

**GARRET FITZGERALD PAPERS**  
**MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS, 1973-77**

**P215**



**UCD ARCHIVES**

**archives@ucd.ie**  
**www.ucd.ie/archives**  
**T + 353 1 716 7555**  
**F + 353 1 716 1146**  
**© 2009 University College Dublin. All Rights Reserved**

## **CONTENTS**

---

### **CONTEXT**

Biographical History	<b>iv</b>
Archival History	<b>v</b>

---

### **CONTENT AND STRUCTURE**

Scope and Content	<b>vi</b>
System of Arrangement	<b>vii</b>

---

### **CONDITIONS OF ACCESS AND USE**

Access	<b>viii</b>
Language	<b>viii</b>
Finding Aid	<b>viii</b>

---

### **DESCRIPTION CONTROL**

Archivist's Note	<b>viii</b>
------------------	-------------

---

### **ALLIED MATERIALS**

Published and Archival Material	<b>viii</b>
---------------------------------	-------------

---

---

## Biographical history

Born in 1926, the fourth son of Desmond FitzGerald, a veteran of the 1916 rebellion who served as Minister for External Affairs and Minister for Defence in the first post-independence Irish governments, a poet, philosopher and friend of Ezra Pound, and Mabel FitzGerald [*née* McConnell] a Belfast Presbyterian who acted for periods as secretary to George Bernard Shaw and George Moore.

Educated at Belvedere and UCD where he took a double first in History and French and met his future wife, Joan O'Farrell. He was called to the Bar in 1947 but never practiced, taking up employment at the beginning of that year with Aer Lingus where he was involved centrally in the development of the national airline. He also developed a profile in journalism, writing and lecturing on economic matters in particular.

By early 1958 he had left Aer Lingus to pursue a career as an economic journalist, lecturer and consultant, acting at various times over the next fifteen years as *inter alia* the *Financial Times* correspondent in Dublin, a lecturer in economics in University College Dublin, a weekly columnist for the *Irish Times*, representative in Dublin of the BBC and the *Economist*, and economic consultant to a wide variety of state and private enterprises. He also developed strong relationships with the European Community and was an unequivocal advocate for Irish membership, chairing the Irish Council of the European Movement from 1959 to 1963.

Elected to the Seanad in 1965, he was appointed to the Fine Gael Front Bench by Liam Cosgrave. On the retirement from Dáil Éireann of John A. Costello he was selected with Fergus O'Brien as a Fine Gael candidate in the Dublin South-East constituency where he topped the poll. He was appointed Opposition Spokesman on Education and subsequently on Finance. With the change of Government in 1973, he was appointed Minister for External Affairs in the National Coalition Government, a post his father had held fifty years previously.

Besides his strong European inclinations, he had a sustained interest in Northern Ireland, spending the day before his appointment as Minister in Belfast. He was to break with precedent during his tenure as Minister for Foreign Affairs by visiting Northern Ireland regularly; as did senior members of his Department to meet and build relationships with representatives of all political and social groups. The rejection by extreme loyalism of the Tripartite Agreement negotiated at Sunningdale in December 1973, and of the concepts of power-sharing and an all-Ireland dimension at the heart of that agreement, was possibly the most disappointing aspect of FitzGerald's period in Foreign Affairs but was more than counterbalanced by the outstanding success of Ireland's first Presidency of the Council of the European Communities in the first half of 1975.

FitzGerald succeeded Liam Cosgrave as leader of Fine Gael after the defeat of the National Coalition in the 1977 general election. His success in rejuvenating and reorganizing the party and in introducing a new generation of TDs such as John Bruton, Alan Dukes, Ivan Yates, and Gemma Hussey, was unprecedented. After the general election of November 1982 Fine Gael held only five seats less than Fianna Fáil, while the party in the Oireachtas was actually larger.

His first period as Taoiseach was as leader of a minority government between June 1981 and January 1982, a period of extreme economic crisis. It was on a Dáil vote on John Bruton's second budget in January 1982 that the government fell. The events surrounding the dissolution of the Dáil are now best remembered for the approaches to President Patrick Hillery by members of Fianna Fáil that were to have such a detrimental effect on the presidential aspirations of Brian Lenihan in 1990.

A third general election, in November 1982, resulted in FitzGerald being returned for a second term as Taoiseach, heading a Fine Gael-Labour coalition with a working majority. The effectiveness of this government was significantly hampered by the depth of the country's economic problems. While Fine Gael wished to pursue a policy of fiscal rectitude to control public spending and reduce the budget deficit, the Labour Party was opposed to any diminution of public services. The negotiation of the Anglo-Irish Agreement in November 1985 was a considerable achievement but failures to achieve advances in the secularization of Irish society were a disappointment, most tellingly the defeat of the constitutional referendum to allow for divorce. The Labour Party withdrew from government on economic issues in January 1987 and Fine Gael were defeated in the subsequent general election. FitzGerald resigned as party leader, to be replaced by Alan Dukes. He retired as a public representative in 1992. He served as Chancellor of the National University of Ireland from 1997 until 2009.

---

### **Archival history**

The first *tranche* of Garret FitzGerald's papers to be transferred to UCD Archives was the ministerial correspondence from his period in Foreign Affairs, included in this descriptive catalogue. This occurred as a result of an offer from the then Director of Archives to provide secure storage for ministerial papers for members of the outgoing government in 1977. Further significant accessions were made after his resignation from the leadership of Fine Gael in 1987.

---

---

## **CONTENT AND STRUCTURE**

### **Scope and Content**

Papers relating to Garret FitzGerald's tenure as Minister for External Affairs, 1973–77 including:

Northern Ireland: preparations for the Tripartite Conference at Sunningdale, December 1973; Conference proceedings, the implementation of the Agreement; post-Sunningdale developments including the Northern Ireland Constitutional Convention. Much material on contacts between the Department of Foreign Affairs and political and community representatives in Northern Ireland.

European Communities: the impact of EC policies including regional development, agricultural, and fisheries policies on Ireland; EC enlargement; direct elections to the European parliament; the Tindemans Report; functioning and reform of the EC; British membership and re-negotiation; the Convention of Lomé; the Irish Presidency of the Council.

Ministerial meetings: briefing documents and reports relating to the Minister's meetings both at home and abroad and including the Council of Ministers of the EC, European Summit meetings, the United Nations General Assembly, the Organisation for European Cooperation and Development [OECD], and the Bilderberg Conference.

Communications with Ambassadors. Material relating to protocol; to development aid; and to membership of the UN including participation in peacekeeping contingents.

Ministerial correspondence and copies of speeches.

---

---

**System of arrangement**

<b>1</b>	<b>ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS</b>	
1.1	Pre-Ministerial papers, 1969–73	1
1.2	Tripartite Conference, Sunningdale, December 1973	
1.2.1	Pre-Conference	12
1.2.2	The Conference	23
1.2.3	Implementation of the Agreement	27
1.3	Northern Ireland, 1973–77	35
<b>2</b>	<b>IRELAND AND THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITY</b>	
2.1	General	99
2.2	Policy and Development	107
<b>3</b>	<b>MINISTERIAL MEETINGS</b>	
3.1	Meetings in Dublin	123
3.2	Ministerial Visits Abroad	129
3.3	Meetings during the Irish Presidency of the Council	153
<b>4</b>	<b>OTHER DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS CONCERNS</b>	
4.1	General Concerns	154
4.2	Communications with Ambassadors	161
4.3	Protocol	172
4.4	Development Aid	174
4.5	United Nations	179
<b>5</b>	<b>MINISTERIAL CORRESPONDENCE</b>	182
<b>6</b>	<b>MINISTERIAL SPEECHES</b>	274
<b>7</b>	<b>TELEXES</b>	283

---

---

## **CONDITIONS OF ACCESS AND USE**

### **Access**

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

### **Language**

English, occasional French

### **Finding Aid**

Descriptive catalogue

---

## **DESCRIPTION CONTROL**

### **Archivist's Note**

Initial processing work on the collection was carried out by Mary Mackey in 1987 to assist Garret FitzGerald's use of the papers for his autobiography. Detailed cataloguing work on the Foreign Affairs material was begun by Seamus Helferty in March 1986. He catalogued all the Northern Ireland papers. Antoinette Doran catalogued the European, meetings and Department of Foreign Affairs sections and began work on the Ministerial correspondence. Kevin Forkan catalogued some of the Ministerial correspondence which was completed by Seamus Helferty who edited the catalogue. Orna Somerville catalogued the speeches material.

---

## **ALLIED MATERIALS**

### **Published Material**

Garret FitzGerald 'All in a Life. An autobiography'. Gill and Macmillan 1991

---

## 1 ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS

### 1.1 Pre-Ministerial

**P215/1** September 1969

4pp

#### **Fine Gael policy**

Draft of a Fine Gael front bench policy statement on Northern Ireland, summarising the main contributory factors to the present position and advocating a ten point course of action including the establishment of 'a body similar to the Council of Ireland envisaged at the time of the Treaty', constitutional changes in the Republic, and the establishment of an all-party committee in the Dáil.

**P215/2** May 1970–March 1973

8 items

#### **Professor William McCausland Stewart MA D.Litt**

Correspondence between Professor Stewart, a native of Derry now resident in Bristol, and GFG, as well as copies of discussion papers by Professor Stewart and letters to the press on Northern Ireland issues. Includes:

- the challenge of the second bridge over the Foyle (1 May 1970, 3pp);
- the value of the referendum proposal in the wider context of the present Northern Ireland situation (27 February 1972, 3pp);
- copy of a letter to the editor, the *Sunday Times* concerning all-party functional committees in Northern Ireland (3 August 1972, 1p);
- letter to GFG (2 March 1973, 1p) enclosing a copy of a lengthy letter to the editor, *The Times* on 'Restoring democracy in Ulster' which he feels will not be published; together with copy reply from GFG. 'My most immediate concern at the moment is to do what I can to get somebody really capable appointed as Minister for Irish Affairs in the new government' (5 March 1973, 1p).

**P215/3** June 1970–May 1972

25 items

#### **Movement for Peace in Ireland**

Memoranda, minutes, correspondence, reports and notes concerning meetings of the Ad Hoc Committee for Peace and the formation of the Movement for Peace in Ireland. Includes:

- a preliminary draft constitution (August 1970, 5pp) and an

- P215/3 contd** advanced draft (October 1970, 6pp) sent to GFG by Declan Costello;
- copy of a private memorandum to form the basis for discussion as to how the organisation can meet its objectives (12 October 1970, 2pp);
  - copy undated letter from GFG to Conor [Cruise O'Brien] (1p) enclosing detailed typescript notes on the proceedings of a meeting of the movement in Belfast on 8 January 1971 (3pp);
  - draft report for the annual meeting (6 April 1971, 1p). Copy of the Secretaries' Report (4pp).

**P215/4** September 1970–May 1973

c250 items

**General Northern Ireland correspondence**

File of correspondence received by GFG from individuals and organisations including politicians in Northern Ireland and the UK, mainly in response to articles, lectures or public statements by him concerning NI, mostly supportive but occasionally disagreeing and abusive. Other occasional documents concern institutional initiatives towards peace; and a meeting at Chatham House in March 1972. Many of the correspondents are from England, reacting to articles and letters to the editor of the *Daily Telegraph*. A certain amount of correspondence is generated by reaction to advance copies of *Towards a New Ireland* (September 1972), sent by GFG.

Includes:

- from GFG to Hugh Bredin, Department of Scholastic Philosophy, Queen's University Belfast, responding to a copy of a statement condemning internment, signed by several hundred people.  
'While I am in general sympathy with the viewpoint expressed in your letter, it would be dishonest for me to say that I am opposed to internment in all circumstances. A legitimate, democratic government faced with armed rebellion must be entitled to defend itself by armed action. To suggest that such a government is entitled to shoot in self-defence people who in the nature of things have not been tried, but is not entitled to lock them up without trial, seems to me inhumane! If a State confined itself in all circumstances to imprisoning people only after trial, it might not survive, and acceptance of the proposition that there could never be internment without trial under any circumstances, would be an invitation to illegal organisations to take armed action with impunity' (5 October 1971, 1p);
- from [signature illegible], Dorchester, Dorset.  
'The effect of your letter in yesterday's *Times* is to make one Englishman at least wonder whether Cromwell did not err on the side of lenience. Such is the victim complex of the Irish and their simply intolerable power of self-delusion and mendacity' (21 November 1971, 1p). Reply from GFG, to the Occupier, Mount Pleasant Road, Poole, Dorset. 'I received a letter on notepaper from the address below with an illegible signature. If this letter reaches its author, I can only congratulate him on the pithiness of

P215/4 contd

his expression and condole with him on his lack of Christian charity' (8 December 1971, 1p);

- from Andrew Phelan, King's Bench Walk, Temple, London.  
'What a splendid letter this is in the *Times*. It says what so many people in the Temple are thinking and it is cheering to see something so forceful and articulate coming from Dublin. A general impression is that there could be more of a diplomatic initiative from Eire. Arguments from a common background of law and so on can really get home. You may depend on it I shall refer to your letter at lunch in Gray's Inn! I do not get to Dublin very often and then I rush all the time but I hope we meet sometime and talk of all that has passed since the days of UCD' (21 November 1971, 1p);

- from GFG to Lord Moyne, Knockmaroon, Castleknock, County Dublin.

'I was sorry that I was unable to get anything concrete back to you before you left for England recently. The need for a political solution has become very much more urgent since Derry. I know you will do anything you can to impress upon English friends – especially those who support the Tory party! – that the British Government must act quickly if it is to avoid a civil war in Ireland' (7 February 1972, 1p);

- two letters from Leland Lyons, The Master, University of Kent at Canterbury, concerning the subject of his paper at the forthcoming conference at which they will both speak, Lyons on options for the future of Northern Ireland, GFG on the EEC.

'I gather we are to be contributors to, or victims of, another of those strange conferences by which our English friends set such store – that is, if such frivolities haven't been swept into the wings by then'. He requests copies of Fine Gael policy documents or statements, as he is cut off from Irish newspapers. 'Please remember me to your brother. [Lyons mistakenly assumes Alexis FitzGerald is GFG's brother] I enjoyed meeting him in the summer and was very sorry that a mass of commitments prevented me from accepting his invitation to do the Costello biography. I hope he found a satisfactory alternative' (6 February 1972, 2pp).

'I certainly got the impression after the Derry shootings of something approaching a post-1916 mood, but I can't tell whether or not it has begun to subside. I also get – and got at Christmastime in Dublin – a feeling that constitutional government itself might be in danger in the Republic. I hope that's an exaggeration, but I do ask myself what would happen if the government were to break up. Would an election be even possible to hold, and would it, if held, resemble 1918 in both temper and result? Is a "national government" possible in any circumstances, or would you still hope for a coalition without F.F.? Is Labour, for that matter, in a fit state to coalesce with anyone?' (17 February 1972, 2pp);

- from Canon E. Elliott, St Thomas' Rectory, Eglantine Avenue, Belfast.

'We have been saddened & greatly discouraged, even if not entirely surprised, by the vote yesterday against the bill on Family Planning. But we have been cheered & encouraged by the action of you & likeminded people. Thank you for what you did then &

**P215/4 contd**

are doing on so many occasions. There is an astonishing insensitivity on the part of many politicians in both NI and the Republic to the insecurity, apprehension & rights of minorities' (10 February 1972, 2pp);

- from Eric Maguire, Greenfield Manor, Stillorgan Road, Dublin 4. 'My family, friends and other people I have spoken with, are very disturbed by the news that the Govt. propose to allow a Soviet Embassy here. It surely must be quite obvious that this pressure from Moscow is a direct result of the British action in sending home 130 members of the Russian Embassy in London, for spying. A foothold in Ireland would be particularly valuable to the Soviet Union for many reasons – not least as part of their world strategy to infiltrate the Western Alliance, as they have done in Cuba and Malta. The present unrest and violence in Ireland follows a familiar pattern, one which we have seen in other parts of the world, wherever social and political conditions allow exploitation by International Communism. I hope the Fine Gael Party will resist this sinister move and do everything in their power to abort it. Do not be put off by the jeer that "one sees a Communist under every bush". Nowadays there is a Communist under every bush' (1 March 1972, 2pp);
- from Maurice Hayes, Strangford, County Down, thanking him for a copy of the book. 'It partly confirmed my own impression gained over the years of the Catholic Church as a great incubus resisting change in defence of its own institutional interests. If they would even say that they only want a confessional state in the South it would be a help!

I also note your attack on the myth of the self-reliant Northern entrepreneur. This is very true also at an administrative level where the introduction of English civil servants & chief officers has prevented the emergence of a native administrative class such as that thrown up by the State Bodies in the Republic (without producing either a significant leaven of liberalism).

I am very worried about the Whitelaw Conference. I think they are now resigned simply to listen to a recital of intransigence from each group & will then apply their own, manufactured in London, preconceived solution (27 July 1972, 2pp);

- copy of a letter from Ken Whitaker, Central Bank of Ireland, to David James MP, Malabar House, Childe Okeford, Near Blandford, Dorset, giving his thoughts on possible new arrangements in Northern Ireland.

'I think that, to clear away present ambiguities and causes of dissension and start with a cleaner sheet, there would be merit in a new Treaty or Agreement between the two sovereign States governing the relationship of each to Northern Ireland and confirming whatever provisions are made for regional administration there, assuming these leave an opening for movement by agreement towards a united Ireland. A new agreement would be more meaningful and acceptable than other links such as rejoining the Commonwealth or joining NATO. It could be founded on the fact that both countries share an urgent concern that conditions should be established which would enable all the people of Northern Ireland to work together in peace and justice for their social and economic progress. It would

P215/4 contd

recognise that the imminent entry of both countries to the EEC renders their co-operation to this end not only desirable but essential'. Whitaker goes on to address issues such as illegal organisations, policing and security, a Bill of Rights, and the structure of regional administration.

The United Kingdom (Government and Parliament) would acknowledge that, while Northern Ireland would remain within the United Kingdom as long as this is the wish of the majority of the population of Northern Ireland, the UK would, on the other hand, in no way impede any arrangements, agreed by a majority in Northern Ireland, which looked towards participation of Northern Ireland in a united Ireland' (10 August 1972, 4pp);

- from Oliver Napier, North Street, Belfast, thanking him for an advance copy of *Towards a New Ireland*.

'In spite of everything I feel that there is a real desire in Northern Ireland towards a new approach not only between Catholic & Protestant but in the field of friendship with the South. This does not even come close to any consideration of unity but it is the prerequisite to any future concepts of unity. True there is a great deal of [polarisation] and distrust but there is a fairly wide acceptance or at least partial acceptance that the old political parties with their old political philosophies will not do anything for anybody' (29 August 1972, 4pp);

- from Brian W. Walker, New Ulster Movement, Botanic Avenue, Belfast.

I am enclosing a note of the line we took last night with Liam Cosgrave and Richie Ryan. Mr Cosgrave is not aware I am sending this to you. I think it is self-explanatory.

I think I must say that whilst we were very pleased to see the F.G. team we were appalled at their incredible ignorance of the Northern situation and at Mr Cosgrave's apparent inability to understand what we were trying to say or to argue the case from his point of view. Frankly, if this is the calibre of leadership which is being offered in Ireland as an alternative to F.F. then our plight is infinitely worse than we imagined – and that's saying something!' (6 October 1972, 1p).

P215/5 August–November 1971

40 items

**Drafts and copies of policy statements, proposal documents, texts of speeches, reports, memoranda and notes**, emanating mainly from either Fine Gael or GFG, together with related correspondence.

Includes:

- three copy letters from GFG to Liam [Cosgrave], the first marked 'confidential', reporting on personal meetings with Robin Baillie, Northern Ireland Government minister, initially concerned mainly with reaction within moderate Unionism to the enunciation by Taoiseach Jack Lynch of current government thinking on Northern Ireland.

P215/5 contd

'He is very upset about the new Lynch policy. He feels this is in part the result of the absence of direct lines of communication between Stormont and Dublin – that in taking this step Lynch was influenced by reactions in London which may have misled him as to the real feelings and intentions of Stormont. He is concerned to prevent if possible any further intensification of hard-line policies, to keep lines of communication open to Dublin, and to test out the possibilities even at this stage of an agreed solution to avoid going through the further stage of bloodshed foreseen by the minority leaders we met. I believe he is entirely genuine in this although obviously having identified himself with the Faulkner regime by joining it he has an obvious vested interest in an evolutionary rather than a revolutionary transition to a proportional government ... I told Baillie that I could see little hope of getting any kind of talks for an agreed solution going between the Northern Government and the Opposition, unless it could be effectively established before the negotiations began that a solution along the proportional government line would in fact be acceptable to Faulkner and his government. Without some such assurance the minority would not, I feel, re-open talks now. ... Of course any solution of this kind would have to be accompanied by the withdrawal of internment to make it palatable to the Northern Opposition which makes it even more unlikely' (15 August 1971, 3pp).

He reports discussion with John Hume in the aftermath of his talks with Baillie and gives Cosgrave the basis on which both sides might agree to begin discussions.

1. 'A meeting of both sides in the North to be called by the British government at the request of Faulkner. (The Opposition can come to a meeting only if called by the British, but Faulkner could sell it to his people only if the initiative were seen to come from him).
2. The meeting to agree to a change in the Northern constitution to introduce a system of proportional government, with a parliament elected by PR and an executive proportionately representative of parliament and chosen either by a PR election in parliament or by the Governor-General after consultation.
3. The detainees to be released.
4. A Council of Ireland, with economic and consultative functions to be formed, following further discussions with the Republic.'

He further reports Baillie's reaction to the proposals and the importance he attaches to [Kenneth] Bloomfield, Permanent Secretary to the Cabinet, 'who is more influential than Baillie is with Faulkner and who originated the PR idea and the Chairman of Committees idea' (21 August 1971, 2pp).

'I have had a rather positive response from Baillie. He is convinced that this proposal is the only hope. Bloomfield (Sec of Cabinet) agrees and I gather Faulkner has not turned down but will require persuasion – especially persuasion that it would be accepted by the minority' (24 August 1971, 1p);

- draft of a memorandum by GFG, with contributions from John Kelly and Michael Sweetman. Consists of a thirty point exegesis of

**P215/5 contd**

- the problems in Northern Ireland and the requirements for movement to an agreed solution (31 August 1971, 11pp);
- first draft of a memorandum, 'Proposals for 52-seat Stormont based on existing Westminster or Stormont constituencies' elaborating the proposal for a new constitution for Northern Ireland contained in the memorandum of 31 August 1971 (28 August 1971, 4pp);
  - draft of an SDLP statement annotated by GFG, 'Fitt failed to get SDLP to accept it'. Statement deals with the Party's discussions with the Secretary of State and his failure to respond to their proposals. 'This has so far prevented any evolution towards agreement on positive proposals'. Focuses on the need for multilateral discussions in advance of a White Paper (7 September 1971, 3pp);
  - draft Fine Gael statements on talks in London between the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister, criticising Mr Lynch for allowing domestic political considerations to shape his approach to the talks. Annotated by GFG 'Not clear whether issued or not' (8 September 1971, 3pp);
  - schema of a constitution, and of an executive and legislative system for Northern Ireland. Annotated by GFG 'John Kelly or Michael Sweetman ([September 1971], 3pp);
  - statement annotated by GFG 'Proposed FG statement (not used?) after meeting of Cosgrave and Corish with Lynch on \_\_\_\_ 1971'. Points out the failure to provide all-party consultation on Northern Ireland; Fine Gael's assessment of requirements for a resolution of the conflict; and the fact of government policy being driven by internal party considerations (4pp);
  - draft memorandum 'Getting talks going' (9 September 1971, 1p) together with an outline of proposals for a new constitutional system for Northern Ireland (5pp);
  - typescript copy draft account of developments, August–September 1971 by GFG, focussing on his meetings with Robin Baillie and subsequent events, including meetings with the SDLP; problems arising from internal dissension within that party; and relations between the SDLP and the Irish government. A copy with slightly different annotations is headed 'Written on 11 September for historical purposes' (11 September 1971, 5pp each);
  - draft memorandum by GFG proposing a broadcast by Gerry Fitt direct to Unionist opinion. Headed by GFG 'Prepared night of 10/11 September 1971 – argument in favour of Fitt broadcast on 16/17 September' (2pp);
  - copy letter from GFG to Liam Cosgrave reporting a further meeting in Belfast with Robin Baillie and Peter MacLachlan of Conservative Central Office; and commenting on the forthcoming Westminster debate on Northern Ireland, for which he has drafted a speech for Gerry Fitt (17 September 1971, 1p). 2 typescript copy drafts of the speech (10pp);
  - first draft of a confidential statement by GFG in response to remarks by Liam Cosgrave at the previous day's front bench meeting. The statement emphasises a sequence of events in which Cosgrave had at all times been briefed as to events and GFG's contacts in Northern Ireland (27 October 1971, 4pp);
  - three drafts and copies of a memorandum to the British

- P215/5 contd** Government, the first annotated by GFG 'Earlier draft of document handed to British Ambassador, 29/10/71'. Emphasises the absolute urgency of a political solution offering minority representation at government level if nationalist support for the IRA and increasing toleration of IRA activities by the population of the Republic are to be challenged (8pp);
- draft and copy of a further statement by GFG circulated to members of the Fine Gael front bench in response to the critical statement by Liam Cosgrave at the meeting on 27 October. Statement outlines the sequence of events and elaborates the initial statement prepared on 27 October (14 November 1971, 4pp).

**P215/6** 28 November 1971

23pp

**Ian Paisley**

Typescript text of an interview given by Ian Paisley MP to Liam Hourican, RTÉ, and broadcast on the *This Week* programme. Concerns various aspects of British government policy, mainly in relation to Irish unity.

**P215/7** 1971–72

2 items

**SDLP policy and proposal documents**

Copies of SDLP documents:

- draft working document on proposals relating to the present situation in Northern Ireland. Confidential, not for publication in any form. Prepared for discussion by the Research Group of the SDLP (September 1971, 7pp);
- SDLP Research Group: Internment. Represents an attempt to document the factual background to the introduction of internment in Northern Ireland and the immediate and medium-term consequences of such a policy ([1971], 22pp).

**P215/8** January–March 1972

13 items

**Correspondence with Jo Grimond MP**, House of Commons [former leader of the Liberal Party] mainly concerning arrangements for a dinner meeting Grimond is arranging between GFG and William Whitelaw [Leader of the Commons and subsequently first Secretary of State for Northern Ireland] when GFG is in London as a member of a parliamentary delegation to meet the Anglo-Irish Parliamentary

**P215/8 contd** Group at Westminster and to attend a lecture by Conor Cruise O'Brien and Nicholas Mansergh at Chatham House. Correspondence mainly concerns arrangements but includes comment in the wake of Bloody Sunday. Also includes a letter from GFG to Whitelaw (4 March 1972, 1p) in the wake of their meeting, summarising and commenting upon their discussion.

'Two other points I may not have mentioned – first there is a unanimous view amongst everyone I have talked to, (other than British politicians!) that there should be no fiddling about with the boundary; bad though it is, it has the virtue of being there a long time, and any change would carry incalculable dangers. Secondly, on security – in the longer run many of us feel a system of regional or local police forces, on the English model, would best meet the needs of Northern Ireland, some parts of which are already self-policing, in a most unsatisfactory way because the vigilante or republican groups have no official standing.'

**P215/9** [post January 1972]

1p

**Government statement on Northern Ireland**

Draft amended statement on Northern Ireland [in the aftermath of Bloody Sunday?]. Handwritten amendments by GFG.

**P215/10** May 1972–February 1973

25 items

**Inter-Party Committee on the Implications of Irish Unity**

Memoranda, minutes and correspondence concerning the functioning of the Committee, mainly concerned with possible legal and constitutional implications of unity. Includes:

- minutes of meetings of the Committee (24 May 1972–10 January 1973. 35pp);
- copy of a memorandum for the Committee on the legal aspects of its terms of reference. Refers to such matters as adoption, inter-church marriages, contraception and censorship (1972, 17pp);
- undated summary of points agreed by the Committee in relation to the Constitution (6pp);
- copy of a memorandum prepared by the Local Government Study Group of the Institute of Public Administration for submission to the Committee (1972, 19pp);
- correspondence between the Committee secretariat and various political groups in Northern Ireland offering them an opportunity to express their views on those matters that fall within the Committee's terms of reference (November 1972–February 1973, 11 items);
- copy of the report of the Role of the Church Committee of the Church of Ireland (1973, 32pp).

**P215/11**      October 1972–February 1973

25 items

**The Corrymeela Community**

Correspondence concerning an invitation to GFG to speak at 'Corrymeet', a discussion meeting arranged by the Community, on the economic aspects of violence on 30 December 1972. Subsequent correspondence conveys GFG's very positive reaction to the meeting and concerns his writing an article based on his experience for the *Sunday Independent*.

**P215/12**      November 1972

10pp

**New Ulster Movement**

Copy of a memorandum from the New Ulster Movement to the Inter-Party Committee on the implications of Irish unity.

**P215/13**      December 1972–April 1973

15 items

**British Irish Association**

Documents concerning the general affairs of the Association as well as the Cambridge conference on 'Britain and Ireland: understanding and misunderstanding', 30 March–1 April 1973. Includes:

- letter from Nick Stadlen, Secretary, to GFG inviting him to become a founder member of the Association and to contribute to the Cambridge conference. Encloses a copy of the Association's general programme and a list of founder members (20 December 1972, 4pp);
- copy of a memorandum from John McColgan, London Embassy, for Mr Whelan and the Ambassador, recounting a visit from Nick Stadlen and Professor Desmond Williams, concerning the Association and Mr Stadlen's plans for the Cambridge conference (12 January 1973, 3pp);
- letter from D. O'Sullivan, Ambassador, to Paul Keating, Assistant Secretary, DFA, enclosing the copy of McColgan's memo and describing the Cambridge conference as 'a heavy incursion into the field of politics. This is a matter about which I am not at all happy for a number of reasons ... It would surprise me greatly if three Ministers of the British Government, as well as the Leader of the Opposition and the Opposition spokesman for Northern Ireland would all agree to take part especially as the conference will be held at a weekend. My feeling is that if our Minister receives an invitation to participate it would be desirable that he should stall until we have a fairly clear idea about the response or likely response from other invitees' (17 January 1973, 3pp);

**P215/13**  
**contd**

- note from Paul Keating to Mr McDonagh, enclosing a copy of the Ambassador's letter, his reply, and advocating a policy of 'cautious dynamism' (22 January 1973, 1p);
- copy of a report by John McColgan for the Ambassador recounting a meeting with Desmond Williams at which the latter expressed 'grave disquiet at the political tone which the Association was beginning to develop'. He also told McColgan of plans to open an Irish branch with the hope of eliciting a large donation from Allied Irish Banks to relieve the Association's financial difficulties (24 January 1973, 3pp);
- letter from Nick Stadlen to Brian Lenihan, Minister for Foreign Affairs, inviting his participation in the Cambridge Conference and enclosing the standard explanatory documents (19 January 1973, 6pp) together with a copy of a formal acknowledgement from DFA (31 January 1973, 1p);
- further correspondence and reports from the London Embassy on meetings with the Association, reported tensions within its governing body, its financial position, the likelihood of an Irish branch opening, and the likely British government representation at the Cambridge Conference (February–April 1973, 8 items);
- copy of the final programme and list of participants (7pp).

**P215/14** December 1972–April 1973

10 items

**Association for Legal Justice**

Series of public statements by the Association commenting critically upon matters such as the Diplock Report, the White Paper, the ill-treatment of prisoners by the security services and prison staff, and the Emergency Provisions Bill 1973,

**P215/15** 1973

6 items

**Proportional representation**

Memorandum on the operation and effects of proportional representation, mainly with reference to experience in the Republic. Annotated by GFG 'Document prepared for Alliance Party 1973' (7pp). Maps and tables prepared by GFG on likely outcome of the operation of proportional representation in Northern Ireland on a constituency by constituency basis (5 items)

**P215/16** Not dated

7 pp

**The Ulster Question**

Undated and unidentified memorandum, annotated by GFG ‘Conor C. O’Brien?’, tracing the development of a separate Protestant identity in Ulster

**1.2 The Tripartite Conference, Sunningdale**

**1.2.1 Pre-conference meetings and documents, March–November 1973**

**P215/17** 14–15 March 1973

5 items

**Initial contact with the British Government**

Material relating to the memorandum submitted to the British immediately after the formation of the Government; and the MFA’s journey to London to meet the Prime Minister and Foreign Secretary the following day.

Includes:

- typescript original draft by MFA with handwritten amendments of memorandum to the British (14 March 1973, 2pp);
- typescript copy of the memorandum (15 March 1973, 3pp);
- copy of a draft of a note to be handed to the Prime Minister by the London Ambassador, mainly concerning a Council of Ireland (not dated, 3pp);
- handwritten notes by MFA (4pp) together with a typescript copy (3pp) recording his initial meeting with Ted Heath and Alec Douglas-Home, 15 March 1973.

**P215/18** March 1973

11 items

**Letters of congratulation**

File consisting mainly of letters of congratulation on his appointment as MFA which also contain comment and suggestions, some at length, on the potential role of a Council of Ireland. Includes a letter from Christopher Gore-Grimes enclosing the published text of a paper by Donal Barrington, delivered to the Irish Association, on ‘Council of Ireland in the constitutional context’; as well as congratulations from Oliver Napier and John Taylor.

**P215/19** March–May 1973

6 items

**Northern Ireland Constitution Bill**

Material concerning the British White Paper on *Northern Ireland Constitutional Proposals* and Irish Government reaction to it including:

- copy of the White Paper (March 1973, 34pp);
- copy of the Northern Ireland Assembly Bill (April 1973, 6pp);
- draft of the Taoiseach's remarks opening the debate in Dáil Éireann on the White Paper, 8 May 1973 (7pp);
- [DFA?] memorandum consisting of observations on the Northern Ireland Constitution Bill (not dated, 7pp);
- copy of [DFA?] notes and queries on the Bill (May 1973, 11pp);
- copy of DFA memorandum containing preliminary observations on the Bill (17 May 1973, 9pp).

**P215/20** March–October 1973

6 items

**Contacts with Unionists**

Material relating mainly to contacts with representatives of Unionism in the period preceding the Tripartite Conference.

Includes:

- personal and confidential report from Donal O'Sullivan, London Ambassador, for Secretary General, DFA, of a lunch meeting he hosted for Robin Baillie and Stratton Mills at the Embassy. Conversation centred on the Government White Paper and the possible nature of the Council of Ireland; as well as the question of the recognition of Northern Ireland. 'I went on to say that the fact that members of the Government would be prepared to sit in a Council of Ireland with representatives of an Executive of a Northern Assembly would, in itself, be a significant act of recognition. The Government may indeed be prepared to consider making some form of public pronouncement to this effect. Something of this nature would, they said, be a very great help and would fully meet the point they had in mind' (15 March 1973, 2pp);
- copy of a note [by MFA] on a discussion with Robin Baillie on the general situation and how 'some concrete moves towards co-operation' might be effected. Includes an account of Baillie's reading of the Assembly election results and of the SDLP and Alliance positions (12 June 1973, 2pp);
- copy of a confidential note of a discussion between MFA and Peter McLachlan at the London Embassy (22 July 1973, 1p);
- note from Seán Donlon for MFA (26 October 1973, 1p) enclosing a copy of his draft secret report (8pp) of the meeting the previous day between Brian Faulkner, Dermot Nally, Assistant Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach, and himself. 'No notes were taken on either side. The only incidental conversation related to the

**P215/20**  
**contd**

difficulties he and his wife were having in finding a good blacksmith to shoe a horse in time for a hunt today ...'. The purpose of the meeting was to inform the Prime Minister on the Irish Government's proposals for a Council of Ireland. Copy of the final version of the report (8pp);

- typescript draft by MFA of 'Suggested presentation of Council of Ireland to Brian Faulkner' (not dated, 4pp).

**P215/21**      March–October 1973

20 items

**Pre-Sunningdale inter-governmental meetings**

Material relating to meetings at ministerial and prime ministerial level including:

- copy of a strictly confidential report by Ambassador Donal O'Sullivan of a meeting between MFA and Prime Minister Ted Heath, 15 March 1973, with MFA's handwritten amendments (16 March 1973, 6pp), together with a photocopy of the revised report (18 March 1973, 10pp);
- copy of a letter from MFA to the Taoiseach (May 1973, 2pp) concerning the desirability and the difficulty of establishing a Community Relations Fund in Northern Ireland;
- copy of a confidential NIO minute of 'Points arising from discussion between the Secretary of State, Mr Whitelaw, and Dr FitzGerald, 9 June 1973' on specific clauses of the Northern Ireland Constitution Bill (4pp);
- copy of a draft note from MFA to the British Ambassador concerning problems associated with briefings and counter-briefings given by both sides after a recent meeting [possibly the meeting between MFA and Whitelaw on 9 June] (June 1973, 2pp);
- copy of a secret report by Ambassador Donal O'Sullivan of a meeting between the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister in London (2 July 1973, 10pp);
- note [by MFA] of a discussion with Merlyn Rees and Stanley Orme, mainly concerning the Dublin government's view of the SDLP position (16 July 1973, 1p);
- copy of a letter from Conor Cruise O'Brien, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, to Declan Costello, Attorney General (31 July 1973, 2pp) in response to a report from the Attorney of a week-end meeting with the SDLP;
- copy of a letter from MFA to the Taoiseach (1 August 1973, 2pp) concerning points raised by the President as to procedure he should follow in inviting people from Northern Ireland; and in responding to requests from foreign publications for interviews and articles;
- copy of a letter from MFA to the Taoiseach (15 August 1973, 2pp). 'I feel we should take advantage of the strong moral position we now have vis-à-vis Britain, by not alone conveying to the British Government, as you have already done, our feelings about recent events, but also by seeking some redress, and some concessions on matters we have been pressing with them for some time

**P215/21**  
**contd**

without success. This should be done immediately, I feel. My officials share this view'. He proposes to call in the British Ambassador the following day and elaborates his proposed approach for the meeting. Also touches on the damage done to Anglo-Irish relations by the Littlejohn affair, and what will be required to rectify the position;

- copy of a letter from MFA to the Taoiseach (8 September 1973, 2pp) concerning arrangements for the forthcoming visit by Prime Minister Heath. Also reports on a conversation with Oliver Napier the previous night and his insights into what Brian Faulkner was prepared to accept in a Council of Ireland context;
- copy of an annotated first draft of a report by Seán Donlon of the meeting between the Taoiseach and Prime Minister at Baldonnell 'before minutes of the meeting on our side are available' (18 September 1973, 8pp);
- copy of a report by John Swift, 'Heath-Cosgrave meeting – some impressions' (18 September 1973, 5pp);
- copy of the text of the press conference given by the Taoiseach on 17 September 1973 (18pp);
- copy of the confidential Department of the Taoiseach minutes of the meeting between the Taoiseach and Prime Minister (18 September 1973, 20pp);
- text of the joint statement released after the meeting (2pp);
- copy of a letter from MFA, at the London Embassy, to the Taoiseach, assessing the outcome of the meeting with Ted Heath, based on a full briefing by Hugh McCann; and suggesting mechanisms for moving the situation forward. Deals mainly with the SDLP position, the structure of the Council of Ireland; and policing ([September 1973], 3pp).

**P215/22** 22 April 1973

2pp

**Interview with MFA**

Typescript transcript of portion of an interview with MFA, broadcast on the *This Week* programme, dealing mainly with security force excesses.

**P215/23** April–November 1973

10 items

**Meetings between MFA and the Secretary of State for NI**

Includes:

- copy of an amended and corrected draft report by DO'S of a meeting between MFA and the Secretary of State, William Whitelaw in the Secretary of State's office, 4 April 1973 (13pp); together with a copy of the final version (10pp);
- Minister's additional note. When taking leave of each other the

**P215/23**  
contd

Minister said he might have occasion to telephone Mr Whitelaw direct from time to time as problems arose. Mr Whitelaw welcomed this but warned that his telephone system in Stormont is not secure, vis a vis the Protestants’;

- suggested points for discussion for the MFA’s meeting with the Secretary of State, 9 June 1973 (2pp);
- three recensions of a secret report of a meeting between the MFA and the Secretary of State in London, 9 June 1973, consisting of an unrevised draft (30pp); an incomplete copy marked ‘PA carefully’ (20pp); and a final version (34pp);
- copy of a press statement issued after the meeting between the MFA and the Secretary of State, 2 July 1973 (1p);
- copy of a secret report of a meeting between the MFA and the Secretary of State at the NIO, 8 November 1973 (11pp);
- telex containing a draft report of the meeting between the MFA and Secretary of State, 30 November 1973 (7pp); together with a copy of the final typescript report of the meeting (10pp).

**P215/24** April, November 1973

4 items

**Visits to NI by DFA officials**

Copies of secret reports by Seán Donlon and John Swift of visits by them to NI. Includes:

- report by John Swift of a visit to Newry and Belfast, 17–19 April 1973, to discuss charges of brutality and general misbehaviour against the Paratroop Regiment, with details of two substantial cases (24 April 1973, 5pp);
- further undated report on the same visit (4pp) dealing with the general situation including security force behaviour;
- confidential report by Seán Donlon of a visit to Belfast, 26 April 1973, specifically to discuss the selection of fifteen sample cases of brutality on which the European Commission on Human Rights should take detailed evidence; but also including general observations on the levels of security force activity; the Assembly elections; and the effects of the strict operation of the *ne temere* decree (27 April 1973, 5pp);
- secret report by Seán Donlon of a visit to Derry, 11–12 November 1973, at which representatives of the SDLP reported on the outcome of inter-party talks held on 12 November (13 November 1973, 5pp).

**P215/25** May–November 1973

15 items

**Council of Ireland draft and consultative documents**

Documents, many in a draft form, unidentified and undated, concerning all aspects of the functions, responsibilities and

**P215/25**  
contd

structures of a Council of Ireland.

Includes:

- copy of a paper on the economic functions of a Council of Ireland by G Farrell and Séamas Ó Braonain (25 May 1973, 14pp);
- confidential note by J Small setting out 'some personal observations on the considerations which should influence our tactics over the coming weeks in regard to the sequence of events up to and including the tripartite conference (30 August 1973, 3pp);
- copy of a table circulated by the NIO outlining the functions of existing NI Ministries (October 1973, 8pp);
- copy of an Interdepartmental Unit on NI memorandum on financing the Council of Ireland (October 1973, 13pp);
- typescript corrected notes [by MFA] on financing the Council of Ireland (not dated, 6pp);
- draft DFA memorandum on transfer of functions to a Council of Ireland, consisting mainly of a summary and consideration of the views submitted by other government departments on the constitutional and statutory changes, the administrative arrangements and the personnel and financial implications of a transfer to the Council of Ireland of those functions for which the departments were at present responsible (November 1973, 31pp).

**P215/26**

May–November 1973

15 items

**Pre-Sunningdale official level meetings and documents**

Material relating to contacts between officials in advance of the Sunningdale Conference; and relevant documents, mainly from the Northern Ireland Office.

Includes:

- copy of NIO press notice on the 'Northern Ireland Constitution Bill' (15 May 1973, 7pp) outlining the main provisions of the Bill;
- secret note from Seán Donlon for the PSM (18 July 1973, 1p) attaching for the information of MFA a note handed in by the British Embassy (17 July 1973, 1p) detailing the weapons taken from the *M.V. Claudia*;
- confidential note from Seán Donlon for the PSM concerning an enquiry from the British Embassy about the timing of the handing over of the DFA Council of Ireland document (4 September 1973, 1p);
- copy of a confidential DFA report of official-level meetings in London, 10–11 September 1973, in preparation for the Heath-Cosgrave meeting at Baldonnel (12pp);
- draft NIO statement of economic and social aims which should be incorporated into any economic programme adopted by a multi-party executive (8 October 1973, 5pp);
- copy of a summary by Seán Donlon of the main points of discussion with Mr James Allen, NIO, 11 October 1973 (12 October 1973, 2pp);
- copy of a confidential NIO note on 'Law and order and policing'

**P215/26**  
**contd**

with an annex on 'Involvement of Northern Ireland authorities on police matters', annotated by MFA (not dated, 4pp);

- copy of a NIO press notice on talks between the Secretary of State, the Alliance Party, SDLP and Ulster Unionist Party (19 October 1973, 1p);
- copy of a statement by the Secretary of State on law and order (not dated, 2pp);
- copy of a confidential preliminary draft NIO paper on an Irish dimension, considering all aspects of a Council of Ireland (not dated, 9pp);
- copy of a secret British paper on inter-party discussions, setting out conditions for an initial devolution of authority (20 November 1973, 7pp);
- copy of the secret report 'Summary of outcome of talks with British at official level, 28 and 29 November 1973' (10pp);
- copy of a confidential British paper on inter-party consultations, dealing with the structure and remit of a Council of Ireland; the holding of a tripartite conference; law and order and the ending of detention; and the agreed economic and social programme (22 November 1973, 4pp).

**P215/27** June–July 1973

4 items

**Speeches by the Taoiseach on NI**

Texts of speeches and related matter including copy letter from MFA to An Taoiseach, elaborating the pros and cons of a proposed speech by him 'which might contribute constructively to the evolution of events in the period immediately prior to the General Election of 28 June' (19 June 1973, 1p). Undated typescript corrected notes by MFA of a draft speech on NI to be delivered by the Taoiseach (6pp). Published text of a speech delivered by An Taoiseach, 21 June 1973, with those sections marked incorporating the draft written by the MFA (6pp). Published text of a speech delivered by An Taoiseach in London, 2 July 1973 (12pp).

**P215/28** June–December 1973

12 items

**Pre-Sunningdale Council of Ireland papers**

Includes:

- copy of the strictly confidential report of the Attorney General's Legal Committee set up in response to a DFA memorandum, to examine necessary constitutional and legal changes that might be necessary in the light of the Northern Ireland Constitution Bill, then before Westminster, with particular reference to the structure and functions of a Council of Ireland (June 1973, 65pp);
- copy of a secret note from Michael Lillis giving 'impressionistic'

**P215/28**  
**contd**

- observations on the first three inter-departmental unit meetings on the functions of a Council of Ireland (12 June 1973, 2pp);
- note from Declan Costello, Attorney General, to MFA (18 October 1973, 1p) enclosing a report of the Legal Committee on the legal aspects of giving the Council of Ireland a role in security matters , originally an addendum to its June 1973 report (8pp). 'I think we are both agreed that our general approach should be one of support for the strongest possible Council of Ireland and that, in principle, control over the police could be given to the Council'.
  - photocopy of a handwritten note from Charles [Whelan?], DFA, to MFA, enclosing a draft of a memorandum [not present] for the Government on the Tripartite Conference. 'I hope it will be possible for us to discuss the draft early tomorrow, if you have time to look through it beforehand'. (21 October 1973, 2pp). Annotated 'Original returned CW 4.7.77';
  - copy of a secret DFA memorandum on the implications of a Council of Ireland investment fund, if provided by Britain at subsidised interest rates (not dated, 5pp);
  - copy of secret DFA notes containing proposals for financing a Council of Ireland (November 1973, 3pp);
  - copy of the Government decision on the revision of the wording of the declaration on the future of Northern Ireland, and maintenance of the present constitutional position by virtue of the wishes of the majority (13 November 1973, 2pp);
  - note from John Swift for the MFA concerning the Government's decision to change the wording of the proposed declaration, a change he describes as 'ungenerous and unwise' (1 December 1973, 3pp);
  - confidential note by [CW?] on potential difficulties in holding the tripartite conference at Sunningdale (3 December 1973, 2pp) and enclosing a copy of a report by him on the conference facilities offered by the Civil Service College (4pp) and a copy of the report by M MacConghail, Assistant Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach, dealing mainly with press facilities in the college (1 December 1973, 5pp).

**P215/29** August–December 1973

7 items

**Contacts with the SDLP**

Documents relating mainly to formal meetings with SDLP delegations, including:

- copy of a report, dictated by the Taoiseach, of a meeting between the Taoiseach, Tánaiste, and Minister for Foreign Affairs, and an SDLP delegation, 20 July 1973: release of prisoners; a Council of Ireland having control of policing; formation of an executive (2pp);
- copy of a draft (7pp) and final (8pp) version of a secret report of a meeting between the Taoiseach and Tánaiste, and an SDLP delegation in Government Buildings, 29 August 1973: formalising of contacts between the Party and the Government; general SDLP position and policy; a Council of Ireland, reform of the RUC, an

**P215/29**  
contd

- end to internment and the setting up of an executive; agreements between Dublin and London; general position in NI;
- copy of a confidential report by Seán Donlon of his attendance, with Declan Quigley of the Attorney General's Office, at a meeting of the SDLP, 15 September 1973, 'at which some technical and administrative problems involved in the setting up of a Council of Ireland were discussed'. Reports the proceedings of the meeting in the context of the party's existing document 'Proposals for a Council of Ireland' (5pp);
  - copy of a confidential handwritten report by Seán Donlon of a meeting between the Taoiseach and the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, and an SDLP delegation at Government Buildings, 20 September 1973: the meeting between the Taoiseach and Prime Minister the previous Monday; SDLP firm on the 'package approach'; reform of policing and the Tripartite Conference; threat of 'integration'; Heath's grasp of the NI situation 'naïve'; NATO commitment and integration incompatible; exchange of documents between Dublin and London; Dublin has specific proposals, London an outline of options; basis of talks between the SDLP and Faulkner; Minister's account of his visit to NI the previous week (14pp);
  - copy of a confidential report by Seán Donlon of a meeting with John Hume and Paddy Devlin, 17 October 1973: inter-party talks on the formation of an Executive, arrangements for the Tripartite Conference, and recent meetings of the Assembly (5pp);
  - copy of a confidential report (2pp) by Seán Donlon of a meeting between the Taoiseach, Tánaiste, Minister for Finance, MFA, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, Minister for Justice and the Attorney General, and an SDLP delegation, 3 December 1973: discussion of four documents [9pp, attached] on the status of NI and on the functions, financing and structure of a Council of Ireland.

**P215/30** 25 October 1973

2 items

**Government meeting, 24 October 1973**

Notes of decisions relevant to the Tripartite Conference arrived at during the meeting, mainly concerning policing matters, a common law enforcement area, courts, human rights and the harmonisation of legislation (3pp). DFA minute for MFA concerning procedure for the submission by ministers to the Government of reports on any matters involving their own Departments in the context of the Council of Ireland (2pp).

**P215/31**      October–November 1973

6 items

**Preparations for the Tripartite Conference**

Documents relating generally to preparations for the conference, relating *inter alia* to location, hosting, length, procedure, agenda; as well as British and Irish contrasting views on a Council of Ireland. Includes:

- copy of 'Arguments for and against proposals submitted for Government decision' relating to the Council of Ireland; the Ministerial-Executive body; the rights of Ministerial-Executive members in the Assembly; apportionment of the seats of non-participating representatives; legislation on devolution; financing; and the British dimension (not dated, 6pp);
- copy of 'Points for decision arising from official level discussions in London, 5 October 1973' relating to the full scope of preparatory and procedural implications of the Tripartite Conference. Includes a table contrasting the British and Irish position on each matter for decision (not dated, 16pp);
- copy of a London Embassy report on 'Meeting on Conference arrangements in Northern Ireland Office, 29 November 1973, to discuss arrangements for Conference' (not dated, 4pp);
- copy of a London Embassy report on the facilities for the Conference at the Civil Service College, Sunningdale Park not dated, 3pp).

**P215/32**      5 November 1973

2pp

**Political correspondents visit to Belfast**

Copy of a confidential *aide-mémoire* by MMcC on conversations with political correspondents from Irish newspapers following a visit by them to Belfast during which they met the Secretary of State and Mr Frank Cooper of the NIO. Deals mainly with dismissive comment by Cooper and Whitelaw concerning the Council of Ireland.

**P215/33**      November 1973

5 items

**Personal messages between the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister**

Copies of personal messages exchanged by Liam Cosgrave and Ted Heath concerning progress on negotiations towards the Tripartite Conference; on the question of the chairmanship; on the distribution of seats on an executive; and on a Council of Ireland.

**P215/34**

[1973]

4pp

**Comment by T. K. Whitaker**

Two undated documents by TKW [Ken Whitaker] consisting of a series of points, 'Desirable elements of the new system of administration of NI' (2pp) and 'Desirable elements of the Council of Ireland' (2pp).

**P215/35**

1973

2pp

**Taoiseach's comments on Northern Ireland memorandum**

Undated series of comments by the Taoiseach, annotated by MFA as 'Pre-Sunningdale', on an unidentified DFA memo on NI.

'Generally, I think the document is too long and deals with too many matters. It contains far too many statistics.'

**P215/36**

December 1973

125pp

**Department of the Taoiseach briefing document**

Confidential briefing document drawn up by the Department of the Taoiseach including material supplied by Finance, Foreign Affairs, Justice, the Public Service, and the Attorney General, in preparation for the Tripartite Conference, relating to recent Anglo-Irish negotiations; and the Government position on the major items for consideration at the Conference.

Includes documents concerning:

- a summary of relevant Government decisions;
- the outcome of the official talks with the British, 28–29 November 1973;
- the functions, structures, financing and staffing implications of a Council of Ireland;
- law and order issues including the common law enforcement area, policing, and human rights;
- the status of Northern Ireland;
- the Strasbourg case;
- the Northern Ireland Constitution Act, 1973;
- financial issues including the financial impact of the Northern Troubles on the Republic, the British subsidy to Northern Ireland, and the cost of equalising public services North and South;
- economic, social, demographic, and general comparisons between the Republic and Northern Ireland.

Also includes as appendices copies of statements and speeches by the Secretary of State; the British document of 22 November 1973 on inter-party consultations; a list of members of the Northern Ireland

**P215/36**  
**contd**

Executive Designate, and of political parties; and of policy statements by Northern Ireland political parties.

### **1.2.2 The Conference, December 1973**

**P215/37** December 1973

9 items

#### **Administrative arrangements for the Tripartite Conference**

Material relating to facilities available at Sunningdale Park and the assignation of rooms and facilities to the various delegations. List of delegates. Travel arrangements for members of the Irish Government delegation.

**P215/38** 6 December 1973

6 items

#### **Tripartite Conference: opening remarks**

Typescript text of the opening statement by the Taoiseach (10pp). Copy of the statement in telex format (6pp). Further copy of the statement as Appendix B, together with the text of Brian Faulkner's remarks (1p). Typescript text of the Prime Minister's speech at the opening of the Conference (14pp). Text of shorter and different remarks, annotated by MFA 'Heath's speech' and 'Sunningdale' (4pp).

**P215/39** December 1973

3 items

#### **Tripartite Conference: Council of Ireland**

Copies of two conference presentation papers from the Irish side, dealing with the institutions (4pp) and functions (4pp) of a Council of Ireland. Paper (2pp) on the composition of a consultative assembly.

**P215/40** December 1973

16pp

#### **Council of Ireland executive functions**

Various draft papers and revisions on the proposed executive functions of a Council of Ireland.

**P215/41** December 1973

8pp

**Council of Ireland institutions**

Two slightly amended drafts of the Irish paper on the proposed institutions of the Council of Ireland.

**P215/42** December 1973

7pp

**Council of Ireland functions**

Two drafts of the Irish presentation paper on the functions of the Council.

**P215/43** December 1973

5pp

**Council of Ireland financing**

Amended drafts of proposals and drafts of the agreement on arrangements for the financing of the Council.

**P215/44** December 1973

12pp

**Council of Ireland; law and order**

Drafts of position papers and agreed statements on policing, law enforcement and human rights issues.

**P215/45** December 1973

2 items

**Council of Ireland: extradition**

Papers dealing with the extradition position consisting of:

- unidentified Irish 'Note on extradition' dealing with the historical position, the Extradition Act, 1965, and the provision exempting political offences; together with a statement of the position with regard to warrants from Northern Ireland (3pp);
- copy of a confidential paper 'Council of Ireland Court to deal with certain offences where extradition is not granted' dealing with cases where an offence is committed in NI and the alleged perpetrator is in the Republic (3pp).

**P215/46** December 1973

24pp

**Status of Northern Ireland**

Mainly consists of successive revised drafts of the two Governments' declarations on the status of NI.

Includes:

- typescript note of 'Points which the Prime Minister suggested for detailed discussion in connection with the item on status' for the morning session, 6 December, 'reconstructed immediately after session from almost verbatim notes by two officials on Irish delegation' (1p);
- narrative report of the Conference session which included the declarations of the two Governments (2pp).

**P215/47** [December 1973]

1p

**Dermot Nally's Sunningdale competition**

Page of handwritten figures in four columns headed: Irl. Uk. Un. SDLP with an overall computation and ranking 1 to 4. Handwritten annotation by GFG, 'Result of Dermot Nally's Sunningdale competition'.

**P215/48** [December 1973]

1p

**Note to Paddy Devlin**

Typescript notes on unidentified negotiations but with a handwritten annotation by GFG, 'Note to Paddy Devlin? Sunningdale'.

'Put emotion on one side. Who should give in a negotiation of this kind when it is at the crunch? The parties who have gained most to the parties who have gained least'.

**P215/49** 9 December 1973

3 items

**Post-conference statements and communiqués**

Text of the opening statement by the Taoiseach to the Press at the end of the Conference (5pp). Published text of the *Agreed communiqué issued following the Conference between the Irish and British Governments and the parties involved in the Northern Ireland Executive (designate) on 6<sup>th</sup>, 7<sup>th</sup>, 8<sup>th</sup>, and 9<sup>th</sup> December 1973* (12pp). Typescript text of the communiqué (10pp).

**P215/50** 13–28 December 1973

25 items

**Post-conference letters of appreciation**

Copy letters from MFA, mainly to members of the Northern Ireland parties who were delegates to the conference, and to members of the NIO, offering congratulations on the outcome. Includes copy letter and acknowledgement to William Whitelaw, Secretary of State for Employment and formerly Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, acknowledging his pathfinding work; and replies from Brian Faulkner, Paddy Devlin; Ken Bloomfield and Frank Cooper.

**P215/51** December 1973

c250pp

**Proceedings of the Tripartite Conference**

Assemblage of documents relating to proceedings at the Conference. Includes:

- Department of the Taoiseach note containing ‘a summary of the main arrangements and conclusions’ of the conference, dictated from notes taken [by Dermot Nally, Assistant Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach?] at Sunningdale and concluded on 15 February 1974 (18pp). Original file reference S.18966B. Annotated by MFA;
- text of the Prime Minister’s speech at the opening of the conference (14pp);
- lists of delegates (5pp);
- text of the opening statements by the Taoiseach (10pp) and by Mr Faulkner (1p);
- [DFA?] note on the present position, at 2.30 pm on 7 December, in relation to the items being discussed. Considers the present position of participants on substantive matters (5pp);
- list of points which the Prime Minister suggested for detailed discussion in connection with the item on status, 6 December 1973 (1p);
- various annotated drafts of the Irish declaration on the status of Northern Ireland and of the British declaration on the principle of consent (13pp);
- summary of agreements reached, annotated as to date and time, on substantive matters such as the establishment, functions and financing of the Council of Ireland, 7–8 December (15pp).
- text of the opening statement by the Taoiseach to the press at the end of the Conference (6pp);
- handwritten notes by MFA (4pp).

**P215/52** December 1973

2 items

**British minutes of Tripartite Conference proceedings**

Letter from Philip Woodfield, NIO, London, to Ambassador Donal O'Sullivan, London Embassy, in response to a recent request from the Ambassador for a copy of any minutes the British side took at the Conference (12 February 1974, 1p). He encloses their note on the proceedings of the conference (16pp).

**1.2.3 Implementation of the agreement**

**P215/53** December 1973

15 items

**Post-Sunningdale developments**

Minutes, notes, memoranda, correspondence and other papers concerning the implementation of the agreement reached at the Tripartite Conference.

Includes:

- minute from C.V. Whelan, Assistant Secretary, DFA (11 December 1973, 1p) in the absence of MFA who has left for Brussels, making a number of technical points on the Department of the Taoiseach memorandum for the Government (10 December 1973, 2pp) proposing the allocation to specific ministers, of legislative and other responsibilities arising from the agreement;
- further minute from Whelan (11 December 1973, 1p) concerning the decision reached at Government concerning the allocation of responsibilities;
- memorandum by Whelan (12 December 1973, 4pp) on arrangements for studies on the functions and financing of the Council of Ireland;
- confidential note by Whelan reporting the substance of a visit by Mr Thom, Counsellor at the British Embassy, specifically concerning a terrorist incident on the border at Clady on 14 December, and suggesting that increased security co-operation 'would be very helpful in strengthening Mr Faulkner's position at the present time';
- copy of the statement of claim (13 December 1973, 5pp) and defence (4 January 1974, 7pp) in the case taken by Kevin Boland against members of the Government, alleging that provisions of the Tripartite Agreement were an infringement of the territorial sovereignty of Ireland and repugnant to the provisions of the Constitution; together with a copy of the Supreme Court judgement in the case (22pp);
- copy of a note by Whelan (14 December 1973, 2pp) reporting a visit by the British Ambassador, suggesting immediate action on various aspects of the Agreement to precede formal negotiations;

P215/53  
contd

- copy of a Finance brief (19 December 1973, 12pp) on the financing of the Council of Ireland, for talks with Treasury officials in London on 20 December. Annotated by Whelan;
- copy of a confidential note by Whelan for MFA (19 December 1973, 3pp) concerning pressure on the Government from British and Unionist channels, to demonstrate action on security matters;
- copy of a summary report by John Swift on an official level meeting in Belfast on 18 December 1973 (4pp);
- Private Secretary to the Taoiseach to the Private Secretary to MFA (19 December 1973, 1p) enclosing for transmission through appropriate channels a letter from the Taoiseach to the Prime Minister (19 December 1973, 1p) expressing appreciation of his chairmanship of the negotiations;
- handwritten note by CV Whelan for MFA (24 December 1973, 2pp) reporting a further call by the British Ambassador, pressing the need to support Faulkner through 'presentational help as well as effective action' in the security field, urging that any decisions about cross-border security co-operation be announced, if possible;
- copy of a confidential note by Whelan of a meeting in the Taoiseach's office attended by the Taoiseach, MFA, Minister for Justice, A/G, and officials, to discuss what measures should be taken and announced before the forthcoming meeting of the Ulster Unionist Council, to support Faulkner's position (31 December 1973, 1p).

P215/54      January 1974

35 items

**Post Sunningdale developments**

Minutes, notes, memoranda, correspondence and other papers concerning the implementation of the agreement reached at the Tripartite Conference.

Includes:

- confidential note by C.V. Whelan for MFA. Mr Nally, Department of the Taoiseach had had a telephone conversation with Mr Faulkner who had said that there could be no visits at political level for the moment. The meeting between himself and the Taoiseach would have to wait; and such a meeting would precede any other meeting at ministerial level. He would make contact when the moment was opportune (7 January 1974, 1p);
- copy of a secret message from the Prime Minister to the Taoiseach (10 January 1974, 4pp) in the aftermath of Brian Faulkner's resignation as leader of the Unionist Party. Heath sends an account of what the British side has been doing and of his personal view of the situation. He requests some assistance from the Irish side in the form of some statement on the status of Northern Ireland. 'But what would really help in the immediate future would be if you could mount a major and really effective campaign which resulted in the arrest of some well-known

P215/54  
contd

- Provisional IRA figures’;
- draft (5pp) and copy (4pp) of a reply to the Prime Minister’s message, composed by MFA for the Taoiseach;
- photocopy of a letter from Declan Costello, Attorney General, to the Taoiseach, concerning technical legal aspects of the State’s defence in the Boland case on the constitutionality of the Sunningdale agreement in recognizing Northern Ireland as part of the United Kingdom (14 January 1974, 2pp);
- typescript amended rough notes by Noel Dorr on points made by the Taoiseach at a briefing for Dublin political correspondents following a meeting with Mr Faulkner at Baldonnell on 16 January 1974 (4pp);
- copy of a Department of the Taoiseach confidential note of a meeting between the Taoiseach and Brian Faulkner, Northern Ireland Chief Executive, at Baldonnell, 16 January 1974 (8pp);
- copy of a report by Damian McHugh, High Court Reporter for the *Irish Press*, of the judgement in the High Court on the action by Kevin Boland, testing the constitutionality of part of the Sunningdale Agreement (16 January 1974, 6pp);
- list of suggested items for discussion at a meeting between MFA and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, 17 January 1974 (1p);
- copy of a draft confidential report by Seán Donlon, marked ‘Revised later’, of the meeting between MFA and the Secretary of State (18 January 1974, 7pp);
- copy of a confidential note by Seán Donlon of a lunch meeting between MFA and Merlyn Rees MP, Labour Party spokesman on NI, at the London Embassy, 17 January 1974 (19 January 1974, 1p);
- copy of a memorandum for Government from the Office of the Minister for the Public Service, on studies undertaken on the possible functions of the Council of Ireland (21 January 1974, 1p);
- copy of the appendices from an unidentified [Department of the Taoiseach?] report on post-Sunningdale progress. Includes action initiated by Government departments, draft of the agreement between the British and Irish Governments, and draft of the statute of the Council of Ireland ([January 1974], 13pp);
- note from C.V. Whelan for MFA (21 January 1974, 1p) enclosing a copy of the Report of the Interdepartmental Study Group on the transfer of functions to the Council of Ireland (January 1974, 250pp);
- copy of a Department of the Taoiseach memorandum for the Government (22 January 1974, 6pp) on the agreement between the Irish and British Governments and the Northern Ireland Executive on a Council of Ireland;
- copy of a confidential report by Seán Donlon on a visit to Belfast on 23 and 24 January 1974, mainly to meet SDLP Executive members and hear their concerns (24 January 1974, 6pp);
- further draft of the Statute of the Council of Ireland (23 January 1974, 7pp);
- copy of a Northern Ireland Department of Finance memorandum on financial arrangements for the Council of Ireland and the use of the Consolidated Fund (25 January 1974, 5pp);

**P215/54**  
contd

- copy of a Department of the Taoiseach memorandum for the Government (28 January 1974, 18pp) on the agreement between the Irish and British Governments and the Northern Ireland Executive on a Council of Ireland;
- copy of a secret note from Seán Donlon (28 January 1974, 1p) attaching a copy of a confidential proposal document prepared by Kenneth Bloomfield for the NI Executive on the proposed functions of the Council of Ireland (10pp), supplied to Donlon by John Hume;
- copy of an unidentified [Department of the Taoiseach] memorandum on the implementation of arrangements agreed at Sunningdale ([January 1974], 3pp).

**P215/55**      January 1974

c250pp

**Transfer of functions to the proposed Council of Ireland**

Copy number 3 of the confidential report of a Department of the Public Service study group comprising representatives of Foreign Affairs and Finance on the functions of the proposed Council.

Considers in some detail:

- executive functions for the proposed Council of Ireland identified in discussions with departmental representatives in the Republic;
- the implications, as seen by departments, of transferring the executive functions identified;
- discussions between officials of the Irish Government and officials of the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland;
- the general considerations and recommendations of the Study Group on the functions of the proposed Council;
- the implications of transferring the functions as recommended.

**P215/56**      February 1974

12 items

**Post-Sunningdale developments**

Minutes, notes, memoranda, correspondence and other papers concerning the implementation of the agreement reached at the Tripartite Conference.

Includes:

- copy of the arrangements for the ministerial meeting at Hillsborough Castle, 1 February 1974 (1p);
- draft of a letter (1p) prepared by MFA, to Brian Faulkner giving him some indication in advance of the ministerial meeting, of the Irish Government's thinking with respect to the executive functions of the Council of Ireland;
- copy of the text of the briefing by the Taoiseach for political correspondents after the ministerial meeting at Hillsborough (1 February 1974, 13pp);

**P215/56**  
contd

- unidentified [Department of the Taoiseach] secret minute of proceedings of the ministerial meeting with appendices on possible executive functions of the Council of Ireland and the establishment of joint working parties (February 1974, 17pp);
- copies of an exchange of letters between Brian Faulkner (6 February 1974, 3pp) and Liam Cosgrave (13 February 1974, 2pp) subsequent to the ministerial meeting, reviewing progress. Faulkner outlines potential problems associated with the concept of a two-tier Council of Ireland;
- undated draft by the Attorney General of a Government statement on the status of Northern Ireland (3pp).

**P215/57** March 1974

6 items

**Post-Sunningdale developments**

Minutes, notes, memoranda, correspondence and other papers concerning the implementation of the agreement reached at the Tripartite Conference.

Includes:

- copy of a draft confidential summary by Seán Donlon of a meeting between MFA and Merlyn Rees, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland in London (7 March 1974, 5pp);
- draft statement, heavily amended by MFA on the status of Northern Ireland (13 March 1974, 2pp);
- copy of a confidential report by Seán Donlon on a visit to Northern Ireland, 21 and 22 March 1974, during which he met, *inter alia*. Kenneth Bloomfield, Permanent Secretary to the NI Executive, SDLP Executive ministers and Frank Cooper, Permanent Secretary at the NI Office (23 March 1974, 10pp);
- copy of a letter from Kenneth Bloomfield, Parliament Buildings, Stormont, to Dermot Nally, Department of the Taoiseach (26 March 1974, 5pp) in response to a letter from Nally forwarding a draft statute relating to the Council of Ireland. 'While it will clearly be necessary to define various matters in greater detail than was possible at Sunningdale, we are not convinced that the best way of doing this is necessarily to incorporate a "draft statute" in the formal agreement'. He proceeds to comment in detail on individual articles of the draft;
- copy of a note by Seán Donlon of a conversation with John Hume concerning a statement by the NI Secretary of State during a meeting with the NI Executive that he intended legalizing Sinn Féin and the UVF; a proposal by Brian Faulkner to the SDLP that the Sunningdale Agreement be ratified with the exception of those provisions relating to the Council of Ireland; and pressure from the Secretary of State for NI for Faulkner to ratify the agreement (31 March 1974, 2pp).

**P215/58** April 1974

15 items

**Post-Sunningdale developments**

Minutes, notes, memoranda, correspondence and other papers concerning the implementation of the agreement reached at the Tripartite Conference.

Includes:

- unidentified [Department of the Taoiseach] confidential report of a meeting between the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister, Harold Wilson, in London on 5 April (16pp) together with various amended drafts of an agreed press statement;
- copy of a confidential record by Dermot Nally of the private meeting between the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister on 5 April (8 April 1974, 4pp);
- copy of a draft undated message from the Taoiseach to the Prime Minister in the aftermath of the London meeting, mainly concerning implementation of provisions of Sunningdale, marked as Appendix IV to an unidentified report or memorandum (2pp);
- copy of a Department of the Taoiseach report on discussions in the Department on 8 April 1974 on a draft statute of a Council of Ireland and whether a statute should be included in the formal agreement between the two Governments (8 April 1974, 5pp);
- copy of a Department of the Taoiseach memorandum [by Dermot Nally] on discussions between Department of the Taoiseach and DFA officials, and Kenneth Bloomfield, Permanent Secretary to the NI Executive (9 April 1974, 5pp);
- minute by C.V. Whelan for MFA on policy options on Sunningdale, prepared 'in response to your request for views at this critical juncture' (11 April 1974, 3pp);
- copy of a letter from Brian Faulkner, NI Executive Chief Minister, to Gerry Fitt MP, Deputy First Minister, setting out 'what I see as a feasible proposition at the present point in time' with regard to the staged introduction of the Council of Ireland provisions of the Sunningdale Agreement (12 April 1974, 3pp);
- copy of a confidential report by Seán Donlon of a visit to Belfast, 24 April 1974, mainly to canvass Alliance Party views on the implementation of the Agreement (24 April 1974, 5pp);
- copy of a report of a meeting between MFA and the Secretary of State for NI, 25 April 1974, to discuss the report of the Law Enforcement Commission (6pp);
- note from D O'Sullivan] for the MFA, of a conversation with Philip Woodfield, Deputy Secretary, NIO, with a view to getting some precise indications of the matters which the British side wish to discuss at the forthcoming meeting of officials to be held in Dublin (29 April 1974, 6pp);
- private and confidential letter from Declan Costello, Attorney General, to MFA, concerning a recent meeting they had both had with Oliver Napier (30 April, 1p);
- copy of a memorandum by Brendan Halligan [Labour Party member of Seanad Éireann] of a visit to the Northern Ireland Office, at the invitation of Stan Orme, to discuss 'the longer term issues in the North' (30 April 1974, 4pp).

**P215/59** April–May 1974

20 items

**Law Enforcement Commission**

Material relating to proceedings of the Commission, established under the terms of the Sunningdale Conference to consider the means by which ‘persons committing crimes of violence, however motivated, in any part of Ireland should be brought to trial irrespective of the part of Ireland in which they are located’.

Includes:

- copy of the submission of the Irish Government to the Commission (32pp);
- draft of the report of the Commission forwarded to MFA (10 April 1974, 32pp);
- copy of the draft report from the British side (10 April 1974, 20pp);
- notes for the MFA from John Swift, member of the Commission secretariat, on progress (April–May 1974, 3 items);
- copy of material circulated by Lord Chief Justice Lowry on the adoption of extradition as the method of implementing the Sunningdale resolution (April 1974, 30pp);
- confidential draft statements and press releases (May 1974, 5 items);
- copies of the Irish (70pp) and British (43pp) published reports of the Commission.

**P215/60** May 1974

40 items

**Post-Sunningdale developments**

Minutes, notes, memoranda, correspondence and other papers concerning the implementation of the agreement reached at the Tripartite Conference.

Includes:

- minute of the meeting between British and Irish officials at Iveagh House, 1 May 1974 (24pp);
- copy of a Department of the Taoiseach memorandum for the Government on the meeting between British and Irish officials, 1–2 May 1974, to discuss the Sunningdale settlement (3 May 1974, 16pp);
- typescript notes by MFA in preparation for a telephone conversation with Merlyn Rees, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland on 2 May 1974 (1p).; and typescript account by MFA of the conversation (3pp);
- letter from the Secretary to the Government to the Private Secretary to MFA (3 May 1974, 2pp) referring to decisions taken at a meeting of Government that day, arising from the discussions between Irish and British officials on 1–2 May with regard to the provisions of the Sunningdale settlement;
- copy of a confidential memorandum by Seán Donlon (8 May 1974,

P215/60  
contd

- 4pp) reporting the substance of meetings with SDLP leaders and with Bob Cooper, Alliance Party, after the NI Administration meeting on 7 May;
- copy of a Department of the Taoiseach minute of a meeting of ‘Sunningdale Ministers’. ‘The Taoiseach explained the purpose of the meeting ... It was desirable to give Mr Donlon instructions on what he should convey to the SDLP as being the attitude of the Government here ... Mr Donlon was returning to the North that evening’;
  - copy of an unidentified note on the functions of a Council of Ireland (15 May 1974, 2pp);
  - revised DFA minute of a meeting between MFA and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland in Dublin, 13 May 1974, dealing primarily with the Law Enforcement Commission Report, the Security Conference and the ratification of the Sunningdale Agreement (17 May 1974, 22pp);
  - copy of a confidential report by Seán Donlon of a visit to NI, 14–15 May 1974, dealing mainly with the *impasse* reached in the NI Administration Sub-Committee; and the position in NI generally (16 May 1974, 6pp).
  - copy of a confidential memorandum by the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs calling for a re-assessment of the Government’s attitude to the Council of Ireland (20 May 1974, 3pp);
  - copy of a confidential DFA minute of a meeting between the MFA and the British Ambassador on 20 May 1974 (8pp);
  - copies of statements and press releases concerning British Government reaction to the Ulster Workers’ Council work stoppages (21 May 1974, 2pp);
  - copies of two financial memoranda circulated by the Department of the Taoiseach (21 May 1974): a [Finance?] memorandum on the financial effects and some economic implications of the withdrawal of the United Kingdom subsidy to NI (15 May 1974, 4pp); copy of a revised *aide-mémoire* by the chair of the Dublin/Whitehall/Belfast working party on the financing of a Council of Ireland (6pp);
  - copy of a statement by Brian Faulkner in the NI Assembly on behalf of the Executive, concerning proposals for progress on the establishment of a Council of Ministers (22 May 1974, 4pp);
  - various revised drafts of a message from the Taoiseach to the Prime Minister (23 May 1974, 12pp) concerning Brian Faulkner’s statement and and the ‘considerable disappointment here that the implementation of the Council of Ireland element as originally agreed has been postponed ...’;
  - copy of a telex for Assistant Secretary Whelan from the London Ambassador reporting the Prime Minister’s reaction on receipt of the Taoiseach’s message (23 May 1974, 3pp); together with a transcript (3pp);
  - copy of a confidential personal message from the Prime Minister to the Taoiseach in response to his message of 23 May (25 May 1974, 2pp);
  - confidential memorandum from C.V. Whelan for MFA (27 May 1974, 2pp) attaching a draft agreed minute (1p) to formalize the arrangements for implementing the agreement reached within the NI Executive on the phased introduction of the Council of Ireland;

**P215/60**  
contd

- unidentified telex reporting a statement by Brian Faulkner on the UWC strike (1p);
- handwritten note from the London Embassy for MFA concerning possible British action after the Cabinet meeting that day. Gerry Fitt is with the Ambassador and efforts have been made to 'seek maximum information at the highest possible level' about the possibilities of assuming control of oil distribution and the power stations (May 1974, 2pp);
- handwritten notes (8pp) by MFA on the UWC strike.

### **1.3 General Northern Ireland material, 1973–77**

**P215/61** 30 March 1973

2pp

#### **Protest meeting in Andersonstown**

Handwritten note and typescript memo by MFA for Mr McDonagh concerning information received via the Attorney General concerning the development of a problem in Andersonstown where a protest meeting was scheduled for the next day.

**P215/62** March–May 1973

8 items

#### **Posts and Telegraphs**

Communications and related papers between MFA and Conor Cruise O'Brien, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, concerning general posts and telegraphs matters but including proposals for an Open Broadcasting Area for Ireland.

- letter from MPT to MFA (26 March 1973, 1p) enclosing a copy of a memorandum he has sent to the Taoiseach concerning the restructuring of the Government Information Bureau (2pp);
- letter from MPT to MFA (18 April 1973, 1p) enclosing a list of criteria he proposes to attempt to apply in drawing up nominations for the new RTÉ Authority (2pp);
- letter from MPT to MFA (19 April 1973, 1p) enclosing a memorandum on the subject of relations with the media which he is circulating to all members of the Government (4pp);
- copy letter from MPT to MFA describing in detail a meeting with Sir John Eden, British Minister for Posts and Telecommunications, and his officials, at which the concept of an open broadcasting area for Ireland was discussed (16 May 1973, 2pp) together with a copy of a letter from MPT to Merlyn Rees concerning the meeting and the proposal (16 May 1973, 1p). Copy of a draft memorandum for Sir John, elaborating the concept of an open broadcasting area (May 1973, 3pp).

**P215/63** 13 April 1973

2pp

Minute from John Swift to Seán Donlon concerning an approach by Professor Geoffrey Copcutt, Professor of Geography at University College Galway, concerning a recent submission prepared by Copcutt on behalf of the Bogside Community Association, for the Commissioner for Regional Affairs in Brussels, on the necessity for a unified regional development of the North-West. Reports their discussion and elaborated points Copcutt would like to discuss with MFA.

**P215/64** April–May 1973

6 items

**British military excesses**

Material concerning excessive behaviour by British military personnel in Northern Ireland generally, but specifically in the Ardoyne.

- letter from Arthur Galsworthy, British Embassy, Dublin, to MFA, referring to their meeting on the previous Saturday when the Ambassador had given the Minister a note setting out the statistics of military activity in the Ardoyne in the periods 1 January–9 March and 10 March–25 April respectively, 10 March being the date 3 Battalion, Parachute Regiment had taken up duty in the district. He now supplements this with figures for the number of searches carried out in the two periods; and will supply further information as it comes to hand (30 April 1973, 1p);
- photocopy of a confidential report [by a British Army community liaison officer?] entitled ‘Operations of 3 BN Parachute Regiment in Ardoyne as at 8 April 1973’. Report compares behaviour of 3 Batt and community reaction to it to that of predecessor regiments.

‘I have spent sixteen months in this area and the six units with whom I have worked have all received accusations of a similar nature in respect of their methods of operation or of particular episodes in their operations. The units now cited as paragons of community relations effort were no exceptions and the APA [Ardoyne People’s Assembly] Justice Committee was equally vehement in their castigation of 3 LI’s operations before their departure as they now are in singing the praise of their comparative success in community relations compared with the brutality of 3 Para’. Goes on to address specific accusations of excessive behaviour (not dated, 4pp);
- chronology of incidents of indiscriminate and unrestrained shooting; extreme brutality; and petty brutality, harassment and provocation on the part of British military forces, detailing the circumstances of individual incidents throughout Northern Ireland during the period February–May 1973 (7pp);

**P215/64**  
contd

- draft memorandum by John Swift on possible lines of direct approach to Britain on military excesses (2 May 1973, 2pp);
- recent statements by Northern representatives on harassment activities by the Parachute Regiment. Consists of a list of nineteen statements, March–April 1973, together with photocopies of press cuttings reporting the allegations (14pp).

**P215/65** April 1973–January 1977

20 items

**Strasbourg Case**

Correspondence, minutes, submissions and reports relating to the case taken by the Government to the European Commission on Human Rights alleging inhuman and degrading treatment of prisoners in Northern Ireland by the British Government, 5310/71. Includes copies of correspondence between the Taoiseach and Prime Minister Heath; reports of meetings in Strasbourg with representatives of the Commission; correspondence between the Attorney General and MFA and copies of letters from the A/G to the Taoiseach. Copy of the partial decision of the Commission in the subsequent case 8317/78, T. McFeeley et al against the United Kingdom, concerning the abolition of ‘special category’ status for prisoners convicted of terrorist offences in Northern Ireland (105pp).

**P215/66** April 1973–June 1976

**Visits by the Minister for Foreign Affairs to Northern Ireland**

Material relating to visits to Northern Ireland by MFA accompanied by DFA officials, usually to hold discussions with politicians, church and community leaders and journalists. Usually consists of a confidential report by a DFA official on the visit.

- typescript list of visits by MFA to Northern Ireland (2pp);
- visit of 25 April 1973. Copy letter from MFA to the Taoiseach, mentioning that he is going to Belfast that afternoon to meet community organisations (25 April 1973, 1p); summary of the visit by John Swift (2pp) with further observations on the general security and publicity implications of such visits (4pp); letter from the MFA to the Taoiseach (4 May 1973, 2pp) enclosing a copy of the report as well as an extract from a letter from the local contact who had arranged the MFA’s meeting with Sandy Row community leaders (1p) stating a willingness to meet again;
- visit of 15 August 1973. DFA note for the minister outlining the schedule for the visit including meetings with a minority rights group, the Central Citizens’ Defence Committee, and Women Together (14 August 1973, 1p); report of the visit by John Swift (20 August 1973, 15pp);
- visit of 31 October 1973. Copy of a report by Seán Donlon of the

**P215/66**  
contd

- visit, primarily to appear on the BBC Northern Ireland programme 'Wednesday Spotlight' (1 November 1973, 4pp);
- inter-ministerial meeting, Hillsborough, 1 February 1974 to discuss matters arising from Sunningdale, including the Council of Ireland. Two sets of minutes of the meeting, by the Irish side (13pp) and the Northern Ireland Executive [?] (7pp). List of matters for further study on possible executive functions (4pp);
  - visit of 16-17 February 1975. Explanatory note by Seán Donlon (19 February 1975, 1p) attaching a draft report of the two-day visit to Belfast and Derry which included public lectures by the MFA as well as meetings with politicians, mainly to discuss the ceasefire (19 February 1975, 5pp);
  - visit of 18 December 1975. Draft report by an unidentified official of meetings in Belfast with the SDLP; with Rev Martin Smyth; and with Oliver Napier (8pp);
  - meeting with David Trimble, 13 March 1976. Although held in Iveagh House and not on a visit to Northern Ireland, this meeting is on the list of the MFA's visits. Minute of the meeting by John McColgan (15 March 1976, 6pp);
  - visit of 25-26 June 1976. Copy of a report by John McColgan of a visit on the occasion of a seminar of European journalists organised by the Irish Council of Churches and meetings with Oliver Napier, Rev Martin Smyth, William Craig and David Trimble, John Hume, and Glen Barr (30 June 1976, 8pp).

**P215/67** 18 May 1973

1p

**Belfast Central Citizens' Defence Committee**

Minute from Seán Donlon for the Private Secretary to MFA concerning a request from Tom Conaty of the Belfast Central Citizens' Defence Committee for a meeting. Explains Conaty's contacts with both the Provisional IRA and the British, and his development of a dialogue towards a ceasefire.

'Through his membership of the Advisory Committee which meets every Monday under Whitelaw's chairmanship he continues, of course, to have regular access to the British authorities'.

**P215/68** May 1973–January 1977

c30 items

**Memoranda for the Government on Northern Ireland, 1973-77**

Includes:

- photocopy of DFA memorandum for the Government NI/2/12 on the conference proposed by the British Government's White Paper (20 March 1973) on Northern Ireland constitutional proposals (24 May 1973, 5pp). Copy of a summary of the memorandum, mainly dealing with the possible functions, structures and resources of a

**P215/68**  
**contd**

Council of Ireland and the MFA proposals for an interdepartmental committee chaired by the A/G to examine the constitutional and other legal implications of all matters which may arise in connection with this (May 1973, 2pp);

- interim report by MFA on the results of the Interdepartmental Unit on Northern Ireland's study of the possible functions and structures of a Council of Ireland (June 1973, 10pp) with an addendum marked Annex 1 Report of Legal Committee (October 1973, 8pp);
- Industry and Commerce memorandum for the Government on tariff concessions on certain Northern Ireland goods (1 June 1973, 5pp);
- report by MFA on the possible functions and structures of a Council of Ireland [NI/2/12] (30 July 1973, 37pp);
- draft (27pp) and copy (28pp) of memorandum NI/2/12/AII Preparations for the Tripartite Conference (23 October 1973);
- copy of memorandum NI/2/12/AIII. Council of Ireland – Financing (2 November 1973, 12pp).;
- copy of memorandum NI/2/12/AIV. Tripartite Conference: (a) Council of Ireland institutions; (b) the status of Northern Ireland (9 November 1973, 17pp);
- notes from a paper on policy options in respect of Northern Ireland.
  1. A document has been prepared dealing with a number of contingencies which could arise in the event of a breakdown of the Northern Ireland policy being pursued by the British and Irish governments ([1973], 4pp);
- Finance memorandum for the Government on the financing of the Council of Ireland (February 1974, 10pp);
- Policy on Northern Ireland. Discussion Paper. Secret. Seeks to describe the position and outline policy options in the wake of the collapse of the Northern Ireland Executive on 28 May 1974. Drawn up by representatives of the Departments of the Taoiseach, Finance and Foreign Affairs serving on the Inter-Departmental Unit on Northern Ireland (June 1974, 30pp);
- Policy on Northern Ireland. Discussion Paper No. 2. Secret. Prepared at the request of the Taoiseach by the Inter-Departmental Unit on Northern Ireland, the paper attempts to assess the situation likely to develop if the British decided to withdraw from Northern Ireland (June 1974, 57pp);
- Policy on Northern Ireland. Discussion Paper No. 3. Report of Inter-Departmental Committee [on Northern Ireland] on the implications of substantially increasing the numbers in the Defence Forces (July 1974, 23pp);
- The Minister, the North and the Army. Michéal Mac Ara (Commandant). Unofficial minute subsequently labelled Appendix III responding to a statement by the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs that 'the Irish Army would only be able to contribute to the defence of the area around Newry. On the other hand the Minister could be foolish and the statement could be foolish. Lets see'.
- Department of the Taoiseach memorandum for the government on the Northern Ireland situation. Consists mainly of a note of the discussion with a delegation from the SDLP attended by the

**P215/68**  
**contd**

Sunningdale Ministers who were available together with the Minister for Lands and the Minister for Industry and Commerce on 20 August 1974; and a Foreign Affairs memorandum on a briefing given an official of the department by a number of SDLP members at a conference of Executive and Assembly members at Bunbeg, County Donegal, 24 and 25 August 1974 (September 1974, 41pp);

- Policy Issue for determination by Government. Unidentified and undated minute annotated 'Mid Nov. 74? Ref.[erence] to "aftermath of Wilson visit" '(1p);
- Department of the Taoiseach memorandum for the Government [S.18966] on the Northern Ireland situation in advance of a further meeting with an SDLP delegation (15 November 1974, 34pp);
- MFA memorandum for the government outlining possible post-Convention developments (18 November 1974, 11pp);
- MFA memorandum reviewing policy options in the pre-Convention period and outlining possible ways in which the situation might develop (late 1974/early 1975, 4pp);
- Inter-Departmental Unit on Northern Ireland report on relief of distress. Secret. Review of existing plans for the reception of refugees and treatment of casualties who might enter from Northern Ireland, with detailed studies undertaken by the Departments of Defence and of Health attached as Annexes (not dated 8pp);
- 2 unidentified and undated memoranda subsequently labelled Annex I and Annex II dealing with the implications of an influx of refugees from Northern Ireland.
  1. Northern Ireland refugees (16pp).
  2. Confidential note from the Department of Health on (1) the arrangements for hospital treatment of casualties from Northern Ireland and (2) the additional health care provision needed to care for refugees from Northern Ireland (4pp);
- Department of the Taoiseach memorandum for the Government on the relief of distress [S.18717C] (undated, 5pp);
- Chief of Staffs Branch. Secret report by the study group on the military problems raised in Discussion Paper No. 2. Deals mainly with the implications of an abrupt British withdrawal and a "Doomsday" situation (February 1975, 50pp);
- Discussion Paper No. 4. Deals with the implications of negotiated independence in Northern Ireland (May 1975, 14pp);
- Policy on Northern Ireland. Discussion Paper No. 5. Deals with the implications of negotiated repartition (June 1975, 45pp);
- DFA memorandum: Northern Ireland – assessment of current situation. Secret. (8 June 1975, 12pp);
- MFA memorandum for government on the Northern Ireland situation. Secret. (11 June 1975, 8pp);
- Inter-Departmental Unit on Northern Ireland. Discussion Paper No. 6. Possibilities of military intervention in Northern Ireland, likely flashpoint areas and possibility of IRA takeover of certain areas (10 June 1975, 11pp);
- MFA memorandum for the Government on the Northern Ireland situation. Examines the possible options in the light of various British Government responses to the forthcoming report of the

**P215/68**  
contd

Northern Ireland Convention (2 drafts, September 1975, 8pp & 6pp);

- MFA memorandum for the Government on Northern Ireland, outlining options for Government policy in the light of reaction to the report of the Northern Ireland Constitutional Convention (30 December 1975, 8pp);
- statistics of casualties in Northern Ireland, compiled and analysed by Foreign Affairs (1976, 4pp);
- list of Foreign Affairs memoranda for the Government, May 1973–January 1977 (1977, 1p).

**P215/69**

11 June 1973

1p

**Incursion by British troops near Clones**

Minute from MFA for Assistant Secretary McDonagh concerning his raising the question of an incursion by British troops near Clones, during a meeting with the Secretary of State. Requests notes and a map of the area where the incident took place. Also mentions his pressing the need for civil service reform that would give the minority population a proportionate share of senior positions.

**P215/70**

June 1973

8pp

**SDLP manifesto**

SDLP manifesto for the Assembly elections, 28 June 1973. 'A new North. A new Ireland'.

**P215/71**

July 1973–October 1975

25 items

**All-Party Committee on Irish Relations.**

Papers relating to the establishment and functioning of the Committee including:

- copy of the terms of reference and list of members of the Committee established in July 1973;
- copy of the minutes of the first meeting, 27 July 1973 (2pp);
- correspondence, memoranda and other papers relating to attempts by the Committee to secure comparisons between provision in areas such as housing, social security, health services and education in the Republic and Northern Ireland, including Department of Education preliminary memorandum on the differences in the financing and administration of the two educational systems (September 1973, 7pp) and Department of

**P215/71**  
contd

Health memorandum on services in the two jurisdictions (September 1973, 7pp);

- copy of the minutes of the fourth (2pp) and fifth (1p) meetings of the Committee, October 1973, and of the sixth (1p) held on 8 November 1973;
- correspondence with religious, cultural and political groups including the Role of the Church Committee of the Church of Ireland, New Ulster Movement, the Northern Ireland Committee of the Irish Congress of Trade Unions, Workers' Association for the Democratic Settlement of the National Conflict in Ireland, the Irish Association, the Knights of Saint Columbanus, the Irish Sovereignty Movement, the Irish Theological Association, and the Language Freedom Movement, including proposal and discussion documents submitted by these and correspondence concerning arrangements for meetings;
- copy of the minutes of the seventh, 23 January 1974 (1p), eighth, 19 February 1974 (2pp) ninth, 15 May 1974 (1p), tenth, 3 July 1974 (1p), eleventh, 10 July 1974 (3pp), and fourteenth, 11 June 1975 (2pp) meetings of the Committee, together with a copy of *Summary of points agreed in relation to the Constitution*, agreed at the tenth meeting (6pp).

**P215/72**      October–November 1973

3 items

**Note by [John Swift] of a telephone call from Kenneth Thom**, Counsellor, British Embassy, querying whether the Prime Minister had agreed with MFA during a meeting in Dublin, that there would be a joint approach by both Governments to the European Commission requesting a study of regional development in the North-West. Suggests the absence of any mention of this in the minutes of formal meetings was attributable to it being discussed over lunch (1 October 1973, 1p). Letter from Professor Derek T. Carter, New University of Ulster Institute of Continuing Education, and convenor of the Working Party on Development in the North-West of Ireland to MFA (29 November 1973, 1p) enclosing a memorandum on development in the area (3pp) and requesting a joint application to the EEC Regional Development Fund by the two governments for resources for a suitable study.

**P215/73**      7 November 1973

8pp

**MFA Speeches**

Text of the address by MFA to the Oxford Union and Oxford University UN Association dealing with the history and nature of the conflict; and the possibilities of resolution.

**P215/74** [1973]

2 items

**Meeting in the Russell Hotel**

Notes handwritten by MFA on the reverse of lunch menus in Irish and French for the same meal in the Russell Hotel. Subsequently annotated by GFG 'Meeting w[ith] Northerners in Russell 73?'. Discussion ranges widely over possible development of closer ties on political and cultural levels.

**P215/75** [1973]

1p

**Community Relations Fund for NI**

Typescript note by MFA on the proposal to create a Community Relations Fund for Northern Ireland, on its administration and terms of reference.

**P215/76** 1973

15 items

**Presbyterian Church in Ireland**

Copies of Presbyterian Church in Ireland statements and reports supplied in the context of the invitation issued to the Church to meet the Inter-Party Committee on the Implications of Irish Unity.

Includes:

- letter from Rev A.J. Weir, Clerk of Assembly and General Secretary, Church House, Belfast, to Liam Cosgrave, concerning aspects of the Republic's Constitution relating to language, family and education; and divorce (17 April 1973, 2pp);
- list of members of the Government Committee of the Presbyterian Church in Ireland for a meeting with the All-Party Committee (1p) together with an outline of points to be discussed at the meeting (3pp);
- *The Northern Ireland Situation* A selection of Church statements 1 & 2 (20pp & 11pp);
- *Christians in a situation of conflict*. The report of the committee on national and international problems to the General Assembly, 1973 (14pp).

**P215/77** January, August 1974

3 items

**Matters raised through the British Embassy in Dublin**

2 notes concerning approaches to DFA from the British Embassy on specific concerns. Note by John Swift (11 January 1974, 2pp) of a visit by Michael Daly who raised the question of a forthcoming demonstration at a border crossing near Rossleigh, County Fermanagh; and an alleged Garda statement attributing blame for fires in County Monaghan to the British Army. Note by K [P.J. Keating?] (30 August 1974, 2pp) of a visit by the *Chargé d’Affaires* who left a memorandum on policing (30 August 1974, 6pp), the subject of a forthcoming statement by the Secretary of State.

**P215/78** January 1974

2 items

**Kidnapping of Thomas Niedermayer**

Copy of a report by Charles Whelan, Assistant Secretary, DFA, for the Taoiseach at the request of MFA, of a visit by the British Ambassador who wished to pass on urgent information regarding the Niedermayer case. Information relates to contacts between the IRA, who are holding Niedermayer, and the British Government; the nature of the IRA demands for his release; the British Government’s response; and a visit by the German Ambassador to the UK, to 10 Downing Street to convey the German Government’s concern (1 January 1974, 6pp). Note by SOH [Seán Ó hUiginn?] for Charles Whelan, reporting a conversation with Börres Gallasch of *Der Spiegel*, who had been given to understand by contacts in illegal organisations that the IRA was not responsible for the kidnap (2 January 1974, 1p). Note annotated by Whelan for the Minister.

**P215/79** January–July 1974

10 items

**Correspondence with Dr Conor Cruise O’Brien**

Includes copies of letters from Cruise O’Brien, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, to others, sent to MFA for information:

- copy of a letter from MPT to An Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave (21 January 1974, 2pp) concerning ‘fugitive offenders’, persons who have committed crimes in NI and have taken refuge in the Republic;
- copy of a letter from MPT to Donal Ó Moráin, Chairman of the RTÉ Authority, concerning the station’s coverage of ‘the civilian front of a political murder-gang’ [Provisional IRA] and ‘the role of influential elements in the News Room in giving aid and comfort to the Provisional IRA’ (21 March 1974, 2pp);

**P215/79**  
**contd**

- copy of a letter from MPT to An Taoiseach (21 March 1974, 1p) commenting upon and enclosing a copy of his letter to Donal Ó Moráin;
- letter from MPT to MFA concerning the higher education question and the working of an unidentified committee on the matter, of which they are both members [Cabinet Committee?]. Addresses the issue of relations between UCD and TCD (24 April 1974, 1p);
- copy of a confidential note by Ambassador Donal O’Sullivan of a discussion between MPT and the Secretary of State for NI at the London Embassy on 19 April 1974 (22 April 1974, 4pp);
- letter from MPT to Garret and Joan FitzGerald commenting at length upon his reasons for speaking and writing as he does on the NI question. ‘This letter arises from conversations with each of you and I therefore thought it well to write to both of you’ (17 July 1974, 5pp).

**P215/80**      March–April 1974

10 items

**Cross-border security**

Correspondence, reports and memoranda relating to security questions.

Includes:

- letter from Donal Ó Suilleabhain, Secretary to the Government, to MFA, informing him of the appointment of a Cabinet Subcommittee on National Security consisting of the Taoiseach, Tánaiste and Ministers for Defence and Justice (12 March 1974, 1p);
- letter from Merlyn Rees, Secretary of State, NIO, Stormont Castle, to MFA, routed through the British Embassy, setting out points on which joint action to deal with terrorists could be improved, particularly in the border areas. Considers in some detail a number of measures at operational and technical level, including the proposal that ‘a small group of the Ministers mainly concerned in our two governments, together with a few of their advisers including of course army and police chiefs, should meet confidentially to discuss the problems and our proposals for improving joint co-operation. I am asking Sir Arthur Galsworthy to discuss with you the type of points to which we think such a conference could usefully address itself and to give you a list of border incidents since 1 March’ (20 March 1974, 2pp). The Ambassador delivers the Secretary of State’s letter together with a list of cross border incidents, 1–18 March 1974 (2pp);
- top secret and personal typescript note of unidentified origin concerning Security Force activity against Protestant paramilitary groups in the Fermanagh/Tyrone area (21 March 1974, 1p);
- copy of a note by MFA on the visit of the British Ambassador to deliver the Secretary of State’s letter and to discuss cross border security and current British negotiations with the European Community (22 March 1974, 3pp);
- copy of a confidential DFA note (10 April 1974, 2pp) commenting

**P215/80**  
**contd**

upon an attached note from the British Ambassador (not dated, 2pp) concerning the proposed cratering of roads in the Castlederg area;

- table of border incursions by NI security forces (1p);
- letter from Paddy Donegan, Minister for Defence, to MFA, concerning arrangements for the surveillance of Coleman's Island, County Monaghan (9 April 1974, 1p);
- confidential British memorandum, 'The background to the border security problem' (cApril 1974, 3pp) analysing the nature of the problem, the characteristics of border incidents, and the need for greater co-operation at operational level;
- further British memorandum on operational contacts between security forces North and South and the need for improvements (cApril 1974, 4pp) together with an annex describing specific incidents and how the outcome was affected by shortcomings in co-operation (4pp).

**P215/81** April 1974

85pp

**Political opinion in Northern Ireland**

Copy of a report prepared by NOP Market Research Limited on behalf of BBC Television Ulster. Includes a synopsis of results and a copy of the questionnaire used.

**P215/82** 1974

2 items

**All-Party Committee on Irish Relations**

Copy of the Report and Recommendations of the Committee on the Constitution of the Knights of St Columbanus (May 1974, 52pp) for submission to the Dáil All-Party Committee on Irish Relations. Correspondence concerning the presentation of the report by the Knights (April–May 1974, 4 items).

**P215/83** 10 May 1974

12pp

**Security situation in the South**

Copy of an unidentified memorandum of this title, probably from Justice, giving figures for Garda and Defence Forces strength and deployment; together with statistics of arrests and convictions at the Special Criminal Court; firearms and explosives seized; and numbers extradited. Also includes an appendix on Defence Forces aid to the civil power in internal security matters.

**P215/84** May–July 1974

2 items

**United Kingdom financial assistance to Northern Ireland**

Copy of a Department of Finance study on the 'Financial effects and some economic implications of the withdrawal of the United Kingdom subsidy to Northern Ireland' (24 May 1974, 17pp) together with a postscript containing revised figures based on Merlyn Rees statement in the House of Commons during the debate on Northern Ireland (6 June 1974, 1p). British Treasury paper on 'UK Government financial assistance to Northern Ireland' (4 July 1974, 5pp).

**P215/85** 4 June 1974

5pp

**Public opinion in Northern Ireland**

Results of a special survey of public opinion in Northern Ireland conducted by Opinion Research Centre for Independent Television News. Points include attitudes to power-sharing; the link with Britain; British troop presence; and a United Ireland. Marked by John Swift, 'Minister wished to see urgently'.

**P215/86** [late June 1974]

2 items

**White Paper on Northern Ireland**

Draft annotated by MFA, and copy of the text of a message from the Taoiseach to the Prime Minister concerning the possibility of the British Government issuing a White Paper on Northern Ireland in connection with the forthcoming House of Commons debate on the continuing prorogation of the NI Assembly; and the possibility of an announcement by the Secretary of State of elections to the Assembly. Such an announcement would, the Irish Government feel, be detrimental to 'the evolution of public opinion in Northern Ireland'.

**P215/87** June, November 1974

2 items

**Dáithi Ó Conaill**

Transcript of an interview with David O'Connell (*sic*) on the BBC *Midweek* programme, telexed by Dermot Gallagher, Press Counsellor, Irish Embassy, London, for John Swift, DFA. Interview touches on the Price sisters; the bombing campaign in Britain; the UWC strike; the campaign in NI and the prospects of British troop withdrawal and

**P215/87**  
**contd**

a phased and orderly political withdrawal (4 June 1974, 9pp). Transcript of an interview between Dáithí Ó Conaill and Mary Holland on London Weekend Television (17 November 1974, 19pp). Deals mainly with the campaign in NI; the bombing campaign in Britain; the statement of intent and the timetable for British withdrawal; participation in convention elections; an all-Ireland conference; a post-withdrawal doomsday scenario; and negotiations with the British Government.

**P215/88**

June, December 1974

4 items

**Views of the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs**

Letter from the Private Secretary to MPT to Private Secretary, MFA (25 June 1974, 1p) enclosing a copy of a letter and memorandum he has sent to the Taoiseach (24 June 1974, 5pp) 'setting out the reasons why, in my view, it is desirable to prepare the public against the very real possibility – to put it no stronger – of extremely serious developments in the North but with hardly less serious results within our own jurisdiction'. Analyses the consequences of stating explicitly the Republic's inability to intervene in the event of a British withdrawal. Letter from the Private Secretary to MPT to Private Secretary, MFA (21 November 1974, 1p) enclosing a further memorandum entitled 'Northern Ireland situation. Comments of the Minister for Posts and Telegraphs on the memorandum from the Minister for Foreign Affairs' (4pp), an agenda item for the meeting of Government, 6 December 1974. The MFA memo advocated some form of UN trusteeship for Northern Ireland involving both communities and the two governments. The MPT finds the idea 'unworkable'.

**P215/89**

3 July 1974

1 item

**Telex from the London Ambassador for Seán Donlon, Assistant Secretary, DFA**, concerning his meeting with Lord Bridges to convey a message from the Taoiseach. Bridges reportedly expressed the opinion that neither the forthcoming White Paper nor the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland's statement the next day would cause the Irish Government any concern. Also reports opinion at Westminster that an Irish dimension is 'out at any rate for the present', and a telephone from Gerry Fitt. 'He was almost hysterical at the failure of the Secretary of State to tell him anything about the contents of the White Paper'.

**P215/90** 6 July 1974

2pp

**MFA speeches**

Text of a statement by MFA as a main speaker at an unidentified conference on 'The impact of the EEC', dealing with the commonality of interests between the north and south of Ireland within Europe; and the failure of Northern Ireland's interests in Europe to be expressed through the UK.

**P215/91** [July 1974]

1p

**Rough undated notes by MFA** concerning aspects of the Northern Ireland situation [made in preparation for an unspecified meeting]. 'Political: spell out moderate solution – but tough negotiating position. Split Loyalists? Heath/Lab[our] for withdrawal. Loyalist seats. Make clear we involved in solution'.

**P215/92** July 1974

6pp

**British Irish Association**

List of participants, annotated by GFG, attending the Association's Oxford Conference, 5–7 July 1974, on 'Cooperation within these islands'.

**P215/93** July 1974

4pp

**Lough Foyle fisheries**

Copy of an unidentified note for MFA referring to recent incidents in Lough Foyle involving fishermen from Greencastle and HMS Soberton and the confiscation of and damage to the fishermen's nets. The note outlines the relationship between the Foyle Fisheries Commission and the Northern Ireland Conservancy Board; the problem of territorial jurisdiction; and the desirability of an approach 'less concerned with legal definitions than with securing an equitable agreement which would enable the Greencastle fishermen to pursue their livelihood'.

**P215/94** July 1974–December 1975

30 items

**Visits by DFA officials to Northern Ireland**

Series of secret reports by DFA officials, mainly Seán Donlon, Assistant Secretary, and John McColgan, Counsellor, Anglo-Irish Political Section, of regular visits by them to Northern Ireland for meetings with political, religious, community, paramilitary, business, and trade union leaders. Meetings take place in Belfast unless otherwise stated. Latterly includes some shorter reports from Paddy Harte TD on his meetings with personal contacts in Northern Ireland. Includes:

- 30–31 July 1974. Meeting between John McColgan and Andy Tyrie and Tommy Little of the UDA (14pp);
- 30–31 August 1974. Meetings between Seán Donlon and SDLP and Alliance Party politicians (6pp);
- 2–3 September 1974. Meetings between John McColgan and Harry Murray, Chairman of the UWC; John Laird, UUUC; Erskine Holmes, NILP; and Gerry Quigley, ICTU (12pp);
- 18–20 September 1974. Meetings between John McColgan and William Craig, Vanguard; Fr John O'Connor, Down and Connor Relief Advisory Service; Jim Fitzpatrick, solicitor; Gerry Quigley, INTO; and John McGuckian, businessman (18pp);
- 23–25 October 1974. Meetings between Seán Donlon and John Hume, Austin Curry and Paddy Devlin, SDLP; and various members of the Catholic community including Seamus O'Hara, NI Housing Executive; Tom Conaty, Belfast Central Citizens' Defence Committee; and the Catholic chaplain at Long Kesh (7pp);
- 30–31 October, 1 November 1974. Meetings between John McColgan and James Allen, Foreign and Commonwealth Office; Peter McLachlan, Faulkner Unionist Party (*sic*); Rev Brian Smeaton; Sir Robin Kinahan, Chairman of Ulster Bank; Denis Lamont, linen manufacturer; unnamed members of the NI Housing Executive; an unnamed member of the RUC Reserve; and John Taylor, Official Unionist Party (15pp);
- 22 November 1974. Meetings between John McColgan and Jim Fitzpatrick, solicitor; and Michael Oakley, FCO, attached to the Northern Ireland Office (6pp);
- 5–6 December 1974. Meetings between John McColgan and Rev Brian Smeaton; Rev Martin Smyth, Orange Order; Anne Dickson, Independent Unionist in the NI Assembly; Peter McLachlan, UPNI; Billy Blease, ICTU; Fr John O'Connor, DACRAS; and Erskine Holmes, NILP; as well as a group of Protestant clergymen in the company of Paddy Harte TD who was in Belfast at the same time (13pp);
- 2–3 January 1975. Meetings between John McColgan and William Craig, Vanguard; John Laird, OUP; Gerry Quigley, INTO; and Seamus Loughran, Provisional Sinn Féin (10pp);
- Report by Seán Donlon of the contents of a NIO internal document, of which he has been made aware, concerning the Provisional IRA ceasefire, analysing the IRA campaign on the basis of information the NIO has from within the Army Council, and concluding that the military movement is weak, the

**P215/94  
contd**

- Provisional leadership divided, and the attitude in the minority community such that a return to violence would be virtually impossible if peace were to last for any time. Donlon's report goes on to assess the NIO conclusions and the ceasefire generally on the basis of meetings with Bishops Edward and Cathal Daly; SDLP leaders; and Oliver Napier (6pp);
- 15–16 January 1975. Meetings between John McColgan and Rev Brian Smeaton; James Allen, NIO; Ken Gibson, UVF; Tony Kennedy, NI Housing Executive; Erskine Holmes, NILP; and John McKeague, Red Hand Organisation (12pp);
  - 17–19 January 1975. Report by Seán Donlon of the SDLP fourth annual conference (7pp);
  - 28–29 January 1975. Meetings between John McColgan and Glen Barr, Vanguard Unionist and UDA, in Derry; Peter McLachlan, UPNI; and John Laird, Official Unionist Party (15pp);
  - 30 January 1975. Meetings between John McColgan and Mrs Anne Dickson, UPNI; and John Taylor, Official Unionist Party (8pp);
  - 20–21 March 1975. Meetings between John McColgan and Rev Martin Smyth, Orange Order; Rev William Arlow, Irish Council of Churches; Fr John O'Connor, DACRAS; Glen Barr, Vanguard Unionist; and various unnamed others (17pp);
  - 9–10 April 1975. Report by Seán Donlon of visits to Belfast, Armagh, Portadown, and Newry where he met SDLP Convention candidates and party officials (7pp);
  - 16–17 April 1975. Meetings between John McColgan and Billy Blease, ICTU; James Allen, NIO; Rev William Arlow, Irish Council of Churches; Tony Kennedy and Victor Blease, NI Housing Executive; John Laird, Official Unionist Party; and Mrs Anne Dickson, UPNI (16pp);
  - 7–9 May 1975. Meetings between John McColgan and John Taylor, Official Unionist Party, in Armagh; Glen Barr, Vanguard Unionist, in Derry; William Craig, Vanguard Unionist; Peter McLachlan, UPNI; Erskine Holmes, NILP; Gerry Quigley, ICTU and INTO; Fr John O'Connor, DACRAS; Oliver Napier and Bob Cooper, Alliance Party; Jim Fitzpatrick, solicitor, and Brian Finnegan, accountant; Rev Brian Smeaton, Church of Ireland; and Joe Camplisson, community worker. He also exchanged views on their respective contacts with Deputy Paddy Harte who was in Belfast at the same time (20pp);
  - 20–21 May 1975. Meetings between John McColgan and John Laird, Official Unionist Party; Mrs Anne Dickson, UPNI; and Andy Tyrie, Chairman of the UDA (10pp);
  - 3 July 1975. Meetings between Paddy Harte and Desmond Boal at his home in Ardglass, County Down; and Rev Ian Paisley at Stormont (4pp);
  - 11 July 1975. Meeting between John McColgan and Mrs Anne Dickson, UPNI, and Rev Brian Smeaton, St George's Church, Shankill Road, Belfast, on a visit to Dublin. Mrs Dickson's main concern was her perception of a general movement in NI towards regarding independence as the best option, encouraged by 'the ineptness and general rudeness' of the NI Office ministers and officials (2pp);
  - 14 July 1975. Meeting between John McColgan and James Allen,

**P215/94**  
contd

- the NI Office official largely responsible for negotiating the truce with the Provisional IRA, and who is now returning to Britain (2pp);
- 14 July 1975. Meeting between Paddy Harte TD and Glen Barr in Derry (2pp), together with a covering letter from Deputy Harte to MFA (18 July 1975, 1p);
  - 22–23 July 1975. Meetings between John McColgan and Gerry Quigley, INTO, and Rev William Arlow in Dublin; Glen Barr, Vanguard Unionist, in Derry; John Laird, Official Unionist Party; and Donald Middleton, NIO (14pp);
  - 6 August 1975. Meeting between John McColgan and William Craig MP, in a London restaurant (13pp);
  - 10–11 August 1975. Meetings between Seán Donlon and SDLP leaders; with Maurice Hayes, Convention secretariat; and members of the Catholic community in Newry, Dungannon, Derry and Belfast (6pp);
  - 10–12 September 1975. Meetings between John McColgan and Rev Martin Smyth; Rev William Arlow; Rev John O'Connor; David Rowlands, former director of the Community Relations Commission; Gerry Quigley, INTO and ICTU; and Donald Middleton, Northern Ireland Office (16pp);
  - 17 September 1975. Report by John McColgan of a conversation with Deputy Harte. The latter passed on information concerning the nature and activities of the RUC Reserve derived from a conversation with Oliver Napier's driver, a member of the RUC; and discussed the Boston seminar at which Seamus Costello, IRSP 'was the most impressive person'. Also mentions his deputy, John White, formerly of the Official IRA in Derry (2pp);
  - 22 September 1975. Report from Deputy Harte on contacts with Rev William Arlow and John Laird; David Allen, Vanguard Unionist; Bill Craig, Vanguard Unionist; Desmond Boal; Conor O'Clery; Derek Murray UTV political reporter; Reg Empey, Vanguard Unionist; John Brooke; and Maurice Hayes (6pp);
  - 10–11 October 1975. Report by Deputy Harte of contacts with John Laird and Rev Robert Bradford, Official Unionist Party; and Rev William Arlow (6pp);
  - 21–22 October 1975. Report by Deputy Harte of contacts with Rev William Arlow; Rev Ian Paisley; and Andy Tyrie (5pp);
  - 21 October 1975. Meeting between John McColgan and William Craig for lunch in London (11pp);
  - 8–9 December 1975. Meetings between John McColgan and Rev Martin Smyth; Rev William Arlow; Victor Blease and Tony Kennedy, NI Housing Executive; Gerry Quigley, INTO and ICTU; and Jim Fitzpatrick, solicitor (9pp).

**P215/95** 2 August 1974

15pp

**Diary of events in Northern Ireland**

DFA Anglo-Irish Section diary of events for each of the four weeks of July together with details of violent deaths and detainees.

**P215/96** 20 August 1974

2 items

**Meeting between the Government and the SDLP**

2 copies of a secret report of the meeting at Iveagh House between Government and SDLP delegations (21pp, 35pp, the more extensive report beginning at p7 and headed Appendix I). The meeting takes place at short notice and at Government request, arising from concern at the deteriorating situation, aggravated by such matters as the behaviour of British troops and the call for the establishment of a third force.

**P215/97** 23 August 1974

6pp

**Possibility of British withdrawal**

Copy of a letter from Eamonn Kennedy, Ambassador to the United Nations, on vacation at Tutt's Lane, South Jamesport, Long Island, New York, to Seán Donlon, Assistant Secretary, DFA, responding to Donlon's confidential letter concerning the implications of British withdrawal from Northern Ireland and the prospects of UN intervention.

I have been thinking over the vital issues you raised in your letter, bearing in mind the evolving situation in Cyprus. Perhaps the most useful way in which I could reply to it would be

- A. to discuss the practical steps which might be taken in the near future to enhance the prospects of UN intervention, and
- B. to try to assess the wider implications of seeking the provision of a UN Force in the context of the developing situation in Northern Ireland as we see them from here'.

He advocates an extensive programme of consultation with security Council members; speculates on the outcome of a forthcoming British general election, and Convention elections in NI; the composition, functioning and term of a UN Force; and the likelihood of its contributing towards 'a further partition within the partitioned area'.

**P215/98** 28 August 1974

5pp

**Report of a meeting in the Department of Defence**

Copy of a report by John McColgan of a meeting he attended in the Department of Defence, presided over by the Minister, in connection with the visit of a group of Northern Ireland priests interested in establishing contacts with the Department in the context of civil defence arrangements for emergency relief operations in NI.

**P215/99** August 1974

2 items

**'Five long years'**

Letter from Paul Keating, Secretary General DFA, to the MFA (23 August 1974, 1p) enclosing the transcript of a *This Week* programme of this title, broadcast five years to the month after the introduction of British troops into Northern Ireland (8 August 1974, 50pp) Includes interviews with major British and Irish politicians and activists; with successive GOCs British Forces and leaders of the IRA; and transcripts of broadcasts of contemporary news footage. Keating refers specifically to the interventions of Sir Frank King in the programme

**P215/100** August 1974

2 items

**US media coverage of Northern Ireland**

Photocopy of a letter from Michael Lillis, Press and Information Officer, Consulate General of Ireland, New York, to Seán Donlon, Assistant Secretary DFA, (13 August 1974, 1p) summarising the main points of a memorandum setting out his initial impressions of the state of US media coverage of Irish political affairs. The purpose of the memorandum (9 August 1974, 3pp) is 'to help set the scene, from an information viewpoint, for the Minister's visit here in September'.

**P215/101** August, September 1974

2 items

**SDLP**

Report by Gearóid Ó Broin, Counsellor, Anglo-Irish Political Section, DFA, on the SDLP conference at Bunbeg, County Donegal, 24–25 August 1974 (9pp). Copy of a press release containing a joint statement by the SDLP executive committee and Assembly Party mainly dealing with the British Government White Paper on Northern Ireland (3 September 1974, 3pp).

**P215/102** August 1974–September 1975

12 items

**Contacts with the British at Ministerial level**

Material relating to contacts, mainly with the Foreign Secretary or the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, including:

- copy from the London Embassy of a memorandum from the

**P215/102**  
**contd**

- Ambassador, to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland's private office, seeking an immediate interview in the wake of the Secretary of State's statement on television concerning a British political disengagement from NI; and in the light of significant recruiting by Loyalist vigilante groups (14 August 1974, 2pp);
- copy from the Ambassador to the Secretary General DFA, of the Secretary of State's reply to the Ambassador's request for an interview. He clarifies his statement and encloses the text of two press releases on the subject of political disengagement (15 August 1974, 4pp);
  - copy of a memorandum from the Ambassador for the Secretary General DFA reporting on a meeting with the Secretary of State. 'There was really nothing new in what the Secretary of State had to say. Indeed the sole purpose of the meeting seemed to be to repeat the points in the reply to my memorandum of last week' (19 August 1974, 3pp);
  - copy of a brief for the Taoiseach in advance of his meeting with the Prime Minister, 11 September 1974. Concerns the question of the possibility of British withdrawal (5pp);
  - copy of a note by DO'S [Donal O'Sullivan] of a 'fairly full discussion' with Stan Orme, Minister of State for Northern Ireland, during the course of a visit by the Minister for Justice to London. Concerns power-sharing and the Irish dimension. Includes comment by the Ambassador on the incidence of increased anti-Irish feeling in Britain (16 December 1974, 2pp);
  - 2 amended drafts of confidential notes by S. Gaynor, Minister Plenipotentiary, London Embassy, of meetings between MFA and the Foreign Secretary (4pp), and MFA and the Leader of the Opposition (3pp), 19 December 1974, in the House of Commons. The meetings take place in the context of Ireland's forthcoming assumption of the Presidency of the Council of Ministers and discussion includes European matters as well as Northern Ireland;
  - copy of a report by Seán Donlon, transmitted from the London Embassy to DFA, of a meeting between MFA and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, 19 December 1974, over lunch at the NIO. Subjects discussed included the contacts between Protestant clergymen and the IRA at Feakle, the ceasefire, and the power-sharing and Irish dimension principles (20 December 1974, 4pp);
  - copy of an amended typescript note by MFA of his discussion with the Foreign Secretary, 23 August 1975, following dinner at the house of Jim Callaghan's daughter and her husband, Peter Jay, at Glandore, also attended by Jack and Máirín Lynch. Focuses on the likelihood of success of the Convention (10pp);
  - copy of a note by MFA of a discussion with the Foreign Secretary after lunch on 26 August 1975, at which the Tánaiste, Brendan Corish was also present (3pp);
  - copy of a note of a discussion between MFA and the Foreign Secretary on the subject of Northern Ireland, during a meeting of the Nine Foreign Ministers in Venice (13 September 1975, 6pp);
  - note by MFA on the situation following his discussion with the Foreign Secretary in Venice (13 September 1975, 2pp).

**P215/103** 3 September 1974

3pp

**SDLP press release**

Copy of an SDLP press release re-stating the principles on which any settlement must be based; touching on power-sharing and an Irish dimension, and the circumstances in which the guarantee to the Unionist population would have to be withdrawn.

**P215/104** 11 September 1974

11pp

**Political Affairs Committee of the Council of Europe**

Detailed minute of a meeting between MFA and members of the Northern Ireland Subcommittee of the Political Affairs Committee of the Council of Europe during which the Minister briefed the members on current aspects of the Northern Ireland situation including: the Irish dimension and power sharing; British Army activities; the collapse of the Sunningdale agreement and the UWC strike; and internment.

**P215/105** September 1974

34pp

**Community Conference Council**

Report of proceedings of the conference at Port Salen, 13–15 September 1974, organised by the Council with the intention to ‘provide people from the two religious communities in N. Ireland with an opportunity to test their perceptions of each other and to explore what “common ground” if any existed between them’.

**P215/106** September–November 1974

5 items

**Meeting between the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister**

Mainly preliminary documents concerning a meeting between the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister:

- undated ‘Note on possible meeting of Taoiseach with British Prime Minister’ outlining points in support of a meeting taking place (2pp);
- Department of the Taoiseach memorandum for the Government on subjects proposed for discussion between the Taoiseach and Mr Wilson under the heading of Northern Ireland, in London on 1 November 1974 (30 October 1974, 1p);

**P215/106**  
**contd**

- unidentified [DFA?] and undated memorandum on the Taoiseach's meeting with the Prime Minister and subjects for discussion between them (3pp);
- copy of an undated communiqué from the British side after the meeting (1p);
- copy of the communiqué issued from the Irish Embassy after the meeting (1 November 1974, 1p).

**P215/107** 18 October 1974

2pp

**Copy of a letter from MFA to An Taoiseach** concerning the necessity for a government decision concerning the bridge at Kiltyclogher, County Leitrim, which had been blown up by the British Army. A footbridge has been improvised from the debris. MFA delineates the various options to a resolution of the problem and the contrary positions being taken by local interests, by the Ministers for Justice and Local Government and by the Army. He seeks direction in the impossible position in which he finds himself, about to receive a delegation to discuss the matter and to answer questions on the subject in Dáil Éireann.

**P215/108** 24 October 1974

4pp

**Meeting between the Ambassador, London and Douglas Janes**

Copy of a personal and confidential letter from Donal O'Sullivan, Ambassador, London, to Seán Donlon, annotated by Donlon, reporting the substance of his first meeting with Douglas Janes who had succeeded Philip Woodfield at the Northern Ireland Office. Considers Janes experience and suitability for the post and lists subjects discussed including increased polarization, the Convention discussion document and the likely timing of Convention elections, the recent Westminster elections in NI, recent violent incidents at Long Kesh, and recent security finds.

**P215/109** 29 October 1974

1 item

**Queen's speech**

Telegram from Dermot Gallagher for John Swift and the DFA Anglo-Irish Section, containing an extract from the Queen's speech concerning Northern Ireland. Refers to an unattributable background note dealing with 'the requirements of the White Paper and the Constitution Bill on power-sharing'.

**P215/110** 31 October 1974

3pp

**Note by Dermot Gallagher** of points raised at a lunch meeting between officials of the London Embassy, the NIO and the FCO. Points include absence of a date for Convention elections; publication of the Gardiner Report; the forthcoming Westminster debate on Northern Ireland; and the SDLP position on policing.

**P215/111** 31 October 1974

2 items

**Letter from Declan Costello, Attorney General, to MFA** (31 October 1974, 1p) enclosing a memorandum of the same date on Northern Ireland (6pp). He would be glad of an opportunity to expand on it in discussion in the near future. The memorandum proposes *modi* by which support for the moderate position on both sides might be increased in advance of the likely elections to a Constitutional Convention.

**P215/112** October 1974

6pp

**Westminster elections**

Tables giving the result of the February 1974 election in each Northern Ireland constituency. The number of votes and the percentage of the total valid poll for each candidate is given. The candidates in the October 1974 election are listed with spaces for the results to be inserted.

**P215/113** November 1974

6pp

**Fatal casualties and assassinations**

Statistics, tables and location map, recording and analysing figures for fatal casualties and assassinations in NI.

**P215/114** November 1974

3 items

**Meetings between the Taoiseach and the SDLP**

Memorandum for the Government on the Northern Ireland situation prepared as briefing in advance of the meeting with the SDLP on 22 November 1974. The questions which it is understood the SDLP most want to discuss is the possibility of intervention by the Irish Army in Northern Ireland in certain circumstances. They may also wish to raise the question of their attitude to participation in the elections likely next Spring to the Northern Ireland Constitutional Convention' (15 November 1974, 14pp). A minute of the previous meeting between the Government and the SDLP on 20 August 1974 is included as an annex (21pp). Report of the 22 November 1974 meeting (13pp).

**P215/115** November–December 1974

3 items

**Reports from Dermot Gallagher**, Press & Information Counsellor, Irish Embassy, London, to the Secretary General DFA, for the attention of John Swift, Information Section Counsellor, of conversations Gallagher has had with journalists and politicians: John Whale, *Sunday Times* (15 November 1974, 4pp); Kevin McNamara, Ian Atkin and Dick Seaman, the Chief Press Officer at the NIO (27 November 1974, 4pp); and Andrew Neil, Lobby Correspondent of the *Economist* (19 December 1974, 1p).

**P215/116** 3 December 1974

1p

**DFA minute** relating to a discussion involving the A/G and Seán Donlon, of an unspecified memorandum concerning the application of the trusteeship system to Northern Ireland. The minute concludes with a reference to the fact that the proposal has been referred to in a memorandum for the Government submitted by MFA.

**P215/117** 12 December 1974

15pp

**Draft minute of a meeting between Irish and British officials.**

The meeting at Iveagh House between DFA officials and a delegation of NIO, FCO and British Embassy Dublin officials was 'for the purpose of general liaison'. Subjects touched on include the

**P215/117**  
**contd**

framework of the Convention including power-sharing and the Irish dimension, the reasons for the fall of the Executive, divergences in the reading of the security position, lack of progress on policing, allegations that arms were being moved into NI from the South, and cross-border studies with particular reference to Derry. Annotated [by Seán Donlon].

**P215/118** December 1974–August 1975

11 items

**IRA ceasefire**

Material relating to the Feakle discussions, British government reaction to the ceasefire and the likelihood of its extension.

Includes:

- text of a statement by the Provisional Army Council responding to the proposal handed to the Sinn Féin representatives by Protestant clergymen at Feakle the previous week; received in DFA as a secret note from the British Ambassador (20 December 1974, 3pp);
- text of an official press release on the British response (1p);
- text of a statement given by the Irish Republican Publicity Bureau to RTÉ, on Government Information Services headed paper (2pp);
- copy of a synopsis of an IRA statement received by telephone concerning the response of the British Government to the ceasefire as not being sufficient to warrant making the cessation permanent ([January 1975], 1p);
- copy of a note by Dermot Nally of a briefing given to the Irish side by the British concerning the ceasefire (20 January 1975, 3pp) together with a copy of statements made by the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (19 January 1975, 3pp);
- message from Seán Donlon to MFA in Brussels (20 January 1975, 3pp) concerning the briefing given to himself and Dermot Nally by Sir John Galsworthy and current developments on the ceasefire. Also touches on Wilson's response to the Taoiseach's letter concerning power-sharing;
- telegram from the London Ambassador to Seán Donlon (21 January 1975, 1p) reporting the substance of his meeting with Douglas Janes that afternoon concerning the continuation of the ceasefire;
- confidential note by Seán Donlon for MFA (23 January 1975, 2pp) reporting a briefing by the British Ambassador that afternoon 'on the present state of play relating to the IRA ceasefire' and the British assessment of the situation;
- copy of a secret DFA memorandum on the Provisional IRA ceasefire (14 August 1975, 7pp);
- secret note from Seán Donlon for MFA concerning the necessity for a briefing by the British and the assurances that should be sought from them (21 August 1975, 1p)

**P215/119** 1974

2 items

**Frank Stagg**

Unidentified and undated memorandum (late 1974, 3pp) detailing the arrest, conviction and imprisonment of Frank Stagg, his current status on hunger strike and the nature of his demands to the prison authorities.

**P215/120** 1974

3pp

**Rough notes by MFA** of an unspecified discussion on Northern Ireland by Westminster MPs. Later headed 'Discussion of MPs on NI, 1974'.

'Tim Raison: Cons under Heath. Passports/citizenship. Br. Citizens voting. Fr. Bench/Bill. In Const. – contraception, divorce. Wld this be enough? Doubt.

**P215/121** 1974

6pp

**Northern Ireland Assembly**

Alphabetical list of members of the Assembly, indicating the constituency they represent.

**P215/122** [1974]

7pp

**MFA speeches**

Annotated carbon copy of the text of an unidentified speech by MFA, apparently directed at the majority population in Northern Ireland, asserting that they have nothing to fear from the Republic. 'We seek nothing from Northern Ireland but the restoration of peace with justice there .. '

**P215/123** [1974]

1p

**Rough undated notes by MFA** mainly concerning the *pros* and *cons* of a meeting between the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister and what

**P215/123**  
**contd**

might be discussed.

Pro: Helps see Heath. Impact on policies thro' showing seriousness. Impact on public opinion/here/in North. (Situation may get worse).

Con: Situation not bad enough to warrant it. May achieve very little. Bad timing – spoil end Oct Meeting w. new Govt.

Subsequently annotated '77??', but this tentative dating seems incompatible with the references to Heath and Whitelaw.

**P215/124** 1974

2 items

**Internment**

Undated handwritten note for MFA [1974?] enclosing the shorter and longer versions (9, 10 August 1971, 1p each) of a statement issued by the Government Information Bureau on behalf of the Government following the introduction of internment without trial in Northern Ireland. Undated note (post September 1974, 4pp) chronologizing the occasions of the raising with the British authorities by the Government, the question of the ending of internment.

**P215/125** [1974-75]

4 items

**Notes by the Minister**

Three sets of handwritten notes by MFA, written on three different occasions concerning aspects of the Northern Ireland problem. The largest seem to be concerned with the position stated by MPT on the Government's position after British withdrawal (4pp); one deals with negotiated independence (2pp); and the third speculates on the outcome of the Convention (1p).

**P215/126** 9 January 1975

1p

**Note for MFA from Seán Donlon** concerning changes to a scheduled visit by Sir Frank Cooper, Permanent Secretary at the NIO. Cooper was not now coming and his place was being taken by John Bourne, an Under-Secretary at the NIO. Donlon recommends that MFA should not be available to meet Bourne. Refers to an attached report on a visit to NI [not present but see P215/94].

**P215/127** 22 January 1975

2 items

**Corrymeela Centre**

Minute [by John McColgan?] for Seán Donlon (22 January 1975, 4pp) of a meeting he had attended in the Dáil with the Parliamentary Secretary to the Taoiseach, the Attorney General, Deputy Paddy Harte, and a group of five clergymen and community leaders comprising a North-South group. The prospect of a meeting at Corrymeela, 'a quiet and non-controversial exchange of views between politicians and clergymen and other interested people from both North and South' was discussed at length. A programme for the meeting (4pp) is appended to the report.

**P215/128** 8 January 1975

3pp

**Letter from An Taoiseach to the Prime Minister**

Copy letter from Liam Cosgrave to Harold Wilson, in the context of a forthcoming British document on power-sharing, concerning the Irish view of appropriate forms of power-sharing for Northern Ireland. He seeks reassurance 'that our agreed position stated in a joint communiqué last September, and confirmed in November still stands – viz that no form of administration for Northern Ireland that does not include power-sharing in government will be acceptable to your Government - and that the forthcoming document will, despite any suggestion to the contrary at official level, make this explicitly clear'. Also contains a draft of the first page, annotated at a later date '1/76?'.

**P215/129** January 1975

3pp

**Letter from MFA to An Taoiseach**

Draft typescript letter with handwritten annotations by MFA setting out points for consideration in advance of any meetings with the British Government to discuss the issue of re-negotiation of the basis of their membership of the EEC; but primarily to discuss Northern Ireland, and particularly the issue of the possible postponement of Convention elections.

**P215/130** 29 January 1975

2 items

**Gardiner Report**

Confidential advance copy provided by the British Embassy, Dublin, of the statement (2pp) to be delivered by the Secretary of State in Westminster, in presenting the Gardiner Report.

Copy of the *Report of a Committee to consider, in the context of civil liberties and human rights, measures to deal with terrorism in Northern Ireland*. HMSO Cmnd. 5847 (78pp).

**P215/131** 31 January 1975

2 items

**SDLP policy on policing**

Note from Seán Donlon for the the PS to MFA (1p) enclosing a copy of an SDLP press release (2pp) reporting a speech by John Hume on policing. 'The Minister will wish to see the attached speech by Hume on policing. He cleared it in advance – though with considerable difficulty – with the SDLP Assembly Party ... it appears to represent a major departure from Hume's (and the SDLP's) previous position that security should remain for the moment with Westminster'.

**P215/132** 5 March 1975

5pp

**Meeting with the Leader of the Opposition, London**

Draft report by Seán Donlon of a meeting between MFA and Mrs Margaret Thatcher MP, Leader of the Conservative Party, at the House of Commons, also attended by Airey Neave MP, Opposition Spokesman on Northern Ireland. Subjects discussed included British renegotiation of the basis of its membership of the EC; but were overwhelmingly concerned with NI matters including the Convention elections.

**P215/133** 7 March 1975

9pp

**Secret report by John McColgan** of a meeting with William Craig MP in the House of Commons on 4 March 1975, the day before a meeting between Mr Craig and MFA. Subjects discussed included the ceasefire; prospects for the Convention and power-sharing; likelihood of the continuation of direct rule; and North-South talks.

**P215/134** March, July 1975

2 items

**Chatham House meeting**

2 annotated versions of 'Notes for discussion at Chatham House' (March, July 1975, 7pp each), the earlier labelled 'Meeting with Secretary of State for NI and Leader of the Opposition' [Merlyn Rees and Edward Heath].

'How does the evolution of the Northern Ireland situation appear from the viewpoint of public opinion in the Republic? The centre of gravity of the Northern Ireland issue has shifted several times during the past seven years. First, the issue was that of civil rights. Then, it shifted to the question of the régime itself – the system of Protestant majority power. Thirdly, between 1972 and 1974, the issue became one of finding a solution to the twin problems of internal self-government and of external links with the Republic. Since May 1974, the UWC strike, we have been a fourth stage (*sic*) in which attention has been concentrated almost exclusively on the problem of internal self-government'. Looks at possible British Government strategies; the characteristics of the situation at present; the aims of the three Unionist parties; the likely outcome of the Convention; and the likely post-Convention position with regard to either power-sharing or an independent Northern Ireland.

**P215/135** 17 April 1975

2pp

**Two notes from Seán Donlon for the Private Secretary to MFA**, one referring to attached reports [not present] from the London Ambassador and Dermot Nally and commenting on misleading statistics on murder charges in one of them. The second note refers to the draft of the penultimate report of the Inter-Departmental Unit on Northern Ireland [not present] and summarises the report's recommendations in relation to Civil Defence requirements for refugees from NI.

**P215/136** 23 April 1975

4pp

**Report from Dermot Gallagher**, Press and Information Counsellor, London Embassy, for John Swift, of a long discussion with Roger Carroll, political editor with the *Sun* newspaper. He reports Carroll's insights into Conservative thinking on NI, on Airey Neave, on the Government's wish 'to shelve Northern Ireland', and the likely outcome of the Convention elections.

**P215/137** April–May 1975

3 items

**Glencree Centre for Reconciliation**

Letter from Una [O'Higgins-O'Malley], Organising Secretary, Glencree Centre, to MFA, concerning a fundraising event in New York the following month in which 'Glencree will have a small share' (2 April 1975, 2pp). Telex from Michael Lillis, New York Consulate, to G. Ó Broin, Counsellor, Anglo-Irish Division, DFA, describing the progress of the visit by Mrs O'Malley and other Glencree representatives and their meetings with Irish-American interests organised by Lillis (20 May 1975). Telex from A. Mulloy, Counsellor, UN Mission, New York, for Ó Broin (20 May 1975). He had discussed the matter of aid for the Glencree Centre with George Wen of UN Institutional Development but no appropriate fund existed.

**P215/138** April, September 1975

3 items

**Irish-American community**

Three confidential reports from Michael Lillis, First Secretary, New York Consulate. The first, on NORAID's activities (17 April 1975, 12pp) includes a background note on the organisation's structure and membership, and on the Irish National Caucus. The second (18 April 1975, 5pp) is concerned with the wider Irish-American community. The third (3 September 1975, 3pp) considers how the Irish-American community might provide assistance in the event of a 'Doomsday Situation', with increased and widespread disorder in Northern Ireland.

**P215/139** 4–6 May 1975

7 items

**Views of the Minister for Post and Telegraphs on NI**

Documents relating to views expressed by Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien in the course of an RTÉ interview, that power-sharing and an Irish dimension were not capable of realization in the Convention.

Includes:

- copy of a transcript of the interview (4 May 1975, 4pp);
- copy of a secret memo from Seán Donlon (5 May 1975, 3pp) who had cut short a visit to NI and returned to give SDLP reaction to the interview. He had been with John Hume when the interview was broadcast;
- 2 drafts by MFA (1p each) of a statement on Government policy on NI being based on power-sharing and an Irish dimension (6 May 1975, 1p each);
- copy of the text of a statement by An Taoiseach in Dáil Éireann on

- P215/139 contd** Government policy on NI (6 May 1975, 2pp), with a draft by MFA (2pp);
- telegram from the Ambassador, London, for the Secretary General DFA, enquiring about the programme of the MPT during his proposed visit to London on 9 May. The only knowledge the London Embassy has of the Minister's proposed activities during the visit has come from the Foreign Office.

**P215/140** 5 May 1975

2pp

**Draft message from the Taoiseach to the Prime Minister**

Typescript draft [by MFA?] of a message from the Taoiseach concerning arrangements for the maintenance of essential services in Northern Ireland in the event of a crisis, in the light of experience during the May 1974 strike, particularly in the area of electricity generation and distribution. This has been the subject of continuing discussions between the two of them and between MFA and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.

'I should be glad if you would look again at this matter and see if the necessary arrangements cannot now be put in hand to ensure that a group of workers in any of the essential services cannot abuse their position to frustrate the implementation of your Government's position in Northern Ireland'

**P215/141** 17 May 1975

4pp

**Copy of a confidential report by Seán Donlon** of a conversation with Gerry Fitt MP in the House of Commons on 14 May 1975. Fitt had just come from a meeting with the Prime Minister and Secretary of State to discuss British intentions in the event of the Convention not reaching agreement on a form of government for NI. Considers the alternatives of British withdrawal or 'some whitewashed restoration of majority rule'.

**P215/142** 20 May 1975

1 item

**Telegram from Michael Lillis, New York, for Seán Donlon, DFA** confirming that Rev William Arlow had told him that the British Government had given the IRA assurances of a complete withdrawal in the event of the Convention not reaching agreement. Arlow's visit to the US was to alert church and relief services to the danger of a civil war.

**P215/143** 20 May 1975

3pp

**Copy of a confidential report** by Seán Donlon of a conversation with Harold McCusker MP mainly concerning UUUC tactics at Westminster and their relationship with the Labour Government.

**P215/144** 20, 21 May 1975

2 items

**Confidential message from Seán Donlon for the London Ambassador** concerning the wishes of MFA that urgent representations be made to the Secretary of State on the issue of how the report of the Constitutional Convention is presented to the British Government (20 May 1975, 1p). Copy of a secret telegram from the London Ambassador for Seán Donlon reporting the meeting with the Secretary of State at which the Minister's request was relayed (21 May 1975, 2pp), annotated by Donlon.

**P215/145** 21 May 1975

2 items

**Copy of a note from [Dermot Nally, Assistant Secretary to the Government] for An Taoiseach**, enclosing a message from Prime Minister Wilson in response to the Taoiseach's message of 5 May concerning the maintenance of essential services in the event of a crisis in NI. Gallagher recounts a conversation concerning the current state of NI and the prospects for the Convention, with Sir Arthur Galsworthy who had delivered the message.

**P215/146** 21 May 1975

1p

**Copy of a confidential note by Dermot Nally** concerning the content of a telephone call from Maurice Hayes, Assistant to the Chairman of the NI Convention, to brief Nally on progress at the Convention. Annotated by Seán Donlon to whom this copy was sent.

**P215/147** 21 May 1975

2 items

**Confidential note from Seán Donlon for Dermot Nally** (21 May 1975, 1p) enclosing a memorandum (3pp) of discussions he had had the previous weekend with John Hume and Austin Curry, mainly to discuss the workings of the committee headed by Ian Paisley, charged with drafting rules of procedure for the Constitutional Convention; and the SDLP position in the event of the Convention failing.

**P215/148** 23 May 1975

1p

**Handwritten note from Seán Donlon for MFA** referring to some unspecified attached papers relating to developments in NI in the MFA's absence and summarizing developments in the Convention.

**P215/149** 23 May 1975

2 items

**Note from Seán Donlon for the Secretary General's Private Secretary** (23 May 1975, 1p) enclosing a copy of a confidential report by Dermot Gallagher, London Embassy (22 May 1975, 3pp) of a conversation with Chris Ryder of the *Sunday Times* and analyzing the reliability of Ryder's information. The conversation centres on the likelihood of a British withdrawal from NI in the event of the Convention failing.

**P215/150** 26 May 1975

7pp

**Copy of a confidential report by John McColgan** of a conference which he attended, 23–25 May, at the Portsalon Hotel, organized by community groups, on NI and the EEC. Most of the report deals with conversations with participants on the general political situation in NI.

**P215/151** 27 May 1975

2pp

**Letter from John Kelly TD**, Parliamentary Secretary to the Taoiseach and MFA, to MFA, reporting the substance of a meeting between six Dáil deputies and three Ulster Unionists in London, facilitated by the British.

'[James] Molyneaux did most of the talking on their side. He was quiet and self-contained. Of the other two, Ross was the more unforthcoming, and seemed a fairly crusty character; young, but with a slightly sinister expression reminiscent of Ernest Blythe.'

Discussion included the Convention and North-South co-operation. Kelly also reports on a meeting he had with Stan Orme MP, Minister of State at the NI Office.

**P215/152** May 1975

2pp

**Airey Neave**

Typescript biographical note, together with a diary of his meetings and public statements since his appointment as Shadow Secretary for Northern Ireland, February 1975.

**P215/153** May 1975

12pp

**Convention elections**

Tables by constituency of the results of the Convention elections. Candidates are grouped by party, with the votes cast written in by hand by GFG. Includes comparative figures for the Assembly elections, June 1973, and the Westminster elections, October 1974.

**P215/154** 1, 8 June 1975

2 items

**DFA memorandum: Northern Ireland-assessment of current situation** (1 June 1976, 12pp) together with a second copy marked 'Secret', 'Appendix 2' containing some handwritten alterations (8 June 1976, 12pp).

**P215/155** 25 June 1975

2 items

**Letter from Declan Costello, Attorney General**, to MFA (25 June 1975, 1p) enclosing a copy of a memorandum which he has sent to the Taoiseach concerning meetings he has had in the previous two days with leading members of the SDLP (1p).

**P215/156** [July 1975]

2 items

**Notes for the Taoiseach's discussions in Helsinki**

Handwritten notes in an unknown hand (11pp) together with a typescript transcript (2pp) concerning Government policy on Northern Ireland.

**P215/157** 7, 8 August 1975

1p

**Note from Seán Donlon for MFA** (8 August 1975, 1p) referring to an attached report by John McColgan of a conversation with William Craig MP [not present], and describing the present SDLP position on their negotiating position and their forthcoming visit to Dublin to meet members of the Government. He encloses a copy of a telex from the London Embassy (7 August 1975, 2pp) containing a transcript of a parliamentary question put by James Molyneaux to the Secretary of State for NI at Westminster, concerning the failure to apprehend the chief of staff of the IRA when he was in Belfast during July.

**P215/158** 12 August 1975

1 item

**Telex from the London Ambassador for Seán Donlon** concerning a meeting that afternoon with Douglas Janes. Conversation covered the discussions on the Convention; that weekend's troubles in the Falls; the general security situation; and relations between the Secretary of State and the Opposition Spokesman, Airey Neave. 'Neave is simply incapable of understanding the Northern situation. On the question of detention Neave tends to reflect middle to lower level Army views. His recent comments have greatly annoyed the Secretary of State and Willie Whitelaw is not happy about them either'.

**P215/159** 18 August 1975

2 items

**Secret note from Seán Donlon for MFA** (18 August 1975, 1p) enclosing a confidential draft minute (8pp) of the previous week's meeting between Government members and SDLP representatives at Government Buildings. He also refers to other reports and statistics [not present] Handwritten annotations refer to confidential information from the Garda Commissioner concerning members of the RUC in Portadown who are members of the UVF.

**P215/160** 18 August 1975

6pp

**Minute from John McColgan**, Counsellor, Anglo-Irish Division, DFA, for the PSM, containing at the request of MFA figures for the numerical strength of the British Army in NI, the Ulster Defence Regiment, RUC, Protestant paramilitary organisations, and the Irish Army, each year since 1970.

**P215/161** 18 August 1975

2 items

**Support for Sinn Féin in the local elections, June 1974**

Note from G. Ó Broin, Counsellor, Anglo-Irish Division, DFA, for the PSM (18 August 1975, 1p) enclosing a copy of an analysis of the Sinn Féin vote in the 1974 local elections in the Republic (3pp), in response to a request from MFA.

**P215/162** 20 August 1975

5pp

**Copy of two telexes from the London Ambassador to Seán Donlon** reporting the substance of a meeting with Stan Orme, Minister of State at the NIO, together with two of his officials. In the first telex the Ambassador describes his relaying to the Minister the information supplied to the Garda Commissioner concerning members of the RUC being members of the UVF. The second telex reports discussion of an article by Henry Stanhope in *The Times* alleging terrorist attacks originating from the Republic; and the general security situation.

**P215/163** 28, 29 August 1975

2 items, 4pp each

**Typescript draft and final version of a note by MFA on the Northern Ireland situation**, sent to the Department of the Taoiseach for circulation in advance of the Government meeting on 29 August. Suggests the principles which should be delineated in discussion between himself and the two Secretaries of State; and between the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister, mainly relating to a rejection of a return to majority self-government, and any re-partition or population transfer.

**P215/164** August 1975

59pp

**Security brief**

Brief prepared for the visit by MFA to North America, containing statistical information on security matters affecting Northern Ireland such as:

- relative strengths of security forces over a number of years
- paramilitary strengths
- fatal casualties
- numbers interned
- exclusion orders served under the Prevention of Terrorism (Temporary Provisions) Act
- closure of border roads
- border incidents and incursions
- electoral strength of Sinn Féin in the Republic
- charges and convictions in the Special Criminal Court
- seizures of arms and explosives by Irish security forces
- the Criminal Law Jurisdiction Bill and
- extradition.

**P215/165** August–September 1975

6 items

**Forum on Northern Ireland, Amherst, Mass**

Material relating to the forum including:

- copy of a letter from Carmel B. Heaney, Acting Consul General of Ireland, Boston, Mass. to Seán Donlon, Assistant Secretary, DFA, (12 September 1975, 1p) enclosing a report on the forum (4pp) which took place 28 August–2 September 1975, attended by representatives of paramilitary organisations; community workers; academics; representatives of US and Canadian organisations with a NI focus; elected representatives and members of political parties acting in a private capacity; and representatives of British, Irish and American media;

**P215/165**  
contd

- copy of the programme (7pp);
- list of participants (3pp);
- text of an address given by Tomas Mac Giolla, President, Sinn Féin, to the forum (5pp);
- document tabled at the forum, consisting of a record of discussion at a recent three day meeting of senior UDA officers in Holland (3pp).

**P215/166** 1 September 1975

2pp

**Copy of a telex from Seán Donlon to the London Ambassador.**

Raises the matter of the British Ambassador talking direct to the Garda Commissioner about security matters. The NI Office is to be informed that such communications should be from NIO to the London Embassy or from the British Ambassador to DFA. Douglas Janes should be asked for a formal assurance that Seamus Twomey who is wanted in the Republic on a charge of escaping from custody, is being actively sought in the North.

**P215/167** 5 September 1975

2 items

**Notes for Minister**

Notes by Seán Donlon for MFA (2pp) on current developments including an expected statement by the Prime Minister announcing the end of the Provisional IRA ceasefire; an exchange of cables with the British concerning the 'Twomey affair' with a photocopy of the cables (2pp) attached; and the private inter-party talks between the SDLP and the UUUC. Telegram touches on other matters raised at a meeting between Donlon and Douglas Janes including new security arrangements in Armagh and the Convention.

**P215/168** 5 September 1975

1p

**Letter from Declan Costello, Attorney General, to MFA** advocating an alternative to internment in NI, the mechanism being to charge persons suspected of being members, before non-jury courts.

The suggestion made above was considered in paragraph 22 of the Diplock Report and there rejected. It is clear, however, that it was rejected because it was felt that internment was the only effective method of dealing with the situation. The paragraph refers to the "reluctance" with which the suggestion was turned down. The fact

**P215/168**  
contd

that the Diplock Report did not recommend the procedures is not, in current circumstances, a reason for rejecting the proposal’.

**P215/169** 5 September 1975

3pp

**Copy of a note by John McColgan on the Ulster Loyalist Central Co-ordinating Committee** [ULCCC], describing the function and membership of the Committee; its plans to seize power and form a provisional government in the event of the British Government rejecting the wishes of the majority in the Convention; and a meeting between the Committee and Stan Orme, Minister of State for NI, at Stormont Castle. Attaches copies of two press cuttings reporting ULCCC activities.

**P215/170** 12 September 1975

1p

**Note by Seán Donlon for MFA** enclosing a draft memorandum for the Government [not present] for their forthcoming all-day meeting on NI. He comments on the content and structure of the document.

**P215/171** 30 September 1975

1 item

**The Irish Army and Northern Ireland**

Telex from M. Ó Fainin, Information Section, DFA, to Michael Lillis, Deputy Consul General, New York, containing a transcript of a portion of an interview given by Paddy Donegan, Minister for Defence, to RTÉ, in which he discounted the possibility of the Irish Defence Forces having a role in NI.

**P215/172** 8–17 September 1975

3 items

**Inter-departmental cooperation between DFA and Department of Justice**

Correspondence between MFA and Patrick Cooney, Minister for Justice, concerning access to joint Gárda and RUC reports by DFA and issues of briefing on matters of security.

**P215/173** September 1975

25pp

**Security statistics and fatalities**

Handwritten list of incursions, border incidents, overflights and road closures for 1975 (1p). Handwritten list of fatal casualties, assassinations, deaths attributable to the IRA, to internecine feuding, and to the security forces, December 1974–May 1975 (1p). Anglo-Irish Section typescript report containing analyses of fatal casualties, 1969–75 (10pp) and a diary of events, 1–30 September 1975 (13pp).

**P215/174** 1 October 1975

4pp

**Copy of a telex from Seán Donlon, DFA to the Permanent Representative at the United Nations**, for the attention of MFA. Donlon relays a message he has received from the London Embassy concerning the substance of a meeting between the Ambassador and Douglas Janes, NIO, concerning likely constitutional arrangements for NI in the aftermath of the Convention report. Donlon attaches a draft reply in light of the possibility of a forthcoming meeting between the Ambassador and the Secretary of State.

**P215/175** 2 October 1975

8pp

**North American visit**

Press release containing excerpts from a speech by GFG on the nature of the Northern Ireland problem, at the Conrad Hilton Hotel, in an unidentified US city [Chicago?].

**P215/176** October 1975

1p

**Typescript note [by MFA]** on a telephone conversation with Ivor Canavan on 15 October concerning a proposed cross-border study of communications, including telecommunications, in the Donegal/Derry area.

**P215/177** 16 October 1975

1p

**Confidential telex from the Ambassador, London for Seán Donlon** reporting a meeting with Douglas Janes, NIO. The Secretary of State is prepared to meet MFA in London. Other matters discussed include the end of the PIRA ceasefire; the timing, content and outcome of the Convention report; and the cross-border study of communications in the Donegal/Derry area.

**P215/178** October–November 1975

12 items

**Dr Tiede Herrema**

Material concerning the kidnapping of Dr Herrema, Managing Director of Ferenka Ltd, Limerick, by members of the Provisional IRA. Includes:

- copy of the telex sent from DFA to the Consul General, Chicago, informing MFA of the kidnapping (3 October 1975, 3pp);
- confidential letter from Declan O'Donovan, Private Secretary to MFA, to the Private Secretary to the Minister for Justice (16 October 1975, 1p), enclosing a confidential report of a meeting between MFA and the Netherlands Ambassador concerning the Herrema kidnapping (15 October 1975, 6pp);
- copy of a secret report by [Seán Donlon] of a meeting at the home of the MFA between the Minister and Mr Harold O'Sullivan, General Secretary of the Local Government and Public Services Union, at which Donlon was present, concerning efforts by the Deputy Secretary of the union, Phil Flynn, to act as mediator in the kidnapping (16 October 1975, 6pp);
- copy of a note by the PSM of a telephone call from Ambassador Morrissey at the Hague (17 October 1975, 1p). He had met the Dutch Prime Minister at a reception the previous evening and had exchanged a few words about the kidnapping. The Ambassador had the impression that the Dutch Government would consider approaching the Irish Government about the kidnappers' demands;
- copy of a report of a meeting between MFA and Ambassador van Raalte together with a copy of a translation of a message from the Dutch Foreign Minister, Mr van der Stoel, supporting the efforts of Phil Flynn as an intermediary and commenting upon the 'insufficient freedom' which he feels he has in the role due to Garda surveillance (17 October 1975, 3pp); together with a copy of a report by the MFA of a further meeting with the Ambassador the same day (1p);
- note by the PSM of a telephone call from the Dutch Ambassador who had just received a call from his Foreign Minister who had heard a radio report of the three demands being made by Eddie Gallagher, Dr Herrema's kidnapper, including his wish to see the Ambassador. He seeks confirmation of the demands (23 October

**P215/178**

- 1975, 1p);
- handwritten draft (4pp) and typescript copy (1p) of a secret message from MFA to Ambassador Seán Morrissey, The Hague, briefing him on the 'general background and atmosphere' in the Herrema kidnapping (24 October 1975);
  - telex from Max van der Stoep, Netherlands Foreign Minister, to MFA, expressing his government's 'very sincere gratitude for the skillful and persistent manner in which your government has handled the awful abduction case of Dr Herrema' (8 November 1975, 1p);
  - copy of a letter from MFA to the Garda Commissioner conveying the appreciation of the Netherlands Government 'for the unremitting efforts displayed by the Force in the fulfilment of its difficult and delicate tasks' in the Herrema kidnapping (11 November 1975, 1p);
  - material relating to proposals to confer honorary citizenship on Dr Herrema.

**P215/179** 21 October 1975

2 items

**Secret DFA note [from P.J.G. Keating, Secretary General] for the Minister** (1p) concerning a British Army incursion in Monaghan and Seán Donlon's view that MFA should call in the British Ambassador to raise the matter with him. Attaches a speaking note (2pp) containing the points which MFA might wish to make to the Ambassador.

**P215/180** 5 November 1975

2pp

**Note [by John McColgan] of a meeting between MFA and Mrs Anne Dickson, UPNI, in Dublin, 31 October 1975.** A wide range of issues were discussed relating to the present position in NI including recent UUUC proposals for a restored NI parliament and problems in the Convention.

**P215/181** November 1975

12pp

**SDLP proposals for government in Northern Ireland**  
Report to Parliament.

**P215/182** 18 December 1975

4pp

**Copy of a confidential telex from Dermot Gallagher, Press and Information Officer, London Embassy, for Seán Donlon** reporting on the meeting between John Hume and Elliot Richardson, US Ambassador to Britain, arranged at the Ambassador's request to enlist Hume's support to persuade Edward Kennedy to support a campaign to 'woo Irish Americans away from supporting the Provos'. Also reports on a meeting between himself and Hume and Bill Craig in the House of Commons.

**P215/183** December 1975

1p

**Bombs at Dundalk and Silverbridge**

Copy of a communication from the UDA, on Mid-Ulster UDA News headed paper, concerning the bombs at Dundalk and Silverbridge. Annotated 'Rec'd Minister's Office 29/12/75'.

**P215/184** [late 1975?]

3pp

**Fianna Fáil statement on Northern Ireland**

Text of an interview [on RTÉ radio?] with Michael O'Kennedy, Fianna Fáil spokesman on Foreign Affairs arising from a statement contained in a speech he made in Cork the previous weekend calling for a statement of intent from the British Government to withdraw from Northern Ireland.

**P215/185** 1975–76

5 items

**RUC escorts**

Letters of appreciation from MFA for the efficient and courteous service provided by members of the RUC during his visits to NI in December 1975 and June 1976. Letters are to Sir James Flanagan and Kenneth Newman, successive Chief Constables of the RUC.

**P215/186** 9 January 1976

2 items

**United Nations Trusteeship arrangements for NI**

Private and personal letter from Declan Costello, Attorney General, to MFA (9 January 1976, but dated 1975 in error, 1p) concerning consideration of UN trusteeship arrangements for NI and enclosing a copy of an A/G's Office memorandum on the subject (9 January 1976, 9pp)

**P215/187** January 1976

6 items

**Media coverage of the security situation**

Material dealing mainly with reportage of the murder of ten Protestant workmen in NI and the subsequent recovery of the vehicle used by their murderers in Dundalk; and the deployment of SAS in South Armagh.

Includes:

- minute by John Swift, DFA, detailing press coverage of the recovery of the van and its subsequent connection with the murder, especially in light of the denial by the Minister for Justice that the murderers had crossed the border into the Republic (7 January 1976, 3pp);
- telex from the London Embassy quoting coverage from daily and evening newspapers (7 January 1976, 1p);
- unidentified and undated minute detailing coverage of the murders in both Irish and British newspapers (4pp);
- transcript of an interview on RTÉ late evening news, between Brian Keenan and Bob Fisk, formerly *Times* correspondent in NI, on the role and past history of the SAS in NI (7 January 1976, 5pp).

**P215/188** January 1976

8pp

**Ministerial meeting on security**

Material relating to a meeting between the Secretary of State for NI and the Minister for Justice, in London, 8 January 1976, in the context of the deteriorating security situation and the deployment of the SAS in South Armagh, including:

- copy of a confidential note by Seán Donlon for the Secretary General, DFA, on SDLP reaction to remarks attributed to the Minister for Justice concerning SDLP policing policy (8 January 1976, 2pp);
- typescript note of points made by MFA in conversation with the Minister for Justice in advance of his meeting with the Secretary

**P215/188**  
contd

of State (1p), particularly relating to the deployment of the SAS.

**P215/189** January–September 1976

8 items

**Visits by DFA officials to Northern Ireland**

Series of confidential reports by DFA officials, mainly Seán Donlon, Assistant Secretary, and John McColgan, Counsellor, Anglo-Irish Political Section, of regular visits by them to Northern Ireland for meetings with political, religious, community, paramilitary, business, and trade union leaders. Meetings take place in Belfast unless otherwise stated.

- 6–7 January 1976. Meetings between Seán Donlon and John Hume, Paddy Devlin, Gerry Fitt and other SDLP representatives, Brian Faulkner, and staff members from St Joseph's Training College, Andersonstown. Annotated by MFA (6pp);
- 20–21 January 1976. Meetings between John McColgan and Mrs Anne Dickson, UPNI; Gerry Quigley, ICTU and INTO; John Taylor, Official Unionist Party in Loughgall; and Rev Brian Smeaton on his return to Dublin (9pp);
- 16–17 February 1976. Meetings between John McColgan and Donald Middleton, NIO; Glen Barr, Vanguard; Unionist; and John Laird, Official Unionist Party (10pp);
- 24–26 February 1976. Meetings between Seán Donlon and John Hume, Austin Curry, and Paddy Devlin, SDLP; Oliver Napier and Bob Cooper, Alliance Party; Dr Maurice Hayes, Joint Secretary, NI Convention; Tom Conaty, CCDC; and members of staff of St Joseph's Training College and the NI Housing Executive (5pp);
- 22–23 April 1976. Meeting between John McColgan and Paddy Harte TD in Raphoe; Rev William Arlow, Secretary, Irish Council of Churches; and Ernest Baird (6pp);
- 17–18 May 1976. Meeting between John McColgan and John Taylor, Official Unionist Party; Col Jim Sleator, Confederation of British Industry; Donald Middleton, NIO; and Rev Brian Smeaton (10pp);
- 21–22 June 1976. Meetings between John McColgan and Harry West at his home outside Enniskillen; with John Laird, Official Unionist Party, at Hillsborough; and with Glen Barr in Derry;
- 1–2 September 1976. Meeting between John McColgan and Donald Middleton, NIO in the Crawfordsburn Inn; with Rev Martin Smyth; and with John Taylor.

**P215/190** January–October 1976

15 items

**Contacts with Prime Minister Harold Wilson.**

Material relating to contacts and meetings including:

- copy of a confidential message from the Prime Minister to the Taoiseach concerning recent events in South Armagh and the British Government's determination to deal with the situation by deploying extra police and troops including SAS (6 January 1976, 2pp). Copy of the Taoiseach's reply (7 January 1976, 1p) with correspondence between the Department of the Taoiseach and DFA concerning its transmission through the usual diplomatic channels ((9, 12 January 1976, 2pp);
- copy of a draft of a letter from the Taoiseach to the Prime Minister, annotated by GFG 'Early Jan 1976' and 'Not sent' concerning the British Government's response to the report of the NI Constitutional Convention, at present under consideration, and the possibility of a meeting between them in Dublin on 8 or 9 January (2pp);
- copy of an undated draft message from the Taoiseach to the Prime Minister thanking him for an invitation to meet on 13 or 14 January 1976 and suggesting an alternative arrangement whereby their meeting might coincide with the meeting arranged by the Secretary of State between representatives of the Government, the other Westminster parties and the leaders of the NI parties at Westminster (1p);
- telex from the London Embassy for Seán Donlon concerning items for discussion at the following week's meeting between the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister and other Ministers, suggested by the Foreign Office (27 February 1976, 1p);
- copy of an unidentified [Department of the Taoiseach?] memorandum concerning questions which might arise at the forthcoming meeting and the line the Irish Government should take on issues such as the post-Convention political situation, security, and the European dimension (27 February 1976, 4pp);
- confidential DFA briefing notes on the general approach at the forthcoming meeting (3 March 1976, 4pp);
- letter from Conor Cruise O'Brien, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs, to MFA (2 March 1976, 1p), enclosing a copy of comments he had supplied to the Tánaiste on the DFA briefing notes on the forthcoming meeting (2pp);
- 2 copies of the text of an agreed communiqué concerning the business of the meeting, as issued by the London Embassy (5 March 1976, 2pp) and the Government Information Service (2pp).
- Department of the Taoiseach notes consisting of a detailed minute of the meeting (7pp);
- Private Secretary to the Government to the Private Secretary to MFA (27 October 1976, 1p) enclosing the text as approved by the Government of a draft letter from the Taoiseach to the Prime Minister, expressing 'grave concern' about a growing perception that power-sharing is 'no longer a precondition for the restoration of devolution, and that some watered-down alternative would be acceptable to the British Government' (2pp).

**P215/191** January–September 1976

5 items

**Meetings with the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland.**

Reports of various meetings and related material including:

- telex from John Campbell, Minister Plenipotentiary, London, for John McColgan, Counsellor, Anglo-Irish Political Division, containing a report of a meeting between Paddy Cooney, Minister for Justice, and Merlyn Rees, Secretary of State for NI, in London, 8 January 1976 (7pp);
- copy of a telex from D. Gallagher, London Embassy, for information of the Anglo-Irish Political Division, containing the text of the statement of the Secretary of State for NI to Parliament on the report of the NI Convention (12 January 1976, 12pp);
- copy of a draft DFA confidential minute of a meeting between the Secretary of State for NI and the Ministers for Foreign Affairs and Justice, at Government Buildings, 28 May 1976 (15pp) together with MFA's handwritten notes on the meeting (6pp);
- copy of a draft of a DFA secret minute of a meeting between MFA and Roy Mason, Secretary of State for NI, London, 24 September 1976 (8pp).

**P215/192** 9 January 1976

12pp

**Meeting with the British Ambassador.**

Draft DFA minute of a meeting in Iveagh House between Sir Arthur Galsworthy, British Ambassador, Sir Frank Cooper, Permanent Secretary, NIO, Paul Keating, Secretary, DFA and Dermot Nally and Seán Donlon, Assistant Secretaries, DFA, 9 January 1976, mainly concerning the security situation in NI, the forthcoming Westminster debate on the Convention report, a bill of rights and the reconvening of the Assembly.

**P215/193** January–February 1976

7 items

**Paddy Harte TD.**

Material consisting mainly of reports by Paddy Harte of meetings with Unionist politicians including:

- meeting with Ian Paisley, Stormont Buildings, Belfast, 9 January 1976 (4pp);
- meeting with Glen Barr, London, 11 January 1976 (3pp) with covering note from John McColgan to the Private Secretary to MFA (13 January 1976, 1p) enclosing the copy of the report and referring to Harte's earlier meeting with Paisley;
- meetings with Harry West, John Carson MP, William Ross MP,

**P215/193**  
contd

and Robert Bradford MP, during the Convention debate at Westminster, 12–13 January 1976 (2pp);

- various meetings in Belfast, 15–16 January 1976, including with Andie Tyrie, UDA; John Laird, Official Unionist Party; Michael Keane, *Irish Press*, Desmond Boal and others (4pp);
- secret report by John McColgan of an account by Deputy Hart of a meeting with Ernest Baird in Belfast, 19 February 1976 (20 February 1976, 3pp);
- visit to Northern Ireland, 23–24 February 1976, to meet William Craig; includes an account of a visit to the Falls Road and of meetings and conversations with others (4pp).

Also includes the text of a speech concerning NI, delivered by Deputy Harte at an unidentified meeting in University College Dublin, 23 January 1976 (6pp).

**P215/194** January, February 1976

2 items

**Taoiseach's speeches on NI.**

Press releases containing the text of two speeches by the Taoiseach on the Government's NI policy:

- Dún Laoghaire Constituency Executive of Fine Gael, Hotel Victor, Dún Laoghaire, 12 January 1976 (8pp);
- Dalkey Branch of Fine Gael, 20 February 1976 (2pp).

**P215/195** January 1976

5 items

**Committee of Ministers on collection of funds in North America for paramilitary organisations.**

Letter from Paddy Donegan, Minister for Defence to MFA enclosing documents relevant to a meeting of the committee set up on foot of a decision taken by the Cabinet Sub-Committee on National Security (23 January 1976, 1p). He encloses:

- note on the terms of reference of the committee (2pp);
- copy of secret reports from Military Intelligence for the Minister for Defence on the political situation in Northern Ireland (19 January 1976, 3pp); and on supplies and money for subversive organisations (21 March 1975, 13pp);
- copy of a press cutting from the *Sunday People* on a NORAIID event in New York (18 January 1976, 1p).

**P215/196** 13 February 1976

4pp

**Memorandum from John McColgan** for Seán Donlon in response to a request for his view on the likely effects on the situation in NI of a referendum in NI on a voluntary power-sharing coalition; and a referendum in the Republic on Articles 2 and 3 of the Constitution.

**P215/197** February, November 1976

5 items

**Contacts with the London Embassy.**

Copy of a telex from Seán Donlon, DFA, to the Ambassador, London, concerning the decision of the NI Minister for Education, Mr Moyle, to give district councils in NI the power to develop and control community and leisure centres. MFA requests that representations be made to the British authorities indicating concern on the basis of past sectarian and discriminatory conduct on the part of local authorities in NI (3 February 1976, 1p). Telex from the Ambassador for Donlon recounting a 'particularly chilly' meeting with Douglas Janes, NIO, on the local authority question (4 February 1976, 1p). Copy of a further telex from the Ambassador to Donlon, elaborating on his previous report of his meeting with Janes and the various possibilities on foot of the Convention report producing nothing (4 February 1976, 2pp). John Campbell, London Embassy, for Donlon (12 November 1976, 1p) enclosing a note by Richard O'Brien of a recent conversation with Alan Gouly, Republic of Ireland Department at FCO (10 November 1976, 6pp). Points raised by Gouly included the difficulties created by the 'special, if not exclusive, relationship' between the Dublin Government and the SDLP; the perception that Dublin was bypassing Airey Neave, Opposition Spokesman on NI, and approaching William Whitelaw, as being more sympathetic; the unlikelihood of substantial funds being available to implement the recommendations of the Quigley report on economic and industrial strategy for Northern Ireland; and other specific matters.

**P215/198** 23 February 1976

1p

**Copy of a Department of the Taoiseach note for MFA** concerning the sequence of events, including communications between DT and DFA, and between DT and the British, surrounding the timing of an announcement about the Taoiseach's visit to the Prime Minister.

**P215/199** February–June 1976

3 items

**Meetings with Unionist politicians.**

Confidential reports by John McColgan, Anglo-Irish Political Division, DFA, of various meetings:

- meeting between Donal O’Sullivan, Ambassador, London, and Bill Craig, at the London Embassy, attended by McColgan (10 February 1976, 11pp);
- meeting between MFA and David Trimble at Iveagh House (13 March 1976, 6pp);
- visit by McColgan to London for meetings with Harold McCusker and Bill Craig (15 June 1976, 12pp).

**P215/200** Not dated [annotated 15/3/76?]

1p

**Draft typescript letter from MFA to the Taoiseach** recommending an approach to the British concerning the forthcoming British White Paper on power-sharing, and on their contacts with the Provisional IRA. He reports ‘disturbing reactions from British officials’ on the question of power-sharing.

**P215/201** 26 March 1976

1p

**Letter from Declan Costello, Attorney General to MFA** enclosing some notes [not present] of their discussions the previous night with Bill Craig and thanking him for having hosted the meeting.

**P215/202** March–May 1976

4 items

**NI industrial strategy and cross-border co-operation.**

Material relating to the NI economy including:

- copy of a report from John Campbell, Minister Plenipotentiary, London, to Secretary General, DFA (24 March 1976, 6pp) concerning the recent announcement by the Secretary of State of a review of economic and industrial strategy for Northern Ireland; and a lengthy interview Campbell had with Bill Smith, Under Secretary with responsibility for Economic Affairs in the NIO, concerning the nature and intent of the review;
- copy typescript [DFA?] notes on cross-border studies (7 April 1946, 2pp) and structural unemployment (not dated, 2pp);

P215/202  
contd

- annotated typescript copy text of a speech by MFA on the cross-border studies at a seminar in Letterkenny (May 1976, 5pp).

P215/203 March, October 1976

12 items

**Contacts with Margaret Thatcher, Leader of the Opposition.**

Material relating mainly to the meeting between MFA and Mrs Thatcher, 14 October 1976, consisting mainly of the MFA's confidential brief for the meeting; but including a Department of the Taoiseach minute (3pp) of a meeting between the Taoiseach and Mrs Thatcher, 5 March 1976 after his meeting with the Prime Minister.

Brief consists of:

- general approach to the meeting (2pp);
- copy of a report by [Dermot Gallagher, London Embassy?] on the Conservative Party Conference, 5–8 October 1976 (18pp) together with excerpts from the official conference proceedings, reporting the debate on Northern Ireland (19pp); and the texts of speeches by Martin Smyth (6pp) and Brian Faulkner (5pp) at fringe meetings;
- the Tories and power-sharing: an analysis of statements and policy documents (18pp), annotated and revised;
- chronology of statements on power-sharing by Tory spokesmen (5pp);
- copy of a cutting from the *Irish News* concerning the rejection by the SDLP of an invitation from Airey Neave, Conservative spokesman on NI, to a meeting; rejection being based on a lack of clarity in Tory policy on NI as a result of statements at the recent Party conference (12 October 1976, 1p);
- analysis of Labour Party statements on power-sharing (3pp) together with photocopies of relevant pages from *Hansard*, copies of communiqués, cuttings and other sources (23pp);
- comment on recent Unionist statements on Conservative/Unionist relations (1p);
- copy of a telex from John Campbell, London Embassy, for Seán Donlon, DFA, reporting a conversation with John Bourne, NIO, concerning Roy Mason's stance on the nature of devolved government for NI (3pp).

Also includes:

- report by MFA on the meeting, circulated at a meeting of Government the following day (7pp);
- telex from Seán Donlon, DFA, to R. O'Brien, London Embassy, concerning deteriorating relations between the SDLP and Airey Neave (14 October 1976, 1p);
- revised draft of a second letter from the SDLP to Neave, again seeking clarification of Tory policy on devolved government (2pp).

**P215/204** April 1976

2 items

**Meetings between the SDLP and Ulster Unionists.**

Copy of a report by Seán Donlon of a second meeting between representatives of the two parties (29 April 1976, 1p); together with a copy of a set of proposals tabled by the Unionists (22 April 1976, 1p).

**P215/205** June–December 1976

4 items

**Meetings and contacts with the SDLP.**

Material relating mainly to formal meetings with the SDLP including:

- copy of a confidential report by Seán Donlon of the SDLP conference in Gweedore, County Donegal (15 June 1976, 5pp) together with an appendix consisting of a transcript of a recent article in the *Sunday News* on 'Why I'd back independence' (6 June 1976, 5pp);
- copy of a report from the Department of the Taoiseach of a meeting between Ministers and a SDLP delegation (24 September 1976, 7pp);
- copy of a confidential DFA report arising from the September meeting with SDLP representatives, on the possibilities of cross-border economic co-operation (October 1976, 4pp);
- confidential report by Seán Donlon of the SDLP conference (6 December 1976, 7pp) together with a number of annexes relating to the NI economic position and the possibility of cross-border initiatives:
  1. copy of an SDLP press release on the Party's economic analysis and strategy (14 September 1976, 20pp);
  2. extract from the minutes of the meeting between Ministers and SDLP representatives, 22 September 1976 (1p);
  3. copy of a letter from Merlyn Rees, Secretary of State for NI to MFA, concerning MFA's suggestion at a recent meeting that they should consider a joint application to the EEC for a study of the economic problems 'of what you call the North-East' (30 July 1976, 2pp) together with a copy of the MFA's reply elaborating his original suggestion (July 1976, 1p);
  4. copy of a letter from the Clerk to Fermanagh District Council to MFA supporting a study of the economic potential of the Erne Catchment Area (11 October 1976, 1p);
  5. copy of an extract from the Sunningdale communiqué concerning the functions of the Council of Ireland with particular reference to studies to be carried out on infrastructural matters, services, natural resources, culture and the arts, tourism and agriculture.

**P215/206** Not dated [after July 1976]

3pp

**NI representation in the European Parliament.**

Draft typescript letter from MFA to the Taoiseach concerning press reports of moves at Westminster to drop proportional representation as the system for election to the European Parliament for the three seats in NI; the effect of which would be to guarantee the election of three Unionist MEPs. MFA recounts the meeting at the European Council, 16 July 1976, at which the allocation of seats in the parliament was decided; the basis on which decision was reached; and the allocation of a third seat to NI from the overall UK seat allocation to provide representation for the minority population in NI.

**P215/207** 21 September 1976

2 items

**DFA Memorandum for the Government.**

Copy of a secret memorandum (21 September 1976, 6pp) submitted by MFA in the context of the final breakdown of talks between the Unionists and the SDLP; the issue of a new policy statement by the SDLP; and the appointment of a new Secretary of State for NI; as an aid to discussion and in preparation for forthcoming meetings with the Secretary of State and a delegation from the SDLP. Copy of the SDLP policy statement (16 September 1976, 3pp).

**P215/208** 22 October 1976

2 items

**Conviction of UDR members for criminal offences.**

Note from Seán Donlon for PSM (1p) enclosing a table of named members and former members of the UDR, convicted of criminal offences, 1974–76.

**P215/209** 11 November 1976

9pp

**Oxford debate on Northern Ireland.**

Amended typescript draft text with additional handwritten notes for a speech by MFA at a debate on Northern Ireland at Oxford [the Union?].

**P215/210** 11 November 1976

7pp

**Contacts with the media.**

Confidential note from Gearóid Ó Broin, Counsellor, Anglo-Irish Division, DFA, for Seán Donlon, reporting on a recent two day visit to Belfast and contacts with NI television and print media journalists with a view to inviting them on a group visit to Dublin. His report includes an account of conversations with various journalists mainly concerning the two economies and the security situation.

**P215/211** November 1976

6 items

**British subvention of Northern Ireland.**

Note from Seán Donlon for PSM, enclosing for information:

- copy of a Department of Finance analysis of the British subvention and NI central government revenue for years 1975–6 and 1976–7 (19 November 1976, 4pp);
- Finance comments on a ULCC note 'Finance of Government services in NI' (19 November 1976, 6pp);
- further set of figures on NI finances, 'Professor Norman Gibson's figures' (1p);
- copy of a confidential report from John Campbell, Minister Plenipotentiary, London, on 'The financing of government services in Northern Ireland' (25 November 1976, 5pp).

**P215/212** December 1976

2 items

**Note for the PSMFA from Declan Kelly**, Private Secretary to the Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister [John Kelly TD] (17 December 1976, 1p). The Parliamentary Secretary had requested that an exchange in the Dáil between himself and Mr Michael O'Kennedy, Fianna Fáil spokesman on Foreign Affairs, be brought to the Minister's attention. The exchange concerned a report on the treatment of Irish prisoners in British jails. Attached is a press cutting from the *Irish Press* concerning the contents of the report (17 December 1976, 1p).

**P215/213** 1976

1p

**US/Irish joint declaration on Northern Ireland.**

Copy of the text of a draft joint declaration by Gerald Ford, President of the US, and An Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave.

'The Governments of the United States and Ireland solemnly join together in calling on all their peoples to support the path of peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland rather than that of destruction and death'.

**P215/214** [1976]

4 items

**Cross-border security.**

Various dissociated documents on aspects of security:

- handwritten note from Paddy [Donegan, Minister for Defence] concerning an unspecified incident. 'There is now a more serious aspect of the matter. It has been suggested to me that photographs of the post at Castleblaney were taken. If these photographs, through UDR, become available to Loyalist extremists, then positioning of car bombs, and heaving of mortar bombs to most dreadful targets (*ie* commercial explosive stores) come into the reckoning. Could we have a word in the afternoon?' (not dated, 2pp);
- handwritten notes by MFA on aspects of security and allegations of ill-treatment against the security forces (not dated, 2pp);
- typescript unidentified note concerning the possibility of proposed security legislation raising the question of RUC questioning of persons in the Republic (not dated, 1p)

**P215/215** January–June 1977

4 items

**Contacts with Unionist politicians.**

Copies of confidential reports by Seán Ó hUiginn, Counsellor, Anglo-Irish Division, DFA, on meetings and conversations with various Unionist politicians.

Includes:

- meeting with Glenn Barr in Dublin, 5 January 1977 (2pp);
- meetings in London with John Taylor, William Craig and Harold McCusker, 4–5 April 1977 (5pp);
- telephone conversation with Rev Martin Smyth concerning the threat of a loyalist strike, 27 April 1977 (1p);
- contacts with Official Unionists including Rev Martin Smyth, John Laird, and John Taylor (20 June 1977, 5pp).

**P215/216** 10 January 1977

50pp

**Academie Mondiale Pour La Paix.**

Proceedings of that section of the programme of a conference on 'Guerre civile et paix internationale' dealing with Northern Ireland; including the text in French of the address by MFA (31pp).

**P215/217** 14 January 1977

5pp

**Security Co-operation.**

Copy of a preliminary report by Hugh Swift, Counsellor, Anglo-Irish Division, DFA, for Seán Donlon, of the meeting in London, 7 January 1977, of which a formal report is being prepared. 'At this stage, I wish only to report on the broad lines of the main discussion and to record a number of other conversations in London the same day'.

**P215/218** 14 January 1977

24pp

**DFA memorandum for the Government on NI.**

Copy of a DFA memorandum for Government, submitted as an aid to discussion. Memo addresses:

- the political situation in Northern Ireland in the aftermath of the Constitutional Convention;
- the British attitude, particularly their unwillingness in the context of the failure of the Convention, to commit to a policy based on a devolved power-sharing government;
- the NI security situation;
- security co-operation;
- economic matters;
- the future political situation.

Appendices deal with the SDLP position; the Loyalist position; security statistics; and the economic position.

**P215/219** 24 January 1977

15pp

**Meeting with the NI Secretary of State.**

First draft of a DFA secret report of a meeting in Iveagh House between MFA; Paddy Cooney, Minister for Justice; Justin Keating TD, Minister for Industry and Commerce; Conor Cruise O'Brien, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs; DFA and Department of the

**P215/219**  
**contd**

Taoiseach officials; Roy Mason MP, Secretary of State for NI; Douglas Janes, Deputy Under-Secretary, NIO; Robin Hayden, British Ambassador; and FCO, NIO and British Embassy staff.

The full-day meeting included discussion on the general political situation as well as British economic policies in NI, and cross-border co-operation. Security matters were the subject of private discussion between The Minister for Justice and the Secretary of State and were not minuted.

**P215/220** January–May 1977

13 items

**Contacts with the London Embassy.**

Confidential telexes and reports from the London Embassy including:

- copy of a telex from John Campbell for Seán Donlon reporting the substance of a wide ranging meeting with John Bourn, NIO, touching on the Secretary of State's comments on the desirability of encouraging contacts between the SDLP and Unionists; the desirability of a gesture on the constitutional position from the Republic; the Secretary of State's comments in the House of Commons on the enlargement of the role of district councils in NI; devolution, security and recruitment of Catholics to the RUC (20 January 1977, 2pp);
- Dermot Gallagher, First Secretary, London Embassy, to Gearóid Ó Broin, Counsellor, Anglo-Irish Division, DFA, (31 January 1977, 1p) enclosing a note from Ken Thompson, Secretary, London Embassy, concerning the forthcoming Conservative Party proposals on NI (1p), based on a conversation with John Houston of the Conservative Research Department;
- copy of a telex from John Campbell for Seán Donlon, reporting in some detail a meeting with Douglas Janes, NIO, concerning the previous week's meetings between the Secretary of State and the SDLP; and the Secretary of State and the OUP (10 February 1977, 3pp);
- copy of a telex from [Dermot] Gallagher, London Embassy, for [Hugh] Swift, Anglo-Irish Division, DFA, concerning replies by the Home Secretary to parliamentary questions on the treatment of Irish prisoners in British jails, including the disturbances at Albany Prison on the Isle of Wight the previous September (17 February 1977, 2pp);
- copy of a minute from Dermot Gallagher to John Campbell, Minister Plenipotentiary, London Embassy, concerning a meeting with Dick Seaman, Chief Press Officer, NIO, at which the SAS case was raised [the forthcoming trial in the Special Criminal Court of eight members of the SAS arrested near Omeath, County Louth]. Seaman conveys aspects of Defence and NIO concerns over the case 'rather forcefully' (24 February 1977, 1p);
- copy of a telex from Ken Thompson to Hugh Swift reporting the answer given by the Attorney-General [Samuel Silkin] to a parliamentary question from John Biggs-Davison concerning the operation of criminal justice legislation in Britain and Ireland (7

P215/220  
contd

- March 1977, 1p);
- telex from the Ambassador, London, to the Secretary-General, DFA, transmitting a report of a meeting at the Embassy the previous week between the Minister for Industry and Commerce [Justin Keating] and representatives of the Irish County Associations (21 March 1977, 4pp);
  - Hugh Swift for Seán Donlon (20 April 1977, 1p) attaching a copy of a Home Office memorandum promised by the Home Secretary to the PPS to MFA at their meeting on 7 March, concerning the treatment of Irish prisoners convicted of terrorist offences, consisting mainly of comments on an article by A.D.W. Logan in the *Law Society Gazette* (March 1977, 6pp); an analysis by P. Hennessy, First Secretary, Anglo-Irish Division, DFA, of the Home Office commentary (15 April 1977, 3pp); telex from the London Embassy concerning transfer of prisoners from Scotland to NI (15 April 1977, 1p);
  - Ambassador, London, for Seán Donlon, reporting a long conversation on the previous day with Douglas Janes, NIO, concerning the wish of the MFA to meet the Secretary of State as soon as possible, the new campaign by Paisley and Baird, and anxieties in Dublin that an over-estimation by Unionist MPs at Westminster of their current influence might make agreement with the SDLP more unlikely (25 April 1977, 3pp);
  - telex from Ambassador, London, for Seán Donlon, reporting a telephone call from Harold McCusker expressing appreciation for the 'helpful silence from Dublin over the past two weeks' in the context of the threatened Loyalist strike. 'As I see it, the interesting thing is the fact of the call and not its contents which would be along our own line of appraisal of the situation' (12 May 1977, 1p).

P215/221 15 February 1977

2 items

**Meeting between the Secretary of State and the SDLP.**

Copy letter from Seán Donlon to Dermot Nally, Assistant Secretary, Department of the Taoiseach (15 February 1977, 1p) enclosing for information a report from the London Embassy on recent meetings between Roy Mason and the SDLP and OUP [not present] at Stormont, 31 January 1977. Also enclosed is a copy of an SDLP note on their meeting with the Secretary of State (1 February 1977, 5pp). 'The SDLP is particularly encouraged not only by their recent meeting with Mr Mason but also by a meeting which they had last week with Mr Airey Neave during which they were reassured that there was no question of the Tories abandoning power-sharing'.

**P215/222** February 1977

6pp

**Survey of public opinion.**

Summary of the results of that part of a survey carried out by Irish Marketing Surveys Ltd on behalf of RTÉ, dealing with Northern Ireland, and respondents preferred solution to the problem; with comparison to a similar survey from 1973.

**P215/223** February 1977

3 items

**Investigation of complaints against members of the security forces.**

Copy of a letter from Robin Haydon, British Ambassador, Dublin, to MFA, referring to discussions between MFA and Roy Mason, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, during which MFA had expressed some concern about procedures for the investigation of complaints against members of the security forces (16 February 1977, 1p). He encloses a memorandum describing the full procedure for such investigations, both in general terms and with reference to the status of specific cases (16 February 1977, 3pp). Copy letter of acknowledgement from the Private Secretary to MFA (17 February 1977, 1p).

**P215/224** [1977]

23pp

**Disturbance at Albany Prison, September 1976**

Copy of a dossier concerning the treatment of prisoners during and after a disturbance at Albany Prison; compiled by Amnesty International, Howard League for Penal Reform, and the National Council for Civil Liberties. The disturbance arose from a protest by six Irish prisoners against the solitary confinement of another prisoner, Brendan Dowd.

**P215/225** 7 March 1977

6pp

**Treatment of Irish prisoners in British jails**

Draft of a confidential report of a meeting between Merlyn Rees, Home Secretary, and John Kelly TD, Parliamentary Secretary to MFA, at the House of Commons, concerning 'the problem of some Irish prisoners in British jails', specifically allegations of their being

**P215/225**  
contd

ill-treated.

**P215/226** 8–9 March 1977

5 items

**Trial of SAS members in Dublin**

Letter from the Private Secretary to the Taoiseach to the Private Secretary to MFA (9 March 1977, 1p) enclosing a copy of a message received by the Taoiseach from Jim Callaghan, Prime Minister (8 March 1977, 1p) concerning a favourable outcome to the trial in the Special Criminal Court on firearms charges of eight members of an SAS unit arrested in May 1976 at a checkpoint at Omeath, County Louth; and attaching the text of the reply the Taoiseach wishes to be transmitted through the London embassy (1p).

**P215/227** 11 March 1977

2pp

**Strasbourg case**

Copy of a report by John Campbell, Minister Plenipotentiary, London, of a lunch meeting with Philip Mallet, FCO, at which the Strasbourg case, the operation of the Prevention of Terrorism Act, and the ill-treatment of Irish prisoners in British jails were discussed.

**P215/228** March 1977

30pp

**Notes on the Ulster Situation**

Set of notes of this title, prepared by the Ulster Unionist Party, covering the UUP and all aspects of Northern Ireland's constitution, economy, political system, and current developments and issues. Annotated by Seán Ó hUiginn, Counsellor, Anglo-Irish Division, DFA, for the PSM.

**P215/229** 26 April 1977

8pp

**Meeting between MFA and Bill Craig MP**

Draft and copy of a report by MFA of a meeting between himself and Craig in Strasbourg, mainly discussing the threatened loyalist strike.

**P215/230** 27 April 1977

1p

**Gaelic Athletic Association**

Note by an unidentified DFA official of a conversation with Seán Ó Siochain, Director General of the GAA, concerning various aspects of GAA activities and policy including:

- security arrangements for their forthcoming tour of the United States in light of threats that a Dublin player would be banned from playing in certain venues in the aftermath of events at Croke Park on 17 April;
- the events at Croke Park on 17 April when two Dublin players had assisted Gardaí in removing from the pitch demonstrators supporting the hunger-strikers at the Military Hospital in the Curragh;
- appreciation of the MFA's 'deep personal concern' with regard to difficulties at Crossmaglen GAA grounds;
- Mr Ó Siocháin's impression of a rift in the US between Noraid and 'certain Caucus people' and loss of influence on the part of Fr Seán McManus.

**P215/231** April–June 1977

4pp

**DFA contacts in Northern Ireland**

Copy confidential reports by Seán Donlon of meetings and other contacts with NI politicians and officials, including:

- telephone conversations with David Forde, NIO, 19 April 1977, concerning the progress of the Ulster Unionist Action Council demonstration that day in Portadown (1p);
- visit to Northern Ireland, 26–27 April, in the context of a threatened strike by the Ulster Unionist Action Council, during which he met David Forde, NIO; and John Hume, Gerry Fitt, Austin Currie, Paddy Devlin and other SDLP representatives;
- meetings with Devlin, Hume and Currie; and with David Forde, 9–10 June 1977 (3pp).

**P215/232** 19 May 1977

4pp

**Meeting with the Minister of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs**

Draft confidential report by Hugh Swift, Counsellor, Anglo-Irish Division, DFA, on a meeting between Mr F. Judd, Minister of State at the FCO, and the MFA, attended by DFA, FCO and British Embassy staff. Meeting reviews Anglo-Irish political relations in the light of the SAS and Strasbourg cases; the Irish Government's determination to

**P215/232**  
**contd**

abjure contact with the IRA; propaganda emanating from the USSR; and the availability of extra-territorial legislation to deal with cases where the British authorities have evidence of criminal activity.

**P215/233** 26 May 1977

1p

**Meeting with the Secretary of State for NI**

Text of an agreed statement issued by DFA following a meeting in London between MFA and Roy Mason.

'This was one more meeting in the series which take place from time to time for a general exchange of views on the political and security situation'.

**P215/234** 16 June 1977

2pp

**Meeting with Margaret Thatcher**

Letter from the London Ambassador to the Secretary General DFA, reporting a courtesy call he had made on Mrs Thatcher. The meeting was also attended by Airey Neave, Opposition Spokesman on NI.

'He [Neave] also expressed considerable confidence that Mrs Thatcher would be Prime Minister next year and that there would be an election in November'.

**P215/235** 2 July 1977

25pp

**Local elections in Northern Ireland**

Statistics and analysis of the results of the elections to the twenty six District Councils in Northern Ireland which took place on 18 May 1977. Includes a summary list by council of the distribution of seats by party; a comparison with the 1973 position; and a more detailed analysis by council of the composition of the council, its record on cross-party co-operation; and the position in the aftermath of the election.

## 2 Ireland and the European Community

### 2.1 General Material

**P215/236** May 1973, October 1975

3 items

#### **Fine Gael policy on the European Community**

Copy of 'Irish Foreign Policy', the published text of a statement by MFA to Dáil Éireann (9 May 1973, 32pp). Draft Fine Gael statement on EEC membership (1973, 1p). Note on Fine Gael policy with regard to the development of the European Community (October 1975, 4pp).

**P215/237** [1973?]

22pp

#### **Aspects of the European Community**

Typescript notes on European Community matters such as:

- DFA responsibility for confirmatory Bills and twice-yearly reports to the Oireachtas;
- the establishment of an Inter-Departmental European Community Committee;
- aspects of the common agricultural, fisheries, and regional policies;
- Mediterranean global policy;
- The Community and the Generalised System of Preferences [GSP];
- Community relations with Norway.

**P215/238** April 1973-June 1975

7 items

#### **EEC-US relations**

Material mainly concerning the proposed visit of President Richard Nixon to Europe, and US policies and public opinion on Europe.

Includes:

- letter from Roger Sorenson, US *Chargé d'Affaires* ad interim to MFA (26 April 1973, 1p) enclosing a copy of the text of a speech by Henry Kissinger entitled 'The year of Europe', delivered at an Associate Press luncheon, New York, supportive of European unity and economic integration (24 April 1973, 7pp);
- copy of the text of a speech by William Rogers, US Secretary of State, delivered to the Overseas Press Club, New York, concerning relations with Asia, the Middle East and Europe (24 April 1973, 5pp);

**P215/238**  
contd

- text of a message from Secretary of State Rogers to MFA concerning his report to Congress on American foreign policy during 1972, and his objectives for 1973 (26 April 1973, 1p);
- letter from John J. Moore, US Ambassador transmitting the text of a letter from Secretary of State Henry Kissinger to MFA concerning the growing energy crisis and proposals for financial co-operation within the OECD framework (30 December 1974, 2pp);
- report by Michael Lillis, DFA, concerning the state of public opinion in the US on the ECC. Includes a list of informed observers consulted during its compilation (30 June 1975, 17pp);
- handwritten minute by Paul Keating, DFA, for PSM on the attitude Ireland should adopt to the forthcoming visit (10 April 1973, 2pp);
- handwritten notes by MFA (3pp).

**P215/239** May 1973–March 1976

4 items

**Inter-Departmental European Communities Committee**

Notes and minutes of committee meetings and material concerning procedural matters.

Includes:

- copy of minutes of the first meeting of the Committee, which broadly discussed foreign policy implications of Irish membership of the Community. Synopses of other countries' attitudes to EEC development and enlargement are included (18 May 1973, 14pp);
- copy of a typescript note by MFA for Eamonn Gallagher on the Government's consideration of a DFA memorandum on the European Communities (Amendment) Bill and decisions taken (17 July 1973, 1p);
- note by [Eamonn Gallagher, Assistant Secretary, DFA] for MFA concerning the proposal by the Minister for the Public Service to allow civil servants to be questioned by the Joint European Communities Committee of the Oireachtas, and the basis for DFA opposition to the proposal (26 June 1974, 1p);
- copy of a confidential draft report on a Committee meeting concerning issues such as British 'renegotiations', the energy coordinating group, and Euro-Arab dialogue (18 July 1974, 18pp).

**P215/240** May 1973

2 items

**Diplomatic relations between the European Community and China**

Copy of a letter from MFA to Liam Cosgrave, Taoiseach (31 May 1973, 1p) enclosing a copy of a draft DFA memorandum (2pp) on the proposal to open diplomatic relations between China and the EEC).

**P215/241** 20 November 1973

4pp

**Disbursement of monies arising from EEC membership**

Note by Eamonn Gallagher for PSM (20 November 1973, 1p) enclosing a copy of European Communities (State Financial Transactions) Regulations, 1972 (21 December 1972, 3pp) and referring to the requirements of article eight for the correct disposal of moneys arising from EEC membership.

**P215/242** [January 1974]

2pp

**MFA speech on Ireland and the European Community**

Typescript notes for a speech by MFA entitled 'Ireland and EEC' listing the advantages and challenges of EEC membership, and the current issues facing the Community such as its relationship with US, and regional and trade policy.

**P215/243** 10 July 1974

2pp

**EC relations with Portugal**

DFA note on trade relations between the EEC and Portugal based on the free trade area agreement of July 1972, and the Portuguese wish to further extend its relations with the Community.

**P215/244** August 1974–August 1977

15 items

**Joint Committee of the Oireachtas on Secondary Legislation of the European Communities**

Copies of regular Joint Committee reports on its operations as well as occasional reports on aspects of its functioning.

Includes:

- copy of a report of an Inter-Departmental meeting held at DFA to consider the question of the type of assistance to be afforded the Joint Committee by Government departments (2 August 1974, 10pp);
- copy of a DFA note for MFA on the implications of the suggestion that all Community directives be implemented in Ireland by statutory instrument (16 May 1975, 3pp);
- note for MFA on the need for a coordinated approach by Government departments in dealing with the Joint Committee (4

**P215/244**  
contd

April 1977, 4pp) and enclosing a copy of a report of an Inter-Departmental meeting held in DFA, 4 February 1977, to facilitate an exchange of experiences about the work of the Joint Committee as it affected the work of departments (10pp);

- copy of a report on the functions and work of the Joint Committee (23 March 1977, 10pp);
- copy of a draft DFA memorandum for the Government concerning the Joint Committee's criticism of the implementation of EEC directives by administrative action, as circumventing the Committee's powers of control (April 1977, 10pp).

**P215/245** September–October 1974

20pp

**Economic measures taken by EEC member states**

Copies of communications with Irish Ambassadors in various countries concerning measures taken in those countries, mostly member states of the EEC, to counter current economic difficulties. Countries referred to include Luxembourg, Italy, Denmark, Holland, and Germany.

Includes:

- letter from Ronan Murphy, *Chargé d'Affaires*, Luxembourg, to the Secretary General, DFA, concerning Luxembourg's policies on inflation, salaries, housing, energy and government spending (11 October, 5pp);
- telexes from the Rome Ambassador concerning the Italian government's 'austerity package' (11 October, 4pp).

**P215/246** October 1974; January 1975

2 items

**Irish Presidency of the Council of the EC**

Copy of *Engagements à prévoir pour Monsieur le Président du Conseil des Communautés en ce qui concern les affaires parlementaires du 1er janvier au 30 juin 1975* (31 October 1974, 3pp). Editorial concerning the Irish presidency in *Europe Agence Internationale d'Information pour la Presse* bulletin (6–7 January 1975, 2pp).

**P215/247** 25 November 1974

2 items

**Irish Presidency of the Council of the EC**

Letter from John Lambert, Agenor, Société Cooperative, Brussels, to MFA, in the context of Ireland's forthcoming Presidency of the Council, concerning the need to strengthen EC institutions in the

**P215/247**  
**contd** face of a 'present mood of doubt' (1p) and enclosing typescript notes on relations between the Chairman of the Council and the Commission; the Chairman's speaking programme; Community and political cooperation; and COREPER (5pp).

**P215/248** December 1974

2 items

**Commission of the EC Information Office, Dublin**

Letter from Denis Corboy, Commission of European Communities Information Office, Dublin,, to MFA (12 December 1974, 1p) enclosing a copy of a memorandum (9 December, 10pp) he had sent to Seán Ronan, Director General, Commission of the EC, in reply to a report alleging difficulties in the Dublin office.

**P215/249** [1974]

29 lines

**EC Mediterranean policy**

Verse by MFA entitled 'Interim report on adjourned discussion of Mediterranean policy', written during a European meeting. Subject matter of verse refers to Mediterranean food produce.

'At a meeting of Foreign Mins,  
Decisions weren't taken about tins,  
Of apricots and mandarins, ...'

**P215/250** [April 1975]

2 items

**Functioning of the Council**

Copy of a paper on suggested improvements in the working of the Council, prepared on the basis of a mandate from the Farmleigh meeting, by the President of the Council after consultation with the President of the Commission (April 1975, 5pp). Copy of a note on the co-ordination of agricultural, commercial and regional policies in EC institutions (18 April 1975, 4pp).

**P215/251** 24 June 1975

3pp

**Protection for the Irish footwear industry**

Copy of a handwritten letter from MFA to Francois-Xavier Ortoli,

**P215/251**  
contd

President of the European Commission, concerning the formal application by the Irish Government to the European Commission to approve temporary protective measures to control imports of leather footwear to Ireland. Statistics concerning the serious decline of employment in the Irish footwear industry are included.

**P215/252** February 1976

2 items

**‘Buy Irish’ Campaign**

Copy of a letter from MFA to Liam Cosgrave, Taoiseach, concerning the wording of replies when answering Dáil questions on the ‘Buy Irish’ campaign and foreign purchases of manufactured goods by Government departments. He refers to the EEC Accession Treaty, which precludes the favouring of domestic products by public authorities, and cites the investigation by the Commission of the British Export Credit Guarantee Department demonstrating preferential treatment towards the domestic computer firm, ICL (3 February, 2pp).

Reply from the Taoiseach to MFA expressing his agreement that EEC implications must be noted when structuring Dáil replies, and stating that relevant departments have been informed accordingly (12 February, 1p).

**P215/253** 11 February 1976

4pp

**Dr Patrick Hillery, EEC Commissioner**

Transcript of an interview with the European Commissioner for Social Affairs, Patrick Hillery, on an RTÉ news bulletin, concerning the Commission’s position on the Amendment to Equal Pay Bill currently before Dáil Éireann.

**P215/254** 23 June 1976

2 items

**COREPER meeting (Comité des Représentants Permanents)**

Two notes, both marked ‘Seen by Minister’ relating to Mediterranean items to be discussed at the next Council meeting, including the Spanish application for admission:

- copy of a draft intervention by Ambassador Dillion concerning Greek accession (2pp);
- note on the meeting including discussion of implementing the Malta and Maghreb Agreements, and the UK Presidency of the Council (3pp).

**P215/255** 13–14 October 1976

2 items

**Anniversary of the Treaty of Rome**

Copy of a letter from Peter Doyle, Deputy Director, Office of the Commission of the EC, Dublin, to MFA, concerning the drafting of an article for the European Commission magazine to mark the twentieth anniversary of the signing of Treaty of Rome. An article on the effect of Community membership on Ireland by MFA is requested (13 October, 1p). Acknowledgement by Declan O'Donovan, PSM, to Peter Doyle (14 October, 1p).

**P215/256** 10 January 1977

2 items

**Tax on agricultural products**

Copy of a letter from Ambassador Brendan Dillon, Brussels, to MFA (1p) enclosing a note by Seán FitzGerald on European Commission objections to the taxation of agricultural products (2pp) and recommending that the tax be implemented if it is legally feasible to do so. Providing the European Commission with advanced information is not advised.

**P215/257** 21 January 1977

4pp

**Functioning of the Council of the EC**

Copy of a letter from President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, to Liam Cosgrave, Taoiseach, concerning proposals to improve the functioning of the Council, based on ten years experience and six meetings. In French.

**P215/258** 10 February 1977; 2 May 1977

3 items

**Appointments to senior EC posts**

Letter from Dermot Nally, Secretary to the Government, to Paul Keating, Secretary General DFA, concerning the vacancy in a Director-General post in Brussels (10 February, 1p) and enclosing a copy of a draft memorandum for the Government concerning the position where vacancies arise or are likely to arise in the more important posts in Community institutions, with suggestions for procedures within the Irish government to propose an Irish candidate for any vacancy (February, 3pp). Typescript note from PSM to MFA

**P215/258**  
contd

concerning the postponing of consideration of the memorandum by Government until the MFA's return (2 May, 1p).

**P215/259** [March 1977]

2 items

**European steel industry**

Copy of a European Council resolution on steel, expressing appreciation for the European Commission's proposals on counteracting the downturn in the industry (26 March, 1p). Notes in an unknown hand on the conditions governing European Coal and Steel Community aid under articles 54, 55 and 56 of the ECSC Treaty (not dated, 2pp)

**P215/260** April–May 1977

3 items

**Enlargement of the European Community**

Letter from John Biffen MP, House of Commons, to MFA (4 May 1977, 1p) enclosing the text of a speech he had given to the Tory Reform Group, London, concerning shifting perspectives on EEC membership and more open debate on enlargement under Margaret Thatcher (3 May, 7pp). Newscutting from *Le Monde* (4 April 1977) concerning the prospects for enlargement.

**P215/261** May 1977

5 items

**EC Court of Auditors**

MFA's correspondence concerning nominations for appointment to the EEC Court of Auditors.

Includes:

- copy of a letter from MFA to Richie Ryan, Minister for Finance, suggesting a postponement of decisions for a nomination due to the failure of other EC countries to meet the deadline. Possible names for consideration include Andy O'Rourke, Deputy Permanent Representative in Brussels and Ambassador Morrissey, The Hague. Niall Crowley is also suggested (2 May 1977, 1p);
- copy of a letter from MFA to Liam Cosgrave, Taoiseach, concerning the composition of the EC Court of Auditors, to replace the existing Board of Auditors, and the postponement of nominations until the MFA's return from Brussels and Iceland (2 May 1977, 1p).

## **2.2 Ireland and the European Community: policy and development**

**P215/262** April 1973

2 items

### **Problems of enlargement of the European Community**

Copy of a European Commission report entitled 'The regional problems in the enlarged Community'. Report features as item 16 on the agenda for the 248<sup>th</sup> meeting of the Commission (10–11 April 1973). Contents include: demographic considerations; working population and employment; regional product and income; degree and character of the principle forms of disequilibrium in regions (agricultural and industrial change) (6 April 1973, 281pp). Copy of a draft initial general statement by MFA on the report (not dated, 4pp).

**P215/263** April 1973–September 1976

4 items

### **Claude Cheysson, Commissioner for Development**

3 letters from Claude Cheysson, European Commissioner for Development, to MFA, reporting his reactions from a recent visit to Africa (13 September 1976, 4pp) and seeking MFA's reaction to an enclosed report from the Ecumenical Centre for Church and Society, Brussels, on the Lomé Convention (20 September 1976, 1p & 17pp). Letter from Denis Corboy, Dublin Office of the Commission of the European Communities, to MFA, relating his concerns about the appointment of Claude Cheysson, 'another non-political ex-diplomat', as a member of the European Commission; and reports of Patrick Hillery's participation in European Commission discussions as being 'disappointing' (18 April 1973, 2pp).

**P215/264** 13 June 1973

1p

### **Support for Irish Members of the European Parliament**

Copy of typescript note by MFA to Brendan Dillon, Assistant Secretary, DFA, in connection with a submission to the Government concerning practical and financial supports for Irish MEPs to enable them to perform most effectively.

**P215/265** July 1973

50pp

**Establishment of a European Regional Development Fund**

Copies of various documents relating to the establishment, size and regulation of the ERDF.

Includes

- copy of the proposal presented by George Thomson, Commissioner for Regional Development, for a Council regulation establishing a regional development fund (14pp);
- draft decision by the Council on the creation of a Committee for Regional Policy (7pp);
- cuttings from the *Irish Times* on the Thomson proposal and the likely size of the fund (2 items);
- Department of Finance notes on the establishment of the fund and the basis on which national allocations might be decided (16pp).

**P215/266** 30 July 1973

6pp

**Establishment of a European Regional Development Fund**

Copy of telex from E. Brennan, Brussels, to Eamonn Gallagher, DFA, concerning the contents of Commissioner Thomson's statement on proposals agreed by the Commission on three draft instruments on the establishment of a fund and its financial regulation.

**P215/267** 7–8 September 1973

5 items

**Visit to Ireland of the President of the European Commission**

Copy of a statement by François-Xavier Ortoli, President of the European Commission, given at a press conference in the Dublin Office of the European Commission, concerning his discussions with Irish Government ministers mainly concerning EC agricultural and regional policy (text mainly in French) (7 September, 15pp).

Newscuttings from Irish newspapers reporting the Ortoli visit and speculation on the amount of funds likely to be allocated to Ireland under EC regional policy (8 September, 4 items).

**P215/268** September 1973

4pp

**Regional Fund criteria**

Copy of a letter from MFA to Carlo Donat-Cattin, Minister for the Development of the South of Italy, referring to discussions they had had in Rome the previous week (September 1973, 1p) and enclosing a DFA memorandum on various mechanisms and criteria proposed for assessing eligibility for regional funding, with a view to their taking up a common position. Refers to discussions he had had with Commissioner Thomson (not dated, 4pp).

**P215/269** 15 October 1973

13pp

**Regional Development Fund proposals at the European Council**

Text of a speech by MFA at the European Council meeting, Luxembourg, concerning draft regulations on regional policy and the need to harmonize the economies of member states through effective regional development funding. The Council is to consider a report by the Chair of COREPER [Committee of Permanent Representatives] on progress made by the Working Party on Regional Policy, summarizing the main issues to emerge from an examination of the draft regulations presented to the Council by the Commission.

**P215/270** November–December 1973

4 items

**Establishment of a European Regional Development Fund**

Copies of notes and correspondence concerning the size of the regional development fund and the criteria to be adopted for allocation of the fund among member states.

Includes:

- copy of an *aide-mémoire* containing comments by the Irish government on the regional policy proposals of the EC Commission (not dated, 3pp);
- typescript note [by MFA?] on discussion with J. Oslizlok concerning a possible informal meeting with George Thomson, EC Commissioner for Regional Affairs, to discuss the issue of Ireland's share of regional development aid relative to the fund's size (8 November, 2pp);
- copy of a Department of Finance note for the Minister for Finance, to form the basis for an inter-ministerial discussion on Ireland's receipts from the proposed ERDF (10 December 1973, 1p);
- unidentified note for MFA on comparisons of GDP in EC member states (not dated, 7pp).

**P215/271** November 1973

3 items

**European Council meeting, Brussels**

MFA's brief for the meeting to be held on 6 November.

Includes:

- copy of the statement by the Chairman of the Council of Ministers on discussions on regional policy (5pp);
- notes on discussion at COREPER on procedure to be followed at Council with regard to discussion of the ERDF agenda item (6pp);
- transcript of the statement by MFA at the meeting of Council in Luxembourg, 15 October 1973 (11pp);
- copy of notes by Maurice Doyle, Department of Finance, of proceedings of the Luxembourg Council meeting (4pp);
- press reports of the Taoiseach's comments after the Luxembourg Council (4pp).

Also includes reports from the Brussels (4pp) and Paris (4pp) Embassies on the positions of the respective Governments on EC regional policy.

**P215/272** 9–10 November 1973

75pp

**Regional development in the North-West**

Proceedings of a conference in Derry hosted by the Working Party on Development in the North-West. Contains transcripts of papers dealing with demographic, industrial, and infrastructural issues.

**P215/273** November 1973

2 items

**UK Government's views on ERDF**

Typescript note by Eamonn Gallagher, DFA, concerning a meeting with Kenneth Thom of the British Embassy in relation to EC regional policy and distribution of the ERDF, which was likely to be decided at the next European Council meeting in December. Britain's steadfast position on receiving a 25% share is expressed, as well as Ireland's rejection of quotas 'based solely upon population statistics which failed to take account of variations in the intensity of regional problems' (24 November, 4pp).

Note left by Thom on the British position (22 November, 2pp).

**P215/274** 10 December 1973

33pp

**Members of the European Parliament**

Directory of members of the European Parliament and its administrative and subsidiary groupings, including the name and date of birth of each MEP (33pp). Handwritten notes by MFA of the age profile of the MEPs from each member state.

**P215/275** [1973–4?]

4pp

**ERDF spending within Member States**

Transcript of remarks by George Thompson, EC Commissioner for Regional Affairs, speaking to Myles Staunton TD, concerning the distribution of spending within each member state of its regional fund allocation, with specific reference to a percentage being allocated to the development of community resources.

**P215/276** 28 February 1974

11pp

**Dáil statements by MFA**

Copy of pages from *Dáil Debates* containing statements by MFA on EC development and the problems arising from a lack of progress on regional policy initiatives, made in response to statements by Michael O’Kennedy, Opposition Spokesman on Foreign Affairs. Specific reference is made to the various problems presented by Britain, France and Germany towards the goal of European integration.

**P215/277** 20 February 1974

21pp

**Joint Committee on the Secondary Legislation of the European Communities**

Copy of the seventh report of the Oireachtas Joint Committee on the Secondary Legislation of the European Communities on progress towards direct elections to the European Parliament, and consideration of the issue by the Joint Committee.

**P215/278** February–May 1974

18pp

**European Parliament Committee on Regional Policy and Transport: visit to Ireland, 5–8 May 1974**

Mainly correspondence, notes and a draft programme of events in preparation for the visit of the nine members of the Regional Policy Committee.

Includes a copy of a letter from MFA to the Chief of Protocol concerning problems arising from the proposed itinerary including accommodating the group in a small aircraft capable of landing on the strips proposed, as well as an overcrowded itinerary seeing the party travel to Dublin, Tralee and Shannon on the first day (20 February, 2pp). Draft itinerary and details of delegation members (8 April, 5pp).

**P215/279** July–August 1974

2 items

**Support for Irish Members of the European Parliament**

Copy of a letter from MFA to the Taoiseach (31 July 1974, 1p) concerning staffing supports for members of the Oireachtas Committee on the EC and for Irish Members of the European Parliament, and seeking discussions with him and the Minister for Finance. Reply from the Taoiseach (2 August 1974, 1p).

**P215/280** 20 August, 6 September 1974

44pp

**Direct elections to the European Parliament**

Copy of a draft report by the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament on the submission of a new convention on direct elections, rapporteur Mr S. Patijn [Patijn Report]. Report contains comments on individual articles of the draft convention, a summary of developments, 1960–73, and consideration of the main problems including electoral procedure, links with national parliaments, and transitional provisions.

**P215/281** August 1974–November 1975

10 items

**Common Agricultural Policy**

Correspondence, notes and directives on issues relating to the common agricultural policy.

**P215/281**  
contd

Includes:

- copy of a minute by Eamonn Gallagher, DFA, for MFA, on the common agricultural policy, prepared for MFA's participation in a seminar at the University of Chicago (27 September 1974, 2pp);
- copy of a message from James Callaghan, British Foreign Secretary, to MFA, referring to the issue of adjustment to the representative rate for the Green £ and Britain's position on a maximum adjustment of 7.5 percentage points and no further (18 September 1974, 1p);
- copy of a letter from MFA to the Taoiseach, concerning the reconciliation of differing opinions among Irish Government ministers on current British agricultural proposals (24 January 1975, 1p);
- copy of a Department of Lands and Fisheries memorandum on the EC directive on handicapped areas designated in Ireland under the CAP (May 1975, 3pp);
- copies of correspondence between Helmut Schmidt, Chancellor, Federal German Republic, and Francois-Xavier Ortoli, President of the European Commission, sent to the Taoiseach by Ortoli, concerning CAP agreements and a projected contract with Egypt (24 October–5 November 1975, 10pp).

**P215/282**    October 1974–February 1976

7 items

**The Tindemans Report**

Notes, reports and statements concerning European Union and the Tinemans Report.

Includes:

- note from Eamonn Gallagher to MFA enclosing a draft DFA memorandum for the Government on the Regional Policy of the European Communities (October 1974, 9pp);
- copy of a European Council confidential note on 'The 1974 Council and Regional Policy' outlining the aims of a properly comprehensive regional policy and recommending the establishment of the Committee for Regional Policy and the establishment of a Regional Development Fund (October 1974, 6pp);
- copy of a submission by the Irish Council of the European Movement to Leo Tindemans conveying their views on prioritizing integration and European Union (12 April 1975, 6pp);
- copy of the report of the EC Commission on European Union, considering the scope and nature of the Union, fields of competence, foreign and defence policy, human rights, institutional structures, and procedures for achieving union (June 1975, 68pp);
- copy of a press release by the Office of the Prime Minister of Belgium containing the text of a speech by Leo Tinedmans at the Congress of the European Movement, annotated by MFA (text in French) (5 February 1976, 19pp);
- copy of a memorandum dictated by MFA containing his

**P215/282**  
contd

observations on the Tindemans Report, for circulation to the Taoiseach and ministers in advance of a meeting that afternoon (25 February 1976, 6pp);

- copy of the publication *Agenor 57: Options from the Left* entitled 'The Anti-Tindemans Report' (February 1976, 22pp).

**P215/283**    October 1974

2 items

**German Government position on ERDF**

2 copies of a note from Eamonn Gallagher, DFA, for the Bonn Ambassador, containing an outline of the Irish position on the regional fund in light of the German Government's acknowledgement that their proposals for the fund were likely to cause difficulties for Ireland (1p each). Both annotated.

**P215/284**    October–November 1974

10 items

**Regional policy: communications with Ambassadors**

Copy of a message from DFA to Irish Ambassadors to the other eight member states of the EC, for immediate transmission to the host Government, conveying Irish objections to the Commission's proposal to reduce both the overall Regional Fund, and Ireland's allocation (20 October 1974, 1p). Typescript note by MFA of a telephone call from Commissioner Thomson concerning regional policy and the likelihood of the Commission putting forward proposals which would be accepted (30 November 1974, 1p). Series of telexes, mainly from the Rome Embassy, concerning the position of the Italian Government on regional fund policy proposals (November 1974, 7 items).

**P215/285**    5 November 1974

5pp

**Schedule of European Parliament meetings for 1975**

Note from Assistant Secretary Eamonn Gallagher to PSMFA concerning the attached draft calendar of European Parliament meetings for 1975 which has implications for the scheduling of Council meetings during Ireland's Presidency.

**P215/286** 15 January 1975

2pp

**Visit by President Ó Dalaigh to the EC institutions**

Note by John Campbell, Counsellor, Political European Affairs Division, DFA, of discussions with the Chairman of the Political Affairs Committee of the European Parliament concerning possible dates for a *colloque* between MFA and the Committee; and of a luncheon discussion with the Presidents of the Community institutions concerning the possibility of an official visit by President Ó Dalaigh to the seats of the Community institutions.

**P215/287** January 1975–September 1976

4 items

**Elections to European Parliament by direct universal suffrage**

Notes, working document and draft minutes of a European Council meeting concerning the election of members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage.

Includes:

- copy of the European Parliament draft convention on elections to the Parliament by direct universal suffrage (January 1975, 63pp);
- copy of a note on the discussions of the ad hoc Working Party instructed by the Council to examine problems connected with the election of members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage (November 1975, 20pp);
- copy of the working document for the meeting of the ad hoc Working Party designated by the Permanent Representatives Committee of the European Council to prepare a draft convention on direct elections (15 January 1976, 15pp);
- copy of an extract from the draft minutes of a meeting of the European Council concerning the election of members of the European Parliament by direct universal suffrage (September 1976, 5pp).

**P215/288** 1 February 1975

5pp

**ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé**

Detailed handwritten notes by MFA on discussions at the final negotiation session towards agreement on the convention.

**P215/289** February 1975–January 1976

4 items

**Ratification of the Convention of Lomé**

Papers relating to the ratification of the convention including:

- letter from the Secretary to the Government to PSMFA informing him of the Government decision that the convention may be signed on behalf of Ireland (25 February 1975, 1p);
- copy of a statement by MFA explaining the second aspect of the Convention which refers to the contracts of guarantee with the European Investment Bank (not dated, 2pp);
- DFA explanatory memorandum on the purpose and provisions of the Diplomatic Relations and Immunities (Amendment) Bill 1976 (January 1976, 1p).

**P215/290** April–November 1975

3 items

**European Regional Development Fund**

Mainly copies of correspondence between the Taoiseach and MFA concerning the ERDF. Also contains related correspondence between the Taoiseach and others, such as the Minister for Finance.

Includes:

- Copy of a letter from MFA to the Taoiseach concerning the submission by the Minister for Finance on the selection of projects to be submitted for ERDF assistance. MFA disagrees with the Finance approach and outlines at length his own views on how to best utilize the future possibilities of the fund (22 April 1975, 3pp);
- copy of a letter from the Minister for Finance to the Taoiseach concerning the 'gross misrepresentation' by the press of the Government's intentions in relation to the use of regional fund assistance (25 June 1975, 5pp);
- copy letter from MFA to the Taoiseach referring to a letter from Charlie McDonald TD, Chairman of the European Parliament's Regional Policy Committee, concerning the work of the Committee. MFA underlines the need to fully brief McDonald on the Government's position on the development of regional policy (28 November 1975, 2pp).

**P215/291** June–July 1975

3 items

**Protection for the Irish footwear industry**

2 telex messages to DFA concerning approaches to the Commission to secure protective measures in support of the Irish footwear industry (26 June, 1 July 1975, 1p each). Typescript note by MFA of

**P215/291**  
**contd** a discussion on the subject with Commissioner Gundelach (1 July 1975, 1p).

**P215/292** 11 July 1975

30pp

**ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé**

Published text of the Internal Agreement on the Measures and Procedures required for Implementation of the ACP-EEC Convention of Lomé; and Internal Agreement on the Financing and Administration of Community Aid. Published by the Council of the European Communities.

**P215/293** July 1975–November 1976

c300pp

**Cabinet Sub-Committee on European Regional Development Fund**

Briefing material for MFA for meetings of the Sub-Committee. While DFA has no direct role in the operation of ERDF in Ireland, it has primary responsibility for negotiations on Ireland's behalf on the size of the fund. Includes:

- copies of Finance memoranda and copies of correspondence between Commission officials, including Commissioner Thomson, and Irish Government departments;
- papers relating to decisions on projects to be submitted for consideration for ERDF funding;
- material on the presentation and content of applications;
- copy of a letter from Charlie McDonald TD, Chairman of the European Parliament's Regional Policy Committee, to the Taoiseach (not dated, 6pp) submitting 'some thoughts' to assist Government in considering policy on regional fund aid for 1976.

Also includes copies of the first, second, third and fourth applications by the Department of Finance for assistance under ERDF, containing requests for investment projects in industry, crafts and services, and infrastructural projects (January–April 1976, 98pp).

**P215/294** October 1975

4pp

**The Tindemans Report**

Copy of a note on Fine Gael policy with regard to movement towards European union. Contains an outline of the possible future development of EC structures, such as a directly elected European Parliament with significant legislative powers. Supplied in response

**P215/294**  
contd

to a request from the Tindemans'working group.

**P215/295** December 1975–August 1976

c20 items

**The Tindemans Report**

Memoranda, reports, notes and correspondence relating to the report.

Includes:

- copy of a memorandum presented by the Taoiseach for discussion at the European Council meeting in Rome, 1–2 December 1975, on the progress towards European Union and improvements in institutional processes which may be necessary (6pp);
- papers concerning consideration of the report by the Cabinet Sub-Committee on EEC Affairs including a copy of the official Belgian translation (December 1975, 41pp);
- copies of two drafts of a DFA memorandum for the Government on the Tindemans Report (February 1976, 9pp each);
- draft summary of the report prepared by DFA (11pp);
- material from Ambassadors to other countries of the Nine, summarising reaction to the report in their respective countries including an extensive report on reactions in the UK (17 February 1976, 11pp);
- copies of various draft speaking notes for the Taoiseach on the report (March 1976, 20pp);
- copies of correspondence between Liam Cosgrave, Taoiseach, and Gaston Thorn, President of Luxembourg, concerning how consideration of the report and the issue of direct elections to the European Parliament should proceed (some text in French) (23-30 April 1976, 9pp);
- official text in French of the report (116pp).

**P215/296** [1975-6]

20pp

**The Tindemans Report**

Handwritten notes by MFA, taken mainly at meetings of Foreign Ministers of the Nine considering the report. Includes notes on the reactions of various governments.

**P215/297** February–June 1976

12 items

**Direct elections to the European Parliament**

Memoranda, working papers, notes, and correspondence concerning direct elections to the European Parliament.

Includes:

- annotated draft and copy of a report on direct elections prepared for the Executive Committee of the Irish Council of the European Movement (March 1976, 17pp, 21pp);
- note by MFA on discussion with Sir Michael Palliser, UK Permanent Representative to the EC, in London. Main topics for discussion are Britain's position on direct elections and their fear that these would promote pro-devolution movements, particularly in Scotland (28 April 1976, 3pp);
- copies of two confidential FCO memoranda for the House of Commons Select Committee on Direct Elections (21 May 1976, 8pp, 4pp);
- text of a note from Anthony Crosland, British Foreign Secretary, to the foreign ministers of the other member states concerning a discussion with President Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, relating to direct elections, during the President's visit to London (28 June 1976, 2pp); together with a note by Noel Dorr on a meeting between MFA and Mr Hickman, *Chargé d'Affaires* at the British Embassy, who called to present a copy of the Foreign Secretary's note (28 June 1975, 3pp); and a note by MFA on discussions with Gaston Thorn about the 'British note' (28 June 1976, 1p).

**P215/298** August 1976–July 1977

100pp

**Fisheries policy**

Correspondence, drafts of agreements, statements, notes, and memoranda relating to the EC common fisheries policy and Ireland's challenge to Commission proposals for an interim fisheries regime.

Includes:

- transcript of an interview given by MFA to RTÉ on the previous week's negotiations on the common fisheries policy (1 August 1976, 7pp);
- typescript notes by MFA on the EC common fisheries policy and the Irish Government's fisheries development programme (October 1976, 3pp);
- copy of a report of an inter-departmental meeting hosted by DFA, on the review of the common fisheries policy (9 November 1976, 7pp);
- correspondence between MFA and Commissioner Gundelach, concerning Irish Government proposals to prohibit the use of fishing vessels of over 110 feet in certain areas within the Irish 200-mile fishery limits (February 1977, 3pp);
- draft proposal by the Commission for a Council regulation on an

**P215/298**  
contd

interim fishery regime and third country agreements for 1977 (not dated, 4pp);

- correspondence between the Taoiseach, MFA, and Paddy Donegan, Minister for Lands, concerning a misunderstanding over an 'off the record' comment made by MFA to RTÉ concerning the possible postponement of Ireland's unilateral fisheries measures if an alternative Community conservation scheme emerged (1–2 March 1977, 3pp);
- letter from the Taoiseach to the Minister for Fisheries, requesting the compilation of a paper on the Irish fisheries industry containing details of projected output, employment and investment required (19 April 1977, 2pp);
- copy of an application to the President and members of the of the European Court of Justice by the Commission of the European Communities against Ireland. Subject of application concerns the unilateral measures taken by the Irish Government in the area of fisheries conservation (12 May 1977, 30pp);
- copy of a note by MFA of a discussion with Commissioner Gundelach on whether he had secured assurances from the French and Dutch Governments that they would not send larger vessels into Irish waters while the fisheries case was being heard by the European Court (12 May 1977, 2pp);
- copy of a confidential draft resolution by COREPER to the Council on fisheries conservation (June 1977, 8pp);
- copy of a statement on fisheries by the Fine Gael Front Bench, expressing grave concern at the Fianna Fáil government's handling of EC fisheries negotiations (21 July 1977, 3pp).

**P215/299**    October 1976

13pp

**Direct elections to the European Parliament**

Copy of the Official Journal of the European Communities containing the text of the Act concerning the election of the representatives of the Assembly by direct universal suffrage.

**P215/300**    October–November 1976

6 items

**Ratification of EEC Treaty**

Mainly correspondence between the Taoiseach, George Spenale, President of the European Parliament, and MFA, concerning Ireland's ratification of the EC Treaty concerning the European Parliament's responsibility in budgetary matters and the establishment of a European Court of Auditors. Includes a copy of a letter from Spenale to Cosgrave requesting assistance in the speedy ratification by Ireland of the Treaty in time for the final adoption of the Community's 1978 budget (29 October, 2pp).

**P215/301** November 1976–March 1977

120pp

**Cabinet Sub-Committee on the European Regional Development Fund**

Correspondence memoranda, reports, notes and minutes concerning applications for regional development funding.

Includes copies of Finance notes and memoranda:

- copy of a note for the Sub-Committee on the ERDF and 1977 public capital programme, containing a broad outline of fund allocation and priorities for industrial development (not dated, 2pp);
- note on developments in the review by the European Council of the ERDF (December 1976, 7pp);
- memorandum on the identification and selection of projects for inclusion in Ireland's first 1977 application for ERDF funding (December 1976, 25pp);
- two memoranda on Ireland's attitude to the review of the ERDF (February 1977, 40pp; March 1977, 6pp)

**P215/302** 2 February 1977

2pp

**Direct elections to the European Parliament**

Copy of a note on the visit of George Spedale, President of the European Parliament, to Liam Cosgrave, Taoiseach. Issues concerning the voting system in European elections are discussed, with the question of how nationals living in different member states should be able to vote, whether by country of origin or of residence.

**P215/303** [1977]

7pp

**EC regional policy**

Memorandum by MFA on EC regional policy and regional imbalances, commenting upon the *New guidelines on Community Regional Policy* published by the Commission in February 1977.

**P215/304** 10 March 1977

9pp

**EC agricultural policy**

Copy of a Department of Agriculture memorandum for the Government containing a summary of the Commission's proposals on

**P215/304**  
contd

prices for the agricultural sector for 1977–8, and their likely effect upon Ireland.

**P215/305** 8–11 May 1977

3 items

**EC representation at the Downing Street Summit Conference on the World Economy, 7–8 May 1977**

Papers mainly concerning the modus of Community representation at the summit, attended by the British Prime Minister, the Presidents of France and the US, the Prime Ministers of Canada, Italy and Japan, and the Chancellor of the Federal Republic of Germany, at 10 Downing Street.

Includes:

- copy of a letter from MFA to Hans-Dietrich Genscher, German Foreign Minister, expressing the hope that agreement can be reached at the forthcoming European Council meeting in Rome, to have the Community represented at the summit conference to be held in London (22 March 1977, 3pp);
- text of a statement by the President of the Commission to the European Parliament, on representation of the Community at the summit and the outcomes (3pp);
- copy of the Summit Conference Declaration on international trade, support of multilateral institutions and the development of sustainable economic growth (8 May 1977, 14pp);
- copy of a statement by John Tomlinson, British Foreign Office, to the European Parliament, containing a synopsis of the summit and agreements reached (10 May, 3pp).

**P215/306** April–May 1977

7pp

**European Assembly Elections Bill**

Correspondence between the Taoiseach, MFA, and James Tully, Minister for Local Government, concerning the European Assembly Elections Bill and provisions for the description of political parties linked to parties at European level. Specific reference is made to links between Fine Gael, the Christian Democrats and the European People's Party.

Includes:

- copy of a letter from MFA to the Taoiseach outlining the effect of passing an act which may preclude Fine Gael from using the name used by other Christian Democratic groups in the European election (18 April 1977, 1p);
- copy of a letter from MLG to the Taoiseach concerning European party names and provisions for voting by residency or nationality contained in the European Elections Bill (5 May 1977, 2pp).

**P215/307** Not dated

9pp

**MFA's notes on regional policy**

Handwritten and typescript notes by MFA on regional policy, some made at unspecified meetings. Relate to issues such as convergence, regionally differentiated rates of funding, additionality, and regulation. Typescript notes also touch on questions of neutrality and sovereignty.

**P215/308** August–September 1977

7pp

**Kollekollo Conference, Denmark, 10–11 September 1977**

Correspondence concerning GFG's attendance at the conference, the second in a projected series sponsored jointly by the US Mission to the EC, and the Commission Delegation to the US.

Includes a letter from John Shearer, Deputy Head of Information, Delegation of the Commission of the European Communities, to GFG, Fine Gael Party Leader, inviting him to speak and lead a discussion on 'EC internal problems, enlargement, and new directions, such as direct elections' (8 August 1977, 2pp).

### **3 MINISTER FOR FOREIGN AFFAIRS' MEETINGS**

#### **3.1 Discussions with the Minister for Foreign Affairs in Dublin and Official Visits by Foreign Dignitaries**

**P215/309** 7 May 1973

9pp

**Discussion with John Davies on EC enlargement**

Copy of a note of discussions between MFA and John Davies, Chancellor of the Duchy of Lancaster, at a meeting in Dublin also attended by representatives of the Departments of Finance, Agriculture and Fisheries, and Industry and Commerce. Davies is visiting all Community capitals to discuss with representatives of Community governments the operation of the Community after enlargement.

**P215/310** May 1973

3pp

**Visit by the Finnish Ambassador**

Typescript note on a visit by the Finnish ambassador to MFA mainly concerning the possibility of the third stage of the CSCE conference [Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe] being held in Helsinki in July. MFA expresses doubt that the third stage would be held in July due to lack of progress. The Ambassador has Finnish proposals for insertion into the preamble to the third basket which he discusses with the MFA. Northern Ireland, neutrality and Irish attitude to the British re-negotiation are also discussed.

**P215/311** July 1973

1p

**Discussion with the President of the European Parliament**

Typescript note of a discussion between MFA and Mr Berkhouwer President of the European Parliament, 17 July 1973, during which points raised included:

- the appointment of a representative of the European Parliament;
- powers of the Parliament;
- the unwillingness of the French government to implement the terms of the Summit communiqué;
- the desirability of continuing consultations between the Presidents of the Commission, the Council and the Parliament.

**P215/312** 15 August 1973

1p

**Visit of the President of the European Commission**

Letter from MFA to An Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave concerning an approach from President Childer's Office as to whether there were matters the Government wished the President to discuss with N.F.X. Ortolí, President of the European Commission, during his visit on 7 September. MFA mentions regional policy but also raises the question as to whether they wish 'to use the President in this way'. Annotated and returned by Liam Cosgrave: 'I think it is not appropriate to get President to discuss these matters'.

**P215/313** September 1973

3 items

**Irish-Qatar oil company**

Typescript note of a conversation between MFA and Captain John Cooper, Qatar, concerning the possibility of establishing a joint Irish-Qatar oil company (3 September 1973, 5pp). Copy letter from MFA to Justin Keating, Minister for Industry and Commerce, concerning the proposal (September 1973, 1p). DFA minute concerning the meeting and oil interests in Qatar (4 September 1973, 1p)

**P215/314** 26 October 1973

3pp

**French nuclear tests**

Note by MFA on a conversation with the French Ambassador who called to DFA to present a statement of his Government's position with regard to nuclear tests, in the context of forthcoming discussion of the issue at the UN. Other matters discussed included agriculture policy and possible visits to Ireland by the French Prime Minister or Foreign Minister.

**P215/315** 8 February 1974

1p

**Jewish question**

Brief note of heads of a discussion between MFA and an unidentified Jewish group. Items considered were the clarification of policy to counter the impression that Ireland was siding with the Arabs; and that private representation be made to the Soviet Union concerning dissidents.

**P215/316** 15 March 1974

2pp

**Nomination of Italy to the UN Security Council**

Typescript note of a meeting between MFA and the Italian Ambassador concerning Italy's proposed nomination to the UN Security Council, discussed in the context of the attitude of Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, and serious division among European states.

**P215/317** 13 May 1974

3pp

**Situation in Portugal**

Briefing note for MFA on Portugal following the seizure of power by the military authorities on 25 April. Deals mainly with the attitude of the new régime to independence for Portuguese African colonies and the circumstances under which Ireland might support Portugal's admission to the Council of Europe.

**P215/318** May 1974

5 items

**Talks with the Belgian Foreign Minister**

Briefing documents and notes prepared for MFA for a forthcoming discussion with Mr Van Elslande, Belgian Foreign Minister.

Includes:

- note for the Minister on some current topics including European political co-operation; the European Union; CSCE; relations with the US; Canada, Japan, Chile and the twenty ninth UN General Assembly (3pp);
- the Middle East: present state of the Euro-Arab dialogue (1p);
- the political situation in Belgium (3 May 1974, 6pp).

**P215/319** November 1974

2pp

**Official visit of the French Prime Minister**

Schedule for the official visit of Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, accompanied by French Foreign Minister M. Sauvagnargues, 14–15 November 1974.

**P215/320** 22 November 1974

2pp

**Irish policy on Palestine**

Typescript note of a discussion between MFA and Mr Makhoul of the PLO and Mr Ryan of the Irish-Arab Society concerning Irish policy on UN votes connected with Palestine; the impossibility of the Irish Government recognising the PLO as the sole representative of the Palestinian people; the negotiating position of the PLO, particularly in relation to the recognition of Israel; and the possibility of assistance for Palestinian students seeking higher education and of nuns being available to assist in the running of a Palestinian hospital in Beirut.

**P215/321** December 1974

2 items

**Relations with Libya**

Typescript minute by the private secretary to MFA, of discussion with Senator Noel Browne concerning the Senator's contacts with Libya and the possibility of Irish technical and professional assistance being provided (1p). Typescript minute by MFA on the same subject and the inappropriateness of unofficial communications by the MFA on matters which are properly the subject of formal inter-governmental exchanges (1p).

**P215/322** 30 April 1976

2pp

**Direct elections to the European Parliament**

Typescript note by MFA on telephone discussion with Gaston Thorn's *chef de cabinet* concerning discussions with Valéry Giscard d'Estaing, President of the French Republic, regarding direct elections to the European Parliament and the Tindemans report.

**P215/323** 14–15 September 1976

2 items

**Visit by a Spanish delegation**

Typescript minute of a meeting with a Spanish delegation in Dublin mainly concerning Spain's views on an additional EEC protocol to the 1970 Agreement (14 September, 9pp). Typescript note on discussions between the Spanish delegation and MFA, outlining the main points raised including free trade and the acceptability of GATT (15 September, 2pp).

**P215/324** September 1976

3 items

**Visit by the President of the European Commission**

Letter from F. Murray, Private Secretary to the Taoiseach to Declan O'Donovan, Private Secretary to MFA, (17 September 1976, 1p) enclosing a copy of a confidential note of a meeting between himself and Mr Nally, and Mr John Goulden, British Embassy, in connection with the forthcoming visit of Mr Roy Jenkins, President-Designate of the European Commission (17 September 1976, 2pp). Copy of a Department of the Taoiseach note on Mr Jenkin's visit and discussions with the Taoiseach, primarily on the composition of the

**P215/324**  
contd

new Commission and the allocation of portfolios (27 September 1976, 3pp).

**P215/325**

December 1976

4 items

**Support for a settlement in Rhodesia**

Papers relating to discussions with US Embassy officials concerning the American request for aid to Zimbabwe.

Includes:

- letter from Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, and Anthony Crosland, UK Foreign Secretary, to MFA. Letter outlines the potential for a peaceful settlement in Rhodesia and the need for an international economic fund to support interim and independent governments. A contribution to the fund by Ireland is requested (11 December 1976, 3pp);
- copy of a proposal entitled 'International economic support for a Rhodesian settlement' including annexes summarising the state of the Zimbabwe economy and outlining possible programme areas for the Zimbabwe development fund (not dated, 20pp).

**P215/326**

May 1977

100pp

**Visit by the President of the European Commission**

MFA's brief for the visit to Ireland of Mr Roy Jenkins, President of the European Commission, 19–20 May 1977.

Includes copies of:

- the programme for the visit, a list of items for discussion and details of members of the accompanying party (4pp);
- briefing documents on the twelve subjects for discussion: direct elections; the functioning of institutions; enlargement of the Community; major international topics and follow-up to the Western Economic Summit; economic and monetary questions; Japan; political co-operation (Commission representation in the EPC framework); agriculture; fisheries; social policy; regional policy; and the co-ordination of the various Commission funds (83pp).

Ancillary material not included in the core brief consists of:

- copy of a note on fisheries received too late for inclusion in the main brief (18 May 1977, 2pp);
- copy of a telegram from the permanent representative in Brussels to Assistant Secretary Heaslip, giving a personal impression of the President's performance during his first four months in office, under the headings: general attitude to the Community; attitude on specific policies; staff appointments; and his attitude to Ireland (13 May 1977, 3pp).
- copy of a Department of Finance letter to Conor Murphy, DFA,

**P215/326**  
contd

attaching a copy of a highly confidential note of a discussion with Mr Kerr of Commissioner Burke's cabinet, concerning discussion by the Commission on the previous day of regional policy guidelines, and the probability that the proposal for a significant proportion of the regional fund to be extra-quota would be adopted. Repeated emphasis is given to the request that Irish representatives should give no indication in discussions with President Jenkins that they had received any information on the proposal being considered (19 May 1977, 1p each);

- list of items proposed for discussion with Jenkins (11 May 1977, 2pp);
- guest list for a dinner in Jenkin's honour in Iveagh House, 19 May 1977 (2pp).

### **3.2 Minister for Foreign Affairs' Visits Abroad**

**P215/327** May 1973

2 items

#### **Council of Ministers meeting, Brussels**

Note on a discussion with Michel Jobert, French Foreign Minister, concerning agricultural policy, to be further discussed later that day in the Council of Ministers. Also touches on French attitudes to the institutions of the Community and institutional reform (18 May 1973, 1p). Note on a discussion with Ivar Noergaard, Danish MFA, concerning GATT negotiations on agriculture; fisheries; NATO; Danish involvement in chairing the Council of Ministers; Northern Ireland; membership of the Commission and the European University (13 May 1973, 3pp).

**P215/328** June 1973

3 items

#### **OECD meeting, Luxembourg**

Notes by MFA of various discussions, both formal and informal, during the three days of the meeting.

- typescript copy of a note by MFA on discussions over dinner on the value of the dollar, the role of central banks, and the likelihood of Richard Nixon resigning as President of the US (6 June 1973, 2pp). Handwritten note by MFA (1p);
- note by MFA of a discussion with a young French Foreign Office official at an art exhibition, mainly concerning the line taken by Michel Jobert, French Foreign Minister, at the OECD ministerial meeting (7 June 1973, 2pp);
- note by MFA of a discussion with the Dutch Foreign Minister, mainly concerning the evolution of the Community, its

**P215/328**  
contd

institutions and procedures, and regional and agricultural policy (5 June 1973, 4pp).

**P215/329** 23 June 1973

8pp

**Meeting with Gaston Thorn**

Copy of a note by MFA on discussion with Gaston Thorn, Luxembourg Foreign Minister, mainly concerning institutional reform in the Community, Northern Ireland, the anti-American tenor of French foreign policy, and the military imbalance between Western Europe and the Soviet Union.

**P215/330** July 1973

3 items

**Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, Helsinki**

Mainly consists of notes and reports of discussions with various foreign ministers.

Includes:

- copies of reports by MFA of discussions with various ministers: Milos Minic (Yugoslavia), Michel Jobert (France), Janos Peter (Hungary), Mitchell Sharp (Canada), George Macovescu (Romania), Archbishop Augustino Casaroli (Delegate of the Holy See), Bohuslav Chnoupek (Czechoslovakia), Andrei Gromyko (Soviet Union), Stefan Olszowski (Poland), Otto Winzer (East Berlin), and William Rogers (US Secretary of State) (July 1973, 17pp);
- copy of the introductory remarks by the Chairman, including a tribute to the host country, Finland (July 1973, 20pp).

**P215/331** 9 August; 15 September 1973

3 items

**Rome**

Copy of a memorandum by Thomas Commins, Ambassador to the Holy See, concerning possible topics for discussion at a meeting between MFA and Monsignor Casaroli. Issues include divorce, contraception, education and mixed marriages (9 August 1973, 7pp). Note concerning the appointment with Monsignor Casaroli at the Secretariat of State in the Vatican, discussion of the CSCE (Conference for Security and Co-operation in Europe) and developing agreement between member states, as well as references to the current situation in Northern Ireland and difficulties caused for the Protestant population in the Republic by policy on divorce and mixed

- P215/331**  
**contd** marriages (15 September 1973, 4pp). Arrangements for the visit to Rome and a meeting with Professor Merlini, with manuscript notes by MFA (September 1973, 2pp)
- P215/332** 14 September 1973  
1 item  
**Federal Republic of Germany**  
Formal programme for MFA's visit to the Federal Republic of Germany (in German).
- P215/333** September–October 1973  
3 items  
**United Nations, New York:**  
Detailed notes by MFA, in New York to attend the UN General Assembly, on discussions with other foreign ministers and representatives of Canada, Venezuela, Cuba, Albania, Poland, Spain, UK, Yugoslavia, Israel, Lebanon, Turkey, China, India, Lesotho, Mauritania, Nigeria, Senegal, and Tunisia (October 1973, 11pp). Report of a meeting between MFA and UN Secretary-General Dr Kurt Waldheim, after signing the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights (12 October 1973, 2pp). Report of a meeting between MFA and the Chinese Foreign Minister concerning the Chinese perception of the dangers of *détente* and the continuing threat posed by Soviet imperialism (12 October, 3pp).
- P215/334** November 1973  
2 items  
**Brussels**  
Note on a luncheon meeting with Benelux foreign ministers hosted by MFA in Brussels (5 November 1973, 3pp). Incomplete copy of the text of a speech by MFA concerning Ireland's contribution to the EEC since joining (3pp, p.1 missing).
- P215/335** November 1973–January 1974  
3 items  
**EEC Summit meeting, Copenhagen**  
Copy of a letter from Paul Keating to [Donal?] O'Sullivan concerning

**P215/335**  
contd

President Pompidou's proposal for a Summit meeting in December; a possible agenda for the meeting; the issue of foreign ministers as well as prime ministers attending the Summit; and the institutionalizing of such meetings (8 November 1973, 2pp). Holograph notes by MFA on topics for discussion at Copenhagen (not dated, 7pp) and notes made after the meeting (14–15 January 1974, 5pp).

**P215/336** December 1973–March 1974

4 items

**International Energy Conference, Washington D.C., February 1974**

Material relating to the oil supply situation and conference proceedings.

Includes:

- an extract supplied by the French Embassy in Dublin, from an interview with Michel Jobert, French MFA, in the *New York Times* concerning the US and French positions on energy, in French (8 March 1974, 1p);
- copy of DFA memorandum on 'General oil supply situation and proposed allocations from 1 January 1974' concerning Irish usage and proposed reductions (19 December 1973, 4pp);
- handwritten draft by MFA of a proposal put by him to the Conference, supportive of the French position, with a holograph note from Michel Jobert passed to GFG reading 'Merci pour votre aide' (February 1974, 2pp).

**P215/337** February 1974–December 1976

50pp

**MFA's travel abroad: replies to parliamentary questions**

Mainly copies of extracts from parliamentary questions for MFA. Questions primarily focus on the cost and purpose of visits abroad by MFA. Also contains handwritten and typescript lists with details of dates, destinations, purpose and cost of visits abroad used to compile official replies (20pp). Complete list of travel undertaken by MFA, March 1973–June 1977 (5pp).

**P215/338** March–April 1974

16 items

**Political cooperation meeting, Luxembourg, and British re-negotiation of terms of entry into the EEC**

Mainly contains copies of notes and papers relating to Britain's re-negotiation of its terms of entry to the EEC, and details of

**P215/338**  
contd

discussions at the political co-operation meeting attended by MFA, 1–2 April 1974.

Includes:

- handwritten note by MFA together with a typescript transcript, of his intervention following the statement by British Prime Minister James Callaghan at the Council meeting (1 April 1974, 1p & 2pp);
- copy of a DFA note for the Taoiseach entitled 'Britain and the European Communities' containing an outline of the basis for British re-negotiations (2 April, 20pp);
- draft and copy of a note by MFA on his discussion with the British Ambassador concerning Ireland's relationship with the Community in the context of British re-negotiation, in preparation for the forthcoming meeting between the Foreign Secretary and EEC Ambassadors (18 March, 4pp);
- copy of a confidential, unidentified [British?] telex, 'UK contributions to and receipts from the Community Budget' (not dated, 13pp);
- copy of a Department of Agriculture and Fisheries memorandum on 'Re-negotiation of UK entry terms in agricultural sector' (2 April 1974, 7pp);
- HMSO publication entitled 'Renegotiation of the terms of entry into EEC', containing the text of the statement by the British Foreign Secretary at the Council of Ministers meeting, Luxembourg (1 April, 8pp);
- notes on a series of meetings on political co-operation held in tandem with the meeting of the Council of Ministers in Luxembourg, primarily dealing with consultation with third parties, mainly the US, and Europe-Arab dialogue (1–2 April, 9pp).

**P215/339** March–July 1974

c25 items

#### **United States of America**

Consists mainly of correspondence relating to arrangements for the ministerial visit to New York, Washington, and St Louis, Missouri, including correspondence with John D.J. Moore, US Ambassador to Ireland, John G. Molloy, Irish Ambassador to the US, and Eamonn Kennedy, Irish Permanent Representative at the UN.

Includes:

- correspondence concerning arrangements for MFA's visit to New York University to accept an honorary degree of Doctor of Laws; to St Louis, Missouri to attend the commencement exercises of St Louis University; and to Washington DC for a press conference at the National Press Club;
- copy of the text of a statement, supplied by the British Embassy in Washington, of a statement by John Hume, Minister for Commerce in the Northern Ireland Government, at a closed meeting with Congressional leaders (15 April 1974, 6pp) concerning fundraising in the US by paramilitary support groups

**P215/340** 18–21 April 1974

5 items

**European Council meetings, Bonn, 18–19 April 1974, and Gymnich, 20–21 April 1974**

Material relating to discussions at these meetings on EEC development and European union.

Includes:

- typescript notes by Noel Dorr, DFA Assistant Secretary, on the Political Directors' meeting in Bonn, 18–19 April 1974 (11pp);
- letter from Donal O'Sullivan, London Ambassador, to Noel Dorr, concerning discussions which occurred in Bonn after the MFA's early departure. Topics include the French Presidential election and possible dates for a British general election (24 April, 2pp). He encloses a copy of a report of a briefing by Oliver Wright, Deputy Under Secretary, Foreign Office, on discussions on the second day of the meeting of Foreign Ministers, mostly focusing on European union (24 April 1974, 4pp);
- typescript notes by MFA on proceedings of the meeting at Gymnich Castle on 20 April (8pp);
- copy of a Ministère des Affaires Étrangères *note au dossier* in French on the Gymnich meeting (22 April 1974, 4pp).

**P215/341** May 1974

22pp

**Belgium**

Briefing material for the first State visit abroad by President Erskine Childers since his inauguration, accompanied by MFA.

Includes a programme, copy of the ceremonial order, draft press release, and a list of gifts for presentation.

**P215/342** May–June 1974

3 items

**Ministerial discussions, Luxembourg, 4 June 1974**

Copy of an extract of remarks made by MFA in reply to statement by Jim Callaghan, British Foreign Secretary (4 June 1974, 4pp). Draft (3pp) and copy (2pp) of a note on MFA's contribution to the discussion at a ministerial luncheon concerning the energy crisis and Euro-Arab relations (4 June 1974). Copy of minutes of an earlier meeting with a British delegation at the DFA in Dublin, concerning the Community Budget and British re-negotiation (13 May 1974, 9pp);

**P215/343** June 1974

4pp

**Bonn, Germany**

Notes supplied by the Bonn Embassy of MFA's discussions with Karl Carstens, leader of CDU/CSU Parliamentary Group and Franz Josef Straus, leader of the Christian Social Union on 11 and 12 June 1974, mainly consisting of briefings by MFA on the situation in Northern Ireland in the aftermath of the resignation of the Executive, and the danger of the British Government withdrawing the Army.

**P215/344** May–November 1974

c100 items

**Ministerial visit to the US and Canada, and the UN General Assembly**

Preliminary correspondence with the Permanent Representative at the UN concerning the timetabling of the visit, and potentially useful meetings and contacts. Correspondence and telexes concerning the timing and content of other components of the visit to New York, San Francisco, Vancouver and Chicago with invitations from groups and institutions such as the Centre for Policy Studies at the University of Chicago and the Commonwealth Club of California, to deliver lectures or conduct seminars. Includes many letters of appreciation and of regret at his having to cancel the Chicago segment of the visit to return for an emergency meeting of the Council of Ministers.

Includes:

- copies of two reports from Eamonn Kennedy, the Permanent Representative, to Sean Kennan, Assistant Secretary, DFA, on items already included in the provisional agenda for the General Assembly, such as relief aid, atomic energy, apartheid, freedom of information (11 July, 14pp), and on UN major policy issues which might be discussed during the session (17 July 1974, 12pp);
- copies of untitled speeches on the subject of Northern Ireland (not dated, 19pp).

**P215/345** August 1974–July 1975

10 items

**Presidency of the Council of the European Community**

Handwritten and typescript tables and schedules of MFA's travel during Ireland's tenure of the Presidency of the Council (10pp).

Some general material relating to the Presidency including:

- notes by MFA containing 'some first thoughts on the Presidency' (15 August 1974, 4pp);
- notes supplied by [Seán Gaynor, Minister Plenipotentiary, London?] used as a basis for papers given at Chatham House and

**P215/345**  
contd

- the University of London, on the Irish Presidency (18pp);
- letter from Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave enclosing a copy of an extract from *Frankfurter Allgemeine Zeitung* praising Ireland's organisational skills in the hosting of the European Council (March–April 1975, 2 items);
- holograph letter from Michael Palliser, Office of the UK Permanent Representative to the EEC, to MFA offering congratulations on Ireland's handling of the Presidency (1 July 1975, 2pp).

**P215/346** [September 1974?]

2 items

**Meeting of [Foreign Ministers, Paris?]**

Holograph notes by MFA (10pp) and typescript note [also by MFA?] (16pp) of an unidentified post-Gymnich meeting of Foreign Ministers attended by Sauvagnargues (France), Genscher (Federal German Republic), Thorn (Luxembourg), Ortoli (France, President of the European Commission), Guldberg (Denmark), Van Elslande (Belgium), Hattersley (UK Minister of State) and Brinkhorst (Netherlands Deputy Minister for Foreign Affairs). Meeting concerned the discussions at Gymnich, European political cooperation, summit meetings, community institutions and regional policy. Subsequently annotated '16/9/1974 Paris'.

**P215/347** 2 October [1974]

3 items

**Meeting of the Five, Washington**

Two copies of a secret note (8pp each), one with handwritten amendments, of proceedings of a session of EEC Ministers of the Nine in Brussels to hear reports on a Meeting of the Five [US, UK, France, Germany and Japan] in Washington to discuss aspects of the energy crisis including the price of oil and the general crisis in the Middle-East. Handwritten notes by MFA (2pp).

**P215/348** October 1974

7 items

**Dinner meeting of Foreign Ministers, Luxembourg, 15 October 1974**

Papers relating to the meeting convened to discuss the forthcoming Heads of Government summit meeting in Paris. Contains notes on discussions and correspondence.

Includes:

- Two drafts (11pp, 26pp) and final version (28pp) of a report on the

**P215/348**  
contd

meeting, compiled from notes made by MFA, Paul Keating and Hugh Swift;

- correspondence between Liam Cosgrave, Taoiseach, and MFA concerning preparations for the Paris summit meeting in December (17–30 October 1974, 3 items).

**P215/349** November 1974

2 items

**Bonn**

Copy letter from MFA to Mariano Rumor, Italian MFA, reporting discussions in Bonn with Hans-Dietrich Genscher, MFA, and Helmut Schmidt, Chancellor, Federal German Republic, mainly with reference to EEC regional funding (28 November 1974, 2pp). Handwritten notes by MFA on the meetings (27 November 1974, 2pp).

**P215/350** 8–11 December 1974

4 items

**EEC Summit, Paris**

Papers relating to the meeting of Heads of Government and the Foreign Ministers of the nine Community states, and the President of the Commission.

Includes:

- holograph notes by MFA (c40pp) on the progress of meetings and discussions on economic and regional policies, unemployment and energy;
- draft (6pp) and final version (11pp) of a communiqué issued after the meeting;
- copy of a communiqué in French (3pp).

**P215/351** December 1974

2 items

**London: British renegotiations and the Irish Presidency**

Copy of a letter from Seán Gaynor, Minister Plenipotentiary, London, to the Secretary General, DFA (20 December 1974, 1p), enclosing for MFA's approval, copies he had prepared of draft notes of meetings between MFA and James Callaghan, British Foreign Secretary, and MFA and Ted Heath, Leader of the Opposition, in the context of Ireland's forthcoming assumption of the Presidency of the Council, concerning the timing of the EEC summit, the British Referendum Bill on membership of the EEC, agricultural and regional policy, Northern Ireland, and Euro-Arab relations (20 December 1974, 7pp).

- P215/351**  
contd
- Weekend contact details for the Foreign Ministers of Luxembourg, Belgium, Denmark and Netherlands (December 1974, 1p).
- P215/352**
- 8 January 1975
- 2 items
- Ministerial visit to the United States**  
Confidential DFA report (18pp) on the visit by MFA to the US and meetings with Henry Kissinger, Secretary of State, William E. Simon, Secretary of the Treasury, and other US officials. Topics discussed include the world economic situation, the price of oil, Cyprus, Northern Ireland, the Middle East, US–USSR relations, EEC development, Iran, the UN, and the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe. Telex containing the text of MFA’s note on the private part of the conversation with Kissinger, en route by limousine to a memorial service for Walter Lipman.
- P215/353**
- 28 January 1975
- 6pp
- EEC-EMMA Parliamentary Conference, Abidjan**  
Handwritten text by MFA of his address in French at the EEC-EMMA Parliamentary Conference, Abidjan.
- P215/354**
- 23 April 1975
- 8pp
- Council of Europe, Strasbourg**  
Copy of the text of a speech by MFA as Chairman of the Council of the European Communities, to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in Strasbourg concerning the respective roles of the Council of Europe and the European Community, and the place of Europe in a global context.
- P215/355**
- April 1975
- c20 items
- Bilderberg Conference, Ceşme, Turkey, 25–27 April 1975**  
Contains official report of proceedings, holograph notes by GFG, and correspondence concerning his attendance and the themes of the conference.  
Includes:

**P215/355**  
contd

- short summary of proceedings, outlining discussion on topics such as inflation and international political developments, including the Arab-Israeli conflict (22pp), together with a full report (80pp) marked 'Not for publication or quotation';
- list of conference participants (9pp);
- material from previous conferences including proceedings of the Megève Conference (19–21 April 1974, 57pp), and an analysis of the background to Bilderberg meetings by Joseph Retinger (November 1966, 36pp);
- handwritten notes by MFA (33pp), some marked 'Ceşme' and others 'Bilderberg?', but all on Bilderberg notepaper;
- copies of working papers on the Arab-Israeli conflict (17pp), international aspects of inflation (18pp) and the impact of inflation on society (20pp).

**P215/356** April 1975

2 items

**Discussions at the Bilderberg Conference at Ceşme**

Handwritten notes by MFA headed 'Paris Preparatory Conf. 4/75' on Bilderberg meetings notepaper, of discussions during the Ceşme meeting (17pp) including a handwritten draft of a telex from MFA to DFA and copied to the Washington Embassy, beginning 'Discussed Paris Preparatory Conference with Hartman, Rumsfeld, Simonet and Robert Macnamara and Senator Mathias at lunch Saturday Stop Americans puzzled at reasons for Paris result which Robinson could not clarify Stop Hartman critical of French Presidency alleging breach of Martinique understandings Stop'. Reference to the desirability of agreed positions on matters such as commodity agreements in advance of the OECD meeting in Paris in May.

Copy of a list of Bilderberg participants at Ceşme (4pp).

**P215/357** May 1975

c20 items

**Visit to the Middle East, 18–25 May 1975**

Correspondence, press releases, itineraries, and holograph notes by MFA concerning his official visit to the Middle East (Jordan, Syria, Lebanon, Egypt).

Includes:

- copy of typescript 'Summary Notes on Middle East Tour' synopsizing the main points to emerge from the tour with regard to prospects for a settlement (26 May 1975, 4pp);
- text of the statement made by MFA to the Arab League concerning the policy of the European Community and the agreement between the EEC and Israel signed on 11 May 1975 (24 May 1975, 1p).

**P215/358** 29 May 1975

8pp

**OECD Meeting, Paris**

Copy of the text of a statement by MFA on economic and development cooperation, made at an OECD Ministerial Meeting in Paris. Reference is made to inflation rates, taxation measures and rising oil prices.

**P215/359** May–July 1975

c20 items

**Official visit to Portugal**

Correspondence, notes, and itineraries for the MFA's official visit to Portugal on 1–5 June, both in his capacity as MFA and as President of the Council of the EEC.

Includes:

- typescript notes by MFA on discussions with a number of Government and Opposition politicians concerning Portugal's political development (5 June, 5pp);
- draft (4pp) and copy (6pp) of a DFA memorandum on the difficulty of an accurate assessment as to where power lies in Portugal at present (6 June 1975);
- typescript note by MFA on a visit at a later time by Victor Cunha Rego, Socialist Party activist and former *chef de cabinet* to Mário Soares, to MFA's home to discuss developments and thank MFA from Soares for his concern about their situation during his visit (12 July 1975, 5pp).

**P215/360** June 1975

12 items

**Official visit to Israel and Turkey**

Background notes and copies of reports and press statements concerning MFA's official visit to Israel and Turkey, 9–15 June 1975.

Includes:

- copy of the transcript of an interview given by MFA to Liam Hourican on RTÉ news concerning the planned visit (8 June 1975, 4pp);
- verbatim transcript of discussions between MFA and Yigal Allon, Israeli MFA, and their officials (10 June 1975, 46pp), together with a summary note of the main points made (4pp);
- copy of a transcript of MFA's press conference at Lod Airport at which he expressed his views on the Middle East conflict (11 June 1975, 3pp).

**P215/361** 24 June 1975

6pp

**European Council meeting, Luxembourg**

Copy of the draft final address by MFA as President of the Council of the European Community, at the meeting to be held in Luxembourg. Contains holograph amendments and provides a synopsis of developments during the Irish Presidency, including the signing of the Lomé Convention, Euro-Arab dialogue, and the draft convention on direct elections.

**P215/362** 25 June 1975

6pp

**EEC-Greece Parliamentary Council, Athens**

Typescript note on discussions with Prime Minister Karamanlis and Foreign Minister Bitsios after the session of the EEC-Greece Parliamentary Council. Discussion addressed the Greek application for membership of the Community and the future development of Europe.

**P215/363** 16–17 July 1975

3 items

**European Council Meeting, Brussels**

Typescript notes consisting of a record of discussions at the Council meeting on direct elections, economic and monetary issues, Portugal, the Tripartite Conference, the North/South Conference, the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, raw materials and energy (39pp). Holograph notes by MFA (24pp). Copy of a confidential note on a possible further meeting on foreign earnings containing a proposed agenda (8pp).

**P215/364** June–July 1975

6 items

**Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe, Helsinki**

Correspondence and notes concerning the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe to be held in Helsinki, 30 July–2 August 1975. Mainly relates to the visit by Soviet Ambassador Anatoly Stepanovich Kaplin, to Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave, to deliver a message from the Soviet government expressing the need to bring the CSCE to a conclusion as soon as possible.

Includes:

**P215/364**  
contd

- correspondence between the Taoiseach and MFA concerning a coordinated response to the message which had been delivered to all participating governments; and the stance taken at discussions of the Political Committee of the Nine (20 June–2 July 1975, 3 items);
- text and translation of the message from the Soviet Government (not dated, 2pp each);
- notes by MFA for the Taoiseach's discussions in Helsinki (1p).

**P215/365** August–September 1975

2 items

**Ministerial visit to Denmark, 8–10 September 1975**

Copy of a telex containing a preliminary itinerary for MFA's visit to Denmark (27 August 1975, 3pp) and copy of the official programme for the visit (8–10 September 1975, 6pp).

**P215/366** August–September 1975

4 items

**European Political Cooperation meeting, Milan, 11–12 September 1975**

Preliminary material concerning the social programme attached to the EPC meeting.

**P215/367** September–October 1975

c50 items

**Ministerial visit to the US and Canada, and the Thirtieth Session of the UN General Assembly**

Papers relating to the MFA's visit to the US and Canada, and to address a special session of the UN General Assembly, including correspondence, draft itineraries, texts of speeches, guest lists and telexes between DFA and the Washington Embassy and DFA and the UN Permanent Representative concerning detailed arrangements for meetings.

Includes:

- draft of the speech to the Special Session of the UN General Assembly concerning long and short term UN development (not dated, 14pp), together with a letter from Kurt Waldheim, UN General Secretary, (9 September 1975, 1p) regretting his absence during MFA's address and referring to his 'clear analysis of the issues before the Special Session';
- text of the speech in the General Debate at the Thirtieth Session of the General Assembly, 26 September 1975 (27pp);

**P215/367**  
contd

- text of three drafts of a speech for delivery at the Biltmore Hotel, New York on 1 October 1975, mainly concerning Irish-American relations since American independence and the present situation in Northern Ireland (33pp);
- copy of a report on talks between MFA and Allan J. MacEachen, Canadian Secretary of State for External Affairs, concerning Poland, Spain, Portugal, the Middle-East, the occupied territories, the law of the sea, Canada-EEC relations, Northern Ireland and nuclear proliferation (6 October, 22pp);
- copy of a report on a meeting between MFA and Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, concerning events in Spain, Portugal, Cyprus and Northern Ireland, as well as producer-consumer dialogue and US protectionism (7 October, 7pp);
- copy of an address by MFA to US Congressmen concerning the causes of the Northern Ireland crisis, the Irish Government's policy on Northern Ireland and concerns about the activities of the Irish National Caucus (8/9 October 1975?, 7pp);
- letters of appreciation received subsequent to the visit from public figures such as Thomas Eagleton, United States Senate, and Thomas E. Morgan, Chairman, Committee on International Relations, US Congress;
- papers relating to the election of a new Director General of the UN Food and Agriculture Organisation, to take place at the FAO biennial conference to be held in November 1975, including a copy of a DFA memorandum analyzing the strengths of the various candidates (not dated, 6pp).

**P215/368** 18–19 October 1975

c15 items

**Informal meeting of Foreign Ministers, Lucca**

Notes consisting of a record of discussions at the meeting concerning the Tindemans report, direct elections, the North/South Conference, Euro-Arab dialogue, the Middle East, Cyprus, the Monetary Conference and the CSCE (67pp). Holograph notes by MFA (20pp).

**P215/369** 1–3 December 1975

10 items

**European Council Meeting, Rome, 1–3 December 1975**

Contains holograph notes by MFA, memoranda, correspondence, and briefing notes.

Includes:

- copy of a DFA memorandum for the Government on matters for discussion at the Council meeting (25 November 1975, 15pp);
- part of MFA's brief for the meeting (13pp);
- copy of a memorandum presented by An Taoiseach, Liam Cosgrave, for discussion at the meeting concerning economic

**P215/369**  
contd

- integration (4pp);
- copy of a note on the British claim for a separate seat at the International Economic Co-Operation Conference (5pp);
- copies for the information of DFA of correspondence between An Taoiseach and Belgium Prime Minister, Leo Tindemans, concerning topics for discussion at the meeting (mainly in French) (22–28 November, 19pp);
- speaking notes for An Taoiseach on direct elections (2pp), a European passport (1p), and the Tindemans report (1p),
- handwritten notes by MFA on proceedings (45pp).

**P215/370**

15–17 December 1975

13pp

**Ministerial visit to the Netherlands**

Official programme for MFA's visit to the Netherlands, including meetings with M. van der Stoep, Minister for Foreign Affairs, Th. L.M. Thurlings, President of the First Chamber of the State-General, and J.M. den Uyl, Prime Minister.

**P215/371**

3 January 1976

22pp

**Association for Contemporary European Studies, Lancaster University**

Typescript notes on proceedings of the Sixth Annual Conference of the Association for Contemporary European Studies, Lancaster University, in which MFA participated. Discussion covered the Cold War, US-Europe relations and NATO.

**P215/372**

February–March 1976

12 items

**Ministerial visit to the US, 16–23 March 1976**

Programmes, correspondence, notes, telexes and press statements arising from the visit of MFA to the US, accompanying the Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave, and Justin Keating, Minister for Industry and Commerce.

Includes copies of two drafts of a joint declaration by the Taoiseach and President Ford, condemning all organizations involved in campaigns of violence (17 March 1976, 2pp each) and a copy of typescript notes on those aspects of the talks between the Taoiseach and President Ford likely to be of interest to ambassadors of the Nine, concerning US protectionism (17 March 1976, 2pp).

**P215/373** 31 March–6 April 1976

3 items

**EEC Summit, Luxembourg**

Mainly notes on discussions concerning inflation, unemployment, direct elections, the Tindemans report and defence.

Includes:

- note on a telephone conversation between MFA and Max van der Stoep, Dutch Foreign Minister, concerning a possible agenda, and the prospect of a negative French attitude to issues, in particular the Tindemans report (31 March, 3pp);
- notes on discussions amongst Foreign Ministers and after dinner talks with Heads of Government concerning Lebanon, Cyprus, Rhodesia, defence and détente (1 April, 11pp);
- detailed typescript note of the meeting and discussions in particular on economic and budgetary problems, direct elections to the European Parliament, and the Tindemans report (44).

**P215/374** April 1976

8 items

**Conference on the Development of Democratic Institutions in Europe, Strasbourg, 21–23 April 1976**

Government Information Service press release of the inaugural address by MFA to the Conference, concerning democracy, human rights, EEC structures and judicial systems (21 April, 14pp).

Newscuttings from the *Irish Times* and *Dernieres Nouvelles d'Alsace* concerning the MFA's remarks on maintaining democracy and on delays in Ireland's case against Britain before the European Court of Human Rights (22 April 1976, 4 items).

**P215/375** April 1976

12 items

**Official visit to Austria, 21–24 April 1976**

Notes, correspondence, itineraries and newscuttings relating to the MFA's official visit to Austria.

Includes:

- typescript note on discussions between MFA and Chancellor Bruno Kreisky concerning the Presidency of the Socialist International and Conor Cruise O'Brien's candidacy, the Middle East and East-West relations (26 April, 6pp);
- copy of a detailed minute of the whole visit by the Ambassador to Austria, with specific reference to discussions between MFA and Austrian Foreign Minister Erich Bielka, covering subjects such as CSCE and *détente*, relations with individual East European countries, Ireland and Eastern Europe, EEC-Comecon, the

**P215/375**  
contd

Council of Europe, the European Convention on Terrorism, North-South dialogue, and Austria and the EEC (29 April, 25pp);

- DFA briefing note on the Austrian political and constitutional position and permanent neutrality (not dated, 4pp).

**P215/376** 25–27 April 1976

8pp

**Maghreb visit, 25–27 April 1976**

Three sets of notes by MFA on political discussions during his visit to Maghreb. Contains details of a visit to Tunisian Foreign Minister Habib Chatti by MFA and Gaston Thorn, Luxembourg MFA, and discussions with Chatti concerning the Middle East situation; discussions with Foreign Minister Abdelaziz Bouteflika in Algeria concerning the Palestinian conflict, Northern Ireland and the IRA; and discussions with Dutch Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs Laurens Jan Brinkhorst and Gaston Thorn concerning EEC fisheries policy, direct elections and the Tindeman Report.

**P215/377** [3 May?] 1976

1p

**European Council**

Holograph note by MFA taken at an unidentified European Council meeting concerning aid to Machrek. Contains calculations for the original and revised proposals by the Commission.

**P215/378** 14–15 May 1976

4 items

**Informal meeting of Foreign Ministers, Senningen, Luxembourg**

Notes on proceedings of the meeting, including discussions on Greek membership, the Tindemans report and direct elections.

Includes:

- handwritten notes by MFA on key issues in discussion, with some notes tentatively identified by himself at a later date as to the relevant meeting (27pp);
- typescript summary of proceedings and notes on the Tindemans report (25pp);
- confidential note on discussion before the opening of the meeting (3pp);
- secret note on discussion on direct elections (4pp).

**P215/379** 12–13 July 1976

3 items

**European Council Meeting, Brussels**

Confidential minute of proceedings (23pp). Handwritten notes by MFA (2pp). Note on discussion of the economic situation (1p).

**P215/380** 8 September 1976

4pp

**Amsterdam**

Typescript note by MFA on discussions with Max van der Stoep, Dutch MFA, concerning Portugal's intention to apply for EEC membership and Spain's future application; the political situation in Turkey, Greece and Cyprus; conflicts in the Middle East and South Africa; the Tindemans report; and fisheries policy.

**P215/381** September–October 1976

c30 items

**New York, Thirty-first UN General Assembly 25 September–6 October 1976**

Correspondence, notes, reports, newscuttings, press releases, itineraries and programmes arising from MFA's attendance at the thirty-first session of the United Nations General Assembly and related meetings in New York. Contains much briefing, draft and background documentation for resolutions on the rights of disabled persons, torture and inhuman or degrading treatment, and Namibia  
Includes:

- two typescript drafts of MFA's contribution to the general debate at the General Assembly, concerning developments in global communication, UN's general aims, disarmament and decolonisation (not dated, 7pp, 8pp);
- draft paragraphs for MFA's speech supplied by the Economic Division, DFA (2pp);
- copies of memoranda by Eamonn Kennedy, Permanent Representative at the UN, on the PLO and the UN (September 1976, 6pp) and the UN and disarmament (September 1976, 6pp);
- DFA note for MFA on Irish claims for reimbursement of costs incurred in supplying contingents for UN forces (5 October 1976, 5pp);
- text of the address of the President of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities to the General Assembly (9pp);
- Text of an address by MFA to the National University of Ireland Club, New York, on the US and Europe (12pp);
- typescript report by Edward Smyth on US media reaction to MFA's visit to New York and Connecticut (21 October 1976, 6pp).

**P215/382** November 1976

3 items

**European Council, The Hague, November 1976**

Reports and notes from the European Council meeting at The Hague. Contains a statement on economic growth, inflation and employment. Typescript summary of proceedings covers the following subjects: the economic and monetary situation, relations with Japan, North/South dialogue, the Tindemans report, international terrorism, and monetary compensation amounts. Includes a copy of the report given by the Commission President on the economic situation (2pp).

**P215/383** [28–30 November 1976?]

41pp

**European Council, The Hague, November 1976**

Holograph notes by MFA taken at European Council meeting at [The Hague?] concerning issues such as political cooperation, economic downturn, inflation, and relations with the US and USSR.

**P215/384** 26 November 1976

8pp

**Paris**

Note of a meeting between MFA and French Foreign Minister Louis de Guiringaud in Paris in advance of a European Council meeting. Discussion concerned the effect on Ireland of the existing system of monetary compensatory charges on agricultural trade.

**P215/385** November–December 1976

c20 items

**Official visit to the Soviet Union, 14–20 December 1976**

Reports, correspondence, press statements, itineraries and programmes arising from the MFA's visit to the Soviet Union, the first official visit there by an Irish Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Includes:

- copies of political reports from the Moscow Embassy on changes in the Soviet attitude towards the European Community, on Sino-Soviet relations, on a visit by General Secretary Brezhnev to Belgrade, and on the Soviet warning to Austria against an arms deal with Israel;
- letter from Michael Harty, Bishop of Killaloe and President of the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace, to MFA, in light of MFA's

**P215/385**  
contd

forthcoming visit, expressing the Commission's concerns about restrictions on freedom of conscience and religion imposed by the Soviet Government (10 December, 2pp);

- text of an address by MFA during the visit concerning bilateral relations, expansion of trade links, the Helsinki Conference and disarmament (16 December, 4pp);
- copy draft and final text of a joint communiqué issued after talks between MFA and Foreign Minister Gromyko (6pp).

**P215/386** November 1976-January 1977

12 items

**France: International Peace Academy Seminar, Menton, 9–11 January 1977**

Documents relating mainly to MFA's participation in the seminar primarily relating to Northern Ireland and organized by L'Academie Mondiale pour la Paix.

Includes:

- copy of a letter from Pierre Joannon, Consulat d'Irlande, Antibes, and a member of L'Academie, to John Hume, issuing an invitation to participate in the debate on the topic of the Northern Ireland conflict (24 December 1976, 2pp);
- letter from Pierre Joannon to MFA, issuing an invitation to the seminar and outlining the background to L'Academie Moniale pour la Paix (23 November 1976, 2pp).

**P215/387** February–May 1977

20 items

**Visit to Washington, 14–18 March 1977**

Consists mainly of routine material relating to arrangements for travel and accommodation but including:

- minute by the accompanying DFA official of discussions between MFA and Secretary of State Cyrus Vance, on Northern Ireland, US foreign policy, the Soviet Union, South Africa, the proposed summit conference in London in May 1977, the world economic situation and student exchange programmes (17 March, 15pp), as well as the text of a joint statement issued after the meeting (2pp);
- draft of a speech on Northern Ireland to be delivered by MFA at Georgetown University (not dated, 18pp).

**P215/388** 8 March 1977

2 items

**European Council Meeting, Brussels**

Note for Item 1 for discussion during the restricted session – the visit of the UK Prime Minister to Washington (1p); and for Item 3 – the forthcoming Economic Summit and the question of Community representation (3pp).

**P215/389** 24–26 March 1977

7 items

**European Council meeting, Rome**

Correspondence, notes, drafts of statements and record of proceedings of the Council meeting.

Includes:

- correspondence and copies of correspondence between European leaders including Liam Cosgrave, Jim Callaghan, Helmut Schmidt and Anker Jorgensen concerning the organization of the business of the Council meeting (February–March 1977, 20 items);
- letter from Robert van Schendel, Secretary General of the European Movement, to Cosgrave, enclosing a copy of a memorandum on the development and aims of the European Movement (15 March 1977, 11pp);
- typescript notes by MFA for a media briefing on the topics discussed, such as economic affairs, North/South dialogue, iron and steel industries, the new administration in America, Community enlargement, human rights and Northern Ireland (26 March, 4pp);
- incomplete record of proceedings (32pp, first pages missing) and handwritten notes by MFA (12pp);
- draft and agreed text of a statement on growth inflation and employment (25 March, 2pp each);
- copy of the Council resolution on steel (26 March, 1p).;
- programme of events for the Irish delegation (12pp).

**P215/390** March–April 1977

c20 items

**Official visit to Spain, 29 March–1 April 1977**

Mainly concerning travel arrangements, and engagements for the visit but containing also a wealth of briefing material on Spanish politics, culture and the economy.

Includes:

- *aide-mémoire* on the Tenerife project and Aer Lingus Espana's development of a resort in the Los Gigantes area (25 March, 3pp);
- copy of the programme for the visit (29 March–1 April, 3pp);

**P215/390**  
contd

- copy of confidential notes of a working session between the Irish delegation and Spanish foreign ministry officials. Topics covered include European integration, South America, the Middle-East, the US, NATO, cultural relations, and the EEC (7pp).

**P215/391** April 1977

c25 items

**Bilderberg Conference, Torquay, England, 22–24 April 1977**

Material dealing with preparations for and proceedings of the conference, dealing with North American and European attitudes towards the future of mixed economies in Western democracies and towards the demands of the Third World for a restructuring of the world order.

Includes:

- newscutting from *The Times* concerning the Bilderberg group by Caroline Moorehead entitled 'An exclusive club, perhaps without power, but certainly with influence' (18 April, 1p);
- typescript transcript of detailed notes by MFA of proceedings on the two days he attended (33pp); handwritten notes (20pp);
- list of participants (9pp);
- copies of working papers on the attitude of European countries to Third World demands for a reframing of the world order (13pp), developed countries reaction to calls for a new international economic order (17pp), comments on the European experience of the mixed economy (17pp) and problems in the mixed economy (17pp).

**P215/392** May 1977

18 items

**Official visit to Iceland, 4–7 May 1977**

Material relating to travel arrangements, newscuttings and correspondence arising from the visit to Iceland.

Includes:

- cuttings from Icelandic newspapers concerning MFA's various engagements (4–6 May, 10pp);
- copy of a draft programme for the visit, including meeting with Icelandic President, Dr Kristjan Eldjarn (4–7 May 1977, 2pp).

**P215/393** 21–22 May 1977

c20 items

**Informal meeting of Foreign Ministers, Leeds Castle, 21–22 May 1977**

Containing papers, notes, programmes and proceedings of meetings concerning Community enlargement.

Includes:

- programme for the meeting (10pp);
- note on 'Points for decision respecting the Council on 21 June' (1p);
- DFA brief for the Minister consisting of a chronology of events, a note on the international lending operation for Portugal, background papers, and preliminary papers prepared in connection with an interdepartmental study on enlargement (50pp);
- brief entitled 'Enlargement of the Community and EPC' considering the political aspects of Portuguese and Greek accession (February 1976–January 1977, 26pp);
- copy of a confidential Foreign Office note, circulated to participants after the meeting, recording unattributed discussion on enlargement (14pp).

**P215/394** 21 June 1977

24pp

**European Council meeting, London, 21 June 1977**

Handwritten notes by MFA on conference proceedings.

**P215/395** June 1977

200pp

**Organisation for Economic Co-Operation and Development meeting, Paris, 23–24 June 1977**

Brief for the OECD meeting in Paris. Including draft agenda, administrative arrangements and draft communiqué by ministers. Note on the cover states that the meeting was missed due to Liam Cosgrave's resignation on 22 June 1977.

### 3.3 Meetings in Dublin during Ireland's Presidency of the Council

**P215/396** 11–12 March 1975

c20 items

#### **Meeting of Heads of Government, Dublin, 11–12 March 1975**

MFA's papers from the meeting containing notes on proceedings, briefing documents, and draft declarations.

Includes:

- brief for the meeting, on the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, containing a draft press statement, report of the political committee on the main questions arising at the CSCE, summaries of the background to CSCE, glossary of terms, and background note (50pp);
- draft speaking notes for the Taoiseach's opening remarks (5pp) and for the discussion on Britain's membership of the Community (3pp);
- confidential briefing notes on European political cooperation in the context of Cyprus, Euro-Arab dialogue, Ethiopia, Cambodia and the middle east (15pp). Labelled 'Subjects which may arise under agenda item *Questions d'actualité*;
- copies of draft declarations on the CSCE, on the economic and social situation, and on the budgetary mechanism (15pp);
- papers on budget proposals (6pp) with handwritten notes by MFA (12pp);
- secret typescript notes on discussions by Foreign Ministers and Heads of Government on the CSCE, after dinner on 10 March 1975 (11pp).

**P215/397** 12–13 April 1975

7 items

#### **Informal meeting of Foreign Ministers, Farmleigh, 12/13 April 1975**

Papers relating to arrangements for the meeting, proposed topics for discussion and related correspondence.

Includes:

- accounts of discussions between foreign ministers on topics such as the EEC, a proposed British initiative on the supply of raw materials at the forthcoming Commonwealth Conference at Kingston, the Middle-East, Vietnam and Portugal (23pp);
- draft and copy of a record of discussions (23pp each);
- copy of a summary of MFA's off-the-record press briefing following the week-end;
- correspondence between DFA and various foreign ministers concerning their attendance (16pp).

## 4. DEPARTMENT OF FOREIGN AFFAIRS

### 4.1 General Concerns

**P215/398** 29 October 1973

1p

**Apartheid**

Newscutting from the *Irish Times* concerning MFA's call to reject apartheid.

**P215/399** March 1974; January 1975

4 items

**British Government foreign policy**

Copy of an article by Mark Arnold-Foster in the *Guardian* concerning the Labour Government's foreign policy (13 March 1974, 1p); and copies of non-attributable background notes supplied by various UK Government departments including the Foreign Office, on topics such as the Conference on Security and Co-operation in Europe, international oil supplies, MBFR (Mutual Reduction of Forces and Armaments and Associated Measures in Central Europe), the Atlantic Alliance, and Rhodesia (March 1974, 6pp).

Texts of statements arising from the official state visits of British Foreign Secretary James Callaghan, to Zambia, Botswana, Malawi, Tanzania, Kenya and Nigeria (January 1975, 8pp)

**P215/400** 1973–5

16 items

**Consular**

Mainly correspondence concerning passports, visas, citizenship, the transfer of human remains to Ireland and other general representations.

Includes copies of a confidential selection of summaries of political reports received by DFA from ambassadors in Madrid, Moscow, Vienna, and New York (March 1977, 6pp).

**P215/401** 1973–6

10 items

**Cultural affairs**

Mainly correspondence regarding cultural events and exchange programmes.

Includes:

- letter from Robert McDonagh, Ambassador to the German Federal Republic, to Noel Dorr, Assistant Secretary, concerning a proposed cultural agreement between Ireland and Germany (16 October 1974, 1p); and a copy of the proposed agreement based upon the teaching of German in Irish schools, teacher and student exchange programmes and scholarships (1974, 6pp);
- departmental correspondence concerning possible nominees for the Cultural Relations Committee (28 May 1974, 2pp)

**P215/402** 1973–5

5pp

**Diary file**

Holograph notes by MFA concerning arrangements for meetings abroad including an EEC meeting in Brussels (11 December 1973, 2pp).

**P215/403** April–May 1977

3 items

**Diplomatic relations; Holy See**

Papers relating mainly to criticism from Church sources at the conditions of IRA hunger strikers in Irish prisons.

Includes:

- letter from the Taoiseach, Liam Cosgrave, to MFA expressing concern at statements made by the Bishop of Derry, Edward Daly, on Irish prison conditions. The Taoiseach is in favour of raising this concern with the Church authorities through the Ambassador to the Holy See. The question of a likely successor to Cardinal Conway as Archbishop of Armagh is also raised (27 April, 1p);
- copies of telexes between the Ambassador to the Holy See, Gerard Woods, and Assistant Secretary Donlon, concerning an *appunto* from the Sostituto, Msgr Benelli, raising concerns about the treatment of hunger strike prisoners in Portlaoise and the Curragh (6–12 May, 7pp);
- draft handwritten statement by MFA on behalf of the Government, on the wording of a *démarche* by the Holy See which seemed to accept ‘propaganda statements of convicted criminals engaged in a conspiracy to discredit the Government’ (not dated, 2pp).

**P215/404** September 1973–August 1976

4 items

**Diplomatic relations**

Papers relating to a re-assessment of Irish foreign policy and the appointment of the Iranian Ambassador to Ireland.

Includes:

- copy of a memorandum from MFA for Government meetings on 4 and 5 September 1973, containing an assessment of Irish foreign policy, including Northern Ireland policy, relations with other European countries and the US, and defence policy including Ireland's relations with military alliances (3 September 1973, 10pp);
- draft of the memorandum by MFA (1 September 1973, 8pp) together with comments from an unidentified source (2pp);
- correspondence between MFA and the Taoiseach, Liam Cosgrave, concerning unsatisfactory aspects of the accreditation of Ahmad Eghbal as Iranian Ambassador to Ireland in view of his residence at The Hague (27–31 August 1976, 6pp).

**P215/405** 24–5 April 1973

3 items

**Diplomatic relations**

Material relating to General Ghadafi's interview in *Le Figaro* expressing his support for the IRA.

Includes a copy of a letter from MFA to the Taoiseach, referring to Ghadafi's comments and suggesting that contact should be made with the Libyan government, clarifying the Irish Government's position on the IRA and leaving 'them under no illusions as to who is the Irish Government' (25 April 1973, 1p).

**P215/406** 1973–4

4 items

**Diplomatic relations: USSR**

Material concerning the development of diplomatic links with the USSR, possible trade agreements, and US concerns.

Includes

- copy of a letter from Justin Keating, Minister for industry and Commerce, to MFA concerning the advantageous trading relations which could be established with Eastern European countries if diplomatic relations improved (30 March 1973, 1p);
- typescript minutes of discussions between MFA and various foreign ministers including Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko, in Helsinki (July 1973, 17pp);
- letter from Paul Keating to MFA concerning a request by the US

**P215/406**  
contd

Ambassador to Ireland for a meeting with the Taoiseach to express US concerns that the Russian Embassy in Ireland may provide a base for spying on US 'installations' in Britain and Western Europe (27 August 1974, 2pp).

**P215/407** 1974–7

15 items

**Emigrant welfare**

Correspondence between MFA and the Taoiseach concerning the Irish Episcopal Commission and funding for Irish emigrant centres in Britain, particularly the Irish Centre, London.

Includes a copy of a minute of a meeting between the Taoiseach, the MFA, and representatives of the Irish Episcopal Commission for Emigrants (6 February 1974, 4pp).

**P215/408** 1973–5

15 items

**Establishment: DFA staff and office management**

Correspondence concerning routine DFA staffing and equipment issues. Includes general material concerning the procedure adopted for the filling of a vacancy at Assistant Principal grade including correspondence with the Civil Service Executive Association.

**P215/409** November 1976

5pp

**Exports**

Copy of a DFA circular letter issued by Secretary General Paul Keating concerning the promotion of export earnings by the DFA. Topics covered include procedures to be implemented by missions; importance of local contacts; market situation reports; and public contracts.

**P215/410** 1974–6

15 items

**Finance**

Material concerning DFA estimates with particular reference to expenditure and pay costs, staffing and allowances.

Includes:

**P215/410**  
contd

- copy of a letter from MFA to the Taoiseach, concerning equal pay in public services with suggestions for the elimination of pay differences based on gender (19 January 1976, 2pp);
- correspondence between MFA and the Taoiseach concerning possible cuts in DFA's expenditure (10 June 1976, 12pp).

**P215/411**    May 1977

4pp

**Fine Gael**

Copy of a Fine Gael publicity document entitled 'The National Coalition- 4 Years at Work- Foreign Affairs' containing a summary of achievements by DFA since 1973. Topics covered include Northern Ireland, EEC, UN, relations with other countries, human rights, and development and co-operation aid.

**215/412**    April–May 1973

2 items

**Government memoranda**

Draft by MFA of a memorandum for the Government entitled 'Basis of Ireland's Foreign Policy' urging a comprehensive policy review (30 April 1973, 18pp). Further draft of a memorandum for a meeting of Government on 8 May 1973, consisting of a comprehensive general review of Irish foreign policy.

**P215/413**    July–September 1974

4 items

**Invitations**

Correspondence concerning the MFA's outstanding invitations in London. Three invitations to address organizations are mentioned: the Foreign Press Association, the United Ireland Association and the Mid-Atlantic Club.

**P215/414**    1976

2 items

**Iveagh House**

Instructions for the emergency evacuation of DFA at Iveagh House and Earlsfort Terrace (20 December 1976, 3pp). Document entitled 'Short History of Iveagh House' outlining previous occupants and

**P215/414**  
contd listing the sculptures and paintings on display in the reception area (not dated, 4pp).

**P215/415** 8 April 1973

1p

**Markpress**

Copy letter from MFA to the Taoiseach, expressing concern at a statement made by Markpress beginning, 'The Irish Government is likely to deliver a stiff protest to Libya if it is proved that...' The issue of procedure for Markpress to clear such statements in advance is raised.

**215/416** 18 June 1973

2pp

**Personnel: appointment as MFA**

Copy of letter from GFG to An Taoiseach concerning his continuing involvement in external organizations and bodies since his appointment as MFA. A list of all activities is provided, with the comment that he is willing 'to terminate any of these should you feel that there might be any clash with my responsibilities as Minister'. A question regarding the acceptance of fees for radio and television appearances is also raised.

**P215/417** 1973–4

30pp

**Personnel: Irish representatives at home and abroad.**

Handwritten notes by MFA on the appointment and movement of Ambassadors (not dated, 12pp). Lists of representatives abroad (March 1973, 18pp).

**P215/418** [1973–5]

10pp

**Personnel: vacancies and appointments**

Material mainly concerning ambassadorial appointments.

Includes:

- copy of a letter from MFA to the Taoiseach, concerning agreement on proposed diplomatic postings (25 May 1973, 1p);
- confidential list of proposed ambassadorial appointments

**P215/418**  
contd

requiring a government decision. Present occupants and proposed appointees are given (not dated, 4pp).

**P215/419** May–June 1973

3 items

**Personnel: DFA junior minister**

Draft DFA memorandum for the Government on 'Proposal for a Minister of State for the Department of Foreign Affairs' (June 1973, 3pp). DFA note on 'Need for Junior Minister in the Department of Foreign Affairs' (not dated, 3pp). Incomplete handwritten note by MFA (1p).

**P215/420** March 1973

4pp

**Personnel: administration**

Organisational charts for the following DFA divisions: administration, economic, political and cultural, Anglo-Irish and information.

**P215/421** July 1975–April 1977

70pp

**Press coverage**

Copies of a digest of foreign press coverage of Ireland. Consists of reports received by the Information Section of DFA, mainly of British and US press coverage of events in Northern Ireland.

**P215/422** April 1974

6pp

**Reception**

Minute for the PSMFA on the reception being hosted by DFA on 25 April 1974 in honour of the Leprosy Mission Centenary including suggested guest list for the reception at Iveagh House (25 April 1976).

## **4.2 Communications with Ambassadors and Consuls**

**P215/423** 16–19 April 1973

c60 items

### **Conference of Heads of Mission**

Confidential papers relating to the Conference convened by MFA in Dublin to consider all aspects of Irish foreign policy and the structure and operation of DFA. Includes briefing material circulated to participants as well as some record of proceedings.

Preparatory material includes:

- material on policy areas such as the evolution towards Europe, and Irish and European attitudes to the rest of the world (40pp), with additional papers on the Commission on Security and Cooperation in Europe (7pp), on EEC aspects of policy issues (15pp) and on development aid (6pp);
- material on the status of the Council of Europe and its relations with the EEC, European Community coordination procedures, and Irish representation abroad and on European institutions (30pp);
- papers relating to Northern Ireland including a consideration of the present position and the White Paper, and the development of North-South relations on an institutional basis (11pp);
- memorandum on the structure and organization of DFA at home and abroad (26pp);
- summaries of responses of Heads of Mission under the various policy headings: the evolution of Europe towards unity and European and Irish attitudes to non-European countries (29pp); Ireland's role in UN (12pp); aid to developing countries (17pp); foreign earnings (4pp); and Northern Ireland (19pp).

Material relating to proceedings includes:

- papers relating to a conference dry run (6pp);
- the text of introductory remarks by MFA (3pp) as well as remarks at the beginning of the discussion of policy issues (9pp);
- a minute of proceedings of the first morning's session (13pp);
- holograph notes by MFA including summaries of points made by individual participants (90pp).

**P215/  
424-449**

Series of files of correspondence and related papers, mostly routine, between Irish embassies and the DFA, usually Declan O'Donovan, Private Secretary to MFA. Most files begin with a copy letter from the newly appointed MFA to the ambassador, thanking them for attending an informal conference with the Minister in Ireland. Recurrent items include routine correspondence concerning an informal weekend meeting in Dublin of Foreign Ministers of the Community (12–13 April 1975) to be held at Farmleigh during the Irish Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

**P215/424** May 1975

3 items

**Beirut**

Ambassador Eamonn Ó Tuathail

Mainly concerning the work of the United Nations Relief Works Agency (UNRWA) with a letter from J.S. Rennie, Secretary General, UNRWA Headquarters, Beirut, to Ó Tuathail (19 May 1975, 1p) thanking him for the offer of a meeting with the MFA while the Minister is in Beirut and enclosing an *aide-mémoire* on EEC aid to UNRWA (17 May 1975, 2pp) and on UNRWA's programmes (not dated, 3pp).

**P215/425** April 1973–November 1975

18 items

**Belgium**

Ambassador Brendan Dillon

Routine correspondence concerning arrangements for an informal meeting of members of the Council of Ministers in Dublin (March 1974, 4 items). Correspondence concerning a possible screening of *Five Minutes to Midnight*, a BBC film on world poverty, to a meeting of members of the Council of Ministers (September–November 1975, 12 items).

**P215/426** April 1973–December 1975

12 items

**Berne**

Ambassador William Warnock

Mainly concerning the presentation by the ambassador on behalf of the MFA of a present of books to Professor Leo Sachs, Dean of the Faculty of Biology, The Weizmann Institute of Science, Rehovot, Israel, who had hosted a dinner for the minister during his visit to Israel in June 1975.

**P215/427** April 1973–May 1977

20 items

**Bonn**

Ambassador Seán Ronan/Ambassador Robert McDonagh

Includes:

- correspondence between Ambassador Ronan and MFA seeking clarification of a remark by Ronan in a report [not present] of a

**P215/427**  
**contd**

briefing on a Heath-Brandt meeting, the remark concerning the progress of EMU being dependent on the development of regional policy (April–May 1973, 3 items);

- copy letter and press cutting concerning favourable reportage in the German press on the success of the Irish Presidency of the Council of Ministers (June 1975, 3 items);
- annotated copy of a report by the ambassador of divergences within the German Government on its financial commitments within the EEC (3 July 1975, 3pp);
- routine correspondence mainly between Joe Hayes, First Secretary, Bonn, and Declan O'Donovan, Private Secretary to MFA, Dublin (November 1975–August 1976, 5 items).

**P212/428** February 1973–April 1977

25 items

**Boston**

Cornelius Howard, Consul General/Carmel Heaney, Acting Consul General

Includes:

- correspondence between Howard and DFA concerning the desirability of MFA undertaking an extensive lecturing tour of US universities promoted by Robert Walker of the American Programme Bureau. 'Bernadette Devlin's success in the campus (*sic*) is of course another reason for our Minister undertaking the proposed tour. Mr Walker told me that the last tour he arranged for her brought in \$80,000. Miss Devlin, he said, gave all or nearly all of her part of the fee away. He has arranged twenty five lectures for her in April which will bring \$50,000 and again she will give all this away' (February–March 1973, 3 items);
- correspondence between the Consulate, DFA and MFA concerning the difficulty of finding a US publisher for *Towards a New Ireland* with copies of letters from two publishers (June–July 1973, 5 items);
- material concerning a proposal by the Committee for an Irish Forum, Cambridge, Mass for a multilateral seminar on the Irish question (December 1974, 4 items) including a copy of the proposal document (19pp);
- report from Mrs Heaney to DFA and associated papers, on the circumstances surrounding her participation in a radio talkshow discussing the book *The Irish* by Thomas O'Hanlon, 'wholly critical of all aspects of Irish life and institutions' and local reaction to her performance (March–April 1975, 5 items);
- press cuttings reporting a visit by MFA to the US as President of the Council of Ministers (January 1975, 2 items) and of a visit by Jim Mitchell, Lord Mayor of Dublin to Boston (March 1977, 4 items) together with a report from the Consulate General on the visit and programme of events arranged for the Lord Mayor and Lady Mayoress (18 March 1977, 4pp).

**P215/429** April–June 1973

4 items

**Buenos Aires**

Bernard Davenport, Chargé d’Affaires

Correspondence between Davenport and DFA concerning the possibility of an Argentine manufacturer of valves and pressure regulators, Ottonello SA, opening a manufacturing base in Ireland as a conduit to markets in Europe and North America.

**P215/430** April 1973–December 1976

16 items

**Canberra**

Ambassador Gerard Woods/Ambassador Florence O’Riordan

Includes:

- letter from Ambassador Woods to MFA (23 June 1973, 1p) enclosing a copy of his report (5pp) concerning developments in Australian foreign policy since the previous December, including reaction to French nuclear tests in the Pacific;
- correspondence between the embassy, DFA and the Department of the Taoiseach concerning an official invitation to the Taoiseach to visit Australia (March–April 1975, 5 items).

**P215/431** April 1973–June 1977

15 items

**Copenhagen**

Ambassador Dermot Waldron

Includes:

- copy of the text of a statement to be issued by the embassy concerning the agreement on the rotation of an EEC vice-presidency between Ireland, Denmark and Luxembourg (early 1975, 2pp);
- letter from K.B. Andersen, Foreign Minister of Denmark and Chair of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe to MFA (4 April 1975, 2pp) enclosing and commenting upon a list of items (1p) for consideration at the forthcoming session of the Council on 17 April.

**P215/432** March–April 1976

4 items

**Chicago**

Tom Lyons, Consul General

Includes a copy of a letter from MFA, on an official visit to the US with the Taoiseach, to each American presidential candidate (22 March 1976, 3pp) concerning the activities of NORAID and the Irish National Caucus in the US, and the IRA in Ireland, in the light of attempts by these organisations to secure statements of support from candidates.

**P215/433** April 1975–May 1977

20 items

**EEC, ECSC, EURATOM**

Ambassador Brendan Dillon

Includes:

- copy of a report submitted by the ambassador at the request of MFA (21 April 1975, 4pp) on recent developments in the Community, in procedural and policy matters, in individual member states as well as at Community level, which have led to a need for greater co-ordination of policy;
- correspondence between Baron Snoy et d'Oppuers, Château de Bois-Seigneur-Isaac, 1421 Ophain–BSI, and MFA concerning the lack of implementation of the Treaty of Rome rules on the operation of majority rule (July 1975, 4 items);
- copy of a memorandum entitled 'Fonctions et rôle des chefs de cabinet' (27 October 1976, 3pp) sent by the ambassador to the Secretary General, DFA;
- copy of a letter from Frank Cluskey TD, parliamentary secretary to the Minister for Social Welfare, to H. Vredeling, vice-president, Commission of the European Communities, concerning possible adverse effects on provision for the handicapped in Ireland of proposed changes in the European Social Fund (6 May 1977, 2pp);
- annex of material sent to the ambassador from MFA concerning the introduction of majority voting in the Council during the Irish Presidency (July 1975, 11pp).

**P215/434** April 1973–January 1976

10 items

**The Hague**

Ambassador Seán Morrissey

Routine papers including copy letter from MFA to Max Van Der Stoel, Minister for Foreign Affairs, The Hague, concerning difficulties in

**P215/434**  
contd

arranging a meeting of Heads of Government (24 January 1975, 1p).

**P215/435** April 1973–June 1977

35 items

**Holy See**

Ambassador Thomas Commins/Ambassador Gerard Woods

Includes:

- report from the ambassador to the Secretary General, DFA on a meeting with Archbishop Benelli, Vatican Secretariat of State, concerning what the Holy See would expect from Ireland by way of official representation at Holy Year ceremonies in 1975 (17 May 1973, 1p);
- material concerning Ireland's support for two resolutions concerning religious freedom tabled by the Holy See for the Preliminary Consultations of the European Security Conference at Helsinki (May-June 1973, 8 items);
- correspondence between DFA and the Earl of Donoughmore, Knocklofty, Clonmel, County Tipperary. Donoughmore and his wife had been IRA kidnap victims, held as hostages for the Price sisters on hungerstrike; and wish to contact Monsignor Luigi del Gallo who had instigated moves from the Holy See in support of their release (August 1974–January 1975, 7 items);
- note from the ambassador on the policy and procedures of the Vatican on requests for Papal audiences (11 April 1975, 2pp).

**P215/436** April 1973–September 1976

9 items

**Lagos**

Ambassador Michael Flynn

Includes a report and summary (5 May 1973, 4pp) from the ambassador entitled 'Towards the Abidjan rendezvous' concerning the implications of the formation of a new economic alliance between francophone West African countries.

**P215/437** April 1973–July 1977

50 items

**London**

Ambassador Donal O'Sullivan/Ambassador Paul Keating

Includes:

- correspondence between MFA and the ambassador concerning the content of a British minute on Prime Minister Heath's visit to

**P215/437**  
contd

Washington and his meeting with the Senate Foreign Relations Committee; concerning British policy on movement towards EMU being extricably linked with the development of a regional policy; and concerning the British attitude towards the common agricultural policy (April–May 1973, 3 items);

- text and revision of a note from the ambassador to MFA concerning a discussion between MFA and Mr Peter McLachlan at the embassy on 22 July 1973 and related correspondence (August 1973, 7pp);
- note prepared by Seán Gaynor, Minister Plenipotentiary, of the meeting between MFA and James Callaghan, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Relations, in the House of Commons on 19 December 1974 (20 December 1974, 4pp). The meeting addressed European Community and Northern Ireland issues and touched on the Middle East;
- copy of a letter from the ambassador to Mr Kester Heaslip, Assistant Secretary, DFA, commenting in detail on the progress of the referendum campaign in Britain on continued membership of the European Community (5 May 1975, 5pp);
- material concerning European Community relations with Malta and Portugal (April–July 1975, 10 items);
- copies of notes by John [W Campbell?] Minister Plenipotentiary, to the Secretary General, DFA, reporting a meeting with Vladimir Semenov, Minister-Counsellor at the Soviet Embassy in London, and Soviet views on recent public statements by Reginald Maudling, shadow foreign secretary, on détente (9 February 1976, 7pp);
- letter from the ambassador to Paul Keating, Secretary General, DFA (13 September 1976, 4pp) giving his initial reaction to the appointment of Roy Mason as Secretary of State for Northern Ireland, together with background material on Mason and his previous public statements on Northern Ireland (4pp);
- minute from the ambassador, prepared by Mr Gallagher, for the Secretary General, DFA, concerning the changed situation in the House of Commons and the country following the government's defeat, with the support of the Liberal Party, of an opposition motion of no-confidence (24 March 1977, 4pp).

**P215/438** September 1973–May 1976

6 items

**Luxembourg**

Ambassador Valentin Iremonger

Includes copies of the first two issues of *Sgeala: Irish Community News* produced by the ambassador's wife for the Irish community in Luxembourg.

**P215/439** December 1974, February 1977

2 items

**Moscow**

Ambassador Edward Brennan

Includes a minute (4pp) and summary (1p) by the ambassador on Soviet press comment on the commemoration of Bloody Sunday.

**P215/440** June 1976

2 items

**Nairobi**

E.D. O'Loughlen, Honorary Consul

Correspondence between the Honorary Consul and MFA concerning the former's anxiety that his residency permit may not be renewed when it expires in July 1977; and the Minister's position that he is precluded from taking any action in the matter.

**P215/441** April–May 1973

2 items

**New Delhi**

Gearóid Ó Broin, *Chargé d'Affaires*

Routine correspondence concerning Ó Broin's reports on possible movement on the Bangladesh issue.

**P215/442** August 1973–June 1977

20 items

**New York**

Kevin Rush, Consul General/Gearóid Ó Cléirigh, Consul General

Includes:

- letter from Thomas D. Lyons, Deputy Consul General, to the private secretary to MFA (3 April 1974, 1p) concerning potential problems arising from Michael O'Leary, Minister for Labour, travelling to the United States without the requisite visa, which he has done on more than one occasion;
- correspondence between the Consul General and DFA concerning anxieties felt among wealthy Irish-Americans with homes in Ireland about the effects on their assets of the proposed wealth tax (May 1974, 4 items);
- material concerning the annual dinner of the Irish-American Cultural Institute to be attended by Princess Grace of Monaco and to which the Taoiseach and MFA have been invited (December

**P215/442**  
contd

- 1974, 3 items);
- letter from the Consul General to the Secretary General, DFA (16 December 1976, 5pp) reporting in detail on a meeting with officers of the Freedom for All Ireland Committee of the AOH, to discuss a wide range of issues including the disbursement of funds to relief bodies which were fronts for the IRA;
- copy of a letter from Desmond Fennell, University College Galway, to the Consul General (23 April 1977, 2pp) concerning the withdrawal of an invitation by the Irish American Cultural Institute for Fennell to lecture on 'Irish solutions to the Ulster conflict' as part of the Irish Fortnight organized by the Institute in fifteen US cities. Fennell ascribes the withdrawal to comments and representations made by Ó Cléirigh and Michael Lillis who, according to Fennell, characterized him as a 'front man for the Provos'. He sends a copy of the letter to MFA who seeks the Consul General's and the DFA's comments (April–May 1977, 3 items).

**P215/443** April–August 1973

8 items

**Ottawa**

Joseph Shields, Ambassador

Mainly consisting of letters of sympathy and appreciation on the death of Joe Shields (July 1973).

**P215/444** April 1973–June 1977

20 items

**Paris**

Eamonn Kennedy, Ambassador

Includes:

- routine communications concerning letters of thanks from the MFA and Mrs Vera Cosgrove, wife of An Taoiseach, to Prime Minister Jacques Chirac, for gifts presented by him on a recent visit to Ireland (November 1974, 5 items);
- letter from the ambassador to MFA (6 September 1976, 1p) reporting on a meeting with Mrs Ewart-Biggs who was disappointed at not being able to join the minister at Les Arcs [where he was on holiday]. She has been appointed by the Foreign Office a member of a small group preparing for the British presidency of the EU. She maintains her interest in Irish affairs and is intending taking her family on holiday to Ireland next year;
- letter from the ambassador to the Secretary General, DFA, commenting upon arrangements for the Marshall Plan Commemoration Conference to be held in June (5 April 1977, 1p).

**P215445** April 1973–August 1976

8 items

**Rome**

Denis McDonald, Ambassador

Routine communications including a letter from MFA to the ambassador conveying the thanks of Bord na gCapall for the trouble the embassy staff went to in connection with the Rome International Horse Show (22 May 1973, 1p).

**P215/446** April 1973–April 1977

10 items

**Spain**

Brian Gallagher, Ambassador/Charles Whelan, Ambassador

Includes

- urgent and confidential letter from the ambassador to the Chief of Protocol, DFA, reporting suggestions of a revised protocol following General Franco's imminent demise (7 November 1975, 1p);
- confidential letter from the ambassador to the Secretary General, DFA, concerning protocol arrangements for ceremonies following the death of General Franco. The ambassador reports a meeting with other Community ambassadors in Madrid and the position of the different governments concerning representation at the funeral, the proclamation of the royal prince as king, and a religious ceremony and royal reception to be held a week after the funeral (10 November 1975, 3pp);
- letter from MFA to the ambassador (18 April 1977, 1p) conveying thanks for the 'extraordinary efforts' taken by the embassy in arrangements to repatriate the remains of Christopher Gore-Grimes;
- letter from the ambassador to the Secretary General, DFA, concerning official visits he is undertaking to Algeria and Tunisia (21 April 1977, 1p).

**P215/447** April 1974–October 1976

10 items

**United Nations, New York**

Eamonn Kennedy, Permanent Representative

Includes:

- copy of the published text of a speech by Secretary of State Henry Kissinger, to the Kansas City International Relations Council, on 'Strengthening the world economic structure' (13 May 1975, 6pp) together with a commentary by the Permanent Representative on aspects of the speech (22 May 1975, 5pp) in the context of

**P215/447**  
contd

- preparations for the Seventh Special UN Session;
- copy of a confidential note by M.J. Lillis (22 September 1975, 9pp) on 'US public opinion and Northern Ireland and related considerations arising from the visit to the US of the Minister for Foreign Affairs' attempting to 'summarise some background considerations arising from the impact on US public opinion at various levels of recent or possible future developments in Northern Ireland';
- communication in French from Leonardo Visconti, Permanent Mission of Italy to the UN, to the Irish Permanent Mission, correcting errors in statistical tables distributed by the Italian Mission and enclosing corrected tables relating to voting patterns of 'les Neuf' (30 December 1975, 5pp).

**P215/448** May–September 1976

6 items

**Vienna**

Tadhg O'Sullivan, Ambassador

Detailed report from Ambassador O'Sullivan of the ceremony surrounding the presentation of his credentials to President Husák as the first Irish Ambassador to the Czechoslovak Socialist Republic, together with copies of remarks by the President and the Ambassador and a report on a private conversation between the two (10 September 1976, 10pp).

**P215/449** April 1973–November 1975

12 items

**Washington**

William Warnock, Ambassador/ John G. Molloy, Ambassador

Includes:

- letter from the ambassador to MFA commenting on the flood of revelations concerning the Watergate affair and the growing likelihood of the President being impeached (7 May 1973, 2pp);
- copy of the *compte rendu* of the briefing given at the Belgian Embassy on Thursday 11 October 1973, by the Belgian Ambassador following the meeting between Belgian Foreign Minister Van Elsslande and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger (7pp);
- copy of the *compte rendu* of the briefing given by the French Ambassador to the Ambassadors of the Nine on Friday 12 October 1973, following the meeting between French Foreign Minister Michel Jobert and Secretary of State Henry Kissinger on the previous day (6pp);
- copy of a confidential communication from the Ambassador to the Secretary General, DFA, concerning US views on the Preparatory Conference on Energy held in Paris, 7–16 April 1975 (1 May 1975,

P215/449  
contd

- 5pp);
- letter from Joseph Small, *Chargé d'Affaires*, to the Secretary General, DFA, outlining steps taken in preparation for the MFA's forthcoming visits to the US (20 August 1975, 2pp);
- copy of a note by Seán Farrell, First Secretary of the Embassy, of a meeting between the MFA and Senate Minority Leader Hugh Scott, 8 October 1975 (30 October 1975, 2pp) forwarded by the ambassador to the private secretary to MFA (3 November 1975, 1p).

### 4.3 Protocol

P215/450 March 1973–June 1977

250 items

#### Protocol

File of correspondence and other papers relating to matters of protocol within the DFA, including:

- letters of congratulation and draft replies on the assumption of office of the new Government;
- notification from ambassadors of foreign governments that their tenure had come to an end and of the appointment of a *charge d'affaires ad interim* pending the appointment of a new ambassador;
- notification from ambassadors of temporary absence from Ireland, and return, and of interim arrangements during their absences;
- correspondence with heads of government concerning official invitations to visit Ireland; and invitations received by MFA to attend official functions abroad; and concerning official hospitality being extended to members of foreign governments and distinguished visitors to Ireland;
- correspondence concerning the appointment of honorary consuls in Dublin by foreign governments;
- material concerning the presentation of credentials by ambassadors designate;
- schedule of appointments for the visit by MFA to Chicago, October 1975;
- occasional *curricula vitae* of foreign diplomats;
- copies of the protocol of presentation of credentials by ambassadors;
- arrangements for dinners hosted by MFA in honour of ambassadors;
- copies of messages of congratulation from foreign heads of state on occasions such as the inauguration of a new president;
- copy of a letter from Dimitri S. Bitsios, Greek Minister for Foreign Affairs, to MFA, outlining an agenda for his tenure of the presidency of the committee of ministers of the Council of Europe (17 January 1977, 3pp).

**P215/451** July–September 1976

50 items

**Address at the memorial service for Christopher Ewart-Biggs**

File of letters of appreciation for MFA's address at the memorial service in St Patrick's Cathedral for Christopher Ewart-Biggs, British Ambassador to Ireland murdered by the Provisional IRA on 21 July 1976. Also includes copy letter from Liam Cosgrave, Taoiseach, to Mrs Ewart-Biggs conveying the sympathy of himself and his wife.

**P215/452** 4 April 1976

5pp

**Ambassador Designate of Australia**

Handwritten letter from John Peck [former British Ambassador to Ireland], 4 Eglinton Park, Dun Laoghaire, County Dublin, to MFA, marked 'private & personal'. He refers to the newly-arrived ambassador designate of Australia, Brian Hill, 'an old friend and colleague of some thirty years ago in the Hague' who is in 'a state of advanced frustration because the Australian Government have given him letters of credence in the wrong form and owing to the delays in their diplomatic communications system it is likely to take four or five weeks before new and acceptable letters can reach him'. Sir John recommends 'the classic procedure of presenting dummy letters of credence, i.e. correctly worded letters the text of which could be telegraphed and presented to the President, the properly signed documents being substituted later'. He does not make this suggestion 'merely for old friendship sake. Perhaps to atone for recent events, the new Australian Government have obviously sent one of their really high-grade career diplomats, and, if I may venture a personal opinion, the sooner this very able man and his attractive young wife are officially let loose on Ireland, the better it will be'.

#### 4.4 Development Aid

**P215/453** 1972–6

5 items

##### **Irish Commission for Justice and Peace**

Material relating to Irish and EEC development cooperation and aid.  
Includes:

- letter from Jerome Connolly to GFG in his capacity as Opposition spokesman on finance, enclosing a paper 'Irish Development Assistance' prepared under the auspices of the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace, concerning the amount of Irish official aid given to developing countries (12 September 1972, 25pp);
- copy of the submission to MFA by the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace entitled 'Irish Development Cooperation Future Structures' (28 February 1975, 20pp);
- copies of 'The EEC and the developing world—a changing relationship' (November 1976, 65pp) and 'The institutions of the EEC—how development cooperation policy is formulated' (October 1976, 85pp) by Mary Sutton, prepared as part of the Joint Development Education Programme of Trócaire and the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace.

**P215/454** May 1973–April 1975

11 items

##### **DFA memoranda on foreign aid**

Mainly copies of DFA memoranda for Government meetings, and notes for MFA on aid to developing countries.

Includes:

- copy of a DFA memorandum for the Government on Irish foreign policy containing a general overview of the origins and broad concerns which drive Ireland's external policies. Elements cited include relations with Britain and the Northern Ireland problem; securing the evolution of the EEC; economic interests abroad; and development aid (7 May, 35pp);
- MFA memorandum 'Irish foreign policy-an assessment', prepared for Government meetings on 4, 5 September 1973 (10pp);
- DFA memorandum for the Government, 'Aid to developing countries' (November 1973, 14pp) together with a supplementary memorandum (13 February 1974, 2pp) annotated by MFA;
- observations by the Minister for Finance on the DFA memorandum (20 February 1974, 7pp);
- typescript note for MFA containing a response to the observations of the Minister for Finance concerning aid to developing countries agreed by the EEC Working Party (not dated, 3pp);
- draft memorandum for the Government concerning Ireland's bilateral participation in the United Nations' Emergency Operation

**P215/454**  
contd

(January 1975, 4pp).

**P215/455** [1973–5]

4 items

**Administrative structures for development aid**

Mainly memoranda, reports and notes concerning developments, discussions and research on possible Irish administrative structures required for the implementation of development aid.

Includes:

- copy of a suggested outline of a discussion paper including an extract from the MFA's address to the Royal Irish Academy regarding appropriate structures required for an expanding bilateral aid programme (not dated, 6pp);
- copy of a survey of administrative structures for development aid in 14 countries including Australia, Canada, Denmark, Japan, US and UK (not dated, 11pp);
- DFA note on the announcement by MFA, at a special session of the Council of Ministers of the European Communities devoted to development cooperation, of the doubling by Ireland of its Official Development Assistance in 1973 and 1974 (30 April 1974, 2pp);
- copy of notes on a meeting between MFA and representatives of ASPO concerning possible administrative structures (16 October 1976, 2pp).

**P215/456** [30 April 1974?]

2pp

**Notes by MFA**

Holograph notes by MFA for intervention at a Church of Ireland meeting on development aid. Notes contain an outline of projected increases in Irish government aid annually in both absolute terms and as a percentage of GNP, as well as typescript figures for official development assistance projections at 1974 values.

**215/457** 1974-5

6 items

**Development assistance in Sweden, Denmark, Norway, and New Zealand**

Primarily contains synopses and details of the structures and administration of official international development organizations in other countries.

Includes:

**P215/457**  
contd

- documents concerning the Swedish International Development Authority (July 1975, 3pp); and the Danish International Development Agency (1976, 12pp) with details of present organization and administrative divisions;
- copy of a telex concerning a draft proposal by the US for increased aid to developing countries most seriously affected by the economic crisis (not dated, 1p).

**P215/458** 1975

2 items

**Aid to developing countries**

Analysis of the DFA vote and holograph notes by MFA.

Includes a copy of the DFA vote with estimated figures for 1975–9 to illustrate official development aid increases each year as 0.05% of GNP (not dated, 2pp).

**P215/459** 17 March 1975

48pp

**OECD memorandum on development assistance**

Copy of a draft memorandum by the Secretariat of the Organisation for Economic Cooperation and Development [OECD], Development Assistance Directorate, circulated to heads of delegations represented on the Development Assistance Committee, on the management of development assistance.

**215/460** 21 May 1975

6pp

**Structures for a national development aid programme**

Copy of a submission to MFA from the State Agencies' Development Co-Operation Organisation outlining the necessary structures required to implement a national development aid programme.

**P215/461** 1975–7

7 items

**Agency for Personal Services Overseas**

Mainly copies of submissions and reports concerning the Irish programme for development assistance and the coordination of Irish aid workers in developing countries.

**P215/461**  
contd

Includes:

- copy of memorandum to the MFA from participants in the Voluntary Agencies' Liaison Committee in the context of a promised White Paper on the Irish official development aid programme (September 1975, 8pp);
- report of the APSO chairman for 1976 (24 May 1977, 16pp).

**P215/462** 1975–7

14 items

**Development aid estimates**

Mainly contains notes and calculations concerning the overseas development aid Budget allocation.

Includes:

- ODA projections for 1976 with estimates for EEC aid and aid channeled through other government departments (16 October 1975, 4pp);
- draft letter from MFA to Liam Cosgrave, Taoiseach, concerning the DFA vote and estimated expenditure on ODA (10 November 1975, 3pp).

**P215/463** 1975–7

18 items

**Development aid correspondence**

DFA correspondence mainly with various aid agencies concerning official funding and programme development.

Includes:

- letter from John [Kelly], Parliamentary Secretary to the Taoiseach, to MFA concerning a discussion he had with T.K. Whitaker on the subject of creating new structures for development aid administration. Whitaker's opinion on the issue is given, with him suggesting a delay in such structures if the budget would not provide for increased development aid. A further meeting on the subject is suggested (4 August 1976, 1p);
- letters from Terence Gavaghan (10 October 1976) and J.W. Jackson, APSO (18 October 1976) concerning opportunities for cooperation between Ireland and Zimbabwe; copy of 'Ireland and Zimbabwe: working paper on opportunities for co-operation in Africanisation programmes for majority rule' (10 October 1976, 15pp);
- copy of a letter from Judge F.X. Rooney, Botswana to J.W. Jackson concerning Jackson's article in *Ireland Today* and related advice concerning categories of individuals who undertake voluntary aid work overseas. Reference is also made to Rooney's time at UCD, where he was a contemporary of MFA (5 June 1975, 3pp).

**P215/464** 12 February 1976

50pp

**IDA mission to Tanzania**

Copy of an Industrial Development Authority Ireland report on a mission to Tanzania (16 January–3 February 1976). Report commissioned by DFA and executed by the Small Industries Division, IDA. Contents include the identification of immediate priorities (e.g. engineering technology centre, fisheries development centre).

**P215/465** February–July 1976

3 items

**Development cooperation structures**

Typescript notes, reports and holograph notes by MFA concerning possible structures for Ireland's organization of development co-operation.

Includes a copy of a report on development cooperation structures focusing on the possible establishment of an advisory council and a separate body to administer bilateral aid (15 July 1976, 14pp).

**P215/466** 1976

4 items

**DEVCO: State Agencies Development Cooperation Organisation**

Material concerning structures for development cooperation and the experiences of international development agencies in other countries.

Includes:

- letter from Brendan O'Regan, DEVCO Chairman, to MFA, concerning appropriate structures for development cooperation (27 February 1976); report by a DEVCO coordinator on visits to Scandinavian countries and the examples provided by these small nations (23 January 1976);
- draft of the address by MFA to the DEVCO agm and related notes concerning the official bilateral aid programme (16 February, 13pp);
- coordinator's report on a visit to Zambia, Tanzania and Sudan (September, 78pp).

**P215/467** 1977

9 items

**MFA speech on development cooperation**

Notes, estimates and background material for MFA's speech on development cooperation [January 1977?].

Includes:

- suggested outline of the speech with reference to the distinction between 'development cooperation' and 'development aid', focusing on its role in international economic relations (not dated, 3pp);
- copy of draft official Irish bilateral programme for 1977 with suggested figures allocated to Lesotho, Tanzania, Sudan, Zambia and India (not dated, 7pp);
- newscutting from the *Irish Independent* containing a letter to the editor from Fr Raymond F. Kennedy, Executive Director, Concern, concerning the Irish government's failure to meet foreign aid targets (11 January 1977, 1p).

#### 4.5 United Nations

**P215/468** May 1973

6 items

**United Nations draft resolutions**

Papers concerning two drafts of UN resolutions on respect for international humanitarian law and a convention on torture and the treatment of prisoners, prepared by the Special International NGO Committee on Human Rights (Geneva), including

- copies of the drafts (1p each);
- copy of a list of NGOs which have indicated their agreement with the two drafts (2pp);
- internal DFA papers circulating the drafts which had been handed to MFA by Seán MacBride SC during discussions with the Minister (4pp).

**P215/469** 11 October 1973

14pp

**Third Delegation meeting**

Copy of the minutes of the third delegation meeting chaired by Ambassador Cremin, Permanent Representative to the UN, and attended by DFA delegates to various UN committees. Considers reports from these delegates on the work of the committees on issues

**P215/469**  
contd

such as apartheid, the protection of journalists engaged in dangerous missions in areas of armed conflict, and reported massacres in Mozambique..

**P215/470** November 1973

2 items

**United Nations: development strategy**

Text of the Irish statement delivered in the General Assembly, on the *Review and appraisal of the objectives and policies of the international development strategy for the second United Nations development decade* (November 1973, 2pp).

Copy of the report of the Second Committee working party (November 1973, 25pp).

**P215/471** November 1973

2 items

**United Nations: Middle East**

Copy of a press release containing a statement by the nine governments of the European Community on the application of Security Council resolution 242 in all of its parts; subsequent to the adoption by the Security Council of resolution 338 of 22 October 1973; and including a statement of the points on which they feel a peace agreement in the Middle East should be particularly based (6 November 1973, 2pp).

Copy of Security Council resolution 242 (22 November 1967, 2pp).

**P215/472** February 1974

30pp

**Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts**

Notes and position papers prepared by DFA Assistant legal Adviser Charles Lysaght, on the policy to be adopted at the conference in Geneva.

**P215/473** 20 May 1974

1p

**Withdrawal of Irish peace-keeping contingent**

Confidential telex from UN EIRE to Assistant-Secretary Kennan, DFA. 'Immediate for Kennan. Mr Urquhart [Undersecretary-General] has telephoned me in absence of Permrep from office – he left a few minutes ago. The withdrawal of the Irish contingent from UN has caused something of a procedural storm to blow up which may however be controlled'.

Concerns procedures for the Secretary General informing the Security Council; and for the removal of the Irish troops and their replacement with a Nepalese contingent. It is hoped the Russians can be persuaded that a meeting of the Security Council is not necessary.

**P215/474** 12 June 1975

1p

**Return of Irish peace-keeping contingent**

Confidential telex from the Permanent Representative at the UN to the Secretary General DFA, concerning an unofficial and personal approach from Undersecretary-General Brian Urquhart on the possibility of the Government considering the return of an Irish peace-keeping contingent to the UN operation in the Middle East.

**P215/475** 18 February 1975

2 items

**United Nations: Presidency of the Assembly**

Note from Roy Hattersley, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office, to MFA (1p) enclosing as promised a typescript extract from a press conference given by Gough Whitlam, Australian Prime Minister, at Parliament House, Canberra, 29 January 1974; the extract concerning the likelihood of Senator Willessee's name going forward for the Presidency of the United Nations General Assembly (1p).

**P215/476** April 1977

37pp

**UN Conference on the Law of the Sea**

Copy of a draft DFA memorandum for the Government, seeking instructions for the delegation attending the sixth session of the third UN conference on the Law of the Sea.

## 5 MINISTERIAL CORRESPONDENCE

**P215/477** May 1973–June 1977

22 items

### **Charles Acton, *Irish Times***

Correspondence between Charles Acton, music critic for the *Irish Times*, and MFA concerning support for Irish musicians and the arts. Includes a letter from Acton to MFA concerning his experiences during a trip to America. Reference is made to a lack of information among Americans on the Irish Government's position on Northern Ireland; the possibility of appointing Irish honorary consuls; and the excellent work done by Eoin McKiernan in creating the Irish-American Cultural Institute (29 May 1973, 2pp). Copy of letter from MFA to Acton reporting on the success of a concert featuring John O'Connor and Bernadette Greevy at the Kennedy Centre, Washington D.C. (3 June 1977, 1p).

**P215/478** June 1973–May 1977

100 items

### **Agency for Personal Service Overseas**

Material relating to the establishment, development and financing of the agency including

- DFA memorandum for the Government on the establishment of an interim agency (18 June 1973, 7pp) with a list of ministerial nominees for membership; and a briefing note for MFA for the Government meeting (4pp);
- correspondence with nominees for membership (July 1973, 30 items);
- copy of a GIS press release and statement by MFA (August 1973, 4pp);
- correspondence with cognate voluntary organizations such as Concern and the National Youth Council of Ireland concerning the potential of the new agency;
- correspondence between Dr T.K. Whitaker and MFA concerning the registration of APSO as a company and a charity (January 1974, 3 items); and regular correspondence between Dr Whitaker as Chairman of APSO, and MFA, concerning the amount and terms and conditions of the agency's grant-in-aid;
- copies of the chairman's annual reports and annual general meetings documentation; copies of annual financial estimates;
- material relating to the Voluntary Agencies' Liaison Committee and proposed structures for the Irish programme of official development assistance;
- copies of submissions to MFA on development aid, such as a submission by DEVCO, the State Agencies Development Cooperation Organization (August 1976, 9pp).

**P215/479** June 1973–January 1974

8 items

**Ann Cremin Allbeury**

Mainly correspondence with Ann Cremin Allbeury concerning the establishment of an Irish Cultural Centre in Paris, and related DFA notes concerning the feasibility of the project.

Includes a letter from Ann Cremin Allbeury to MFA expressing pleasure at their meeting at the Embassy, and outlining her ideas for the cultural centre in which library, music and exhibition areas would be created (12 June 1973, 1p).

**P215/480** June 1973–April 1977

c40 items

**American Ambassador to Ireland**

Mainly correspondence between John D.J. Moore and Walter J.P. Curley, successive American ambassadors, and MFA, mainly concerning Irish-American diplomatic relations.

Includes:

- correspondence between Curley and MFA on an agreement between Ireland and America on air passenger charter services (23 December 1975–28 May 1976, 9 items);
- copy of a covering note from Curley to MFA and of a message of condolence from President Gerald Ford to Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave on the death of former Taoiseach John A. Costello (7 January, 2 items);
- copy of a letter from John D. Rendahl, *Chargé d’Affaires* ad interim, American Embassy, to MFA concerning the appointment of Curley as Ambassador to Ireland. Biographical information on Curley is also provided (15 May 1975, 2pp);
- letter from John Moore to MFA conveying an invitation from Henry Kissinger to MFA to visit Washington for bilateral talks on European-American relations (11 December 1974, 1p);
- letter from John Moore to MFA and typescript letter from Henry Kissinger, US Secretary of State, to MFA concerning the energy crisis and the contents of a speech to be delivered in Chicago relating to US proposals on energy consumption (14 November 1974, 2 items).

**P215/481** November 1973–January 1977

18 items

**American Committee for Irish Studies**

Mainly correspondence from Peggy Walsh, ACIS Co-ordinator, and Janet Egleson Dunleavy, Editor, *ACIS Newsletter*, concerning attendance at conferences, and details of the Committee's membership and events.

Includes a copy of a paper by John A. Murphy, University College Cork, entitled 'Identity in the Republic of Ireland now' presented at the annual meeting of ACIS in St Louis, Missouri (April 1976, 23pp).

**P215/482** 24 June 1976

1p

**American Irish Foundation**

Copy typescript letter from MFA to William V. Shannon, Secretary of the Foundation, concerning the publication of *Ireland, Irishmen and the American Revolution, 1760–1820* by David Doyle, commissioned by the Cultural Relations Committee of DFA. With regard to Shannon's concerns that the study would adequately show the Irish contribution to the American Revolution, MFA states his confidence it will, adding that Doyle cannot be influenced by the Committee and is free to address the subject in his own way.

**P215/483** June 1973–November 1975

8 items

**American Irish Immigration Committee**

Correspondence between John P. Collins, National Chairman, Pat Hennessy, Committee Advisor, and MFA concerning immigration legislation and the MFA's visit to Chicago.

Includes newscuttings from *The Irish World* and the *Irish Echo* reporting the MFA's speech on Northern Ireland at an open meeting of representatives of Irish-American organizations in Chicago (18 October 1975, 2 items).

**P215/484** June 1973–March 1977

c70 items

**Amnesty International**

Correspondence between Amnesty and MFA concerning international human rights violations and the passing of UN resolutions on protection from torture or inhumane treatment. Correspondence

**P215/484**  
contd

mainly between DFA and Martin Ennals, Secretary General Amnesty International, Kevin T. White, International Treasurer, Anne Clissmann, Hon Secretary, T.C Kingsmill Moore, Vice-Chairman, Irish Section, and Brigid Wilkinson, Hon Secretary.

Includes:

- copy of a letter from Martin Ennals, Secretary General, to Liam Cosgrave, Taoiseach, seeking the support of the Irish Government for UN draft resolutions on the treatment of prisoners (18 September 1973, 1p);
- correspondence between Anne Clissmann, Hon Secretary, and MFA concerning a meeting with members of the Irish Section Committee to discuss the ratification of the UN Covenants on Civil and Political Rights, and on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights (5–26 November 1974, 4 items);
- correspondence between Elizabeth Boyle, Amnesty International, Canada, and MFA concerning the death sentence passed on Noel and Máire Murray in Ireland, which was subsequently commuted to life imprisonment (4–15 December 1976, 3pp);
- copy of a dossier compiled by Amnesty, the Howard League for Penal Reform, and the National Council for Civil Liberties, concerning the treatment of prisoners during and after a disturbance at Albany Prison, Isle of Wight, in September 1976 (March 1977, 23pp).

**P215/485** September 1973–November 1976

c25 items

**Ancient Order of Hibernians in America**

Mainly correspondence between Thomas E. Gilligan, Recording Secretary, and MFA concerning approval for a charter flight for an AOH visit to Ireland, and the acquisition of a flag from DFA for the AOH division hall.

Includes letter from William A. Murphy, National Board, AOH, to MFA concerning the ‘unfortunate’ reception received by MFA at the National University of Ireland Club, New York. Reference is made to Irish-American support for Ireland, and in particular a ‘united Ireland’, as well as to the dangers of a Soviet diplomatic presence in Ireland (13 October 1973, 4pp).

**P215/486** February–June 1976

17 items

**Angel Voluntary Housing Advisory Centre**

Correspondence between Fr Oliver J. McTernan, Coordinator at AVHAC, Islington, London, the London Embassy, and MFA concerning the ‘moral obligation’ on the Irish government to reimburse local authorities in Britain for costs incurred for the housing and repatriation of Irish immigrants.

**P215/486**  
contd

Includes a newscutting from the *Irish Post* containing a letter from Fr John Osbourne praising the work of AVHAC and in particular Fr McTernan's campaign to 'touch the conscience of the Irish government' (22 May 1976, 1p).

**P215/487** 1973–7

c250 items

**Anti-Apartheid Movement**

Consists primarily of correspondence between MFA and Austin Flannery, Chairman, Kader Asmal, Vice-Chairman, and Bill Meek, Honorary Secretary, of IAAM concerning Ireland's position on apartheid in Southern Africa and in particular Rhodesia [Zimbabwe]. Issues addressed include the provision of information packs for Irish schools; the participation of Irish teams in sporting events in Southern Rhodesia; international anti-discrimination legislation; South African withdrawal from Angola; the meeting of the Special Committee on Apartheid of the United Nations in Dublin (May 1974); industrial relations with Southern Africa; and the recruitment of Irish workers for employment in apartheid states.

Includes:

- correspondence mainly between Bill Meek, Kader Asmal and MFA concerning the advertisement of job opportunities in Southern Africa, specifically Southern Rhodesia, in Irish newspapers. Reference is made to UN Security Council resolution 253 (1968), which actively seeks member states to discourage emigration to Southern Rhodesia. (October 1974–August 1975, 22 items);
- copies of correspondence between WVB Advertising Limited and DFA concerning requests for the advertisement of medical positions in Rhodesia in Irish publications (18 February–28 May 1975, 9 items);
- typescript letter from Hugh Lewin, Director of Information, International Defence and Aid Fund for Southern Africa, concerning their conversation at an anti-apartheid meeting (1 November 1973, 1p); enclosed is a copy of the address by Lewin at the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement's agm concerning the conditions of political prisoners in South Africa (27 October 1973, 7pp).

**P215/488** December 1973–August 1976

20 items

**Apostolic Nuncio**

Mainly correspondence between Gaetano Alibrandi, Apostolic Nuncio, and MFA concerning religious and diplomatic appointments and promotions. Also contains copies of messages from Pope Paul VI for the World Day of Peace.

Includes a copy of a letter from Alibrandi to MFA enclosing a

**P215/488**  
contd

telegram message from the Irish Civil Rights Association in Britain requesting that the Irish Government be asked to ‘concede to the basic human demands of the Portlaoise hunger strikers’ (6–7 February 1975, 2 items).

**P215/489** July 1973–October 1976

25 items

**Argentinian Ambassador**

Mainly correspondence between Jose Alberto del Carril, Argentinian Ambassador to Ireland, and MFA concerning appointments, condolences, invitations and trade with the EEC.

Includes a typescript letter from His Excellency to MFA informing him, ‘as a matter of interest’, that Chilean miners’ leader Mario Muñoz Salas, who allegedly disappeared from Argentina, was authorised by the Argentinian Security Authorities to leave the country with his wife and son (20 August 1976, 1p).

**P215/490** April 1973–April 1977

21 items

**Bruce Arnold, *Irish Independent***

Primarily correspondence between Arnold, an *Irish Independent* journalist, and MFA concerning Ireland’s relations with other countries, and requests for comments and articles. Also contains correspondence between MFA and Brian Quinn, Associate Editor, *Irish Independent*, concerning an interview on foreign policy.

Includes:

- correspondence between Arnold, MFA and President Erskine Childers concerning a suggestion for an official visit by the Crown Princess Michiko of Japan to Ireland (15 October–7 November 1974, 5 items);
- correspondence between Arnold and DFA requesting an article by MFA for an *Irish Independent* supplement on Italy and Irish-Italian relations. Also contains drafts of the article by MFA (13 April–19 July 1973, 5 items).

**P215/491** May–July 1975

8 items

**Arts Council of Great Britain**

Primarily correspondence between Robin Campbell, Arts Council of Great Britain, and MFA concerning a request for loans of manuscripts from the Chester Beatty Library for the Festival of Islamic Culture in London. Intervention on behalf of the Council to

**P215/491**  
contd

enable the trustees of the Chester Beatty Library to reconsider their position is requested.

Includes copy reply from PSM to Campbell stating that it is not possible for the MFA to give assistance in this instance since the trustees are bound by the bequest under which the collection was donated (24 July, 1p).

**P215/492** March–May 1973

c30 items

**Atlantic Institute for International Affairs**

Correspondence and other papers relating to Atlantic Institute meetings. Correspondence between MFA and John W. Tuthill, Atlantic Institute, concerning attendance at meetings.

Includes:

- letter from Tuthill to MFA extending an invitation to attend meetings of the Board of Governors (2 June 1973) and the Participating Members (4 June 1973). Clarification on their policy of not having government officials or members of governments as active members is also provided (21 May 1973, 1p);
- holograph notes by MFA concerning economic issues discussed at an Institute meeting (not dated, 7pp);
- auditors' report by Turquands, Barton, Mayhew and Co, Chartered Accountants (16 May 1973, 3pp).

**P215/493** March 1973–July 1976

21 items

**Australian Ambassador**

Correspondence between successive Australian Ambassadors to Ireland, Keith Brennan and Brian Hill, and MFA, mainly concerning attendance at functions and social events.

Includes a copy of a letter from Keith Brennan to Liam Cosgrave, Taoiseach, requesting that he open the Sidney Nolan Retrospective Exhibition jointly sponsored by the Arts Council of Ireland and the Australian Embassy at the Royal Dublin Society (2 April 1973, 2pp).

**P215/494** November 1973–January 1975

14 items

**Henry Bailey-King**

Correspondence primarily between Bailey-King, Charles Knight Publishers, and MFA concerning attendance at the European Trade and Industry Conference, royalties for book sales, and lunch engagements. Also contains correspondence with Barbara Higginson,

**P215/494**  
contd

John Bertaut and Julia Knowlson of *The Financial Times* concerning information on participants and the schedule for the European Trade and Industry Conference, which will be chaired by MFA.

**P215/495** March 1973–February 1977

c200 items

**Peter Barry (March 1973–December 1976) and Tom Fitzpatrick (December 1976–July 1977), Ministers for Transport and Power**

Mainly correspondence between MTP and MFA concerning topics such as air traffic controllers; the classification of general aviation flights to Ireland; advice regarding national and international organizations seeking MTP's support or endorsement; the issuing of aviation and transport licences; attendance at opening ceremonies and functions; concerns about the activities of NORAIID (Irish-American Northern Ireland aid committee); ministerial visits abroad; the establishment of an American Tourism Council for Ireland; EEC directives on disposal of industrial waste; Irish fuel and energy supplies; and the European Conference of Ministers of Transport.

Includes a copy of a letter and report from PSMFA, to PSMTTP, Gerry Lumsden, describing an incident at Logan Airport, Boston, at which confusion arose as to the occupants of the VIP room. This was due to the presence of Patrick Curry, Regional Vice Chairman of the Boston chapter of NORAIID, on the same flight as the MFA's party, and the dilemma faced by Aer Lingus which would usually extend the hospitality of the VIP room to Curry. The MFA's strong disapproval of Aer Lingus's custom concerning Curry is expressed (12 October–2 December 1976, 3 items).

**P215/496** September 1974–November 1986

c40 items

**Michael Begley, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Local Government**

Correspondence between Begley and MFA concerning matters such as funding available for cultural and educational projects, the locating of Irish citizens abroad, official visits abroad, transfer of DFA staff members, EEC fisheries policy, and the sale of Sika deer from the Killarney National Park to Dubai.

**P215/497** November 1974–June 1975

19 items

**Birmingham bombings.**

Correspondence primarily between MFA and members of the public

**P215/497**  
contd

expressing outrage at the bombings.  
Includes:

- copy of a letter from Prime Minister Harold Wilson to Ambassador Donal O'Sullivan acknowledging his letter and the telegram from the Taoiseach containing messages of condolence. Wilson also expresses sorrow at the attacks made on the Irish Embassy after the explosions (26 November 1974, 1p);
- photocopy of an article from the *Irish Times* entitled 'Government and SDLP gloomy about future' concerning a meeting in Dublin on the Northern Ireland question (23 November 1974, 1p).

**P215/498** [1974]

6pp

**Boland v An Taoiseach**

Copy of the report by Damian McHugh, *Irish Press*, of the judgment in the unsuccessful Supreme Court case taken by Gerard Boland, concerning the alleged unconstitutionality of the Sunningdale Agreement.

**P215/499** April 1973–March 1977

c40 items

**Bord Iascaigh Mhara/Irish Sea Fisheries Board**

Mainly correspondence between BIM Chairman and MFA concerning issues such as problems with the Irish fisheries industry, investment slowdown, fish stock depletion, EEC fisheries policy, attendance at the UN Law of the Sea Conference in Caracas, representations at international maritime meetings organized by national governments, safety at sea, and the survey by the Commission of the European Communities of industrial accidents in sea fishing.

**P215/500** November 1975–March 1977

29 items

**Eileen Brennan**

Mainly correspondence between Mrs Brennan and MFA concerning compensation for the incursion by five British soldiers into the home of Owen and Eileen Brennan at Longfield, Co Monaghan, the subsequent damage to property and the assault suffered by the Brennans. Contains correspondence with Brendan Toal TD, Cyril Coyle, solicitor for the Brennans, and MFA concerning the case for compensation with the British government.

**P215/501** May 1973–April 1977

c40 items

**British Ambassadors Arthur Galsworthy and W.R. Haydon**

Primarily correspondence between MFA and successive British ambassadors on subjects such as Council of Europe ministerial meetings; EEC fisheries policy and fishing controls off north-east Scotland; cross-border initiatives; control of explosives, and the 1974 Dublin and Monaghan bombings. Contains the text of messages between MFA and Anthony Crosland, British Foreign Secretary, concerning Crosland's appointment, and relations between the British and Irish governments.

Includes correspondence between Galsworthy and MFA expressing 'horror' at the bombings in Dublin and Monaghan and extending sincere sympathy to the families of the victims (18–22 May 1974, 4 items).

**P215/502** July–December 1976

20 items

**British Ambassador Christopher Ewart-Biggs**

Correspondence, notes and statements concerning the murders of British Ambassador Christopher Ewart-Biggs and Judith Cook, a Private Secretary in the Northern Ireland Office; the serious injuries to Brian Cubbon, Permanent Under-Secretary at the Northern Ireland Office, and Brian O'Driscoll, the Ambassador's driver. Contains correspondence concerning the establishment of a memorial fund in honour of Christopher Ewart-Biggs.

Includes:

- copy of a statement delivered by Prime Minister James Callaghan, on the day of the murders, outlining the available details of the incident and extending sympathy to the families of those killed and injured [21 July, 1p];
- holograph letter from Brian Cubbon, St Vincent's Nursing Home, Dublin, to MFA expressing thanks for the care and concern shown to him during his recovery in Ireland and appreciation for the moving speech made by MFA concerning the loss of Christopher Ewart-Biggs and Judith Cook. He also refers to his return to work at the Northern Ireland Office and the renewal of their working relationship (11 August 1976, 4pp).

**P215/503** April 1974–June 1976

23 items

**British Broadcasting Corporation**

Correspondence between the BBC and MFA concerning interviews and appearances on BBC current affairs programmes. Primarily

**P215/503**  
contd

contains correspondence between Colin Martin, producer of *Newsday* and PSMFA regarding arrangements for the MFA's appearance on the programme to discuss Northern Ireland.  
Includes a transcript of the MFA's interview with Robin Day on *Newsday* following Anglo-Irish summit talks in Downing Street (5 March 1976, 5pp).

**P215/504** April 1974–May 1977

c30 items

**British Irish Association**

Primarily correspondence between the Association and MFA concerning attendance at BIA conferences. Includes programmes and lists of conference participants.

**P215/505** April–August 1976

12 items

**Douglas Brown**

Correspondence between Brown and MFA concerning Brown's request for statistics pertaining to his academic research on law governing extradition in a number of countries including Ireland.

**P215/506** December 1974–February 1975

14 items

**Senator Noel Browne**

Correspondence between Browne and MFA, statements by DFA, and newscuttings concerning a possible loan offer to Ireland made by the Libyan government through Browne.

Includes a copy of an official press release issued by DFA clarifying the position on Ireland's developing diplomatic relations with Arab countries, offering support to a proposed visit by an all party group of elected representatives from Ireland to Libya, and outlining the position concerning the official channels through which any government borrowing must be conducted (24 February 1975, 2pp).

**P215/507** October 1975–July 1976

11 items

**Ruairí Brugha TD**

Correspondence between Brugha and MFA arising from representations on behalf of constituents and the public, mainly concerning road checkpoints on the Omeath to Newry border road, and British deportation and exclusion orders.

**P215/508** May 1973–May 1977

c60 items

**John Bruton, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Education**

Mainly correspondence between MFA and John Burton concerning various subjects such as road traffic regulations and taxi fares; Irish ratification of the UNESCO Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the event of Armed Conflict; the 1976 Olympic Games in Montreal; the UNESCO Participation Programme; a draft discussion document entitled 'National Youth and Sports Policy'; a Cultural Youth Agreement with the Federal German Republic; a consumer protection and information programme, meetings with foreign officials, visits abroad, sporting events, diplomatic relations with Russia, and EEC regional funds.

**P215/509** June 1975–March 1977

11 items

**Alan Buchanan, Archbishop of Dublin**

Correspondence between His Grace and MFA mainly arising from representations made on behalf of people subject to exile or prejudice on account of their religious beliefs.

**P215/510** August 1973–June 1976

c40 items

**Richard Burke, Minister for Education**

Mainly correspondence between Richard Burke, Minister for Education, and MFA concerning issues such as Northern Ireland, media coverage of education polices, third-level institutions, visits abroad by ME, European educational institutions, the EEC Education Committee, job opportunities in education, and aid to developing countries.

Includes:

**P215/510**  
contd

- typescript copy of statement by Burke given at the announcement of Government proposals in relation to higher education (16 December 1974, 10pp);
- copy of a paper on the rationalisation of higher education in Limerick (National Institute for Higher Education) in the context of a proposed comprehensive national structure (December 1975, c40pp).

**P215/511** November 1973–May 1977

11 items

***Business and Finance***

Correspondence mainly between Jim Dunne of *Business and Finance* and MFA concerning arrangements for interviews and requests for articles.

Includes copy of a foreword by MFA for a special supplement on British/Irish trade (10 June 1976, 2pp).

**P215/512** February–May 1976

c30 items

***Business International***

Inter-departmental correspondence concerning arrangements for the Business International Roundtable in which the MFA participated, with copies of papers from the conference. Contains *aides-mémoire*, and DFA briefing notes for MFA on subjects such as Northern Ireland, foreign investment, non-membership of NATO and EEC membership.

Includes:

- copy of a published briefing paper entitled 'Ireland: today and tomorrow' containing an outline of discussion topics (9–11 May 1976, 76pp);
- letter from Anthony D. Barlow, Vice President of BI, to MFA expressing gratitude on behalf of BI members for the MFA's participation in the Roundtable and attendance at the BI reception (24 May 1976, 1p).

**P215/513** 26 November 1973–6 March 1974

12 items

***Kevin Cahill, American-Irish Historical Society***

Correspondence concerning an invitation from the Society to President Childers, to attend their annual banquet in order to present him with the gold medal of the society (5 February 1974, 2pp). On the basis of protocol, it was decided not to accept the

**P215/513**  
contd

invitation on the grounds that the President had not yet made an official visit to the USA, and that those now inviting him did not represent the American Government. Also includes correspondence between Cahill and MFA concerning proposed aid from the Irish Government for Third World health services (26 November 1973, 1p), and his desire to be received at Áras an Uachtaráin by President Childers (4–17 January 1974, 3 items).

**P215/514** April 1975–October 1976

20 items

**Jim Callaghan MP, Secretary of State for Foreign and Commonwealth Affairs**

Correspondence between MFA and the Secretary of State, mainly of a routine nature including letters of thanks and congratulations on the occasion of the Irish Presidency of the Council of Ministers (April–July 1975, 6 items); concerning the proposed extension by the US of fisheries limits (March–April 1976, 3 items); and on Callaghan's election as Prime Minister (April 1976, 6 items). Preliminary and final draft of a message from MFA to the PM on 'dangerous tendencies' on the political front in Northern Ireland (October 1976, 4 items).

**P215/515** May 1973–[March 1974]

7 items

**Campus Community Properties**

Correspondence between CCP and MFA concerning funding for a project to develop properties in County Cavan to provide facilities for children from deprived urban areas, particularly in Belfast, to promote integration between Protestant and Catholic communities.

**P215/516** September–November 1975

4 items

**H. A. I. Canavan, Lord Mayor of Derry**

Letter from Canavan, the Alliance Party Lord Mayor of Derry, concerning EEC regional development aid for the north-west of Northern Ireland and proposing a study to look at the necessity for such aid on both sides of the border (17 October 1975, 3pp). MFA's reply informs Canavan that the Irish and British governments have agreed to apply to the European Commission for such a study (20 November 1975, 1p).

**P215/517** May 1976–February 1977

12 items

**John Joseph Canavan**

File on John Joseph Canavan, imprisoned in England on terrorism offences. Contains letters from John Donnellan TD to Pat Cooney, Minister for Justice (27 January 1977, 1p), and from Myles Staunton TD to MFA, seeking assistance for Canavan and his family in his trial and appeal, and replies from the office of the MFA, one of which gives details of Canavan's case and of contacts with the UK authorities (23 February 1977, 1p). Also includes correspondence between MFA and Myles Staunton TD and between MFA and MJ.

**P215/518** July 1975

2 items

**Michael Canavan**

Letter from Canavan, an SDLP Northern Ireland Assembly member congratulating MFA on the Irish presidency of the EEC and expressing the hope that now his energies will be directed towards solving the Northern Ireland issue (5 July 1975, 1p), with a reply from MFA outlining some general initiatives and his hope that the goodwill earned by Ireland during the presidency can be used to good effect in this regard (28 July 1975, 1p).

**P215/519** July–August 1974

9 items

**Capital and Non-Capital Expenses, 1975**

Circulars and budgetary estimates prepared for cabinet ministers by the Department of Finance. Includes a letter from Paul Keating, Secretary General, DFA, to MFA, then in Paris, concerning the implications of the budget for DFA and informing him of a cabinet meeting to be held on 3 September, which MFA will not be in a position to attend (1 August 1974, 1p).

**P215/520** October 1976–March 1977

6 items

**Jimmy Carter, Governor of Georgia (US President 1977–80)**

Correspondence mainly relating to an alleged reference made by Carter to a united Ireland at a meeting of Irish-American groups in Pittsburg in September 1976. File contains a statement from Carter maintaining that he does 'not favour violence as part of the solution

**P215/520**  
**contd** to the Irish question' and complaining about misrepresentations of his position (28 October 1976, 1p); and correspondence between MFA and Thomas Farmer, a prominent Irish-American based in New York.

**P215/521** March–May 1977

2 items

**Archbishop Agostino Casaroli**

Notes on a discussion between MFA and Casaroli, a high-ranking Vatican diplomat, on the Northern Ireland situation, including reference to the possible dilution of Ireland's Catholic identity in the event of re-unification; and discussions concerning the forthcoming OSCE conference in Belgrade (28 March 1977, 21pp),

**P215/522** April–May 1977

3 items

**Castleblaney Urban District Council**

Correspondence concerning a request by the Council for the re-opening of the Castleblaney-Newtonhamilton road, closed because of the Northern Ireland security situation.

**P215/523** October 1974–April 1975

10 items

**Catholic Institute for International Relations (CIIR)**

File contains a submission by the CIIR to the Gardiner Committee on the British Government's handling of conflict in Northern Ireland (14 October 1974, 5pp), and a draft policy statement on Northern Ireland by CIIR (29 November 1974, 2pp), together with correspondence with MFA.

**P215/524** October 1973–September 1975

12 items

**Catholic Women's Federation**

Correspondence with the Catholic Women's Federation, a cross-border organization, concerning the UN convention on human rights and its application to Ireland, and a letter sent by the Federation to Chilean President Augusto Pinochet concerning the treatment of female political prisoners in Chile (28 August 1975, 1p).

**P215/525** October–December 1973

2 items

**Celtic League**

Letter from Alan Heusaff, chairman of the Celtic League, to MFA urging him to seek EEC funding for areas of rural Ireland, in line with similar funding provided for peripheral areas in other Celtic countries, and to consult with organizations seeking self-government in these areas (17 October 1973, 2pp). MFA's reply notes that the Celtic regions 'represent the most disadvantaged areas in North Western Europe', but he will not explicitly refer to them as being 'Celtic' in EEC negotiations to avoid offending their governments (6 November 1973, 1p).

**P215/526** September 1975–January 1976

15 items

**Cement Roadstone**

Correspondence relating to Cement Roadstone's business activities in Iran, and the negotiation of a double taxation agreement between the Irish and Iranian governments. Includes statistics on Irish trade with Iran, 1973–5, showing the values of main commodities imported and exported (5 November 1975, 2pp)

**P215/527** February 1975–February 1976

5 items

**Chatham House address**

PSMFA to the London Ambassador (13 February 1976, 1p) enclosing a copy of the MFA's address at Chatham House the previous July on 'How the evolution of the Northern Ireland situation appears to the viewpoint of public opinion in the Republic' (9pp) for delivery to Keith Kyle, Meetings Secretary at Chatham House. Includes a corrected copy of the text and a note by Seán Donlon on lack of evidence to support the MFA's statement on the intimidation of Catholics (30 September 1975, 1p) and offering an alternative wording.

**P215/528** June 1975–June 1977

8 items

**Claude Cheysson, member of the European Commission**

Includes a copy of Monsieur Cheysson's *cv* (1975, 2pp); personal letter from the Commissioner to MFA (25 February 1976, 1p) enclosing a note (2pp) on proposals for harmonization of VAT rates

**P215/528**  
contd

among EC members; letter from the Commissioner to MFA (13 June 1977, 1p) referring to President Kenneth Kaunda of Zambia, 'moderate, morally respectable and deeply involved in the struggle against the Rhodesia of Smith and the apartheid of Vorster', and enclosing a copy of a document (2pp) proposing exceptional emergency aid to Zambia.

**P215/529** August 1973–November 1974

28 items

**Erskine Childers, President of Ireland**

Letter from MFA to the Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave concerning the role, if any, of the President in forthcoming EEC discussions (15 August 1973, 1p). Correspondence concerning the protocol for proposed presidential visits abroad, visits to Áras an Uachtaráin, and interviews with the President (August–September 1973, 7 items). Press cuttings from Indian newspapers reporting the resignation of Eamon de Valera and the election of Childers (3–14 June 1973, 4 items). Letter from Childers to MFA relating information on the situation in Northern Ireland he had received from Sir Edward Grundy, managing director of Shortt Bros, Belfast, with reply (October 1974, 2 items). Letter from Brian Faulkner to Mrs Childers, sympathizing on the death of her husband, with reply from her son, Erskine B. Childers (17–30 November 1974, 2 items). General correspondence on presidential visits and other matters.

**P215/530** March 1974–December 1976

67 items

**Chilean Refugees**

Material relating to the admission to Ireland of refugees fleeing the Pinochet *régime* in Chile, and their maintenance. Much of the correspondence is with Desmond McGreevy, chairman of the Committee for Chilean Refugees, and with the Chilean Solidarity Committee in Galway City.

Includes:

- petition from Chilean refugees in Galway concerning their unemployment and requesting a meeting with MFA (15 September 1976, 9 pp);
- correspondence concerning MFAs visit to the Chilean refugees at Shannon (October–November 1974, 4 items);
- individual letters from and on the behalf of Chileans seeking asylum in Ireland;
- DFA draft memorandum for the Government on the situation concerning the admission of Chilean refugees into Ireland (July 1974, 3pp).

Also includes a sub-file on accommodation for Chilean refugees, including lists of refugees already present in Ireland and a

**P215/530**  
contd departmental minute concerning a request to admit larger numbers (21 June–1 July 1974, 6 items).

**P215/531** 19 November 1974

2pp

**Jaques Chirac, Prime Minister of France**

Letter in French from Chirac to MFA concerning his recent visit to Dublin, and thanking MFA for their discussions on the EEC, the French cultural centre in Dublin, and other matters.

**P215/532** February–July 1976

29 items

**John Chisholm, Irish Arab Society**

Correspondence between MFA and John Chisholm concerning Middle Eastern affairs and their impact on Ireland, particularly with a view to establishing Irish diplomatic and trade links with the region. Includes correspondence and memoranda relating to a visit to Ireland by Mohammad Saadi of the Saudi Arabian Ministry for Agricultural Affairs (February–April 1976, 8 items), and on proposed Irish trade and diplomatic links with Iraq (April–May 1976, 8 items).

**P215/533** July 1975–April 1977

62 items

**Christian Democrats**

Most of the correspondence is between the office of MFA and René de Leon, General Secretary of the World Union of Christian Democrats, based in Rome. There is also some correspondence with Mariano Rumor, President of the Union, relating to the proposed attendance of MFA or the Taoiseach at meetings of the World Union of Christian Democrats at Brussels, 6–7 May 1977.

Also includes a proposed set of initiatives on human rights to be put forward at the UN (July 1975, 2pp); draft statutes of the Christian Democratic Parties of the EEC countries (21 February 1976, 11pp); and a separate file on the World Conference of Christian Democratic Leaders, held in Rome on 28–29 November 1975, attended by MFA, including resolutions from previous meetings, and correspondence concerning MFA's attendance (8 October 1975–4 June 1976, 31 items).

**P215/534** April–November 1976

10 items

**Church/State relations**

Papers relating to a speech by MFA to the Fine Gael Dublin South-East constituency executive on ‘Sectarianism and Church/State relations’ including:

- typescript draft of the paper (13pp);
- draft annotated by Seán Donlon together with typescript comments submitted by him (27 April 1976, 3pp);
- draft annotated by Noel Dorr and comments submitted by other DFA personnel (April 1976, 10pp);
- comments from Declan Costello, Attorney General (26 April 1976, 1p) and Professor Enda McDonagh, Maynooth (25 April 1976, 2pp).

**P215/535** April 1973–June 1977

25 items

**Civil Rights Association**

Correspondence with officers of the Northern Ireland Civil Rights Association [NICRA], usually concerning general aspects of their campaign in Northern Ireland, but also including material relating to individual cases of ill-treatment and harassment by security forces.

**P215/536** May–June 1973

7 items

**Earl of Clancarty**

Letter from Clancarty to the London Embassy; and subsequent correspondence with MFA concerning the Earl’s ideas on the expansion of the Irish Navy and the possibility of his endowing a scholarship for boys who intend making the Navy their career.

**P215/537** April 1973–May 1977

30 items

**Mark Clinton TD, Minister for Agriculture**

Correspondence between MFA and the Minister for Agriculture, and between their officials, on matters of common interest such as the GATT negotiations and the CAP. Includes letter from MA to MFA (17 October 1975, 2pp) on difficulties in filling the export quota of beef to the US; copy of a secret note from MFA for the Taoiseach (9 January

**P215/537**  
**contd**

1976, 1p) in advance of a cabinet meeting MFA cannot attend, on farm taxation; copy of a personal and confidential note for MFA from Brendan Dillon, Permanent Representative in Brussels, on the question of taxing agricultural products (10 January 1977, 3pp); minute by Charles Lysaght, Assistant Legal Adviser DFA, on the legal validity of a product tax to be imposed on agricultural production (12 January 1977, 1p); correspondence between MA and MFA concerning the case of Dr Yann Fouéré, a naturalized Irish citizen arrested in Brittany on charges of possessing explosives (February 1976, 2 items).

**P215/538** February 1976–March 1977

10 items

**Clonmel Chemicals Co Ltd**

Communications between DFA and representatives of the company, concerning their supplying medicines to the Uganda Ministry of Health; a visit by the Ugandan Minister for Health to Clonmel and a meeting between the Tanaiste and the Minister; a meeting between representatives of the company and President Idi Amin of Uganda; and the President's reported enthusiasm for developing diplomatic relations with Ireland, particularly in light of the closure of the Ugandan Embassy in London.

**P215/539** January 1975–June 1977

22 items

**Frank Cluskey, TD**

Correspondence and other material between MFA and Cluskey, Parliamentary Secretary to the Minister for Social Welfare. Most of the file is taken up with representations by Cluskey on behalf of individuals. Includes correspondence relating to a proposed meeting between Cluskey and the Luxemburg Minister of Social Welfare (6–8 January 1976, 2 items), and a memorandum on the development of social policy related to problems outside the field of employment, prepared by Cluskey (31 January 1975, 13pp).

**P215/540** October 1973–May 1977

c80 items

**Edward Collins TD, Mayor of Waterford**

Correspondence between Collins, Chairman of the Irish Delegation to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe, and MFA concerning Irish citizens working in Israel and Lebanon; EEC funding for a rationalization scheme in Waterford docks; Council of Europe

**P215/540**  
contd

meetings; aid programmes for developing countries; EEC draft directives; Irish representation at the European Youth Foundation; and the Intergovernmental Committee for European Migration.

**P215/541** April 1977

10 items

**Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann**

File relating to complaints by Comhaltas, a body for the promotion of Irish music, about the detention of their national director Labhrás Ó Murchú in Coventry on 3 April 1977. Contains correspondence with DFA regarding the affair, and a statement of protest sent by Comhaltas to the UK Home Secretary, the Coventry chief of police, and the *Birmingham Mail* (April 1977, 1p).

**P215/542** November 1974–April 1977

13 items

**Commission of the European Communities**

Correspondence with European commissioners and other commission officials on various subjects including EEC fisheries policy (26 October 1976, 1p), the Lomé Convention on world trade (September 1975, 2 items) and EEC broadcasting policy (May 1975, 3 items). Also includes an interview with MFA on EEC affairs for the Commission staff newspaper (26 November 1974, 6pp).

**P215/543** March–December 1973

15 items

**Community Development Unit, Department of Psychiatry, University College Dublin**

Correspondence and related papers, between DFA and the Community Development Unit whose purpose is to assist in the development of institutions at community level which will facilitate the development of the potential of each individual and which has been involved in the organization of the Bogside Community Association. Includes:

- *Legal aid and a case for a public defender's office*, a proposal document presented by the Bogside Community Association (March 1973, 11pp);
- 'Why community participation?', a summary of a paper by Ivor Browne of the CDU and Professor of Psychiatry UCD (November 1972, 5pp);
- copy of a proposal document on 'Derry office for community development in the North-West region' (3pp);

**P215/544** March 1973–January 1977

25 items

**Confederation of Irish Industry**

Correspondence and related papers, mainly between MFA and Liam Connellan, Director General, CII. Subjects include relations with Northern Ireland industry; EEC regional policy; effects on Irish industry of protest action and restrictions in other EEC countries; possible measures to assist Irish industry overcome the problems associated with the implementation of equal pay; the application of EEC transport regulations on Irish domestic road transport; and efforts by Irish industry to win contracts in African countries targeted for priority development under the Lomé Convention. Includes text of a paper on 'Irish industry in the EEC' delivered by Liam Connellan at a conference in Newcastle, County Down (November 1973, 21pp).

**P215/545** March–April 1973

c100 items

**Letters of congratulations**

Letters from well-wishers to GFG on his appointment as minister with copy replies from MFA. Includes letters from a variety of sources such as John P. Wilson [Fianna Fáil TD], Terence de Vere White, Reverend John Redmond, Pat Rabbitte [President of the Union of Students in Ireland], Reverend R.V.A. Lynas, Andrew Knight [Assistant Editor, *The Economist*], Colum Gavan Duffy, Hon Mr Justice Tom Finlay, Prof Robert Dudley Edwards [UCD], Prof Basil Chubb [TCD], Eamonn T. Ceannt [Director General, Bord Fáilte Éireann], Gay Byrne [RTÉ], Ernest Blythe, and Meave Binchy [*Irish Times*].

**P215/546** May 1973–December 1975

10 items

**John F Conlan TD**

Correspondence between DFA and Deputy Conlan, making representations on behalf of constituents in Monaghan, including some who had been victims of British Army harassment during incursions by them into the Republic.

**P215/547** June 1973–July 1976

12 items

**Tim Pat Coogan, *Irish Press***

Correspondence with Tim Pat Coogan arising from his request to interview MFA for a book on contemporary Ireland, including criticism by MFA of the editorial policy of the *Irish Press* with regard to Northern Ireland (June–July 1973, 4 items). Further correspondence, mainly with Julien de Kassel, foreign editor of the *Irish Press*, on trade matters and on the reporting by that paper of MFA's reaction to the assassination of the British Ambassador, Christopher Ewart-Biggs (23–25 July 1976).

**P215/548** March 1973–April 1977

C100 items

**Patrick Cooney TD, Minister for Justice**

Correspondence and related papers exchanged by the MFA and MJ on matters of mutual concern to their two departments.

Includes:

- MJ to MFA (9 April 1973, 1p) enclosing copies of correspondence with Lord Hailsham of St Marleybone, Lord Chancellor, concerning a possible agreement on the reciprocal enforcement of maintenance orders between Ireland and the UK (March–April 1973, 2 items); with additional correspondence concerning MJ's reluctance to have the Foreign Office involved in forthcoming discussions (April 1973, 4 items);
- MFA to MJ (14 June 1973, 1p) enclosing a confidential note on security matters which came up during a discussion with William Whitelaw, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (9 June 1973, 3pp);
- MJ to MFA concerning the possibility of a visit to Ireland by the Libyan Ambassador to the UK and changes in official Libyan thinking on the IRA (25 January 1974, 1p);
- copy letter from MFA to MJ (11 February 1974, 1p) concerning the forthcoming discussion at Government of the MJ's 'Contraceptive Memorandum'. He voices concern that account be taken of the official attitude of the Church of Ireland and Presbyterian Church and that 'the inclusion of any limitation on the availability of contraceptives to married people would be seen in Northern Ireland as further evidence of the influence of the teaching of one particular Church on our attitude to legislation';
- correspondence between MFA and MJ concerning Ireland's ratification or failure to ratify international conventions such as the International Convention on the Elimination of all forms of Racial Discrimination (November–December 1974, 2 items), and the International Covenant on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights (July 1975–February 1976, 6 items);
- communications between the MJ and MFA concerning the MJ's

**P215/548**  
contd

- concern about the lack of progress within the European Commission on the draft Lawyers Directive and how this might reflect on the Irish Presidency (May–July 1975, 10 items);
- correspondence between MJ and MFA concerning the case of an employee of John Sisk & Co, resident in Rhodesia, whose application to have his passport renewed had been refused by DFA on the basis that to do so would assist Sisks in breaching UN sanctions (May–November 1975, 6 items);
  - page of handwritten notes by MFA of points made in a telephone conversation with MJ, in advance of a meeting between the MJ and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland concerning the use of SAS troops in NI; together with a typescript of the notes. Begins, 'Have consulted Dan O'Sullivan [Secretary General, Department of the Taoiseach] in temporary absence of Taoiseach and he agrees without reservation on desirability following procedure at meeting;' (8 January 1976, 2pp);
  - confidential telex from the London Embassy conveying the text of an agreed statement after the meeting between MJ and the Secretary of State for NI (8 January 1976, 1p);
  - copy letter from MFA to MJ concerning difficulties for DFA arising from a lack of liaison between the two departments, particularly relating to contacts between the Gardaí and the RUC (5 January 1975, 1p);
  - copy confidential letter from MFA to MJ on a meeting of a special committee established by the European Committee on Crime Prevention and attended by a representative of the Department of Justice. MFA feels that matters under consideration, particularly non-extradition for political offences, were ones that Government would have wished to consider and take a view on before any commitment to a specific point of view (9 January 1976, 1p);
  - MJ to MFA (July 1976, 1p) enclosing for information a note he has had prepared on a meeting of Ministers of the Interior and Ministers of Justice of the Nine Member States of the EEC in Luxembourg, 29 June 1976 (4pp), together with the agenda and minutes of the meeting, in French (29 June 1976, 6pp), a copy of the press release (3pp) and list of participants (2pp);
  - correspondence between MJ and MFA concerning an application for asylum from Senor Romano Cavanagh, an Argentinian citizen, together with a statement by the Buenos Aires Embassy of Senor Cavanagh's case (August–November 1976, 3 items)

**P215/549** 4 September 1973–23 July 1974

15 items

**Captain John Cooper**

Correspondence and other material between MFA and Captain John Cooper, captain of the Emir of Qatar's yacht, regarding Cooper's proposal that oil from Qatar be refined in Ireland, including correspondence between the office of MFA and Justin Keating, Minister for Industry and Commerce.

**P215/550** February 1973–June 1977

25 items

**Major Derek Cooper/The Irish Arab Society.**

Correspondence with Major Cooper, President, and other officers of the Irish Arab Society, particularly Atif Matouk, Executive Secretary, on matters of concern to the Society such as Irish Government policy towards the Middle-East, the Israeli-Arab conflict, and the civil war in Lebanon.

**P215/551** October 1973–February 1977

30 items

**Denis Corboy, Office of the Commission of the European Communities, Dublin**

Correspondence between MFA and the Commission Office in Dublin, initially with Denis Corboy, and latterly with Peter Doyle, Deputy Director, on matters such as the salaries and conditions of employment of the staff in the Dublin office; the difficulties of providing an effective Community documentation service in Ireland with proposals to improve the situation; specific possibilities for the recruitment of Irish nationals to vacancies in Brussels; and occasional contributions by MFA to Community bulletins together with a typescript copy of an article by MFA on 'The impact on Ireland of membership of the European Community' (February 1977, 10pp).

**P215/552** November 1973–May 1977

103 items

**Brendan Corish, Minister for Health and Social Welfare**

Correspondence between the office of MHSW and the office of MFA. Much of the correspondence relates to representations from individuals to either minister that were passed to the other.

Includes:

- itinerary for MHSW on an Industrial Development Authority (IDA) trip to Hannover and Paris, 19–22 April 1977 (12 April 1977, 5pp);
- correspondence on the effect of EEC regulations on the Irish fishing industry (8–16 September 1976, 2 items);
- letter from MHSW to MFA on EEC policy on the exploitation and marketing of natural mineral waters (20 November 1974, 2pp);
- letter from MHSW to MFA concerning delegates and chairpersons from the Department of Health who will participate in EEC Council committees during Ireland's presidency of the EEC Council of Ministers (8 November 1974, 1p);
- Department of Social Welfare memorandum on the proposal to introduce an income-related pension scheme (6 December 1973, 8pp).

**P215/553** December 1973–February 1974

6 items

**Cork Offshore Oil Exploration**

Correspondence between MFA and the ITGWU concerning the temporary relocation of the rig drilling off the Cork coast to Tunisia, and the possible loss of Irish jobs if all the crew are not permitted to accompany the rig. MFA states that he cannot intervene with the Tunisian authorities to guarantee that the jobs on the rig are reserved for Irish workers, but points out that such issues are to be explored at the forthcoming UN conference on the Law of the Sea, and that the Ministers for Labour and Industry and Commerce are examining similar issues (26 February 1974, 1p).

**P215/554** June 1973–October 1975

49 items

**Corrymeela Community**

The Corrymeela Community, based in Ballycastle, County Antrim and founded in 1965, is a religious organisation devoted to reconciliation of the different interests and cultures in Northern Ireland. The file consists of some correspondence between the Community, usually its founder, Rev Ray Davey, and MFA, mainly concerning arrangements for visits to the USA. Also contains newsletters, information booklets, and details on conferences and events organized by the Community

**P215/555** April 1973–May 1977

c100 items

**Mr Declan Costello SC, Attorney General**

Correspondence with Mr Declan Costello on a wide range of issues relevant to but not confined to his departmental responsibilities, such as events in Northern Ireland with reports of meetings with local contacts including churchmen, community leaders and politicians; the case against the British Government before the Council of Europe, the 'Strasbourg case'; and the ratification by Ireland of international covenants such as the International Covenant on Civil and Political Rights.

Includes:

- reports of meetings he had attended such as a meeting of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe (16 May 1973, 2pp);
- the legal basis for the establishment of a joint committee to deal with EEC secondary legislation (13 June 1973, 1p);
- the post-Sunningdale situation in NI with a memorandum by the Attorney on government tactics (January 1974, 3pp);

**P215/555**  
contd

- letter (7 June 1974, 2pp) and memorandum (23 October 1974, 4pp) from the Attorney concerning the possibility of an approach to the United Nations to become involved in NI;
- copy of a report by the Attorney on a visit to Australia (9 April 1974, 4pp);
- copy memorandum on proposals for a declaration by the British Government on the future of NI including a declaration of intent to withdraw (December 1974, 5pp);
- notes by the Attorney for the MFA's discussion of the Strasbourg case with the British Ambassador (9 March 1976, 1p);
- copy letter from MFA to the Attorney concerning procedures for the pursuit of the Government's case against the French Government for their operation of import restrictions on sheep and lamb and the involvement of the Legal Division of DFA in the case (16 March 1976, 1p);
- correspondence between MFA and the Attorney concerning procedures in general for the conduct of proceedings on behalf of the State and the relationship between the Legal Division of DFA and the AG's Department (November 1975–April 1976, 5 items);
- copy for the information of MFA of the Attorney's Opinion (4 August 1976, 4pp) on proposals to extend the provisions of Section 30 of the Offences Against the State Act, 1939;
- copy for the information of MFA of a summary of the position in relation to the Strasbourg case (16 November 1976, 3pp);
- memorandum by the Attorney for MFA on a possible settlement formula for the Strasbourg case (22 February 1977, 2pp);
- brief note by the Attorney on recent developments in the Strasbourg case (18 April 1977, 1p) together with a report on a meeting with Sam Silkin, UK Attorney General (23 March 1977, 3pp).

**P215/556** November 1976–January 1977

5 items

**Deputy Stephen Coughlan**

Correspondence concerning Bishop Whelan who had been refused entry by the Nigerian authorities at Lagos airport and whose case had been raised in a PQ to MFA by Deputy Coughlan.

**P215/557** October 1973–June 1977

c100 items

**Council of Europe**

File of papers relating to meetings of the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe held on 24 January 1974, 6 May 1974, 17 April 1975, and 27 April 1977 [chaired by MFA].

Includes:

- correspondence with other EEC foreign ministers, departmental

**P215/557**  
contd

- officials, and other material pertaining to the meetings;
- correspondence relating to an invitation to MFA to address the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe (March–April 1975, 5 items);
- drafts of MFA's speech to a meeting of the Conference on the Development of Democratic Institutions in Europe, Strasbourg, 21 April 1976 (April 1976, 2 items), and much material relating to this conference;
- occasional Council of Europe publications, 1973–6.

A separate file contains a draft and final version of MFA's speech to the Conference on the Development of Democratic Institutions in Europe, which was to be published with the proceedings of the conference, and correspondence on this and some other matters with the secretary general of the Council, Georg Kahn-Ackermann (August–December 1976, 10 items).

**P215/558** January 1975–July 1976

4 items

**Council of the European Communities**

Material relating to MFA's tenure of the Presidency of the EEC Council of Ministers. Contains a memorandum from the EEC Audit Board concerning difficulties in auditing EEC expenditure (19 March 1975, 5pp), correspondence with Nicolas Hommel, Secretary-General of the EEC Council, concerning the appointment of a Botswanan ambassador to the EEC (16 January 1975, 4pp), and a report of a meeting relating to the forthcoming UN conference on the Law of the Sea (July 1976, 12pp).

**P215/559** 25 March 1976–26 April 1977

10 items

**William Craig MP**

Material relating to contacts with William Craig, leader of the Vanguard Unionist Progressive Party. Contains notes on a meeting between MFA and Craig on 25 March 1976 (2pp), when they discussed the Northern Ireland conflict with particular reference to the role of the SDLP and Ian Paisley in a proposed political initiative, as well as issues surrounding the IRA and UDA, the Irish Government, and identity and education in Northern Ireland. Includes some correspondence concerning this meeting, and notes on another meeting between MFA and Craig on 27 April 1977 (3pp) concerning the breakdown of a paramilitary truce, the Ulster Workers Council strike, and the position of Ian Paisley.

**P215/560** June 1975–December 1976

c120 items

**Case of James Creegan**

James Creegan, an Irish citizen working in Belgium, was arrested on 16 May 1975 charged with spying on a NATO base in Belgium. Creegan was released from custody on 20 October 1975. Much of the file consists of correspondence with Jim Tunney TD, who visited Creegan in prison, and responses to parliamentary questions on the matter. Also includes: confidential report on the case by the Irish ambassador to Belgium (27 October 1975, 3pp); departmental briefing notes on the case (July–October 1975); correspondence, mainly telegraphed, concerning a statement issued on the affair by MFA on 1 October 1975; press cuttings reporting the case; letter from the Irish Ambassador to Belgium to DFA informing them that the Belgian authorities have decided drop the espionage case against Creegan, but will proceed against him for using a radio transmitter in the vicinity of the NATO base (24 December 1976, 1p).

**P215/561** April 1973–May 1977

29 items

**Alex Crichton, Irish Distillers Ltd**

Correspondence with Mr Crichton, Irish Distillers, Bow Street, Dublin 7 and Wellington Road, Dublin 4, initially concerning the progress of the EEC Alcohol Regulation; and subsequently on the influence generally on Irish industry and industrial policy of EEC membership.

**P215/562** June–September 1976

30 items

**Criminal Law Legislation**

File on the Criminal Law Act 1976 and Emergency Powers Act 1976. Includes: Bills, amendments and Dáil and Seanad proceedings; note on the need for the legislation in the face of paramilitary activity in the Republic of Ireland and Northern Ireland (15 September 1976, 5pp); note on RUC complaints procedures (July 1976, 4pp); correspondence between MFA and Patrick Cooney, Minister for Justice on complaints made about Garda brutality in interrogating members of the Irish Republican Socialist Party and the interest of Amnesty International in the case (3–25 June 1976, 8 items)

**P215/563** June–July 1976

5 items

**Brendan Crinion TD**

Correspondence between DFA and Deputy Crinion, making representations on behalf of Seán [John Joseph] Canavan, on remand in Brixton Prison charged with conspiracy to cause explosions in Britain.

**P215/564** 25 May 1976–12 May 1977

12 items

**Anthony Crosland, UK Foreign Secretary**

Communications between MFA and the London embassy, and between the embassy and the Foreign Office, with a view to arranging a meeting between MFA and the Foreign Secretary, to be held in Leeds Castle in February 1977 (19 January 1977, 1p). Includes correspondence concerning Crosland's death on 13 February 1977, and correspondence with his successor David Owen concerning the Leeds Castle conference, which was to deal mainly with EEC matters (20 April–5 May 1977, 4 items).

**P215/565** March 1975–September 1976

41 items

**Niall Crowley, Stokes Kennedy Crowley Chartered Accountants**

Correspondence with Crowley on various matters related to Irish business interests abroad, such as EEC funding (18 March–11 April 1975, 4 items) and the appointment of Irish honorary consuls in Munich, Germany and Orlando, USA. There is also a separate file on the meeting of the Chief Executives Forum, a US organization, in Killarney, 11–17 September 1976, which MFA addressed and which was seen as an excellent opportunity for promoting Ireland to American corporations (27 April–13 September 1976, 26 items)

**P215/566** March–November 1973

c75 items

**Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien TD, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs**

Correspondence and related papers between the MPT and MFA on matters of mutual interest including:

- MPT to MFA (23 March 1973, 1p) enclosing a copy of a memorandum he has just sent to the Taoiseach concerning the Northern situation (4pp). 'You may find it alarmist, and you may

**P215/566**  
contd

be right, but it expresses a sense of alarm which I do actually feel and I hope you will agree that it is legitimate to communicate this sense to the Taoiseach and colleagues in this way’.

- material concerning proposals for an Open Broadcasting Area for Ireland which would permit the three British television channels and RTÉ to transmit throughout the island of Ireland, including draft [of a letter from MPT to Sir John Eden, Minister for Posts and Telecommunications] (8 May 1973, 2pp); copy of a letter from MPT to Merlyn Rees, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (16 May 2008, 1p); and MPT to MFA (16 May 1973, 2pp) reporting on a meeting with Sir John;
- copy of a letter from MPT to Mr L.A. Saltford, British European Airways, expressing strong reservations, as a member of the Irish Government, at being searched on boarding a flight from London to Dublin (15 May 1973, 1p);
- correspondence between MPT and MFA concerning the propriety of the former attending meetings outside the Republic, such as an invitation to participate in a debate at the New University of Ulster at Coleraine (June 1973, 2 items) and an invitation from Purdue University, Indiana, to participate in a series of lectures on US foreign policy (June 1973);
- correspondence between MPT and MFA on the question of liberation movements, particularly in Africa, arising from a proposal before the Administrative Council of the Labour Party to support a resolution of support at the Party’s Annual Conference (July 1973, 6 items);
- copy letter from MPT to the Taoiseach (6 September 1973, 2pp) concerning the proposal made by MFA that the Taoiseach should go to Cork to meet Jack Lynch, Leader of the Opposition, with a view to strengthening bi-partisan policy on Northern Ireland.

**P215/567** January 1974–December 1975

c75 items

**Dr Conor Cruise O’Brien TD, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs**

Correspondence and related papers between the MPT and MFA on matters of mutual interest including:

- MPT to MFA (7 January 1974, 1p) enclosing a copy of a letter he has sent the Taoiseach (4 January 1974, 2pp) concerning a possible constitutional amendment to amend Articles 2 and 3 of the 1937 Constitution in the light of the Sunningdale Agreement;
- communications concerning efforts by Herr Karl Pepper, Irish Consul in Berlin, to reassure German industrialists of their value to Ireland in the wake of the kidnapping of Herr Niedermayer, managing director of Grundig Ltd in Northern Ireland (January 1974, 3 items);
- draft form of declaration prepared by MPT and submitted to the Taoiseach, in accordance with Section 5 of the Sunningdale Agreement on the de facto position of Northern Ireland, and associated correspondence (February 1974, 3 items);
- material prepared by DFA for inclusion in a booklet being edited

**P215/567**  
**contd**

- by MPT on the achievements of the Government in their first year in office (February–April 1974, 7 items);
- copy of the minutes of the first meeting of the National Coalition Committee on Information, chaired by MPT (7 March 1974, 2pp);
  - copy of a letter from MPT to the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland on the need for greater cooperation between the two governments in briefing the media in the post-Sunningdale environment (8 May 1974, 2pp);
  - copy of a letter from MPT to the Taoiseach speculating on developments in Northern Ireland in the event of either British withdrawal or of re-partition (31 May 1974, 2pp);
  - correspondence concerning the possibility of the admission of Bihari refugees from Bangladesh (July–August 1974, 5 items);
  - confidential letter from the Ambassador in Vienna to the Secretary General DFA concerning MPT being a strong candidate for the presidency of the Socialist International, backed by Chancellor Kreisky (25 October 1974, 2pp) together with a draft note to accompany a copy of the letter to other ambassadors ‘in case the matter might be raised with you by Social Democratic politicians in the country to which you are accredited’ (1p); confidential letter from the Ambassador in Vienna to the Secretary General DFA (19 September 1975, 3pp) reporting on the visit of MPT to Vienna; and copy of a letter from MPT to Brendan Corish, Leader of the Labour Party, concerning his candidature (19 September 1975, 2pp);
  - copy of a letter from MPT to John Freeman, London Weekend Television, concerning the broadcast of an interview with Daithí Ó Conaill (21 November 1974, 3pp);
  - copy of a memorandum by MPT on a meeting with Dr John O’Connell TD at his home at his request (26 January 1974, 4pp). O’Connell is in constant touch with the leadership of the Provisional IRA and informs MPT on the progress of negotiations towards a ceasefire between the leadership and the British, and the outstanding issues;
  - note by MPT of a luncheon conversation with Roy Jenkins, Home Secretary, concerning Northern Ireland (24 February 1975, 2pp);
  - MPT to MFA reporting on his visit to Boston and New York (30 April 1975, 2pp) together with a confidential [DFA?] memorandum on Northern Ireland and the Irish-American community (18 April 1975, 5pp);
  - copy of a report by the Ambassador, London, on a meeting between MPT and the Secretary of State for Northern Ireland (9 May 1975, 11pp) together with an addendum by MPT (2pp);
  - MPT to MFA concerning the position whereby teachers trained in Northern Ireland may be discriminated against due to the Irish language requirement. He intends bringing this up at Government (22 December 1975, 1p); together with correspondence between MFA and Richard Burke TD, Minister for Education (January–March 1975, 3 items) concerning the withdrawal by the Department of Education of the means whereby teachers trained in NI and Britain might gain recognition as National Teachers in Ireland;

**P215/568** January 1976–May 1977

c50 items

**Dr Conor Cruise O'Brien TD, Minister for Posts and Telegraphs**

Correspondence and related papers between the MPT and MFA on matters of mutual interest including:

- various letters from MPT informing MFA 'about certain future commitments of mine with international implications' (23 January 1976, 1p), together with material relating to individual speaking, conference and media appearances by MPT;
- correspondence between MFA and Thomas M. Coren, Northumberland Road, Dublin, and between MFA and MPT concerning Mr Coren's suggestions for the establishment of an Irish equivalent of the Open University (February–April 1976, 8 items);
- MPT to MFA (2 March 1976, 1p) enclosing a copy of a letter he had sent the Tanaiste (2 March 1976, 2pp) giving his opinion on points contained in notes prepared in advance of a meeting with Harold Wilson on 5 March, concerning Northern Ireland;
- copy of a note by MFA of his having raised with Chancellor Kreisky of Austria the candidature of MPT for the Presidency of the Socialist International (26 April 1976, 2pp);
- correspondence between the Taoiseach, MPT, MFA, and John P Roche, a member of the United States Board for International Broadcasting, concerning Mr Roche's enquiry as to the possibility of Ireland agreeing to the installation of antennae to broadcast Radio Liberty and Radio Free Europe (April–June 1976, 7 items);
- routine representations from MFA to MPT on behalf of applicants for a telephone service or transfer of service but including a request by MFA for the installation of a telephone in the new residence of his private secretary who he has frequently to contact outside of office hours (17 September 1976, 1p);
- correspondence between MPT and MFA (February–October 1976, 6 items) arising from a letter MPT had received from a constituent concerning torture being carried out in Ghana, and including a report from Seán Whelan, First Secretary, Paris Embassy, of a detailed discussion with M. Berlioz, the West African desk officer at the Quai d'Orsay, on the situation in Ghana with particular reference to the torture allegations (13 August 1976, 2pp);
- communications between DFA and DPT concerning the MPT's interest in the background to the Diplomatic Conference on the Reaffirmation and Development of International Humanitarian Law Applicable in Armed Conflicts being held in Geneva, including a DFA note on the Conference (12 May 1977, 4pp).

**P215/569** May 1973–May 1976

40 items

**Cultural Relations Committee**

Replies to invitations from MFA to serve as a member of the Committee (May–June 1973, 20 items). Report of a meeting of the Committee (8 November 1973, 4pp). Replies to invitations to serve on the Committee for the years 1974, 1975, and 1976. Some correspondence relating to membership of the Scholarship Exchange Board.

**P215/570** August 1974–May 1977

23 items

**Cumann Lúthchleas Gael / Gaelic Athletic Association**

Consists mainly of correspondence concerning the encroachment onto and damage to the Crossmaglen Rangers Gaelic grounds by the British Army in January 1976, and continued harassment by the British Army of the GAA organisation in Crossmaglen. Much of the correspondence is with GAA president Seán Ó Síocháin and Michael Noonan TD. Also includes a letter from Conchúr Ó Murchú, then president of the GAA, thanking MFA for the attention of the Irish diplomatic services in New York and San Francisco during the GAA Allstars tour of the USA (25 May 1977, 1p).

**P215/571** December 1973–November 1974

11 items

**Liam Cunningham TD**

Correspondence with Liam Cunningham TD concerning British naval vessels interference with fishermen's nets (11 November 1974, 1p), alleged incursions by British Army personnel and vehicles into County Donegal (28 August 1974, 1p), and the arrest and questioning of several local men by the Irish Army (4–13 December 1973, 2 items)

**P215/572** May–June 1976

3 items

**Austin Currie**

Copy correspondence between MFA and Austin Currie, SDLP representative, concerning difficulties for Northern Irish families in visiting their relatives in Portlaoise Prison.

**P215/573** July–August 1974

6 items

**Cyprus Crisis**

Correspondence and briefing papers relating to the Turkish invasion of Cyprus on 20 July 1974 and occupation of the northern part of the island. Includes an *aide-mémoire* in French drawn up by the French Ambassador to Greece and passed to the Irish Ambassador to France (22 August 1974, 4pp), and a position paper by the Irish Government on the crisis (16 July 1974, 2pp).

**P215/574** 24 February 1977

5pp

**Czechoslovakian Consultative Commission in Western Europe**

Circular by the Committee, apparently a London-based dissident organisation, to MFA seeking his influence at the forthcoming Western-Soviet conference in Belgrade to press for self determination for Eastern bloc states. Includes copies of Soviet Foreign Minister Gromyko's declaration at the Helsinki conference in July 1973, and the declaration on liberated Europe signed by Churchill, Roosevelt and Stalin at the 1945 Yalta conference.

**P215/575** December 1974–December 1975

25 items

**Dáil**

File consisting mainly of proposed Dáil motions and related correspondence on foreign policy matters, including the Lomé trade agreement (June–July 1975, 5 items), the North Atlantic Ocean Stations (9 May 1975, 1p), and a motion in support of European integration (2 December 1974, 3 items). Also includes correspondence concerning the suspension of EEC trade talks with Spain because of the Spanish political crisis (7 October–4 December 1975, 8 items).

**P215/576** June–December 1976

14 items

**Daily Mirror and Daily Mail**

Correspondence with Jack Kenealy, chief reporter of the Dublin office of the *Daily Mirror*, and Peter Davenport, head of the Dublin bureau of the *Daily Mail*, in which the two journalists complain of not being invited to a press briefing lunch given by DFA officials, to which

**P215/576**  
contd

journalists from British newspapers were invited MFA's reply to Kenealy, after a second complaint, points out that the briefings were arranged exclusively for foreign journalists (23 December 1976, 1p).

**P215/577** July 1974–July 1976

7 items

**Bishop Edward Daly**

Correspondence with Edward Daly, Roman Catholic Bishop of Derry, concerning the internment of Michael Donnelly and the case taken by the Irish Government against the British at the European Court of Human Rights (29 July–8 August 1974, 4 items). Also contains some correspondence concerning a meeting on the Northern Ireland economic situation (28 June–12 July 1976, 3 items).

**P215/578** February–April 1976

8 items

**William J. Delany**

Correspondence with Delany, an Irish-American concerned about biased coverage of the Northern Ireland situation in the American media. His letter suggests that 'It is a pity more Irish do not start to throw their weight around. Look at what 7 million Jews do in this country. If a Jew stubs his toe in an Israeli supermarket in Tel Aviv, we hear about it within the hour in the USA' (2 February 1976, 1p).

**P215/579** April 1974–November 1976

18 items

**Barry Desmond TD**

Includes a copy of a Labour Party policy document on direct elections to the European Parliament (28 July 197, 5pp); correspondence concerning a seminar on regional development in Westport (12 August–8 September 1975, 3 items); and a submission by the Northern Ireland Labour Party on the Irish constitution and relations between the Republic and Northern Ireland, with some other papers on development in the north-west of Ireland (April–August 1974, 7 items). Also includes some representations on behalf of constituents.

**P215/580** July 1973–January 1976

6 items

**Paddy Devlin, SDLP**

Correspondence with Devlin, SDLP representative for the Falls Road, Belfast. Includes a letter from Devlin complaining of discussions he had with MFA being leaked to the southern press, 'carried and dutifully elaborated on by C.C.O'B.'s lap dog in the Irish Times' (July 1973, 2pp). Some later correspondence discusses EEC actions against a United Fruit's banana monopoly (January 1976, 3 items).

**P215/581** March 1973–May 1977

26 items

**Diplomatic missions and Honorary Consuls**

File mainly containing applications for appointment to honorary consulships in foreign capitals and other cities. The majority of the applications are unsolicited, and for countries and cities—such as Panama, Bolivia, Sierra Leone, Cyprus, and Sydney—in which there was no Irish diplomatic presence, nor one planned. Other applications were for established or newly-created consulships in Iceland, Hong Kong, Kansas City, and Austria. Also contains papers and correspondence concerning the establishment of diplomatic relations with Czechoslovakia and Poland, including a note of a meeting between Irish diplomatic representatives in London and the Czechoslovak and Polish ambassadors to the UK (February 1975, 9 pp).

**P215/582** July 1974–June 1975

6 items

**Diplomatic Relations with the Middle East**

Correspondence relating to Ireland's establishing formal diplomatic relations at embassy level with Israel, and elsewhere in the region. Includes a draft DFA memorandum for government on diplomatic relations with the Middle East, outlining the political situation there (19 July 1974, 2pp)

**P215/583** January–February 1976

4 items

**J. S. Ditch**

Correspondence with Ditch, a research officer in the Ulster College School of Philosophy, Politics and History, on a research project

**P215/583**  
contd

examining the consequences of EEC membership for north-south relations, with information on the Northern Ireland working party on the effects of EEC membership upon formal and informal representative political institutions.

**P215/584** October 1973–April 1977

c215 items

**Paddy Donegan, Minister for Defence (March 1973–December 1976) and Minister for Lands and Fisheries (December 1976–May 1977)**

Most of the file is taken up with representations by Donegan to MFA on behalf of individuals.

Includes:

- letter from Defence to DFA alleging that a British gunboat in Carlingford Lough fired upon the shore in County Louth (24 November 1976, 1p);
- letter from the Irish Fishermen's Organisation on the need for an exclusive fifty mile fisheries limit in Irish waters (31 August 1976, 2pp);
- MFA to MD concerning the question of Irish troops serving with the UN force in Cyprus, including copy of a minute of 8 July 1976 on the necessary troop strength for such a mission (30 July 1976, 4pp), with additional correspondence on the subject (May–July 1976);
- letter from MD to MFA concerning a British request which he opposes, to allow their helicopters overfly the border by 3 kms, (18 June 1976, 1p).

Also includes separate file on the control of the Defence Forces (September–October 1975, 7 items), with historical notes and copy correspondence with General Richard Mulcahy (February 1971).

**P215/585** October–November 1976,

5 items

**Senator James Dooge**

Correspondence with Jim Dooge, chairman of the Seanad, concerning a letter he received from the President of the European Parliament (29 October 1976, 2pp), concerning the ratification of the 1975 EEC treaty on the role of the Parliament in budgetary matters and the establishment of the European Court of Auditors.

**P215/586** [after April 1974]

2 items

**Education Sub-Committee of the Cabinet**

Copy and draft (4pp each) of a memorandum or article by MFA on 'The university merger in Dublin', tracing the development of proposals for the integration of the two Dublin universities, from the Commission on Higher Education in 1960 until April 1974.

**P215/587** July 1973–June 1977

12 items

**Professor R. Dudley Edwards**

Correspondence with Professor Edwards who wishes MFA to meet Professor Dr F.P. Kahlenberg of the Bundesarchiv, Koblenz, including a report by Dr Kahlenberg containing observations on the situation with regard to Irish departmental archives (July 1973, 10pp). Other correspondence concerns an application for DFA subvention for the Irish Society for Archives (March–May 1977, 3 items); and an offer by Edwards, Archives Department, University College Dublin, to MFA on his leaving office, to provide accommodation 'for any papers accumulated by you while in office' (20 June 1977, 1p).

**P215/588** March 1973–June 1977

87 items

**EEC: Economic and Social Committee**

The Committee is a non-executive consultative body of the EEC, with several Irish members representing sectors such as agriculture, public health, energy policy, economics, social affairs, and trade unions. File contains correspondence between MFA and the Irish representatives and other members of the Committee, on such issues as the Presidency of the Committee, and chairmanships of its various sections, and the resignation and appointment of Irish members. Includes draft report on the establishment of the European Regional Development Fund (16 May 1974, 8 pp) and related material (14 September 1973–27 May 1974, 13 items). Also includes correspondence relating to a meeting of the Committee in Dublin in June 1973 (8 May–13 June 1973, 9 items), and a list of the Irish members of the Committee ([May 1973], 2pp). There is also a separate file on the visit of Alfons Lappas, President of the Committee, to Dublin on 10 May 1973 (30 April–2 May 1973, 5 items)

**P215/589** February 1975

8 items

**EEC policy: Cabinet meeting**

File relating to a meeting between representatives of the Departments of Labour, Social Welfare and Foreign Affairs on 21 February 1975 to discuss the proposed holding of a Council meeting on social policy during the Irish presidency of the Council of Ministers. File contains report of the meeting (24 February 1975, 4pp); submissions by the Department of Labour including a copy of a memorandum for the Government on EEC social policy (6 December 1973, 20 pp); copy of a EEC resolution concerning a social action programme (21 January 1974, 13pp); and a list of questions which may be put to the Council of Ministers in the first half of 1975 ([February 1975], 17pp).

**P215/590** January–February 1975

23 items

**EEC Affairs: Cabinet Sub-Committee**

File of EEC policy documents relating to: the creation of an EEC correction mechanism for dealing with unacceptable situations such as economic divergence of member states; the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP), especially with regard to UK proposals; Euro-Arab dialogue; and qualified majority voting in the Council of Ministers. The documents were prepared for circulation prior to a meeting of the Cabinet Sub-Committee on EEC Affairs on 3 February 1975. Also includes a draft agenda for the European Council meeting in Dublin on 10–11 March 1975 ([January 1975], 4pp).

**P215/591** February 1975

31 items

**EEC Affairs: Cabinet Sub-Committee**

File relating to a meeting of the Cabinet Sub-Committee on EEC affairs held on 7 March 1975. Contains documents circulated to ministers in advance of the meeting, relating to the world economic situation, EEC energy policy, UK re-negotiation of its EEC membership, farming aid, and European security and co-operation. Also includes minutes of the meeting of 24 February 1975. The file also contains a sub-file on the likely economic consequences for Ireland of the UK leaving the EEC (20–24 February 1975, 10 items).

**P215/592** 6 March 1975–22 November 1976

20 items

**EEC Affairs: Cabinet Sub-Committee**

File of papers relating to a meeting of the Cabinet Sub-Committee on EEC Affairs held on 12 May 1975 to discuss European agreements on living and working standards, and energy and commodities policies. Includes copies of correspondence with ministers; minutes of the previous meeting held on 7 March 1975; minutes of this meeting (12 May 1976, 2pp); and a copy of the report of the Sub-Committee meeting held on 19 November 1976, compiled by the Department of the Taoiseach (22 November 1976, 3pp).

**P215/593** April 1973–October 1975

23 items

**Electoral Reform**

Correspondence between MFA and the Electoral Reform Society of Great Britain and Ireland concerning the proposed redistribution of seats in the Dublin constituencies (2 April–20 November 1973, 6 items). Correspondence between MFA and James Knight concerning Knight's published work on the elections in Northern Ireland in 1973 and his *Republic of Ireland: the General Elections of 1969 and 1973*, for which MFA wrote the foreword (January 1974–October 1975, 15 items).

**P215/594** December 1975–September 1976

82 items

**Equal Pay**

File on the question of removing the marriage differential and of ending pay discrimination on the grounds of gender. Most of the file relates to the application by the Irish Government to the European Commission for a deferral of the Anti-Discrimination (Pay) Act 1974, which was refused in March 1976, and the reaction of DFA to this.

Includes:

- telegraph from Michael O'Leary, Minister for Labour, warning of the impending rejection and suggesting alternative proposals (4 March 1976, 1p);
- confidential Commission report on Ireland's difficulties in implementing equal pay, sent on 3 March 1976 to MFA by the Irish EEC representative Brendan Dillon (16pp);
- letters from individuals, groups and trade unions complaining of the Government's decision to seek a deferral of the Act.

Also includes separate files on public sector allowances in other EEC countries (January 1976, 13 items), and correspondence with John O'Callaghan on equal pay (February–September 1976, 8 items).

**P215/595** November 1976–June 1977

30 items

**Erne and Foyle catchment areas**

Material relating to proposals mainly concerning the development of the agricultural and tourist potential of the Erne catchment area with submissions to MFA and the Taoiseach from Monaghan, Leitrim, Fermanagh, Omagh, and Donegal councils for a EEC commissioned cross-border study; with some similar submissions from councils in the Derry area concerning the development of the Foyle catchment area.

**P215/596** March 1976–March 1977

6 items

**EURABIA**

Correspondence between the European Coordinating Committee of Friendship Societies with the Arab World, Paris, and MFA, mainly concerning European policy on the Palestinian question. Includes a copy letter from Declan O'Donovan, Private Secretary to MFA, to Lucien Bitterlin, Chairman, EURABIA, on Irish policy in relation to Palestine since a statement by the then Minister, Frank Aiken at the UN General Assembly in 1958 (16 December 1976, 2pp).

**P215/597** June–September 1976

15 items

**Europa Instituut**

Material relating to the invitation from the Europa Instituut, University of Amsterdam to MFA to deliver the inaugural address at the eleventh International Course in European Integration, including a copy of the published address (13pp).

**P215/598** April 1974–September 1975

18 items

**Europe Plus Thirty**

Correspondence mainly with Lord Kennet, Director of the EC study of this title, established to recommend whether the organs of the Community should be endowed with a long-term socio-economic forecasting capacity; and whether a European Office of Technological Assessment should be established. Consists mainly of routine correspondence on Irish ministerial representation at meetings and at the conference to consider the Europe Plus Thirty report.

**P215/599** January 1975–March 1977

50 items

**European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions**

Papers concerning the establishment of the Foundation in Ireland including material relating to lobbying in Europe to have the Foundation located in Ireland; and lobbying by Irish institutions and local interests to have the Institute sited in their area, particularly by the National Institute for Higher Education, Limerick. Includes communications between Michael O'Leary, Minister for Labour; Jim Tully, Minister for Local Government; Denis Corboy, Director, Information Office, Commission of the European Communities, Dublin; and MFA.

Includes:

- copy of an amended draft submission to Government made jointly by MLG and ML, on the location of the Foundation in Dublin (June 1975, 6pp);
- copy of a Department of Labour memorandum for the Government on the establishment of the Foundation (August 1975, 9pp);
- material concerning the provision of premises by the Government for the Foundation at Loughlinstown House including a letter from Liam Cosgrave, Taoiseach, to MFA (26 November 1976, 3pp) concerning the Foundation occupying the site at Loughlinstown.

**P215/600** April 1973–May 1977

75 items

**European Parliament**

General material consisting mainly of correspondence with officials of the Parliament and Irish MEPs.

Includes:

- correspondence with Charlie McDonald TD, a member of the European Parliament, concerning McDonald's suggestions as to the support necessary to allow Irish MEPs to be as effective as possible in representing an Irish point of view on every possible occasion within the parliament, and on the supply of briefing material to the MEPs; and on specific matters before the Parliament such as the establishment of a European Court of Auditors (April–November 1976, 6 items);
- communications from Hans-August Lucker, Secretariat of the Christian Democratic Group in the European Parliament enclosing various reports such as that on the consequences of the lack of a fixed place for the activities of the European Parliament (November 1973, 6pp) and on further institutional development within the EC towards political union (September 1973, 8pp) and forwarding various resolutions of the group (December 1973–May 1974, 6 items);
- routine correspondence with J.A. Fahy, Head of Information in Ireland, European Parliament, Fitzwilliam Square, Dublin on

**P215/600**  
contd

matters such as a visit to Ireland in June 1976 by Richard Holbrooke, editor of *Foreign Policy*, under the auspices of the European Community Visitors Programme (June 1974–January 1977, 12 items);

- correspondence with Georges Spénale, President of the European Parliament, on matters such as the ratification by Ireland of the Lomé Convention and on the necessity for the Council of Ministers to make an early decision on a draft convention for direct elections to the Parliament, adopted by the Parliament on 14 January 1975 (June 1975–January 1977, 15 items);
- source material for MFA in speaking to the Parliament and addressing questions on aspects of political cooperation (January 1975, 10pp).

**P215/601** November 1972–March 1977

65 items

**European Movement**

Correspondence, much of it in French, mainly with Jean Rey, President of the European Movement, on issues to do with the EEC and European integration, with papers and agendas for conferences and meetings of the Movement.

Includes:

- telegram concerning MFA's proposed address to the European Movement congress on 5 February 1976 (2 February 1976, 1p), and related correspondence;
- correspondence concerning a proposed Dáil debate on European integration (11 October–27 November 1974, 8 items);
- correspondence with the Italian Council of the European Movement, in which the MFA thanks them for his visit to Italy and the presentation of a gold medal (November 1972–March 1973, 4 items).

**P215/602** February 1974–March 1975

20 items

**European University Institute**

Correspondence initially concerning an invitation to MFA to attend a meeting organized by the Institut de la Communauté Européenne pour les Études Universitaires at Bellagio, Italy, on the institutional problems of the European Community, with a summary of the discussions which MFA was unable to attend (April 1974, 24pp); but primarily concerning Ireland's accession to the convention setting up a European University Institute at Florence, the work of the Preparatory Committee and the Provisional Academic Committee, and the appointment of Irish candidates to academic positions in the new Institute.

**P215/603** August 1976–March 1977

30 items

**Christopher Ewart-Biggs Memorial Fund**

Material concerning the establishment of the fund to promote ‘peace and understanding in Ireland, and the strengthening of the links that bind the peoples of Ireland and Britain’, including:

- copy of a minute by P McD[onagh, Private Secretary to the Secretary General, DFA] concerning an initial meeting with Thomas Pakenham, giving him ‘some assistance in making the contacts necessary to get his proposal underway’ (4 August 1976, 2pp);
- copy of the appeal leaflet (2pp) and some routine correspondence acknowledging contributions;
- material concerning the launch of the fund in Britain and France;
- copy correspondence from MFA to the survivors and families of the victims of the terrorist bomb at the Ambassador’s residence in July 1976, including Jane Ewart-Biggs, enclosing *ex gratia* payments to meet medical expenses and losses arising from the attack (December 1976–January 1977, 9 items).

**P215/604** July 1973–March 1977

20 items

**Federal Trust for Education and Research**

Material relating mainly to research projects and meetings on aspects of European integration such as economic and monetary union, including the meeting of the Trans European Policy Studies Association (TEPSA) to be held in Dublin in January 1975, with a copy of a summary record of discussions at the meeting, for confidential circulation to participants only (February 1975, 8pp).

**P215/605** June 1973–February 1977

40 items

***The Financial Times***

Correspondence between MFA and Marc Lee, Conference Director, *The Financial Times*, mainly concerning MFA’s participation as a frontline speaker in conferences organised by the newspaper such as ‘Europe after the referendum’, Dublin, 23–24 July 1975; and ‘The Middle East Development Conference – Egypt, the next five years’, Cairo, 7–9 June 1976.

**P215/606** May 1974

8 items

**Fine Gael Ard-Fheis material**

Programme, speeches and resolutions for the 1974 Fine Gael Ard-Fheis, held at the Mansion House, Dublin on 18–19 May 1974.

Includes a copy of a draft speech for the Taoiseach, redrafted by DFA, concerning the current situation in Northern Ireland, with specific reference to the Sunningdale Agreement (16 May, 5pp).

**P215/607** October 1973–June 1975

15 items

**Fine Gael TCD Branch**

Correspondence Initially with Murray and subsequently with other officers of the TCD Fine Gael Branch concerning matters such as MFA's attendance at meetings on campus, resolutions passed at branch concerning development aid, the imprisonment of Vo Que by the South Vietnamese authorities, and the admission of Kurdish and Vietnamese refugees to Ireland to continue their studies.

**P215/608** May 1974–June 1977

300 items

**Fisheries**

Material relating generally to Irish fishing interests with particular reference to the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea, to be held at Caracas, Venezuela, June–August 1974; and negotiations at European Commission level on the formulation and modification of aspects of a Community Fisheries Policy, most importantly the question of exclusive fishing zones (June 1976–June 1977).

Includes

- copy of DFA memorandum for Government on the Third UN Conference on the Law of the Sea (May 1974, 47pp);
- correspondence between DFA and representative organizations of the Irish fishing industry such as the Federation of Irish Fishing Co-Operatives, the Irish Sea Fisheries Board, and the Irish Fishermen's Organization;
- Government Information Services press releases;
- telexes from embassies in European capitals including London, Brussels, Paris and Rome, on reportage of the negotiations on fishery limits and policy, with particular reference to the Irish position, at odds with most other member states;
- occasional handwritten notes by MFA;
- copies of Dáil debates on EC fisheries policy;
- copies of occasional EC documents such as a secret Council note containing a progress report following the meeting of the

**P215/608**  
contd

Permanent Representatives Committee on 28 October 1976 concerned with the creation of the 200 mile fishing zone (29 October 1976, 16pp); and a report from the Permanent Representatives Committee to the Council on interim measures for the conservation and management of fishery resources, annotated by MFA (4 February 1977, 15pp);

- copies of MFA's speaking notes for the Council discussion on fisheries;
- communications and notes of occasional meetings between DFA and Fisheries Division, Department of Agriculture and Fisheries;
- draft and copy of an article by MFA for *The Irish Skipper* on the EC fisheries negotiations (December 1976);
- copy of a paper by MFA on the Irish sea fishery limit problem (1 January 1977, 4pp);
- copy of a report of a meeting between Irish officials and Commission staff in Brussels, 26 January 1977, to allow the Commission to ascertain minimum Irish demands for an interim EC fisheries conservation and management programme for 1977 (4pp);
- material relating to negotiations between the EC and non-member countries such as the USSR, on fishery arrangements;
- material relating to the Irish unilateral conservation action in limiting the size of vessels fishing close to shore (February 1977).

**P215/609** May 1977

8 items

**Fisheries: Council meeting, 16 May 1977**

Documents compiled in preparation for the Council meeting. Includes:

- unidentified and undated briefing note for the meeting, mainly relating to proposals for the management of the herring fishing industry (3pp);
- copy of a Council report on progress in discussions on the common fisheries policy following the extension of fishing zones to 200 miles (29 April 1977, 13pp);
- copies of telexes from T. Barrington, Permanent Representation in Brussels, to B. McHugh, DFA concerning developments in negotiations on herring fishing (May 1977, 4 items);
- copy of a typescript note by MFA on a discussion with Commissioner Gundelach, 12 May 1977 (2pp).

**P215/610** June 1977

4 items

**Fisheries: Council meeting, 21 June 1977**

Documents compiled in preparation for the Council meeting. Includes:

**P215/610**  
contd

- note by B. McHugh, Counsellor, Economic Division DFA (20 June 1977, 2pp) attaching and commenting upon draft Council regulations laying down interim measures affecting vessels flying the flag of certain non-member countries (June 1977, 12pp).
- copy of a report entitled 'Basic data on the Dutch fishing industry. A study prepared on behalf of the Embassy of Ireland in the Netherlands' by Knapper & McAlley (17 June 1977, 26pp);
- copy of a confidential report prepared by Etrie International entitled 'Caractéristiques de peche des ports de La Rochelle, Lorient, Douarnenez, Concarneau' (June 1977, 27pp).

**P215/611** May 1977

10 items

**Fisheries: Council meeting, 27 June 1977**

Documents supplied to MFA as briefing for the Council meeting. Includes:

- draft Council regulation for a licence system to be administered by the Commission to control the fishing operations of non-member countries in waters under the jurisdiction of Member States, and covered by the Community system for the conservation and management of fishery resources (18 May 1977, 8pp);
- 2 memoranda on Ireland's demand for a 50 mile exclusion zone around its coast, one by E. Barrington, First Secretary, Permanent Representation at Brussels (12 May 1977, 4pp), the other by B. McHugh, Counsellor, Economic Division DFA (27 April 1977, 4pp) with an introductory comment by McHugh on both (25 May 1977, 2pp);
- contribution by the Commission to the proceedings of the conference on 'Growth, stability and employment: stock-taking and prospects' (23 May 1977, 16pp);
- copy of the opinion of the Advocate General at a recent European Court hearing on fisheries (May 1977, 8pp).

**P215/612** July 1974, July 1975

2 items

**Fisheries dispute on the Foyle**

Minute of a meeting between MFA and representatives of the Greencastle Fishermen's Association, 12 July 1974, to consider issues arising from a dispute with the Northern Ireland Conservation Board on fishing limits on the Foyle (7pp) together with a statement of matters arising from the meeting (2pp). Copy letter from MFA to the secretary of the Association (7 July 1975, 1p) concerning continuing negotiations with the Northern Ireland authorities to resolve difficulties.

**P215/613** July 1974–June 1976

11 items

**Fisheries incidents**

Papers mainly relating to an incident in which the British Army allegedly stopped and searched a lorry laden with fish, illegally breaking customs seals and destroying the load (26 March–17 June 1976, 9 items). Also contains correspondence relating to a case of alleged fishing inside Irish territorial waters by a Dutch vessel (16 July–7 August 1974, 2 items). Correspondence is mainly between DFA and P. A. Dorrian & Company, Solicitors, Buncrana, County Donegal.

**P215/614** July 1973–December 1976

7 items

**Senator Alexis FitzGerald**

Correspondence between Alexis FitzGerald and MFA including:

- letter from Senator FitzGerald making known his views on the appointment of a chair to an unidentified committee for the benefit of the Cabinet (30 July 1973, 2pp);
- letter from Senator FitzGerald (11 February 1974, 1p) enclosing a newsletter *Community Concern* (3pp), highly critical of MFA's policy on the exchange of embassies with the Soviet Union. FitzGerald points out that one of the signatories is chair of the Fine Gael branch in Terenure;
- exchange of letters between the two (8, 9 December 1976, 2 items) concerning the forthcoming Seanad debate on the motion to extend fishery limits to two hundred miles.

**P215/615** 1973–88

150pp

**Dr Garret FitzGerald: personal notes**

File of undated and largely unidentified handwritten notes by MFA, made either preparatory to or in the course of EC meetings including meetings of the Council of Ministers.

Also includes:

- typescript working documents for meetings of the Council, such as the meeting on 14–15 January 1975 (30pp) annotated by MFA;
- handwritten statistics relating to the MFA's Presidency of the Council, mainly concerning the volume of travel and visits to EC member countries (1p);
- typescript lists of lectures and papers given by MFA, books and pamphlets published, and contributions made to journals, 1959–72 (4pp);
- typescript notes by MFA for the Taoiseach in preparation for the

**P215/615**  
contd

visit of Jacques Chirac, headed 'General note on preparation for Summit' (13 November 1974, 4pp).

**P215/616** May 1974–June 1977

50 items

**Tom Fitzpatrick TD, Minister for Lands (March 1973–December 1976), Minister for Transport and Power (December 1976–July 1977)**

Correspondence between MFA and Fitzpatrick as ML and later MTP on matters such as official visits abroad particularly as MTP, to stimulate tourism into Ireland; the economic development of the border areas; figures for Irish payments to and receipts from the European Community since joining; difficulties for cross-border commercial traffic caused by the security situation; and the application of Article 52 of the Treaty of Rome in regard to the right of establishment on agricultural land, and the necessity for Ireland to prepare non-discriminatory legislation to give effect to the provision.

**P215/617** April–June 1973

5 items

***Fortnight* magazine**

Correspondence between Tom Hadden, Belfast, editor of *Fortnight*, an independent review for Northern Ireland, and MFA concerning arrangements for an interview; together with a transcript of the interview, mainly dealing with the White Paper and proposals for a Council of Ireland.

**P215/618** November 1975–March 1977

75 items

**Yann Fouéré**

Material concerning the case of Monsieur Fouéré, a Breton nationalist with Irish citizenship who had been a long-term resident in Ireland and raised his family there, and who was arrested and detained at Saint Brieuc in Brittany in October 1975 on charges of possessing explosives and attempting to re-constitute a banned organization.

Includes:

- representations to MFA from members of Mr Fouéré's family, particularly his son Erwan, a member of the European Commission staff; from public representatives and public bodies in Ireland; and from French jurists;
- copies of Parliamentary questions and extracts from Dáil debates

**P215/618**  
contd

and *Debats à l'Assemblée Nationale*;

- copy of a note for the information of MFA (January 1976, 2pp);
- copy of *Yann Fouéré et la cour de sureté de l'état*, a pamphlet published by the Comité international pour le soutien et la libération de Yann Fouéré (1976, 36pp);
- copy of a note on the arrest and detention of Fouéré, prepared by his family (4 February 1976, 7pp);
- letter from Yann Fouéré on his release and return to Ireland, to MFA, thanking him for all the effort, formal and informal, exerted on his behalf (19 July 1976, 1p).

**P215/619** November 1974–November 1976

20 items

**German Ambassador**

File consisting mainly of communications from Hans-Dietrich Genscher, German Foreign Minister, to MFA, routed through the German Embassy. Includes a copy of a letter from Genscher, who will preside over the forthcoming session of the Committee of Ministers to be held in Strasbourg on 6 May 1976, outlining areas for discussion including direct elections to the European Parliament and the Tindemans report on European Union (26 April 1976, 2pp); and a copy of a draft resolution on a convention on international action against the taking of hostages (24 August 1976, 3pp) which Germany proposes the member states should promote at the forthcoming UN General Assembly.

**P215/620** April–October 1973; November 1975

20 items

**Lord Gladwyn**

Correspondence and related papers between MFA and Lord Gladwyn, rapporteur of a report on 'The effects of a European foreign policy on defence questions' being prepared by the Political Committee of the European Parliament. Includes related questionnaire and typescript copy text of points in response; and an offprint of an article by Gladwyn 'The defence of Western Europe' reprinted from *Foreign Affairs*, an American quarterly review (April 1973, 12pp).

**P215/621** July 1973–February 1976

25 items

**Canon C.M. Gray-Stack, St Patrick's Parsonage, Kenmare**

Correspondence between MFA and Canon Gray-Stack mainly concerning ecumenical events in which the Canon is involved, mainly

**P215/621**      the Irish Ecumenical Pilgrimage to the Holy Places (October 1973).  
**contd**

**P215/622**      July 1973–January 1975

15 items

**Jo Grimond MP**

Mainly correspondence between MFA and Jo Grimond MP, House of Commons, London, concerning arrangements for Grimond's occasional visits to Dublin for meetings or lectures, usually with an economic focus, during which he wishes to meet ministerial colleagues of MFA. Also concerns a dinner Grimond wishes to host as Chancellor of the University of Kent, to mark the election of F.S.L. Lyons, a Kent professor, as Provost of Trinity College Dublin (May 1974).

**P215/623**      January–February 1977

4 items

**Patrick Hackett**

Material concerning representations to DFA on behalf of Hackett, a prisoner in Brixton Prison following his involvement in a bombing attempt in Britain in which he lost a hand and a leg.

**P215/624**      September 1973–May 1977

100 items

**Brendan Halligan TD, General Secretary of the Labour Party**

Correspondence and related papers between MFA and Halligan, mainly in his role as Labour Party General Secretary. Includes copies for information of Labour Party Administrative Council statements on issues such as the coup in Chile and the status of women in society (October 1973); copy of preliminary documents for the Labour Party annual conference, 1975 (c100pp); copy text of a speech by Halligan given at the Labour Party annual conference in Blackpool, on 'Campaign for democracy in Ulster' (October 1976, 12pp); as well as correspondence on specific issues such as individual refugees.

**P215/625** June 1975–February 1977

30 items

**Iain Hamilton**

Correspondence between DFA and Hamilton, Director of Studies, Institute for the Study of Conflict

Includes material relating to:

- allegations in *Time Out* magazine, reported in the *Irish Times*, that the Institute had close links with the CIA and British intelligence;
- a proposal by Hamilton to write a major article on the Northern Ireland situation and his request for a meeting with MFA, including internal DFA minutes on the request and on Hamilton's background;
- copies of press cuttings reporting and criticizing the meeting, and related correspondence.

**P215/626** September 1973–March 1977

50 items

**Paddy Harte TD**

Communications between Deputy Harte, Chairman of the All-Party Committee on Irish Relations, and MFA, mainly concerning issues arising from Harte's regular contacts in Northern Ireland, such as severe delays in security clearance of cross-border traffic at Aughnacloy, County Tyrone; and the possible establishment of a cross-border North-West Development Board. Also contains representations made by Harte on behalf of constituents.

**P215/627** March 1973–February 1975

20 items

**Seán Hogan–Repression of the Catholic Minority in Northern Ireland**

Mainly correspondence between MFA and Mr Hogan, Firswood, Manchester, chairman of the United Ireland Association in the Manchester area, largely concerning the organization of ecumenically based information meetings on the Northern Ireland situation.

**P215/628** March 1973–May 1974

50 items

**John William Hosey**

Papers concerning the case of John William Hosey, an Irish citizen and one of a number of men charged in South Africa under the

**P215/628**  
**contd** Terrorism Act for distributing seditious literature. Includes correspondence between MFA and the anti-apartheid movement in Ireland; background material on the case and on Irish consular visits to Hosey in prison; on his conviction and the rejection of his appeal.

**P215/629** March 1976

3 items

**Indonesia: Diplomatic relations with**

Letter from the Indonesian Ambassador to the UK, to the Irish Ambassador to the UK, proposing that formal diplomatic relations be opened between the two countries, with DFA correspondence on the issue.

**P215/630** February–April 1977

2 items

**Iranian Minister of Economic Affairs and Finance, Hushang Ansary**

Correspondence between Ansary and MFA concerning the establishment of a Joint Commission for Economic, Industrial, Scientific and Technological Cooperation between Iran and Ireland. The terms of reference, composition, and objectives of the Commission are identified.

**P215/631** June 1974–December 1976

25 items

**Irish Commission for Justice and Peace**

Mainly submissions from the Commission, part of the Irish Episcopal Conference, on Third World issues and overseas aid, with related correspondence. Includes a representation by the Commission to MFA before his visit to the Soviet Union, concerning the case of Petras Plumpa, a Lithuanian Catholic dissident (10 December 1976, 4pp).

**P215/632** April 1973–June 1977

50 items

**Irish Congress of Trade Unions**

Correspondence between MFA and Ruaidhri Roberts, General Secretary, and Donal Nevin, Assistant General Secretary, ICTU,

**P215/632**  
contd

mainly concerning European and world issues of concern to the Congress, such as European economic and monetary union, regional planning, and the situation in South Africa. Includes a copy of the ICTU submission on the European Commission's guidelines for a Social Action Programme (September 1973, 10pp) and its submission to the Council of Ministers on the draft resolution of the Commission on the SAP (December 1973, 4pp); and some material relating to an allocation in the draft EEC budget for 1976 to defray travel expenses of trade union officials involved in EEC work.

**P215/633** March 1973–June 1977

50 items

**Irish Council of the European Movement**

Includes minutes of meetings of the Executive Committee of which MFA was a member; correspondence between MFA and successive directors of ICEM, on the annual financial subvention by the Government through DFA of ICEM's information functions, and on matters of general interest such as direct elections to the European Parliament; and material concerning ICEM seminars and general meetings.

**P215/634** May 1973–April 1977

c20 items

**Irish Episcopal Commission for Emigrants**

Mainly correspondence between Fr Charles O'Malley, Secretary of IECE, Dr Joseph Cunnane, Archbishop of Tuam, and MFA concerning attendance at meetings, the Annual Emigrant Congresses and the issue of government funding for Irish emigrants. Includes typescript copy memorandum of a meeting between the Taoiseach, MFA, and representatives of the Episcopal Commission for Emigrants in Leinster House (6 February 1974, 3pp).

**P215/635** October 1973–March 1977

30 items

**Irish Housewives Association**

Correspondence between the Association and MFA mainly concerning the Association's endorsement of the Minister's signing, on behalf of the Government, the UN Conventions on Economic, Social and Cultural Rights and on Civil and Political Rights; and the Association's wish to see these ratified by the Government at the earliest opportunity. Also concerns the issue of the absence of women on the Irish delegation to the UN.

**P215/636** October 1973–December 1975

15 items

**Irish Management Institute**

Correspondence between MFA and Ivor Kenny, Irish Management Institute, mainly concerning the provision by the IMI of training programmes and workshops for managers in developing countries, mainly in Africa.

**P215/637** 16 April 1974

2 items

**Irish Rugby Football Union**

Letter from I.F. Mahony, President IRFU, Lansdowne Road, Dublin 4, to MFA (2pp) referring to a letter from MFA (29 March 1974, not present) concerning the forthcoming tour of South Africa by the British Lions. Mahony defends the IRFU involvement in the tour.

‘We state emphatically that this Union is opposed to all forms of discrimination in sport whether it occurs in South Africa or elsewhere. We do not accept the contention that the visit by the Lions team will be construed in South Africa as support for the Racial Laws in that country and for the continuation of racial discrimination in rugby football. The South African Rugby Board are under no illusions on that score’. He encloses a copy of a statement on the tour issued by the Home Unions Tours Committee (not dated, 4pp).

**P215/638** April 1974–September 1976

30 items

**The Irish Times**

Correspondence mainly concerning possible contributions by MFA to special supplements of the newspaper, such as a feature on Spain to coincide with the first official visit to Ireland by a Spanish foreign minister; or participation in conferences, such as that on ‘Europe after the referendum’, to be held in Dublin, 23–24 July 1975. Includes a letter from Henry Kelly, editor, special reports and supplements, to MFA (1 June 1976, 1p) highly appreciative of the help and assistance provided to him by Irish embassies in Europe, the Middle East and United States; and a letter from Ivan Barnes, foreign news editor of *The Times*, London, to MFA (8 July 1976, 1p) expressing his newspaper’s appreciation of the assistance given to their correspondent Robert Fisk by the Irish embassies in Beirut and Lisbon over the previous three months.

**P215/639** March 1973–May 1977

40 items

**Irish Transport and General Workers' Union**

Correspondence between MFA and various officers of the union including John F. Carroll, ITGWU vice-president, mainly concerning his election and activities as Vice-President of the Economic & Social Committee of the European Communities; Brendan Clarke, ITGWU Communications Officer, concerning the proceedings of the Europe-America Conference in Amsterdam, March 1973, and the possibility of establishing an Irish Institute of International Affairs (April–October 1973, 6 items); and with Senator Michael Mullen ITGWU General Secretary (February–May 1977, 10 items).

**P215/640** May 1973–May 1977

23 items

**Irish United Nations Association**

Correspondence primarily between the IUNA and MFA concerning attendance at events and the circulation of reports on Ireland's UN role. Also contains related speeches and papers.

Includes:

- correspondence with Michael Adams, Joint Honorary Secretary, concerning arrangements for the IUNA meeting which the MFA is to address on the subject of Irish/UN relations (31 May–22 June 1973, 4 items); together with a photocopy of the introductory remarks by Sean MacBride, President, IUNA, at the meeting (21 June 1973, 3pp);
- copy of an interim report from Terence Gavaghan to MFA on a working paper on opportunities for co-operation in Africanization programmes towards majority rule in Zimbabwe (March 1977, 6pp).

**P215/641** March–November 1975

11 items

**Israeli Ambassador**

Mainly correspondence between Gideon Rafael, Israeli Ambassador to Ireland, and MFA containing messages of appreciation, and expressions of admiration for the Irish Government's handling of security matters with specific reference to the kidnapping of Dr Tiede Herrema.

Includes:

- typescript letter from Yigal Allon, Foreign Minister and Deputy Prime Minister of Israel, to MFA conveying satisfaction at the new Israel/EEC Agreement signed on 11 May 1975 and expressing thanks for advice and guidance offered by MFA and his colleagues

**P215/641**  
contd

- (22 May 1975);
- photocopy of Gideon Rafael's resumé (not dated, 1p).

**P215/642** November 1974–September 1976

7 items

**Italian Ambassador**

Correspondence between Goffredo Biondi Morra, Italian Ambassador, and MFA concerning attendance at social events and forwarding of messages of appreciation from successive Italian Foreign Ministers, Mariano Rumor and Arnaldo Forlani.

Includes:

- message from Mariano Rumor expressing thanks for condolences sent by GFG following an earthquake in Friuli, Italy (18 May 1976, 1p);
- message from Arnaldo Forlani thanking GFG for the message of goodwill sent upon his appointment as Foreign Minister (19 August 1976, 1p).

**P215/643** November 1976–June 1977

12 items

**Mr Roy Jenkins, President of the European Commission**

Correspondence initially arising from MFA's support for an invitation to Roy Jenkins as President Designate to address a major European accounting congress to be held in Dublin, including correspondence between MFA and Jenkins (November–December 1976, 8 items). Copy letter from MFA to the President of the Commission, on behalf of the Government of Ireland (6 May 1977, 4pp) replying to the President's letter (not present), concerning the Commission's proposals in relation to fisheries conservation.

**P215/644** June 1973–June 1977

20 items

**Jewish Representative Council of Ireland**

Correspondence between MFA and Maurice Abrahamson, chairman of the Council, and related papers, mainly on matters of concern to the Irish Jewish community, such as the position of Jews in Arab states and the USSR; and the possibility of the abolition of visa requirements for Israeli citizens wishing to come to Ireland. Includes a minute by MFA of a brief discussion with Abrahamson (16 July 1973, 1p); and material relating to an interview with MFA published in *Dublin Jewish News* (March–April 1975).

**P215/645** March 1974–November 1976

20 items

**Monsieur Pierre Joannon**

Correspondence and related papers between MFA and Mrs FitzGerald, and Pierre Joannon, mainly concerning his activities as Irish honorary consul in Antibes, and co-editor of the review *Études Irlandaises*. Includes a summary of the honorary consul's activities, 1 October 1973–16 April 1974 (15pp); some general correspondence with DFA and Hugh McCann, Irish Ambassador in Paris, concerning his range of responsibilities; and a transcript of an interview he conducted with Bill Craig, leader of Ulster Vanguard, for publication in *Études Irlandaises* (1975, 19pp).

**P215/646** April–May 1977

30pp

**Frank Judd MP, Minister of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office**

Preparatory material for the official visit of the Minister, including consideration of topics for discussion under the general heading of 'non-Northern Ireland aspects of Anglo-Irish relations' and to include the JET project, European enlargement, fisheries and agriculture policy, the European Social Fund, and Anglo-Irish political relations.

**P215/647** February 1976–January 1977

15 items

**Liam Kavanagh TD**

Correspondence between MFA and Deputy Kavanagh, and occasionally other Government members of the European Parliament, concerning Government policy on matters before the parliament including the Tindemans Report and Regional Policy.

**P215/648** March 1973–June 1977

120 items

**Justin Keating TD, Minister for Industry and Commerce**

Correspondence between MFA and MIC and their respective officials on matters of mutual interest including:

- Ireland's external trade and the desirability of establishing diplomatic missions in countries such as the Soviet Union and Poland to support the expansion of trade with those countries, as well as the question of Russia's most favoured nation status in

**P215/648**  
contd

- trade relations with Ireland;
- the question of Irish representation on the Technical Committee of Export Credit Insurers in the European Community;
- proposals for a joint Irish-Qatar oil project;
- note by MFA on a discussion with MIC on some matters outstanding between their two departments, mainly relating to external trade (5 August 1975, 2pp);
- report of an inter-departmental meeting convened by DIC, attended by DFA, on the question of advance planning by departments concerned, in anticipation of possible substantial offshore finds of petroleum and the granting of exclusive licences for oil and gas exploration (16 December 1975, 11pp);
- arrangements for official visits abroad by MIC.

Includes two sub-files containing material relating to commercial and economic relations with the USSR (February–May 1975, 15 items) and to a meeting between economic ministers and the ITGWU (August–December 1975, 20 items).

**P215/649** June 1973–April 1977

100 items

**John Kelly TD, Parliamentary Secretary to the Taoiseach**

Correspondence between PST and MFA concerned overwhelmingly with the programme of parliamentary business and the need for sponsoring Ministers to have Bills ready for consideration by the Dáil and Seanad, with responses from DFA mainly concerning tabling of motions and reports on matters such as developments in the European Community. Also includes requests from the Private Secretary to MFA for pairing arrangements for his Minister, abroad on official business; requests from PST for material on foreign affairs for the Taoiseach's Ard Fheis speech; occasional drafts and copies of texts of speeches by PST such as that on the National Coalition's legislative year (March 1974, 3pp); and routine material concerning arrangements for meetings of the Fine Gael Oireachtas Party

Representations forwarded by PST to DFA include the case of Miss Naquia Sultana Ali, a Pakistani student attending TCD, arrested in Britain and threatened with deportation to Pakistan; the anxieties of Professor David Greene concerning the possible downgrading of the Royal Irish Academy; the retention in Ireland of the Allen Library, held at Whitechurch House, Cappagh, County Waterford including a DFA memorandum for Government on the future of the library (September 1974, 3pp); attendance at the first congress of the Centre Social Democratic Party of Portugal; and the current residence in Rome of Mrs Kathleen Napoli McKenna

**P215/650** July 1974

2 items

**Councillor Peter Kelly**

Letter from Peter Kelly to MFA (19 July 1974, 2pp) concerning local party sensitivities in the formation of Fine Gael branches in the Dublin South-East and South County constituencies. Copy reply from MFA (23 July 1974, 1p).

**P215/651** May 1974–January 1975

5 items

**Dr Walter Kendall, Nuffield College Oxford**

Kendall is working on a history of the Communist Party of Great Britain in the 1920s and 1930s and is interested in links with the Irish communists at that time. He is looking for a copy of a relevant Department of Justice file which he has been unable to locate and wonders if it might be among the papers of the MFA's father, Desmond. He encloses copies of earlier relevant correspondence with the Department of Justice.

**P215/652** April 1974–March 1976

12 items

**Professor Maurice Kennedy, Registrar, University College Dublin**

concerning procedures for presentation to the Oireachtas of a National University statute on the registrarship of UCD; on a DFA post offered to a French language graduate without possibility of deferral, with the result that the person had to refuse a French government scholarship; and on the career of Ambassador John Moore whom the Registrar is to introduce at the conferring of an honorary degree.

**P215/653** November 1975–February 1976

6 items

**Kerry County Development Team**

Correspondence between DFA officials and E. O'Mahony, County Development Officer and Secretary to the County Committee of Fisheries, concerning the Committee's proposal for the immediate implementation of a 50 mile exclusive limit for Irish fishermen, drawn on a revised coastal baseline.

**P215/654** April 1975–December 1976

8 items

**The Lord Killanin/International Olympic Committee**

Correspondence concerning visas for members of a Chinese sports delegation coming to Ireland to visit Killanin; and arrangements for the Moscow Embassy to extend assistance to him on a preparatory visit for the 1980 Olympic Games.

**P215/655** 31 July 1974–7 March 1977

82 items

**Kiltyclogher Road, County Leitrim**

File relating to the closure and destruction, by the British Army, of the road leading from Kiltyclogher in County Leitrim to Cashel in County Fermanagh in July 1974. Includes correspondence and petitions from the local community, the local Catholic priest Donald Hannon, and local TDs Joe McLaughlin and Ray McSharry. Also includes departmental notes describing clashes between locals and the British Army, the firing of baton rounds over the border, and alleged incursion by British forces (August–October 1974, 3 items); a Department of Justice note to the effect that ‘the barrier does not cause any significant inconvenience to those engaged in legitimate activity ... only smugglers and IRA activists are affected’ (20 August 1974, 2pp); and material dealing with the destruction of a temporary footbridge by the British Army (January 1975–January 1976 20 items), and claims for compensation by the residents of Kiltyclogher (7 December 1976–7 March 1977, 11 items).

**P215/656** November–December 1974

6 items

**Dr Cecil King**

Note by R. O’Brien, First Secretary, London Embassy, for the Ambassador, of a conversation with Cecil King who was about to take up residence in Dublin, concerning events in Northern Ireland (5 November 1974, 4pp). King’s opinion that an independent Northern Ireland was the only solution is elaborated. Also contains a handwritten letter from King, Greenfield Park, Donnybrook, to MFA (15 December 1974, 2pp) subsequent to a meeting between the two. He has since talked to Ian Paisley and recounts the latter’s response to the suggestion of a neutral force being introduced into an independent Northern Ireland to protect the Catholic community.

**P215/657** June 1975–April 1976

5 items

**Dr Henry Kissinger**

Unsigned note from the Secretary of State to MFA (30 June 1975, 1p) congratulating him on the termination of the Irish Presidency of the Council of Ministers.

‘I have been most gratified by the excellent dialogue between the United States and the European Community during the past six months of the Irish Presidency’. Correspondence between MFA and the Secretary of State concerning the US decision to impose countervailing duties on beef shipped from Ireland (April 1976, 2 items).

**P215/658** April 1975–March 1976

9 items

**Kurdish refugees**

Correspondence mainly between DFA officials and J. Ali of the Kurdistan Democratic Party, concerning an unsuccessful application for Ireland to accept a number of Kurdish students living as refugees in Iran.

**P215/659** September 1976–May 1977

9 items

**Bishop Donal Lamont**

Copies of press releases from the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace and from Trócaire, supporting Dr Lamont, Bishop of Umtali and President of the Rhodesian Justice and Peace Commission, charged by the Rhodesian authorities under emergency legislation (September 1976, 3pp, 2pp). Letter from Bishop Lamont to MFA (7 October 1976, 2pp) thanking him most heartily, in the wake of his conviction by the Rhodesian courts, for all that the Government has attempted on his behalf. ‘I would like you to know that I understand fully the difficulty which arises from Ireland’s refusal to recognize the illegal Rhodesia regime’. Copy reply from MFA (20 October 1976, 1p).

**P215/660** December 1973–August 1975

6 items

**Surgeon J.P. Lane**

Letter from Surgeon Lane, Mater Hospital, Belfast, to MFA commending the members of DFA staff present in Strasbourg where

**P215/660**  
**contd**

Surgeon Lane had appeared as witness in the case before the European Commission of Human Rights (12 December 1973, 1p) with typescript copy reply from MFA (December 1973, 1p). Copy letter from the Private Secretary to MFA to Surgeon Lane (23 August 1975, 1p) in acknowledgement of the receipt of a copy of a letter from Lane to Gerry Fitt MP concerning electoral registration in Northern Ireland [not present] and enclosing a copy of a draft DFA note on voting by Irish citizens in Northern Ireland elections (1p).

**P215/661**    October–November 1976

4 items

**Senator Brian Lenihan**

Correspondence between MFA and Senator Lenihan, a member of the European Parliament, concerning Ireland's ratification of the Treaty of 22 July 1975, designed to strengthen the budgetary powers of the Parliament and to establish the European Court of Auditors.

**P215/662**    January 1974–May 1977

50 items

**James Leonard TD**

Correspondence with Deputy Leonard concerning representations on behalf of his constituents in Monaghan arising from difficulties they are experiencing, mainly as a result of British army activity such as helicopter overflights; the destruction of cross-border bridges; cross-border incursions; and the cratering and blocking of border roads.

**P215/663**    March–May 1975

9 items

**Libya: visit by an Irish Parliamentary delegation**

Papers concerning the visit including letter from John Kelly TD, Parliamentary Secretary to the Taoiseach, to MFA (20 March 1975, 1p) concerning the advisability of the visit and enclosing a memorandum on the proposal by Seán T. Ryan, prominent in the Irish/Arab movement in Ireland and a member of Fine Gael (19 March 1975, 2pp). Invitation from the Malta High Commission, London, for the delegation to extend its visit to Malta (7 April 1975, 1p).

**P215/664** March–May 1975

5 items

**Lord Longford**

Letter from Longford to MFA (4 March 1975, 1p) canvassing his support for the efforts being made to secure the Nobel Peace Prize for Mother Theresa of Calcutta, and enclosing a memorandum on Mother Theresa's life and work (2pp).

**P215/665** December 1975–June 1976

5 items

**Sir Robert Lowry**

Correspondence between MFA and Lord Chief Justice Lowry, mostly of a cordial and semi-personal nature. Includes a copy of a personal and confidential letter from MFA to Lowry (23 December 1975, 1p) reassuring him that an erroneous report in the *Irish Times* that the two had met in Belfast the previous week did not originate in DFA. Correspondence concerning a dinner invitation from MFA to the Lord Chief Justice (May–June 1976, 3 items) to mark the departure of the outgoing [British?] Ambassador.

**P215/666** June 1974–January 1977

20 items

**Professor P.K Lynch**

Correspondence with Paddy Lynch, Department of Political Economy, University College Dublin, mainly relating to the activities of bodies with which he is involved, including:

- letter from Lynch (13 June 1974, 1p) enclosing a copy of a paper he has presented at the latest meeting of the Economic and Monetary Union 1980 Group in Brussels on 'Monetary integration. A note on the Irish experience' (8pp);
- letter from Lynch (21 January 1976, 1p) describing a recent meeting of the Council of the Royal Irish Academy at which he managed to get agreement for the establishment of a National Committee for International Affairs. 'Curiously enough, the only opposition came from our friend, Professor Stanford; his opposition was, oddly enough, based on his doubts as to whether in fact this was really an academic discipline! He withdrew his opposition, however, when I explained that the whole point of locating this activity in the Academy was because it was a study which drew from many disciplines and, indeed, was multi-disciplinary in the real sense of the word'.
- letter from Lynch as an executive committee member of the Institute of Public Administration (5 March 1976, 2pp) enquiring about likely sources of funding for research into comparative

**P215/666**  
contd

governmental and public service structures of the European Community member states;

- letter from Lynch concerning the United Nations University (13 April 1976, 2pp) and enclosing papers (3pp) concerning its establishment and priorities;
- letter from Lynch requesting MFA to give a guest lecture in UCD in the series 'The Third World and ours' (30 August 1976, 1p).

**P215/667** March–June 1977

8 items

**Tomás Mac Anna, Artistic Director, Abbey Theatre**

Copy of a letter from D.M. Neligan, Ambassador to Japan, to Mac Anna, expressing in the most forthright terms the Embassy's disappointment at the Theatre's mishandling of the invitation to Kanze Hideo, 'the foremost exponent of the Noh and a Japanese living national treasure', to come to Ireland to advise the Abbey on the staging of Yeats's Noh plays (18 March 1977, 2pp). Letter in Irish from Mac Anna to MFA (2 June 1977, 1p) explaining the Theatre's position and the direct contact they have had with Kanze Hideo.

**P215/668** March 1973–October 1976

25 items

**Seán MacBride SC**

Correspondence between MFA and MacBride in a personal capacity and in various UN roles including President of the Irish United Nations Association, UN Commissioner for Namibia; and as a member of various international human rights groups, on matters such as the government grant to IUNA, and meetings and resolutions of the various bodies.

**P215/669** November–December 1976

7 items

**MACHRAK-Israel negotiations**

Mainly telegrams from the EC representative to DFA concerning the completion and signing of the agreement with Israel and the MACHRAK countries [Egypt, Syria and Jordan].

**P215/670** April 1973–March 1976

20 items

**Rev W.J.N. Mackey, Industrial Officer, Church of Ireland**

Correspondence with Noel Mackey on a range of issues on which he expresses a Protestant voice including: Sunningdale, power-sharing and the isolation of the Protestant population in Northern Ireland; and the necessity of changing the Irish constitution and introducing legislation on contraception. Also includes material relating to a conference on the teaching of history organized by the Churches' Central Committee for Community Work, October 1975, including a copy of the conference report (22pp).

**P215/671** October 1976–February 1977

7 items

**Mashonaland Irish Association**

Correspondence arising from general representations from the Association on behalf of the Irish community in Rhodesia whose members are experiencing difficulties in arranging normal passport facilities with DFA as a result of Ireland's compliance with obligations under UN Security Council Resolutions affecting Southern Rhodesia.

**P215/672** April 1973–February 1977

50 items

**Dr E. McKiernan**

Correspondence with Dr McKiernan, President, Irish American Cultural Institute, Saint Paul, Minnesota, mainly concerning the cultural programmes of the Institute, the potential benefit of engaging with Irish-Americans, and arrangements to meet during his frequent visits to Ireland.

**P215/673** 14 October 1974

2 items

**Dr Brendan Menton**

Copy letter from MFA to An Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave (1p) enclosing a copy (1p) of a letter he has sent to Dr Brendan Menton containing 'some points that might be relevant to next Wednesday's meeting' [of the Cabinet Economic Sub-Committee]. Points relate to the availability of various figures for the meeting, including GNP projections and figures on oil and raw materials prices.

**P215/674** October–November 1973

15 items

**Middle East**

Material relating mainly to United Nations reaction to continued fighting in the area and attempts to achieve a ceasefire by way of Security Council Resolutions 338 and 339. Includes

- text of MFA's speech in Dáil Éireann on a motion to dispatch a contingent of the Defence Forces as part of a United Nations Emergency Force in the Middle East (30 October 1973, 4pp);
- copies of short DFA minutes on the Middle East (15 October 1973, 1p) and European Political Cooperation: the Middle East (not dated, 1p);
- telegrams and copies of telegrams from the Permanent Representative to the UN, to DFA (November 1973, 10 items);
- official text of Security Council Resolution 242 (22 November 1967) concerning the withdrawal of Israel from territories occupied during the recent conflict; and the right of every state in the area to live in peace within secure and recognized boundaries.

**P215/675** May–July 1973

4 items

**Stratton Mills MP**

Copy letter from MFA to Mills [a former Ulster Unionist Party MP] congratulating him on the decision to join the Alliance Party; thanking him for his contribution to the inclusion of provision for effective power-sharing in the White Paper; and explaining at some length the circumstances of a recent visit to the Ardoyne. Reply from Mills to MFA congratulating him belatedly on his appointment and referring to the Assembly elections, power-sharing, and MFA's recent visit (10 May 1973, 1p).

**P215/676** January–October 1976

15 items

**Professor J.D.B. Mitchell**

Correspondence with Professor Mitchell, Centre of European Governmental Studies, University of Edinburgh, concerning MFA's participation in one of a series of seminars organized by the Centre, speaking on 'The prospects of European Union'. Includes copy of the text of a paper by Professor Mitchell 'The Tindemans Report – Retrospect and Prospect' (29pp), described by MFA as 'an exceptionally good analysis of the background of the Tindemans Report' and circulated within DFA.

**P215/677** February 1975–March 1977

15 items

**Niall Montgomery, Architect**

Correspondence initially concerning Montgomery's role as a member of the Cultural Relations Committee of DFA, but latterly as President of the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland, with material relating to the need for legislation regulating the registration of architects in Ireland, and the conferring of an Honorary Fellowship on Dr Françoise Henry. Also includes material relating to Montgomery's application for the post of director of a special International Union of Architects study on a world system of information on architecture and the environment.

**P215/678** January–August 1975

12 items

**Jasper More MP**

Correspondence between More and MFA concerning depredations to stocks of Atlantic salmon as a result of heavy netting of fish off the Irish coast. MFA sympathizes with Mr More's concerns and outlines the stringent measures taken at both national level and in cooperation with Ireland's partners in the North-East Atlantic Fisheries Commission to safeguard stocks.

**P215/679** January–July 1975

15 items

**Andrew A. Mulligan, Director, Delegation of the Commission of the European Communities, Washington DC**

Mainly consists of press cuttings supplied by Mulligan of reportage of MFA's visit to the US as President of the Council of Ministers.

**P215/680** March–May 1973

4 items

**Oliver Napier, Alliance Party**

Handwritten letter from Napier, Napier & Sons, North Street, Belfast, congratulating MFA on his ministerial appointment, for which he is 'ideal' (15 March 1973, 2pp). Letter from Mrs A.M. Murphie, a member of the Alliance Party living 'on the fringes of Ardoyne', in the aftermath of the MFA's visit to the area the previous day, seeking to convey the 'moderate' view of recent events in the area since the arrival of the Parachute Regiment (26 April 1973, 5pp).

**P215/681** October 1974–February 1975

20 items

**Kathleen Napoli McKenna**

Correspondence between MFA and Mrs Napoli McKenna who had worked with MFA's father in the *Irish Bulletin* office. She seeks his assistance in the matter of a military service pension; in having her memoir of the *Irish Bulletin* published; and in having recordings of her reading from her memoir made. Includes related correspondence between MFA and RTÉ, Mercier Press and the Department of Defence. Also includes an earlier letter from Ernest Blythe, Kenilworth Square, Dublin, to GFG (16 February 1970, 1p) concerning Mrs Napoli McKenna's pension application.

**P215/682** August–December 1974

15 items

**National Association of Transport Employees**

Correspondence mainly between F.H. Smyth, General Secretary, NATE and DFA concerning threats to the safety of his members driving Córas Iompair Éireann freight trains into and out of NI. DFA is requested to make appropriate representations to the British authorities.

**P215/683** December 1974–November 1975

7 items

**National Economic and Social Council**

Correspondence mainly between Professor Loudon Ryan, Chairman, NESC, and MFA concerning the NESC's view of the potential of the EEC to make a significant contribution to the development of border areas in Ireland.

**P215/684** October 1974–April 1976

20 items

**National Gallery of Ireland**

Correspondence mainly between MFA and Mr James White, Director, National Gallery of Ireland, concerning loans of paintings and the use of the Gallery for diplomatic hospitality purposes; but mainly concerning the present position with regard to liability for UK capital transfer and acquisitions tax in respect of bequests to public museums and galleries in Ireland originating in the UK, with related correspondence with Richie Ryan, Minister for Finance.

**P215/685** February 1975–March 1976

25 items

**National Institute for Higher Education, Limerick**

Correspondence with members of the management, staff and student bodies of the Institute including:

- with Brian Fallon, Lecturer in Modern European History, concerning a proposed symposium on the future of the European Community to be held in Limerick, with detailed draft suggestions from MFA (July 1975–March 1976, 13 items) as to possible content and format;
- correspondence with the Students' Union concerning the future of NIHE in the context of Government proposals on higher education, with statements of concern issued by the Union particularly relating to which institution would award NIHE degrees (July–November 1975, 8 items);
- correspondence with Dr Edward Walsh, Director, NIHE, concerning a trip by a delegation from the Institute to Brussels 'to permit an exchange of information on topics of mutual concern and to foster a healthy working relationship between the NIHE and appropriate offices and agencies of the European Economic Community' (April 1974, 3 items);
- copy of a letter from Walsh to Dick Burke (11 February 1975, 2pp) proposing the NIHE as a suitable location for the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions which the Foreign Ministers of the Nine have decided to locate in Ireland.

**P215/686** March 1973–April 1977

50 items

**National Youth Council of Ireland**

Material relating to the Council and to the Council of European National Youth Committees [CENYC] including the text of the MFA's address to the opening of the CENYC general assembly, Killarney, 25–29 April 1973; representations from the NYC on policy matters affecting young people such as young people and the law, in the context of the imprisonment of three juveniles in the Maze Prison, Long Kesh (November 1973); the re-establishment of basic human rights in Chile (December 1973); and meetings between delegations from the NYC and MFA to discuss points such as the functioning of the European Youth Foundation and the European Youth Centre, the involvement of young people in the development of the EC, youth policy of the EC, and international youth exchange programmes (April 1974); and delays by the Government in the publication of a national youth policy (January 1975).

**P215/687** July 1973–May 1977

10 items

**Ted Nealon, Government Information Services**

Correspondence between MFA and Nealon, initially as a reporter on the RTE '7 Days' programme who has developed a plan for a small farmers' dole (July 1973, 3 items); but primarily in his role as Director of GIS on matters such as notification of ministerial functions outside Dublin, arrangements for interviews between MFA and journalists, and the DFA contribution to a publication on Government achievements in the first four years in office.

**P215/688** October–November 1975

2 items

**Airey Neave MP**

Letter from Neave [Opposition spokesman on NI] to MFA, 'delighted' at having had a further talk and a successful exchange of views about NI. He refers to a recent visit to Belfast and 'a much easier climate there among the Convention Members' (29 October 1975, 1p). Formal DFA acknowledgement (3 November 1975, 1p).

**P215/689** January–June 1977

40 items

**Netherlands Ambassador**

Correspondence mainly between the DFA, the Dutch Embassy and the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, The Hague, concerning MFA's participation in the Netherlands symposium on the RIO report [Reshaping the International Order]. Includes background documents on the RIO Project and Foundation.

**P215/690** April 1973–April 1977

50 items

**New Ulster Movement**

Correspondence mostly with Brian McGuigan and Brian Walker, with copies of press releases, public statements and NUM policy documents, mainly concerning the possibility of general development in Northern Ireland and specific matters such as Articles 2 & 3 of the 1937 Constitution, reform of the NI Civil Service, the establishment of the Community Relations Commission, and a visit to the US and Canada by McGuigan as part of a delegation from the Northern Ireland Council of Social Service.

**P215/691** March 1973–January 1975

20 items

**New University of Ulster**

Correspondence mainly with Norman J. Gibson, Professor of Economics and Professor D.T. Carter, Head of Community Studies Division and subsequently Chairman of the Working Party on Development in the North-West, Institute of Continuing Education, Derry, concerning meetings of the Working Party and its attempts to secure funding for a study of cross-border development in the North-West. Also includes routine correspondence concerning invitations, mainly from the Students' Debating Union.

**P215/692** May 1973–May 1976

12 items

**New Zealand Ambassador**

Correspondence, mainly of a routine diplomatic nature between MFA and Ambassador T.H. McCombs, Embassy of New Zealand in Ireland, New Zealand House, Haymarket, London, concerning his official visits to Ireland. Includes text of an address by Norman Kirk, New Zealand Prime Minister, to the annual conference of the UN Association of New Zealand (31 March 1973, 8pp). The Prime Minister has asked that MFA be given a copy of the address as he sees parallels between the roles of Ireland and New Zealand within the UN.

**P215/693** August 1973

2 items

**Newspaper supplements**

Typescript copy of a message by MFA for inclusion in an *Irish Independent* supplement on Ireland and Italy (not dated, 2pp). Typescript copy of an article by MFA on Irish adjustment problems and development prospects in the light of EEC membership, written for a German magazine *Intereconomics* (August 1973, 4pp).

**P215/694** April 1973–June 1974

10 items

**Donough O'Connor**

Correspondence between O'Connor of Donough O'Connor & Company, solicitors, Dublin, mainly concerning the promotion of Irish interests in the US where O'Connor has business contacts; and

**P215/694**  
contd

including the possible donation of a painting by Thomas Ryan RHA of *The Flight of the Earls*.

**P215/695** July 1973–June 1977

80 items

**Tom O'Donnell TD, Minister for the Gaeltacht**

Correspondence between MFA and MG and their officials mostly on routine matters such as the supply of Irish cultural material to institutions abroad; translation from German of a letter received by MG from the Highland Association; the visit to the west of Ireland, including Gaeltacht areas, by Commissioner George Thomson; speeches by MG participating in European themed events such as a seminar in Limerick on the political and economic aspects of European unity (November 1974) and a Marketing Institute of Ireland seminar on Ireland and the EEC (May 1975); a proposed visit by MG to Spain (April 1975); an invitation from Plaid Cymru to the MG to address their annual summer school, which DFA feels should not be accepted (May 1976); a visit by a Comhaltas Ceoltoirí Éireann group to the US during which they gave a concert for NORAID in Los Angeles on St Patrick's Day (May 1976); and the case of Fr Bartholomew Burns whose extradition is being sought by Scottish police in connection with explosives charges (May 1976).

**P215/696** June–October 1973

5 items

**Oireachtas Committee on EEC Secondary Legislation**

Letter from Declan Costello, Attorney General, to MFA, concerning the establishment of the Committee to examine draft regulations (13 June 1973, 1p). Material concerning the nomination of Fine Gael members to the Committee, and the election of Deputy Charlie Haughey as chairman (July–August 1973, 4 items). DFA memorandum in connection with MFA's forthcoming appearance before the Committee, the first member of the Government to do so, the procedure to be adopted and the likely questions to be raised (9 October 1973, 5pp).

**P215/697** June 1975–April 1977

40 items

**Michael O'Kennedy TD**

Correspondence between O'Kennedy and MFA and departmental officials concerning representations on behalf of constituents but including broader issues such as relations with Portugal from which

**P215/697**  
contd

MFA had just returned (June–July 1975, 4 items); regulations in force in Ireland concerning the acquisition or development of property by the representatives of foreign governments (December 1975–January 1976, 6 items); and staffing levels at the Soviet Embassy in Dublin (January–March 1977, 3 items). Also includes courtesy notification to O’Kennedy [as Opposition spokesman on Foreign Affairs?] of movement of DFA motions in Dáil Éireann; and the text of an interview given by O’Kennedy to RTÉ concerning the content of a speech he had given in Cork the previous weekend, calling for a British declaration of intent to withdraw from NI (not dated, 3pp).

**P215/698** August 1973–May 1977

120 items

**Michael O’Leary TD, Minister for Labour**

Correspondence and related documents between MFA and ML and their officials concerning matters of interest to both departments including the report of the Council of Europe Committee of Independent Experts on the European Social Charter (August 1973); efforts by the ML to secure action at European Community level to deal with the problem of unemployment through the Permanent Employment Committee which he is chairing (January–May 1975) and other labour and social affairs issues arising during the Irish Presidency of the Council of Ministers, including arrangements for a joint meeting of Ministers for Finance and Ministers for Social Welfare; official invitations extended to the ML to visit India and the Soviet Union (July 1975); the ML’s candidature for the chairmanship of the International Labour Conference 1976, to be held in Geneva (September 1975–May 1976); the employment of foreign nationals in Irish hospitals (June–September 1975); a visit by ML to the US (January 1976); and items for consideration at successive meetings of the European Council (April 1976–March 1977).

**P215/699** May 1973–June 1976

12 items

**Eoin Ó Máille/Roger Casement Vindication Committee**

Correspondence between Ó Máille, Secretary, Fine Gael Dublin south-east constituency and Convenor of the Roger Casement Committee, and MFA concerning the Committee’s attempt to have the Casement diaries subjected to impartial scientific analysis, a campaign for which they seek Government support. Includes transcripts of Dáil debates consisting of parliamentary questions and answers from an earlier period (1955–68) concerning the diaries.

**P215/700** March 1973–July 1975

25 items

**Mrs Una O'Malley/ Working for Peace**

Correspondence initially between MFA and Mr Ivo O'Sullivan of the Working for Peace organization, but overwhelmingly with Mrs Una O'Higgins-O'Malley concerning the establishment and work of the Glencree Centre for Reconciliation, including a promotional tour of the United States.

**P215/701** June–September 1973; June–July 1975

20 items

**F.X. Ortoli, President, Commission of the European Communities**

Material concerning the official visit of President Ortoli to Ireland in June 1973; the controversy surrounding the absence in the programme of a meeting between Ortoli and President Childers; and the postponement of the visit until September 1973. Also contains later material concerning remarks allegedly made by Ortoli to President Ó Dálaigh during a State visit by the latter to the Council and the Commission of the European Community, sympathetic to Ireland's position on export tax relief.

**P215/702** April–May 1977

10 items

**Dr David Owen, Foreign Secretary**

Correspondence between MFA and the Foreign Secretary including

- letter from Owen, FCO, to MFA (29 April 1977, 1p) concerning a recent visit to Cape Town during which he brought to the attention of the new Foreign Minister, Mr Botha, the cases of three men who had been convicted and imprisoned for political offences; including the case of Seán Hosey an Irish citizen who had lived for many years in Coventry. Encloses a copy of the *aide-mémoire* he had given Mr Botha (2pp);
- letter from Owen, FCO, to MFA (26 May 1977, 1p) enclosing a copy of a confidential note (14pp) of discussions at Leeds Castle, 21–22 May, in which MFA had participated, on the enlargement of the European communities.

**P215/703** March 1974–May 1976

25 items

**Pharmaceutical Society of Ireland**

Correspondence with the Pharmaceutical Society of Ireland, mainly with James Coleman, Registrar, and Michael Cahill, Assistant Registrar. The correspondence deals mainly with a proposed EEC directive on the manufacture of pharmaceutical specialities and its effect on the recognition of Irish pharmaceutical training in the EEC. There is also some correspondence concerning use of Irish embassy facilities for a pharmaceutical conference in Rome (5 March–17 April 1974, 7 items), and the Society's invitation to MFA to chair a meeting of the Society's annual conference (29 July–3 October 1975, 6 items).

**P215/704** Not dated [cAugust 1974]

4pp

**Preparations for the Presidency**

Typescript notes [by MFA] of this title, setting out 'a number of problems' for consideration in planning for the Irish Presidency of the Council of Ministers and in developing a programme or policy.

**P215/705** January–June 1974

120 items

**Marian and Dolours Price**

Material mainly concerning the Price sisters, on hunger strike in Brixton Prison, but also referring to Gerry Kelly and Hugh Feeney, arrested and convicted with the sisters and also on hunger strike. Includes the texts of resolutions passed by trades unions, local authorities, sporting, voluntary and charitable organizations, and private citizens, calling for an end to the practice of force feeding the prisoners and their return to serve their sentence in a prison in Ireland, sent direct to MFA or through public representatives. Also includes copies of representations sent to the Taoiseach on the subject. Also includes a number of petitions in support of the prisoners, mainly from schools and other educational institutes.

**P215/706** June 1976

25 items

**Puerto Rico: Proposed economic summit**

Material concerning the proposed economic summit convened by the United States along lines similar to the conference convened by the

**P215/706**  
contd

French the previous year at Rambouillet; and Ireland's concern, shared by other member states of the EC, that invitations had been extended to only four members and that the matter had not been first discussed in the Council of Ministers. Consists mainly of telex messages from Irish embassies in European capitals and Washington concerning arrangements for the conference and the views and actions of those other EC member states not invited. Includes the draft text of an Irish *demarche* to the governments of Germany, UK, France and Italy who had accepted invitations to attend the conference (1p). Draft letter from MFA to Max van der Stoel, Dutch Foreign Minister, concerning a discussion he had had with Gaston Thorn and the desirability or otherwise of the EC Presidency being represented at the proposed conference (4 June 1976, 1p) and handwritten notes by MFA of a telephone conversation with van der Stoel.

**P215/707** September 1974–March 1977

20 items

**Ruairi Quinn**

Correspondence between MFA and Quinn, a member of Dublin Corporation and later of Seanad Éireann on a range of subjects including the need for consular representation in Greece; housing provision in Dublin and the HABITAT UN conference on human settlements to be held in Vancouver in June 1976; and Irish representation in the European Development Fund

**P215/708** June 1973–April 1977

25 items

**Radio Telefis Éireann**

Correspondence between MFA and various RTÉ producers concerning the timing and format of programmes in which MFA is to participate such as a programme on the economic development of the north-west (June–August 1973, 6 items). Copy of a memorandum (3pp) by John O'Donoghue, an RTÉ producer, on a recent visit to the US at the invitation of the State Department, containing suggestions on countering pro-terrorist propaganda in Irish-American circles, together with related correspondence (May–July 1974, 4 items). Private and confidential letter from Oliver Maloney, RTÉ Director General, who is carrying out a comprehensive review of the station's coverage of political developments in Northern Ireland. He requests a confidential briefing on developments in NI as perceived by DFA (27 January 1976, 1p).

**P215/709** June 1973–December 1976

40 items

**Reconciliation Trust Fund**

Correspondence between MFA and a wide range of trade union, church, and community leaders concerning the draft proposals he had circulated on the terms of reference and membership of the Trust Fund.

**P215/710** June 1973–March 1976

15 items

**Red Cross Society**

Correspondence between DFA officials and Mary B. Murphy, General Secretary, Irish Red Cross Society, Merrion Square, Dublin, on behalf of the International Committee of the Red Cross, concerning the Government's annual contribution to the financing of the International Committee's work; as well as occasional direct communications with the International Committee on aspects of its work. Also includes correspondence between MFA and Paddy Donegan, Minister for Defence, concerning the appointment by Government of members of the Central Council of the Irish Red Cross, and of the appointment by the President of a new Chairman (June 1973, 3 items).

**P215/711** 19 March 1974–July 1976

5 items

**Merlyn Rees, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland**

Occasional correspondence between MFA and the Secretary of State. Includes:

- letter from Rees, NIO, London to MFA, thanking him for his letter [not present] concerning the Taoiseach's statement in the Dáil on the status of Northern Ireland. He thought it '... most helpful and imaginative in its approach ...'. He also refers to MFA's concern about the press briefing after their recent meeting (19 March 1974, 1p);
- documents concerning proposals made by Airey Neave, Conservative spokesman on Northern Ireland, for a joint British-Irish security initiative including a copy of a Government Information Service statement (undated, 1p) denying the veracity of a *Daily Telegraph* story reporting such an initiative; and a note by [Declan O'Donovan] private secretary to MFA, of a telephone call from Rees, wishing to speak to MFA on the subject of the proposals (11 June 1976, 2pp).

**P215/712** July 1973–April 1974

15 items

**Religious Society of Friends in Ireland**

Correspondence between MFA and mainly Michael C. Taylor. Clerk of the Dublin Monthly Meeting of the Society of Friends, Eustace Street, Dublin, mainly concerning the Society's concern at the fact of a number of international human rights instruments remaining unsigned and unratified by the Oireachtas. Also includes correspondence between MFA and the Irish Young Friends Committee, concerning the construction of prototype armoured personnel carriers in Ireland and the possibility of their export; and an unidentified and undated memorandum entitled 'Discrimination in the public sector of employment in Northern Ireland' (4pp).

**P215/713** 30 September 1976

1p

**Ivor Richard**

Letter from Ivor Richard, UK Mission to the UN, New York, to MFA, regretting that he was unable to hear '... your remarkable speech yesterday in the General Assembly ...' The passage on Ireland in the speech has been reported back to London.

**P215/714** May 1973–October 1976

15 items

**Senator Mary Robinson**

Correspondence between MFA and Senator Robinson concerning Irish participation in the Trilateral Commission, on which Robinson is a member of the Executive Committee, the activities of the Commission, and the establishment of an Irish Association for European Studies. Includes a copy of a letter (29 October 1976, 3pp) from Robinson as a member of the Executive Committee of the Trilateral Commission, to Jimmy Carter, US Presidential candidate and a colleague on the Commission, concerning his recent meeting with an Irish-American delegation in Pittsburg, which included representatives of the Irish National Caucus, '... a front organization for the IRA in the United States ...'.

**P215/715** March 1974–February 1977

12 items

**Rockall**

Correspondence, mainly between DFA and John G. O'Halloran, Drumcondra, Dublin 9, Honorary Secretary of the National Co-operative Council, initially concerning the status of Rockall Island to which O'Hanlon is planning an expedition; and latterly the debate in Dáil Éireann on the Maritime Jurisdiction Order, 1976.

**P215/716** November 1974–February 1975

3 items

**Senor Jorge Romo**

Correspondence between MFA and Senor Romo, Shannon, County Clare, and other Chilean refugees resident at Shannon, concerning the arrest in Chile of Senator Jorge Montes, his wife and daughter, and his torture while in custody.

**P215/717** December 1976–June 1977

12 items

**Albert Rosen**

Material relating to the application by Rosen, principal conductor with the RTÉ Symphony Orchestra, for naturalization, including a copy of his initial application to the Department of Justice.

**P215/718** April–December 1973

350 items

**Richie Ryan TD, Minister for Finance**

Correspondence between the MFA and MF relating to the whole range of financial and economic considerations, some with a DFA dimension such as:

- the financial implications of opening new residential embassies,
- the DFA estimates and budget including copies of DFA memoranda for Government concerning the vote for Foreign Affairs,
- lack of adequate funds for formal State entertainment,
- development aid.

Material concerning the general economic situation originates mostly from MFA's membership of the Cabinet Economic Sub-Committee, and related to matters such as:

- the absolute necessity to control public expenditure

**P215/718**  
contd

- personal allowances and taxation,
- cost-of-living, salaries and pensions,
- external trade,
- anti-inflation measures and national agreements.

The file includes notes of discussion at meetings of the Economic Sub-Committee and a set of notes (30pp) provided by MF on visits by him to the Middle East during June and July 1975, as a basis for discussion between DF and DFA on the development of Irish economic interests in the region.

**P215/719** 3 December 1973

6pp

**SDLP annual conference, 1973**

Copy of a confidential report by Seán Donlon (3pp) of his attendance at the party's third annual conference at the Europa Hotel, Belfast, together with a copy of a SDLP position paper, 'Basis of proposals regarding internment and amnesty'.

**P215/720** May 1973–June 1977

30 items

**Shannon Free Airport Development Company**

Correspondence with Brendan O'Regan, Chairman, SFADCo, mainly concerning aspects of his proposals to use the experience and expertise in development acquired at Shannon to aid developing countries, particularly in the area of industrial free-zone development.

**P215/721** March–April 1977

3 items

**Rev T.J. Simpson, Presbyterian Church in Ireland**

Letter from Rev Simpson, Acting Clerk of Assembly, Presbyterian Church in Ireland, to MFA conveying a resolution passed by the General Board of the General Assembly, welcoming the admission of the British Government at the European Court of Human Rights that unacceptable methods of interrogation were used in Northern Ireland, and the assurance that this will not be allowed to happen again. The resolution also deplores the failure of the Irish Government to sign the European Convention on Terrorism (1 March 1977, 1p). Copy reply from the Private Secretary to MFA, in the absence of the Minister, explaining the Irish constitutional position on extradition in the context of the Convention (7 April 1977, 2pp).

**P215/722** April 1973–September 1976

c30 items

**Sinn Féin**

Correspondence between Mairin de Burca, Tony Heffernan, Sean O’Cionnaith, and Kevin Flood, members of Sinn Féin, and MFA concerning complaints about the gender composition of the diplomatic service; the competencies of the judges presiding over the District Court; IRA messages to British visitors to Ireland; the treatment of Irish prisoners in British prisons; use of the death penalty; and the boycotting of South African sports events.

Includes:

- copy of note issued by the IRA and signed by Mairin de Burca and Tony Heffernan, to British travel agents, conference secretaries, sports teams and the press stating ‘we would like you to know that we do not welcome you to our shores’, and referring to ‘spies and *agents provocateurs*’ who will be dealt with severely (not dated, 1p);
- telegraph from Sean O’Cionnaith demanding an explanation for the arrest and deportation of Gurgan Duscher of the Afro Asian People’s Solidarity Organisation and to protest against Dublin Airport Immigration Authorities remark that the Sinn Féin Anti-Imperialist Festival was illegal (19 July 1976, 4pp).

**P215/723** August 1974–May 1975

18 items

**Mr Denis Smyth**

Correspondence mainly between Joe Hayes, Private Secretary to MFA, and Mr Smyth, a postgraduate student at Cambridge, concerning his unsuccessful attempts to have access to correspondence between the Duke of Alba, Spanish Ambassador to London during the Second World War, and General Franco, held in the archives of the Spanish Foreign Ministry. Includes correspondence with the Madrid Embassy; response with translation from the Spanish authorities, and further correspondence between Smyth and Hayes and MFA.

**P215/724** December 1974–April 1977

14 items

**Spanish Ambassador**

Correspondence between MFA and H.E. Joaquin Juste on matters of diplomatic interest to Spain in which Ireland has been supportive, such as the abstention by the Irish delegation during the vote on a resolution on the Spanish Sahara at the IV Committee of the General Assembly of the United Nations (December 1974), and the decision

**P215/724**  
**contd**

by the recently established World Tourism Organisation to make its permanent headquarters in Madrid (June 1975). Includes formal notification from the Ambassador of the death of His Excellency Generalissimo Franco, Head of the Spanish State, on 20 November 1975.

**P215/725** September 1975–February 1976

40 items

**Spanish executions**

Material relating mainly to the Government's reaction to the execution by the Spanish Government of five Basque men, tried and sentenced to death by military tribunal; specifically the decision of the Government not to recall the Ambassador.

Includes:

- telegrams to and from the Permanent Mission to the United Nations where MFA was attending the General Assembly concerning the decision not to withdraw the Ambassador; and the question of the attendance of Ambassador Whelan at the reception in Madrid to celebrate the anniversary of the proclamation of Franco as Head of State. Telegrams include messages routed through DFA from MFA in New York for the Taoiseach, mainly concerning reaction within individual EC states to the executions and discussion of the problem at European level. Other telegrams are directed to the Minister at Washington and Ottawa;
- transcript of MFA's interview on RTÉ news, 1 October 1975, concerning the executions (2pp);
- material relating to reaction in other European countries and at the Commission level to the executions and to Ireland's position in retaining its Ambassador including a note by John Swift on reported comments by Vice-President Spinelli critical of the Irish position (3 October 1975, 3pp);
- telegram from Ambassador Whelan (6 October 1975, 5pp) containing a translation of an official memorandum issued by the Spanish Foreign Ministry on the trials and executions;
- note by N[oe]l D[orr] on discussion by members of the Council of Foreign Ministers in preliminary session, 6 October 1975, of both Community aspects-negotiations with Spain-and political cooperation aspects-events in Spain and the question of the return of Ambassadors recalled for consultations (10 October 1975, 6pp);
- letters from public representatives, trade union leaders and private citizens urging a change of policy on the Government's part.

**P215/726** September 1976–March 1977

15 items

**Special Office Brief**

Mainly correspondence with Leo Greenland, CEO of Smith/Greenland, New York, concerning the origin and character of *Special Office Brief*, the September 1976 issue of which is attached, containing an article on the IRA's links with international Communism (8pp). This is allegedly published by the Kilbrittain Press. Inconclusive DFA investigations place the publication 'on the lunatic verge' and probably originating from TCD where one of the directors of the company, Wigstrom Hercules Beresford de Courcy Wheeler, is a student.

**P215/727** July 1973–March 1976

40 items

**Frank Stagg**

Material relating to Stagg, convicted on conspiracy and explosives charges at Birmingham Crown Court. Consists mainly of representations from family, friends, and public representatives on Stagg's behalf, initially (January–November 1974) concerning visiting conditions at Albany Prison, Isle of Wight, and Longlarkin Prison; concerning his hunger-strike (January–February 1976) and death; and concerning arrangements for the return to Ireland and burial of his remains (March 1976).

**P217/728** May–August 1973

10 items

**State Theatre Company**

Correspondence with Brendan Smith, Director, Dublin Theatre Festival, concerning proposals to found a State Theatre Company; together with related correspondence with the Attorney General and Minister for Finance concerning the drawing up of the Memorandum and Articles of Association, and the financing of the proposed Company.

**P215/729** October 1973–February 1975

20 items

**An Taisce**

Correspondence between MFA and John O'Loughlin Kennedy, Director of An Taisce including copies of some submissions from An

**P215/729**  
contd

Taisce to the Minister for Local Government, on current planning concerns such as proposals to site an oil refinery in Bantry Bay, the future of Fota Estate, and Department of Local Government proposals in relation to planning control.

**P215/730** April 1973–November 1976

125 items

**Taoiseach**

Communications between the Taoiseach and MFA on a range of routine issues including:

- DFA matters on the agenda for meetings of Government;
- specific DFA matters which do not go before Government such as the question of diplomatic relations between the EEC and the People's Republic of China;
- matters of general concern to MFA such as constituency redistribution;
- MFA's copies of general communications from the Taoiseach to each member of the Government on matters such as procedure for the submission of memoranda for Government meetings, and copies of communications from the Taoiseach to each Fine Gael member of Government on matters of concern to the parliamentary party;
- diplomatic postings and the procedure for securing Government approval before seeking the *agreement* of a foreign government for the proposed appointment of a head of Irish mission;
- MFA's copies of Taoiseach's correspondence with third parties on matters of interest to DFA such as applications for Government funding for Irish centres in Britain;
- MFA's copies of communications between the Department of the Taoiseach and the ambassador, consul and permanent representative in New York and Washington, concerning a visit to the US by the Taoiseach's daughter Mary, accompanied by Lady Valerie Goulding, Chairman, Central Remedial Clinic, Dublin, to raise funds for the clinic (May 1975, 10 items);
- routine correspondence concerning the Taoiseach's official visits abroad and advice from MFA on invitations issued to the Taoiseach from overseas political organisations;
- material concerning Fine Gael relations with European political parties and its allegiance within the European Parliament.

Original file cover contains non-contemporaneous notation 'Relevant material removed and marked with a red T'.

**P215/731** January–October 1975

10 items

**Commissioner George Thomson**

Occasional routine correspondence between MFA and Thomson, a

**P215/731**  
**contd**

member of the Commission of the European Communities. Includes material relating to a visit to Ireland by Commissioner Thomson, October 1975.

**P215/732** 3 February 1976

3pp

**Meeting with Commissioner Thomson**

Set of briefing note for MFA for his meeting with the Commissioner on 5 February 1976. Notes relate *inter alia* to the regional fund; European Investment Bank; competition, agriculture and fisheries policies.

**P215/733** October 1973–June 1976

10 items

**Gaston Thorn**

Correspondence between MFA and Thorn, initially Foreign Minister, later Prime Minister of Luxembourg, mainly concerning forthcoming discussion at meetings of the Council of Ministers of matters such as the Tindemans report and the distribution of seats in the European Parliament.

**P215/734** September 1973–March 1977

40 items

**James Tully TD, Minister for Local Government**

Correspondence between MFA and MLG and their officials on matters of mutual concern to their departments.

Includes material relating to:

- meetings of the group of ministers, of which MFA is a member, requested by Government to consider certain pollution control and environmental matters, and submissions by this group to the Government;
- observations by MFA on Local Government proposals such as Local Government (Planning and Development) Bill, 1973; together with occasional copies of observations by other ministers sent to MFA for his information;
- DLG responsibility for certain European directives within the programme for the abolition of barriers to trade;
- the location in Ireland of the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions;
- arrangements to facilitate official visits abroad by MLG;
- electoral arrangements for direct elections to the European Parliament.

**P215/735** December 1976–May 1977

5 items

**Turkish Federated State of Cyprus**

Communications from Orhan Z. Bilgehan, Acting Minister of Foreign Affairs, to MFA concerning the vote of abstention of the Irish delegation at the UN General Assembly on the Turkish motion to grant a right of hearing to the Turkish Cypriot community (7 December 1976, 1p); and the visit by Michael O'Leary, Minister for Labour, to the Greek region of Cyprus (15 April 1977, 2pp).

**P215/736** August 1973–June 1975

20 items

**United Ireland Association**

Correspondence between MFA and the Association, seeking a meeting with the Minister to clarify Government policy on partition, and what role they might continue to fulfill. Includes an outline of suggested points for discussion between their Standing Committee and MFA at their meeting on 5 February 1975; and some subsequent correspondence concerning Government funding for the Association.

**P215/737** September 1975–May 1976

20 items

**Union of European Federalists**

Communications between MFA and UEF mainly concerning proposals for direct elections to the European Parliament and the basis for national representation. Includes copy of a note concerning the future of the EU and European elections, sent by UEF to Leo Tindemans, Belgian Prime Minister (25 October 1975, 4pp).

**P215/738** December 1975–October 1976

8 items

**UNHCR Deputy High Commissioner, Charles H. Mace**

Correspondence concerning the coming into force of the UN Convention of 30 August 1961 on the Reduction of Statelessness, and measures taken by Ireland to implement its provisions.

**P215/739** July 1974

12 items

**UNICEF Executive Director, Mr Henry R. Labouisse**

Material relating to Mr Labouisse's visit to Ireland including a DFA note for the MFA on UNICEF and Ireland's financial contribution to it (3pp), a copy of Mr Labouisse's *cv* (2pp) and some routine protocol and other correspondence with the Irish National Committee for UNICEF in advance of the visit.

**P215/740** March–May 1976

5 items

**US Presidential election**

Drafts and copies of a letter from MFA to candidates in the election, in response to attempts by NORAIID and the Irish National Caucus to have candidates endorse their fund-raising activities, dealing explicitly with IRA terrorist activity and lack of electoral support.

**P215/741** October 1973–January 1974

5 items

**USSR: treatment of intellectuals**

Letter from Eileen Murphy, Old Mallow Road, Cork (12 October 1973, 2pp) to MFA with copy reply (26 October 1973, 1p), concerning the treatment of intellectuals in the Soviet Union in the context of the reported establishment of diplomatic relations between Ireland and the USSR. Further letter from Murphy (7 January 1974, 5pp) enclosing a petition signed by more than two hundred people protesting against the treatment of Solzenitysn, Sakharov and Plyushch.

**P215/742** December 1975–March 1976

10 items

**Value Added Tax zero rating**

Material relating to the European Commission action against Ireland under Article 169 of the Treaty of Rome including an unidentified and undated memorandum [from the Attorney General?] outlining the history of the case, summarizing existing European VAT legislation, and proposing a course of action (7pp); copies of correspondence between Declan Costello, Attorney General, and Richie Ryan, Minister for Finance (December 1975–March 1976, 3 items); and a draft reply supplied by DF for MFA responding to the

**P215/742** Commission's request for the Irish Government's view on the matter  
**contd** (March 1976, 3pp).

**P215/743** July–December 1976

10pp

**M. van der Stoel, Dutch Foreign Minister**

MFA's copies of two communications from the Dutch Foreign Minister, issued at the beginning and end of the Dutch chairmanship of the Council of Ministers, to colleagues on the Council, concerning the operation and procedure of the Council.

**P215/744** 24 November, 2 December 1974

2 items

**Vietnamese Ambassador**

Covering letter from Pham Dang Lam, Vietnamese Ambassador to London, to Donald O'Sullivan, Irish Ambassador to London, forwarding a letter to MFA from Vuong Van Bac, MFA of Vietnam, expressing thanks for the support given to the Vietnamese delegation at the General Conference of UNESCO, and explaining the status of the government of the Republic of Vietnam as 'the only genuine representative of the people of South Vietnam'.

**P215/745** October 1973–November 1976

9 items

**Senator Trevor West**

Correspondence between MFA and Senator West, School of Mathematics, TCD, initially concerning MFA's candidature for election to membership of the Royal Irish Academy (October 1973–May 1974, 4 items); and concerning the Senator's attempts to arrange Seanad debates on NI (July 1974–November 19876).

**P215/746** December 1973–May 1977

20 items

**Dr T.K. Whitaker**

Correspondence between MFA and Ken Whitaker arising from a variety of positions held by Whitaker and his interest in developments in Northern Ireland.  
Includes:

**P215/746**  
contd

- copies of correspondence between Whitaker and David James MP concerning the Westminster debate on the White Paper on NI (April 1973, 3 items) sent by Whitaker to MFA for his information; and letters from Whitaker (December 1973, 2 items) congratulating MFA on the Sunningdale agreement and referring to a visit to NI by David James to assess reaction to it;
- notes by Whitaker setting out *desiderata* for progress in NI (January 1975, 3pp);
- correspondence between MFA and Whitaker as Chairman of the Agency for Personal Service Overseas, concerning the Government's grant-in-aid and general APSO activities (January 1975–May 1977, 12 items);
- text of a talk by Whitaker to the fourth annual ICTU summer course on 'Planning Irish development' (20 July 1976, 10pp).

**P215/747** [1973]

3pp

**Professor Desmond Williams**

Annotated typescript memorandum by Williams containing 'some general thoughts on the possibility of establishing an unofficial committee to advise Dr FitzGerald on foreign affairs. Such advice would be informal and its main objective would be the statement of problems and the posing of questions, rather than their solution'. He makes detailed suggestions as to procedure, membership and topics for consideration.

**P215/748** October 1974–October 1975

15 items

**Zionist Council of Ireland**

Correspondence mainly with Dr Hazel G. Boland, Chairman of the Council, concerning Ireland's stance at the UN General Assembly on the question of the admission of the Palestine Liberation Organization. Includes a detailed statement by MFA (8 January 1975, 3pp) for Dr Boland, of Ireland's position on the Resolution to admit the PLO; as well as a memorandum from Dr Boland (20 February 1975, 3pp) on Israeli policy on the settlement of the Palestinian refugee problem.

## **6 MINISTERIAL SPEECHES**

**P215/749** March 1973–December 1976

6pp

Typescript list of speeches delivered by Garret FitzGerald as Minister for Foreign Affairs. Includes title, subject matter and date of speech.

**P215/750** April–December 1973

24 items

### **Minister's Speeches (Official)**

Copies of speeches by Garret FitzGerald as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Includes:

- on the occasion of the visit of the President of the European Commission, Francois Xavier Ortoli, to Ireland. In French and English ([1973], 6pp);
- draft and text of a speech to the Conference of Heads of Missions and Senior Officials of the Department of Foreign Affairs (16–19 April 1973, 6pp);
- to the opening session of the Council of European National Youth Committee (CENYC) concerning youth development and Europe. Annotated (26 April 1973, 13pp);
- to the Junior Chamber of Commerce, Castlebar, County Mayo outlining how the Department of Foreign Affairs can make a positive contribution to economic and social development in the West of Ireland (4 May 1973, 6pp);
- presidential campaign speech in support of Tom O'Higgins delivered in Gort county Galway (5 May 1973, 2pp).
- statement to Dáil Eireann concerning Ireland's foreign policy (9 May 1973, 30pp);
- on the occasion of the Congress of Europe held in London concerning European political parties (15 May 1973, 4pp);
- presidential campaign speech in support of Tom O'Higgins delivered in Donnybrook, Dublin (22 May 1973, 1p);
- presidential campaign speech in support of Tom O'Higgins delivered in Ballsbridge, Dublin (23 May 1973, 2pp);
- draft of a statement to the Senate on developments in the European Communities delivered prior to the Senate debate. A covering note outlines the background to the statement in light of remarks made in the Senate on a previous occasion when the Minister's remarks on the European Communities (Confirmation of Regulations) Bill was considered by some members to have been '... brief to the point of being insolent ...'. Remarks 'I have thought it desirable to suggest the attached fairly lengthy series of reflections on what the Report contains' (8 June 1973, 8pp);
- draft speaking note prepared for the Senate debate on the First

**P215/750**  
**contd**

- Report on developments in the European Communities (20–21 June 1973, 4pp);
- policy notes and speech delivered to the UN Association concerning Ireland's foreign policy. Annotated (21 June 1973, 41pp);
  - notes for an address in Chatham House (Royal Institute of International Affairs), London on Northern Ireland (27 June 1973, 4pp);
  - Minister's reading text and speech to the opening conference of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe held in Helsinki, Finland (5 July 1973, 27pp);
  - statement delivered in the general debate at the United Nations (UN) General Assembly concerning sovereignty and the challenges faced by states throughout the world to preserve their sovereignty and to acknowledge the inter-dependence of States in the modern world (24 September 1973, 15pp);
  - address to the National University of Ireland Club concerning the Irish American contribution to the US and Northern Ireland (29 September 1973, 11pp);
  - to the Eire Society, Boston, USA concerning Ireland and its political and economic future (30 September 1973, 10pp);
  - to the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy, Medford, Mass, USA on Irish foreign policy (1 October 1973, 14pp);
  - at the Institute of Public Administration on the occasion of a presentation of a book on the formulation of Irish foreign policy by Patrick Keatinge concerning an analysis of Irish foreign policy (22 October 1973, 5pp);
  - address to the US Chamber of Commerce concerning Ireland's foreign policy (24 October 1973, 7pp);
  - address at the annual general meeting of the Irish Anti-Apartheid Movement, Trinity College Dublin concerning Irish opposition to apartheid (27 October 1973, 3pp);
  - address to a joint meeting of the Oxford Union Society and the Oxford United Nations Youth and Student Association, Oxford Union concerning Northern Ireland (7 November 1973, 14pp);
  - address to a seminar of the Irish Council of the European Movement in the Royal Hibernian Hotel, Dublin concerning EEC development. Includes an information brief and list of participants. Annotated (27 October 1973, 11pp);
  - opening remarks to a conference on European Trade and Industry. Refers to the difficulties that have arisen in the European Community due to enlargement (11 December 1973, 3pp).

**P215/751** January–November 1974

21 items

**Minister's Speeches**

Copies of speeches by Garret FitzGerald as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Includes:

- text of the Minister's contribution to a debate on Northern Ireland in the Dáil (not dated, 15pp);
- draft and copy of a speech on Demographic Developments—The Marriage Boom. Heavily annotated (not dated, 8pp);
- draft of a speech on Europe/US Relations (not dated, 7pp);
- draft and text of a speech for Rotary Monday concerning the enlargement of the EEC and the lack of progress on the major policy issues. Annotated (not dated, 6pp);
- to the County Westmeath Executive of Fine Gael concerning the Sunningdale Agreement (6 January 1974, 4pp);
- to the Navan Trade Fair annual dinner concerning the three main domestic problems facing the Government, namely inflation, the rate of economic growth and social reform (7 March 1974, 6pp);
- to the opening session of a seminar of the Association of European Journalists concerning Europe, public opinion and the Press (8 March 1974, 14pp);
- to the Wexford Chamber of Commerce concerning the economic situation (13 March 1974, 4pp);
- text of Minister's reply to comments made by the British Foreign Secretary, Mr Callaghan at a Council Meeting of EU Foreign Ministers, on the CAP (Common Agricultural Policy) (1–8 April 1974, 7pp);
- draft and text of an address to the inaugural meeting of the Agency for Personal Service Overseas concerning the important work of the Agency and the support it gives to Irish people volunteering in developing countries. Annotated (17 April 1974, 12pp);
- outline, drafts and speech delivered by the Minister to the UN Special General Assembly (UNSGA) concerning raw materials, development and trade and the establishment of a new trade equilibrium (19 April 1974, 36pp);
- address to the ISVS [Irish Society for Voluntary Service] conference concerning voluntary service (23 April 1974, 4pp);
- statement to the National Press Club, Washington DC concerning Northern Ireland (8 May 1974, 5pp);
- incomplete draft and text of a speech concerning democracy, violence and political leadership in the context of the Irish situation and Northern Ireland delivered on the occasion of an Honorary Degree of Doctor of Laws conferred on the Minister for Foreign Affairs by New York University (9 May 1974, 20pp);
- summary of speeches delivered by the Minister for Foreign Affairs during his visit to the United States on Northern Ireland, Ireland's membership of the EU, and European/US relations (8–14 May 1974, 5pp);
- statement at the opening of the Special European Session of the UN Special Committee on Apartheid (20 May 1974, 7pp);

**P215/751**  
**contd**

- statement at the OECD Ministerial meeting in Paris on economic and development cooperation (29 May 1974, 8pp);
- address to the annual dinner of the Financial Executive's Association concerning inflation and the economic situation (6 June 1974, 4pp);
- at the closing of the Cork Film Festival concerning the contribution of the festival to Irish cultural life (15 June 1974, 3pp);
- statements to the Dáil and Seanad concerning Northern Ireland (26 June, 4 July 1974, 29pp);
- to the International Consultation on Mixed Marriage organised by the Irish School of Ecumenics (6 September 1974, 9pp);
- address to the Terenure Branch of Fine Gael concerning oil and international trade (10 September 1974, 5pp);
- speech prepared for a trip to the United State concerning Northern Ireland, efforts made by the Republic to control the activities of the IRA, cooperation with Britain and the communities north and south of the border. ([September 1974], 10pp);
- to the American Irish Historical Association, New York on Northern Ireland—The Way Ahead (19 September 1974, 11pp);
- address entitled 'A Just Equilibrium' delivered in the General Debate at the UN General Assembly concerning economic and political balance and equilibrium between larger and smaller States, the distribution of wealth and human rights (25 September 1974, 38pp);
- to the Commonwealth Club of San Francisco concerning the problems and opportunities faced by Northern Ireland and the Republic (27 September 1974, 5pp);
- to the Council of Ministers of the European Parliament concerning the EEC's agricultural policy (2 October 1974, 5pp);
- drafts and text of a speech to the Dublin South-East Executive of Fine Gael concerning the difficulties facing the Irish economy and rising inflation (8 October 1974, 17pp);
- speaking notes for Minister's speech for the opening of Banque National de Paris (Ireland) Ltd. (11 October 1974, 2pp);
- draft and text of a speech at the Synod of Dublin Youth Council, Virginia, County Cavan. Annotated (18 October 1974, 31pp);
- at the closing session of a seminar organised by the Irish Commission for Justice and Peace concerning development aid (26 October 1974, 5pp);
- at the Roscommon County Executive, Fine Gael concerning the EEC and the CAP (27 October 1974, 4pp);
- draft and stext of a peech to RGDATA (the Representative Body for the Independent Retail Grocery Sector in Ireland) concerning the effects of cut backs in spending in the sector and the knock on effect throughout the economy (5 November 1974, 13pp);
- to the Dáil concerning the estimates for the Department of Foreign Affairs (5 November 1974, 44pp).

**P215/752** February–December 1975

34 items

**Minister's Speeches**

Copies of speeches delivered by Garret FitzGerald as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Includes:

- address at the launch of the first issue of the periodical *Anglo-Irish Studies* (not dated, 2pp);
- message to US Congressmen on the Northern Ireland crisis (not dated, 7pp);
- to the Fine Gael Wicklow Executive concerning the importance of the open democratic system and ensuring its preservation (7 February 1975, 3pp);
- at the New University of Ulster, Magee College concerning regional policy and the EEC (16 February 1975, 3pp);
- lecture to the Political Science Department, Queen's University, Belfast concerning the Irish Presidency of the EEC (17 February 1975, 6pp);
- at the signing of the ACP-EEC Convention in Lomé, Republic of the Congo concerning the Third World (28 February 1975, 6pp);
- draft and text of a speech to the Irish Universities Club dinner concerning the university question in Ireland and the Government's policy for higher education (17 March 1975, 9pp);
- draft and text of a speech to the Fine Gael Árd Fheis concerning Ireland's membership of and participation in the EEC (22 March 1975, 10pp);
- at a public meeting under the auspices of the Irish Council of the European Movement concerning EEC development (16 April 1975, 6pp);
- to the Dublin South-East Constituency Executive concerning the Criminal Law (Jurisdiction) Bill (21 April 1975, 5pp);
- address to the Consultative Assembly of the Council of Europe concerning the strengthening of links between the Council and the EEC (23 April 1975, 7pp);
- to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe concerning the relationship between the Council and the EEC. In English and French (27 May 1975, 16pp);
- draft and text of a speech at the Literary and Debating Society, University College Galway on the motion 'That the EEC has failed us miserably' (8 May 1975, 9pp);
- at the celebration to mark the twenty-fifth anniversary of the Schuman declaration concerning EEC development (8 May 1975, 2pp);
- draft of a speech concerning the new agreement for the joint financing of North Atlantic ocean stations (13 May 1975, 2pp);
- statement to the OECD Ministerial Council Meeting in Paris concerning the formation of a policy by the OECD and its relationship with developing countries (28 May 1975, 3pp);
- transcript of an interview with RTÉ news concerning his forthcoming visit to Israel (8 June 1975, 4pp);
- address to the Parliamentary Press Gallery lunch concerning Britain and the EEC (9 June 1975, 7pp);

**P215/752**  
**contd**

- statement and memorandum concerning the formation of Mozambique as an independent state (19, 20 June 1975, 3pp);
- address at the first annual general meeting of the Agency for Personal Service Overseas concerning overseas service (3 July 1975, 5pp);
- address to the Dublin Chamber of Commerce concerning Ireland's presidency of the EEC (7 July 1975, 8pp);
- address to the Financial Times/Irish Times/Berlingske Tidende conference dinner concerning Europe after the British referendum (23 July 1975, 8pp);
- statement during the general debate at the seventh session of the General Assembly of the UN concerning development and international economic cooperation and the inequalities in the relationship between industrialised and developing countries. Annotated (4 September 1975, 12pp);
- to the thirtieth session of the UN General Assembly reflecting on the thirtieth anniversary of the UN and Ireland's participation over the previous twenty years (26 September 1975, 17pp);
- at the Baltimore Hotel, New York concerning Irish American links and Northern Ireland (1 October 1975, 7pp);
- at a public meeting in the Conrad Hilton Hotel, Chicago concerning Irish Government policy and Northern Ireland (2 October 1975, 5pp);
- to the annual dinner of the Corporation of Insurance brokers of Ireland concerning the difficult economic climate in the European Community and the importance of Ireland's membership of the EEC (15 October 1975, 6pp);
- during a Dáil motion to approve the financing and administration of Community aid to African countries (20 October 1975, 16pp).
- lecture concerning the theme of conflicting cultures in modern Ireland delivered in Birmingham. Annotated (24 October 1975, 13pp);
- draft and copies of a speech to the Royal Irish Academy concerning Irish foreign policy and the EEC (10 November 1975, 70pp);
- notes, draft and text of a speech to the Plassey Abraxian Society, Limerick concerning the EEC (17 November 1975, 9pp);
- statement concerning supplementary estimates for Foreign Affairs and International Cooperation (27 November 1975, 7pp);
- address at the Faculty of Law, University of Leiden concerning constitutional aspects of the Northern Ireland problem (16 December 1975, 21pp).

**P215/753** 8 January–8 December 1976

46 items

**Minister's Speeches**

Copies of speeches by Garret FitzGerald as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Includes:

- draft of a speech concerning Resolution 71 and the Government's

**P215/753**  
**contd**

- approach to Northern Ireland. Annotated (not dated, 19pp);
- draft speaking note on terrorism (not dated, 1p);
- on the effects of world recession on the Irish economy (not dated, 6pp);
- on the occasion of a visit from an unidentified Spanish dignitary, on the close ties between Ireland and Spain (not dated, 2pp);
- to the Dáil concerning developments in the European Communities (not dated, 9pp);
- draft and text of a speech to the Barna/Bushy Park Branch, Fine Gael, Galway concerning Northern Ireland (8 January 1976, 5pp);
- draft and text of a speech to the Donnybrook Branch, Fine Gael concerning Public Service pay (22 January 1976, 4pp);
- draft and text of a speech to the Cork Chamber of Commerce concerning the forthcoming budget (23 January 1976, 10pp);
- at the luncheon of the Leinster Society of Chartered Accountants concerning the efforts made by the Government in recent times to eliminate inequalities in the tax and social welfare codes (4 February 1976, 5pp);
- at the Claremorris annual Fine Gael dinner dance concerning the budget (27 February 1976, 5pp);
- personal statement in the Dáil concerning UN reports relating to members of the Defence Forces killed in action on UN service (10 March 1976, 1p);
- draft and text of a speech to the Sociological and Political Society, University College Galway concerning reform in Irish society (11 March 1976, 14pp);
- speech to the Irish Council of the European Movement relating to the Tindemans report and the problems facing the European Community (7 April 1976, 5pp);
- at the seminar on regional development concerning economic development in the North-West (8 April 1976, 6pp);
- at a conference on the development of democratic institutions in Europe (21 April 1976, 14pp);
- to the Constituency Executive, Fine Gael South-East concerning sectarianism and church/state relations (28 April 1976, 13pp);
- at the annual dinner of the Public Relations Institute of Ireland concerning the formulation of public policy and communication with the public (29 April 1976, 5pp);
- at the Árd Fheis concerning resolutions relating to Foreign Affairs (15, 16 May 1976, 7pp);
- to the Fine Gael South-East Executive concerning relations with Northern Ireland (26 May 1976, 3pp);
- draft and text of a speech to the Dublin Chamber of Commerce concerning cooperation between the British and Irish Governments in development projects for Northern Ireland (27 May 1976, 6pp);
- draft and text of a speech at the National Press awards concerning the reporting of politics in the press (27 May 1976, 18pp);
- at the Middle-East development conference, Cairo concerning European-Arab cooperation (7 June 1976, 11pp);
- draft and text of a statement introducing the motion by the Minister for Labour to implement the 85% rule (16 June 1976, 10pp);
- statement at the OECD Ministerial Council Meeting concerning

P215/753  
contd

- the major problems facing the OECD over the next few years (22 June 1976, 4pp);
- to a seminar of European Journalists concerning Northern Ireland (25 June 1976, 8pp);
  - draft and text of a speech to the British/Irish Association conference, Oxford concerning the situation in Northern Ireland. Annotated. (3 July 1976, 35pp);
  - address at the memorial service for Christopher Ewart-Biggs (28 July 1976, 21pp);
  - to the Europa Institute, University of Amsterdam concerning European Integration (7 September 1976, 17pp);
  - address to the CEF conference concerning Ireland's political structures (13 September 1976, 4pp);
  - at the tenth anniversary dinner of the Irish Hotel and Catering Institute concerning the Irish tourist industry (16 September 1976, 3pp);
  - at a reception in honour of Mr Alain Chevalier of the International Trade Centre Geneva on the occasion of his visit concerning economic growth in Ireland. Speech delivered by Mr K Heaslip, Assistant Secretary, Economic Division, Department of Foreign Affairs on behalf of the Minister for Foreign Affairs (23 September 1976, 2pp);
  - statement concerning the European Commission proposals for a Community Fisheries Policy (24 September 1976, 1p);
  - to the thirty-first session of the UN General Assembly concerning peace, justice and order (29 September 1976, 13pp);
  - at Trinity College, Hartford concerning the crisis in Northern Ireland (5 October 1976, 7pp);
  - draft and text of a speech at the Centre for European Governmental Studies, University of Edinburgh concerning progress towards European Union (8 October 1976, 10pp).
  - at the *Irish Times* fifth investment conference dinner concerning the Irish economy (13 October 1976, 6pp);
  - at the EEC Council of Ministers concerning the common fisheries policy (18, 19 October 1976, 7pp);
  - statement on the 200 mile economic zone (21 October 1976, 2pp).
  - draft and text of a speech at the Dublin Chamber of Commerce annual dinner concerning the development of vocational organisation in Ireland (21 October 1976, 6pp);
  - at the Dublin South-East Fine Gael Constituency Executive meeting concerning the economic situation (26 October 1976, 2pp);
  - statement concerning the sea fisheries development programme (29 October 1976, 7pp);
  - draft and text of a speech at the Oxford Union Society, Oxford University concerning Northern Ireland and the restoration of self rule (11 November 1976, 25pp);
  - at the tenth anniversary seminar of the Irish Credit Manager's Association concerning the Irish economy (11 November 1976, 3pp);
  - statement concerning monetary compensatory amounts in agriculture issued by the EEC (15 November 1976, 4pp);
  - drafts and text of a speech at a seminar held by the Commerce and Economics Society, UCD concerning economic planning in

**P215/753**  
**contd**

Ireland (1 December 1976, 13pp);

- on the motion to extend Ireland's fishery limit (8 December 1976, 9pp).

**P215/754** January–May 1977

15 items

**Minister's Speeches**

Copies of speeches by Garret FitzGerald as Minister for Foreign Affairs.

Includes:

- unidentified speech concerning politics and liberation (not dated, 20pp);
- unidentified speech concerning Ireland's identity problem (not dated, 8pp);
- draft of a speech to the Seanad concerning the European Communities Amendment Bill (not dated, 9pp);
- draft and text of a statement concerning Ireland's inability due to constitutional reasons to sign the Council of Europe Convention on Terrorism. Annotated (not dated, 3pp);
- paper concerning the Irish Sea fishery limit (January 1977, 4pp).
- at the annual conference of the Irish Theological Association concerning political structures and personal development (4 January 1977, 20pp);
- proposal of a motion at the Historical Society, Trinity College Dublin concerning a debate on the National Coalition Government (12 January 1977, 5pp);
- at the Fine Gael North Tipperary Thurles Branch annual dinner dance concerning the budget (14 January 1977, 2pp);
- at the inauguration of the Council of Europe building in Strasbourg (27 January 1977, 2pp);
- at the Law Society, UCC concerning national and supranational interests in the EEC (4 February 1977, 4pp);
- at Georgetown University, Washington concerning Northern Ireland (16 March 1977, 18pp);
- press release reporting an address to the National Press Club concerning human rights and Northern Ireland (18 March 1977, 2pp);
- to the Dublin South-East Fine Gael Youth seminar concerning the long term issues of social, economic and cultural issues facing Ireland (16 April 1977, 6pp);
- to the Committee of Ministers of the Council of Europe summarising recent developments in the European Community relevant to the Council (26 April 1977, 5pp);
- at the Tralee Chamber of Commerce annual dinner concerning Irish agriculture, the exploitation of natural resources in Ireland and the growth of the Irish economy (13 May 1977, 5pp).

## 7 TELEXES

Series of telexes received and sent by the DFA, mainly to and from Declan O'Donovan, the Private Secretary to MFA,. Primarily concern the organization of ministerial visits abroad, engagements and invitations to events, ministerial briefings, international developments in areas such as fisheries and agriculture, diplomatic relations, the Presidency of the European Council, and international human rights issues. Files arranged chronologically. Many are marked 'Classified'.

**P215/755** March–December 1974

50pp

Includes:

- from PSM to MFA containing the text by the Chief of Protocol of a possible eulogy of Erskine Childers (9 December 1974, 5pp);
- from PSM to the London Ambassador containing the text of a letter to the editor from MFA which he wishes to be published in the next issue of *The Spectator*. Refers to a misunderstanding between MFA and Patrick Cosgrave, political commentator, concerning UK national constitutional principles (27 August 1974, 3pp).

**P215/756** January–February 1975

40pp

Includes:

- from PSM to Irish ambassadors to European countries requesting information on the number of universities and other degree issuing institutions in their respective postings, and the relevant ratio of institutions to total population (4 February 1975, 16pp);
- from UNICE (Confederation of Industry in the EEC) to MFA containing a statement for consideration at the EEC-APC Association meeting over which MFA will preside (9 January 1975, 1p).

**P215/757** March–April 1975

40pp

Includes:

- from the Ambassador to France to PSM concerning a discussion with Jean-François Deniau, French Secretary of State at the

**P215/757**  
contd

Ministry of Agriculture, concerning the export of Irish lamb to the French market (21 April 1975, 1p);

- from Washington Ambassador to PSM and Assistant Secretary Dorr concerning a discussion with Philip Habib, Assistant Secretary of State in the US Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs, concerning the situation in Cambodia and Vietnam (4 April 1975, 3pp).

**P215/758** May–June 1975

120pp

Includes:

- from PSM to MFA concerning the convening of a meeting between the EEC and Portugal at a ministerial level to discuss ‘enlarged cooperation’ and the provision of financial aid to alleviate the economic difficulties affecting the country (23 June 1975, 2pp);
- from Seán Donlon to the London Ambassador concerning a joint British-Irish approach to the European Commission for funding for cross-border studies (18 June 1975, 1p);
- from Walshe to Heaslip (8 May 1975, 1p) and from PSM to the Paris Ambassador (9 May 1975, 1p) concerning protests by Arab governments’ against an EEC agreement with Israel.

**P215/759** July–September 1975

75pp

Includes:

- from PSM to the Madrid Ambassador advising him to ‘seek good excuse’ not to attend the reception to celebrate the anniversary of the proclamation of General Franco as Head of State (30 September 1975, 1p);
- from O’Flaherty [Rome] to PSM concerning a request by the Minister of Education to contact his PSM with instructions to obtain a pair of cylinder head gaskets for a Ford Corsair 1968 model and have them transported on next available flight to Rome (18 August 1975, 1p);
- from Swift to McCabe containing a rough draft translation of the European Commission’s preliminary text on the supply of raw materials (18 July 1975, 3pp).

**P215/760** October–December 1975

100pp

Includes:

- from DFA to the RTÉ news room containing synopsis of an

**P215/760**  
contd

address given by MFA at the World Conference of Christian Democratic Parties in Rome (29 November 1975, 1p);

- from the London Ambassador to Assistant Secretary Heaslip concerning UK import controls (17 November 1975, 1p);
- From Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General, UN, New York, to MFA concerning the provision of relief aid for Angola (28 November 1975, 1p);
- from John Swift to all ambassadors concerning the kidnapping of Tiede Herrema, Managing Director of Ferenka Ltd, in Limerick and subsequent ransom demands on the release of named prisoners (3 October 1975, 1p);
- from PMS and information section to MFA concerning the case of James Creegan, who was imprisoned in Mons, Belgium, on suspicion of security offences at a NATO base (7–8 November 1975, 6pp).

**P215/761** January–February 1976

30pp

Includes:

- from the Paris Ambassador to the Secretary General DFA, regarding the allocation of seats in the European Parliament (14 January 1976, 1p);
- from the Rome Ambassador to Noel Dorr concerning the resignation of the Italian government (9 January 1976, 3pp).

**P215/762** March–April 1976

60pp

Includes:

- text of letter from Ronald Reagan to the Irish Ambassador to the US, John Molloy, concerning a letter from MFA informing him of the activities of illegal IRA groups attempting to obtain support in the US. Reagan expresses the hope that no American will support such a cause, concluding, 'violence and terrorism cannot solve the problems in Northern Ireland. Only reasonable people can do that.' (21 April 1976, 1p);
- text of letter from MFA to presidential candidates [Jackson, Carter, Harris, Wallace, Udall, Church and Reagan] concerning IRA activities in US (26 March 1976);
- from Kurt Waldheim, Secretary-General UN, New York, to MFA concerning the establishment of an international fund for agricultural development (15 April 1976, 2pp);
- material concerning the allocation of seats in the European Parliament (January 1976, 4 items).

**P215/763** May–December 1976

160pp

Includes:

- from PSM to MFA containing draft replies to parliamentary questions from Michael O’Kennedy concerning the Argentinian government’s alleged human rights abuses, and specifically the mistreatment of Fr Patrick Rice while in police custody (15 December 1976, 5pp);
- from the Irish Transport and General Workers Union to MFA calling for a firm stance in defence of the Irish fifty mile exclusive fishery zone (19 November 1976, 1p);
- from the London Ambassador to PSM concerning arrangements for MFA’s meeting with Margaret Thatcher at the House of Commons (13 November 1976);
- from MFA to the Mao Tse-Tung Funeral Committee, Peking, expressing the sympathy of the Irish government on Mao’s death (10 September 1976, 1p).

**P215/764** January–July 1977

75pp

Includes:

- briefing from M.J. Lillis to Seán Donlon on Governor Carey’s visit to Ireland, containing biographical information on Carey, details of the role played by US politicians in Northern Ireland, and a synopsis of Carey’s speech to be given during his visit (20 April 1977, 4pp);
- condolences from MFA to George Macovescu, Foreign Minister of Romania, at the loss of lives and damage caused to Romania by an earthquake (7 March 1977, 2pp);
- programme of events for an official visit by MFA to Madrid (24 March 1977, 2pp);
- from [?] Sheridan, Paris to PSM concerning the French position on the fisheries dispute (31 March 1977, 4pp);
- briefing from the Permanent Representative in Brussels to the PSM concerning Community representation at the Western Summit on the World Economy to be held in London in May (9 March 1977, 1p).