank and specific aspects of that relationship such as the Central Bank's advisory role, intended as source material for TKW's Central Bank memoir.

Includes correspondence between TKW and C.H. Murray,

### T.K. Whitaker Papers

- **P175/92** Secretary, Finance; copies of correspondence with the Irish Banks' Standing Committee; Central Bank memoranda and minutes including *aides-mémoire* by TKW on meetings with Ministers for Finance; correspondence with successive Ministers for Finance; parliamentary questions and extracts from Dáil Éireann Parliamentary Debates.
- **P175/93** 1971–2

60pp

### The Central Bank and the Department of Finance, 1971-2

Various handwritten notes by TKW; with copies of correspondence between himself and C.H. Murray, Secretary, Department of Finance, and George Colley TD, Minister for Finance, heavily annotated by TKW; and copies of memoranda and reports mainly concerning relations between the Central Bank and Finance during the years 1971–2, and the advice proffered by the Bank; possibly for use by TKW in the preparation of his memoir on the Central Bank.

**P175/94** *c*.1980

35pp

### Central Bank-Government relations: the second year, 1970-1

Handwritten draft chapter by TKW of his Central Bank memoir, entitled 'The second year, 1970–1' (12pp); together with copies of seven documents intended as appendices including:

- Personal and confidential letter from TKW, Governor, Central Bank, to C.J. Haughey, Minister for Finance, expressing his views on the economic position (25 March 1970, 3pp).
- Secret *aide-mémoire* by TKW of a pre-Budget interview with the Minister for Finance (23 April 1970, 4pp).
- Secret minute by TKW entitled 'Some reasons for avoiding a devaluation' (8 April 1970, 3pp).
- Typescript notes by TKW for a meeting with ICTU and the Irish Employers' Confederation (*sic*) (16 April 1970, 3pp).
- Secret *aide-mémoire* by TKW of an interview with George Colley TD, Minister for Finance (5 June 1970, 3pp).
- Memorandum by TKW entitled 'Suggestions regarding economic policy' (31 July 1970, 5pp).
- Letter marked secret from TKW to C.H. Murray, Secretary, Finance, concerning his unease at the lack of consultation with the Central Bank on the Government's reported intention to announce a tax on wealth (2 November 1970, 2pp).

### 2.4 Ireland and the European Union

**P175/95** October 1983–March 1984

15 items

### Irish Press article by TKW on Ireland's EEC membership

Draft and published version of an *Irish Press* article by TKW entitled 'Eire sa Chomhphobal–ar mealladh sinn?' on the implications of EEC membership for Ireland (1 March 1984). Contains related correspondence and other contextual material. Includes:

- Letter from D.E. Tatham, British Embassy, Dublin, to TKW (6 October 1983, 1p) enclosing a briefing note on 'Britain's approach to post-Stuttgart negotiations' (7pp); and a copy of HM Treasury Economic Progress Report Supplement on Future financing and development of the EC: British Government ideas (October 1983, 4pp).
- Typescript notes prepared by TKW on 'The EEC, ten years after' prepared for a seminar under ELEC auspices. Outlines the major rationale for Ireland's membership of the European Community, and discusses Ireland's joining the EMS and the need for further movement towards greater political union (21 November 1983, 4pp).
- Typescript letter from Seán Ó Domhnaill, Bord na Gaeilge, to TKW requesting an article in Irish for a newspaper publication (23 November 1983, 1p).
- Typescript text of the article (5pp) and cutting from the *Irish Press* containing the published article.
- **P175/96** September 1989

24pp

### General de Gaulle and Ireland's application to join the EEC

Material arising from a request from Joe Carroll, *Irish Times* journalist, to TKW to 'cast an eye' over the draft of an article he is writing on General de Gaulle and Ireland's application to join the EEC, one of a series to mark de Gaulle's centenary the following year.

- Letter from Carroll framing the request (4 September 1989, 1p).
- Draft of the article annotated and corrected by TKW (17pp).
- Copy of a letter from TKW, Glencullen Lower, Bangor Erris, County Mayo, to Joe Carroll (11 September 1989, 2pp) enclosing an account of the meeting in the Élysée Palace, 3 November 1967, between a small Irish delegation, de Gaulle and other members of the French government (3pp).

**P175/97** November 1992–February 1993

33pp

### Address to the Institute of European Affairs by Jack Lynch on EC membership and the implications for Irish sovereignty and neutrality

Text of the address by former Taoiseach Jack Lynch to the Institute of European Affairs, 25 February 1993, with related correspondence with TKW and notes.

Includes:

- Copy of a letter from TKW to Lynch enclosing a set of notes and advising him to 'give up speaking engagements and get down to writing a memoir' (28 November 1992, 1p). The typescript notes concern the lead up to Ireland's joining the European Community (28 November 1992, 4pp).
- Text of the address by Jack Lynch to the IEA containing a chronology of events leading up to EC membership and examining the historical economic background that resulted in Ireland's application for membership (25 February 1993, 20pp).
- Annotated draft and text of TKW's 'Response to Mr Jack Lynch's address to the Institute of European Affairs'. Response focuses on the merits of Ireland's EC membership in terms of economic growth and argues against a loss of political independence and neutrality. TKW also expands on an anecdote mentioned by Lynch concerning a lunch meeting in the Élysée Palace with President de Gaulle (25 February 1993, 3 items).
- P175/98 February 1993–July 1994

80pp

# Conference on the First Attempt to Enlarge the European Community, 1961-3

Correspondence and other papers relating to the conference organised by the European University Institute and held at Florence, 17–19 February 1994. TKW attended the conference as Ireland's 'eye-witness'.

- Letter from Emile Noël, Principal, European University Institute to TKW requesting his participation in the conference (17 February 1993, 1p) and enclosing an outline of the programme (3pp). Copy reply from TKW accepting the invitation and offering personal greetings as Chancellor of the National University to Noël, upon whom he conferred an honorary doctorate in 1981 (2 March 1993, 1p).
- Correspondence with Department of Finance officials concerning access to Departmental archives for the purposes of research in advance of the conference (November 1993–

February 1994, 4pp) together with a list of relevant files (2pp).

- Text of a conference paper entitled Economic Development and the Politics of EC Entry: Ireland 1956–63' by Dr Brian Girvin. Contains manuscript annotations and corrections by TKW (18 February 1994, 35pp); Typescript letter from Girvin, Department of History, University College Cork to TKW thanking him for his corrections and notes from the conference (28 February 1994, 1p)
- Holograph notes by TKW containing a timeline of events leading up to the attempted EC enlargement. Timeline covers period from 1958 to 1962 and contains notes made from the Department of Finance files reviewed by TKW for the conference (January–February 1994, 15pp).

### 3. LECTURES, BROADCASTS AND PAPERS, 1949-89

**P175/99** 23 March 1949

3 items

### Ireland's external assets

Off-print of the published text of a paper of this title, read by TKW before the [Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland?] (30pp). Heavily corrected typescript draft of the paper (42pp) and typescript corrected text (37pp).

**P175/100** October 1953–October 1954

3 items

#### Address to the Discussion Group of the Association of Higher Civil Servants entitled 'The Finance Attitude'

Copy of the address by TKW with to the Discussion Group of the Association of Higher Civil Servants with holograph corrections by TKW. The paper outlines the context and issues which determine the actions and 'attitude' of the Department of Finance (28 October 1953, 16pp). Copies of notes from TKW to Tom Barrington, Department of Local Government (14 October 1954, 1p) and Owen Joseph Redmond, Secretary, Department of Finance (4 September 1954, 1p), forwarding copies of the paper and requesting permission from Redmond for its publication in Administration, journal of the Institute of Public Administration.

**P175/101** *c*.1955

16pp

# Talk on industrial development

Typescript text of a talk given by TKW on the subject of industrial development, to an unidentified audience. Annotated by TKW 'Written about 1955'.

#### P175/102 [October–November 1955], April–September 1956

25 items

#### Capital formation, saving and economic progress

Offprint of the published text of a paper read by TKW before the Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland (25 May 1956, 25pp). Heavily annotated draft of the paper (40pp). Includes some correspondence arising from the paper, mainly from admirers of the position taken (May 1956, 10 items). Also includes presscuttings reporting the content of the paper and TKW's promotion to Secretary of the Department of Finance; as well as some correspondence with M.D. McCarthy, honorary secretary, Statistical and Social Inquiry Society of Ireland, mainly concerning problems with a paper on national economy submitted by Professor J. Johnston, Trinity College Dublin (October-November 1955, May 1956, 8 items).

**P175/103** [1957/8]

7pp

#### Has Ireland a future?

Typescript text entitled 'Has Ireland a future? Introduction,' considering emigration and the lack of growth in real incomes; the qualities and responsibilities of senior public servants; their potential contribution to society and the need for new channels of communication between the Civil Service and the public, a need which this booklet, published under the auspices of the Institute of Public Administration, seeks to address. Concentrates on the challenges of free trade and the importance of the next five to ten years for the economic and political future of Ireland

**P175/104** January 1958

13pp

#### Text of a paper by Professor C.F. Carter

Copy of the text of a paper on 'Economics and the public servant'

#### T.K. Whitaker Papers

- P175/104 (7pp) given by Professor C.F. Carter, Professor of Applied Economics, The Queen's University, Belfast, to the Institute of Public Administration, 16 January 1958, and chaired by TKW. Includes copies of TKW's introductory remarks (1p) and summingup (2pp).
- **P175/105** 24 February 1962

13pp

#### Wages, productivity and economic management

Typescript text of a talk by TKW as Secretary of the Department of Finance to a Workers Union of Ireland seminar held at Greystones.

**P175/106** 18 October 1963

2 items

#### National incomes policy

Typescript text (21pp) of the contribution by TKW to a Liberty Study Group seminar, held at Greystones. Typescript summary (6pp) of the contribution.

**P175/107** December 1965–February 1966

3 items

# Talk to the Academy of St Thomas Acquinas, St Mary's Priory, Tallaght

Typescript text of a talk by TKW on 'What the layman expects of the priest in modern Ireland' given to the students of the Academy St Thomas Acquinas, St Mary's Priory, Tallaght; with two associated letters from Brother Maurice Fearon op, St Mary's Priory.

**P175/108** October 1968–July 1969

90pp

#### **Productivity and full employment**

Material relating to the paper of this title given by TKW to the annual general meeting of the College of Industrial Relations, 25 March 1969.

Includes:

Initial correspondence between Edmund Kent sj, College of

- **P175/108** Industrial Relations, Sandford Road, Dublin 6 and TKW concerning the invitation to address the annual general meeting (October–November 1968, 4 items).
  - Draft outline of the paper prepared in the Department of Finance (December 1968, 17pp) and amended and extended draft by TKW (26pp). Comments on the advanced draft by personnel of Finance and the Central Bank (10pp).
  - Copy letters accompanying advance copies of the talk to the Taoiseach, Minister for Finance and others (March 1969, 6 items) and letters of congratulation (March-April 1969, 6 items).
  - Typescript text of the paper as delivered (27pp).
  - Press cuttings reporting and commenting upon the address (March 1969, 6 items) and a series of articles by TKW from the *Irish Times* based on the address (July 1969, 3 items).
- **P175/109** 25 March 1969

27pp

# **Productivity and full employment**

Text of a address by TKW at the annual general meeting of the College of Industrial Relations, Dublin.

**P175/110** 1970–2

4 items

# Lectures and papers on the Central Bank and Irish banking

Texts of four lectures and articles, mainly by TKW, concerning Irish banking and the Central Bank.

- 1. Extract from the Central Bank *Quarterly Bulletin* Spring 1970, consisting of the text of a lecture on 'The role of the Central Bank' given by TKW to the Economics Society, University College Dublin, 5 February 1970 (13pp).
- 2. Text of a lecture by TKW on The Central Bank and the banking system', given at the Cork Centre of the Institute of Bankers, 10 November 1971 (20pp).
- 3. Text of a lecture by TKW on 'The changing face of Irish banking' read to the Manchester Statistical Society, 30 November 1971 (26pp). Marked strictly confidential. Circulated to Directors of the Central Bank.
- 4. Extract from *The Banker*, November 1972, containing an article by Mary Campbell on 'Irish banking today' (6pp). Circulated to Directors of the Central Bank.

# **P175/111** 22 February 1971

7pp

# **Productivity and incomes**

Typescript text of a talk by TKW as Governor of the Central Bank to the Rotary Club, London.

**P175/112** 22 February 1971

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# **Productivity and incomes**

Published text of the talk by TKW as Governor of the Central Bank to the Rotary Club, London The publication from which the off-printed version of the talk is taken is unidentified.

**P175/113** 14 December 1972

11pp

# The meaning of inflation

Typescript text of a talk by TKW as Governor of the Central Bank to the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union Thursday Workshop.

**P175/114** May–July 1976

150pp

#### Talk on 'Planning Irish Development' given to the Irish Congress of Trade Unions Summer Course, 1976

Drafts (18pp) and copy (9pp) of the paper given by TKW to the fourth ICTU Summer Course held at Johnstown Castle, Wexford, 19–23 July 1976, together with routine correspondence concerning arrangements for the course and his attendance.

**P175/115** December 1976

4 items

# Lunch with Master of Public Administration class, UCD

Letter from Professor Paddy Lynch, Department of Political Economy, UCD, to TKW (3 December 1976, 1p) confirming arrangements for his lunch with the second year MPA class and enclosing a list of members (2pp). Letter from Edward O'Reilly, a

- **P175/115** member of the class, to TKW (8 December 1976, 1p) enclosing a list of 'Proposed topics for discussion' which the class would like him to consider (1p). Handwritten notes by TKW on the topics which relate to national economic management, development, the link with sterling, control of the money supply and national wage agreements (9pp).
- **P175/116** May 1979

12pp

#### 'Industrial relations – Is there a better way?'

Text of the opening address by TKW at a seminar of the same title organized by the Cork Chamber of Commerce. Published in *Administration* vol 27, no 3

**P175/117** January–March 1981

22pp

# Talk to Curragh Military College Senior Officers' Course on 'Economic Progress and Security'

Papers relating to TKW's talk to the Senior Officers' Course, providing an overview of Ireland's economic development since 1922 including the establishment of state-sponsored bodies such as the Industrial Development Authority and Bord Fáilte; the First Programme for Economic Expansion; emigration; and EEC membership (10 March 1981).

Includes:

- Copy of the course syllabus (7pp).
- Text of the talk (12pp).
- Letters from Brigadier General Liam Prendergast, Lieutenant Colonel C.J. McGuinn and Colonel H. Crowley concerning TKW's guest lecture to the senior officers course (28 January– 12 March 1981, 3pp).

**P175/118** May 1981

17pp

#### Inaugural Louvain Lecture: Ireland in the new Europe

Text of the paper on 'Ireland in the new Europe' given by TKW to the Irish Club of Belgium, 15 May 1981, as the Inaugural Louvain Lecture, tracing the history of Ireland's relations with continental Europe since 1922. **P175/119** June 1985–February 1986

75pp

# Thomas Davis Lecture by TKW on Economic Development 1958-85

Correspondence, drafts and notes relating to the talk given by TKW as part of the RTÉ Radio 1 series 'The Making of Modern Ireland' marking the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the foundation of the Economic and Social Research Institute (20 October 1985). Series contains fifteen Thomas Davis Lectures on the previous twenty five years of economic and social development in Ireland. Includes:

- Letter from Kieran A. Kennedy, Director, ESRI to TKW outlining the timescale and details of the recording of his talk and the subsequent publication of the lecture series by Mercier Press (11 June 1985, 1p). He encloses a typescript draft of TKW's Presidential Address to the ESRI annual general meeting on 25 June 1985, concerning the establishment and development of the institute and Ireland's changing economic and social landscape since 1960 (10pp); and a conspectus of the radio series containing the order of broadcasting and a summary of each lecture (12pp).
- Manuscript text of the talk (12pp) together with various typescript annotated and amended drafts (35pp).
- Comments by Kieran Kennedy on the draft (16 August 1985, 3pp).
- Letters of congratulation including a letter from Liam Skelly TD to TKW praising his lecture as 'totally absorbing and fascinating and absolutely accurate' and requesting a copy prior to publication due to its immediate relevancy (November 1985, 1p).
- **P175/120** April 1988–April 1989

# 10 items

# Lecture to the Sixth and Seventh Senior Officers' Courses, Curragh Military College

Correspondence between TKW and various members of the Command Staff of the Military College, The Curragh, concerning his contributing to the sixth (November 1988) and seventh (April 1989) senior officers' courses. Both contributions took the form of a question and answer session, the questions being provided in advance by officers and students participating in the courses. Includes TKW's handwritten text (11pp) of his answers to questions submitted for the seventh course, on topics such as the Single European Act, unemployment figures, and Ireland's membership of the European Monetary System. **P175/121** June–October 1988

8 items

# Talk to the Probus Club, Drogheda

Correspondence with Tom [?], Ard Mhuire, Upper Mell, Drogheda, an acquaintance of TKW who extends an invitation to TKW to talk to the Probus Club. Includes the annotated text of the talk on 'Changes in the Ireland of our time' (15pp).

P175/122 September–November 1988

20pp

# Lecture on Arthur Guinness, Nullamore University Residence

Notes and correspondence relating to a lecture by TKW on the life of Arthur Guinness and the foundation of the Guinness Brewery, delivered at Nullamore University Residence, Dublin 6 (30 November 1988). The text of the lecture is in the form of holograph notes (8pp). Contains correspondence between TKW, and Ciaran S. Clarke, Assistant Director, Nullamore University Residence, concerning arrangements for the talk.

**P175/123** October 1988

15pp

# Irish Times article by TKW: 'The cost cutting road to new jobs'

Drafts and printed version of an *Irish Times* article by TKW advocating a decrease in production costs as a means of generating employment, and the use of National Lottery funds as government revenue (13 October 1988).

- Includes:
- Various typescript drafts of the piece (10pp) together with a cutting from the *Irish Times* (13 October 1988) containing the published article.
- Letter from J.A. Barnwell to TKW responding to the *Irish Times* article by raising areas of concern associated with the use of National Lottery funds as revenue for exchequer expenditure (18 October 1988, 1p). The reply from TKW to Barnwell argues for the use of Lottery proceeds to fund public services due to the much higher than expected profits generated (19 October 1988, 1p).

# **P175/124** Not dated

12pp

# Talk to a Clongowes Leadership Course

Typescript text with some handwritten revisions, of an undated talk on 'The progress of our country' given by TKW to a leadership course [at Clongowes Wood College].

**P175/125** Not dated

7pp

# 'A new Social order'

Text of a contribution by TKW to an unidentified audience under the general title of 'Business and Finance Series'.

'I make no pretence of having a blueprint for a new social order. All I can do, after inadequate reflection and with limited understanding, is to review some weaknesses in the management of our affairs at present and, not being one who sees any merit in a destructive revolution, to offer some tentative suggestions for reform'.

**P175/126** Not dated

4pp

#### 'The economic need to adjust to technological change'

Text of an address to an unidentified audience.

'Technological and economic development are so obviously interdependent and interactive that it would be tedious to labour the point. I propose merely to try to allay some anxieties and to draw attention to some significant world trends'.

# 4. EDUCATIONAL, SOCIAL AND CULTURAL ACTIVITIES, 1969–96

**P175/127** July–September 1969

40pp

#### The Church in the Ireland of the Seventies

Handwritten draft and typescript copy of a confidential memorandum by TKW submitted at the request of William Cardinal Conway, Archbishop of Armagh, to the Conference of the Irish Catholic Hierarchy held at Mulrany in September 1969 (10pp). The memorandum contains TKW's ideas on the general development of Irish society in the following decade and the necessity for the Catholic Church to respond to change under headings such as 'adaptability to change', 'the age of personal responsibility', 'effect on belief', 'behaviour', 'moderation' and 'reflection'. Associated correspondence including a letter from his son Raymond to TKW (30 August 1969, 4pp) commenting on the draft and offering suggestions which TKW incorporates.

**P175/128** July 1970–October 1974

20 items

#### **Dublin Diocesan Finances**

Material mainly relating to the work of the Dublin Diocesan Development Fund and occasional contact with TKW. Includes:

- Copy of a confidential summary report on a study of financial management in the Archdiocese of Dublin carried out by Wells Management Consultants (Ireland) Ltd (July 1970, 9pp).
- Copy of a summary report on the parish planned-giving campaigns, 1964–70 carried out for the Archdiocese of Dublin by Wells Management Consultants (Ireland) Ltd (July 1970, 11pp).
- Copy of a memorandum from the Diocesan Finance Commission to Archbishop John Charles McQuaid making recommendations in relation to the work of the Development Fund (15 June 1971, 2pp).
- Tables of statistical returns for all Dublin parishes showing income and expenses for the year 1970–1 (July 1971, 6pp).
- Copy of a report by the Dublin Diocesan Development Fund on visits to various parishes (October 1971, 20pp) detailing building development, church and school sites and buildings, and the financial situation in each of twelve parishes.
- Copy of the report from the Executive Commission of the Dublin Diocesan Development Fund (9 December 1971, 2pp).
- Text of the address of Archbishop McQuaid to the parochial clergy at the Mater Dei Institute on the work of the Development Fund (9 December 1971, 8pp).
- Letter from Archbishop Dermot Ryan, Archbishop's House,

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Dublin 9, to TKW, Central Bank, thanking him for his suggestions and his 'willingness to contribute at the foundation level' (27 July 1972, 1p).

- Copy of a minute of a meeting between TKW and Dr Louis Heelan, Industrial Credit Company, Merrion Square, Dublin 2, headed 'Diocesan Finances. Tentative views and points for clarification', made by Heelan in the wake of a meeting at which the two reviewed Dublin diocesan finances on the basis of information supplied at a visit by the two to Archbishop's House. The minute is heavily annotated by TKW (May 1972, 4pp).
- **P175/129** March–September 1977

12 items

# The Work of Justice. Pastoral letter of the Irish Catholic Bishops

Material relating to the drafting of the bishops' pastoral letter on justice.

Includes:

- Note from Cahal B. Daly, Bishop of Ardagh and Clonmacnois, St Michael's, Longford, to TKW (12 April 1977), enclosing a copy of a draft of the pastoral letter (March 1977, 26pp) and requesting 'a <u>quick</u> reaction and comment'.
- Handwritten notes by TKW (6pp).
- Copies of the final draft of the pastoral in its short version (May 1977, 14pp) and long version (30pp); and of the final text in its short version (14pp) and long version (36pp), all sent by Bishop Daly.
- Copies of two news releases from the Catholic Press and Information Office (11 September 1977, 2pp and 6pp).
- Copy of the full published text of the pastoral (1977, 82pp).

**P175/130** July 1981–April 1982

11 items

# **Rent restrictions**

Material relating to rent control and tenant protection legislation and its passage through Seanad Éireann. Includes:

- Copy of the judgment of the Supreme Court on two appeals relating to cases in which declarations were sought as to the validity of sections of the Rent Restrictions Act, 1960 and amending legislation (29 June 1981, 37pp).
- Letter from Alex Miller, Chairman, Threshold (Housing Information, Advice and Research) to TKW concerning the 1981 Supreme Court judgment on rent control (17 July 1981,

- P175/130
  1p); enclosing a copy of a report by Threshold on 'The Present Crisis in Controlled Private-Rented Accommodation' (5 September 1980, 40pp); and pages from Seanad Debates containing TKW's contributions to the Rent Restrictions Bill, 1981 (16 July 1981, 2pp) and the Rent Restrictions (Temporary Provisions) Bill, 1981 (17 December 1981, 3pp).
  - Handwritten notes by TKW on aspects of rent control law (5pp).
  - Copy of the judgment of the Supreme Court on the reference by the President of Ireland of the Housing (Private Rented Dwellings) Bill, 1981 (19 February 1982, 20pp).
  - Copy of the Housing (Private Rented Dwellings) Bill, 1982 (14pp) and explanatory memorandum (March 1982, 8pp) and copy of Seanad Éireann Debates on the second and committee stages of the Bill, annotated by TKW (6 April 1982, 55pp)..
- **P175/131** July–September 1982

8 items

#### Cause of the beatification of Edel Quinn

Three letters from Fr Anslem Moynihan op, St Saviour's, Upper Dorset Street, Dublin 1, the Vice-Postulator for the Cause of Edel Quinn, a Legion of Mary envoy to East and Central Africa who died in Nairobi in 1944, enclosing some information material on Edel Quinn and her cause (3 items) and requesting TKW's assistance in sending a petition to the Pope, supporting the introduction of the cause. Handwritten draft (3 September 1982, 5pp) and typescript copy (8 September 1982, 3pp) of the petition sent by TKW.

**P175/132** 1982–3

150pp

# Report on the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies, School of Cosmic Physics, 1982

Correspondence, minutes and memoranda relating to the report of the Review Committee of external experts established to advise the Governing Board of the DIAS in planning the future development of the School of Cosmic Physics including correspondence between TKW, Chairman of the Council of the DIAS and member of the Governing Board of the School of Cosmic Physics, and members of the Review Group, Colonel J.P. Duggan, Registrar, DIAS, and other interested parties. Includes notices, agendas and minutes of meetings of the Governing Board of DIAS, of the Council, and of the Select Committee appointed to consider the report of the Review Group; and correspondence and formal responses arising from the report. P175/132 Includes:

- Copy of the report of the Review Committee (November 1982, 20pp).
- Copy of the observations by C. Ó Ceallaigh, Director of the School of Cosmic Physics on the report of the Review Committee (11pp).

**P175/133** January 1984–October 1989 [-November 1996]

300pp

# Committee of Inquiry into Penal System

Papers relating to TKW's chairmanship of the Committee of Inquiry into the Penal System. Includes correspondence, minutes, working papers, news-cuttings, and incomplete drafts of the final report.

Includes:

- Copy of a Department of Justice memorandum for the government seeking approval for the establishment of a Committee of Inquiry into the Penal System (January 1984, 19pp).
- Preliminary correspondence concerning the establishment of the Committee including correspondence between TKW and Mr Justice Seamus Henchy, a member of the Committee, concerning initiation of the work (February-March 1984, 3 items).
- Letter from Frank Dunne, Secretary to the Committee, Ard na Gaoithe, Arbour Hill, Dublin 7 concerning repercussions of the Committee's recent visit to St Patrick's Institution (25 May 1984, 2pp); and letter from Fr Harry Gaynor, chaplain, Mountjoy Jail, and Fr Martin Daly, chaplain, St Patrick's Institution seeking reassurance that meetings between them and the Committee are conducted in the strictest confidence (23 May 1984, 1p).
- Copies of working papers on:
  - objectives of prison custody (10pp);
  - prison population in member states of the Council of Europe (2pp);
  - community relations/juvenile liaison officer scheme (2pp);
  - expenditure on prisons, 1974–83 (9pp);
  - o prison capital works and maintenance arrangements (4pp).
- Copy of a letter from TKW to Mr Justice Henchy, concerning arrangements for completing the report and for the members of the Committee to sign it (27 July 1985, 2pp).
- Copies of contents page of Part 2, Information and Section 12, Information on other Prison Systems from the Committee's report (10pp).
- Drafts of a chapter on women offenders (July 1985, 15pp).
- Two documents from an unidentified source entitled "Reservations" (2pp) and 'Suggested amendments to text of report' (3pp).
- Copies of Seanad Éireann proceedings reporting debates on a motion welcoming the Committee's report and calling on the

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government to implement its recommendations (20 November 1985, 18pp; 4 December 1985, 22pp).

- Copy of a letter from TKW to the editor, *Irish Independent* (23 January 1986, 2pp) strongly rebuffing allegations from Professor Mary McAleese in a letter to the paper, that the Committee's report 'hasn't a thing to say about the problems of containing drug abusers safely in prison'.
- Handwritten draft letter from TKW to [Michael Noonan, Minister for Justice] regretting the fact that he had received no formal letter of thanks which he could circulate to members of the committee. They were left with the feeling that the public duty which they had accepted voluntarily & discharged to the best of their ability at considerable inconvenience, had not been appreciated' (not dated, 1p).
- Copy of the address by Alan Dukes, Minister for Justice, at the opening of the Prison Officers' Association annual conference (22 May 1986, 9pp).
- Copies of official and personal correspondence between TKW and the Minister arising from reference in the Minister's address to the Committee's report (July–September 1986, 10pp) mainly concerning the Committee's proposal for the creation of a Prisons Board to take control of the prison system.
- Copy of an address by TKW, 'Alternatives to custody', given to a conference on crime organized by probation and welfare officers (7April 1988, 9pp).
- Copy of an article and related correspondence, contributed by TKW to *Anois* concerning the prison system (October 1989, 4 items).
- 2 press cuttings from the *Irish Times* from a later period (November 1996) concerning the political crisis arising from which the government had decided to transfer responsibility for the prison system from the Department of Justice to an independent, permanent, statutory board as had been recommended by the Whitaker report.

# **P175/134** October 1985–February 1991

50 items

# European Studies (Ireland and Great Britain) Project

Material relating to TKW's chairmanship of the European Studies Project, a study project involving six schools in Northern Ireland, six in the Republic and six in Great Britain, with the aim of encouraging students 'to explore both the common roots and the rich diversity of their heritage'.

Includes

- Copy of a confidential memorandum 'European Studies (Ireland and Great Britain) Project: description, aims and methodology, ultimate purpose' (not dated, 3pp).
- Correspondence between TKW and Declan Brennan, secretary, Department of Education, Dublin, concerning the

- **P175/134** establishment and progress of the project (October 1985– October 1988, 5 items) and of the necessity of it not being identified with the Anglo-Irish Agreement.
  - Official text of a speech by Gemma Hussey TD, Minister for Education, at the Conference of Irish Studies at St Peter's College, Oxford (20 September 1985, 6pp) referring to the proposed establishment of the British Association for Irish Studies, an initiative the Irish Government is happy to endorse.
  - Correspondence between TKW and various officials of the Northern Ireland Department of Education, Balloo Road, Bangor, County Down and of the Department of Education and Science, York Road, London SE1 7PH (May 1987– December 1988, 6 items) concerning changes to the structure of the project.
  - Various reports and outline financial statements including a copy of a report of a meeting of a sub-group of the steering committee held in the Department of Education, Dublin (13–14 June 1989, 6pp) to consider certain dissemination strategies; copy of a report from the Research and Development Officer for Assessment (27 June 1989, 5pp) and of the Director's report for the Steering Committee (July 1989, 5pp); copy of estimates of central costs for 1990/1 (1989, 10p); copy of the report of the programme for 16-18 year-olds for 1989, *Communicating across Europe* (87pp).
  - Correspondence concerning TKW's resignation from the chairmanship of the project steering committee (September 1990–February 1991, 6 items).
- **P175/135** November 1986–January 1993

75 items

# Collège des Irlandais, Paris: tax relief for covenanted subscriptions

Papers relating to the proposed renovation of the Collège des Irlandais, rue des Irlandais, 75005 Paris, the campaign to raise the necessary funds for the project, and the application to the Revenue Commissioners to have covenanted subscriptions to the renovation fund exempt from income tax. Includes:

- Correspondence between TKW and F.J. O'Reilly, chairman, Committee of Friends of the Collège des Irlandais, Paris, 33
   College Green, Dublin 2, concerning TKW joining the committee.
- Copy of the college's memorandum and articles of association (January 1987, 39pp).
- Copies of minutes of meetings of the Committee of Friends (May–November 1987, 6 items).
- Correspondence between interested parties including officials of the Revenue Commissioners, the Department of Foreign Affairs and management consultants engaged by the

### T.K. Whitaker Papers

- **P175/135** Committee of Friends; and occasional correspondence with prominent supporters of the project such as Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiaich.
  - Copies of successive drafts of a case statement.
  - Copies of promotional brochures.

**P175/136** [1956]–May 1990

6 items

# Dermot Finucane extradition case, 1990

Copy of a personal letter from TKW to Mr Justice Frank Griffin, St Kevin's Park, Dublin 6, expressing concern at the 'distressing judgment' by Mr Justice Walsh in the Dermot Finucane v John Paul McMahon Case in which Finucane sought to avoid extradition to the UK, and putting forward an alternative argument which would deny exemption from extradition to those who are 'usurping the functions of the constitutional organs of the State' (19 April 1990, 1p); news-cuttings from the *Irish Times, The Listener*, and *The Times* concerning the extradition ruling (April-May 1990, 5 items).

**P175/137** July 1990–September 1992

70pp

# John Henry Whyte Trust Fund

Correspondence, minutes and foundation documents relating to the establishment and fundraising activities of the John Henry Whyte Trust Fund, on which TKW initially served as chairman of the management committee. The Trust was established in honour of John Whyte (d. May 1990), Professor of Irish Politics at Queen's University Belfast and University College Dublin with the aim of offering graduate exchange funding for a post-graduate student between the two universities. Primarily contains minutes of committee meetings and correspondence with potential sources of sponsorship. Trustees include Mrs Jean Whyte [widow of John Whyte] Niall Crowley, Bob Eccleshall, Barbara Sweetman FitzGerald, Tom Garvin, Maurice Hayes, and Catherine McGuinness.

# **P175/138** January 1996

49pp

# Submission by the Wild Salmon Support Group to the Working Group on Management and Conservation Strategies for Salmon

Submission of the Support Group whose membership included TKW. The composite submission included independent memoranda on particular aspects and contained the following papers:

- Biological Management by K.F. Whelan;
- Irish Commercial Salmon Fisheries, Assessment of Value by Fionán Ó Muircheartaigh;
- Economics of Recreational v Commercial Exploitation of Wild Salmon by Brendan Whelan;
- Possible Alternative Sources of Livelihood for Salmon Fishermen by Bord Iascaigh Mhara;
- Irish Times articles by TKW on 'Wild Salmon-dwindling resource', 'Commercial or recreational exploitation', Conservation initiatives' and 'Wild salmon-terms for ending netting' (April 1995).

# 5. PERSONAL AND DISSOCIATED PAPERS, 1970-90

**P175/139** March 1970–April 1974

18 items

# Correspondence with Mr Rollin H. McCarthy

Occasional correspondence between TKW and Rollin McCarthy, Park Lane, Madison, New Jersey, a consultant in manufacturing engineering with experience in engineering education, who offers his services in the field of industrial development; with copies of correspondence with third parties such as Dr Edward Walsh, Director, National Institute of Higher Education, Limerick, and Mr Paul Quigley, General Manager, Shannon Free Airport Development Company.

**P175/140** [1976]

18pp

# **Biographical sketch of TKW**

Unattributed biographical sketch of TKW written at the time of his retirement from the governorship of the Central Bank.

**P175/141** May 1976–January 1982

#### 20 items

# **Correspondence with Sir Basil Goulding**

Occasional correspondence between TKW and Sir Basil Goulding, Fitzwilton House, Wilton Place, Dublin 2, and Dargle Cottage. Enniskerry, County Wicklow, mainly relating to their views on society and the individual, with forays into other areas such as assonance versus rhyme in Irish poetry. Includes a copy of an article by TKW for *Business and Finance* on 'A new social order' (December 1980, 7pp); and copies of cuttings from the letters page of the *Irish Times* containing a sequence of letters arising from Sir Basil's views on the Irish birth rate and its relationship to the unemployment rate (May–June 1980, 5pp). The final item is a handwritten draft of a letter from TKW to Lady Valerie Goulding (18 January 1982, 1p) offering sympathies on the death of her husband.

**P175/142** September–October 1980

#### 12 items

# Review of George O'Brien: a biographical memoir by James Meenan (Gill & Macmillan 1980)

Handwritten text (4pp) and cutting of a review by TKW for the *Sunday Independent* (21 September 1980) with some associated correspondence including a letter from James Meenan, Albany Avenue, Monkstown, Dublin thanking him 'for your very kind review of George'. Includes four cuttings of reviews by other reviewers including Charles Lysaght.

**P175/143** February–April 1989

#### 20 items

#### **Response to criticism by Raymond Crotty**

Correspondence concerning passages in Raymond Crotty's Ireland in crisis: a study in capitalist colonial undevelopment (Brandon, 1986) ascribing to TKW personal responsibility for Ireland's public indebtedness in the 1960s and 70s. Consists mainly of correspondence between TKW and Dr W.J.L. Ryan, Governor, Bank of Ireland, Lower Baggot Street, Dublin 2 to whom TKW turns for advice; and copies of correspondence Also between Louden Ryan and Ray Crotty. includes correspondence between TKW and Roy Foster, The Institute for Advanced Study, Princeton, New Jersey (March-April 1989, 2 items) concerning Foster's use of Crotty's analysis in his Modern Ireland and his willingness to make changes in a forthcoming revised edition.

# **P175/144** March 1990

3 items

# Understanding Contemporary Ireland

Handwritten draft (8pp) and typescript copy letter (5 March 1990, 6pp) from TKW, 148 Stillorgan Road, Dublin 4 to Professor Kieran A. Kennedy, Director, Economic and Social Research Institute, 4 Burlington Road, Dublin 4, enclosing detailed comments on *Understanding Contemporary Ireland* (London, Macmillan 1990), a sociologically-based analysis of the development of Ireland since 1950 written by past and present members of the ESRI, Richard Breen, Damian F. Hannon, David B. Rottman and Christopher T. Whelan.

Letter of acknowledgement from Kieran Kennedy, ESRI, Burlington Road, Dublin 4. (16 March 1990,1p). 'It is a great compliment to the authors that you have taken so much trouble to set out your views at such length. I believe that your views should be given a wider circulation, and I will discuss with the authors how best this might be organised. My own instinct would be that it would be well worthwhile having a symposium on the subject, if you were willing to participate'.

Letter from Damian F. Hannan, ESRI, Burlington Road, Dublin 4, to TKW on behalf of the editors, thanking him for his comments. 'As you correctly point out one of our objectives was to provoke serious debate on the issues raised in the book. It is particularly gratifying to have such a contribution from one with your unique vantage point'. He suggests the *Economic and Social Review* as a suitable vehicle for elaborating differences in interpretation.