

**PAPERS OF DR PATRICK HILLERY**

**P205**



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## CONTEXT

### Biographical History

Dr Patrick Hillery was born in Miltown Malbay, County Clare on 2 May 1923, the second youngest of four children. His father Michael Hillery was a successful and highly regarded doctor with a large practice in the county. Following his primary education in the local national school Hillery attended Rockwell College. In 1939, he undertook the matriculation exam for the NUI and entered UCD to study medicine graduating in 1947 with first class honours.

He began his medical career as a resident doctor at the Mater Hospital in Dublin, a further residency in the National Maternity Hospital, Holles Street, and completed his medical training at Hotel Dieu, Kingston, Ontario. He returned to Ireland to take up a position in Peamount Hospital, Dublin in 1950.

In 1951 Hillery was nominated as a Fianna Fáil candidate for the Clare constituency winning the third seat to become a TD in the 14<sup>th</sup> Dáil Éireann. Initially Hillery continued to practice medicine combining this career with his constituency and Dáil commitments.

In 1959 Hillery was appointed Minister for Education where he was responsible for developing and facilitating a number of initiatives including the formation of comprehensive schools outside the jurisdiction of the Catholic Church; the OECD Pilot Study on Investment in Education; and the establishment of the Belfield campus by University College Dublin.

In 1965 Seán Lemass appointed him as Minister for Industry and Commerce and a short while later to a new Ministry for Labour. Here he faced considerable challenges involving the trade unions, strikes and industrial relations.

Following the general election in June 1969 Hillery was appointed as Minister for External Affairs, later Foreign Affairs. Within weeks of his appointment Hillery found himself facing a worsening security situation in Northern Ireland. He travelled to the UN in an attempt to gain agreement for a peacekeeping force in the North, a move strongly resisted by Britain and the US. From very early in his new ministry Hillery was involved in strenuous lobbying in diplomatic circles to further Ireland's wish to become a member of the EEC. With Ireland's economy so strongly linked with Britain, it was imperative that any negotiations for entry to the EEC being discussed with Britain should also include Irish interests. It was Hillery who led the negotiations for Irish accession, and the successful constitutional referendum resulting in the signing of the Treaty in January 1972.

In 1972 Hillery was offered, and accepted, the position of Ireland's first Commissioner to the EEC. He resigned his Dáil seat in January 1973 to take up his new post as Vice President of the Commission and Commissioner for Social Affairs.

Following the resignation of Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh as President in October 1976 and the decision by the Cosgrave government not to reappoint Hillery as Commissioner, intense speculation gave rise to the idea that Hillery was interested in becoming President. Despite his protestations and desire to return to medical practice Hillery was put under enormous pressure by his party leader Jack Lynch and other members of Fianna Fáil and he finally accepted the nomination. The government

parties had already announced that they would not contest an election and Hillery was declared elected as Ireland's sixth President on 9 November 1976. He went on to serve a second term as President, re-elected unopposed in November 1983.

Hillery retired from office in November 1990 marking the end of an extraordinary public career as government minister, European Commissioner and President of Ireland. He remained energetic in his retirement, participating actively in the hobbies and interests that he had maintained throughout his busy career. He maintained a strong interest in European affairs.

Hillery died on 12 April 2008, a few weeks before his eighty-fifth birthday.

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### **Archival History**

The papers were deposited by Dr Hillery in 1991 and 1997.

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## CONTENT AND STRUCTURE

### Scope and content

Papers relating to Patrick Hillery throughout his career in public office.

Elected to Dáil Eireann in 1951 as running mate of Éamon de Valera in the Clare constituency. Correspondence, notes, photographs relating to the Fianna Fáil Árd Fheis 1971

Correspondence, speeches, development of policy as Minister for Education 1959–65. Includes notes, reports, correspondence relating to the 1960 OECD pilot study, the development of the Belfield Campus by UCD, and the 1960 and the 1964 exam strikes.

Correspondence, speeches as Minister for Labour including a document on the newly formed Department of Labour outlining its achievements, 1966–9.

Material relating to his period as Minister for Foreign Affairs including a comprehensive series of files of confidential memoranda (mostly from Eamon Gallagher), 1969–72, concerning Northern Ireland and the worsening security situation. Memoranda, notes, speeches, and correspondence relating to Hillery's efforts to include Northern Ireland on the agenda of the General Assembly and General Committee of the UN, 1969. Confidential memoranda on the staffing and structure of the DFA, 1971. Series of files concerning negotiations in the areas of fisheries, motor assembly, export tax reliefs, and sugar quota, for Ireland's entry to the EEC, 1971–2. File on the signing of the Acts of Succession, 1972.

Letters of congratulations to Hillery following his appointment as Commissioner for Social Affairs 1972–3. Notes, memoranda, correspondence concerning the organisation and staffing of his *cabinet* in DG V, 1972–7, including a file on the Director General Michael Shanks, 1974–6. Notes, memoranda, drafts of policy documents on the Social Action programme 1973–4. Detailed set of memoirs, dictated and transcribed, providing a comprehensive personal commentary on his position as Commissioner, his dealings with the Commission and Irish politicians 1973–6. Files of speeches 1973–6.

Departure from the Commission, nomination and inauguration as the sixth President of Ireland, 1976.

Notes, memoranda, correspondence relating to his private office during both terms in office as Uachtarán na hÉireann, including communications from his private secretary Micheál Ó hOdhraín. Series of notebooks used as diaries during the first three years as President recording a detailed account of the role of the President, functions attended, dealings with the Government as well as his personal feelings and thoughts, 1977–9. A second series of personal observations (dictated to cassette tape and transcribed) described by Hillery as memoirs, again detailing events attended, personal observations and recollections of his political career, 1979–89.

Correspondence, notes, itineraries concerning Hillery's state visits during both terms in office 1977–90.

Notes, drafts of speeches, itineraries, correspondence relating to the Papal visit 1979.

Comprehensive files of speeches delivered by Hillery during his two terms as President, 1977–90

Notes and copy of pages from the ADC journal concerning the night of 28 January 1982 and phone calls made to Áras an Uachtaráin by members of Fianna Fáil.

Arrangements for his retirement, 1990. Letters congratulating him on his two terms as President, 1990–1.

Large number of photographs covering all aspects of his public career as government minister, European Commissioner and President of Ireland 1961–90 as well as photographs of his family and early career as an intern and doctor, 1920s–40s.

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## System of Arrangement

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## **CONDITIONS OF ACCESS AND USE**

### **Access**

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

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### **Language**

English, occasional Irish and French

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### **Finding Aid**

Descriptive Catalogue

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## **DESCRIPTION CONTROL**

### **Archivist's Note**

Descriptive catalogue prepared by Orna Somerville, 2011

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## **ALLIED MATERIALS**

### **Allied Collections in UCD Archives**

P150 Papers of Eamon deValera  
P176 Fianna Fáil Party Archives  
P215 Garret FitzGerald Papers

### **Published Material**

John Walsh *Patrick Hillery The Official Biography* New Island, 2008

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## **1 MEDICAL CAREER, 1943–59**

**P205/1** 1939–59

c110pp

### **Correspondence and diary**

Includes:

- Letter from Oliver St John Gogarty, London to Hillery concerning his move to London. Remarks that he sends his Irish cases to ‘young Woods, Sir Robert’s son’. Invites Hillery to call on him if he is in London (20 April 1939, 2pp).
- Summary list of Hillery’s medical qualifications and medical work experience (1943–27 January 1954, 6pp).
- Letter from Robert T Noble, MD, Registrar, The College of Physicians and Surgeons of Ontario asking Hillery to send copies of his medical qualifications and various other documents so that he can practice medicine in the Province of Ontario (23 August 1948, 1p).
- Letter of recommendation from John Corcoran, Hon Assistant Surgeon, Mater Misericordiae Hospital and the Children’s Hospital, Dublin on behalf of Hillery (22 September 1948, 1p).
- Diary of sick calls made by Hillery in County Clare (1 January–16 August 1959, 67pp).

## **2 POLITICAL CAREER**

### **2.1 Election to Dáil Eireann and Fianna Fáil Party, 1951–76**

**P205/2** May 1951;10 April 1965;20 June 1969

4pp

### **Clare constituency elections**

Sample ballot paper, photograph, poster, notices from the Clerk of the Dáil concerning Hillery’s Dáil election campaign as a candidate in the Clare constituency.

Includes:

- Black and white photograph of Jacko Keane, Eamon de Valera and Hillery campaigning in Clare ([May 1951], 1 item).

**P205/3** 2 June 1970–22 February 1971

9pp

### **Fianna Fáil Ard Fheis 1971**

Correspondence, notes, photograph concerning the attempts to challenge Jack Lynch’s leadership of Fianna Fáil.

Includes:

- Letter from Jack [ ], Morgan McInerney & Sons, 12 Market Street,

**P205/3**

Ennis, County Clare to Hillery concerning the position in Clare amongst Fianna Fáil party members and their attitude toward the Taoiseach (2 June 1970, 1p).

- Note by Hillery, remarking 'DeV said re Taoiseach's stand see it out to the finish and the people will see you are right and give my regards to Muintir an Chlár' (8 June 1970, 1p).
- Note by Hillery concerning the attempted heave against Jack Lynch. Remarks 'Whatever sorrow I felt at the breaking down of the Government or whatever sympathy I felt with the albeit totally illogical stand of Kevin Boland, I have now to confess that I was fooled by Kevin's illogicality which is just a cover up for his antagonism for George Colley and Jack Lynch which used to be his hatred for Charlie Haughey. Also, I understand the statement made by Boland was drafted in conjunction with the other two people who withdrew from it when they saw the result. Also TACA in the line of the one-eyed man bought 80 tickets for the Cáirde Fáil dinner to prepare a cheering situation for the entry at appropriate times of Boland and Blaney, in an attempt to embarrass and perhaps frighten Jack Lynch. This will have to be beaten' (10 June 1970, 1p).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery at the Ard Fhéis during his speech in which he supported Jack Lynch and uttered the words 'You can have Boland, but you can't have Fianna Fáil' (22 February 1971, 2 copies).

**P205/4**

8 June 1972

15pp

**Fianna Fáil—Referendum**

Notes concerning the preparations required for future referendum campaigns arising from the successful campaign for Ireland's entry to the EEC.

**P205/5**

8 December 1975, 27 January 1976

5pp

**Fianna Fáil—Fundraising**

Letters from Des Hanafin and Jack Lynch acknowledging a contribution made by Hillery to the Fianna Fáil Election Fund.

**P205/6**

2 July 1976

3pp

**Fianna Fáil—Opposition**

Holograph memorandum prepared by Neville Keery concerning the role

**P205/6** of the opposition. Outlines three main areas for effective opposition, to provide constant, critical scrutiny, to suggest amendments to bills and legislation and ensure that a real alternative to the current government is available to the people.

## **2.2 Minister for Education**

### **2.2.1 Correspondence 1960–4; 1994**

**P205/7** 1 February 1960–27 May 1965; 15 December 1994

31pp

#### **Letters and invitations**

Includes:

- Note in Archbishop John Charles McQuaid's handwriting handed to Hillery at a function. Hillery later recalled that the text of the note was a quotation from a speech he gave. Remarks 'He was obviously reminding me of the Bishop's anxieties about my activities in Education' (not dated, 1p).
- Letter from Sineád Bean de Valera, Áras an Uachtaráin to Hillery concerning a discussion that took place about the importance of learning the Irish language and urging him to do everything in his power to promote the language (1 February 1960, 1p).
- Letter from Seán MacEntee, Minister for Health to Hillery asking him to consider his wife for a vacancy that has arisen on the senate of the National University (16 July 1960, 1p).
- Letter from Seán MacEntee, Minister for Health, to Hillery concerning a letter sent by Michael Browne, Bishop of Galway to his brother, Monsignor Pádraig de Brun [both brothers-in-law of MacEntee] regarding his candidacy for the Presidency of University College Galway. Remarks that the enclosed extract from the letter is for Hillery's 'strict personal information'. Continues 'In my view it indicates the extent to which His Lordship wished to exercise control over the President of a Constituent College of the University. It is specially significant that His Lordship claims that where a difference arises, his judgment should prevail' (28 July 1960, 3pp).
- Letter from Eoin Ryan, Seanad Éireann, Dublin to Hillery thanking him for his nomination to the NUI Senate (12 October 1960, 1p).
- Letter from Seán MacEntee, Minister for Health, to Hillery regarding an invitation from the College of Surgeons to attend the Charter Day dinner. Remarks that he was not happy with the protocol arrangements and following an enquiry it appeared that no precedence was to be accorded to him as a member of the Government 'I feel that the attitude of these people now and in the past has been an insulting one and that they would be prepared to treat any member of the Government with similar discourtesy ... I felt I should draw your attention to what has transpired ...' (28 January 1961, 2pp).
- Letter from John Charles McQuaid, Archbishop of Dublin to Hillery marked 'Personal and Confidential' concerning the selection of candidates for St Patrick's Training College. Remarks that he has

**P205/7**

seen a letter to Rev Dr Crogan from S MacGerailt (Senior Assistant Secretary, Department of Education) in which MacGerailt states that McQuaid denied the Minister his 'fundamental right' in relation to the appointments. Continues 'Had I wished to question a fundamental right, I should not have done it at the level of Mr S Gerailt (sic) or Very Rev Dr Crogan. I should have directly dealt with the minister.' Asks if he can meet Hillery (4 August 1962, 1p).

- Letter from Brian Ó Cuiv, Secretary, Royal Irish Academy to Hillery informing him that he has been elected a member of the Academy. (30 November 1963, 2pp).
- Copy of a letter from D.H. Leadbetter, Ministry of Education, Curzon Street, London to T Ó Raifeartaigh, Secretary, Department of Education, Dublin, concerning the fourth conference of European Ministers of Education to be held in London. Includes a provisional timetable and programme of social events (3 March 1964, 3pp).
- Letter from Archbishop John Charles McQuaid, Archbishop's House, Dublin 9, to Hillery concerning his investigations into the 'defection' of the headmaster of St Paul's Raheny. Remarks 'I am satisfied that, in the words of your own officer sent to investigate the situation, it was "a bottle of smoke", but I have requested the headmaster to furnish you a full written statement' (3 June 1964, 1p).
- Copy of a letter from S.F. Jordan OP, Secretary of the Catholic Managerial Associations to Hillery posing a number of questions regarding an increase in the capitation grant and the length of the school year (11 June 1964, 3pp).
- Invitations, including a lunch menu (28 June 1963, 1p) on the occasion of the state visit of President J.F. Kennedy, autographed by Eamon deValera and J.F. Kennedy (15 May 1962–27 May 1965, 9 items)
- Letter from John Horgan, 19 Upper Gardiner Street, Dublin 1 to Hillery concerning his research in the National Archives. Encloses notes on a file he consulted from the Taoiseach's Department, relating to proposals to establish comprehensive post-primary education in Ireland. (15 December 1994, 3pp).

### **2.2.2 Speeches, 1961–5**

**P205/8**

28 March 1961–6 March 1965

36pp

#### **Draft and texts of speeches**

Includes:

- Delivered to the Dublin Comhcomhairle of Fianna Fáil in Clery's restaurant, Dublin concerning educational advance. Refers to the current system and outlines the reasons why progress and reform is necessary. Remarks 'Let me, therefore, in plain words warn all concerned that the day is rapidly passing when criticisms, ill-founded or well-founded, of part or of the whole of our educational system can be dismissed with the shrug of the shoulders to which we are so accustomed. Such an attitude is an indication of a

**P205/8**

dangerous complacency.’ Outlines the difficulties that the educational system has faced over the years including untrained teachers at national school level, the poor working relationship between the department and the INTO, in particular the relationship between teachers and inspectors. Also highlights the positive achievements that have taken place. Refers to teachers’ salaries, the provision of new schools, the problems with class size, the teaching of Irish, the staffing of special schools for children with intellectual and physical disabilities, the increase in pupils at secondary level, the teaching of science, the importance of teaching modern European languages, vocational schools, and the need for the university sector to provide some thought and vision on the requirements of education in Ireland over the coming years. Refers to the increase in spending by the department. Concludes by referring to the social inequality in Ireland’s educational system ‘... I have not the slightest hesitation in admitting that there is a serious defect in our social system in so far as it impinges on education ... It is the boy or girl who is poor but clever has often no adequate opportunity of receiving the entire course of education available ... but if once we can establish even the pattern of free education the whole way up for the poor but clever child, it should not be too difficult thereafter to continue that advance’ (28 March 1961, 24pp).

- At a past pupil’s reunion of Warrenstown Agricultural College. Refers to the importance of developing agricultural education and the significance of farming to the wider economy in Ireland. Praises the work being done by the agricultural colleges (21 April 1963, 7pp).
- On the occasion of the formal opening of a seminar on technical education in connection with the OECD report on the training of technicians in Ireland at the Spa Hotel, Lucan, County Dublin. Annotated (6 March 1965, 5pp).

### **2.2.3 Primary Education, 1962**

**P205/9**

not dated

3pp

#### **Use of television in the classroom**

Document prepared by the Department of Education concerning the use of television in the classroom. Discusses the advantages and disadvantages and the use of television in other countries for the purposes of education.

**P205/10** 8–10 February 1962

2pp

**Ballina Boys National School Dispute**

Correspondence concerning a dispute which arose in relation to lay teachers and the post of principal in national schools.

Includes:

- Copy of a letter from Cardinal D’Alton thanking Hillery for his efforts in resolving the dispute. Remarks ‘As regards the terms of the solution I wish to express on behalf of the Hierarchy recognition of the acknowledgement which they imply in relation to the normal expectations of lay national teachers in regard to posts as principal teachers’ (8 February 1962, 1p).
- Letter from John Charles McQuaid, Archbishop of Dublin congratulating Hillery on his success [in resolving the dispute] (10 February 1962, 1p).

**2.2.4 Post-Primary Education, 1962–5**

**P205/11** 23 February 1961

16pp

**Pastoral letter on higher education**

Hillery’s personal copy of a Pastoral Letter of John Charles McQuaid, Archbishop of Dublin concerning Higher Education for Catholics. Annotated.

**P205/12** 8 December 1962

25pp

**Duggan Report**

Report on post-primary education commissioned by the Department of Education to ‘consider the present position of post-primary education, particularly in its social aspects, and to make recommendations.’

**P205/13** 20 May 1963

8pp

**Policy statement on post-primary education**

Copy of a policy statement issued by Hillery concerning post-primary education. Refers to the OECD pilot study currently underway and another study being conducted by the Commission on Higher Education. Remarks that both these studies will give clear and focused

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recommendations for the post-primary sector. Continues that he wishes to give an outline of the changes he wishes to bring forward in advance of the Dáil estimates. Summarises the system of education in Ireland and the legislation governing it. Comments on the structural weaknesses in post-primary education, and the need for post-primary comprehensive schools in certain areas of the country and the need for suitable post-comprehensive school education. Refers to the need for a core curriculum and examinations for intermediate secondary and vocational pupils.

**P205/14**

4 May–18 June 1964

56pp

**Exam Strike**

Reports, notes, and correspondence concerning the industrial action taken by the ASTI over their assertion that they should retain a higher salary than primary teachers.

Includes:

- Copies of reports from two superintendents who were appointed by the Department of Education to oversee the examinations in Roscrea and the treatment they received both from the college (Mount St Josephs) and the general public (not dated, 6pp).
- Notes made by Hillery concerning the exam strike and the lack of cooperation from the school managers' association in providing supervisors and markers for the examinations. Refers also to the 'attitude of the bishops' and his frustration over the enormous influence the Catholic church has over education in Ireland and their lack of support for the establishment of comprehensive or vocational post primary schools (not dated, 5pp).
- Note by Hillery concerning a meeting of the INTO and a meeting called by the Archbishop with the headmasters at which he intends to ask them to request that the ASTI withdraw their notice to their members or get their own members to supervise and mark the exams. Remarks that the Archbishop agreed to intervene following his request to Hillery to withdraw from making public announcements regarding the non-cooperation of the hierarchy in the dispute. Remarks 'It appears now to be clear to all the interests that the ASTI have gone on strike to make me do something which I cannot do. They have gone up a cul de sac and I knew it. I gave them a chance to come down when I appealed to them and so did the AB when he asked them to do the exams as otherwise they must accept that what they are doing is making the children suffer to no purpose.' Continues 'If as I expect the INTO tell their members to support the holding of the state exams the immediate crisis is over but a chronic festering discontent in secondary teachers will remain' (not dated, 3pp).
- Draft letter (not sent) from Hillery to the Catholic Hierarchy asking them to publicly condemn the actions of the schools managers in the dispute arising from the ASTI dispute. Remarks '... the conclusion appears to be inescapable that the Secondary School Managers while claiming authority are not prepared to undertake

**P205/14**

the necessary degree of public responsibility to the children under their care, to their parents and through me to the people of the country ... It is a matter of extreme regret to me that the excellent relations which have consistently obtained between Church and State in this country over the last forty years in the field of education should be so suddenly and so seriously jeopardised. It is of equal regret to me to have to say that the actions of the Managers have so disedified a large number of people as to call for a public statement' (not dated, 3pp).

- Draft letter from Hillery (not sent) to William Conway, Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of All Ireland, Ara Coeli, Armagh expressing his concerns and frustration over the total lack of support by the Catholic Hierarchy for the establishment of comprehensive schools in Ireland (May 1964, 7pp).

### **2.2.5 Third Level Education, 1960**

**P205/15**

1961-65

419pp

#### **OECD Pilot Study**

Notes, speech, and report concerning the OECD pilot study on education in five countries including Ireland. Remarks that the study resulted in a fivefold increase in educational expenditure and that Ireland became the pilot study for Europe. Refers also to a strike and too much emphasis on the 'academic side' and not enough on the technical. Includes a copy of the report of the survey team *Investment in Education*.

**P205/16**

24 March-11 May 1960

18pp

#### **UCD Belfield Campus**

Correspondence and a report concerning the move of University College Dublin from the city to the Belfield campus.

Includes:

- Letter from Archbishop John Charles McQuaid congratulating Hillery on his statement in the Dáil. Remarks 'For the first time a Government has stated in effect that Catholics have a right to their own university education' (24 March 1960, 1p).
- Letter from Michael Tierney, President, University College Dublin, Earlsfort Terrace, Dublin congratulating Hillery on his speech. Remarks 'It is the most important public statement on University education since 1909. I am looking forward to having an opportunity to show you over the Belfield grounds' (24 March 1960, 1p).
- Observations on the report of the University Accommodation Commission (not dated, 16pp).

- P205/16**      ■ Observations on the memorandum from Tuairim on the Report of the University Accommodation Commission (not dated 16pp).

**P205/17**      26 August–9 November 1960

11pp

**Commission on University Education**

Correspondence concerning the proposed Commission on University Education.

Includes:

- Letter from Seán MacEntee regarding the teaching of science at university level in Ireland describing the situation as ‘shamefully inadequate’. Remarks that it is neither in the best interest of the laity nor the Church for the situation to continue ‘Unfortunately some important elements in the Hierarchy, perhaps even a majority do not see this. They think that scientific education is a source of danger to the Faith and they demur to provide facilities for it, even in the most expensive secondary schools.’ Expresses his concerns over the personnel for the proposed Commission and the bias towards ‘vested interests’ (26 August 1960, 3pp).

**2.2.6 Memoirs, 1987**

**P205/18**      not dated

2pp

**Ministerial memoir**

Partial notes/memoirs by Hillery concerning his time as Minister for Education. Recalls his concerns regarding social inequality in the Irish education system and how ill-prepared the system was to respond to future economic needs. Describes the work he had to do to get a thorough understanding of the Irish educational system and how to face the obstruction he anticipated from the department itself and the Church. Recalls the difficulty he had with the Department of Finance.

**P205/19**      27 January 1987

5pp

**Notes by Micheál Ó hOdhráin**

Notes and typescript (in Irish) by Micheál Ó hOdhráin, Secretary to Hillery as President, recalling a lunch in honour of Seán O’Connor, a senior civil servant in the Department of Education, following his appointment as Chairman of the Higher Education Authority. Remarks that Seán MacGerailt spoke at the lunch and used the occasion to

**P205/19**

express his disquiet over an article by O'Connor published in *Studies*. Remarks 'Sean MacGerailt did not use a script but it was clear while he spoke that he had structured what he intended to say in his mind in advance. Most of what he said became embedded in my memory because of the hilarity which the episode caused, and because I heard it recalled with glee by others many times afterwards.' The article in *Studies* contained O'Connor's views about education and was written without the permission of the Minister or other senior staff. An attempt was made to stop the publication but to no avail. Ó hOdhráin recalls another situation concerning O'Connor where the latter commissioned, a psychologist, Fr MacNamara, associated with St Patrick's Training College and an American university, to examine the merits of the Leaving Certificate for 'accuracy, validity, etc', again with no reference to the Minister or Department. Remarks 'When the findings—caustic to say the least—appeared in the newspapers, the public's reaction at learning that their children were being subjected to examinations which were allegedly so defective can be imagined. It was a cause of great mirth among those who were only too ready to assail the Minister and his Department that the Department had provided a stick to thrash itself and had, in addition, expended the taxpayer's money generously to have that heavy academic stick delivered from the US.'

### **2.2.7 Research in Irish Education, 1990–7**

**P205/20**

1990

8pp

#### **Achievements as Minister for Education**

Draft of an article by Professor John Coolohan, Maynooth, concerning Hillery's term as Minister for Education and his achievements during that period. The article was published in the ASTI Convention Journal, 1990.

**P205/21**

6 March 1991–17 August 1994

53pp

#### **Draft of an article and conference papers by Imelda Bonel-Elliott concerning her doctoral research on Irish education.**

Includes:

- Letter from Imelda Bonel-Elliott, Avenue de Picardie, La Touquet, France to Hillery enclosing the draft of an article on the 1962 civil service report on education. Asks Hillery to read it and comment on the article. The enclosed draft article is annotated by Hillery (17 August 1994, 20pp).

### **2.3 Minister for Industry and Commerce, 1965–6**

**P205/22** 17 December 1965

1p

**Letter from T.K. Whitaker**, Department of Finance, Dublin 2 to Hillery concerning a speech he gave on Industrial Relations in Ennis, County Clare. Remarks 'I like it. I like the freshness of style and the straightforwardness ... If you keep up this kind of standard, you will make a great name.' Adds in a postscript 'I don't make a habit of this!'

**P205/23** 14 April 1966

4 items

**Opening of a factory at Shannon**

Invitation, photograph, dinner menu, and text of a speech concerning the opening of a factory, Callins International Ltd in Shannon Free Airport Industrial Estate, County Clare by Hillery.

**P205/24** 21 February 1966

3 items

**Opening of a swimming pool at Merrion, Dublin**

Newspaper cutting and colour photograph concerning the opening of a swimming pool at St Mary's School for Blind Children, Merrion, Dublin. The opening was performed by Hillery in the presence of the President, Éamon de Valera

**P205/25** 9 April 1966

17pp

**Promotional visit to Germany**

Publicity, press reports concerning a visit by Hillery to Germany in a effort to encourage more German businesses to open premises in Ireland and to establish a stronger export industry for Ireland.

**P205/26** 15–17 February 1966

28pp

**Copies of speeches**

Includes:

- At the silver jubilee dinner of the Federated Union of Employers at the Intercontinental Hotel, Dublin, concerning the decades of growth and development in Ireland, the establishment of the Irish State and what the future may hold (15 February 1966, 10pp).
- At the annual dinner of the Federation of Irish Industries Ltd at Clery's Ballroom, Dublin reviewing the progress of Irish industry over the past year (17 February 1966, 18pp).

**2.4 Minister for Labour**

**2.4.1 Correspondence, 1966–9**

**P205/27** 11–18 July 1966

162pp

**Letters of congratulation**

Letters and telegrams congratulating Hillery on his appointment as Minister for Labour.

**P205/28** 9 July 1966–1 April 1969

23pp

**Correspondence**

Includes:

- From Sean MacEntee praising Hillery for a speech at a Fianna Fáil function 'A few straight punches like yours may, probably would, tumble Conroy (general president of the Irish Transport and General Worker's Union) from the perch on which Fianna Fáil did a great deal to put him' (27 November 1967, 2pp).
- From T O'Raftery, Department of Education, Dublin to Hillery concerning the proposed merger of the Universities (University College Dublin and Trinity College). Remarks 'I am glad you were pleased with progress in the "merger" business. No one will ever know the relief it was to have even one workable plan make its appearance. The real difficulty was, and is, to dispel mutual suspicion ... The way will still be extremely difficult, as is evident by the instinctive hostility aroused in Trinity by even their own plan, but on the other hand there are a number of responsible people in charge there who have come to see that the College's only hope is one University of Dublin with its two colleges subordinate to it.' (2 March 1968, 2pp).

**P205/28**

- From Michael Harty, Bishop of Killaloe, Westbourne, Ennis, County Clare concerning a speech made by Hillery in Shannon. Refers to Hillery's assertion that society needs leaders, other than political leaders or those that hold public office. Remarks 'I had intended to give this idea an outing ... However you seemed to contradict this sentiment by going on to claim that such leaders were the strength of Fianna Fáil.' Continues 'My chief grievance against politicians is that they refuse to give any credit or status to non-political leaders of local communities or voluntary organisations. The present Government in my view has a particularly bad reputation in this respect ... I really think you have raised the most important political question of our times ...' (2 December 1968, 1p).
- From T.K. Whitaker, Department of Finance thanking Hillery for his letter of congratulations following Whitaker's appointment to the Central Bank 'There is no one whose good opinion and encouragement I would rather have. Public life is much the brighter for your rare, and most attractive combination of intelligence, humility, humanity and wit ...' (14 January 1969, 1p).
- From J.F. Dempsey, Bank of Ireland Group, Hume House, Ballsbridge, Dublin 4 praising Hillery's speech during the Dáil debate on the Trade Union Bill and Industrial Relations Bill describing it as a 'model'. Remarks 'I have been watching with interest and admiration your attitude towards the various parties whose responsibility it is to develop sensible and workable relations in the industrial field' (7 March 1969, 1p).
- From Noël Griffin, Managing Director, Waterford Glass Ltd., Waterford concerning the maintenance dispute and congratulating Hillery on his speech in the Dáil. Agrees that the trade unions are very much to blame for the current difficulties but remarks that the employers must also share the blame. 'The bloody-minded attitude of the FUE exactly fits the description you gave that Body, which to my mind is responsible for most of the industrial strife we have had in this country over the past few years.' Concludes 'I would hope ... that you will understand there are many important firms who are not in the FUE, do not agree with it and have no intention of ever joining that reactionary Body or adopting its attitudes.' (7 March 1969, 2pp).

**P205/29**

24 October 1966–21 January 1969

16 items

**Invitations**

Invitations to various functions sent to Hillery as Minister for Labour.

### **2.4.2 Speeches, 1966–9**

**P205/30** September 1966–June 1969

73 items

#### **Copies of speeches**

Includes:

- At the annual dinner of Cumann na n-Innealtóirí at the South County Hotel, Dublin, concerning the advancement of technology (29 September 1966, 6pp).
- At the opening of the Dublin Theatre Festival at the Mansion House, Dublin (3 October 1966, 4pp).
- At a meeting of Comh-Chomhairle Átha Cliath, Fianna Fáil, at the Shelbourne Hotel Dublin entitled 'Government Responsibility in Industrial Relations' (14 October 1966, 17pp).
- At a lunch in the Shannon International Hotel on the occasion of the official opening of St Patrick's Comprehensive School, Shannon, County , concerning the importance of the Comprehensive School system to meet the changing needs of post-primary education in Ireland (24 October 1966, 9pp).
- At a discussion concerning industrial relations organised by the Tomás Ó Faoláin Cumann, Fianna Fáil at the Marian College, Lansdowne Road (28 October 1966, 10pp).
- At the opening of the third annual safety conference organised by the National Industrial Safety Organisation at Liberty Hall, Dublin concerning the importance of safety legislation (30 November 1966, 6pp).
- At the first annual dinner-dance of the Shannon Airport Cumann Fianna Fáil, at the Shannon Airport restaurant, concerning manpower policy and the amendment of legislation on industrial relations and trade unions (2 December 1966, 6pp).
- At the first meeting of the Mines and Quarries Advisory Council concerning the Mines and Quarries Act (12 December 1966, 4pp).
- At the annual dinner of the National Council of the Federated Union of Employers in the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin concerning the role of government in industrial relations (19 January 1967, 8pp).
- At the presentation of an award to the winning foreman of an industrial safety competition between the building sites of Thomas McInerney & Sons, Ltd at the Shelbourne Hotel, Dublin, concerning the importance of implementing safety legislation (31 January 1967, 3pp).
- At a meeting of managers of employment exchanges, at the Department of Labour, Mespil Road, Dublin concerning the newly established Department of Labour, industrial development, and the importance of manpower policy (31 January 1967, 4pp).
- Speaking in Clare concerning the incomes situation and the need to keep costs down to remain competitive (20 February 1967, 3pp).
- At a meeting of the Cork branch of Tuairim at the Metropole Hotel, Cork, concerning the establishment of the new Department of Labour (24 February 1967, 13pp).
- At a meeting of Cork Comh-Comhairle Fianna Fáil at the Imperial Hotel, Cork, concerning the subject of industrial relations (25 February 1967, 8pp).

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- At a reception and press conference organised by the County Kildare Career Information Service at Naas, concerning the importance of quality career advice and information to school leavers (3 March 1967, 4pp).
- On the subject 'Helping the worker in a changing world' at a meeting of Comh-Comhairle Áth Luain at the Shamrock Lodge Hotel, Athlone concerning the Government's decision to introduce a redundancy payments scheme (10 March 1967, 10pp).
- On the occasion of the presentation of prizes and certificates at the School of Printing and Book Production at the college of Technology Bolton Street (15 March 1967, 7pp).
- To the annual congress of the Christus Rex Society at the CBS Hall, Tullamore, County Offaly concerning the history of trade unionism in Ireland (30 March 1967, 19pp).
- At the opening of safety week and safety competition for Messrs Arthur Guinness (Dublin) Ltd at the Rupert Guinness Hall, concerning the importance of health and safety in the workplace (18 April 1967, 5pp).
- At the opening of a conference organised by the Irish branch of the Institute of Personnel Management on the subject 'Productivity-The New Approach', at the Montrose Hotel, Dublin (20 April 1967).
- At the opening of a seminar for trainee journalists organised by the Irish committee of the National Council for the Training of Journalists at the Grand Hotel, Malahide, Dublin, concerning their chosen career and the responsibility that goes with it (28 April 1967, 4pp).
- At the annual conference of the Irish Transport and General Workers' Union at St John's Hall Mulgrave Street, Limerick on the subject 'The National Interest-A Definition' (5 May 1967, 13pp).
- To the first meeting of An Chomhairle Oiliúna concerning the employment needs of Irish industry and the need for adequate and regulated training (15 May 1967, 8pp).
- At the 15<sup>th</sup> Triennial Congress of the International Food and Allied Workers' Associations at Liberty Hall, Dublin, concerning the work of the newly established Department of Labour (30 May 1967, 17pp).
- On the occasion of the presentation of diplomas and certificates to the supervisor students of the College of Industrial Relations concerning the importance of training at supervisor and management level in the workforce (31 May 1967, 5pp).
- At the opening of a seminar on American Labour Law held at Trinity College, Dublin concerning the two main themes of the seminar, the system of collective bargaining and industrial relations in the US; and the importance of these to the Irish labour market (8 September 1967, 5pp).
- At a dinner to mark the 100<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the reconstitution of the Port Authority for Dublin under the name of the Dublin Port and Docks Board, concerning the importance of Dublin port to the Irish labour market and the economy of the country (21 September 1967, 8pp).
- On the occasion of the presentation of diplomas at the Montrose Hotel, Dublin, to students of the course in Foremanship and Supervision organized by the Irish Supervisors' Institute, concerning the importance of training front-line staff to ensure

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- quality of productivity, staff relations, and communication (9 October 1967, 4pp).
- At the official opening of the Glencolumbkille Machine-knitting Co-operative Factory, concerning the importance of their product to the export market and the significance of the industry to the local economy (14 October 1967, 9pp).
  - At an informal luncheon arranged by the Irish branch of the Institute of Personnel Management at the Intercontinental Hotel, Dublin, on the improvements being made in management training and the importance of personnel management training and development (26 October 1967, 9pp).
  - At the opening of a seminar on career guidance organised by the Men's Federation of Catholic School Unions at Limerick, concerning the importance of providing quality career advice to school leavers (18 November 1967, 12pp).
  - At the opening of the fourth annual conference of the National Industrial Safety Organisation at the South County Hotel, Stillorgan, concerning the importance of health and safety in the workplace including inspection and appropriate training (23 November 1967, 8pp).
  - At a meeting of the Kevin Barry Cumann, University College Dublin, concerning industrial relations, the role of the Department of Labour in ensuring health and safety in the workplace, welfare of workers, industrial training, redundancy payments, provision of career guidance to the unemployed including placement specialists, manpower forecasting, collection and dissemination of up-to-date information on a wide range of labour issues and policies from other countries (13 December 1967, 25pp).
  - At the annual dinner of the Federated Union of Employers, Dublin concerning the recommendation adopted by the International Labour Organisation concerning communications between management and workers (20 February 1968, 15pp).
  - At a meeting of Cáirde Fáil in the Clarence Hotel, Dublin, concerning the work of the Department of Labour in the areas of industrial relations, redundancy payments and resettlement allowances, industrial training, the employment service, and career guidance information (22 February 1968, 7pp).
  - At a dinner to mark the inauguration of a site management training course by Thomas McNerney and Co Ltd concerning the importance of training and the development of skills (19 March 1968, 3pp).
  - On the occasion of the opening of a new motel at Clare Road, Ennis, County Clare, concerning the proposal to open a ferry service across the Shannon and the provision of funds for two services to be met from the Special Regional Development Fund (25 April 1968, 5pp).
  - At a Fianna Fáil function, Ballinasloe, concerning the recently published Review of Progress of the Second Programme for Economic Expansion (29 April 1968, 3pp).
  - At a meeting of the Clonmel Fianna Fáil Cumann concerning the need for further expansion of the industrial sector (3 May 1968, 9pp).
  - At the seventh annual general meeting of the National Association for the Mentally Handicapped of Ireland concerning physically and mentally disabled people in the workplace (13 May 1968, 5pp).
  - On the occasion of the official opening of the new Employment

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Exchange in Cahirciveen, County Kerry concerning the Employment Service and the need to provide an integrated system to facilitate job information, guidance and placement (19 July 1968, 13pp).

- At the opening of the Biennial National Delegate Conference of the Irish Bakers and Confectioners and Allied Workers Union at Four Provinces House, Dublin, concerning the rationalisation of the trade union movement (24 September 1968, 8pp).
- On the occasion of the official opening of the Industrial Training Centre at Shannon concerning the importance of a properly trained workforce for the Irish economy (30 September 1968, 7pp).
- At Miltown Malbay, County Clare concerning upcoming legislation dealing with trade unions (5 October 1968, 7pp).
- On the occasion of the presentation of the trophy to the winners of the Inter-firm Safety Competition organised by the National Industrial Safety Organisation in the Galway/Mayo region, concerning the importance of health and safety in the workplace and the high rate of industrial accidents in Ireland (25 October 1968, 10pp).
- At the annual conference of the National Industrial Safety Organisation at the Intercontinental Hotel, Limerick concerning safety in the workplace and accident prevention (8 November 1968, 10pp).
- At the opening of the Industrial Training Conference organised in conjunction with the International Education and Training Exhibition at the RDS, Ballsbridge, Dublin concerning the importance of industrial training for expansion and development (14 November 1968, 6pp).
- At the annual dinner of the Institute of Bankers in Ireland concerning economic analysis and ways of measuring national progress. Refers to the persistently high numbers of unemployed and the transition from an agricultural economy to an industrial economy (16 November 1968, 10pp).
- At the annual dinner of the Shannon Airport Fianna Fáil Cumann concerning the breaching of county boundaries and the formation of new constituencies for Dáil elections (1 December 1968, 7pp).
- At a symposium on the problem of itinerants at Coláiste Mhuire. Refers to the hardships faced by travellers and the efforts made to improve their standard of living, education and employment prospects (9 December 1968, 9pp).
- At the unveiling of portraits of Countess Markievicz and Joseph McGrath at the Department of Labour, concerning the history of the Department (21 January 1969, 6pp).
- At a Fianna Fáil meeting in Bray, County Wicklow concerning proposals for improving industrial relations (11 January 1969, 5pp).
- At the annual dinner of the Cork Branch of the Transport Salaried Staffs' Association, concerning the importance of the concept of nationhood for Ireland (23 January 1969, 6pp).
- At a meeting of South Louth Comhairle Ceantair of Fianna Fáil, concerning the forthcoming bills to amend the Trade Union Acts and Industrial Relations Act (30 January 1969, 10pp).
- At Sixmilebridge, County Clare concerning the upsurge in industrial unrest and the damage to the economy (1 February 1969, 3pp).
- At Ennis Fianna Fáil Cumann dinner at the West County Hotel, concerning the importance of national pride and calling for an end

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- to industrial unrest (9 February 1969, 3pp).
- At the annual dinner of Navan Chamber of Commerce in the Russell Arms Hotel concerning recent industrial unrest (11 February 1969, 2pp).
  - At the opening of a seminar on training for retirement by the Dublin Institute of Adult Education at the Crofton Airport Hotel, concerning the importance of preparing for retirement (27 February 1969, 5pp).
  - At the inaugural meeting of the Solicitors' Apprentices' Debating Society of Ireland at Solicitor's Buildings, Four Courts, Dublin, concerning the Trade Union Bill and the Industrial Relations Bill (7 March 1969, 10pp).
  - At a seminar organised by Clare County Federation of Muintir na Tire at the Queen's Hotel, Ennis concerning the role of voluntary organisations in community development (8 March 1969, 6pp).
  - At the Mid-West Regional Conference of the Irish Management Institute at Cruises Hotel, Limerick, concerning social values in regional development (25 March 1969, 17pp).
  - At a discussion by Comh Chomhairle Átha Cliath concerning the Irish worker in the 1970s (31 March 1969, 14pp).
  - At the annual conference of the Institute of Personnel Management at the South County Hotel, Dublin concerning industrial democracy (17 April 1969, 11pp).
  - At a seminar on incomes policy organised by the Institute of Public Administration in the Great Southern Hotel, Galway concerning the government's commitment to a national policy on incomes (8 May 1969, 15pp).
  - At the national AGM of the Irish Society for the Prevention of Cruelty to Children concerning the welfare of children (15 May 1969, 8pp).
  - At a press conference of Liebherr (Ireland) Ltd at the Hotel Europe, Killarney praising the work of the Liebherr factory and the importance of it to the local and national economy (19 May 1969, 6pp).
  - At Listowel, County Kerry concerning legislation dealing with the rights of workers (12 June [1969], 3pp).

### **2.4.3 Visits Abroad, 1967-8**

**P205/31**

2-6 October 1967; 20-24 October 1968

7 items

#### **Visit to Norway**

Itineraries and photographs relating to a visit by Hillery to Norway and a return visit by the Minister for Municipal Affairs and Labour of Norway, Mr Helge Seip.

#### **2.4.4 Trade Unions, 1968–9**

**P205/32** [1968/9]

12pp

##### **Disputes**

Notes.

Includes:

- Relating to a national wage agreement and the fact that there is no tradition for agreements amongst and with the unions. Refers also to the difficulties in establishing industrial democracy (not dated, 2pp)
- Concerning a visit by Mr Rice, Personnel Manager, Jacobs, and the difficulty he is experiencing as a result of a settlement by his employers of a maintenance dispute, without reference to him. At the time Mr Rice was the Chairman of the FUE negotiating team during the dispute. Remarks 'Employers continue to go up the blind alley of taking a stand. While this is a rational reaction ... it becomes totally irrational ... with a total concession at the end of the strike period. In other words, it means that we have the total concession of the claim, plus the strike of varying length, plus the absence of meaningful negotiations. Another blind alley, up which employers go screaming, is that the Government should do something about these workers. They have yet to learn that the Government does not intend to do anything which the employers should be doing themselves' (not dated, 2pp).

**P205/33** June 1968, June 1969

11 items

##### **International Labour Conference**

Invitations, photographs, and related material concerning the International Labour Conferences of 1968 and 1969 held in Geneva.

Includes:

- Black and white photographs of Hillery at the two conferences. (1968–9, 6 items).

#### **2.4.5 Development of Department, 1969**

**P205/34** July 1966–May 1969

8pp

##### **Department of Labour achievements**

Document outlining the achievements of the Department of Labour in the areas of training, the Irish Management Institute, technical assistant grants, the Council for Education, Recruitment and Training in the Hotel Industry (CERT), the redundancy payments scheme,

**P205/34** resettlement allowance scheme, emigration, National Manpower Service, career information, manpower forecasting, industrial relations, industrial safety and worker protection legislation, international organisations, and research.

## **2.5 Minister for External Affairs (later Foreign Affairs)**

### **2.5.1 Northern Ireland, 1969–72**

**P205/35** 19 August–28 November 1969

48pp

#### **1969**

Notes, memoranda, correspondence.

Includes:

- Text of a communiué and declaration following a meeting held in Downing Street concerning the worsening security situation in Northern Ireland and a decision to give overall responsibility to the GOC Northern Ireland for all security operations (19 August 1969, 4pp).
- Notes made by Hillery concerning the attitude of cabinet colleagues to the situation in Northern Ireland (Autumn 1969, 1p).
- Programme of Hillery's visit to New York and his intention of bringing the situation in Northern Ireland before the Security Council of the UN (3–11 September 1969, 4pp).
- Notes following a meeting between Hillery and Lord Longford. Remarks that Longford questioned him about the Republic's policy regarding Northern Ireland and if the Irish government were willing to allow Chichester Clark (Northern Ireland Prime Minister and leader of the Ulster Unionist Party) to bring forward reforms. Remarks that Longford offered to be of assistance and advised that Wilson had an interest in the 'Irish problem' and that Mr Callaghan and Lord Chalfont 'do not really count' (24 October 1969, 1p).
- Copy of a confidential memorandum written by Con Cremin, Irish Ambassador to the UN concerning Lord Caradon's reply to the Minister's speech to the UN General Assembly and references made by him regarding the Secretary-General and the North (31 October 1969, 3pp).
- Copy of a confidential memorandum prepared by the Department of External Affairs for the benefit of the government outlining policy in relation to Northern Ireland. Summarises the situation to date and offers some suggestions under the headings: Basic Approach, Short-term Objectives of Reforms in the North, Dublin-London Relations, Cooperation with the North, North/South Intercourse, Removal by Dublin of Barriers to Unity, Information Activity, Machinery to study, co-ordinate and implement Policy (28 November 1969, 9pp).

**P205/36** 17 January–13 December 1970

278pp

**1970**

Notes, confidential memoranda, correspondence.

Includes:

- Confidential, detailed report compiled by Kevin Rush, Minister Plenipotentiary summarising a meeting about Northern Ireland at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office. Lists the people representing the Irish side and the British side. Provides a detailed account of the discussion that took place along the lines of political developments, civil affairs and security matters. Attached is a confidential memorandum by Eamon Gallagher commenting on the report. Expresses his concern at comments by Mr Cairncross (an 'expert' on Northern Ireland in the Home Office) concerning the need for the establishment of large new industries in Belfast because of high unemployment numbers. Remarks 'This is a comfortable piece of Unionist thinking and bodes no good for the future of Derry, Strabane etc.' Continues 'The Ambassador's (Irish) response to the suggestion that men in Derry prefer to stay on the dole instead of taking regular employment could be strengthened on a future occasion by the following indication—Dupont takes on 12 to 15 apprentices per annum. During this present month 80 boys applied. Obviously 65 will have to be turned down. The British should continue to be hammered on this subject.' Concludes 'The other Home Office expert on the North, Mr R.L. North suggests that there seems to be a considerable falling-off in popular support for the IRA in recent months. I would say that there has been a considerable increase in Republican feeling in the North in recent months and this must almost certainly affect attitudes towards the IRA' (23 March 1970, 9pp, 20 April 1970, 2pp).
- Confidential memorandum from Eamon Gallagher concerning the Republican parade in Derry on Easter Sunday and discussions with John Hume. Describes a speech made by Tomás MacGiolla, head of Sinn Féin and the events that occurred during and after the parade. Refers to violence in the form of stone throwing at the British Army, in particular what he observed in the Rossville Street area. Describes the scene as being more like a 'game' but a 'nasty one' which eventually dispersed. Refers to a rumour that Irish Troops were assembling at the border. Further investigation proved this to be untrue but remarks that he did discover a border patrol at the customs post on the Donegal side. Remarks that he has advised the Taoiseach to recommend that Army personnel should not be visibly obvious on the border during such occasions (the Easter parade) to avoid any aggravation. Refers to a conversation he had with Hume and others concerning the stone throwers who were described as 'hooligans' with no organisation behind them. Remarks that the RUC is not acceptable in the Bogside and that the British Army is 'at best tolerated there and therefore that there is no real policing of hooligan elements.' Continues 'Considerable pressure was put on Hume to create a vigilante force or to do something about the situation. Hume is unwilling to take a lead in this matter but there is some prospect that a meeting of moderate elements might be

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arranged in the near future.’ Refers to ‘several’ conversations he had with Hume during the weekend concerning the possibility of him running as a candidate in Mid-Ulster with support coming from the Protestant side. Expresses the opinion that Hume would not be acceptable as a Unity candidate. Refers to the Devenney case, a new investigation and an imminent statement about it by Sir Arthur Young (Chief Constable of the RUC). Refers to discussions with Hume about EEC membership and the implications for Northern Ireland. Concludes by stressing the importance of developing a long-term policy for Northern Ireland. (1 April 1970, 4pp).

- Letter, marked confidential, from Donal O’Sullivan, Irish Ambassador, 17 Grosvenor Place, London to Hugh McCann, Secretary, Department of External Affairs informing him of a meeting with Mr Healy, Secretary of State for Defence concerning the county elections and the forthcoming general election. Refers to the possibility of Ian Paisley winning a seat at Stormont and remarks that Healy would consider such an outcome as ‘harmful’. Continues ‘Membership of Stormont would give Paisley a platform for his extreme views and rabble rousing, which he has not got at present, and as a result, one could see a considerable growth in support, at constituency level, for the Right-wing of the Unionist Party’ (13 April 1970, 3pp).
- Confidential note written by Eamon Gallagher concerning the by-elections and his concern that extremist and right-wing Unionist candidates are likely to be successful making genuine reform in the North almost impossible to achieve. Remarks that unless there is a change in the electoral system, the extreme right-wing minority will continue to gain ground. Summarises discussions he had with a number of community leaders in the North, including John Hume, MP and concludes that the situation in the North ‘is now rapidly leading to a polarisation of the two communities.’ Emphasises the need to remain calm and outlines a number of points that should be raised at the next meeting with the British Ambassador (20 April 1970, 3pp).
- Copy of a letter marked confidential from Donal O’Sullivan to the Secretary, Department of External Affairs reporting on a meeting with Jeremy Thorpe MP, leader of the Liberal Party and Thorpe’s advisor Richard Moore, and their discussion about the North. Remarks that both men regarded the success of Rev Paisley and Rev Beattie in the recent elections as a ‘very serious development’. Both expressed their concern regarding the movement to the right in Northern politics and that they envisaged direct rule from Westminster as inevitable and that the removal of Chichester-Clark (Northern Ireland Prime Minister) while desirable was not necessarily a solution to the problem. Remarks that Thorpe had spoken to General Freeland (GOC, Northern Ireland) who reported to him that the build up of arms in private hands was much more serious than officially acknowledged and that it was his view that the British Army in the North was not sufficiently strong in numbers to meet this challenge. Remarks that Thorpe praised the ‘restraint’ being shown by Dublin but ‘that he is increasingly coming around to the view that the situation in the North is so completely getting out of hand that London and Dublin will, before long, have to start talking seriously of a solution which takes account of the

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- fundamental problem.’ (20 April 1970, 4pp).
- Note marked ‘Secret’ from Eamon Gallagher concerning a memorandum of 28 November 1969 laid before the Government, concerning the current situation in the North and short and long-term policy (20 April 1970, 3pp).
  - Copy of a letter marked ‘Secret’ from Hugh McCann, Secretary, Department of External Affairs to Donal O’Sullivan, Irish Ambassador, London concerning a meeting in the FCO (Foreign and Commonwealth Office). Refers to points raised during the meeting regarding the reintroduction of PR in Northern elections and the use of CS gas and the Minister’s reaction to these. Outlines the reaction to a number of other points raised in a separate memorandum attached. Stresses the importance of receiving a report from the ambassador following another meeting in the FCO as early as possible so that it can be laid before the Government (23 April 1970, 5pp).
  - Lengthy memorandum marked ‘Secret’ from Eamon Gallagher summarising a discussion with John Hume, Michael Canavan, Dr James Cosgrove and Dr Raymond McClean. Outlines their serious concerns regarding the Unionist Party and the extreme right wing which has emerged. Remarks that it is essential that the British are informed of this and the possibility that Stormont should be suspended. Outlines the various opinions of the people at the meeting and their assessment of what might happen if the move to the right in Unionism continues on its present course. Refers to a meeting between Hume and Ronnie Burroughs (UK Government’s representative in Belfast) during which Burroughs expressed grave concern about the situation. Remarks ‘On reflection I have not passed this information on to the Ambassador at London as yet as it would be useful to know if the British will tell us this on their own initiative or conceal it from us.’ Discussed the possibility, following advice from the Legal Adviser that there may be a way of changing the situation in Stormont without legislation (27 April 1970, 4pp).
  - Lengthy report marked ‘confidential’ of a meeting about the North at the FCO written by Kevin Rush, concerning the worsening situation in the North, the swing to the right in the Unionist Party, repeal of the Special Powers Acts, the introduction of legislation against religious incitement, the introduction of PR, and the use of CS gas. (29 April 1970, 14pp). Includes a commentary on the meeting by Eamon Gallagher. (5 May 1970, 2pp).
  - Copy of a letter from Peter Berry, Secretary, Department of Justice to Hugh McCann, Secretary, Department of External Affairs concerning Albert Luykx. Remarks that a letter written by him to Albert Luykx in February 1970 confirming that the Department of Justice had no reason to suspect Luykx of engaging in subversive political activities may be used by Luykx as proof of his bona fides to the Belgian Ministry for Justice. Remarks that it has now come to the attention of the Department of Justice that Luykx is ‘trafficking in arms deals with people in Hamburg and Vienna for purposes not approved by our Government’ and that this letter is to be withdrawn. Encloses a copy of that letter. (4 May 1970, 1p).
  - Confidential report prepared for the Irish Ambassador by Kevin Rush concerning shipments of illegal arms intended for the UVF (Ulster Volunteer Force) into Northern Ireland. Refers also to the

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weapons held by the B Specials. Remarks that an informant has indicated that only one tenth of these arms were successfully collected by the British Authorities and that many of the weapons were taken across the border and hidden in the Republic (5 May 1970, 2pp).

- Report marked 'Very Confidential' prepared for the Irish Ambassador by Kevin Rush, based on information received from an informant, concerning a split in Clann na hÉireann (5 May 1970, 2pp).
- Confidential report from Aidan (Molloy), Ard-Chonsal, Hamburg, Germany to Hugh McCann, Secretary, Department of External Affairs concerning attempts to smuggle arms from Germany to Ireland (6 May 1970, 2pp).
- Holograph memorandum by T.P. O'Neill (historian and biographer of Eamon de Valera) giving a long and detailed opinion on the crisis faced by the Taoiseach Jack Lynch and the Fianna Fáil Party following the resignation of the Justice Minister Mícheál Ó Móráin, and the sacking of Harry Blaney and Charles Haughey. Annotated and underlined by Hillery (11 May 1970, 8pp).
- Note from John McColgan, Private Secretary to the Minister (PSM) summarising a telephone conversation with Donal O'Sullivan, Irish Ambassador, London, concerning a meeting in London between O'Sullivan and George Thomson, Commonwealth Secretary. Remarks that the points Hillery wanted raised were discussed and describes the discussion as 'very friendly'. Remarks that Thompson appeared to grasp the difficult situation being faced by the Irish government and the departure of one of the Ministers 'I took this to mean Mr Haughey ...'. Remarks that the Ambassador attempted to impress on Thompson the very grave situation in the North but that Thompson felt that the Irish were being overly pessimistic (6 May 1970, 3pp). Attached is a copy of a detailed report of the same meeting from Donal O'Sullivan (8 May 1970, 9pp).
- Copy of an account of a phone call between John McColgan, PSM and Eamon Gallagher concerning John Peck's (British Ambassador) opinion that the Taoiseach Jack Lynch would not survive and that he conveyed this to Ronnie Burroughs. The information was then passed to John Hume. Reports that Hume's reaction was to urge support for the Taoiseach's Tralee Policy. Concludes 'Gallagher added that he thought I should advise the Minister that it would be unwise to call in Peck at this stage. The fact that he (Peck) thought that the Government in Dublin might fall would be a useful pressure on the British and we should not do anything to relieve that pressure.' (13 May 1970, 1p).
- Holograph note from Eamon Gallagher to Hillery concerning Harry Blaney. Remarks that there is 'personal sympathy' for Blaney in Donegal but not much support for him '... unless things get out of hand in the North.' Refers to a Fianna Fáil collection held at the church and reports that Blaney was at the main gate and other members of Fianna Fáil were present at the other entrances (18 May 1970, 2pp).
- Note from Hugh McCann to the Minister concerning a conversation with Donal O'Sullivan. Remarks that O'Sullivan has advised that the Taoiseach should not seek a meeting with Mr Wilson (PM) at this time, that the meeting may lead to a misunderstanding, and

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that any mention of the Constitutional issue would 'provoke an immediate crisis' (18 May 1970, 1p).

- Secret memorandum from Eamon Gallagher concerning a conversation with James Doherty, Chairman of the Nationalist Party. Remarks that they discussed a number of issues including the Westminster elections, elections in the North and Doherty's attitude to Unity candidates, gun running, the principles of the Nationalist Party and approval from the Dublin Government, a forthcoming debate in Stormont initiated by Paisley and the 'considerable unease' about the election campaign in the North (18 May 1970, 3pp).
- Confidential memorandum prepared by [?] criticising the handling of the foreign press by the GIB (Government Information Bureau) regarding the situation in the North and articles about Ireland in general. Remarks that it is now urgent that the Division in the Department of External Affairs with responsibility for informing the press be allowed to function by providing it with the necessary resources. (25 May 1970, 4pp).
- Secret memorandum from Eamon Gallagher concerning the proposed amalgamation of John Hume's Independent Organisation in the Foyle constituency with the Derry Nationalist Party and the continuing efforts to form a viable opposition in Stormont. Remarks that Hume would like the new party to be called the Social Democratic Party but that no final decision had been taken. Refers to efforts by the British Labour Party to obtain Hume's allegiance, which he has resisted (27 May 1970, 3pp).
- Secret memorandum from Eamon Gallagher concerning the forthcoming elections and strategies involved in choosing candidates, in particular Unity candidates, in the different constituencies (2 June 1970, 2pp).
- Secret memorandum from Eamon Gallagher assessing the current situation in the North, prompted by a minute from Hillery requesting the assessment (2 June 1970, 1p). The memorandum is preceded by a covering note from Hugh McCann outlining steps to be taken in light of the assessment and offering three possible courses of action (9 June 1970, 2pp). The memorandum summarises the bleak political situation in the North and discusses the probable outcome of the Westminster elections. Refers to attitudes in the South, the new government in Westminster and the approach that should be taken with the new Prime Minister (Wilson). Offers a number of points that should be raised with the British. Remarks 'If the British seriously are prepared to reform the North the British Government must now begin to show real political teeth.' Continues 'I consider that the time will have come by the end of this month for real political and diplomatic pressure from us of this kind on the British Government in an attempt to avoid what may be boiling up to a civil war situation in the North ... The two Governments between them can put an end to bigotry and all that if they have the will to do so ... if Paisley is allowed to drive a wedge between London and Dublin the consequences for both countries will be much worse than anything we have yet seen and will continue for years' (9 June 1970, 3pp).
- Secret memorandum from Eamon Gallagher concerning his meeting with various people in the North. Remarks that much of his

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conversations concerned the recent victory of the Tory party in Britain and how this would impact on the situation in Northern Ireland. Analyses the election results in Northern Ireland. Refers to the continuing efforts to form a workable opposition. Observes the 'inability of the opposition to get together even when they have obvious common interests' and that many of their meetings are 'accidental and inconclusive.' Remarks that he has also been struck about how little is known about the mentality of the Northern Protestant. 'Much of our knowledge is intuitive and therefore incomplete and possibly inaccurate ... I think that serious consideration should be given to having a resident representative in Belfast' (24 June 1970, 3pp).

- Notes by Hillery concerning events in Northern Ireland following the arrest of Bernadette Devlin on 26 June 1970. Remarks that John Hume had telephoned him expressing grave concern over disturbances in Derry. Describes communications with the British via the embassy in London throughout the night and the spread of violence to Belfast (26 June 1970, 5pp).
- Notes by Hugh McCann following a telephone conversation with Ambassador Donal O'Sullivan concerning Hillery's visit to the Falls Road. Remarks that O'Sullivan had met with Sir Edward Peck of the FCO who had described Hillery's actions as an 'undiplomatic act'. Describes how Burroughs had to employ strenuous efforts to convince Chichester-Clark not to act impulsively. Annotated. (7 July 1970, 3pp).
- Holograph letter from Seán MacEntee, 9 Leeson Park, Dublin to Hillery congratulating him on his visit to the Falls Road and offering his thoughts on the situation in the North and the options available to the Irish government. Refers, scathingly, to the sensationalist headlines in the newspapers concerning 'snipers' shot by British soldiers. Questions whether it is now time to bring the matter before the Council of Europe. Remarks 'I should love to be there. I think it would warm my heart to note the re-action of the French and German delegates to such an indictment of the "Ancient Enemy", theirs as well as ours ... They have so often squirmed themselves under the lash of British self-righteousness, that we would be fairly certain of a sympathetic jury at least.' Suggests that now may be the moment to secure tri-partite talks on the position of the minority in the North. Refers to the Government of Ireland Act 1920, the 1921 Treaty and the Treaty (Amending Act) of 1925. Concludes 'If we were prepared to argue from the Treaty, a case might be made that, according to the law of the UK, the Government in Dublin has the right to take note of conditions in the North of Ireland and to act accordingly; and that the exercise of this right cannot be regarded as an unwarranted interference in the affairs either of the UK Government or of Stormont. The argument may be a bit thin, but as a diversionary tactic it might serve an occasion' (11 July 1970, 12pp).
- Summary, marked 'Secret', by Eamon Gallagher of a meeting between Hillery and Irish officials and Sir Alec Douglas-Home, Foreign Secretary and British officials in London concerning the situation in the North and the efforts by the Irish government to impress upon the British the serious and worsening situation in the North and the lack of notice given by the British to the concerns

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raised by the Irish side. Refers to the arms search by the British Army on the Falls Road and queries why this particular area had been chosen. Refers to the loss of life during the operation. Refers to the Orange Order and the difficulties it presents for fruitful Anglo-Irish relations, in particular the Orange marches. Remarks that some resolution regarding the Orange Order must be arrived at. Remarks 'The Minister (Hillery) continued by saying that the North is being maintained by force. The arming of private citizens has been going on for years. An enormous amount of arms is still in the hands of the former B Specials. The people in the Falls Road are now disarmed while their enemies still have arms. Britain has made an enormous contribution to democracy. Why can she not ensure the effective operation of a democratic system in a part of Ireland over which she claims control? The British Government should lose no time in curbing the activities of the Orange Order' (8 July 1970, 6pp).

- Notice of an official welcome organised by the local Fianna Fáil Comhairle to mark Hillery's return to Clare following his recent visit to the Falls Road. Annotated by Hillery to say that the event was cancelled at his request. (July 1970, 1p).
- Notes by Hillery concerning the worsening situation in Northern Ireland. Refers to the rioting in Belfast and Paisley's intention to defy the ban on marching for the Apprentice Boy's march in Derry. Refers to the real possibility of the Special Powers Act being reintroduced along with internment. Remarks 'If this type of government is renewed in the North there cannot be anything but Civil War ... the minority could not tolerate the prospect of going back even from the small gain they have made.' Describes a meeting with the British Ambassador. Refers to the recent search for arms along the Falls Road and the breakdown in relations between the residents and the British Army. 'I placed the whole blame on the raid ... I told him that at this time if the whole situation is not to blow up they should 1. pick up Paisley and put him in prison for breaking the law, 2. make an authoritative statement from London that there would be no return to the old type unionism referred to by Mr West; that this would not be permitted under any circumstance; and 3. they should prevent the proposed invasion of Derry by Apprentice Boys on Wednesday. Laid all authority there ... I suggested also that the Army pull out of the Falls Road and leave it to the vigilantes' (6 August 1970, 3pp).
- Secret memorandum from [J/SO'R] to Hillery concerning a meeting with Peter Berry, Secretary, Department of Justice relating to intelligence received about IRA activities and the threat to British Army personnel. Outlines the course of action open to the two departments (External Affairs and Justice) and information passed to the British Ambassador. (4 September 1970, 2pp).
- Copy of a memorandum marked 'Secret' from Eamon Gallagher reporting on a conversation with Gerry Fitt MP regarding the Northern Distress Relief Fund. (13 December 1970, 4pp).
- Copy of a memorandum marked 'Secret' from Eamon Gallagher reporting on a conversation with Paddy Devlin MP concerning the Public Accounts Committee's investigation of the Northern Distress Relief Fund and the use of this fund to purchase arms. Also describes his own method in obtaining information from various

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**P205/37** 19 January–17 December 1971

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Notes, confidential memoranda, correspondence.

Includes:

- Note in Hillery's handwriting regarding the illegal shipment of arms to Ireland, remarks 'Counsel Hamburg told by customs security men that no reputable army would touch arms bought by Kelly found by me 29/1/71' (29 January 1971, 1p).
- Copy of a letter from the British Ambassador John Peck to the Taoiseach, Jack Lynch marked 'Personal & Confidential' raising points of particular concern to the British Government regarding the situation in Northern Ireland. The letter was hand delivered by the Ambassador to the Taoiseach during a meeting. Refers to the riots in Belfast after a period of relative calm and the evidence that the disturbances were organised by the Provisional IRA. Refers also to the 'vehement' reaction of Unionists to these riots, both right-wing and moderate. Remarks that Chichester-Clark is under considerable pressure. Remarks that this situation may have serious concerns for the reform programme in the North. Expresses concern over the perceived tolerance with which the IRA are dealt with in the courts in the Republic. Remarks that the majority in the North view this as proof of support for the IRA in the Republic. 'I have to underline the discouragement that the growth of this attitude brings to all who are working for reform and peaceful evolution in Northern Ireland, and the polarisation of communal attitudes that ensues. And of course it gives proportionate encouragement to all those elements throughout Ireland who are hostile to a policy of peaceful evolution. Concludes by explaining what the British government is prepared to do to offer support to the Irish government namely to insist upon the implementation of reform in the North and discreet collaboration between the security forces in Dublin, London and Northern Ireland 'I have to emphasize the benefits to our common interests which would follow if the normal process of the law could effectively restrain those who are working against them throughout Ireland; and the alarming consequences that could follow if they do not' (11 February 1971, 2pp).
- Note, initialled by Jack Lynch, of an interview between the British Ambassador and the Taoiseach at which the Ambassador handed him a letter raising various concerns about the situation in Northern Ireland. Refers to leniency by the Irish courts in dealing with people on charges relating to guns and explosives. Goes on to describe other matters raised by the Ambassador including statements made by Lynch, one of which caused concern in Whitehall, and the paradox of British soldiers providing security for 'Republican' funerals. (11 February 1971, 2pp)

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- Copy of a reply from Hillery to the letter addressed to the Taoiseach from the British Ambassador expressing both his and the Taoiseach's surprise over references to the judgements of the Courts in Ireland and the implication that the Irish government may have some influence in the matter. Remarks that it is 'out of the question' that the Irish government would act in this manner. Refers also to the collaboration between the various security forces and expresses the opinion that they should be left to carry out their duties. Concludes 'While I have no doubt but that your letter was meant to be helpful I feel that I must write to you on the foregoing two points lest there be any danger of misunderstanding arising later' (17 February 1971, 2pp).
- Notes for a meeting between Hillery and Sir Alec Douglas-Home raising various concerns of the Irish government over right-wing Unionism, the lack of progress in implementing reform in the North, the creation of rifle clubs in the North, effectively re-arming ex-B Specials, the importance of taking heed of the voice of the minority in the North, economic cooperation between the North and South, unease over Border incursions by the British Army, obtaining increased and coverage for RTÉ in the North. Attached is a memorandum detailing telephone conversations between the Department of External Affairs and the British Embassy concerning a report that a British Army truck and jeeps had crossed the border (24–25 February 1971, 5pp).
- Copy of a memorandum marked 'Secret' from Eamon Gallagher, raising a number of points for consideration. Refers to recent events and attempts to capture the current mood in the North. Expresses his continuing concern over the rise of Craig, and Fulkner seizing the opportunity to utter right wing statements. Remarks that the Provisional IRA appear to think that one more effort by them will succeed in toppling Stormont and lead to direct rule. Refers to the SDLP and their hope of making more headway for the minority voice in the North. Remarks that the upcoming visit by the British Home Secretary may have prompted much of this activity. Refers to Maudling's speech at Stormont and analyses it in some detail, refers also to various meetings Maudling had had with individuals from both sides and how this might be interpreted. Concludes 'From all the above I would come to the tentative conclusion that Mr Maudling is deliberately engaged in propping up Major Chichester-Clark's Government in order to cut the Unionist right-wing down to size while keeping in mind in rather dense phrases the idea that a new deal is required for the minority in the North' (5 March 1971, 3pp).
- Copy of a letter marked 'Secret' from the British Prime Minister Edward Heath MP to the Taoiseach Jack Lynch. Refers to the growing uncertainty regarding Chichester-Clark and the possibility of his resignation. Remarks that his position needs to be strengthened and that he is sending more troops and implementing other measures, not including internment. Appeals to the Irish government to take 'effective action' against the IRA. Suggests various courses of action that could be taken in this regard. Assures the Taoiseach of their continuing support for reform in the North (17 March 1971, 2pp).
- Note from Hugh McCann to Hillery commenting on the PM's letter

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and addressing the various suggestions raised in the letter with regard to the IRA. Offers advice on the course of action that should be taken (19 March 1971, 1p).

- Note from Hugh McCann to Hillery concerning a meeting with the British Ambassador and concern over the possible resignation of Chichester-Clark (19 March 1971, 1p).
- Memorandum marked 'Secret' from Hugh McCann informing Hillery of a meeting with the British Ambassador and the matters discussed. Informs the Minister in a postscript that he was informed of Chichester-Clark's resignation by the British Ambassador (20 March 1971, 2pp).
- Memorandum marked 'Secret' from Hugh McCann reporting that the British Ambassador informed him that it was expected that Brian Faulkner would secure the nomination to be the next Prime Minister of Northern Ireland. Remarks that Burroughs had received assurances from Faulkner that he would implement the Downing Street Declaration in full and that there would be no going back on policies. However, it was acknowledged by both men that the minority in the North did not think Faulkner sincere. Remarks that he stressed to the Ambassador that some degree of participation by the minority was essential in restoring confidence and reducing the influence of extreme elements on the Nationalist community. Refers to the Ambassador's opinion that London and the Unionist Party were on 'a direct collision course' (22 March 1971, 2pp).
- Comment and analysis by Eamon Gallagher of Heath's statement in the House of Commons concerning the current situation in Northern Ireland (22 March 1971, 2pp).
- Memorandum by Eamon Gallagher summarising recent events in Northern Ireland, namely the resignation of Chichester-Clark and the succession of Faulkner as Prime Minister of Northern Ireland and what this means, in particular for Stormont. Remarks 'Stormont has become finally what the logic of its claim to be British and part of the United Kingdom—"in the same manner as Yorkshire"—demands. The Stormont Prime Minister becomes Chairman of a regional administration, not the head of a Government ... the Unionists have brought this on themselves.' Suggests some policy points (22 March 1971, 4pp).
- Text of a telephone message from Deputy Commissioner John Lincoln reporting that the families of RAF personnel stationed in the North have been given notification regarding what airports to go to in the event of war (22 March 1971, 1p).
- Copy of a memorandum marked 'Secret' from Eamon Gallagher concerning his visit to the North. Remarks that he has observed that the Provisional Republicans are developing as a real force in their own right. 'It seems possible now that Mr Ruairi Ó Brádaigh, head of the Provisional Sinn Féin may have increased his political control over the Provisional IRA at the expense of other putative leaders.' Refers to the SDLP which he describes as strong in Hume's Foyle constituency but that there is criticism of Gerry Fitt's leadership which is 'virtually non-existent' (15 April 1971, 2pp).
- Notes by Hillery for a meeting with Reginald Maudling, Home Secretary, concerning the policy of the British government on Northern Ireland and the urgent need for a change in direction. Refers also to the withdrawal from Stormont by Hume following

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- threats by the IRA. Remarks that Gerry Fitt was against the withdrawal (July 1971, 2pp).
- Note by Hugh McCann concerning a telephone call between John Hume and Eamon Gallagher who confirmed the death of a shooting victim. Remarks that another man has been shot and that there are running battles 'all over the place' (8 July 1971, 1p).
  - Note by Hugh McCann concerning a telephone conversation with the Taoiseach who told him that John Hume had been in contact with Liam Cosgrave about the worsening situation in Derry. Raises concerns that British troops may be 'over-reacting and getting a little trigger happy.' Refers also to violence in Belfast (9 July 1971, 2pp).
  - Memorandum marked 'Secret' by Eamon Gallagher concerning his visit to Belfast and Dungannon and reporting on a conversation with Paddy Devlin MP and Austin Currie MP. Refers to the withdrawal of the opposition from Stormont and the distrust felt by the SDLP towards Brian Faulkner. Remarks that the SDLP will not cooperate with the Gifford Tribunal. Refers to the prospect of an alternative assembly and the urgent need to have the present administration wound up. Remarks that both Currie and Devlin raised serious concerns over the Apprentice Boys parade on 12 August and that it should be banned. They feared large scale violence would result if it is allowed to take place. Remarks that Currie asked Gallagher to make a strong appeal against invoking internment. Remarks that both Currie and Devlin consider the strength of the IRA to have substantially increased. 'Mr Michael Farrell ... is stated to be involved in the political education of the Provisionals who are now quite different from the type of adherent that existed in the winter of 1969/70. In general they believe that a powerful revolutionary situation now exists in the North and that it is vitally urgent that the Government here take any steps open to it to bring about a change in what they regard to be the current British policy of maintaining Unionism at all costs' (19 July 1971, 3pp).
  - Letter from the Irish Ambassador in London, Donal O'Sullivan, to Hillery marked 'Secret and Personal' concerning intelligence he has received about the Home Office's intention of placing someone undercover in Dublin to investigate possible links between the Irish government and the IRA, Bernadette Devlin and others. Describes in detail how he came about the information (5 August 1971, 2pp).
  - Confidential report of a meeting between Hillery and Maudling, Acting Prime Minister concerning the recent violence in the North. Details the concerns raised by both sides, in particular the use of force by the British authorities and the very grave consequences arising from this action. Refers specifically to internment and the rise of the IRA. Refers to a suggestion by Hillery of the setting up of a Commission to cover the North as a whole and the reaction of Maudling to this proposal, describing it as 'disastrous if it were thought by the North that he and the Minister were talking about the possible establishment of a Commission.' Concludes 'The Minister added that we are finished with optics. We must show political progress, otherwise there is a grave danger of a major warlike situation developing. Mr Maudling then suggested that the conversation on the Commission question should be treated as very

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confidential and that there should be no statement from either side about it now' (13 August 1971, 9pp).

- Note from Eamon Gallagher concerning the introduction of internment describing it as a failure. Remarks that the majority of those interned belong to the Civil Rights Association and the People's Democracy. Offers a number of suggestions about how the Irish government may wish to proceed (10 August 1971, 2pp).
- Note from Eamon Gallagher discussing the untenable nature of Faulkner's position. Remarks that it is now clear that Faulkner was personally responsible for the introduction of internment with disastrous consequences. Refers to the campaign of civil disobedience which will make the North ungovernable. Remarks that the Irish government is now at the point where it can no longer offer any support to British policies for Northern Ireland as long as Faulkner remains in office. Refers again to his apparent total lack of understanding about the situation in the North. Remarks 'Even in small matters he does not know what he is dealing with. In his statement yesterday he refers to his Catholic fellow countrymen. He does not know that the minority in the North do not regard the state as a country nor do they think of themselves as countrymen of Faulkner and his cabal within the Six Counties. To address them in that manner is obnoxious to them. Either Faulkner knows this, in which case his conduct is reprehensible or he does not know it, in which case his ignorance is manifest.' Concludes 'In all the circumstances and given the blood on Faulkner's hands it is impossible for the Irish government to have anything more to do with him' (10 August 1971, 2pp).
- Letter and notes from T.P. O'Neill, Department of History, University College Galway, concerning his and others' reactions to events in Northern Ireland. Criticises the government's reaction to the deaths in Northern Ireland and in particular the statement made by the Taoiseach (16 August 1971, 4pp).
- Copy of a report prepared by the Chief of Staff of the Irish Army marked 'Top Secret' concerning the requirements of the Irish Army should a security situation arise. Outlines the financial requirements as well as the recruitment of army personnel and the purchasing of military equipment (26 August 1971, 5pp).
- Copies of statements, confidential memoranda, copies of correspondence concerning tripartite talks between the Taoiseach, the British PM and Brian Faulkner. Includes notes prepared by Eamon Gallagher and Hugh McCann on possible themes for the talks at Chequers and an outline of desirable outcomes from the point of view of the Irish Republic. (20, 22 September 1971, 6pp).
- Note marked 'Secret' from Eamon Gallagher concerning his visit to the North and the people he made contact with and the current political and social situation. Remarks that the SDLP have refused to hold any talks until internment ends. Remarks that all of his contacts with the exception of Paddy Devlin believe that the IRA cannot be beaten; and that the Irish government should take a case against the UK government before the European Commission on Human Rights. Adds that he spoke to Seán MacBride who informed him that a committee of Amnesty is being established to examine the allegations of torture and brutality in the North. Refers to the worsening conditions in Belfast, and that the Andersonstown area is

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now considered a 'no-go' area. Remarks that Brian Faulkner is unlikely to continue and that direct rule is imminent (3 November 1971, 2pp).

- Notes made by Hillery following a dinner. Present were Jack Lynch, [Harold] Wilson, Joe Brennan, George Colley, Brian Lenihan and Dan O'Suillivan of the Taoiseach's Department, and representatives from the Departments of Finance and Foreign Affairs. Remarks that he was left with the impression that there was a total lack of understanding on the part of the British of Irish politics. Remarks that Wilson referred to a 'final solution' for Ireland and enquired if the Irish Republic were willing to raise taxes in order to equalize the payment of social benefits with the levels paid in the North of Ireland and the possibility of the British Exchequer offering transitional help. Hillery describes his reaction to Wilson's remarks and notes that Wilson appeared taken aback. Continues by referring to Wilson's 'offhand' query to the Taoiseach whether Ireland would be willing to come back into the Commonwealth. Remarks 'At this stage I said that if there is a "leak" from this meeting I want to be on the record that I object completely to the idea of going back into the Commonwealth ... I think it is a non-starter and there is no political life for anyone in this country that would try to discuss it or deal with it.' Describes how George Colley also challenged Wilson on his remark about the Commonwealth. Remarks that Wilson 'disparaged' Heath throughout the conversation. 'I felt that he disparaged Heath so much that he might be covering up some kind of a deal they have on. Although it is unlikely ... They hate one another ... But they may have agreed to come out with a bi-partisan policy and he might have been establishing that he was arriving at this by himself.' Refers to their conversation about unification and British troops remaining in Northern Ireland for a number of years. Remarks 'My impression was of an English politician wanting to solve the problem, wanting to damage the Government in England, and to use the Government in Ireland, to produce a solution to help himself politically and to flatter his own vanity ... But if he goes on and makes a speech suggesting unification after a period of years, with the ifs and buts he puts in to keep the two sides from going crazy, it will at least represent a crack in the British armour, and it may be the first sign that the British know in their hearts that unification has to come about.' Hillery also refers to Eamon Gallagher, a civil servant from the Department of Foreign Affairs and advisor to the Taoiseach concerning the North. Remarks that Gallagher was inclined to intrude in the conversation as if he was a politician. Remarks that other Ministers present at the dinner found his presence 'dangerous' but that it was a difficult situation because of his direct association with the Taoiseach. Remarks that the Ministers were 'angered' over one instance where it was obvious that Gallagher had not briefed the Taoiseach on a certain situation. 'The Taoiseach was obviously very nettled and the Ministers were angered that he had held this kind of information and then used it to dominate the conversation at the expense of the Taoiseach and others present' (November 1971, 7pp).

**P205/38** 17 January–30 August 1972

85pp

**1972**

Notes, confidential memoranda, correspondence.

Includes:

- Secret memorandum prepared by Hugh McCann for the Taoiseach and Minister for Foreign Affairs concerning a discussion he had with George Lavery, a family friend and the Catholic member of the Scarman Tribunal. Remarks that Lavery showed him a letter which he and William Marshall, the Protestant member of the Scarman Tribunal sent to Lord Gray, Governor-General in Northern Ireland concerning their thoughts about the situation in the North and the possible reunification of Ireland. Summarises the letter. Continues by outlining the main points of his conversation with Lavery which covered a range of issues including the participation of the Provisional IRA in talks, the attitude of the South to the North and the impression that political leaders in the South have no real interest in the reunification of Ireland. McCann expresses his surprise at this statement and summarises his response. Outlines Lavery's opinion of what political leaders in the South should be doing in order to make progress. Remarks that there is a desperate desire by the people of Northern Ireland to find a solution and that for progress to be made the political parties in the Irish Republic must make an effort to appeal to the political parties in the North. Remarks that there is no party in the South that would appeal to right-wing conservatism in the North. Acknowledges that London has been at fault in their handling of the situation in the North and not helped by the change from a Labour to a Conservative Government. 'Mr Lavery is convinced that Protestant opinion can be wooed into a united Ireland if action is taken now. He says that Paisley backed away from his tentative advance because Mr Faulkner went into his constituency and branded him as a Republican' (17 January 1972, 4pp).
- Detailed memorandum marked 'Secret' and entitled Northern Ireland—The Present Situation by Eamon Gallagher in which he assesses the main issues concerning Northern Ireland during the year 1971 and suggests where things may lead for 1972 (17 January 1972, 10pp).
- File containing copies of reports, notes and correspondence relating to Hillery's meetings and discussion with various European Foreign Ministers, the US Secretary of State William Rogers, and the UN General Assembly concerning the worsening situation in Northern Ireland (2 February–10 March 1972, 54pp).
- Confidential report written by Donal O'Sullivan, Irish Ambassador, London of a meeting between Hillery and William Whitlelaw, Secretary of State for Northern Ireland. The discussion was dominated by the continuing and worsening violence in Northern Ireland perpetrated by the IRA and the concern over a Protestant backlash. Annotated (21 June 1972, 6pp).

**P205/39** not dated

90pp

**Notes and memoranda, not dated**

Mostly notes also memoranda, reports, copies of speeches.

Includes:

- Typed notes by Hillery concerning meetings with groups in Northern Ireland concerning their fears for their safety and seeking reassurances from the South that their interests would be safeguarded. Refers to the ‘total absence of protection’ for those in the Civil Rights movement and actions taken by the Taoiseach to move equipment and troops closer to the border. Remarks that it was the feeling among the people they met as well as the government, that arms would not be supplied for protection, that supplying arms would be an act of war. Remarks ‘... this decision was taken with a certain discomfort for many members of the Government because then they felt what could we do and a feeling that something had to be available to us to do seemed to exist and therefore I proposed a contingency plan ... that the Minister for Defence would ... bring the Army into a state of preparedness whereby ... the Army would protect our territory ... and ...if the Government of the twenty-six counties at any time decided that armed or Army activity for the protection of people living near the Border area or away from the help of the British Army ... that the Army should have people prepared, trained and capable of being transported quickly to carry out such a decision ...’ (not dated, 3pp).

**2.5.2 United Nations, 1969–71; 1991**

**P205/40** 20 August–1 October 1969; 6 September 1991

25 items

**Northern Ireland**

Memoranda, notes, speeches, and correspondence concerning the efforts made by Hillery and other officials to have the ‘Situation in Northern Ireland’ included in the agenda of the General Assembly and General Committee of the UN.

Includes:

- Memorandum outlining the case for and against raising the Northern Ireland situation in the UN (not dated, 3pp).
- Hillery’s notes for his speech to the UN (August 1969, 9pp).
- Copy of the statement made by Hillery during the general debate at the 24<sup>th</sup> session of the General Assembly of the United Nations (26 September 1969, 14pp).
- Copy of a memorandum entitled ‘General Committee Probable Outcome of Vote on Inscription of Item 102 (Situation in the North)’ prepared by Con Cremin, Irish Ambassador to the UN, recalling the sequence of events in relation to the attempt by the Irish delegation to have the item regarding the situation in Northern Ireland included in the agenda of the General Committee. Describes how he

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attempted to form an impression of how the voting pattern might go in Ireland's favour and the strenuous efforts of the British to have the votes go their way. Over the course of a number of days he describes how the members changed their minds, or were informed by their countries, on how to vote (1–7 October 1969, 11pp).

- Draft memorandum prepared for government concerning the question of inclusion of the item 'The Situation in the North of Ireland' in the agenda of the General Assembly of the United Nations (1–6 October 1969).
- Copy of an essay by Jaime de Pinies, President of the Security Council written for UNITAR recalling the events leading up to the Security Council meeting and the meeting itself (15 February 1978, 22pp).
- Article by Con Cremin, Irish Ambassador to the UN, entitled 'Northern Ireland at the United Nations August/September 1969' reprinted from *Irish Studies in International Affairs*, vol 1 no 2, 1980, RIA (1980, 7pp).

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September 1970–October 1971

11 items

**China**

Telegrams, notes, and texts of speeches concerning the proposal to expel China from the United Nations.

Includes:

- Copy of a telegram marked 'secret' from the Secretary of State, Washington DC to the American Embassy, Dublin regarding the partial termination of the air transport agreement between the US and Ireland. Requests that a negotiating team be sent to Washington in order to resolve the issue. (29 July 1971, 2pp).
- Note in Hillery's handwriting remarking 'US Amb to Dublin offered a postponement of one year on the air landings for our vote.' (not dated, 1p).
- Copy of a telegram from John W McCormack, Speaker, US House of Representatives and Thomas P O'Neill, Majority Whip, US House of Representative to the Taoiseach, Jack Lynch expressing the 'amazement' of the US that Ireland has not yet taken a position against the expulsion of China from the UN (11 October 1971, 1p).
- Copy of a letter, marked 'confidential' from Con Cremin, Irish Ambassador to the UN to Hugh McCann, Secretary, DFA discussing the strategy of the Irish delegation with regard to the China question at the UN (12 October 1971, 7pp).

### **2.5.3 Departmental Organisation and Staffing, 1971**

**P205/42** 8–12 January 1971

15pp

#### **Departmental Structure**

Copies of confidential memoranda concerning the structure of the Department of External Affairs (DEA).

Includes:

- Copy of a memorandum prepared by S.G. Ronan outlining his views on issues that prevent the effective running of the Department. Refers to a recent study commissioned by the US State Department outlining some 500 proposals for change and reform. Remarks that a similar undertaking should happen at the DEA. Advises that the overall structure needs to be examined, particularly the hierarchical nature of the DEA, and that ‘chronic under-staffing’ needs to be addressed. Refers to the ‘pattern of representation abroad’, remarking that Ireland is under-represented in places where representation is badly needed and refers to offices that do not fulfil their role. Observes that more attention needs to be paid to policy and planning in the department. Identifies personnel as ‘probably the core of the Department’s problems.’ Remarks ‘... probably as many as 50% of those recruited ... are unsuitable from different points of view ...’. Refers to promotions in the department and remarks that these should take place on merit rather than seniority. Refers to the retirement policy, acknowledges that this is hampered by the general policy of the civil service but remarks: ‘The Department is saddled with a number of unfit persons mentally and physically, and there is a limit to the number of passengers that can be carried indefinitely. We are overloaded with incapacities.’ Advises that increased specialisation is required if Ireland’s participation in international organisations is to grow. Refers also to work methods, training, general morale and mobility for lower civil service grades. Remarks that the department needs to improve its public relations and engage ‘an active press agent’ who would be available to the media at any time during the day or night. Concludes by commenting on the accommodation, equipment and facilities of the department ‘A comprehensive and thorough self-reform study seems to be needed as nearly all aspects of our operations call for some improvement. In my opinion, probably the single most important factor militating against an effective Department is the personnel and performance situation which is feckless and uneven’ (8 January 1971, 7pp).
- Copy of a memorandum prepared by Hugh McCann, Secretary of the Department of Foreign Affairs, responding to a request from Hillery for his opinion on how the department should be organised. Remarks that he would like some more time to examine the practices of countries similar in size to Ireland but that in the meantime he has structured his thoughts about the shortcomings of the department under the following headings: staffing inadequacy, recruitment, training, promotion policy, ‘problem’ officers and ineffectives, system of allowances abroad, department’s image, level of economic activity and relations with semi-State

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bodies, accommodation, security of communications, archives, management, long-term planning and development. Remarks 'The main conclusion which emerges from this interim report is that further progress hinges mainly on 1. Adequate recruitment, 2. Training, and 3. Long-term planning and development. If we can lick the recruitment problem we should be able to give proper attention to items 2 and 3 ... All the foregoing is related to the climate of possibility as it has existed. I look forward to giving you at a later date my further views on the best organisation for a Department of Foreign Affairs on the stimulating and challenging hypothesis of having a fully free hand' (12 January 1971, 8pp).

**P205/43**

26 February–31 August 1971

15pp

**Staffing**

Copies of confidential memoranda prepared for Hillery concerning staffing and promotions in the Department.

**2.5.4 Ireland's Entry to the EEC, 1971–2**

**P205/44**

3 June–15 July 1971

23pp

**Statements and Memoranda**

Concerning the progress in Ireland's negotiations for entry to the EEC. Annotated

Includes:

- Memorandum written by DF concerning developments in Brussels concerning the transitional period as Ireland joins the EEC in regard to the Common Agricultural Policy and the existing trade arrangements provided for in the Anglo Irish Free Trade Area Agreement and financing agreements concerning agriculture. (3 June 1971, 2pp).
- Memorandum written by DF concerning the timing of the accession of the applicant countries and the inevitable '... slow down in the normal functioning of the Communities. Remarks 'We have ... been proceeding on the assumption that accession will take place on the 1<sup>st</sup> January 1973 and that the year 1972 would be available for the necessary constitutional, legislative and other preparations ... An accession date of the 1<sup>st</sup> July 1972 would therefore appear to be out of the question from our point of view'. (2 July 1971, 2pp).

**P205/45** 4 June 1971–7 January 1972

23pp

**Fishery Negotiations**

Notes, memoranda, correspondence concerning negotiations regarding the fishing industry and Ireland's entry to the EEC.

Includes:

- Note by Hillery concerning a conversation with Gaston Thorn from Luxembourg. Remarks that he told Thorn that the Norwegians should not receive fish concessions over and above what Ireland was entitled to. 'I repeated that the economic size of the problem was irrelevant at this time, that the political size of it was the same for us as for anybody else ... and that I had also said that it was not necessary for Norway to seek special treatment which implied the other countries getting less' (not dated, 1p).
- Memorandum concerning arguments in favour of retaining the outer six mile belt in order to preserve fish stocks close to the shore (not dated 1p).
- Notes concerning the Commission's proposal on fisheries and the negative effect it would have for the Irish fishing industry and fish stocks in the Irish fishing waters (June 1971, 2pp).
- Letter and observations from Brendan O'Reilly, Chairman, Bord Iascaigh Mhara, to Hillery outlining his concerns arising out of the Common Market Fisheries Policy and the marketing of fish products. Remarks that a moratorium should be sought on the existing fisheries policy until after the entry of the four applicant countries allowing a 'breathing space' and an opportunity to influence policy and allow some discussion to take place regarding any changes in the policy. Continues by advising that Ireland does not deviate from the stand already taken in relation to the six mile zone. Remarks 'Broadening the issues of contention to include the marketing proposals would lend support to our request for a moratorium as it would indicate our dissatisfaction with the concept underlying the fishery policy. It would also indicate that we are making a stand independent of Britain and Norway and this would be far more acceptable to our fishermen who have fears that if a settlement is reached it may suit Norwegian or British interests more than ours' (4 June 1971, 5pp).
- Confidential *aide-mémoire* concerning the Norwegian stance on access to fishing inside the fishery limit and the difficulties in arriving at a suitable arrangement that would satisfy the Norwegian and British governments (30 June 1971, 2pp).
- Confidential memorandum outlining the main points of Irish/UK talks on fisheries policy, specifically concerning the difficulties that have arisen between the British and Norwegian governments in relation to the six mile zone favoured by the British and the Norwegian insistence that they required a 12 mile zone for fishing in their own waters. Concludes that 'The British are prepared to go to Parliament this month without a solution if necessary, thus taking the time-pressure off themselves and putting it on Denmark and Norway. They are determined not to be "shopped" by the Norwegians' (30 June 1971, 2pp).
- Note by Hillery concerning the Norwegian's strategy and the fishery

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negotiations. Remarks 'The Norwegian hung around the Charlemagne Building with no intention of negotiating, smug and self-satisfied looking, would not give me a straight answer as to whether he wanted me to stay with him or not, gave the clear impression that he was waiting for a gift from the gods—the gods being the EEC and the gift being the special treatment for Norway mentioned at the early stages when the EEC thought they could hold their fisheries access regulation if they gave some concession to Norway. I got the clear impression that he wanted to be, as Sir Con O'Neill put it, the last cherry off the tree ... He gave the clear impression of being a tougher negotiator whereas his whole attitude was that there was a gift to be got for him if everybody else went home' (21 December 1971, 1p).

- Further notes by Hillery regarding the Norwegian stance on fishing rights entitled 'Things about the Norwegians and the fish I would like on record.' Remarks 'Heath sent a telegram, saying among other things "we want you in" to the Norwegian Prime Minister, suggesting that they would have to concede and behave like the rest of the applicants. There was great anger at this by the Norwegian Delegation.' Remarks that the Norwegians threatened to stay out of the EEC and keep the Danes out if they did not get the concessions they required with regard to fishing and their insistence that they wanted to be treated as a special case, negotiating a separate arrangement exclusive to Norway. Concludes 'The final impression was following-up all my original impressions that there is a Political deal done between Pompidou and Heath on Fish and that's why we made so much good progress. The deal did not go as far as destroying the regulation, because to destroy the regulation would be to undermine the Common Agricultural Policy and the French won't want that. I am all with the French in that, so what we did was get over the regulation without destroying it, we can handle the Fisheries difficulties and the Common Agricultural Policy stands' (7 January 1972, 1p).

**P205/46**

8–17 June 1971

3 items

**Official Visits**

Programmes itemising official functions for the visits of Aldo Moro, Foreign Minister of Italy and Gaston Thorn, Minister for Foreign Affairs and Foreign Commerce, Luxembourg

**P205/47** 9–15 July 1971

8pp

**Motor Assembly**

Memoranda, list, telegram concerning the EEC entry negotiations and motor assembly.

Includes:

- Confidential memorandum concerning the British reaction to the proposed agreement with the Community on the motor car assembly industry. Remarks that the British had apologised for the behaviour of some of their officials during the negotiations. Concludes 'Mellon also informed Fitzgibbon that our understanding of what Mr Rippon said to the Minister ... is the correct one ... that we should negotiate what we could from the Community on the motor car assembly industry and that we should then have discussions with the British on those aspects of the settlement in which the British had an interest' (15 July 1971, 1p).

**P205/48** 5 July–3 November 1971

23pp

**Export Tax Reliefs**

Notes, memoranda, correspondence concerning the negotiations on Ireland keeping its scheme of tax reliefs on profits from exports until it expires in 1990.

Includes:

- Notes by Hillery concerning the negotiations and the conversations he had with various people during a lunch or at the negotiating meeting (not dated, 4pp).
- Note for a meeting between Hillery and M Deniau outlining the importance of Ireland retaining its export tax reliefs (5 July 1971, 5pp).
- Letter from Michael Killeen, Managing Director, IDA, to Hillery asking him to clarify the situation regarding industrial incentives in light of the negotiations with the EEC. Remarks that the IDA are being 'pressed' by industrialists for clarification after accession to the EEC. Asks Hillery for confirmation of the points raised in the letter so that the IDA may ensure that the correct information is being circulated (26 October 1971, 2pp).
- Copy of notes made by Wellenstein on the back of an envelope during the negotiations regarding Ireland's export tax reliefs (3 November 1971, 3pp).

**P205/49** 9–12 January 1972

10pp

**Sugar Quota**

Notes, telex concerning Ireland's negotiations to increase the sugar quota.

Includes:

- Note by Hillery concerning the difficulties over negotiating the sugar quota and the strong line taken by the IFA and the BVA (Beet and Vegetable Growers' Association) regarding the size of the quota. Remarks 'My feeling at this time is that the Sugar Company saw a way to get the EEC to pay for the bad decisions and bad management of the company over the years. A quota of 240,000 as agreed by them and the IFA as necessary to survival would have meant pressure on the govt to invest £10 million in the sugar company to build the equivalent of an entirely new extra factory bigger than any of the existing ones to be able to process the allowance. The allowance would be guaranteed high prices paid by EEC regardless of world market price ...'. Concludes 'So all agreed that I should be forced to look for 240,000 and forced to fight for it. They were supported by two Archbishops Morris and Cunnane. It was a try on to be ashamed of as a nation' (12 January 1972, 2pp).
- Notes regarding meetings Hillery had with individuals from the Sugar Company, the ITGWU, the IFA and the BVA in an effort to reach a compromise with regard to the quota and what he could bring to the negotiating table in Brussels. Remarks 'I tried at every meeting to get them to give me a figure below which I could not go in the negotiations therefore using the 240,000 as a starting figure and they insisted that it was not a starting figure but the just and the minimum necessary to ensure the survival of the sugar beet industry ... Mr Fardy, who is in charge of the BVA group ... said publicly that they would become militant and vote against the Referendum at anything less than 240,000' (12 January 1972, 2pp).

**P205/50** 18 December 1971&18 January 1972

8pp

**Letters of Congratulations**

- From the *Irish Independent* journalist Raymond Smith, 4 Sycamore Road, Mount Merrion, Co. Dublin to Hillery concerning the lengthy negotiations for Ireland's entry to the EEC. Refers to the long, exhausting sessions and remarks 'Personally, I feel proud to have been involved in the coverage even though one was ever conscious of the great responsibility to get things right and to let the people at home know exactly what you had won.' Continues 'I could not but admire the way you fought in the negotiations to get the best possible package. I trust that what you have achieved in this will be climaxed by acceptance of the terms. It is impossible to imagine the country failing to grasp the opportunity that now presents itself' (18 December 1972, 3pp).

**P205/50**

- From Judge Brian Walsh, Tully Herron, 142 Howth Road, Dublin 3 concerning the negotiation for entry to the EEC and how he has followed the events closely and with 'pride'. Praises Hillery's skillful negotiations in achieving the best outcome for Ireland. Remarks how important he feels it is for Ireland to join the EEC. 'Our people to survive must live and learn and work in a large area where they will be recognised for what they are—and, stimulated by the new contacts, have the opportunity to grow in spirit as well as in wealth. This is quite impossible in an Anglo-Irish setting—the imbalance was already too great and was becoming greater every year. Your work has now removed the economic obstacles to such a break out. For that I am personally delighted—I hope everyone will see this in time. Much of the present opposition is based on the irrational fear of the unknown—also somewhat accentuated by the peculiar inferiority complex many of our people have acquired through what I once described to you as "centuries of gate lodge".' Continues 'Never before have we had the opportunity to show our mettle in hard fought meaningful negotiations on a multinational level.' Concludes 'I'm afraid this letter has become rather discursive. Its real object was to thank you most sincerely for making such a fine opening for us—for a job very well done and of which, as one citizen, I am very proud' (18 January 1972, 5pp).

**P205/51**

17 January–10 May 1972

9 items

#### **Signing of Acts of Accession**

Includes:

- Note detailing the procedures for the ceremony of accession. (17 January 1972, 12pp).
- Copies of speeches on the occasion of the accession of Ireland, the UK, Norway and Denmark to the EEC (22 January 1972, 38pp).
- Results from the Clare constituency of voting in the EEC Referendum. Autographed by Hillery, Justin Keating and Garret FitzGerald (10 May 1972, 1p).

### **2.5.5 Official Visits and Functions, 1969–72**

**P205/52**

26 July 1969–20 November 1972

9 items

#### **Attendance at official functions**

Invitations, menus of official functions attended by Hillery as Minister for External Affairs, later Minister for Foreign Affairs.

**P205/53** 30 March–5 December 1972

30 items

**State visit to Nigeria; return visit to Ireland**

Notes, press releases, itineraries, correspondence, photographs concerning Hillery's and Mrs Hillery's visit to Nigeria.

Includes:

- Notes, marked 'Personal and Confidential' on some of the more prominent people Hillery is likely to meet during his visit. Annotated (not dated, 15pp).
- Letters from Bríd O'Sullivan, wife of the Ambassador Tadhg O'Sullivan to Mrs Hillery, expressing her pleasure at the forthcoming visit and informing Mrs Hillery of appropriate clothing during her visit and at the various functions she will attend. Describes the climate and offers advice about what to do and see near Lagos (15 March–8 June 1972, 10pp).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery and General Yakubu Gowon, Head of the Federal Military Government and Commander-in-Chief (April 1972, 4 items).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery, Mrs Hillery, diplomatic staff, Nigerian officials and missionaries (April 1972, 4 items).
- Programme for the official visit of Dr Okoi Arikopo, Commissioner for External Affairs of the Federal Republic of Nigeria and his wife to Dublin (3–5 December 1972, 6pp).

**2.5.6 Diaries, 1970–2**

1 January 1970–31 December 1972

3 volumes

**Series of appointment diaries** used to record official meetings, appointments and other engagements, travel information, flight numbers, departure and arrival times relating to Hillery's role as Minister for Foreign Affairs. Also Government meetings, meetings of the Fianna Fáil party, and constituency functions.

**P205/54** 1 January–31 December 1970

384pp

**P205/55** 1 January–31 December 1971

384pp

Includes:

- Arrangements for the funeral of Seán Lemass (12–13 May 1971, 2pp).

**P205/56** 1 January–31 December 1972  
384pp

## **2.6 Commissioner for Social Affairs**

### **2.6.1 Appointment, 1972–3**

**P205/57** September 1972–January 1973  
c180pp

#### **Congratulations on appointment**

Letters and cards to Hillery congratulating him on his nomination to the EEC Commission and his appointment as Commissioner.

**P205/58** 29 December 1972–1 January 1973  
5pp

#### **Appointment**

Telegrams informing Hillery that he has been appointed as Vice-President of the Commission.

**P205/59** 3–5 January 1973  
36pp

#### **Resignation from the government and appointment as Commissioner**

Includes:

- Letter from the Taoiseach Jack Lynch to Hillery acknowledging his resignation from the government in order to take up his position as Ireland's first Commissioner in the European Economic Community. Remarks 'You carried the main burden of our negotiations for membership and you demonstrated during their course how outstandingly suitable you are for your new post ...' (3 January 1973, 1p).
- Letter to Hillery confirming his appointment as Vice-President of the Commission (5 January 1973, 1p)
- Copy of *European Community*. Includes biographical sketches of the new Commission and articles on issues affecting Community affairs (January 1973, 28pp).

## 2.6.2 DG V

### 2.6.2.1 Organisation and Staffing of Cabinet, 1973–7

**P205/60** January 1973

6pp

#### **Notes on procedure and formation of his cabinet**

Notes written by Hillery on his way to Brussels concerning how he would like his time and *cabinet* to be organised in Brussels. Remarks that he wishes his private office to be totally off-limits unless he invites someone in and that documents should be delivered complete and ‘without the excitement generated in Foreign Affairs and without need of explanation by person making delivery either oral or written.’

**P205/61** 14 June 1972–4 February 1977

c150pp

#### **Staff**

Notes, memoranda, correspondence concerning the grades of staff in DG V, staffing requirements, applications for positions in DG V, Hillery’s *cabinet* and the other DGs in the Commission.

Includes:

- Memorandum outlining the role of Commissioner, contacts between the Commission and national governments, meetings of the Commission, travel, and *cabinet* (not dated, 4pp).
- Memorandum outlining the staffing numbers in a typical *cabinet*, grades of staff, and salaries (not dated, 2pp).
- Letter marked ‘Private and Confidential’ from Neville Keery, 9 Seafield Avenue, Monkstown, County Dublin, to Hillery congratulating him on his position as Vice-President of the European Commission. Asks Hillery his opinion on Party alignment within the European Parliament. Remarks that he does not think the Christian Democrats would be the right decision. Expresses his hope that Hillery will continue to maintain his links with the Fianna Fáil Party. Requests Hillery to keep in regular contact regarding affairs in Europe. Includes a copy of a reply from Hillery addressing the various points raised in Keery’s letter. (3, 24 January 1973, 2pp).
- Memorandum from Edward Fitzgibbon, deputy *chef de cabinet* concerning the allocation of Irish A2 posts in the Commission (25 January 1973, 3pp).
- Correspondence concerning Conor Maguire’s interest in a legal position in the EEC. Includes a letter from Des O’Malley, Minister for Justice to Hillery remarking that if Conor Maguire’s application was successful he would be willing to release him as a Circuit Court Judge (26 January–6 February 1973, 5pp).
- Memorandum from Robin Fogarty, *chef de cabinet* to Hillery concerning Irish candidates for A3 posts in the Commission (15 March 1973, 3pp).

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- Letter from John Feeney, with responsibility for Press Relations in Hillery's cabinet, informing him that he wishes to apply for a position in the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions. Remarks that he wishes to further his career in research and administration and asks for Hillery's support (4 December 1975, 1p).
- Letter, written in French, from E Noël, Secretary General, EEC Commission to Edwin Fitzgibbon, Chef de Cabinet of DG V marked 'Strictelement Personnel' concerning evaluation methods available for the career development of staff in the DG V *cabinet*. A note in Hillery's handwriting remarks that the letter was torn up at the request of Noël. However, Hillery retained the pieces (5 July 1976, 4pp).

**P205/62**

28 November 1974–12 May 1976

58pp

**Michael Shanks, Director General DG V**

Correspondence, memoranda, and notes concerning the position of Micheal Shanks in DG V, Social Affairs.

Includes:

- Note marked 'Personal and Confidential' written by Hillery to the Director General of DG V, Michael Shanks concerning a meeting of the Commission during which Shanks made a contribution that had not been agreed on. Annotated by Hillery to say that the note was not sent to Shanks but that Hillery spoke to him outlining his concerns over the matter. A handwritten memorandum initialled NK (Neville Keery, deputy *chef de cabinet*) advises Hillery not to send his proposed note but to speak to Shanks instead (26–28 November 1974, 3pp).
- Copy of a letter from François-Xavier Ortoli, President of the Commission to Michael Shanks, Director General of Social Affairs informing him of his retirement under Article 50 of the Statute. Annotated by Hillery (7 November 1975, 2pp).
- Copy of a reply from Michael Shanks accepting the proposal outlined in Ortoli's letter (13 November 1975, 1p).
- Letter marked 'Personal and Confidential' from Michael Shanks to Hillery concerning his ongoing involvement, in light of his retirement from the Commission, with the Foundation for Living and Working Conditions and the European Centre for Vocational Training. Outlines two possible solutions (17 December 1975, 2pp).
- Copy of a reply in which Hillery states that Shanks should indicate what steps need to take place to arrange for his successor for both organisations. (19 December 1975, 1p).
- Drafts and letter from P Baichere, Director General, Personnel and Administration, Brussels to Michael Shanks, Enderley, Stony Lane, Little Kingshill, Bucks, UK concerning a published article by Shanks entitled 'Can Europe Reform Itself' *Encounter* April 1976. Remarks that the article constituted an 'infringement of the provision of Article 17 of the Staff Regulations of the European Communities.' Continues 'These provisions impose both on officials

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and former officials of the Commission the obligation to exercise the greatest discretion with regard to all facts and information coming to their knowledge in the course of or in connection with the performance of their duties.' Remarks that disciplinary action may follow. Includes a copy of the article (12 May 1976, 1p).

**P205/63**

26 February–9 October 1975

131pp

**DG V 'Organigram'**

Notes, memoranda, tables and charts detailing the 'organigram', or the organisation of DG V, Social Affairs. Outlines areas of responsibilities for individual staff members and the allocation of grades of staff within DG V.

Includes:

- Confidential memorandum from Michael Shanks, Director General, Social Affairs to Hillery concerning a report by Mr Bockstael on the Screening Group process and its recommendations for the re-organisation of DG V. Raises a number of points in light of Bockstael's report and regrets that the Commission did not have this report before making its recommendations. Refers to staff numbers and the ability to undertake new tasks as part of the expanded social action programme. Expresses serious concern over the work load and remarks that it will put the present staff under enormous pressure. Remarks 'I think I would also be failing in my duty if I did not tell you that the way in which the exercise has been conducted, with a total absence of the participation which we preach to others, has created a very serious morale problem in my services. I find at all levels a considerable amount of personal bitterness, some of which I regret to say is directed at you and the *Cabinet*, which I fear will greatly complicate the delicate task of reorganisation required, unless some way can be found of de-fusing the present tensions' (26 February 1975, 3pp).
- Note by Hillery expressing his views on the Screening Group, the subsequent Bockstael report and comments by Michael Shanks on both. Concludes 'New Organigramme will reduce the anarchy but not change [the] main problem—no administrator. Therefore, Commission must make a final decision which it thinks is practicable and say: "This is the final solution and all programmes must be fulfilled and on time." Director-general will have to deal with staff from management side and deliver Commission decisions with commitment and with declaration that he believes it is right' (29 April 1975, 2pp).
- Revised proposal for the restructuring of DG V prepared by Michael Shanks (6–9 October 1975, 5pp).

### 2.6.2.2 Policy Development, 1973–6

**P205/64** 20 February 1973–9 January 1974

c180pp

#### **Social Action Programme**

Notes, memoranda, drafts of a policy document concerning the development of a social action programme for the EEC following the Paris Summit of 1972.

Includes:

- Note summarising the agreements reached by the Heads of Government at the Paris Summit regarding social policy in the EEC. Refers to the agreement that social policy is now considered as ‘an important instrument of employment policy and together with Regional Policy will proceed along the same pace as economic and monetary changes at Community level.’ Remarks that concrete proposals should be in place by January 1974 and should encompass the areas of improvements in working conditions, co-ordinating employment policies and vocational training. Concludes ‘These together with the greatly enlarged Social Fund will be positive instruments aimed at improving both the working and environmental aspects of life’ (not dated, 1p).
- Document outlining the urgent action needed for the successful development of a social action programme including the promotion of full employment, a guaranteed minimum wage for workers, the establishment of policies to deal with migrant workers, the improvement of working conditions for women, in particular equality in the workplace, for people with disabilities and younger workers, social security protection, and promotion of health and safety in the workplace (not dated, 3pp).
- Notes from Robin Fogarty, *chef de cabinet* to Hillery concerning a meeting of the *chefs de cabinet* to discuss the draft outline document to be presented to Council regarding the social action programme. Remarks that there was considerable resistance to making any firm commitments and that some of the *chefs* wanted only what was agreed at the Paris Summit to be included in the document. ‘I resisted these pressures and the document that emerged preserves intact most of the essence of the draft.’ Concludes ‘There is obviously considerable opposition to the Commission committing itself in any way at this stage in relation to the action programme. The fact must be faced, however, that there is a Council meeting ... and, in the face of expected, positive speeches by Ministers, the Commission must not be seen to be less positive or forward looking.’ (19 February 1973, 2pp).
- Annotated copy of a statement made by Hillery to the meeting of the Council of Ministers of Social Affairs concerning the social action programme. Annotated by Hillery to indicate that he spoke to the Council on the basis of the first five pages of the statement and made the offer to expand his points. This was agreed and the remainder of the statement was given to the Social Committee of the Parliament the following day (26 February 1973, 21pp).
- Copy of a memorandum from Hillery to the members of the Commission concerning immediate action required to advance the

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- social action programme (not dated, 5pp).
- Draft copy of the social action programme presented by Hillery to the Commission. Annotated. (19 September 1973, 64pp).
- Notes prepared for a meeting with COREPER (Committee of Permanent Representatives) to hand over the draft resolution of the Social Action Programme for adoption by the Council. Annotated (25 October 1973, 2pp).
- Copy of the Resolution of the Council concerning the social action programme (9 January 1974, 13pp).

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13 August 1973–17 November 1976

c200pp

**Economic and Social Committee**

Report, notes, agendas, *aide memoire*, and draft opinions concerning the meetings of the Economic and Social Committee.

Includes:

- Copy of a study on the systems of education and vocational training in the six founding member countries of the European Communities (13 August 1973, 90pp).
- Points for an intervention by Hillery at the plenary meeting of the Economic and Social Committee concerning the development of the social situation in the Community in 1973. Annotated (26 June 1974, 9pp).
- Copy of the opinion of the Economic and Social committee on the updating of the social action programme (29 May 1975, 23pp).
- Draft opinion of the Section for Social Questions on the economic and social situation of women in the European Community (3 September 1975, 28pp).
- Draft opinion of the Economic and Social committee on unemployment in the Community (13 February 1976, 5pp).

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[March 1974]

19pp

**European Centre for Vocational Training**

Memorandum, notes concerning the establishment of a common vocational training policy.

Includes:

- Explanatory memorandum concerning the existing provisions for vocational training in the Community and the actions that need to be taken to implement a vocational training programme. Annotated (not dated, 6pp).
- Points prepared for Hillery to initiate a discussion at Commission level concerning the establishment of a European centre for Vocational Training. Annotated (not dated, 5pp).
- Confidential memorandum for Hillery by Jack Peel, Director of Industrial Relations on the meeting of Social Partners and the

**P205/66** Consultative Committee on Vocational Training. Annotated (14 March 1974, 3pp)

**P205/67** 16 December 1974—20 March 1975

39pp

**Committee on Social Affairs and Employment**

Mostly notes concerning meetings of the Committee on Social Affairs and Employment and proposals put forward by DG V to improve employment prospects, working conditions and equality for women in the workplace.

**2.6.2.3 Personal Diaries and Memoirs, 1973–6**

**P205/68** 5 January–12 December 1973

350pp

**Appointments diary**

Appointments diary covering Hillery's first year as Commissioner.

**P205/69** 8 January–19 December 1973

c200pp

**Memoirs, 1973**

Dictated to cassette tape by Hillery and transcribed, concerning his first year as Commissioner in DG V Social Affairs. Described by Hillery as 'memoirs' but in effect a diary of events including personal observations. Comments on his settling in period, the staffing and organisation of his *cabinet* and the development of his understanding of the EEC and the working of the Commission. Describes meetings and functions he attended, the formation of a policy for social affairs, his colleagues in the EEC, the frustrations he experienced dealing with colleagues in Brussels and Irish politicians in Dublin

Includes:

- Handwritten overview by Hillery of the 'life, evolution and progress of the Ortolí Commission.' Remarks that the 1972 Paris Summit increased the workload of the Commission, already dealing with the enlargement of the EEC and describes it as a 'complication.' Refers to his feelings about Ireland joining the EEC 'That the western nations of Europe had no other destiny tolerable to me and to many others the evolution towards "ever closer union of peoples" did not take first place over the immediate Irish interests in joining at the same time as Britain.' Remarks that his primary concern was that Ireland should join the EEC at the same time as Britain. Refers to various meetings with senior European politicians in advance of the

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negotiations, a period he describes as one of 'great anxiety' and 'danger'. Remarks that he had no desire to negotiate with a community of which Britain was already a member. Describes the negotiations as a 'period of intense care of the national interest.' Recalls an agreement with George Thomson who assured Hillery that they (Britain) would keep the Irish fully informed during their own entry negotiations with the EEC. 'Charlie Haughey could not believe his ears and said "ask him again" which I did. And George repeated the UK undertaking to keep us informed of their negotiations.' Emphasises the benefits to Ireland and how the national interest was served by being a member of the Community. Refers to the constant negotiations and the risk/benefit to Ireland during various negotiations. Praises the Minister for Agriculture, Mark Clinton, with whom he had most contact during the first year as Commissioner, describing him as 'very capable' (1973, 10pp).

- Refers to Robin Fogarty, *chef de cabinet* and his difficulty in settling into his work at the Commission (8 January 1973, 1p).
- Describes the amount of 'desk' work at the Commission and the volume of documents produced. Remarks '... we will have to get over this European habit of using six words when one would do.' Outlines the programme of work ahead of him as Commissioner of Social Affairs (23 January 1973, 2pp).
- Describes a discussion with George Thompson, both men attempting to understand where the real power lay in decision making in the EEC. Remarks that previous Commissioners did not spend a lot of time doing the work. 'The new Commission seems determined to work and the big problem for everyone is that this monstrous machine with all its output of words and paper, is just not possible to control and is ridiculous in many aspects' (25 January 1973, 1p).
- Refers to the absence of translation facilities and the difficulty in understanding some documentation. Refers again to his *chef de cabinet* and his lack of French describing the situation as 'impossible' (30 January 1973, 1p).
- Describes a meeting of the Commission concerning the thorny issue of subsidies. Remarks that he had no direction from Dublin and had to act under his own initiative (30 January 1973, 1p).
- Refers to the lines of authority in Brussels and the lack of transparency. Remarks 'The loyalties of the people in the Berlaymont building are not to the Commissioners with whom they serve but to the idea of Europe. It seems to me like a form of self-transcendence which is always to be treated with suspicion' (30 January 1973, 1p).
- Refers to Raymond Rifflet, former Director General of DG V (Social Affairs) who has been appointed as Assistant Director General in the new Commission, leaving the position of Director General in DG V open for a new incumbent. Remarks that Rifflet has a tight 'grip' on the affairs of DG V and envisages a difficult transition for his successor (30 January 1973, 1p).
- Muses on which grouping Ireland should align itself with in Europe (30 January 1973, 1p).
- Describes a tense moment with his *chef de cabinet* culminating in Fogarty threatening to resign and Hillery accepting (17 February 1973, 6pp).

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- Refers to a meeting of the Commission and describes it as the first meeting where he felt properly briefed having received papers on time. Remarks 'I found the meeting much more satisfactory because of having the papers myself and also because of almost succeeding in keeping people from occupying my attention and preventing me from reading' ([February] 1973, 1p).
- Describes a meeting of the Commission and a report by Christopher Soames of his visit to the USA and the upcoming Trade Bill. Discusses the effect of the Bill on Europe ([February] 1973, 1p).
- Refers to a Council meeting on Social Affairs and describes his reluctance to give a prepared speech and to give too many commitments regarding the Social Affairs programme. Remarks that he sought advice from various individuals but ultimately decided himself to give a shorter speech at the meeting. Remarks that it was well received by the Ministers (26 February 1973, 4pp).
- Describes a meeting of the Committee of Social Affairs of the European Parliament. Remarks that he gave the fuller outline of the Social Affairs programme. Remarks that the discussion afterwards was useful and that there was a desire to see the Commission take a strong role in leading the programme (27 February 1973, 2pp).
- Complains about DG V, remarking it is 'not functioning properly. It reminds me of the Department of Education when I first went there. It is gone to seed' (13–15 March 1973, 1p).
- Refers again to difficulties with Robin Fogarty and his desire to see him return to Dublin (16 March 1973, 2pp).
- Describes a meeting with Garret FitzGerald, Minister for Foreign Affairs, following the general election. Remarks that FitzGerald assured him he would have the full co-operation of relevant ministers (19 March 1973, 2pp).
- Refers to his new *chef de cabinet* Edwin FitzGibbon observing that he appears to be settling well into his new role ([22 March 1973], 1p).
- Refers to a telephone conversation with Jack Lynch concerning a report in the Irish media that Hillery had turned down a nomination for the Presidency. Remarks that Lynch was concerned that this would reflect badly on the eventual Fianna Fáil candidate as it may appear that they were second choice (4 April 1973, 2pp).
- Refers to his former *chef de cabinet* Robin Fogarty and the delay in his return to Dublin to take up a new post (16 April 1973, 1p).
- Refers to media reports in Ireland again speculating on Hillery returning to Ireland to run for the Presidency or becoming leader of Fianna Fáil to allow Jack Lynch to run for the Presidency. Remarks that the assistant editor of the *Economist* magazine contacted him to warn him about an article that would appear in the publication referring to his lack of ability in his role as Ireland's Commissioner (16 April 1973, 1p).
- Expresses his satisfaction with his *cabinet* which is 'working very well now' and that he is confident that he is gaining a greater understanding of the social programme (16 April 1973, 1p).
- Refers to the CAP and his disquiet over suggestions that the agricultural policy of the EEC should be altered. Remarks that he based his comments on social considerations and political decisions and did not accept that the policy was based on economics (16 April 1973, 1p).

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- Describes a meeting with a delegation from Yugoslavia and his attempts to improve his understanding of the difficulties experienced by migrant workers (16 April 1973, 1p).
- Describes the main themes of the Social Action Programme and how it concerns workers in the European Community (18 April 1973, 1p).
- Refers to a meeting of the European Parliament to hear the debate on the Social Report, a delay in getting to a Commission meeting to deal with Social Affairs, and a lukewarm reception by the other Commissioners to his document. Remarks ‘... finally I had to make a fairly impassioned political speech about the stance of the Commission, and told them that we had got a mandate and that if we did not produce a programme the Ministers would.’ Remarks that he impressed on the Commissioners the need to make the EEC a ‘human community’. Remarks that when he returned to his hotel he was informed that Childers had been offered the Fianna Fáil nomination and was considering his position. ‘It looks like a staged effort from my point of view; that they could never afford to say they asked him unless he had already agreed’ (18 April 1973, 2pp).
- Refers to other policy documents being introduced by the various Commissioners and how they encroach on the output from DG V, his fear that some of the ideas he wished to put forward, were now appearing in policies relating to Monetary Union and Regional Policy (19 April 1973, 2pp).
- Expresses his disquiet over the nature of the Commission meetings and the lack of progress being made (19 April 1973, 1p).
- Refers to John McColgan’s arrival to take over as assistant *chef de cabinet* and a meeting he is having with Shanks and the other Directors in an attempt to improve the documentation for meetings and the preparation of clear briefs (2 May 1973, 2pp).
- Refers to a meeting of the Commission and expresses his belief that the British and Danish are working together on the agricultural policy (16 May 1973, 1p).
- Expresses his frustration over the disorganisation of DG V and his hope that Michael Shanks can ‘tighten it up’ (17 May 1973, 1p).
- Refers again to the weaknesses in DG V, particularly the calibre of staff. Remarks that he will have to identify the most able staff and lean on them to do the majority of work. Outlines a 4 point plan of action so that some progress can be made. (29 May 1973, 1p).
- Remarks that he met Garret FitzGerald and felt confident that he had a good grasp of all the aspects of the Department of Foreign Affairs and that there was good cooperation between the Department and the EEC (26 June 1973, 1p).
- Refers to a meeting concerning regional policy and ‘dealing’ between the French and British governments. Remarks that all the other governments apart from Dublin are working with their Commissioners and that this has been the case both before and after the change in government in Dublin. Remarks that this is the fault of the civil service and that he intends to discuss the matter with the Minister for Foreign Affairs (19 July 1973, 1p).
- Describes a meeting with Garret FitzGerald and refers to the deal between the British and French governments. Remarks that FitzGerald informed him that he had spoken to the French who denied any knowledge of a deal. Remarks ‘This is very naive because

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the French do not tell their mind to anybody ... And obviously Garret talks so much they hardly trust him. There is no doubt about it that the French and English have done a deal. But how can I get anything done at the Council now if Garret believes that the French did not know anything about this' (July 1973, 1p).

- Refers to a meeting of the Commission concerning regional policy and expresses his disgust at how the criteria concerning the fund were arrived at, and how it favoured countries with larger populations. Describes the arguments he put forward (25 July 1973, 5pp).
- Describes a meeting between George Thomson and Garret FitzGerald and their disagreement over the regional policy. Remarks 'Thomson's comment to me was that it had not a hope, and he felt that at the meeting Garret would be let make his brilliant statement and that would be the end of it. He seems quite disturbed' (18 September 1973, 1p).
- Describes a meeting of the Commission and the lengthy review of the CAP. Refers to the difficulty in reaching an agreement and the vested interests among member states (26 September 1973, 2pp).
- Refers to a meeting with the trade union movements in Europe concerning their demands and attempts to reach an agreement with the Community ([October 1973], 1p).
- Describes a meeting in The Hague to discuss European Union. Outlines his message to the meeting concerning his concern over the imposition of large structures on Europe but rather focus on the individual. 'And to see how we can achieve a situation where the individual in any part of the Community had certain inalienable rights. Highlights the need for a Social Action Programme and the development of regional policy (11 October 1973, 2pp).
- Describes a meeting with Garret FitzGerald during which they discussed regional policy and offers made by George Thomson at the Council of Ministers which had not come before the Commission. Expresses his concern that Thomson is not being 'frank'. Refers to events in Northern Ireland and the efforts being made to have Brian Faulkner accepted by the majority as Chief Executive of the Northern Ireland Assembly (18 October 1973, 3pp).
- Refers to a conversation with George Thomson about regional policy, the pressure on Thomson concerning the policy, and Garret FitzGerald's attempts to influence the development of the policy. 'I told him Garret expected a victory and was under the impression that he was gaining. The Danish Perm(anent) Rep(resentative) ... spoke of Garret's speeches to the Council as speeches which would normally be made in a Parliament, and to which normally there is no answer given' (30 October 1973, 2pp).
- Observes that the Commissioners who have fully functioning offices and administrative support have the 'happiest approach to meetings.' Remarks 'Soames has of course the best civil servant in the place in Wellenstein but also the others, Cheysson and Gundelach, who both have well-established Departments ... The new ones, like Social and Regional, obviously have the problem of either no staff in spots like Social has, people who for fifteen years have been luxuriously irrelevant, i.e. travelling all over Europe, talking bubbly stuff, to their own delight and to the delight of their hearers. They are now incapable of being practical, and so the heavy

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weight falls on the *cabinet*.' Continues 'There is not much point envying the others their easier jobs, but sometimes at meetings I feel that I could contribute a great deal on other subjects if the *cabinet* were free to attend to me in these affairs rather than trying to make up for the gaps in the DG V work' (November 1973, 2pp).

- Refers to various meetings with Italian and French officials in an effort to get some agreement on the Social Action Programme. Refers to 'vague' reactions of 'discontent' and the difficulty in obtaining support. Remarks '... I have asked to see Ortoli, because it is a function of the whole Commission and, therefore, of the President to find an answer to this vague discontent with the Commission' (23–24 November 1973, 2pp).
- Refers to discussions concerning aspects of the Social Action Programme, migrant workers, the 40 hour week, and overtime pay (26–28 November 1973, 5pp).
- Refers to meetings of the Commission and Parliament concerning the Social Action Programme, the development of regional policy and energy requirements (12–19 December 1973, 22pp).

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8 January–31 October 1974

c150pp

**Memoirs, 1974**

Includes:

- Refers to the difficulties in arriving at any uniform policy regarding the EEC in the areas of regional policy, energy, and tariffs (8–25 January 1974, 13pp).
- Expresses concern over the Commission and the way it is working (26 January 1974, 1p).
- Refers to the Ortoli Commission Declaration remarking that 'It fell flat'. Continues 'Outside the Community nobody knows the Community exists' (6 February 1974, 1p).
- Remarks that he met George Thomson (Commissioner for Regional Policy) who hoped to bring forward a new regional policy that would be acceptable to all and that Italy and Britain would accept that Ireland '... is a special, special case, and so get about 6 per cent. This he said would be very much short of what Garret (FitzGerald) is looking for' (6 February 1974, 1p).
- Describes a discussion he had with the Managing Director of Guinness who commented on Michael Shanks, Director-General of DG V (19 February 1974, 2pp).
- Expresses his concern over farmers and the importation of beef. Remarks that Belgium has succeeded in getting permission to limit imports. 'We will soon have a Common Market where the only one trading with the outside is the British, which will keep down the price of beef on the Irish' (26 February 1974, 1p).
- Refers to an encounter with Pierre Lardinois, Commissioner for Agriculture, and Lardinois' annoyance over a letter received from Hillery concerning grants from FEOGA (Fonds Européen d'Orientation et de Garantie Agricole—European Agricultural Guidance and Guarantee Fund). Remarks 'He is quite right in the

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sense that these funds are Community to be dispensed on a Community basis for the improvement of agriculture and are not to be divided on a national basis. However, I explained to him that it was I negotiated for Ireland into the Community and that I found that in the Commission there is a strong tendency for national interests to take precedence in discussion. I also told him that I felt it my duty to protect Ireland's position because the Commission was not doing it' (4 March 1974, 2pp).

- Refers to a debate on the Social Action Programme and proposals put forward to publish it and that definite propositions be finalised so that it could be debated by the Council. 'And to proceed on that basis in the years ahead bringing firm proposals to the Council, since the Council likes to debate vaguely generalised things (11 March 1974, 1p).
- Remarks that the Social Fund is 'in a total mess' (27 September 1973, 1p).
- Describes a meeting with Mr Noël and the production of a policy on Social Action. Remarks that Noel indicated that there would be a deal at the end of the year after a Summit referring to a 'package deal ... And if we miss the boat in that package deal, we won't have social policy' (28 September 1973, 1p).
- Refers to differences of opinion between his *chef de cabinet* Edwin FitzGibbon and the Director General of DG V, Michael Shanks. Wonders if Shanks is hoping to move to a different Directorate (18 March 1974, 2pp).
- Describes a meeting of the Council and the announcement of the death of Georges Pompidou (2 April 1974, 2pp).
- Expresses his frustration over the working of his *cabinet* and the Director General of DG V, Michael Shanks. Remarks that it may be necessary to reorganise areas of responsibility and reporting structures (4 April 1974, 1p).
- Describes a meeting with Michael Shanks during which they discussed his role and the work that needed to be achieved (4 April 1974, 2pp).
- Describes his attendance at the funeral of Georges Pompidou in Notre Dame, Paris and the people he met and spoke to including Richard Nixon. (6-7 April 1974, 4pp).
- Refers to a visit to Washington and a meeting with Senator Edward Kennedy. Describes him as looking well but that he did not appear to be well-informed about Irish politics and not interested in the EEC. Remarks 'He had some notion that the English had negotiated for us for the Community. And, therefore, had used that in relation to the North.' Refers to Nixon remarking, 'The general feeling ... is that President Nixon has lost all his authority. The city looks beautiful. It is rather sad to see it with its monuments to Jefferson and Lincoln and Washington and the White House, and this scandal destroying its power.' (5-7 May 1974, 5pp).
- Refers to a meeting of the Commission concerning the Social Fund. Refers to George Thomson and his interventions on behalf of Britain and their 'allocation' for the coming year. Criticises Thomson's approach (3-6 July 1974, 5pp).

**P205/71** 31 October 1974–25 November 1975

13pp

**Memoirs, 1975**

Includes:

- Describes the discussions concerning the unsuitability of Shanks as Director General in DG V and the official procedures undertaken to terminate his contract in the Commission. Refers to a meeting with the ambassador from China and their discussion concerning the UN. Also a meeting with Mr Tindemans in which he felt he was able to express his views regarding the working of the Commission and the Council and the EEC in general (31 October–25 November 1975, 7pp).
- Refers to the departure of his Director General, Michael Shanks (7 November 1975, 1p).
- Summarises a meeting with [Mr Tendermans] and the subjects they discussed including a European defence system, the 1972 Paris Summit and monetary union, the Social Fund, the improvement in staff in DG V and its structures, and the Commission. Concludes 'I said Napoleon tried to unite Europe and it wasn't possible to do it by forcing them together and the best thing to do is to create a situation when the individual European citizen would feel European and that meant getting from the social angle and maybe allowing ten or fifteen years before we start thinking of economic and monetary union. (25 November 1975, 3pp).

**P205/72** 16 February–15 March 1976

14pp

**Memoirs, 1976**

Includes:

- Describes a telephone conversation with Brendan Dillon, Ireland's permanent representative in the EEC, concerning equal pay. Remarks that he told Dillon '... that if the Government wanted to speak about equal pay they should speak in terms of solutions or problems the same size as the solution they put up in the project of legislation and if they wanted to talk about taking over the whole problem of unemployment in Ireland that would be the basis of another proposal. But that the gap between what they propose to do in their project of law and what they claim money for from the Commission is so great as to remove all credibility from them' (23 February 1976, 1p).
- Refers to the attempt to develop a policy in the Community regarding equal pay and the difficulties with the Irish government in getting an agreement. Remarks that he attempted to influence the Commission once an undertaking had been made by the Irish government to implement the legislation with financial assistance from the Community and to stay within budget. Remarks 'This was rejected because now the Community or the Commission felt that they had to defend themselves against a government which is trying

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all out with all weapons of propaganda to stick a responsibility on the Commission which belonged properly to the government.' Continues by describing the Commission's stance as very tough '... which I was afraid of the first day but I think it was due mainly to Richie Ryan's outburst plus I think the fact that the Irish government is pretty well unpopular all around. They keep telling other people how to run their business and there is always one of them hanging around the corridors somewhere' (5 March 1976, 1p).

#### **2.6.2.4 Private Correspondence, 1973-6**

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6 April 1973-2 December 1976

21pp

##### **Private correspondence**

Includes:

- Telegram informing Hillery that Erskine Childers had been confirmed as Fianna Fáil's candidate for the Presidency. Remarks that at the press conference the Taoiseach Jack Lynch issued a statement denying rumours that Hillery had been approached and turned down the nomination (6 April 1973, 1p).
- Letter from Michael O'Kennedy referring to a recent speech in which he criticised the Minister for Foreign Affairs, Garret FitzGerald and his handling of the negotiations on behalf of Ireland and the European Community's development of a Regional Fund. Encloses a copy of the speech and a copy of the editorial from the *Irish Times* commenting on O'Kennedy's speech. Remarks '... perhaps you might like to comment on it privately or to have one of your representatives, if appropriate, reply to the *Irish Times*' (24-27 January 1974, 6pp).
- Letter from Maisie Forde, Hillery's personal secretary, to Hillery concerning her departure from Brussels. Describes her delight at being asked by Hillery to accompany him to Brussels following his appointment as Commissioner but expresses her disappointment that things did not work out as she had hoped. Remarks that apart from transcribing the tapes of Hillery's memoirs she had very little to do and that she felt frustrated and marginalised. Annotated by Hillery (20 May 1974, 2pp).
- Hastily scribbled note from Hillery to Edwin FitzGibbon asking him to get Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh's number (at the time Ó Dálaigh was a member of the European Court of Justice in Luxembourg). 'Can you get me Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh's number. I must get him tonight but don't let this be known' (27 November 1974, 1p).
- A reply on the same piece of paper from Neville Keery informing Hillery that FitzGibbon and other members of staff have gone for the evening and despite his best efforts he has not been able to locate a number (27 November 1974, 1p).
- A further note from Keery informing Hillery he has no contact details for Ó Dálaigh. Remarks 'Keep saying No!' (27 November 1974, 1p).
- Note from Christopher Soames informing Hillery that the IRA have

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killed the British Ambassador to Ireland, Christopher Ewart-Biggs, in an explosion (21 July 1976, 1p).

- Note from Hillery to Jean Claude asking him to telephone Dublin concerning the explosion and a reply from Jean Claude informing Hillery that the British Ambassador, Christopher Ewart-Biggs, has been killed in a landmine explosion near his residence in Dublin. Tells Hillery that another passenger has been killed and two others injured (21 July 1976, 1p)
- A further note from George Thomson confirming the news (21 July 1976, 1p).
- Letters from the Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave and Minister for Foreign Affairs, Garret FitzGerald concerning Hillery's resignation from the European Commission and election as President of Ireland (15 October, 2 December 1976, 3pp).

### **2.6.2.5 Speeches, 1973-6**

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29 January-11 December 1973

149pp

#### **Speeches, 1973**

Includes:

- Speaking notes for the 58<sup>th</sup> international conference of the ILO (International Labour Organisation) concerning the Social Action Programme of the EEC (not dated, 7pp).
- Speaking notes for a meeting of the Commission entitled 'The EEC and Migrant Workers'. Annotated (not dated, 8pp).
- Published text of a [speech] entitled 'European Social Policy—A New Face for the Community'. *European Yearbook*, vol. XXI (1973, 38pp).
- Notes for an introductory address on 'Social Relations in the European Company'. Annotated (29 January 1973, 16pp).
- Draft statement to the Commission concerning the field of Social Policy and decisions being taken at the Paris summit meeting (31 January 1973, 5pp).
- Speaking notes for the Davos Management Seminar entitled 'Social Relationships in the European Firm' (2 February 1973, 7pp).
- Copy of a draft and final copy of a speech concerning the social situation in the community delivered to the European Parliament. Annotated (14 February 1973, 36pp).
- Speech concerning the social challenges facing European Society given at the Irish Management Institute Conference, Killarney, County Kerry (4 May 1973, 9pp).
- Speaking notes for the ITGWU (Irish Transport and General Workers Union) Conference in Ballybunion, County Kerry concerning the social action programme of the EEC and the benefits to workers (1 June 1973, 4pp).
- Speech concerning the development of social policy in the EEC given at the CGIL (Italian General Conference of Labour) Conference, Bari (2 July 1973, 4pp).
- Draft speech concerning the development of social policy in the EEC given at the Regional Governments Conference, Florence (13 July

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1973, 9pp).

- Speaking notes concerning the EEC Social Action Programme prepared for a Council Meeting (11 December 1973, 6pp).

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16 January–16 December 1974

176pp

**Speeches, 1974**

Includes:

- Speaking notes for the ILO Regional Conference, Geneva concerning the imminent implementation of the Social Action Programme (16 January 1974, 9pp).
- Speaking notes for the European Colloquy at the University of Louvain on the problem of migration (31 January 1974, 10pp).
- Speaking notes for a speech given to the European Parliament entitled 'The Social Situation in the Community 1973' (12 February 1974, 14pp).
- Speaking notes for a meeting of the social partners concerning migrant workers, and a centre for vocational training and the protection of worker's rights (5 March 1974, 9pp).
- Address at the opening session of the 17<sup>th</sup> meeting of the EEC–Turkey Joint Parliamentary Committee in Berlin concerning relations between Turkey and the EEC (25 March 1974, 11pp).
- Speech at Louisiana State University concerning relations between the EEC and the USA (10 May 1974, 18pp).
- Schema for a speech and speaking notes for the 120<sup>th</sup> plenary session of the Economic and Social Committee during the introduction to the debate on the opinion of the section for social questions on employment and the changed situation in the Community (30 May 1974, 11pp).
- Draft for a speech at the Dissolution Congress of the European Organisation of the World Confederation of Labour. Annotated (31 May 1974, 6pp).
- Speaking notes for the 5<sup>th</sup> International Seminar on Rehabilitation, London concerning the EEC interest in and support for disabled people (5 July 1974, 18pp).
- Introductory address at a conference on 'The Quality of the Environment and the Iron and Steel Industry—Results and Prospects, Luxembourg' (24–26 September 1974, 15pp).
- Speaking notes for the 5<sup>th</sup> inaugural session of the Economic and Social Committee, Brussels concerning the current phase in the development of the European Communities, Brussels. (7 October 1974, 7pp).
- Speech at a meeting of the Oxford Union proposing the motion 'That the Common Market is in the Interest of the Common Man' (21 November 1974, 8pp).
- Speaking notes for the 91<sup>st</sup> meeting of the social affairs section of the Economic and Social Committee concerning the state of progress on the social action programme and the short term social prospects. Annotated (21 December 1974, 17pp).
- Draft of a speech at a conference concerning the implementation of

**P205/75** the Social Action Programme (16 December 1974, 11pp).

**P205/76** 13 January–13 December 1975

336pp

**Speeches, 1975**

Includes:

- Published text of an address delivered at the February seminar of the Council for the Status of Women entitled 'The EEC Line: Women in the Community' ([1975], 3pp).
- Speaking notes for the opening of the Manchester seminar on the evaluation of vocational training (13 January 1975, 8pp).
- Speech at a Council for the Status of Women seminar at the RDS (1 February 1975, 6pp).
- Copy of a speech at a plenary meeting of the European Parliament concerning social policy (18 February 1975, 26pp).
- Speech to the European Atlantic Group concerning social policy, in the Grand Committee Room, House of Commons, London (20 February 1975, 22pp).
- Speaking notes for the plenary session of the Economic and Social Committee, Brussels, concerning the Community's Social Action Programme and the programme to combat poverty in the European Communities (24 April 1975, 12pp).
- Copies of a speech to the Royal Irish Academy entitled 'European Social Policies: Problems and Prospects' concerning the socio-economic situation in the European Community (28 April 1975, 47pp).
- Published text of a speech to the International Internship Course on Active Labour Policy Development of the International Institute for Labour Studies concerning the development of the Community's social policy. Includes the text of a question and answer session with Hillery (9 May 1975, 30pp).
- Speech to the Canadian Institute for International Affairs entitled 'Global and Local Tensions: The Social Dimension' (22 May 1975, 13pp).
- Draft of a speech to the Irish Society for the Study and Practice of European Law at the Four Courts, Dublin entitled 'The Role of the Commission in the Legislative Process of the European Communities' (20 May 1975, 31pp).
- Speaking notes for the International Labour Organisation conference in Geneva concerning the Community's social action programme (9 June 1975, 14pp).
- Speaking notes for the European Trade Union Confederation seminar in Dublin concerning equality for women (13 June 1975, 7pp).
- Speaking notes for an address to the European Parliament concerning the rise in unemployment (19 June 1975, 8pp).
- Speaking notes for a speech given to the United National World Conference of the International Women's Year, Mexico City concerning the situation of women in the European Community (19 June–2 July 1975, 7pp).

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- Speaking notes for an address at the International Council for Social Welfare World Conference in Nairobi concerning social affairs in the European Community (14–20 July 1975, 16pp).
- Summary of a statement on the occasion of a discussion with the Italian Minister for Labour, Mr Mario Toros and State Secretary for Foreign Affairs Mr Luigi Granelli concerning the unemployment situation in the Community (12 September 1975, 4pp).
- Speech to the American College of Hospital Administrators entitled 'Social Policy in the European Community' delivered on behalf of Hillery by Michael Shanks, Director-General of Social Affairs at the International Press Centre, Brussels (30 September 1975, 22pp).
- Message from Hillery to the DGB (German Federation of Trade Unions) Conference concerning women in employment held in Aachen (4 October 1975, 8pp).
- Text of an intervention by Hillery at the European Parliament's plenary session debate on the economic and social situation in the Community (14 October 1975, 12pp)
- Speech to a Conference on the Participation of Migrant Workers in the Life of their Local Communities at Noordwijkerhout, The Netherlands, concerning the position of the migrant worker in the European Community (30 October 1975, 11pp).
- Speech to a colloquium organised by the Institute for European Health Services Research, held at Leuven, entitled 'Europe and the Migrant Worker' (13 December 1975, 32pp).

**P205/77**

22 January–3 December 1976

220pp

**Speeches, 1976**

Includes:

- Speaking notes for the European Parliament's joint debate on two oral questions tabled by Mrs Clara Kruchow on behalf of the Liberal and Allies Group concerning the position of women in developing countries and the position of women in the nine member states of the European Community (not dated, 10pp).
- Speaking notes for a meeting of the Committee of Social Affairs and Employment of the European Parliament concerning the social progress of women in the European Community (22 January 1976, 13pp).
- Copies of a lecture delivered at the Centre International de Formation Européene, Nice entitled 'The Community's Social Policy'. In English and French (9 February 1976, 63pp).
- Speaking notes for the plenary session of the Economic and Social Committee concerning equality for women. Annotated (26 February 1976, 14pp).
- Copy and published text of the Seán Lemass Memorial Lecture delivered at the University of Exeter and published in *Administration*, vol. 21 no. 4 and vol. 23 no. 4 entitled 'Ireland and Britain in the European Community' (1 March 1976, 39pp).
- Speech at the OECD (Organisation for Economic Co-operation and Development) meeting in Paris concerning unemployment in the

**P205/77**

- European Community (4–5 March 1976, 7pp).
- Statement to the European Parliament on behalf of the Commission concerning the development of the social situation in the Community in 1975 (6 April 1976, 25pp).
- Statement on behalf of the Commission to the World Conference on Employment, the Distribution of Income, Social Progress and the International Division of Labour concerning the EEC and its commitment to the development of the Third World (8 June 1976, 13pp).
- Speech addressing the closing session of a workshop on the assessment of socio-medical consequences of mental disorders of major public health importance held under the aegis of the Communities Committee for Medical Research and Public Health (24 September 1976, 4pp).
- Speech addressing the opening session of the 24<sup>th</sup> Congress of the International Union of Property Ownership, Florence, Italy concerning housing as part of the social policy of the European Community (30 September 1976, 8pp).
- Speaking note for the opening address to the European Seminar on Vocational Guidance, London concerning vocational training and guidance in the European Community (12 October 1976, 4pp).
- Press release on comments by Hillery to the Equal Opportunities Commission in Manchester concerning the promotion of equal opportunity for men and women in the European Community (15 October 1976, 3pp).
- Address to the annual meeting of the Bord of Trustees of the Paul Finet Foundation, Luxembourg concerning the major issues facing the European Community (29 October 1976, 11pp).
- Address to the plenary session of the Economic and Social Committee concerning the role of social partnership in the European Community (25 November 1976, 6pp).

#### **2.6.2.6 General Commission Matters, 1973–6**

**P205/78**

9 January–7 February 1973

15pp

##### **Commission Meetings**

Notes prepared by Robin Fogarty, *chef de cabinet* commenting on the agendas for Commission meetings. The notes were prepared following meetings with the other *chefs* in advance of the Commission meetings and summarise the topics discussed highlighting the more important issues to be discussed by the Commissioners. Annotated.

**P205/79** 22 January 1975

5pp

**Vice-Presidents**

Telex, note, letter concerning a disagreement between the Danes and the Irish regarding the rotation of a Vice-Presidential position in the European Commission. Includes a note from Garret FitzGerald to Hillery asking him to contact the Danish Foreign Minister Ivar Norgaard concerning a 'malicious' report that appeared in the Danish press claiming that an agreement between the two countries to share one of the Vice-Presidential positions no longer stood. The report also claimed that Ireland was backing down on another agreement with Denmark to support the establishment of an EEC institution in the Danish capital. Includes a note from Hillery to FitzGerald describing his conversation with Norgaard (not dated, 3pp).

**P205/80** 25 January 1973–20 October 1976

71pp

**Regional and agricultural policies**

Notes and memoranda mostly concerning Regional Policy and the Common Agricultural Policy (CAP).

Includes:

- Confidential copy of a memorandum from Hillery to P. Lardinois, Agriculture Commissioner reviewing the CAP under various headings including the instruments of the CAP, objectives, principles and criticisms of the CAP, income disparity within the agricultural industry, small farmers, surpluses, supply management, food quality and costs, agricultural protection and GATT (General Agreement on Tariffs and Trade) negotiations, and administration of the CAP (not dated 8pp).
- Draft translation marked 'Secret' concerning the Community Exchange System (not dated, 6pp).
- Note from Edwin Fitzgibbon, deputy *chef de cabinet* to Hillery regarding how Ireland should be treated for Regional Policy purposes and how Ireland should be classified, either central or peripheral. Annotated (25 January 1973, 1p).
- Note from Robin Fogarty to Hillery describing a meeting called by the Commission at short notice to discuss the recently re-established European Monetary Co-operation Fund in Luxembourg and the activity on the currency exchange markets (2 March 1973, 2pp).
- Notes and memoranda prepared by Edwin Fitzgibbon concerning Regional Policy and the arguments put forward by Hillery against the principle that the fund should be distributed based on population alone. Includes a note from Fitzgibbon to Hillery concerning an item on the agenda for the Commission meeting on 11 and 12 July 1973. Remarks that he understands that Thompson will mention a figure at the meeting. Refers to calculations by the Department of Finance concerning Ireland's requirements from the

P205/80

fund remarking that the figure will appear very high 'But there is something to be said for getting them used to the idea that the contribution to Ireland will have to be very large.' Outlines what strategy should be adopted at the meeting as well as anticipating contributions from others. Annotated (11–12 July 1973, 2pp).

- Note entitled 'Participation' from Edwin Fitzgibbon concerning the participation of the social partners in the development of a Social Action Programme and Regional Policy. Queries the wisdom of excluding the trade unions and the need to go beyond consultation towards participation. Annotated (19 July 1973, 2pp).
- Note prepared by Edwin Fitzgibbon in advance of a meeting on Regional Policy. Emphasises that Hillery should acknowledge proposals incorporated into the new draft and suggested by Hillery during a previous meeting, concerning employment premiums and the minimum size of eligible investment. Refers also to certain reservations concerning the new draft and summarises Ireland's position regarding the drawing up of a map of the regions, quotas and infrastructure. ([July 1973], 3pp).

#### 2.6.2.5 Departure, 1976–7

P205/81

1–20 December 1976; 22 May, 27 July 1977

21pp

##### **End of role as Commissioner**

Notes, correspondence.

Includes:

- Notes written by Hillery concerning his *chef de cabinet*, Edwin Fitzgibbon and another member of his *cabinet*, Evelyne Pichon following his departure from the Commission. Refers to the difficulties they are having in securing employment in the Commission. Remarks that he discussed the matter with the Taoiseach, Liam Cosgrave, who indicated that he had told the new Commissioner, Dick Burke, that they could keep their jobs. Remarks 'I said that Dick was blaming Ed (Fitzgibbon) for bad publicity in Brussels ...'(16 December 1976, 3pp). Refers to a lunch with Edwin Fitzgibbon who asked Hillery to intervene on his behalf so that he could keep his job in the Commission. Refers to a telephone conversation with Mark Clinton (Minister for Agriculture and Fisheries) during which he expressed concern for another member of his *cabinet*, Seán Ó hEigartaigh ' ... I told him of the attempts on Ed but since Ed was safe from Burke I thought I'd ask him to help Seán Ó hE. He said he had already spoken for Seán but Burke felt that Seán also had participated in the newspaper campaign against him ... He promised to help and said that Burke did not want to put up with the normal criticisms of politics and let it run off as others would ...' (19 December 1976, 3pp). Refers to a telephone conversation with Evelyne and Ed who again voiced their concerns over their employment in the Commission. Remarks that he telephoned Donal O'Sullivan to discuss the matter 'Donal also said that the English at civil service level were hostile to Edwin and

**P205/81**

Donal likened this to the Shanks story. He also said that Michael Jenkins and Ed had a number of disagreements and quarrels according to the London gossip' (20 December 1976, 4pp).

- Letter from Edwin Fitzgibbon, Brussels to Hillery informing him of a meeting with Haferkamp and a possible vacancy for an A2 post in DG-I. Asks Hillery if he would recommend him for the position should the need arise. Wonders if he should approach Emile Noël (Secretary General, European Commission) regarding these matters. Remarks that he would like to speak to Hillery on the telephone (22 May [1977], 3pp).
- Letter from Edwin Fitzgibbon remarking that he has spoken to Michael O'Kennedy and remarks that '... it was clear that his card had been most expertly marked' (27 July 1977, 1p).

### **3 PRESIDENT**

#### **3.1 First Term**

##### **3.1.1 Nomination and Inauguration, 1976–7**

**P205/82**

5 November 1976

1p

#### **Nomination as President**

Letter from the Presidential Returning Officer, Department of Local Government, Custom House, Dublin 1 to Hillery, informing him that he has received Hillery's nomination papers and instructing him or his representative to attend at a ruling of nominations at the Custom House.

**P205/83**

8 October 1976–22 January 1977

116pp

#### **Letters of congratulation**

Letters congratulating Hillery on his election as President of Ireland.

Includes:

- From Dr Eleanor Hillery Ryan, Hillery's sister, wishing Hillery 'every success'. Remarks 'It makes one lonely at first but then I started to think—Paddy is the youngest President in Ireland yet so why not shouldn't he live his own life as well as being President ... start the way you mean to go on play your golf and come home when you wish and you can carry out your Presidential functions at the same time.' Concludes 'I feel I have lost you to the nation and am crying at that loss but my prayers and heart will always be with you' (2 November 1976, 4pp).
- From Matt Sheehan, 7 Cambridge Road, Rathmines, Dublin 6 describing a social gathering he attended with Hillery's predecessor

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Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh and his wife Maureen. Remarks ‘... Cearbhall and Maureen gave us a run down on two years of an incredible experience. One day all that sordid story will come out—I hope after a suitable lapse of time ... May the good Lord protect you from venomous and vindictive people, and may your arm be strong to smite those who would deprive our people of their rights and liberties for a ‘phony’ emergency’ (19 November 1976, 2pp).

P205/84

17 November–5 December 1976

c80pp

### **Inauguration**

Notes, lists, speech, sound recording concerning the inauguration of Hillery as President of Ireland.

Includes:

- List of Hillery’s engagements during his last days as Commissioner and the first days of his Presidency (17 November–5 December 1976, 1p).
- Note to the *cabinet* staff outlining travel arrangements to Dublin for the inauguration and appropriate attire for the ceremony and evening reception (24 November 1976, 1p).
- Comprehensive draft describing the various ceremonies being held on the day of the inauguration. Annotated (3 December 1976, 9pp).
- Copy of the declaration, in Irish, read by Hillery at the inauguration ceremony (3 December 1976, 2pp).
- Copy of Hillery’s speech in reply to the Taoiseach, Liam Cosgrave, at the inauguration ceremony (3 December 1976, 6pp).
- Drafts and final lists of guests invited to the inauguration and evening reception (3 December 1976, c70pp).
- Sound recording (cassette tape) of the inauguration ceremony (3 December 1976).

### **3.1.2 Private Office, 1973–83; 1990**

P205/85

20 July 1973–26 June 1974

14pp

### **Past Presidents**

Copies of correspondence, notes, memoranda concerning relations between Erskine Childers during his Presidency and the Government.

Includes:

- Note from Micheál Ó hOdhráin, Private Secretary to Hillery informing him that he has put together a ‘random’ collection of documents to highlight the disagreements that arose between Childers and the Government (5 March [ ], 1p).
- Copy of a [note] written by Childers concerning a speech he gave concerning Northern Ireland during a state visit to the US. Refers to attempts to get in touch with the Taoiseach’s Department with an

**P205/85**

outline of the remarks he had prepared but that he had not received a reply. Refers in a more general way to speeches made by the President and his wish to extend the 'dimensions' of the Presidential Office so that the President was not seen as a '... figurehead, saying nothing, but merely formally opening a few community centres, hospitals, buildings or attending at functions.' Concludes that he and the Taoiseach agreed that in future the President would submit his speeches, in advance, to the Taoiseach's Department (20 July 1973, 2pp).

- Copies of correspondence between the President, Erskine Childers and the Taoiseach, Liam Cosgrave concerning a meeting between the President and an organisation called 'Peace Point'. In his letter to the Taoiseach Childers remarks that the meeting was sanctioned by the DFA. Refers to a statement he prepared to be read at the meeting and to be published in the newspapers. Asks the Taoiseach for a more detailed explanation why this statement could not be read at the meeting (6 September 1973, 1p). In his reply the Taoiseach explains the reasons why the statement was not approved. Remarks 'My basic difficulty is that any statement on a subject as sensitive as the North can be construed—whether we like it or not—as having a strong political content. What is good news for one interest may be bad news for another. I do not think that, at this point certainly, the possibility of the Office of President being involved in this type of situation outweighs whatever advantage might be gained by the association of the Office with the efforts of Peace Point' (7 September 1973, 1p).
- Memorandum from Máirtín Ó Flathartaigh, Private Secretary to Childers concerning the attendance of the President at events sponsored by industrial firms. Refers specifically to the sponsorship of a basketball competition by a cigarette manufacturer. Concludes that the President should not attend functions overtly sponsored by industrial firms apart from semi-state bodies. Annotated by Childers commenting on the various points raised in the memorandum. Remarks that he cannot accept the proposal that the President should stay away from sponsored events (12–15 October 1973, 2pp).
- Copy of a letter from President Childers to the Minister for THE Public Service, Richie Ryan, concerning the sanction he sought from the Government to pay the wages of a doorman in Áras an Uachtaráin. Asks the Minister to reconsider this request. Remarks that there is now an absolute necessity of having a doorman employed in the Áras (10 June 1974, 3pp). In his reply the Minister states that there can be no increase in the provision included in the 1973 Act and that the post must be paid for from that provision (26 June 1974, 1p).

**P205/86**

8 December 1976–28 July 1983; 5 April –31 October 1990

c100pp

**Communications from Private Secretary**

Notes, memoranda, correspondence.

Mostly from Máirtín Ó Flathartaigh and Micheál Ó hOdhráin Private

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Secretaries to the President, advising and informing Hillery on a variety of topics. In Irish and English. Also relating to the President's allowance and transportation.

Includes:

- From Máirtín Ó Flathartaigh concerning the use of a private car by the President. Remarks that he has tried on several occasions to get clarification about the use of a private car by the President and how the expenses of running the car might be met (15 February 1977, 2pp).
- Letter from the Department of the Taoiseach to Máirtín Ó Flathartaigh clarifying matters regarding transportation arrangements for the President and his family and the use of private cars and the official state car. In Irish. Translated into English, annotated by Hillery (25 February 1977, 2pp).
- Summary of a meeting between Máirtín Ó Flathartaigh and the Taoiseach during which a number of issues were discussed including the position of Private Secretary to the President, the grade (Assistant Secretary or Principal Officer), the position of a doorman at Áras an Uachtaráin, security, AND the use of the Irish language by staff at the Áras ([19 October 1978], 8pp).
- Summary of the Wood Quay story prepared by Micheál Ó hOdhráin (22 March –2 April 1979, 11pp).
- From Micheál Ó hOdhráin concerning Colman Doyle's assertion that the British FO was the source of specific rumours. Remarks that he has spoken to Frank Dunlop and Andy O'Rourke who do not believe that the FO was the source and that neither would advise speaking to the British Ambassador about the matter. Concludes 'I become more convinced every hour that the Dublin papers and their journalists—especially the *Irish Times*—with an insatiable appetite for gossipy stories are much to blame for reviving the rumours.' (14 December [1979], 1p).
- From Micheál Ó hOdhráin concerning the resignation rumours and possible sources regarding the preparation of a statement by the Department of Foreign Affairs (20 December 1979–20 February 1980, 3pp).
- Copy of a note from the Chief of Protocol, DFA to Micheál Ó hOdhráin concerning a meeting with the British Ambassador at which he expressed his concern over the British Legion's invitation to the President to attend a memorial service in St Patrick's Cathedral. Remarks that the Ambassador was most anxious that it be known that neither the Ambassador nor the Embassy had been consulted in this matter (12 November 1980, 2pp).
- From Micheál Ó hOdhráin recalling the events surrounding the controversy caused by Hillery's decision, following advice from the Taoiseach's Department, not to attend the Remembrance Day service at St Patrick's Cathedral in November 1980. Records the sequence of events in detail including headlines from the press and extracts from articles which appeared in the print media along with extracts from official correspondence relating to the controversy (5 April–31 October 1990, 7pp).
- From Micheál Ó hOdhráin regarding an invitation to the Royal wedding between Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer. Remarks that he has been in touch with the Taoiseach to stress the need for an early reply and that he is trying to keep the newspapers at bay (8

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June 1981, 1p).

- Copy of a letter from C O'Grady, Department of the Taoiseach to Micheál Ó hOdhráin concerning the President's Allowance and a recent decision that some of the President's expenses could be met from the State Entertainment Vote. Remarks that the Department of Finance have indicated that they do not deem it appropriate that expenditure submitted by the President's Office be met from the State Entertainment Vote and have asked for more details regarding the expense (26 January 1982, 2pp).
- Memorandum prepared by Micheál Ó hOdhráin concerning the President's Allowance and summarising the various attempts to have the President's Allowance reviewed ([January 1982], 3pp).
- From Micheál Ó hOdhráin concerning the birth of Prince William. Remarks that the *Evening Herald* is intent in publishing a story implying that the President is 'snubbing' the announcement. Remarks 'Trying to explain the niceties of Protocol is futile, when people are more interested in being destructive' (June 1982, 1p).
- From Micheál Ó hOdhráin concerning an editorial published in the *Irish Times* implying that Hillery was an agreed candidate among the political parties. Includes a copy of the editorial and a note by Hillery commenting on the editorial (May 1983, 3pp).
- From Micheál Ó hOdhráin concerning a conversation with Dermot Nally, Secretary to the Government who advised that both the Taoiseach (Garrett Fitzgerald) and leader of Fianna Fáil, Charles Haughey felt it would be undesirable for Hillery to make a statement of his intentions to seek a second term before the referendum (Right to Life of the Unborn) on 7 September 1983. Ó hOdhráin also remarks that the Japanese authorities have expressed the view that they would not welcome an announcement during the official visit to Ireland (28 July 1983, 3pp).
- From Micheál Ó hOdhráin concerning a phone call he received from Charles Haughey asking to see Hillery and a further phone call from P Ó hAnnracháin asking if Haughey could speak to Hillery over the phone (25 September 1983, 3p).

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4 June 1976–7 May 1983

c100pp

#### **Personal Correspondence**

Includes:

- Letter from Vincent Browne concerning an interview he wishes to conduct with Hillery regarding the formation of the Government after the 1965 General Election and Hillery's appointment to Industry and Commerce; the establishment of the Department of Labour; Seán Lemass' retirement and Hillery's role in the subsequent succession race; and the formation of the Lynch Government and Hillery's appointment to Foreign Affairs. Annotated by Hillery. Encloses an article on Seán Lemass published in the monthly news magazine *Nusight* edited by Browne 1969–70 (22 December [ ], 14pp).
- Letter from Dermot Ryan, Archbishop of Dublin following Hillery's

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inauguration as President. Refers to the Office of President and acknowledges the heavy demands it will make on Hillery and his family but that he feels that Hillery's experience in public life will stand to him. Refers to the positive influences Hillery will be able to achieve through engaging with individuals and communities during his Presidency (2 December 1976, 3pp).

- Letter from Neville Keery, 9 Seafield Avenue, Monkstown, Co. Dublin concerning his thoughts on the Office of the President. Remarks '...an important expectation has been created where the office is concerned which I believe may serve you well during the initial period of "reflection". This expectation is the result of a number of things: recognition of your political stature, the circumstances of your coming to office, and the impact of your inaugural address.' Refers to his visit to Dublin and remarks that he has been impressed by the goodwill towards the Presidency and that he would be happy to bring together a number of people that could give wise direction to Hillery as he develops his role as President of Ireland. Refers to the new Council of State and the importance of appointing female members (4 December 1976, 2pp).
- Letter from Brian Quinn, Associate Editor, *Irish Independent*. Independent House, 90 Middle Abbey Street, Dublin 1 thanking Hillery for his time and offering his advice on the role of the President. Agrees that Hillery should take time to get used to his new role. Refers to the President's attendance at functions and the importance of being selective. Refers also to the making of speeches and the need to strike the right balance. Remarks that Hillery should be the first President to visit Eastern Europe. Recommends a number of people who Hillery should contact and speak to. 'A President should encourage a free flow of information into the Áras so that he may become a repository of information and experience that he can re-distribute throughout the community over 14 years' (19 January 1977, 2pp).
- Letter from John Paul II acknowledging Hillery's presence at his inauguration as Pope (20 November 1978, 2pp).
- Letter from Con Cremin concerning progress he is making on a paper about Northern Ireland and the UN, August–September 1969. Remarks 'It is mainly a narrative which ... does not go into our notional break-down at the time of the potential voting pattern either in the Council or General Committee' (19 July 1979, 2pp).
- Letter from [Dan], 9 Ailesbury Drive, Dublin 4 informing Hillery that he would like to speak to him about a personal matter concerning the President and his wife Maeve. Emphasises that he would need to speak to Hillery in the strictest confidence. A note on the back of the envelope in Hillery's handwriting indicates that the letter refers to the resignation rumours (25 August 1979, 2pp).
- Letter from Tommy [ ] 4 Maxwell Road, Dublin concerning the spreading of rumours about Hillery and the Presidency and the possibility of members of Fianna Fáil being the source of these rumours. Remarks 'Charlie's sole ambition is to win the next election as leader of Fianna Fáil. By all accounts he will need all the encouragement and support he can get to bring this about ... Against this background it seems odd that members of Fianna Fáil are the source of the problem since by spreading the rumours they are hurting their own Fianna Fáil President and playing right into

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- the hands of the Coalition' (22 January 1980, 2pp).
- Letter from Bill Loughnane, Dáil Eireann [TD for Galway West] praising Hillery's decision not to attend the Poppy Day Commemoration. Remarks 'As President of Ireland you haven't forgotten your history 1914–20' (12 November 1980, 2pp).
  - Letter from Jimmy Carter, US President, acknowledging the close connections between Ireland and America (14 January 1981, 1p).
  - Letter from the Apostolic Nuncio informing Hillery that Pope John Paul II has been shot in St. Peter's Square, Rome (13 May 1981, 1p).
  - Letter from Fidel Castro, President of Cuba, concerning the 68<sup>th</sup> Interparliamentary Union Conference and the substance of a speech given by Cuba at the conference concerning the serious economic situation in which Cuba and other Third World countries find themselves. In Spanish with English translation. (29 September 1981, 3pp).
  - Note from George Bush, US Vice President, expressing his delight at their meeting and the opportunity to speak privately with Hillery (7 May 1983, 5pp).

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17 December 1976–10 April 1981

4pp

**Private Travel**

Letters from the Secretary to the Government informing Hillery that the Government has approved his requests to leave the State for private visits.

**P205/89**

5 September 1977–23 April 1980

16pp

***Aide-de-camp***

Notes, correspondence.

Includes:

- Outline of duties of the *aide-de-camp* (11 April 1978, 2pp)
- Note from the *aide-de-camp* to the President regarding the importance of security and Hillery's daughter Vivienne. Annotated by Hillery explaining that Vivienne had been driven to an event which was cancelled at the last minute, and she had been left alone for one hour waiting to be collected (6 February [ ], 2pp).

*Papers of Dr Patrick Hillery*

1 January 1977–31 December 1983

9 items

**Series of desk diaries** maintained by Hillery recording his appointments, both official and personal.

**P205/90** 1 January–31 December 1977

c50pp

**P205/91** 3 February–8 June 1977

Written in French.

77pp

**P205/92** 1 January–31 December 1978

2 items

**P205/93** 1 January–31 December 1979

112pp

**P205/94** 1 January–31 December 1980

112pp

**P205/95** 1 January–31 December 1981

115pp

**P205/96** 1 January–31 December 1982

115pp

**P205/97** 1 January–31 December 1983

115pp

### 3.1.3 Memoirs, 1977–9

17 January 1977–19 September 1979

5 items

#### **Notebooks/diaries**

A series of notebooks used as diaries by Hillery. Records information regarding functions he has to attend, details of personal appointments including fishing and golfing trips. Recalls past events as a minister in different departments and as EU Commissioner. Refers to conversations with the various people he encounters including the Taoiseach, government ministers, ambassadors, visitors to the Áras, friends and colleagues. Reflects on his health, his feelings about being President including the challenges and frustrations he experiences. Although Hillery writes in some detail, he took the trouble to check these diaries in 1992 and has cut some of the pages to exclude certain entries as well as scoring out some passages.

**P205/98** 17 January–2 April 1977

c120pp

#### **Diary, 1977**

Includes:

- Refers to the role of the President and the invitations that are received. Remarks that he wants to become more particular about the events and functions he attends. 'I have to ... try to avoid making a daily Presidential chore of appearing at things. I feel I must limit my speaking engagements to the fewest possible occasions' (17 January 1977, 2pp).
- Refers to a conversation with Jack Lynch and recounts a story of when de Valera visited Hillery and his family in their home in Shankill during the time of the Arms Trial. Remarks that de Valera quietly spoke to him encouraging Hillery and agreeing with his position (19 January 1977, 2pp).
- Recalls a conversation with Garret FitzGerald, Minister for Foreign Affairs about the forthcoming state visit to Germany (20 January 1977, 4pp).
- Refers to a lunch with Tim Pat Coogan during which they discussed the circumstances of the resignation of Cearbhall Ó Dalaigh. Remarks 'I got a perspective when he said most people thought Ó Dalaigh was right, some thought Donegan right and many wondered if we needed Presidency.' Continues 'He felt that I might be called by the Party after the next election. I told him it is not what I wanted and he said "I know" ' (20 January 1977, 1p).
- Recalls his time as EU Commissioner and the difficulties he had with his Director General Michael Shanks '... makes me think of the frustration caused by putting—as the UK did—of a good talker and writer into a management post where he was quite incompetent and swelled headed. His all importance ... would have been laughable were it not for the complaints from his staff and my *cabinet* and also the disastrously low standards of the product he passed on from the DG V to the Commission' (24 January 1977, 1p).

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- Refers to the difficulty over the standard of staffing in the Áras, particularly food preparation (24 January 1977, 1p).
- Refers to the Irish Ambassador's residence in Germany remarking that it is not suitable for entertaining despite money having been put aside for improvements (24 January 1977, 2pp).
- Refers to a reception in the Áras and the presence of journalists. Remarks that he was 'disturbed' that a microphone had been installed to pick up his private conversations with individuals 'The President is very vulnerable because of lack of protective staff such as I had when a member of the European Commission and when a Minister (31 January 1977, 1p).
- Expresses his regret at leaving the relative anonymity of Brussels behind and describes himself as '... a bit of a clay pigeon when in public office in Ireland ...'. Concludes '... must keep trying to reduce tension ... It will be difficult to find comfort while being President but it is possible' (1 February 1977, 1p).
- Refers to a meeting with George Spénale, President of the European Parliament, and their conversation about the European Parliament and other matters relating to the EEC (3 February 1977, 3pp).
- Expresses his irritation at receiving a letter from the Secretary [of the Department of Finance] concerning his transportation arrangements (15 February 1977, 2pp).
- Recalls his conversation with Helmut Schmidt, Chancellor of West Germany, during the state visit to Germany and Schmidt's concern over the role Germany must play in Europe, particularly the leadership role. Remarks that Schmidt and one of his aides listed the reasons why Germany did not want this role 'One. Berlin where "anybody" could put on and lift pressure at will. Two. Germany's geographical position which gave her so many neighbours and therefore so many past wars. I sympathised with him considering all the trouble we had with one neighbour only to deal with. Third. Aushwitz still in the minds of the people.' Refers also to their conversation about the CAP and the question of the defence of Europe, NATO and Ireland's position and the might of Russia (17 February 1977, 6pp).
- Refers to a dinner in Maynooth College and his conversation with Dr Raftery who praised his time as Minister for Education but remarked that he did not receive sufficient recognition. Remarks 'I was not a good propagandist but then I did things my way. I would not have the energy to keep up sustained press relations like Garret or Donagh O'Malley (18 March 1977, 1p).
- Refers to the lack of domestic staff in the Áras (24 March 1977, 1p).
- Refers to his decision to retain the same Council of State. Remarks that he felt it would be too hurtful to drop any of the members (24 March 1977, 1p).
- Refers to a conversation with Con Cremin where they recalled their approach to the UN Security Council in 1969 concerning Northern Ireland. Remarks that Con Cremin referred to the debate in the Dáil and how badly it was conducted 'He felt that the operation in itself an excellent effort was totally misrepresented by some of these people at home. Both Conor C(ruise O'Brien) and Mrs MacNeill pretended to higher knowledge because of having worked with External Affairs and both were quite misleading on what they said publicly. Conor said on the air that time that since the Security

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Council had been “seized of the problem” it could not get on the agenda of the general assembly which of course was wrong as the both bodies were at that time seized of the question of Israel’ (29 March 1977, 2pp).

- Refers to a conversation with a former ADC during de Valera’s presidency and how nervous they were of de Valera and his eyesight in case anything should happen to him (1 April 1977, 2pp).

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4 April–21 October 1977

c120pp

**Diary, 1977**

Includes:

- Recalls a meeting with Archbishop Conway when he was Minister for Education concerning a letter he had written but decided not to send, the content of which stated that in Hillery’s opinion the church and state were on a ‘ ... collision course ...’. Conway listened to what Hillery had to say and then remarked that Hillery was a young man who needed to make an image for himself. ‘I was disappointed because I was not at that time interested in my image or aware of it my only interest was opportunity for children’ (19 April 1977, 2pp).
- Refers to a conversation with the Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave who acknowledged the difficulty Hillery was having in running the Áras. Remarks that he told the Taoiseach that he was using his own money just to run the house but could not entertain (19 May 1977, 1p). Recalls how he told Cosgrave that he admired how he handled the press and that Cosgrave replied by telling him not to be too sensitive to them. ‘On reflection now free society has grown two great concerns—a powerful position for Trade Unions who have only their own blind feelings and interests at heart and a totally irresponsible press with all the tyrannical élan and arrogance of power without responsibility’ (19 May 1977, 2pp).
- Recalls a visit by Roy Jenkins (President of the European Commission) to the Áras and their conversation about the European Commission and colleagues (22 May 1977, 3pp).
- Refers to a speech given by Liam Cosgrave at the Fine Gael Árd Fheis during which he had ‘harsh’ words about journalists. Remarks ‘ ... but regrettably retracted a bit today. I’m sure that if he stuck to his guns he would get massive approval in the public. But like the bards of old the columnist (or columnist) causes FEAR.’ (22 May 1977, 1p).
- Refers to a conversation with Peig concerning Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh and remarked that the Taoiseach never visited the Áras ‘ ... even though Cearbhall had warned him he would take drastic action ...’. Remarks that O Dalaigh was refused permission by the government to travel to Rome for the ceremonies commemorating Oliver Plunkett, and to the bicentennial in the US despite receiving an invitation from President Ford. ‘However she said that he made no use of the Runáí or others to communicate she felt that the President and Taoiseach were talking about two different things

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totally lacking understanding of each other. She felt he was a good man—honest and innocent yet steely within not a politician’ (13 June 1977, 2pp).

- Refers to a conversation with Garret FitzGerald and remarks that both he and his wife were ‘mentally prepared’ for a defeat in the general election. Garret commented that he thought that Jack Lynch wanted Hillery to replace him as leader of Fianna Fáil and was disappointed when Hillery accepted the nomination for President. ‘I told Garret of my resolve never to be (even in theory) available to replace Jack Lynch as this was an undermining of his position. I explained to him that in the very busy week after I visited the Falls Rd (1970) ... one gossip journalist ... put the question “would you like to be Taoiseach” I had said “yes” but regretted it as it seemed to be an attempt on Jack Lynch’s political life and I resolved then never to be available or appear ambitious even if it meant going so far as to exclude myself.’ Refers to Garret’s tendency to act as a spokesman on every subject in the Dáil ‘ ... Garret said that he had developed the habit of doing this in the Senate and continued in the Dáil but his colleagues did not like it. Especially when the *Irish Times* cartoon of FG front bench showed Garret’s face on every head. I said that Lemass had spoken of the difficulties of keeping a party in opposition together I thought that Fine Gael showed great loyalty through the 16 years in opposition. Garret replied that he had attributed this loyalty of the F Gael supporters to selflessness but when Fine Gael finally got into office “all came looking for jobs!” ’(20 June 1977, 3pp).
- Recalls a social visit by Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh and his wife to the Áras. Remarks that Ó Dálaigh’s wife firmly believes that the Ó Dálaigh’s resignation was ‘engineered’ by the Taoiseach to get Hillery out of politics and that she feels they suffered many ‘slights’ during the Presidency both at the hands of the Government and civil servants (24 June 1977, 2pp).
- Refers to the resignation of Brendan Corish as leader of the Labour Party. Remarks ‘Strange they both are gone (FG and Labour) while all the accent and gossip about succession was in relation to Jack Lynch. C.J. Haughey must be going crazy’ (26 June 1977, 1p).
- Refers to the giving of the seals of office to the new government in the Áras and the conversations he had with some of the new ministers after the first cabinet meeting. Recalls banter between Jerry Collins, Des O’Malley, and Charlie Haughey. Observes that when he shook hands with Charlie Haughey and gave him his seal of office Haughey’s eyes went ‘suddenly downward ... I remember Lemass saying to me in Iveagh House “what he must avoid now is doing anything that would make it impossible to recover.” I had phoned and asked Seán Lemass if he wished to speak to me after Haughey and the others had been fired from the Government’ (5 July 1977, 5pp).

**P205/100** 23 October 1977–10 January 1978

c80pp

**Diary, 1977–8**

Includes:

- Describes his frustration with his existing hobbies and his need to take up new pursuits. Remarks 'It is hard to relax—doing nothing is something that has to be learned' (5 November 1977, 1p).
- Continues this theme: 'The real problem is that the actual role of the President consumes so little time. And public appearances without a purpose are not consoling. I would like to speak in Rockwell. And perhaps a speech there could get some of my ideas together' (5 November 1977, 2pp).
- Refers to a conversation with the Egyptian Ambassador after the presentation of his credentials, who he described as being very serious and spoke of his concern regarding the middle east and the importance of granting Palestine similar rights to those enjoyed by other smaller nations in Africa. 'When I spoke of Sadat being very brave now he said "too brave and very dangerous" ' (16 November 1977, 1p).
- Lengthy entry recalling the period leading up to and being appointed as Minister for External Affairs. Remarks that Kevin Boland's latest 'propaganda' has reminded him of the Arms crisis and that a feature on a politics programme broadcast on RTÉ and columns written by Vincent Browne and published in the *Sunday Independent* have led to Boland's attack on de Valera, Jack Lynch, Hillery, Haughey and Gibbons. 'My first instinct is that this is the book that Browne was preparing a year ago on the Arms Trial and about which he asked me questions in a rather persistent manner when he was supposedly doing an article on me as new President. I refused to answer ...'. Remarks that Browne told him that Eamon Gallagher had confirmed that there was a serious difference of opinion between Hillery and Lynch. Refers to Jack Lynch's decision to accept Boland's resignation and not to try and 'coax' him to withdraw it. 'So Kevin made a virtue of treachery and every thought and word of his since has been in a propaganda war against Jack Lynch and F Fáil.' Refers to the difficulties Lynch experienced with Boland and Blaney following Fianna Fáil's victory in the June 1969 election. Concludes 'One wonders about human peace—living together. Would peace be so unnatural—are there always and everywhere Paisleys and Bolands and followers of them and their ilk. Consumed by hate—glorifying their own madness making a virtue of treachery and suffering inflicted on others. Always others never themselves ... There is only one reaction to Browne or Boland and it is anger. Their death wish for our country, for our people is devouring them (11 December 1977, 7pp).
- Recalls his last evening in Brussels before returning to Ireland to become President and the realisation that his anonymity would no longer be possible. Refers to feelings of alarm and panic at the prospect of being back to domestic politics 'Back to the heat of the kitchen' (2 January 1978, 1p).
- Refers to the North and the stance he took regarding violence in the North. Remarks 'Jack Lynch as head of the Party and as Taoiseach

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attacked the violence but I would never allow myself to be drawn into the Orange trap that the only problem in the North was the IRA. I detest violence but every attack on the IRA was taken by the Unionists as acknowledgement that the Unionists were right and were in the right and all their years of wrong and abusive administration they felt was justified by attacking the IRA. Life was easier on one side. But I am against the majority in the North and their actions. I hate violence and arrogance too. But my primary function as Minister for F. Affairs was to attack the wrong structure protected by the British and I could not allow this to be diluted by any other campaign of mine.' (10 January 1978, 2pp).

**P205/101** 10 January–11 March 1978

c120pp

**Diary, 1978**

Includes:

- Recalls a Fianna Fáil party meeting concerning the IRA and what policy should be adopted during which Seán Lemass (prior to his leadership of the Party and Taoiseach) took swift and decisive action. Remarks 'Before I left (Clare) a man ... had said "Don't let them jail those boys (IRA)" and indeed I was tempted to follow this line ... Twice or more I stood up to say so but, as if he knew my mind, Ted Sullivan TD West Cork grabbed my coat and held me down. After a while, confident of Ted's friendship I got the message and watched as the Party found its way to the position it always held. Lemass' intervention was one of those swift and perhaps unprepared ones which have to be made to bring a meeting to think of relatives. At the time I was visited not by the thought of how the Party was (sic) swing back on its own rails re IRA but how it was Lemass and not Dev who saw the way the meeting might go out of control and swiftly came in to lead. It was during that period '57 to '59 before I was member of the Govt and while Dev was still Taoiseach' (10 January 1978, 3pp).
- Refers to a conversation with Des O'Malley who asked Hillery if he had been at a meeting of the Party '... one of the big Party Meetings—"one of the shouting matches" ... Not alone was I at it but I sat near Blaney and Boland ... I told Des that my belief was that B&B were on an anti Lynch campaign and that NI policies were incidentally useful to them. I recalled after the '69 election Boland smirking at me in the little ante room for Ministers. "It would be better fire a man than that.". He had just been in to Jack and I can only surmise that whatever Jack said to him Kevin like others at other times assumed that I was privy to Jack's thinking and plans and partly to blame for any wrong he suffered. I do not know what went on between them but in my heart at the time I was hoping that Jack would take control of the two Bs who were riding high and rough shod. After winning that election—which I thought we would lose I said to my sister "They will destroy the country now". Strangely George [Colley] made a move to get Jack to fire Blaney then ... However the two Bs became stronger and bigger and bigger

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and more and more swaggering ... Kevin left the logic of his rearing—Gerry (Gerard Boland, Kevin Boland's father and a founding member of the Fianna Fáil Party) had only one thing to his credit and that was his fight against the IRA. Especially the types coming down from Belfast ... Kevin himself was the last before 1970 to open the internment camps ... Indeed he did nought to put the army even fit and equipped to deal with the B Specials ... let alone to deal with the British when he was Minister for Defence' (13 January 1978, 6pp).

- Considers the role of the President and concludes that he must be patient and allow it to evolve. Remarks that his visits abroad have shown him that representing Ireland on a 'goodwill' level appears to be part of the role and one that he is happy to fulfil (17 February 1978, 1p).
- Refers to the household expenses and the responsibility of the President to pay staff wages, PAYE, tax and insurance. Expresses his annoyance that work to the house had been undertaken but without his knowledge and despite him having insisted that he be consulted in advance (18 February 1978, 2p).
- Describes seeing a man he did not recognise walking in the grounds of the Áras and his attempts to have the man stopped by the Garda on duty. Remarks that he had to bring the matter to the attention of his *aide de camp* (19 February 1978, 2pp).
- Refers to a conversation with 'An Ruanáí' [Micheál Ó hOdhraín] concerning an idea of Garret FitzGerald, as Minister for Foreign Affairs, to have a dinner for all former Foreign Ministers who were still alive (Eamon de Valera, Seán McBride, Liam Cosgrave, Frank Aiken, Hillery, Brian Lenihan). 'Garret said the one problem would be to get Liam Cosgrave to agree because of Dev. This the Ruanáí said fitted in with the Cosgrave attitude to Dev as the old Mr William Cosgrave did not come to the meetings of the Council of State and only once did he accept an invitation to lunch that was for Dr Riberi, Papal Nuncio. Also on the death of General Dick Mulcahy the vacancy on the Council of State was offered to young Liam who refused it. Strangely Dev had said to me in Ennis Show one day that he wondered why Cosgrave was so bitter ... However the Ruanáí said that Liam always was polite and when he refused membership of the Council of State he said to thank the President ... He had also seen to it that Dev in retirement had got the Rolls Royce car as it was the one he could get in and out of most easily' (24 February 1978, 3pp).
- Recalls the death and funeral of Micheál MacLiammóir (7 March 1978, 6pp).
- Refers to a lunch with Con Cremin and remarks how much he enjoys his company and Cremin's ability of total recall. Remarks that they discussed the Security Council of 1969 and misleading comments made by Conor Cruise O'Brien in the Dáil. Cremin also discussed his trip with Seán Lemass in 1962 when they visited the Heads of the Governments of the six member states of the EEC concerning Ireland's wish to enter negotiations to join the EEC. Remarks that Cremin assured him that there were no pre-conditions set with regard to Northern Ireland (March 1978, 3pp).

**P205/102** 11 March–15 March 1979

c160pp

**Diary, 1979**

Includes:

- Recalls hearing the news of the death of Pope John Paul I and the shock he felt. Refers to the ceremonies he attended for the new Pope in Rome and a private audience with the Pope. Remarks that when he was presented to the Pope along with the other heads of state and dignitaries he bent his knee and kissed the Pope's ring. 'I had doubts as to what to do having had the advice about heads of state but since TV was now operating it would have seemed discourteous not to do as the others. I was much troubled afterwards by this (28 September 1978, 7pp).
- Describes an audience with Pope John Paul II (3 November 1978, 7pp).
- Refers to his conversation with the Taoiseach and his disquiet at the Taoiseach having no knowledge of his request for the President's allowance to be increased and the many attempts he has made to bring the matter to a satisfactory conclusion. Remarks 'Whether the Taoiseach has had a total blank of memory or whether they slipped the letter for signing into a load of routine letters for signing or if the thicker elements of the civil service are running the country I cannot say. I warned the Taoiseach that voting the allowance is going to cause trouble ... and also the same principle if applied to the Taoiseach's residence could keep the Taoiseach in constant embarrassment on a personal basis. It means the President and Taoiseach paying wages to staff and having to withhold wage increases for want of money while the allowance is published and lives in the public mind as a slush fund or drink allowance for the President and soon for the Taoiseach when his residence is ready' (20 January 1979, 7pp).
- Remarks that he continues to worry about paying the staff wages and the bank overdraft. 'It is possible that I should get my wife to take it up with the wife of An Taoiseach but I do not want the Presidency to be based on favours from civil servants or the petticoat government. My present inclination is to have the constitution interpreted and base the President firmly in the law. After all the trick of providing an enormous mansion without adequate money was not foreseen when the constitution requires that the President shall have an official residence in or near Dublin' (10 February 1979, 4pp).
- Remarks of his diary 'There is nothing sustained about this record. The more I settle into the Áras and the more contented I am the less I feel the urge to write' (12 March 1979, 1p).

**P205/103** 22 March–19 September 1979

c80pp

**Diary, 1979**

Includes

- Describes his frustration over his transport arrangements and the fact that no car or driver was available to him following a function and that he had to drive with a detective on duty. Remarks ‘... I felt sick and ashamed of a police force who would so treat the president. It had a profound effect on me and I had a long weekend of functions ahead which I now viewed with anxiety because of the insecurity of being so completely let down’ (24 May 1979, 1p).
- Refers to the payment of wages to the staff of the Aras and remarks that his account is overdrawn by £9,000 and that it will be necessary for him to get money from his account in Brussels. ‘I continue to wonder if anybody gets any better service than I do—from the Government departments. If not, the country is badly served’ (27 May 1979, 1p).
- Refers to his nervousness at having to speak at the unveiling of the statue to James Larkin in O’Connell Street and remarks that he has three such engagements that week (15 June 1979, 1p).
- Describes receiving a phone call from the Papal Nuncio informing him that the Pope will visit Ireland on September 29<sup>th</sup> (20 July 1979, 2pp).
- Refers to the organisation and planning for the Pope’s visit (13 September 1979, 5pp).
- Refers to the rumours regarding his marriage in the run up to the Papal visit. Describes his feelings of isolation and despair regarding his situation. Wonders if he made the correct decision to issue a statement. Refers to the attitude of people towards him and who may have started the rumours. Written on separate sheets of paper and placed in an envelope marked ‘Rumour Period’ (6–7 October 1979, 11pp).

**P205/104** 15 August 1979–9 July 1983

c250pp

**Memoirs**

Memoirs dictated to cassette tape by Hillery and transcribed concerning his first term as President. Described by Hillery as ‘memoirs’ but in effect a diary of events and personal observations. In some instances Hillery recalls past events as a government minister.

Includes:

- Describes the lead up to the Papal visit and his desire to ensure that preparations are sufficient to allow for a successful visit, in particular Ireland’s exposure to the world’s media. Refers to the importance of having one person in charge of the preparations. Remarks that he was concerned about the Pope’s visit to Áras an Uachtaráin and the importance of including all of the staff and their families in the visit. Recalls the arrival of the Pope, the mass in the

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Phoenix Park and the Pope's visit to the Áras. On meeting the Pope Hillery remarks 'I recall how slowly the aeroplane, slower than walking pace came up the runway into the tarmac, how long it seemed between the Cardinal and the Nuncio entering the plane and the emergence of the Holy Father, and how slowly slowly he approached me having kissed the ground, and as he approached I felt something between us. I felt a welcome for him and a feeling of friendship for him' (September 1979, 11pp).

- Describes the days following the Papal mass in the Phoenix Park, the events in Knock and Galway, and the Pope's departure from Shannon Airport. Describes a conversation with the Pope concerning Northern Ireland. Refers to the rumours concerning his marriage and separation from his wife; a meeting in the Áras with the editors of the main newspapers and Radio Éireann concerning the rumours; and a decision to issue a statement of refutation. Remarks that he offered to resign but that Jack Lynch was totally opposed to this (September 1979, 11pp).
- Recalls the rumours surrounding his marriage around the time of the Papal visit to Ireland. Remarks that his wife was asked by an international journalist if she was seeking a separation. Refers to a telephone conversation with the Taoiseach Jack Lynch and Lynch's concern over the strength of the rumours. Also a phone call from Joan Mullaney who informed Hillery that the story would be published in *Hibernia*. Refers to his decision to meet with the editors of the papers to refute the rumours and further discussions with Jack Lynch (September 1979, 3pp).
- Refers to the media reports concerning the rumours and that he watched the nine o'clock news on RTÉ and after that '... I shut down ...'. Remarks that he did not read any papers. Refers to two former colleagues from the Commission, Evelyne and Enrica, who were being harassed by the media. Refers to the rumours as having such strength that everyone accepted them as being true. 'At one stage Gageby said that it must have been from the North East and he probably meant the six counties but when he said North East, I thought in terms of the North East constituency. I thought of Haughey, I don't know why because I don't know whether it is his constituency or not, but that's the thought that came into my mind, and then he had been against my becoming President and he had a group in the Party who voted against me, the only ones who voted against me for the Presidency. I gather the question of my resignation was also supported by these people in the Party and their gossip.' Continues 'I was told that Mrs Tom O'Higgins had been promoting these rumours and had said it to John Wilson and that also Garret's wife Joan had, about a year before been putting it out as truth in Limerick.' Remarks that his niece came to stay for the weekend and described her presence as very welcome company 'I felt desolate ... I felt really desolate. I walked a lot by myself' (September–November 1979, 2pp).
- Recalls an EU Summit meeting in Dublin and a lunch he hosted in the Áras. Remarks that Jack Lynch whispered to him that he was resigning and that later he received a telephone call from Brian Lenihan that confirmed the Taoiseach's intention. Refers to Margaret Thatcher and her remarks at the lunch that she saw no future for the Commission '... it's the Council now and the

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- Parliament' November 1979, 2p).
- Refers to Haughey's success in becoming leader of Fianna Fáil and Taoiseach following Lynch's resignation. Recalls meeting Jim Tunney describing him as '... strained and upset ... surprised that George Colley had been beaten.' Refers to a telephone conversation with Miriam [ ] who '... sounded as if the bottom had fallen out of the bucket and again kept saying that Colley was so certain of it. That Des O'Malley didn't want to be disloyal and that there wasn't enough work done.' Refers to Lynch's arrival at the Áras to resign and their conversation. Remarks that Lynch told him that Des O'Malley would have won the vote but out of loyalty to George Colley he did not put his name forward '... George was certain even after Michael O'Kennedy had changed over, he had no worry whatever' (10 December 1979, 2pp).
  - Refers to his state visit to Tanzania and Bahrain, the officials he met and functions he attended; conversations regarding Rhodesia and the withdrawal of the British; and the forthcoming elections. Recalls a meeting with his staff in the Áras emphasising the need for professionalism, particularly when entertaining dignitaries and visitors, and liaising with government departments (3-26 February 1980, 17pp).
  - Describes a conversation with the Provost of Trinity College Dublin regarding his concerns over the resignation of Cearbhall Ó Dálaigh and the perceived weakness in the Presidency, '... that an insulted President would go ...'. Continues '... and while I said I didn't think it would ever happen by accident again ... it could be done on purpose.' Remarks that he feels the issue should be dealt with in some way, either in a political arena or at an address delivered by him or someone else. Refers to a lunch with Seán MacEntee and Frank Aiken and their memories of the Civil War (28 February 1980, 3pp).
  - Refers to a meeting with the Taoiseach Charlie Haughey and their conversation about Europe; the arrangements for the President leaving the country and his concerns again over resignation rumours. Coming so close after Ó Dálaigh's resignation, these would be '... very destabilising for the country and I said we would have been better to abolish the Office than to have that kind of thing going on' (7 March 1980, 2pp).
  - Refers again to the origin of the rumours concerning his marriage (12 March 1980, 2pp).
  - Refers to the low wages paid to the staff of the Áras, the difficulties in entertaining visitors, and over-spending. Describes the fall out over the invitation to the British Legion Ceremonies of Commemoration and his amazement over the explanation for his non-attendance issued by his Secretary, that the President '... does not attend ceremonies of foreign armies.' Remarks that the media are very 'agitated' about the matter, in particular the *Irish Times*. Expresses his frustration with the whole episode (10-18 November 1980, 5pp).
  - Describes a conversation with Edwin Fitzgibbon concerning affairs in the Commission and the appointment of people to different positions following the appointment of Michael O'Kennedy as Commissioner (23 January 1981, 2pp).
  - Refers to a meeting with Gaston Thorn, President to the European

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Commission and other EEC officials and their conversation about the Commission. Remarks that Thorn expressed his 'great disappointment' with the Commission '... lack of loyalty, leaks now in their functions and generally seemingly demoralised.' Refers to comments made by Thorn about the Irish Commissioner Michael O'Kennedy (19 March 1981, 12pp).

- Recalls discussions with Jack Lynch concerning Haughey's leadership of the Fianna Fáil Party, as Taoiseach and his relations with the media (27 March 1981, 3pp).
- Describes the dissolution of the Dáil in May 1982, the general election and the formation of the new coalition government (22 May-June 1982, 8pp).
- Refers to the invitation to the royal wedding between Prince Charles and Lady Diana Spencer and his decision not to attend. Refers to the media scrutiny concerning his decision. Remarks that he will not be drawn into having to explain his intentions to the media (4 July 1981, 5pp).
- Refers to a march on his house in Spanish Point, organised by supporters of prisoners in the Maze Prison (H-Blocks). Remarks that he agreed to meet them and receive a letter from them (2 September 1981, 2pp).
- Describes his attendance at Sadat's funeral in Cairo, the journey to Egypt and the other dignitaries attending the obsequies (October 1981, 11pp).
- Describes the first Council of State meeting under his Presidency, to decide on whether the Private Rented Dwellings Bill should be referred to the Supreme Court. Records the advice of the members of the Council of State and the order in which they spoke (22 December 1981, 6pp).
- Recalls the events leading up to the general election in February 1982. Describes the evening when numerous phone calls were made to the Áras by Charles Haughey (leader of the opposition), Brian Lenihan and Sylvie Barrett, urging Hillery not to dissolve the Dáil, and insisting that a government could be formed. Remarks that a young aide, Captain Barbar, was put under enormous pressure by Haughey. Remarks that at one stage Haughey refused to get off the phone and that if he could not speak to the President he intended to come in person to the Áras. Explains his position and the mistaken belief by many that the President had the right to call on a member of the Dáil to form a government. Remarks 'All the President can do under the constitution as it stands is refuse to dissolve the Dáil whereupon the Taoiseach would resign and then there would be no government, no Taoiseach and if the Dáil did not elect a Taoiseach there would be no Taoiseach to come up with the proposal to dissolve the Dáil ... we would be in a crisis out of which I could not pull them and they didn't seem capable of pulling themselves.' Continues 'At some stage Haughey tried to bully the ADC, the young Captain, asked for his name and tried to intimidate him into getting me to the phone. The Captain gave him his name, but I think he was worried, so I asked the day after to see the Chief of Staff ... I told him that the young officer carried out my instructions in what I was trying to protect the Constitutional position from people who were inventing things for the Constitution and interpretation ... the log made by the Captain was available, I asked for a photograph of

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the action involved and it's now with my papers.' Describes how various people called on him to form a national government. 'The trouble about dealing with people is that they are so bloody ignorant or they don't seem to have read the Constitution and make it up as they go along to suit themselves' (5 February 1982, 5pp).

- Describes a conversation with Charles Haughey following his appointment as Taoiseach in the new Dáil, recalling the night of the dissolution and phone calls made by Haughey and others to the Áras. Remarks that Haughey acknowledged that the President did not have the powers to call on someone else to form a government. Remarks that they also spoke about the threat to Haughey's leadership of Fianna Fáil and difficulties with George Colley. 'He said something to indicate the troublesome way that George was carrying on. He said only about six or eight of them, George, O'Malley, Molloy, Gibbons, Brennan were the ones and they had no question of the possibility of winning a vote against him. But he thought George was the intriguer all the time' (9 March 1982, 3pp).
- Refers to a conversation with Conor Maguire concerning staffing arrangements in the Commission and the EU office in Dublin (23 April 1982, 2pp).
- Recalls a further conversation with Conor Maguire concerning his successor in the EU Office in Dublin and staffing in the Commissioner's (Dick Burke) office in Brussels (7 May 1982, 1p).
- Refers to a conversation with Tras Honan, Cathaoirleach of the Seanad, concerning the night of the defeat of the government on the budget. Honan told Hillery about Haughey meeting with the Fianna Fáil Parliamentary Party describing his face as '...alight with success...' and that it was Haughey's belief that Hillery would call on him to form a government. Remarks that he explained to Honan that the President could not call on anyone to form a government, that there was no provision for this in the constitution 'She said that even Derry her husband was under the impression that the President had the right to call on someone to form a Government and she said that Haughey does not get things wrong and that's why they believed he was right.' Refers to her comments about Haughey and his leadership and the unease she feels despite his support for her. Remarks that she does not think Haughey capable of forgiveness (5 July 1982, 3pp).
- Describes his attendance at the funeral of Princess Grace (September 1982, 4pp).
- Recalls a conversation with Sylvie Barrett who remarked to Hillery that he was the only one of the Junior Ministers who refused to swear allegiance to Haughey and that he feels he will lose his post. 'He seemed shaken but not repentant.' Continues 'I had Michael Hillery up yesterday from Limerick. He said Fianna Fáil would lose an election now that Charlie Haughey is so lowly placed everywhere in the country and Sylvie said it again today that all the TDs have just spent three months in their constituencies ... they are alarmed that they could not win an election with Haughey' (29 September&5 October 1982, 1p).
- Describes in detail his attendance at the the funeral of Leonid Brezhnev in Moscow (27 November–2 December 1982, 10pp).
- Refers to pressure put on him by the Taoiseach (Garret FitzGerald), Charlie Haughey and others in Fianna Fáil to seek a second term as

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President. Remarks that he spoke to FitzGerald and Haughey and told them that he did not want a second term either as an agreed or contested candidate ‘... the idea of wanting to be an agreed President was repugnant to me.’ Suggests that Jack Lynch would be a more suitable candidate and would have the support of all parties. Expresses the view that Lynch as President ‘... would heal a lot of wounds especially in the Munster area’ (4–11 May 1983, 5pp).

- Describes a meeting with the Taoiseach and Charlie Haughey during which they appealed to Hillery to remain as President for a second term. Remarks that Dick Spring was not present but that FitzGerald and Haughey were also speaking on his behalf. ‘I told them they knew my position that my personal feelings were not to do it ... By asking me they created another problem for me ... I felt that the Constitution which I undertook to uphold when I was made President provides for a ballot and a President in office should not be party to avoiding an election in any way or depriving the public.’ Continues ‘I think they regarded this as highly theoretical. Garret spoke of the national interest and thought it would be bad for the Office to have an election with a small interest or a small turnout’ (30 June 1983, 1p).
- A further entry records his feelings regarding the second term. ‘I had a visit from Charlie Haughey and Garret FitzGerald and I told them again no. They tried to get me into an argument and knock my arguments. They said it was in the national interest, everybody was looking for stability and an election would cause all sorts of problems. I just kept saying no that I couldn’t do it’ (11 July 1983, 1p).

### **3.1.4 Official Duties**

#### **3.1.4.1 Functions, 1976–83**

**P205/105** 4 December 1976–24 December 1983

37pp

#### **List of functions attended**

Comprehensive list of the functions attended by Hillery during his first term in Office. Details the exact nature of the function and the date.

**P205/106** 5 January 1977–14 December 1983

7pp

#### **Presentation of Credentials**

Comprehensive list of the presentation of credentials during Hillery’s first term of Office.

**3.1.4.2 National and International State Visits by Hillery, 1977–83**

**P205/107** 4–6 March 1977

14pp

**County Clare**

Itinerary, programme, speeches concerning Hillery's visit to his native county, his first visit to Clare following his inauguration as President.

**P205/108** 4 January–7 April 1977

51pp

**Germany**

Correspondence, notes concerning Hillery's official visit to Germany.

Includes:

- Copy of *Ireland Today*, bulletin of the DFA reporting on the visit (1 March 1977, 8pp).
- Translations of the German press coverage of the visit (7 April 1977, 14pp).
- Biographical sketches of German officials (March 1977, 18pp).

**P205/109** 31 August 1977–11 May 1978

c160pp

**India**

Itineraries, correspondence, notes, invitations, diary concerning Hillery's official visit to India.

Includes:

- Holograph diary kept by Hillery describing the visit to India. Refers to the delay in getting their bags from the airport and complains about the general behaviour of the group travelling with the President. Remarks 'I think in future visits somebody would have to be put in charge of the group travelling with the President as it should not be an added task for the president to try to control the behaviour of his entourage' (24 January 1978, 1p). Complains about his handwriting and how he regrets not trying to improve it. Remarks that he was particularly conscious of it as he left a message in the book at the monument to the Mahatma (25 January 1978, 1p). Refers to a conversation with the Prime Minister (Desai). Remarks that the Prime Minister informed him that he does not worry '... that he leaves all to God and accepts all.' Continues 'I told him I knew this to be the right way but that I have not been able to convince my worrying body or mind about it.' Remarks that the Prime Minister wants to develop industry in India and '... not be devoured by the appetites of affluence and growth' (25 January 1978, 1p). Describes a dinner and his conversation with the Prime Minister concerning Gandhi (25 January 1978, 1p). Describes a visit to the Bhakra-Nangel Dam. Remarks that he spoke without

- P205/109** notes at the banquet ‘... but again went through torture of wondering what cynical bitter twist the press—especially Denis Kennedy might put on it. I must reach a stage out of reach of the smears of the Frank Kellys—Denis Kennedys etc. They will always exist I must solve this sensitivity after speaking, or about my own words’ (28 January 1978, 1p). Refers to a televised interview for Indian television and one for RTÉ. Remarks ‘After I felt [diminished] and fretful. All my life I have found that translating feelings into words makes them fit into a very limiting banal straight jacket description like so many other descriptions written and heard. Experience cannot be described. (2 February 1978, 1p).
- P205/110** 30 March–13 October 1978  
46pp  
**Luxembourg**  
Correspondence, itinerary, programme concerning Hillery’s official visit to Luxembourg.
- P205/111** 2 January–7 February 1980  
43pp  
**Tanzania**  
Correspondence, notes, itinerary, speech concerning Hillery’s official visit to Tanzania.
- P205/112** 29 February 1980; 8 May 1980  
38pp  
**Yugoslavia**  
Letter, programme, texts of speeches concerning the funeral of Josip Broz Tito, President of Yugoslavia.
- P205/113** 21 September 1981  
1p  
**China**  
Telex message from the Irish Ambassador in Beijing to the DFA concerning the provisional itinerary for Hillery’s official visit to China, the type and contents of speeches that will be required, suggestions regarding gifts to be given to Chinese officials, and Mrs Hillery’s engagements.

**P205/114** 9–11 October 1981

3pp

**Egypt**

Itinerary for Hillery's attendance at the funeral of President Anwar Sadat.

**P205/115** 14 September–4 October 1982

4pp

**Monaco**

Telegrams, note, programme concerning the death of Princess Grace and Hillery's attendance at her funeral.

**P205/116** 14–16 November 1982

4pp

**Moscow**

Summary of Hillery's visit to Moscow to attend the funeral of President Brezhnev.

**P205/117** 29 March–2 June 1983

29pp

**Denmark**

Copies of correspondence, seating plans, programme concerning Hillery's official visit to Denmark.

**P205/118** 11 May–15 September 1983

8pp

**Japan**

Mostly copies of correspondence concerning the arrangements for Hillery's official visit to Japan.

**P205/119** 3 July 1983

2pp

**County Mayo**

Programme concerning the unveiling of a memorial to Major John MacBride by Hillery in Mayo.

**3.1.4.3 Council of State, 1977–83**

**P205/120** 21 February 1977–22 June 1988

8pp

**Council of State: membership and meetings**

Notes, list of meetings.

Includes:

- Note from Máirtín Ó Flathartaigh, Private Secretary to Hillery concerning the change of members of the Council of State. Remarks that he has not found a precedent for informing members that they are no longer required to serve as Council members. Encloses a draft of a letter and remarks 'There is no real necessity for such a letter except perhaps to thank those who are not re-appointed. It might be useful to give some explanation to any "personal friend" left off ...' (21 February 1977, 3pp).
- Note from Micheál Ó hOdhráin, Private Secretary to Hillery regarding a telephone call from Siobhán McKenna asking for a convening of the Council of State, of which she is a member, with a view to approaching President Reagan concerning the situation in Northern Ireland. Remarks 'I think that there is no point in trying to explain the position to her and that she will be happy to have made the suggestion, unrealistic and all as it is.' Includes a handwritten annotation by Hillery agreeing that the Council of State is not required on this occasion and that the Government have ways to 'approach' Reagan of their own accord (not dated, 2pp).
- List detailing the number of times the Council of State has been convened between 1940 and 1988. Also details the bills Hillery referred to the Supreme Court (8 January 1940–22 June 1988, 3pp).

**3.1.4.4 Speeches, 1977–81**

**P205/121** 27 March 1977–25 October 1981

c100pp

**Texts of speeches**

Includes:

- At a prize-giving ceremony for Slógadh Náisiúnta (National Traditional Music Competition) in Galway. In Irish (27 March 1977,

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- 2pp).
- At a prize-giving ceremony for Ghlór na nGael. In Irish (29 May 1977, 6pp).
  - At a prize-giving ceremony for the Irish Red Cross (18 June 1977, 2pp).
  - At the official opening of the World Medical Association, Burlington Hotel, Dublin (5 September 1977, 3pp).
  - Grave side oration at the funeral of Cearbhall Ó Dalaigh. Annotated In Irish. (23 March 1978, 14pp).
  - At a prize-giving ceremony for Slógadh Náisiúnta (National Traditional Music Competition) in Wexford. In Irish (2 April 1978, 2pp).
  - At a prize-giving ceremony for Ghlór na nGael in Clondalkin and Rathcoole. In Irish (28 May 1978, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the anniversary of the founding of the Irish Red Cross (1 July 1978, 2pp).
  - At the official opening of the European Foundation for the Improvement of Living and Working Conditions (3 October 1978, 3pp).
  - On the occasion of the opening of an exhibition to commemorate the Golden Jubilee of the founding of the Edwards–MacLiammóir Company (Gate Theatre) (4 October 1978, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the official opening of the National Drama Association. In Irish (4 October 1978, 2pp).
  - At the official opening of an exhibition of tapestries by the students of the National College of Art at the Alliance Française de Dublin. In French, English and Irish (28 November 1978, 3pp).
  - At the opening of a Greek art exhibition at the National Gallery of Ireland (23 February 1979, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the opening of the first outdoor activity and training centre for the Irish Girl Guides (19 May 1979, 5pp).
  - At the opening of Congress of the Order of Hospitallers of St John of God at University College Dublin (13 June 1979, 2pp).
  - At the unveiling of the James Larkin Memorial (15 June 1979, 1p).
  - On the occasion of the presentation of awards on behalf of Irish Red Cross (16 June 1979, 3pp).
  - At the official opening of the Land League centenary Celebrations. In Irish and English (5 August 1979, 4pp).
  - Address of welcome on the arrival of Pope John Paul II at Dublin Airport (29 September 1979, 2pp).
  - Address on the occasion of the departure of Pope John Paul II from Shannon Airport (1 October 1979, 1p).
  - At the All-Ireland Ploughing Championships at Watergrasshill, Fermoy, County Cork (10 October 1979, 4pp).
  - At the opening of the Pearse Museum at St. Enda's. In Irish and English (10 November 1979, 3pp).
  - On the occasion of the 75<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the opening of the Abbey Theatre. In Irish and English (19 December 1979, 2pp).
  - At the opening of an exhibition of craftwork by Travellers in the exhibition hall, Bank of Ireland, Baggot Street (10 March 1980, 2pp).
  - At the unveiling of a plaque to mark the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Zoological Gardens (10 May 1980, 1p).
  - At a prize giving ceremony for Ghlór na nGael in Ballymun. In Irish

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- (25 May 1980, 2pp).
- On the occasion of the presentation of awards on behalf of Irish Red Cross (14 June 1980, 2pp).
  - At the review of the Order of Malta Ambulance Corps, Furness, County Kildare (22 June 1980, 2pp).
  - At the opening of Cusack Park, Ennis, County Clare. In Irish and English (29 June 1980, 2pp).
  - At the opening of Killarney Bach Festival (4 July 1980, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the opening of National Adult Education week. In Irish and English (1 September 1980, 3pp).
  - At the opening of Summerhill Community Centre (28 September 1980, 2pp).
  - At the National Ploughing Championships, Rockwell, Cashel, County Tipperary. (7 October 1980, 1p).
  - At the opening of an exhibition of paintings by Raoul Dufy in the National Gallery of Ireland (16 October 1980, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the presentation of Gold awards of the Blood Transfusion Service in the Royal College of Surgeons in Ireland (21 October 1980, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the National Mid-Decade Forum for Women (16 November 1980, 2pp).
  - At the official opening of homes built in Cork by SHARE. In Irish and English (9 December 1980, 2pp).
  - At the presentation of the triennial awards of the Royal Institute of the Architects of Ireland (5 March 1981, 2pp).
  - At the opening of the Day Care Centre at Rathcoole. In Irish and English (8 March 1981, 2pp)
  - At the opening of the Agricultural Education Exhibition and Symposium organised by the Agricultural Science Association at the West County Hotel, Ennis. In Irish and English (30 March 1981, 2pp)
  - At the opening of the Belltable Arts Centre, Limerick. In Irish and English (21 April 1981, 2pp).
  - At a prize giving ceremony for Slógadh Náisiúnta (National Traditional Music Competition) in Tralee. In Irish (26 April 1981, 2pp).
  - At the opening of the Bank of Ireland Student Project Exhibition. In Irish and English (29 April 1981, 2pp).
  - At the opening of the Festival of Guiding in Páirc Uí Chaoimh (2 May 1981, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the opening of Ballycaseymore Workshops (11 May 1981, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the opening of Dundalk Amateur Drama International (23 May 1981, 2pp).
  - At the opening of the training centre, Sunbeam House (28 May 1981, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the opening of the European and African Conference of Jaycees International, Wexford (10 June 1981, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the presentation of awards on behalf of Irish Red Cross. In Irish and English (13 June 1981, 2pp).
  - At the opening of An Óige Photographic Exhibition. In Irish and English (22 June 1981, 2pp).
  - At the opening of a workshop/training centre for people with disabilities in Portlaois. (6 July 1981, 2pp).

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- At the opening of an exhibition of the photographic work of Dr W.A. McCutcheon, Director, Ulster Museum (9 July 1981, 1p).
  - At the opening of the National Jamboree Camping Week at Kilruddery (10 July 1981, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the opening of the Athlone Summer festival. In Irish and English (30 July 1981, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the opening of the National Concert Hall. In Irish and English (9 September 1981, 1p).
  - At the opening of an international conference 'Planning better education for the Handicapped'. In Irish and English (1 October 1981, 2pp).
  - At the launch of 'Pléaráca an Riadaigh', music recorded by Seán Ó Riada. In Irish (2 October 1981, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the unveiling of the Cairn of Peace at the opening of the World Ploughing Championships, Wellington-Bridge, Wexford (9 October 1981, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the presentation of An Taisce Architectural Awards in Powerscourt House (20 October 1981, 2pp).
  - At the opening of the outdoor centre for Girl Guides at Glenaree, County Limerick (24 October 1981, 2pp).

#### **3.1.4.5 State Visits to Ireland (Received by Hillery), 1978–82**

**P205/122** 24–28 April 1978

5 items

##### **Denmark**

Programmes, menus, itinerary concerning the official visit of Her Majesty Queen Margrethe II of Denmark and His Royal Highness The Prince Consort.

**P205/123** 11 September 1979

1 item

##### **Tanzania**

Invitation to dinner at Iveagh House in honour of the visit of the President of the United Republic of Tanzania, Dr Julius Nyerere, to Ireland.

**P205/124** 20 September–1 October 1979; 13 June 1980

c50pp

**Papal Visit**

Notes, draft wording of speech, itineraries, menu, correspondence.

Includes:

- Wording of a greeting in Polish as part of Hillery's welcome speech (September 1979, 4pp).
- Drafts of Hillery's speech (20, 25 September 1979, 11pp).
- Various notes concerning the catering requirements, the timing of the Pope's arrival at the Áras, transportation and the ceremonial arrangements (26–27 September 1979, 8pp).
- Outline of Mrs Hillery's programme (29 September–1 October 1979, 3pp).
- Copy of Hillery's speech on the occasion of the departure of Pope John Paul II from Shannon Airport (1 October 1979, 4pp).
- Statement by Hillery refuting the rumours that he is to resign as President (3 October 1979, 1p).
- Letter from Pope John Paul II to Hillery recalling his visit to Ireland (13 June 1980, 1p).

**P205/125** 2–4 June 1982

4 items

**Luxembourg**

Itinerary, invitation, menus concerning the official visit of His Royal Highness the Grand-Duke of Luxembourg and Her Royal Highness the Grand-Duchess of Luxembourg to Ireland.

### **3.2 Second Term**

#### **3.2.1 Nomination and Declaration, 1983**

**P205/126** 27 September 1983

12pp

**Nomination to a second term as President**

Statements, transcript concerning the support by the three main political parties for Hillery's candidature for a second term as President of Ireland.

Includes:

- Full transcript of a radio interview given by the Taoiseach, Charles Haughey, to RTÉ endorsing Hillery as President of Ireland for a second term (27 September 1983, 7pp).

**P205/127** 21 October 1983

2 items

**Declaration as President**

Official documentation declaring Hillery as President.

**P205/128** 13 October 1983–30 January 1984

73pp

**Letters of congratulations**

Letters and cards mostly congratulating Hillery on his second term as President but also thanking Mrs Hillery for her hospitality.

### **3.2.2 Official Duties**

#### **3.2.2.1 Council of State, 1981–8**

**P205/129** 22 December 1981–22 June 1988

1p

**Council of State: list of meetings**

List of meetings of the Council of State held during Hillery's terms as President of Ireland and bills referred to the Supreme Court.

#### **3.2.2.2 Speeches, 1983–90**

**P205/130** 22 August 1983–30 October 1990

c160pp

**Texts of speeches**

Includes:

- List detailing the themes covered in Hillery's speeches during his Presidency (not dated, 2pp).
- At the opening of the Merriman School in Clare. In Irish and English (22 August 1983, 10pp).
- Final draft of his inauguration speech. In Irish and English (3 December 1983, 2pp).
- On the occasion of the 21<sup>st</sup> anniversary dinner of the Soroptimist Club of Ennis and District. In Irish and English (15 December 1984, 2pp).
- At the opening of the celebrations to commemorate the granting of Cork's first charter. In Irish and English (1 January 1985, 3pp).
- On the occasion of the presentation of the GAA Centenary Allstar

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- Awards. In Irish and English (1 February 1985, 2pp).
- On the occasion of the banquet in honour of the Crown Prince and Princess of Japan (4 March 1985, 2pp).
  - At the opening of the centenary celebration of Local Government in Kiltrush, County Clare. In Irish and English (10 March 1985, 2pp).
  - Message of the President on St Patrick's Day. In Irish and English (17 March 1985, 2pp).
  - At the launch of the *Archaeological Survey of the Barony of Ikerrin*. In Irish and English (20 March 1985, 2pp).
  - At the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary celebration of the Rathcairn Gaelteacht, county Meath. In Irish (13 April 1985, 2pp).
  - At the presentation of distinctions at Slógadh Náisiúnta (National Traditional Music Competition), Mullingar. In Irish (14 April 1985, 2pp).
  - At the official opening of Scoil an Phiarsaigh. In Irish (26 April 1985, 2pp).
  - At the launching of European Youth Club Day at Mosney. In Irish and English (27 April 1985, 4pp).
  - At the inaugural dinner and opening of the Euro-Fiet Conference, Westbury Hotel, Dublin (29 April 1985, 3pp).
  - At the general meeting of the Clare Social Service Council (6 May 1985, 3pp).
  - At a prize giving ceremony for Ghlór na nGael, Cork. In Irish (12 May 1985, 3pp).
  - Speeches delivered at various official functions during Hillery's state visit to New Zealand and Australia (21 May–9 June 1985, 62pp).
  - At the opening of St Mary's Gaelic Football Club. In Irish and English (21 June 1985, 2pp).
  - At the annual report of the Irish Red Cross Society. In Irish and English (22 June 1985, 2pp).
  - At the presentation of awards for the All-Ireland video competition for schools and college, Bank of Ireland Awards. In Irish and English (26 June 1985, 2pp).
  - At the opening of the European Special Olympic Games. In Irish and English (4 July 1985, 1p).
  - At the opening of the Festival of Flowers and Music in St Flannan's Cathedral. In Irish and English (18 July 1985, 2pp).
  - To the American Bar Association (21 July 1985, 2pp).
  - At the opening of Portumna '85. In Irish and English (31 July 1985, 2pp).
  - At the opening of the International Folk Epic Conference. In Irish and English (2 September 1985, 3pp).
  - At the opening of a new GAA clubhouse at Newmarket-on-Fergus to mark the Club's Centenary. In Irish and English (8 September 1985, 3pp).
  - At the opening of the fifth annual conference of the International Association of Consultants in Higher Education Institutions (IACHEI), Ennis (12 September 1985, 2pp).
  - At the opening of Aonach '85 at Mosney (13 September 1985, 1p).
  - At the opening of a seminar entitled 'Case Studies in Technology Transfer' in Trinity College Dublin. In Irish and English (25 September 1985, 2pp).
  - On being conferred with an Honorary Fellowship of the Institute of Engineers of Ireland (26 September 1985, 1p).

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- At the opening of the international conference on Communication Through Technology for the Physically Disabled (26 September 1985, 2pp).
- At the presentation of the Graduate Designer Award at the National Yacht Club, Dún Laoghaire. In Irish and English (27 September 1985, 2pp).
- At the National Ploughing Championships, Castledermot (2 October 1985, 1p).
- At the opening of a sheltered workshop in the industrial estate, Newbridge. In Irish and English (4 October 1985, 2pp).
- At the opening of the National Women's Forum in the RDS. In Irish and English (5 October 1985, 3pp).
- At the opening of the O'Gorman Home, Ballyragget. In Irish and English (12 October 1985, 2pp).
- At the presentation of the Tidy Towns Award. In Irish and English (20 October 1985, 2pp).
- At the launch of Gaisce—The President's Award. In Irish and English (28 October 1985, 2pp).
- At the presentation of long-service medals to members of the Irish Red Cross. In Irish and English (10 November 1985, 2pp).
- On the occasion of the Children of Ireland Awards. In Irish and English (27 November 1985, 2pp)
- At the presentation of 'Gold Drop' awards of the Blood Transfusion Service. In Irish and English (29 November 1985, 2pp).
- At a civic reception in Navan, County Meath. In Irish and English (5 December 1985, 1p).
- At the end of year function Meath VEC. In Irish and English (5 December 1985, 2pp).
- At the launch of the Art's Council's brochure *Code of Good Practice*. In Irish and English (17 December 1985, 2pp).
- At a presentation to Mháirtín Ó Flathartaigh, former Private Secretary to Hillery. In Irish (20 December 1985, 2pp).
- At a welcome for the Diplomatic Corps at Áras an Uachtaráin. In Irish and English (7 January 1986, 2pp).
- At the 75<sup>th</sup> celebration lunch of the Rotary Club of Ireland, Royal Hospital Kilmainham. In Irish and English (22 February 1986, 3pp).
- At a visit to the Irish Underwater Council's exhibition, Malahide (9 March 1986, 2pp).
- At the opening of Pallasgreen Community Centre. In Irish and English (23 March 21986, 3pp).
- Speeches delivered at various official functions during Hillery's state visit to Austria (1–4 April, 11pp).
- At the presentation of distinctions at Slógadh Náisiúnta (National Traditional Music Competition). In Irish (6 April 1986, 2pp).
- At a tree planting ceremony in honour of winners of the Tidy Towns Competition (8 April 1986, 1p).
- At the launch of Gorta's 21<sup>st</sup> anniversary year. In Irish and English (9 April 1986, 1p).
- At the presentation of the National Design Management Awards in Kilkenny. In Irish and English (18 April 1986, 2pp).
- At the Bank of Ireland Student Project National Prizegiving. In Irish and English (21 April 1986, 3pp).
- At the opening of a home for the elderly at 90 Iona Road, Drumcondra. In Irish and English (23 April 1986, 2pp).

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- At a presentation to Séamus Ó Riain. In Irish (25 April 1986, 2pp)
- At the presentation of prizes in the Irish Schools National Photographic Competition, Ballinteer Community School (27 April 1986, 3pp).
- At a prize giving ceremony for Ghlór na nGael, Rathcairn. In Irish (18 May 1986, 3pp).
- At the opening of the 18<sup>th</sup> Triennial Conference of the Associated Country Women of the World, Killarney. In Irish and English (21 May 1986, 4pp).
- At the opening of Raheny House. In Irish and English (4 June 1986, 3pp).
- At the launch of a book 'Watching Birds in Ireland' in the interpretive centre, Bull Island. In Irish and English (5 June 1986, 2pp).
- At a state dinner in honour of the visit of Francesco Cossiga, President of Italy, Royal Hospital Kilmainham (9 June 1986, 4pp).
- At the opening of the Kilkee Rescue Centre. In Irish and English (15 June 1986, 3pp).
- At the annual report and presentation of awards of the Irish Red Cross. In Irish and English (21 June 1986, 3pp).
- At the presentation of awards of the Royal Institute of Architects of Ireland. In Irish and English (23 June 1986, 3pp).
- At the launch of a book *The Tortuous Path*. In Irish and English (24 June 1986, 2pp).
- At the launch of the 25<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Clare Tourist Council. In Irish and English. Two copies, one annotated (28 June 1986, 10pp).
- At the state dinner in honour of the King and Queen of Spain, Royal Hospital, Kilmainham (30 June 1986, 4pp).
- On the occasion of the opening of the Military Museum, Fort Dunree, County Donegal. In Irish and English (15 July 1986, 3pp).
- On the occasion of the opening of Glenveagh National Park. In Irish and English (15 July 1986, 4pp).
- Launching the publication of the archaeological survey of Chorca Dhuibhne (the Dingle Peninsula) in Ballyferriter. In Irish (18 July 1986, 3pp).
- At the unveiling of the O'Carolan Monument on Mohill, County Leitrim. In Irish and English (10 August 1986, 3pp).
- At the official opening of Carrigaline Community Hall. In Irish and English (14 September 1986, 3pp).
- At the opening of a joint conference of the Chartered Institution of Building Services and the American Society for Heating, Refrigeration and Air Conditioning Engineers (15 September 1986, 4pp).
- At the official opening of St Clare's School, Ennis, County Clare. In Irish and English (19 September 1986, 2pp).
- At the opening of the parish centre in Cabra West. In Irish and English (22 September 1986, 2pp).
- At the opening of the National Conference on Mental health in St John of God Hospital Stillorgan. In Irish and English (24 September 1986, 3pp).
- On the occasion of the presentation of the Graduate Designer Award in the National Yacht Club. In Irish and English (26 September 1986, 3pp).

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- At the opening of the new centre for the Cavan County Committee of Rehabilitation Institute. In Irish and English (2 October 1986, 3pp).
- At the National Ploughing Championships, Urlingford (8 October 1986, 2pp).
- On the occasion of the conferring of honorary membership of the National Institute for Higher Education, Dublin. In Irish and English (9 October 1986, 3pp).
- On the occasion of his acceptance of the Robert Schuman Gold Medal. In Irish and English (11 October 1986, 12pp).
- On the occasion of a presentation at the People's College. In Irish and English (13 October 1986, 3pp).
- At a presentation of a report by the National Council for the Aged. In Irish and English (14 October 1986, 3pp).
- At the launch of ACOT's National Agricultural Education Week, RDS. In Irish and English (15 October 1986, 2pp).
- To mark the 50<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the first lifeguard service in Ireland at Spanish Point (23 October 1986, 3pp).
- At a presentation by the Mayor of Hallein, Austria in the National Museum of Ireland. In Irish and English (30 October 1986, 2pp).
- At the launch of the O'Curry Lecture Series, Ennis, County Clare. In Irish and English (7 November 1986, 4pp).
- At the opening of the Eugene O'Curry commemoration and the unveiling of a plaque. In Irish and English (8 November 1986, 2pp).
- On the occasion of the conferring of the Pearse Award. In Irish and English (10 November 1986, 4pp).
- On the occasion of the 'Gold Drop' awards, Blood Transfusion Service Board, Pelican House. In Irish and English (14 November 1986, 2pp).
- At the presentation of the Children of Ireland Awards. In Irish and English (13 November 1986, 2pp).
- At the opening of a conference on alcohol and the development of a national policy. In Irish and English (27 November 1986, 4pp).
- At the opening of the Faugh's clubhouse, Templeogue. In Irish and English (30 November 1986, 3pp).
- On the occasion of a visit to the Dublin Institute for Advanced Studies. In Irish and English (3 December 1986, 3pp).
- At the conferring of a decoration by the President of Italy (4 December 1986, 2pp).
- At the conferring of honorary membership of the National Institute for Higher Education, Limerick. In Irish and English (19 December 1986, 3pp).
- In honour of Emile Noël, Secretary General, European Commission on his retirement and appointment as President of the European Institute in Florence (1987, 4pp).
- On the occasion of the unveiling of a plaque to mark the centenary of the College of Technology, Kevin Street. In Irish and English (10 October 1987, 3pp).
- Christmas greetings to the Defence Forces. In Irish and English (16 December 1987, 2pp).
- Welcoming the diplomatic corps, Áras an Uachtaráin. In Irish and English (12 January 1988, 3pp).
- At the opening of Dublin Airport arts festival. In Irish and English (24 January 1988, 4pp).
- At the official opening of the conference and exhibition of the Irish

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- Underwater Council, Royal Marine Hotel. In Irish and English (27 February 1988, 3pp).
- At the launch of the Dublin Millenium Sculpture Symposium. In Irish and English (1 March 1988, 3pp).
  - At the opening of the craft gallery and information centre, Powerscourt Town House. In Irish and English (9 March 1988, 3pp).
  - At an even hosted by the Irish Committee of the GAA in Montpellier, County Limerick. In Irish (12 March 1988, 3pp).
  - At a prize giving ceremony for Slógadh Naisiúnta. In Irish (10 April 1988, 1p).
  - At the opening of the national school drama festival. In Irish (13 April 1988, 2pp).
  - At the official opening of “Meithel an Domhain”, Westport, County Mayo (22 April 1988, 5pp).
  - At the opening of the Ireland-Australia Bicentenary Exhibition and launch of the *Old Limerick Journal* (25 April 1988, 5pp).
  - At the launch of the Irish Kidney Association’s National Kidney Donor Campaign (28 April 1988, 2pp).
  - At a prize giving ceremony for Ghlór na nGael. In Irish (1 May 1988, 2pp).
  - Speeches delivered at various official functions during Hillery’s state visit to China (11–14 May 1988, 16pp).
  - At the opening of a conference of the International Academy of Gnathology in the National Concert Hall (21 May 1988, 2pp).
  - At the opening of the new sports complex at St Brigid’s GAA Club, Navan Road. In Irish and English (22 May 1988, 3pp).
  - At the opening of the international conference of global communications at Shannon (26 May 1988, 3pp).
  - At the opening of Ballyhooly Community Sportsfield. In Irish and English (29 May 1988, 3pp).
  - At the opening of Foynes Community Centre. In Irish and English (4 June 1988, 3pp).
  - At the unveiling of a portrait of Fr Edmund Kent, founder of the National College of Industrial Relations. In Irish and English (8 June 1988, 2pp).
  - At the opening of the new YMCA complex in Aungier Street. In Irish and English (9 June 1988, 3pp).
  - At a tree planting ceremony in Scoil Mhuire Loretto, Tallaght. In Irish and English (13 June 1988, 2pp).
  - At a lunch in honour of Crown Prince Abdullah of Saudi Arabia (17 June 1988, 3pp).
  - At the annual report and presentation of awards of the Irish Red Cross (18 June 1988, 3pp).
  - At the opening of the exhibition of sculpture in St Enda’s Park Rathfarnham (19 June 1988, 3pp).
  - At the opening of the Douglas Hyde Commemorative Weekend in Ballaghaderreen. In Irish and English (24 June 1988, 7p).
  - At the opening of the GP 14 World Sailing Championships (9 July 1988, 2pp).
  - On the occasion of the launch of the Arklow Yawl. In Irish and English (7 August 1988, 3pp).
  - At the opening of ROSC in the Guinness Hop Store. In Irish and English (19 August 1988, 3pp).
  - At the opening of the 8<sup>th</sup> World Congress of the International

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- Association for the Scientific Study or Mental Deficiency (IASSMD) (21 August 1988, 3pp).
- At the unveiling of a monument to mark the 400<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Spanish Armada, Co Sligo. In Irish and English (11 September 1988, 4pp).
  - At the opening of the annual conference of the International Association of Consulting Engineers (12 September 1988, 3pp).
  - At the opening of an art exhibition in the Central Bank of Ireland. In Irish (20 September 1988, 2pp, second page missing).
  - At the opening of the Sue Ryder Foundation complex for the elderly, County Laois. In Irish and English (21 September 1988, 2pp).
  - At the unveiling of a portrait of Nora Herlihy, co-founder of the Irish Credit Union Movement. In Irish and English (20 October 1988, 2pp).
  - At the launch of TEAGASC's national agricultural education week and presentations of certificates in farming, RDS. In Irish and English (12 September 1988, 3pp).
  - At the launch of the *Irish Times*/Aer Lingus award for literature. In Irish and English (14 September 1988, 2pp).
  - At the opening a conference 'Domestic Architecture in Europe 500-1100AD'. In Irish and English (19 September 1988, 2pp).
  - At the opening of the Irish Veterinary Association centenary congress in Trinity College Dublin. In Irish and English (23 September 1988, 3pp).
  - At the De La Salle centenary celebrations in Castlebar. In Irish and English (25 September 1988, 3pp).
  - At the opening of Connemara Sea Week. In Irish and English (16 October 1988, 2pp).
  - At the opening of an exhibition on Swift and his hospital at St Patrick's Hospital, Dublin. In Irish and English (14 October 1988, 2pp).
  - At the presentation of Graduate Designer of the Year award, National Yacht Club, Dun Laoghaire. In Irish and English (21 October 1988, 2pp).
  - At the presentation of the Tidy Towns awards, Carlingford, County Louth. In Irish and English (23 October 1988, 3pp).
  - At the presentation of the Rehab apprentice of the year awards, Berkley Court Hotel, Dublin (25 October 1988, 2pp).
  - At the launch of a book *1000 Kings* by Hugh Weir. In Irish and English (1 November 1988, 2pp).
  - At the opening of a new central office for Clarecare, Ennis. In Irish and English (4 November 1988, 2pp).
  - At the opening of a conference on the refugee crisis at Gort Mhuire conference centre. In Irish and English (18 November 1988, 4pp).
  - At the presentation of the Children of Ireland awards. In Irish and English. (24 November 1988, 2pp).
  - At the presentation of the 'Gold Drop' awards of the Blood Transfusion Service Board at Cheeverstown House, Templeogue. In Irish and English. (25 November 1988, 2pp).
  - Text and summary of the Jean Monnet lecture in Florence. In Irish and English (1 December 1988, 14pp).
  - Response to a toast at a dinner in the European University Institute, Florence (1 December 1988, 2pp).
  - At the opening of the Cork Corporation/SHARE residential complex

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- in Cork. In Irish and English (7 December 1988, 3pp).
- At the presentation of the Pearse award to Risteard Ó Glaisne. In Irish (8 December 1988, 2pp).
  - Draft of a lecture to the Royal Irish Academy regarding the Presidency and the role of the President. Includes a covering letter from Peter Ryan to the President and Micheál Ó hÓdhráin concerning the wisdom of delivering such a lecture at this time. Remarks 'An address of this nature would have the potential to produce controversy and could lead to allegations of intervention in the election process ... In the circumstances it is recommended that consideration of the matter be deferred.' A holograph note from Micheál Ó hÓdhráin agrees with the conclusions (27 April 1990, 12pp).
  - Speech made at the funeral of Cardinal Tomás Ó Fiach. In Irish (8 May 1990, 3pp).
  - At the opening of the Patrick MacGill summer school. In Irish and English (12 August 1990, 3pp).
  - In honour of the Queen and Prince of the Netherlands, Dublin Castle. In Irish and English (30 October 1990, 5pp).
  - At the opening of new offices of the National Youth Federation, Hillery's last official function as President of Ireland. In Irish and English (30 November 1990, 7pp).

### **3.2.2.3 Functions, 1984–90**

**P205/131** 5 January 1984–30 November 1990

55pp

#### **List of functions attended**

Comprehensive list of the functions attended by Hillery during his second term in Office. Details the exact nature of the function and the date.

Includes:

- Details of Hillery's last ever official function as President, the opening of the National Office and Resource Centre of the National Youth Federation. Includes the text of the address given by Jimmy Cumiskey, President of the National Youth Federation (30 November 1990, 6pp).

**P205/132** 30 January 1984–27 November 1990

7pp

#### **Presentation of Credentials**

Comprehensive list of the presentation of credentials during Hillery's second term as President.

### **3.2.2.4 International State Visits by Hillery, 1984–90**

**P205/133** February 1977–November 1990

7pp

#### **List of State visits**

Includes:

- Hillery's state visits from 1977 to 1985. Includes details of the composition of the Presidential Party, sanctions from the Department of Finance for state visits and the protocol concerning family members accompanying the President on state visits. Annotated (12 February 1986, 3 pp).
- List of state visits and other official visits made by Hillery during his two terms in office and a list of state visits to Ireland during both terms (February 1977–November 1990, 4pp).

**P205/134** 4–17 May 1984

c200pp

#### **Germany**

Programmes, political and economic briefs, background material, copies of speeches, notes, correspondence concerning Hillery's official visit to Germany.

Includes:

- Copy of a telex outlining in summary the main news stories from Ireland and how they are being reported in the press including a possible dissent by Fianna Fáil deputies concerning the party's policies regarding Northern Ireland; the appointment of an administrator to the estate of the accountant Henry Murphy and the rumoured significant losses by some well known personalities; and the boycott of President Reagan's address to the Houses of the Oireachtas. Summarises the editorials in the main papers and the reporting of Hillery's visit to Germany (15 May 1984, 3pp).

**P205/135** 20 December 1984–22 May 1986

c250pp

#### **Australia and New Zealand**

Itineraries, briefs, notes, seating plans, correspondence concerning Hillery's state visit to Australia and New Zealand.

Includes:

- Letter from Seán Donlon, Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs to Hillery concerning a speech given by Hillery at a lunch in New Zealand and concerns raised by Hillery that the speech had caused some controversy. Provides a detailed account concerning the preparation of the speech and some adjustments made to the speech in New Zealand prior to its delivery. Remarks 'The editing

- P205/135** was done without reference to Dublin because no change of substance was involved. In particular, I should confirm that the Northern Ireland section was substantially as originally drafted in this Department (22 May 1986, 3pp).
- P205/136** 28–30 June 1985  
5pp  
**Canaries**  
Revised programme for Hillery's state visit to the Canary Islands.
- P205/137** 1–4 April 1986  
c90pp  
**Austria**  
Itineraries, programmes, menu cards, copy of a speech concerning Hillery's state visit to Austria.
- P205/138** 4–6 November 1986  
61pp  
**The Netherlands**  
Programme concerning Hillery's state visit to The Netherlands.
- P205/139** 9 February–15 May 1988  
c150pp  
**China**  
Notes, draft itineraries, programmes, briefs, invitations, menu cards, correspondence concerning Hillery's state visit to China.  
Includes:  
  - Letter from Zhou Yang, Ambassador to Ireland of the People's Republic of China, to Hillery enclosing a list of Chinese expressions in preparation for his forthcoming visit (9 February 1988, 2pp).
  - Speaking notes for speeches delivered during the visit (8–15 May 1988, 22pp).

**P205/140** 21 February 1989–16 November 1990

2pp

**Japan**

Correspondence, itinerary, menu cards, invitations concerning Hillery's attendance at the funeral of the Emperor of Japan and the subsequent enthronement of the new Emperor.

**P205/141** 24–29 October 1989

c150pp

**Italy**

Itinerary, programme, protocols, notes concerning Hillery's state visit to Italy. In Italian and English.

**3.2.2.5 State Visits to Ireland (Received by Hillery), 1984–90**

**P205/142** 4 June 1985–30 October 1990

35pp

**Visits by foreign dignitaries and heads of state**

Programmes, menu cards concerning the state visits of Prime Minister Hawke of Australia, President Herzog of Israel, the King and Queen of Spain, President Mitterrand of France and Queen Beatrice and Prince Claus of The Netherlands.

**3.2.2.6 Honours and Gifts Received, [1990–1]**

**P205/143** not dated

1p

**Honours conferred on Hillery**

List of state honours conferred on Hillery.

**P205/144** 5 January 1990, 5 September 1991

16pp

**Gifts**

Memorandum and letter.

Includes:

- Memorandum prepared by Peter Ryan, Assistant Secretary

**P205/144**

concerning the gifts and other mementos received by Hillery during his Presidency. Outlines the status of the gifts as being intended for the recipient unless otherwise directed. Advises that the gifts should be categorised and that a decision should be made about the suitability of some of the gifts for donation to appropriate institutions. Provides a list of the gifts and their location mostly in the official part of the Áras and the Secretariat (5 January 1990, 15pp).

- Letter from Peter Ryan, Office of the Secretary to the President, to Hillery concerning the gifts received during his term of office as President. Refers to the request received by Hillery from a museum in Clare to display one of these gifts. Remarks that the gifts remain in the Secretariat and will continue to do so until they receive instructions from Hillery regarding their disposal (5 September 1991, 1p).

### **3.2.3 Private Office, 1982–90**

**P205/145** 28 January 1982; 25–26 October 1990

17pp

#### **Presidential Campaign Controversy**

Notes, copy of journal.

Includes:

**See also  
P205/104**

- Copy of pages from the ADC's (Captain A Barbour) journal on the night of 28 January 1982 during which numerous phone calls were made to Áras an Uachtaráin concerning the dissolution of the Dáil. Includes details of the time calls were received, the message from the caller and the action taken. Includes details of a call received from Charles Haughey. 'From Mr Haughey I am the leader of the largest party in the Dáil. I am available to form a government. I do not wish the Dáil to be dissolved. Ask the President or Secretary to ring me ...'. The phone call was received at 20:15. Another phone call from Catherine Butler, Private Secretary to Haughey calling on behalf of Haughey received at 20:30. Phone call from Brian Lenihan to see the President on a private matter received at 20:45. A further phone call from Brian Lenihan at 21:10. Another call from Catherine Butler informing the ADC that Haughey intends to call to see the President in the Áras received at 21:50. At 22.03 an entry in the Journal states that the Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald arrived at the Aras and departed at 22:40 (28 January 1982, 9pp).
- Note from Micheál Ó hÓdhráin to Hillery describing a phone call he received from Brian Spain, Private Secretary to the Tánaiste Brian Lenihan, concerning the possible existence of a log of calls to the Áras on the night of 28 January 1982. Remarks that he was taken aback by the phone call and that he informed Brian Spain that he was not aware of the existence of a log. 'I am not worried about the query, only at a loss to understand why it materialised now. Why is the Tánaiste taking such an initiative via Brian Spain? Is he hoping that there exists a log or hoping that such does not or never existed. If the Taoiseach were interested in such, I do not think that he

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would seek to operate via the Tánaiste or Brian Spain. I would expect a ball to be hopped very shrewdly and diplomatically via Dermot Nally or Frank Murray in this direction. There has never been any such action.' Concludes 'We must keep out of the controversy' (25 October 1990, 2pp).

- Note from Micheál Ó hÓdhráin to Hillery concerning a telephone conversation with Frank Murray. Remarks that Murray has informed him that the Taoiseach's office have instructed the Tánaiste's office not to pursue the request regarding the log (26 October 1990, 1p).
- Note from Peter Ryan, Assistant Secretary, informing Hillery that the Taoiseach would like to speak to him on the phone (26 October 1990, 1p).

**P205/146** [November 1983]; 9–10 April 1984

5pp

***Aide-de-camp***

Correspondence concerning a change in the senior ADC appointed to Hillery for his second term in office.

**P205/147** 24 December 1984–27 November 1990

17pp

**Personal Correspondence**

Includes:

- Letter from Tras Honan, Cathaoirleach, Seanad Éireann to Hillery thanking him for visiting her during her illness and for the chance to clear up a misunderstanding. Refers to the 'old days' and their involvement in Fianna Fáil politics in Clare. Remarks 'Again Paddy, I cannot find words to say my thanks to you ... But what it did do for me was to remove the hurt that was there for a long time and closed the gap that was created some years ago during a General Election, between us. A misunderstanding created by people that we talked about yesterday, but all we do now is stay together as friends and remember the ones who tried to break that deep friendship' (12 November 1987, 2pp).

**P205/148** 26 March 1986–10 October 1990

25pp

**Communications from Private Secretary**

Notes from Micheál Ó hÓdhráin Private Secretary to the President advising and informing Hillery on a variety of topics. In Irish and English.

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Includes:

- Note concerning the appointment of a legal advisor to the President (16 May 1986, 3pp).
- Note concerning the Directorship of the Chester Beatty Library and difficulties between the Director and the Board of Trustees. Remarks that the Director was a 'protégé' of the late Archbishop Dermot Ryan (15 february 1989, 1p).
- Note concerning the protocols for the attendance of the President at funerals. Annotated (12 May 1989, 4pp).
- Note concerning a meeting of the trustees of the Chester Beatty Library and the departure of the Director Wilfrid Lockwood. Describes the terms under which Lockwood agreed to leave and his hopes that the Library will enjoy a successful future (6 April 1990, 1p).
- Copy of a letter sent by Paul D. Kearns, Solicitor, to the *Irish Times* on behalf of his client Micheál Ó hÓdhráin concerning the events of January 1982 when Garrett FitzGerald asked the President to dissolve the Dáil and clarifying his client's role in those events (10 October 1990, 1p).

P205/149 June 1986–1 January1987

c50pp

**Áras an Uachtaráin—Organisation and Procedures**

Report by the Department of Public Services reviewing the organisation of Áras an Uachtaráin in the areas of staffing, administrative support, domestic staff, maintenance of grounds and premises, accommodation of guests, security, ensuring the dignity of the Presidency, transport and communication.

Includes:

- Confidential memorandum by Micheál Ó hÓdhráin outlining his opinion of the report. Remarks that despite devoting much time to facilitating the group from the Department of Public Services, he is at a loss to understand how they arrived at their conclusions. Observes 'It is difficult to people whose day-to-day dealings as civil servants are with Government Departments to appreciate this adequately.' Continues 'Having read the report I would have to consider my efforts a waste of time ...' Provides commentary on some very specific points from the report (10 January 1987, 6pp).
- Observations on the report submitted to Micheál Ó hÓdhráin by Kay Gleeson regarding the recommendations in relation to clerical staff in the Áras (19 January 1987, 7pp).

**P205/150** [20 August 1987]

20p

**Role of the President**

Includes:

- Comment [by Hillery] on John Kelly's statement in the *Irish Press* regarding his concerns over the role of the President and in particular his concern over Hillery's seemingly 'aimless existence' in the Office. Wonders if the rumour that a referendum to change the role of the President is a serious one or simply 'pub talk'. Annotated (20 August 1987, 1p)
- Copy of a speech prepared by Dermot Nally concerning a motion and an amendment to be brought before the Dáil relating to the role of the President. Includes a note by Micheál Ó hÓdhráin commenting on the text (26 October [ ], 19pp).

1 January 1984–31 December 1990

7 volumes

**Series of desk diaries recording Hillery's official and personal engagements**

**P205/151** 1 January–31 December 1984

c100pp

**P205/152** 1 January–31 December 1985

c100pp

**P205/153** 1 January–31 December 1986

c100pp

**P205/154** 1 January–31 December 1987

c100pp

Includes:

- Entry concerning his daughter '10.00 Vivienne died' (26 March 1987, 1p).
- Entry concerning his daughter's 'month's mind' mass in Mount Sackville (28 April 1987, 1p).

**P205/155** 1 January–31 December 1988  
c100pp

**P205/156** 1 January–31 December 1989  
c100pp

**P205/157** 1 January–31 December 1990  
c100pp

### **3.2.4 Memoirs, 1988–9**

1988–1989

3 volumes

#### **Personal diaries**

Series of personal diaries recording his thoughts regarding his role as President and recalling events during his political career.

**P205/158** January 1988  
3pp

#### **Personal diary, 1988**

Includes:

- A note inside the cover states ‘odds and ends of ideas’. Refers to the Uachtarán’s declaration, a meeting with Roy Jenkins in the Home Office and a Cairde Fáil lunch (January 1988, 3pp).

**P205/159** 1 January–9 April 1989  
c50pp

#### **Personal diary, 1989**

Includes:

- His recollections as Minister for Education and his attempts to bring about changes in the system. Refers to his first speech in Clerys at a Cáirde Fáil function in which he expressed the view that there was an inequality of opportunity in the system. Remarks that he attempted to address this inequality with the Scholarship Act ‘as the scholarships were so poor that only a winner with means could afford to take them.’ Recalls another early speech with Jim Larkin in the audience who remarked afterwards to a fellow trade unionist

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that he felt Hillery would be a good Minister for Education. Remarks of his disappointment over a meeting with the Cardinal who implied that Hillery was only interested in his image. Remarks that in general the religious did not appreciate his approach but rather favoured the approach that Richard Mulcahy had taken. 'It was as a result of this I asked Seán Lemass to support my idea that the M/Ed should be central and responsible and innovative. He said "You write it and I will put it in my Árd Fheis speech".' Continues 'One is inclined to think only of the innovations but all this time was consumed with deputations which stayed all day—Dáil questions from the lay schools sec—Noel Browne abusive, insulting—offensive and time consuming ...'. Remarks that it occurred to him that to provide a truly inclusive education meant addressing the needs of those less academically inclined 'The old idea of the vocational as "The poor man's university" must go, the esteem of the other talents must be equal to the esteem of the academic. Here there was a heavy weight of intellectual pride to add to the inertia.' Refers again to Noel Browne and meeting him one day in the street, remarks that he was enthusiastic and encouraged Hillery but remarks that he did not share this enthusiasm. 'I had seen the staff. Inspectors who seemed to be from the stone age.' Continues '... I found Seán MacGerailt, Deputy Secretary a tower of strength and support. Dr Ó Rafeartaigh said "Seán MacGerailt is carrying this department on his back". Dr Ó Rafeartaigh himself was wise, educated and far seeing. He was sound and helpful in promoting change. He it was who said to me of the secondary teachers "they will strike in the exams against you sir" and this before they had a grievance.' Refers to the difficulty he had in getting information concerning industrial design and how it was being taught at third level. Remarks that it was at this time he first met Sam Stephenson. Refers to a report by a group from Scandinavia about the College of Art and Design criticising the college which in turn led to Noel Browne criticising the staff in the Dáil and Hillery, as Minister, being obliged to defend them. 'He gave me a terrible time bullying, insulting, offensive and it was made worse by one of my palpitations (for which I was hospitalised twice) coming on while reading a long answer.' Recalls that it was around this time that proposals for a national television service were discussed. Refers to politics and state service and observes 'At some stage in Ireland's recent history there was a change in motivation from a "serious" effort to make the new state work and provide for its people to a narcissistic exhibitionism and search for publicity for the individual minister and in a few cases for the civil servant ... Later when it hit more widely this disease caused the primary motivation to be forgotten and time was consumed on image and myth making.' Refers to a speech on education he gave at the Fianna Fáil Árd Fheis and praise he received from Seán McEntee 'I could never leave the serious business to raise a cheer or entertain at the Árd Fheis as some of my colleagues did shamelessly.' Refers to difficulties he encountered with Seán McEntee when he decided to establish a commission to advise about the future of university education. McEntee wanted his wife to serve on the commission but Hillery refused on the grounds that any hint of interference by the government with the universities would be unacceptable. Remarks

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that it took a long time for McEntee to speak to him again. Recalls a speech he made at an NUI graduates' dinner concerning the future of university education and access to it. 'The nub of it was that as I saw it the day was soon to dawn when no longer admission to university ed. would be so simple as presenting oneself with the appropriate fee. They were not good listeners and I recall speaking above a hum of conversation.' Continues '... there was little sign of the universities being aware of their inadequacies or of their role in the world which was becoming economic and scientific and fair about opportunity ...' Concludes '... I decided that the way to pull out the dead rats and clear up the old structures was to have a commission to examine the university and third level education in general' (31 January–20 February 1989, 21pp).

**P205/160** 31 December 1988–8 March 1989

69pp

**Personal diary, 1989**

Includes:

- His resolve to write a little every day, a decision taken after attending Ivo Drury's funeral. Remarks that Drury called to Hillery as President 'from time to time ... for a chat (to help me) ... After 7 years as President with the experience of its effect on my health and happiness I consulted him before I would decide to go again ... so I simply asked him (who had watched me through the earlier mandate) "will another term cause depression?" And he said "No". So the one overriding factor for refusing was gone.' Remarks that he will write about decisions he made in his career focusing on his decision to enter politics. Refers to his decision to allow his name to go forward at the Fianna Fáil convention in May 1951. Remarks that he had refused twice but that he was eventually persuaded by Patrick Hogan of Miltown Malbay. Admits that he knew nothing about politics and that his attitude towards politics was 'hostile'. Refers to his father who had also been asked to run as a candidate in Clare by Fianna Fáil but had refused. 'We were sought because we were "good candidates". His record of service as a doctor was great. He treated and housed the wounded IRA. His medical school results were brilliant ... He was widely esteemed and trusted ... so he was a good candidate. But he was totally absorbed in medical practice ...' Recalls that he must have been 'bored' working in Peamount Hospital treating long-term TB patients with little work for junior doctors. Refers to his ambition to carry out his medical practice in Miltown Malbay and live in Spanish Point. Remarks that following his election to Dáil Éireann the family medical practice in Clare grew bigger and busier and that his father became ill. Refers to gruelling days and nights fulfilling his public and medical duties and confesses he often fell asleep at the wheel of his car as he made the round trip from Clare to Dublin and back again. Remarks that he made up his mind to concentrate on the medical practice but that shortly afterwards it was announced that de Valera was to run for the Presidency. 'On the day he (Lemass) was selected

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unanimously as FF candidate for Taoiseach Sean Lemass told Mick Hilliard to find me and not let me out of the House ... When I went to see him he said "I want you in the cabinet" I argued—even telling him I could not let down women booked to have babies. He said you can finish whatever cases you have booked. So I became Minister.' Refers to his appointment as Minister to the newly created Department of Labour. Describes how he was asked by Jack Lynch to act as the Government's spokesperson on Ireland's negotiations to join the EEC and subsequently Lynch's decision to nominate Hillery as Ireland's first Commissioner. Remarks that Lynch took a long time to make his decision and Hillery was left for quite some time not knowing his future; '... so I took the decision that no matter what happened I would not be a candidate for the Dáil at the next election.' Remarks that it was at this time he was asked to take over as Secretary of Fianna Fáil. Refers to the Presidency and remarks that he visited Lynch at home to implore him to keep his name out of the running; '... he agreed to keep me out of it. He saw my career otherwise—in fact as a successor to himself.' Remarks that things got 'out of hand' and that a comment made by him to Brian Lenihan during a telephone conversation led to rumours in the Dáil that Hillery was interested in running for President. 'Now Jack (Lynch) urged me to be the candidate and once again in my life I said "If you can do without me please do but I will not let you down if you cannot". The next I remember was Jack's phone call ... to say I had been chosen. For the first time I looked for indigestion tablets after four years without them.' Refers to events leading up to his second term as President. 'Into the last year of the 7 year mandate my spirit lifted—the world seemed brighter and life seemed worth living. And then they started to ask me to stay. Brian Lenihan called to know if CJH could call ... Garrett FitzGerald called. They called together and with Dick Spring and I said No. No. No.' Continues 'I consulted my doctor as I feared an attack of depression if I tied myself in for another 7 years. Ivo said it would not cause depression. I considered private matters. Haughey made a public appeal ... I said yes but nominated myself. I still do not know if my decision was made in response to a report on the front page of the Sunday telegraph which said I was unpopular "with both sides" of the press. This meant little except it annoyed me and I sometimes feel that it decided me to stay.' Concludes: 'The concentration of the politicians in asking me to act again was unbelievable. Matched only by their withdrawal when I became President again.' Returns again to the sequence of events leading up to his nomination as a candidate for Fianna Fáil in Clare, the campaign he fought to get elected to the Dáil, his growing confidence on the campaign trail with de Valera 'Dev was the great man—the Chief, the man of international stature. So it was at a high level of association I entered political life. But the others were a mixed lot.' Refers again to his struggle to maintain his medical practice in Clare and fulfil his duties in the Dáil. Remarks that he always thought of himself as a doctor first and foremost and that he worked hard to improve his qualifications and experience should a dispensary post become available. Remarks that his father missed out on a dispensary post despite his qualifications and experience because he did not have Irish. 'My mind stayed on medicine. Politics intruded—demanding

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time in meetings in travelling to the Dáil and in being visited by individuals looking for my help to get land or roads or pension.’ Describes his life at this time as ‘very busy’ and ‘full’. Describes the expectations of constituents looking for land or pensions or jobs and the impossible situation he was put in and his attempts to convince people that he had no say in these matters. Also the constant demands to come to Dublin and be in Clare at the same time to attend meetings. Recalls fond memories of attending women during their labour and birth of their children and the friendships he made.

#### **4 RETIREMENT, 1990-5**

**P205/161** 6 September–27 November 1990

7pp

##### **Pension and Facilities**

Correspondence.

Includes:

- Correspondence concerning the payment of Hillery’s Dáil and Presidential pensions. (6 September–27 November 1991, 7pp).
- Letter from Dermot Nally, Secretary to the Government to Des Matthews, Secretary, Department of Justice concerning official government facilities for Hillery as outgoing President. Remarks that transport facilities will be provided for Hillery for his attendance at official functions including privately sponsored functions to which Hillery has been invited (23 November 1990, 1p).

**P205/162** 1 November 1990–11 April 1991

c150pp

##### **Congratulations**

Cards and letters congratulating Hillery on his two terms as President of Ireland and wishing him well in his retirement. The letters and cards were sent by ordinary citizens, heads of state, professional organisations, county and town councils, members of the clergy, and members of the Oireachtas.

**P205/163** 7 November–3 December 1990

25pp

##### **Inauguration of Mary Robinson**

Correspondence, notes, itineraries, invitations.

Includes:

- Note from Hillery to Peter Ryan, Assistant Secretary to Hillery concerning the arrangements for the inauguration and the space

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limitations resulting in Maeve Hillery not being included on the guest list. Remarks that he fears that it will look like she has not been invited and may cause comment. Asks Ryan to discuss this with the Taoiseach. Includes a reply stating that the issue was raised with the Department of An Taoiseach without success. (27 November 1990, 2pp).

**P205/164** 20 February 1991–20 March 1995

68pp

**Council of State**

Correspondence, notes, notices, photograph.

Includes:

- Notes by Hillery concerning the Fisheries Amendment Bill and the meeting of the Council of State to determine if it should be referred to the Supreme Court. Outlines his opinion of the Bill and recalls two of the occasions during his Presidency when he referred Bills to the Supreme Court, specifically the Electoral Amendment Bill and the Adoption Bill (30 October 1991, 3pp).
- Colour photograph of the Council of State with the President Mary McAleese taken in Áras an Uachtaráin (Autumn 1999, 1 item).

**P205/165** 6 April–2 September 1991

6pp

**Media**

Correspondence relating to requests for interviews.

Includes:

- Note from Una O'Hagan, RTÉ newsroom apologising for disturbing Hillery at home and asking him to speak to her about 1982 and 'setting the record straight'. Asks Hillery to contact her (not dated, 1p).
- Letter from Raymond Smith, *Sunday Independent* to Hillery concerning a feature he would like to write about Hillery and his retirement. Remarks that the article would be written with Hillery's full input and that he would be given the opportunity to alter and comment on a draft of the article before publication (6 April 1991, 2pp).
- Letter from Michal Gill, Gill and Macmillan, to Hillery concerning the publication of his memoirs. Annotated by Hillery (6 August 1991, 1p).
- Letter from Peter Feeney, RTÉ to Hillery concerning the filming of an interview to be broadcast by RTÉ. Refers to the series of interviews between Hillery and Joe Carroll published in the *Irish Times* and the expectation that the television programme will contain new material. Remarks that he has impressed on controllers in RTÉ that the material is broadly similar. Remarks '... it is fairly clear now, that

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with expectations raised, viewers and reviewers will be expecting more. If our programme goes out with nothing new I fear that RTÉ will be on a hiding to nothing. My controllers are now questioning the wisdom of transmitting the programme.' Asks Hillery would he be willing to give a more revealing interview in light of the circumstances. Includes a note by Hillery remarking 'Strange that RTÉ *Today Tonight* withdrew their pressure to have a harder programme and today 20<sup>th</sup> September Thames Television phoned to say that they were stopping, not going ahead with the programme they asked me to go on' (2, 20 September 1991, 2pp).

**P205/166** 16 April–5 October 1991

c100pp

**Honours**

Correspondence, photographs, video recording, notes, newspaper cutting relating to honorary awards bestowed on Hillery during his retirement.

Includes:

- Colour photograph of Hillery on the occasion of the awarding of Honorary Life Memberships by the Royal Dublin Society. Other individuals in the photograph are not identified (not dated, 1 item).
- Notes for speech, text of speech, press release, colour photographs, video recording relating to Hillery's nomination as Clare Person of the Year 1990 (16 February 1991, c80pp).
- Correspondence, text of speech relating to the conferring on Hillery of the Honorary Freedom of the City of Dublin (16–22 April 1991, 12pp).
- Text of speech, annotated, delivered by Hillery and a publication honouring Hillery as part of the Diamond Jubilee celebrations of the Irish-American Society of Nassau, Suffolk and Queens, Long Island (5 October 1991, 29pp).

**P205/167** September 1991–January 1992

21pp

**Memoirs**

Dictated to cassette tape by Hillery and transcribed concerning his memories of his youth in Miltown Malbay, County Clare, his family and friends.

**P205/168** 10 November 1992;14 May–27 August 1993

18pp

**Speeches**

Includes:

- Draft and text of a speech, annotated, on the occasion of the opening of the new club house at Spanish Point golf course. In Irish and English (not dated, 8pp).
- Correspondence and text of a speech, annotated, delivered by Hillery to the Institute of European Affairs celebrating the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of Ireland's accession to the European Community (10 November 1992;14 May–27 August 1993, 10pp).

**P205/169** 19 March 1993

3 items

**UCD Internal Structures**

Correspondence, photograph.

Includes:

- Letter from Patrick Masterson, President, UCD to Hillery thanking him for his report on UCD structures. Praises the report and remarks that it was very well received by the Governing Body (19 March 1993, 1p).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery and Masterson at the the presentation of the report ([19 March 1993], 1 item).

## **5 PHOTOGRAPHS**

### **5.1 Family not dated**

**P205/170** not dated

4 items

**Family photographs**

Black and white photographs of Hillery's ancestors.

**P205/171** not dated

14 items

**Family photographs**

Black and white photographs of the Hillery family.

Includes:

- Group photograph of Hillery taken outside the [family home], his

- P205/171** siblings and his mother (l) to (r) Bernadette (Berry), Eleanor, Des, Mother (Ellen nee MacMahon or 'Nellie') and Paddy Hillery (not dated, 1 item).
- Studio portrait of Hillery's parents Michael and Nellie, his brother Des and sister Eleanor ([1924], 2 items).
  - Studio portrait of Hillery's parents Michael and Nellie (not dated, 1 item).
  - Group photograph of school children. Bottom row, extreme left Des Hillery and next to him Paddy Hillery (not dated, 1 item).
  - Studio portrait of Hillery and his siblings (l) to (r) Paddy, Eleanor, Des and Bernadette (Berry) (not dated, 1 item).
  - Group photograph including Hillery's mother Nellie, bottom row, extreme left (not dated, 1 item).

**P205/172** [c1935]

2 items

**School photograph**

Black and white photograph showing a group of boys, possibly at Rockwell College, the secondary school attended by Hillery.

**5.2 Medical Career, [1940s]**

**P205/173** c1940s

15 items

**Medical student photographs**

Black and white photographs of Hillery as a medical student and young intern.

Includes:

- Hillery receiving his BSC Degree (1944, 2 items).
- Black and white photograph of the resident staff at the Mater Misericordiae Hospital (1945–6, 1 item).
- Hillery and Paddy Moloney as medical interns, Kingston, Ontario, Canada (1949, 1 item).

**5.3 Passports, 1964–83**

**P205/174** 24 July 1964–16 January 1983

4 items

**Passports**

Diplomatic passports issued to Hillery during his career as Minister, Commissioner and President of Ireland.

## **5.4 Political Career**

### **5.4.1 General, [1960s]**

**P205/175** [c1960s–70s]

6 items

#### **General political photographs**

Includes:

- Black and white group photograph of the Fianna Fáil parliamentary party. Autographed ([1960s], 1 item).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery and two unidentified members of the clergy (not dated, 1 item).
- Black and white portrait photographs of Hillery (not dated, 2 items).

### **5.4.2 Minister for Education, 1961–4**

**P205/176** 1961–4

13 items

#### **Photographs as Minister for Education**

Black and white photographs of Hillery in his official capacity as Minister for Education.

Includes:

- Attending the Irish National Teacher's Organisation annual conference (not dated, 1 item).
- At the opening of a [school] (not dated, 1 item).
- Attending an official function (not dated, 1 item).
- On the occasion of an honorary conferring at the NUI. Hillery is seated next to Eamon de Valera, Chancellor of the NUI (not dated, 1 item).
- Hillery, Princess Grace of Monaco, Prince Rainier of Monaco and Mrs Hillery attending a function at Dublin Zoo during a state visit to Ireland (1961, 1 item).
- Hillery with Princess Grace and Princess Caroline of Monaco taken before their departure from Shannon Airport (1961 1 item).
- Hillery addressing the UNESCO General Conference. Hillery acted as Chairman of the Irish delegation to the conference (November 1962, 2 items).
- Irish delegation to the UNESCO General Conference. L to R Mr Denis R McDonald, Ambassador Extraordinary and Plenipotentiary, Irish permanent delegate to UNESCO, Dr PJ Hillery, Minister for Education and Chairman of the Irish delegation, Dr T Ó Raifeartaigh, Secretary of the Department of Education and Chairman of the Irish National Commission for UNESCO, Mr D Ó Laoghaire, Secretary General of the Irish National Commission for UNESCO (9 November 1962, 2 items).
- Group photograph including Hillery. Other individuals not identified (1963, 1 item).
- At the opening Miltown Malbay National School, County Clare

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(January 1964, 1 item).

- Hillery and Mrs Hillery at an International Girl Guide meeting at Termonfecken (July 1964, 1 item).

#### **5.4.3 Minister for Industry and Commerce, 1965–6**

**P205/177** 1965–6

9 items

##### **Photographs as Minister for Industry and Commerce**

Black and white photographs of Hillery as Minister for Industry and Commerce.

Includes:

- At the opening of a business/factory (not dated, 8 items).
- At Áras an Uachtaráin with President de Valera, Fr Michal Mooney, Tuam and Mr and Mrs J Finnegan, Sheffield (1965–6, 1 item).

#### **5.4.4 Minister for Labour, 1967–8**

**P205/178** 1967–69

25 items

##### **Photographs as Minister for Industry and Commerce**

Black and white photographs of Hillery as Minister for Labour.

Includes:

- Hillery and Lee Kuan Yew, Prime Minister of Singapore playing golf (1967, 1 item).
- (l to r) Maeve Hillery, Dr Michael DeBakey, [his wife], Mrs P Fitzgerald, Professor Fitzgerald, Mrs Lynch, Taoiseach, Jack Lynch, Mr Montgomery President of the RCSI (1967, 1 item).
- Hillery and Maeve Hillery at the Food and Drink Fair, RDS, Dublin (September 1967, 1 item).
- Hillery arriving at the Merriman School in Feakle. A guard of honour of Old IRA greets Hillery as he arrives to unveil a plaque (1968, 1 item).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery and Maeve Hillery on an official visit to India. Includes a group photograph of Hillery, Maeve Hillery, Michael Drury from the Irish Embassy and Seán Kennan, Department of Foreign Affairs. Other individuals (all religious) are not identified (February 1968, 9 items).
- At the opening Lynch's West County Hotel, Ennis, County Clare (25 May 1968, 2 items).
- Hillery and Maeve Hillery attending the 10<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the opening of the Liebherr factory in Killarney, County Kerry and dinner at the Hotel Europa (19 May 1969, 10 items).

**5.4.5 Minister for External Relations (later Foreign Affairs),  
1969–72**

**P205/179** 20 October 1969–2 February 1972

8 items

**Photographs relating to the UN**

Includes:

- Black and white photographs of Hillery addressing the [United Nations as Minister for External Affairs] ([September 1969]. 2 items).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery, Mrs Hillery and Irish officials, including Hugh McCann, Secretary, Department of Foreign Affairs, arriving home from the UN Security Council meeting (20 October 1969, 4 items).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery and Secretary of State Rogers at a meeting of the UN General Assembly, New York (10 April 1971, 3 items).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery, with Secretary-General U Thant, Cornelius C Cremin, Permanent Representative of Ireland to the UN and Roberto Guyer, Under Secretary General for Special Political Affairs (7 October 1971, 2 items).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery, Mr C.V. Narasimhan, *Chef de Cabinet* and Cornelius C Cremin, Permanent Representative of Ireland to the United Nations at UN Headquarters (2 February 1972, 2 items).

**P205/180** c1970–2

3 items

**General photographs**

Includes:

- Black and white photograph of Hillery and Eamon de Valera taken during de Valera's final tour of Clare. Identities of others in the photograph are written on the back: 'Mairín de Valera, Seán O'C, [TV and Derry], Vivion's two children and Seán Brennan ADC' (c1970, 1 item).
- Black and white photographs of the ordination of Archbishop D. Ryan as Archbishop of Dublin at St Peter's, Rome. Hillery and Mrs Hillery attended the ceremony as well as Ambassador T Commins, Ambassador to the Vatican and Mr McDonald Ambassador to the Quirinale and his wife (3 February 1972, 2 items).

**P205/181** 19 October–9 November 1971

12 items

**Entry to EEC**

Includes:

- Black and white photograph of Hillery and Pierre Harmel, Belgian Foreign Minister taken during the negotiations for Ireland's entry to the EEC (19 October 1971, 1 item).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery and Aldo Moro, Italian Prime Minister during Ireland's negotiations for entry to the EEC. Seán Morrissey can be seen in the background of one of the photographs (19 October 1971, 2 items).
- Black and white photograph of the Irish negotiating team for entry to the EEC. Alongside Hillery are [?] Maher, Department of Finance, Seán Morrissey, Department of Foreign Affairs, Seán Kernan, Department of Foreign Affairs and Robin Fogarty former ambassador to Japan and Bonn (October/November 1971, 1 item).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery and Franco Maria Malfatti, President of the EEC taken during the negotiations for Ireland's entry to the EEC. (October/November 1971, 2 items).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery and Aldo Moro (Italian Prime Minister) at the EEC entry negotiations. In the background are Edmund Wellenstein and Bombassei (October/November 1971, 1 item).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery and the German negotiating team, Walter Scheel, German Foreign Minister and Von [Bran] during Ireland's negotiations for entry to the EEC ([9] November 1971, 3 items).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery and Aldo Moro shaking hands. In the background are Edmund Wellenstein and Pedini. Taken during Ireland's negotiations for entry to the EEC (9 November 1971, 1 item).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery, Bombassei, Pedini, Maher Seán Morrissey and Aldo Moro taken during Ireland's negotiations for entry to the EEC (9 November 1971, 1 item).

**5.4.6 Commissioner for Social Affairs, 1973**

**P205/182** [1973]

12 items

**Photographs as EEC Commissioner**

Black and white and colour photographs taken during Hillery's Commissionerahip.

Includes:

- Colour photograph of Hillery and unidentified others [taken at the EEC Commission] (not dated, 1 item).
- Black and white photograph of Jack Lynch, Hillery and Irish officials and staff taken at the Berlaymont Building, Brussels

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- ([1973], 1 item).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery and the other twelve Vice Presidents of the EEC Commission (1973, 2 items).
  - Black and white portrait photographs of Hillery as Commissioner (1973, 7 items).
  - Black and white photograph of Hillery attending the opening of the new wing of Blackrock College. Also photographed are Maeve Hillery, Roddy Connolly (son of James Connolly) and the Taoiseach, Liam Cosgrave (1973, 1 item).

## **5.5 President**

### **5.5.1 First Term, 1977-83**

**P205/183** December 1977

41 items

#### **Inauguration photographs**

Black and white photographs of the inauguration ceremonies held at the Pro-Cathedral and Dublin Castle.

Includes:

- Hillery and Mrs Maeve Hillery arriving at the Pro-Cathedral, being greeted by the Archbishop and exiting the Pro-Cathedral (December 1977, 3 items).
- Hillery and Mrs Maeve Hillery seated in the Pro-Cathedral and members of the congregation including the Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave and Mrs Cosgrave (December 1977, 3 items).
- Interior views of the Pro-Cathedral showing the Archbishop and congregation (December 1977, 3 items).
- Hillery leaving the Pro-Cathedral and waving to onlookers (December 1977, 2 items).
- Hillery and Mrs Hillery arriving in Dublin Castle accompanied by members of An Garda Síochána and the Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave and being applauded by members of the judiciary and other dignitaries (December 1977, 3 items).
- Exterior and interior Dublin Castle, Hillery's children John and Vivienne arriving (December 1977, 2 items).
- Interior Dublin Castle, Hillery being greeted by the Taoiseach Liam Cosgrave, standing for the National Anthem, receiving the Seal of Office, speech. Also includes members of the judiciary, An Garda Síochána, Brendan Corish, Peter Barry, Declan Costello, Garret FitzGerald, Frank Aiken, Tom O'Donnell, Seán McEntee, Jack Lynch, Paddy Cooney, Conor Cruise O'Brien (December 1977, 9 items).
- Exterior Dublin Castle, Hillery inspecting soldiers from the Defence Forces, standing to attention during military salute, motorcade departing Dublin Castle, driving through College Green towards O'Connell Street (December 1977, 11 items).
- Hillery, Maeve Hillery and their children John and Vivienne in front of Áras an Uachtaráin (December 1977, 3 items).

- P205/183**     ▪ Hillery, Maeve Hillery, John and Vivienne Hillery and Liam and Mrs Cosgrave at the inauguration dinner (December 1977, 2 items).

**P205/184**     December 1977–October 1983

94 items

**Official Functions**

Black and white and colour photographs of official functions.

Includes:

- Black and white photographs of Hillery taken at the [launch of a book entitled *Swift and his Hospital*], St Patrick's Hospital. Also photographed are Henry McAdoo, Church of Ireland Archbishop of Dublin, Victor Griffin, Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral and his wife and other unidentified individuals (not dated, 3 items).
- Colour photograph of Hillery presenting an award to Bob Tisdall who won a gold medal for Ireland in the 400m hurdles at the 1932 Olympic Games in Los Angeles (not dated, 1 item).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery visiting St. Patrick's Cathedral, St Audoen's Church and [Marsh's Library]. Also photographed are Victor Griffin, Dean of St Patrick's Cathedral and Muriel McCarthy, Keeper of Marsh's Library and other unidentified individuals (not dated, 4 items).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery at the All Ireland Hurling final, also photographed is the captain (not identified) of the winning team holding the Liam McCarthy Cup. ([1977], 1 item).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery, the Austrian Ambassador and Erwin Schrödinger's daughter photographed outside Schrödinger's residence in Dublin, occupied by the physicist between 1939 and 1956 (not dated, 1 item).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery at the laying of the foundation stone of the Home Response Project, Lord Edward Street. Also photographed are Maeve Hillery, Michael Keating, Lord Mayor of Dublin and Frank Feely, Dublin City Manager (not dated, 4 items).
- Black and white and colour photographs of Hillery attending the finals of the Community Games in Mosney, County Meath. Also photographed are competitors and officials none of whom are identified (not dated, 12 items).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery attending an Irish Scout event (not dated, 2 items).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery with Sr Stanislaus Kennedy in Áras an Uachtaráin (not dated, 1 item).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery awarding prizes at the Irish Schools National Photographic Competition (not dated, 3 items).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery and an unidentified individual taken at [Dublin Zoo]. In the background are five giraffes (not dated, 1 item).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery attending a function in the National Museum of Ireland. Also photographed are members of staff of the museum, not identified, Paddy Moloney of the Chieftains

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- playing the pipes as well as exterior and interior shots of the museum (not dated, 6 items).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery with members of Slógadh, not identified (not dated, 5 items).
  - Black and white photograph of Hillery and the President of the Agricultural Science Association Derry O'Donovan (not dated, 1 item).
  - Black and white photograph of Maeve Hillery walking alongside Margaret Thatcher outside Áras an Uachtaráin, Hillery is partially in view walking ahead. Also photographed in the background are Gaston Thorn, Prime Minister of Luxembourg, Geoffrey Howe, Chancellor of the Exchequer and Giulio Andreotti, Prime Minister of Italy (not dated, 1 item).
  - Black and white photographs of Hillery and Mrs Maeve Hillery with the President of Tanzania Julius Nyerere (not dated, 2 items).
  - Black and white photographs of Hillery and Maeve Hillery attending the world premiere of the English version of the film 'Purple Taxi' in aid of UNICEF. Hillery is shown being greeted in the foyer, shaking hands with the actor Peter Ustinov and seated in the auditorium ([1977], 5 items).
  - Colour photograph of Hillery attending the Galway races. Also photographed are G.D. Naughton, Lord Killanin, Chairman of the Galway Races Committee, Brigadier E.R. Mahony, W.D. Kelly, Manager, J. Brennan, P. O'Flaherty, R. Kelly, R. Rooney, J.D. Coyle, Lord Hemphill, G.V. Malcolmson, Captain L. Mullins, Secretary and P.D. Ryan (1977, 1 item).
  - Black and white photograph of Hillery and Liam Cosgrave following Cosgrave's resignation as Taoiseach (July 1977, 1 item).
  - Black and white photographs of Hillery being conferred with a Fellowship of the Faculty of Dentistry, RCSI. Also photographed are the Registrar, the Dean of the Faculty of Medicine and the President of the RCSI (December 1977, 3 items).
  - Colour and black and white photographs of Hillery attending the Young Scientists Exhibition. Also photographed with Hillery are his daughter Vivienne, Margaret Coyne, Air Education Officer and Julie Kenny, Aer Lingus hostess, Niall G. Weldon, Secretary and General Manager, Corporate Affairs, Aer Lingus, Tommy Cranitch, Public Relations Officer, Aer Lingus and participants, Eamon Delaney, Paul Carmichael and Doreen Cochrane ([January] 1979, 9 items).
  - Black and white photograph of Hillery and other European leaders including the Taoiseach Jack Lynch and the British Prime Minister Margaret Thatcher ([1979], 1 item).
  - Black and white photographs of Hillery on the occasion of the unveiling of the James Larkin statue, O'Connell Street. Also photographed are Garret FitzGerald and other unidentified individuals (15 June 1979, 4 items).
  - Black and white photographs of Jack Lynch resigning his seal of office as Taoiseach and Charles Haughey receiving his seal of office from Hillery (24 March 1980, 4 items).
  - Black and white photographs of Hillery attending the opening of Fota Island, Cork. Also photographed are Toddy O'Sullivan, Lord Mayor of Cork, Colonel Timmons, ADC to the President and Dr Hurley, President of UCC (April 1980, 6 items).
  - Black and white photographs of Hillery attending the [premiere of

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the film 'Excalibur']. Also photographed are the Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald and his wife Joan, Sheamus Smith, Managing Director of Ardmore Studios and the actress Cheri Longhi (27 July 1981, 3 items).

- Colour photograph of Hillery attending a Charter Day function. Also photographed are unidentified individuals and a note accompanying the print: 'I thought you might like to have this as a reminder of "The Charter Day" 1982' (27 March 1982, 2 items).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery and Garret FitzGerald receiving his seal of office as Taoiseach (June 1982, 1 item).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery at Mountshannon, County Clare, the Tidy Towns winner 1981. Includes a note from J Berkerey, Director, Office of Public Works enclosing the photograph (15 September 1982, 2 items).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery attending the presentation of the 'Gold Drop' awards by the Irish Blood Transfusion Service Board. Also photographed are William Meagher, Chairman IBTBSB, Dr JP O'Riordan, National Director IBTBSB and recipients of the award Mrs Josephine Keane and Diarmuid Murray (28 October 1982, 2 items).
- Colour photograph of Hillery on the occasion of Glór na nGael Day in Carlow (22 May 1983, 1 item).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery at the opening of a clubroom and gymnasium, location unidentified (28 May 1983, 1 item).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery and members of the Bureau of the Consultative Committee of the ECSC (27 June 1983, 1 item).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery attending the 150<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the Society of St Vincent de Paul (SVP) (October 1983, 4 items).

**P205/185** February 1977– October 1978

54 items

#### **State Visits by Hillery**

Includes:

- Mostly black and white, some colour photographs of Hillery during his state visit to Germany. Also photographed are Maeve Hillery, Garret FitzGerald (Minister for Foreign Affairs), Joan FitzGerald, Robin Fogarty (Irish Ambassador to West Germany), German political figures including Federal President Scheel, Chancellor Helmut Schmidt, other economic, religious and academic people. Also includes a series of photographs of the Hillery's visit to Würzburg (6–11 February 1977, 34 items).
- Diplomatic passport belonging to Hillery (16 January 1978–16 January 1983, 21pp).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery's state visit to Luxembourg. Also photographed are Mrs Maeve Hillery, Grand Duke Jean and Grand Duchess Josephine-Charlotte, Princess Marie Astrid, Prince Henry, Prime Minister and Minister for Foreign Affairs Gaston Thorn, Mrs Thorn, The Irish Ambassador Valentin Iremonger and

**P205/185** Mrs Iremonger. Also includes a series of photographs taken during a visit to the Villeroy and Boch factory (October 1978, 20 items).

**P205/186** July 1978–December 1979

24 items

**Semi Official/Personal**

Includes:

- Colour photographs of Hillery and Lord Revelstoke taken on Lambay Island (not dated, 3 items).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery being presented with the 'President's Putter' at Portmarnock Golf Club. Other individuals are not identified (not dated, 3 items).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery visiting the set of the film *The Great Train Robbery* in the Phoenix Park. Also photographed are Mrs Maeve Hillery, Vivienne Hillery, Prince Rainier and Princess Grace of Monaco who were visiting Ireland at the time as well as the actor Seán Connery, the director of the film Michael Crichton and the Managing Director of Ardmore Studios Sheamus Smith (July 1978, 12 items).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery and his wife Maeve taken on their wedding anniversary. Also photographed is Robert White who has signed and dated the photograph (27 October 1978, 1 item).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery riding his horse Barna ([1978/79], 2 items).
- Colour photograph of Hillery taken on board the Irish Lights ship *Granuaile*. Also photographed are Noel William Sugg, Assistant Head Chef and other unidentified members of the catering staff on board. Includes a letter from Sugg to Hillery expressing his delight in meeting him and in his presence on board (28 December 1979, 3 items).

**P205/187** September 1979–June 1983

9 items

**State Visits to Ireland**

Includes:

- Colour photographs of Hillery and Pope John Paul II (September 1979, 2 items).
- Colour photographs of the visit of US President Ronald Regan and US Vice President George Bush. Also photographed are Barbara Bush, Mrs Maeve Hillery, Garret FitzGerald and Joan FitzGerald and other unidentified officials. Includes a photograph of George Bush and Hillery at Áras an Uachtaráin, autographed by Bush (June 1983, 7 items).

### **5.5.2 Second Term, 1983–90**

**P205/188** November 1983

17 items

#### **Inauguration**

Black and white photographs of the inauguration ceremony held in Dublin castle for Hillery's second term as President.

Includes:

- Exterior Dublin Castle. Hillery arriving and departing in the President's Rolls Royce car (November 1983, 3 items).
- Interior Dublin Castle. Swearing-in ceremony, Hillery declaring and signing the oath, his speech. Also photographed are his wife Maeve Hillery, the Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald, Peter Barry, Michael Noonan, John Bruton, Siobhán McKenna, Peter Sutherland (Attorney General), Liam Cosgrave, Jack Lynch, Charles Haughey, Paddy Cooney, Dick Spring, Gemma Hussey, Alan Dukes, Austin Deasy, Jim Mitchell (November 1983, 7 items).
- Exterior Dublin Castle, Hillery chatting on the steps of Dublin Castle accompanied by the Taoiseach Garret FitzGerald, Maeve Hillery and the Garda Commissioner, inspecting soldiers from the Defence Forces, standing to attention during a military salute (November 1983, 7 items).

**P205/189** 4 May 1984–November 1990

29 items

#### **State Visits by Hillery**

Black and white and colour photographs taken during state visits abroad.

Includes:

- Colour photographs of Hillery's state visit to Germany. Also photographed are his wife Maeve Hillery, John Campbell and President of the Federal Republic of Germany, Karl Carstens (4–17 May 1984, 3 items).
- Colour photograph of Hillery's state visit to Australia. Also photographed are his wife Maeve Hillery and two unidentified individuals (June 1985, 1 item).
- Colour photographs of Hillery's visit to ESTEC (European Space Research and Technology Centre) during his state visit to The Netherlands. Also photographed are Prince Claus of the Netherlands, Mr R de Korte, Dutch Minister for Economic Affairs, Peter Barry, Minister for Foreign Affairs and other unidentified individuals (5 November 1986, 4 items).
- Colour photographs of Hillery's state visit to China. Also photographed are President Yang Shangkun, Chinese Premier Li Peng, Mrs Maeve Hillery and other unidentified officials (15 May 1988, 8 items).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery taken at Dublin Airport

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departing for Florence to deliver the Jean Monnet lecture at the European University Institute. Also photographed are Dr Michael Woods, Bertie Ahern, Ray Bourke, Seán Calleary, Derek Keogh, Chief Executive Aer Rianta, Frank Boland, Chairman Aer Rianta and Chairman Cork Enterprise Board, Thomas Cullen, General Manager Dublin Airport. Includes a contact sheet of the photographs taken (30 November 1988, 3 items).

- Colour photographs of Hillery's visit to Japan to represent Ireland at the funeral of the Emperor of Japan and the subsequent enthronement of the new Emperor (23 February 1989, November 1990, 10 items).
- Album of colour photographs presented to Hillery recording the occasion of his visit to Bobbio, Italy (28 October 1989, 20pp)

P205/190 14 May 1984–15 March 1990

53 items

#### **Official Functions**

Includes:

- Black and white photograph of Hillery attending the 20<sup>th</sup> anniversary of the publication *Éire—Ireland*, the quarterly journal of the Irish American Cultural Institute (IACI). Also photographed are Dr Eoin McKiernan, Chairman of the IACI Board, and board members Thomas Foster, Riobárd Mac Góráin, Jeanette McKiernan and Michael MacNulty (not dated, 1 item).
- Black and white photographs of a presentation of credentials at Áras an Uachtaráin (not dated, 1 item).
- Black and white photograph of the members of the Council of State taken in Áras an Uachtaráin (not dated, 1 item).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery and the Archbishop of Dublin Dr Ryan taken at a Catholic Housing Aid function. Includes a letter from the photographer, Mary O'Byrne thanking Hillery for his friendliness and helpfulness during the occasion (14 May 1984, 2 items).
- Colour photograph taken on the steps of Áras an Uachtaráin of Hillery with members of the British Association, US Association, US Western Association, US Southern Association, Maltese Association, Australian Association, and Irish Association. Includes a key identifying individuals in the photograph (2 May 1984, 2 items).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery at a prize-giving ceremony held at Magherafelt High School. Hillery is photographed with students and prize winners (June 1984, 2 items).
- Colour photograph of Hillery and Members of the Society of Australian Genealogists taken on the steps of Áras an Uachtaráin. Includes a letter and a key identifying individuals in the photograph (18 September 1984, 3 items).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery at a presentation of an award at [Irish Life Assurance Company Ltd]. Occasion and individuals not identified (14 December 1984, 3 items).
- Group colour photograph of Hillery attending the International

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- Youth Year, Peace Participation Development (1985, 1 item).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery presenting Charles Haughey with his seal of office as Taoiseach in Áras an Uachtaráin (3 January 1986, 1 item).
  - Black and white photograph of Hillery making a presentation to Charles Haughey (3 January 1986, 1 item).
  - Black and white photographs of Hillery presenting the honour of Saoi of Aosdána to the author Seán Ó Faoláin (28 August 1986, 2 items).
  - Colour photograph of Hillery at an official opening, location and other individuals in the photograph are not identified (19 September 1986, 1 item).
  - Black and white photographs of Hillery presenting the seals of office to members of the government in Áras an Uachtaráin. Amongst those photographed are Charles Haughey, Brian Lenihan, Albert Reynolds, Ray Burke, Michael O'Kennedy, Ray McSharry, Brendan Daly. Also includes a group photograph of the new ministers and Hillery (25 March 1987, 11 items).
  - Black and white photograph of Hillery opening a centre in Gort, County Galway. Other individuals in the photograph are not identified (23 August 1987, 1 item).
  - Colour photograph of Hillery and members of the EU Commission on the occasion of the Secretary General of the Commission, Emile Noël's, retirement (24 September 1987, 1 item).
  - Colour photograph at the European Year of the Environment Awards ceremony, Trinity College Dublin. Also photographed are Ken Mawhinney, Director Environment Awareness Bureau and Dr Yvonne Scannell, Chairwoman Irish National Committee for EYE and Environment Awareness Bureau (24 November 1987, 1 item).
  - Black and white photographs of the presentation of the Connolly and Larkin Medals of the ITGWU (Irish Transport and General Workers Union) and FWUI (Federated Workers Union of Ireland) to Hillery (7 December 1988, 3 items).
  - Colour photographs of Hillery attending a function, location and individuals photographed with him are not identified. (20 January 1989, 6 items).
  - Colour photograph of Hillery attending the dedication of Vincent Doyle House. Also photographed is Mrs Margaret Doyle (February 1989, 1 item).
  - Black and white photographs of Hillery and Charles Haughey signing documentation dissolving the Dáil. (25 May 1989, 2 items).
  - Black and white and colour photographs of Hillery attending the performance of 'The Seagull' at the Abbey Theatre and afterwards at a function in the Irish Life centre. Other individuals photographed with Hillery are not identified. Includes a letter from Brendan Bracken, Public Relations Manager, Irish Life enclosing the photographs (28 September 1989, 3 items).
  - Black and white photographs of the cyclist Seán Kelly receiving an award from Hillery. Includes a group photograph of Hillery with Seán Kelly, John Hume, Packie Bonner, Liam Brady and other unidentified individuals (15 March 1990, 3 items).
  - Black and white photograph of Hillery and an unidentified individual at a function to commemorate Francis Ledwidge, Slane, County Meath (26 August 1990, 1 item).

**P205/191** [November 1976]–[December 1990]

26 Items

**Portraits and personal photographs**

Black and white and colour portraits and personal photographs.

Includes:

- Black and white photograph of a smiling Hillery holding a koala bear (not dated, 1 item).
- Colour and black and white portrait photographs of Hillery and his wife Maeve Hillery, together and individually (not dated, 7 items).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery fishing (not dated, 2 items).
- Colour photograph of Hillery and members (unidentified) of Lahinch Golf Club (not dated, 1 item).
- Black and white photographs of Hillery playing golf (not dated, 3 items).
- Black and white photograph of Hillery, his wife Maeve, their daughter Vivienne and three unidentified members of Comhaltas Ceoltóirí Éireann (not dated, 1 item).
- Colour photograph of Hillery, Jack Lynch and T.K. Whitaker taken on a boat during a fishing expedition (not dated, 1 item).
- Colour photographs of Hillery arriving in Metz, France to receive the Robert Schumann Gold Medal Award. Hillery is shown arriving in an Irish Air Corps plane accompanied by his wife Maeve Hillery and being greeted at the airport by various individuals who are not identified (10-11 October 1986, 11 items).