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Government, Economy and Society in the Republic of Ireland, 1949–89

Documents-based Case Study 2018 and 2019

withis ln this section, you should understand:

- Why the government changed its economic policy
- The impact of the new economic policy on economy and society
- What role Lemass and Whitaker played in the new economic policy

Case Study: The first programme for economic expansion, 1958–63 *Background*

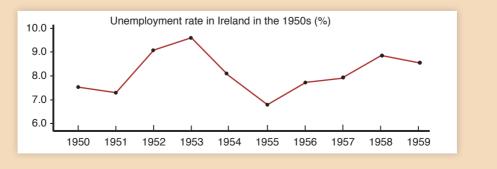
- 1. By the mid-1950s, the Irish economy was in **serious difficulty**:
 - Agriculture was backward; industry was underdeveloped; there was a low standard of living; there were **balance of payments problems** (imports greater than exports); as well as inflation and high unemployment.



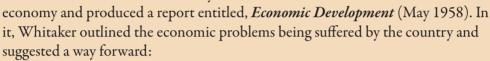
Balance of Payments

The value of imports and exports of a country are equal over a period of time.

- The economy was worsened by government policy, which cut government investment and increased taxes.
- As a result, emigration (especially to Britain) grew significantly an average of 40,000 people emigrated each year between 1950 and 1960 and therefore the population declined.
- 2. Irish governments had followed a **policy of protectionism** (duties and quotas on imports to protect Irish industry) since the 1930s, which aimed at a **self-sufficient economy**. This had failed. Something needed to be done to correct the problems of the Irish economy.



- 3. **T.K. Whitaker** was appointed Secretary of the Department of Finance by Gerard Sweetnam, Minister for Finance, in the Second Inter-Party Government.
- 4. Whitaker believed that the solution to Ireland's economic problems was **free trade**; 'sooner or later, protection will have to go and the challenge of free trade be accepted.'
- 5. Whitaker and his officials in the Department of Finance undertook a detailed study of the Irish



It is accepted on all sides that we have come to a critical and decisive point in our economic affairs. It is only too clear that the policies we have hitherto followed have not resulted in a viable economy. It is equally clear that we face economic decay and the collapse of our political independence if we elect to shelter permanently behind a protectionist blockade.

- 6. Whitaker's Economic Development became the basis for the **First Programme for Economic Expansion** (November 1958). This introduced a more planned approach to economic development.
- 7. By the time Economic Development and the First Programme for Economic Expansion were ready, Fianna Fáil was in power. Seán Lemass became Taoiseach in 1959 and he was responsible for bringing in the new economic policy and ending the policy of protectionism, for which he had been responsible in the 1930s.

What did the First Programme say?

- 1. The new plan changed the emphasis in the Irish economy:
 - The old aim of economic self-sufficiency was gone.
 - It was the beginning of the end of protectionism; 'protectionism can no longer be relied upon as an automatic weapon of defence.'
 - Instead, the aim was economic competitiveness so that the Irish industrial and agricultural sectors would increase their rates of exports.
 - The Programme was based on export-led growth.
 - The Industrial Development Authority (IDA) was given increased support to attract foreign industry.
 - A target of 2% annual growth in the economy was set.



Economic Expansion

A term used to describe government plans to manage the economy.



Free Trade

The movement of imports and exports between countries without taxes and quotas as, for example, between countries of the European Economic Community (EEC) or Common Market.

What was the impact of the First Programme?

- 1. **Industry:** Foreign industries were attracted through grants for new industries and export-profits tax exemption.
 - The foreign industries came mostly from Britain, America and Germany. Examples: Warner-Lambert (USA, 1960); General Electric (USA, 1963).
 - Existing (protected) industry was helped by government grants aimed at modernising factories and training managers and workers.
 - Some Irish industries survived, but some also failed to compete successfully because they were too small in scale or did not adapt to meet increased competitiveness.

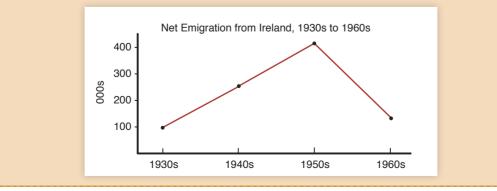


What were the main features of the First Programme for Economic Expansion, 1958–63, and how successful was it for economy and society?

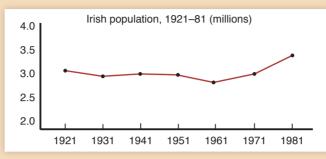
- 2. Agriculture: There was more emphasis on grassland farming (cattle, dairying) to increase output and exports.
 - There were further efforts made to eradicate Bovine TB.
 - There was more emphasis on research and marketing, as well as on agricultural education to train farmers in better farming methods.
 - There were price supports for wheat, beet and milk.

Summary of results

- a. Economic effects: The economy grew faster than expected the annual growth of the economy was 4%, instead of the 2% target. This was mainly due to increased industrial output, which had grown by nearly 50% by 1963.
- b. **Exports** rose by 35% by the mid-1960s. The balance of payments problems were eliminated.
- c. Workers were better off, with higher wages. However, wages increased too rapidly – by more than twice the increase in Britain. There was also increased industrial strikes as trade unions demanded higher pay and shorter working weeks. In 1964, Ireland had the largest number of hours lost through strikes in the world.
- d. Unemployment fell by ¹/₃ and emigration fell also, from 15 per thousand of the population between 1956 and 1961 to 6 per thousand between 1961 and 1966.



e. The **population** rose after its decline of the 1950s, from 2.8 million in 1961 to almost 3 million in 1971. Apart from the fall in emigration, the population increase was helped by the increase in the marriage rate, as people got married younger due to the higher standard of living.



- f. Agriculture did not improve as much as was planned. Bovine TB was reduced substantially but agricultural output only rose by 1% compared to the huge rise experienced in industry.
 - Farmers were still too conservative and many did not improve their farming methods.
 - Food producers were also reluctant to adopt modern marketing methods.
- g. More free trade: The First Programme prepared Ireland for an increase in free trade:
 - Lemass applied for entry to the EEC (European Economic Community/Common Market) in 1961 but this could not go ahead because President de Gaulle of France rejected a similar British application.
 - The Anglo-Irish Free Trade Area Agreement 1965 reduced tariffs on manufactured goods between Ireland and Britain. It also gave greater access to British market to Irish farming products.
- h. **Growth in tourism:** There was an increase in the number of continental and American tourists visiting Ireland. There was also increased tourism by Irish people within

Ireland. As well as that, more Irish people were holidaying abroad as the economy and standards of living improved.

- i. **Social effects:** Economic improvement and higher standards of living led to social changes.
 - Towns and cities increased in population as people moved there (migrated) for work.
 - Some towns and cities expanded with new suburbs to house the workers of the new industries.



Common Market

A group of countries that allows the free trade of goods and services and the free movement of labour and capital between its members. The EEC was an example of a common market.

LESS STRESS MORE SUCCESS

- Housing improved, with more money being spent on household goods, e.g. carpets, fridges, cookers.
- However, there was a continual decline in the rural population, with internal migration to towns and cities, as well as the introduction of machinery, which meant less need for human labour.

• Education: Free secondary education was introduced by the government in 1967 to provide a more educated workforce to feed the economic growth. This led to a large increase in student numbers in second-level schools of about 60% between 1967 (148,000) and 1974 (239,000). This opened up equality of opportunity for everybody, especially women.



Equality of Opportunity

All persons, regardless of race, religion, social background or sex, should not be discriminated against in relation to jobs, law and education.

- There was increased **car ownership**, which reflected the new wealth: the number of cars doubled between 1958 and 1968. These gave greater freedom to young people.
- Society became more liberal as topics that had previously been taboo were more openly discussed (See *Case Study: The impact of RTÉ, 1962–72*).
- j. **Political effects:** Lemass and Fianna Fáil did not benefit in the **1961 general** election. Instead, its vote fell from 48% to 44% and Lemass had to govern with a minority government.
 - However, this was reversed in the **1965 general election** where Lemass and Fianna Fáil benefited from the economic success of the First Programme. Its votes increased to 47% and the party increased its number of seats.
 - Northern Ireland: Lemass wanted to show unionists in the North that 'we can bring about a higher level of achievement and greater progress with freedom than without it'. In this way he was hoping to encourage moves towards the unification of the country.

What was the impact of the First Programme for Economic Expansion?

Overall assessment

- 1. Even though the First Programme is seen as a very important document for the future economic development of Ireland, its influence **should not be exaggerated**.
 - Many of the elements of economic success in the 1960s particularly in relation to foreign investment and export-led growth – had already been gradually set in motion from the 1950s, e.g. Córas Tráchtala (export board), the Industrial Development Authority (IDA), the Industrial Development Act 1958 and An Foras Talúntais (for agricultural research) were all set up before the First Programme was planned.

The United States and the World, 1945–89

Documents-based Case Study 2020 and 2021

1. US foreign policy

in this section, you should understand:

- The development of US foreign policy
- Berlin, Korea, Cuba, Vietnam
- The role of President Truman (See Key personality, pp. 267–8)
- The role of President Johnson (See Key personality, pp. 269-70)
- Case study: Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam, 1963-68

US foreign policy and the Cold War

- 1. President Truman was in office for the last months of the Second World War. He met Stalin, the Soviet leader, at Potsdam, where he warned Japan to surrender. When Japan did not surrender, Truman gave orders to drop atomic bombs on Hiroshima and Nagasaki.
 - He wanted to put an end to the war, and to save American and Japanese lives that would be lost in an invasion.

 How important was Truman's and Johnson's contribution to US foreign policy?

- Which had the greater impact on the United States: involvement in Korea or involvement in Vietnam? Argue your case referring to both.
- 2. The dropping of the atomic bomb and the development of the USSR's atomic bomb led to an arms race in the Cold War.
 - This was supported by a **policy of deterrence**, to maintain a strong nuclear force so that the Soviet Union would be deterred from attacking the US.
- 3. Truman did not trust the Soviet Union. He believed the US should not appease (give in to) Russia in the way that Hitler had been appeased before the Second World War. The growth of a Soviet-controlled Eastern Europe was seen as the spread of Communist domination.
- 4. Development of the policy of containment.
 - George Kennan's Long Telegram said the Soviet Union was going to expand, and the only way to stop it was by adopting a policy of containment (a policy to prevent the spread of communism from the Soviet Union to other countries).
 - Winston Churchill said in a speech that 'an iron curtain' was descending across Europe and he called for firmness against the Soviet Union.

THE UNITED STATES AND THE WORLD, 1945-89

5. Truman introduced the Truman Doctrine to help Greece and Turkey to resist the spread of Communism. He wanted the US to help 'free peoples' to resist Communism. He also introduced the Marshall Plan (European Recovery Programme) to help the economic recovery of Western Europe and assist it to stand up against Communism.



Internationalism A policy of co-operating with other countries.

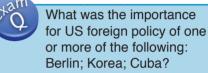
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6. Truman's new policies showed the US was not going to follow a policy of isolationism (cutting itself off from Europe). Instead it was prepared to follow a policy of **internationalism** – that the US would become involved with other countries. His policies heightened tension with the Soviet Union and worsened the Cold War.

US foreign policy		
1945	Beginning of the atomic age	
Late 1940s	Development of US policy of containment	
1946	 Churchill's Iron Curtain speech Truman Doctrine Marshall Plan 	
1948–49	Berlin Blockade and Airlift	
1950–53	Korean War	
1960	Bay of Pigs invasion, Cuba	
1961	Building of Berlin Wall	
1962	Cuban Missile Crisis	
1964	Gulf of Tonkin incident and Gulf of Tonkin resolution	
1965	Operation Rolling Thunder and increased US involvement in Vietnam	
1968	 Tet Offensive Johnson began peace negotiations Johnson decided not to seek re-election 	
1972	 Nixon's visit to China and the Soviet Union; development of a policy of détente; SALT I 	
1973	US withdrawal from Vietnam	
1975	Helsinki Agreement	
1979	SALT II	
1983	Reagan announced Star Wars programme	
1987	Intermediate-Range Nuclear Forces Treaty	
1991	Downfall of Communism in the Soviet Union	

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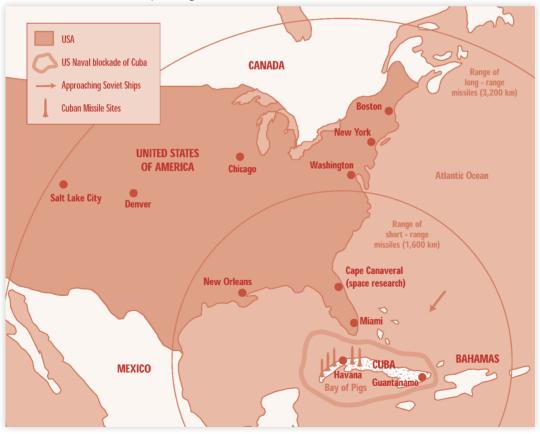
- 7. **US policy and Berlin:** The US, USSR and Britain agreed to divide Germany into four zones after the Second World War. But the US and Britain believed that the economic recovery of Germany was necessary for the wider economic recovery of Europe. They also wanted a strong Germany to be a barrier against Communism. Stalin, the Soviet leader, feared that a prosperous West Germany would undermine Communism in East Germany.
- 8. When the US and Britain introduced a new currency, the Deutschmark, Stalin blockaded West Berlin. Truman did not want to be forced out of West Berlin; it would be a victory for Communism and a defeat for the policy of containment.
- 9. The US and its allies organised a huge airlift of food and supplies to West Berlin in **Operation Vittles**. When they refused to give in, Stalin lifted the blockade after ten months (May 1949).
 - The policy of containment had worked.
 - The US, Canada and ten European countries set up NATO (North Atlantic Treaty Organization) to strengthen



themselves militarily; it was the first peacetime military alliance by the US.

- 10. More conflict in Berlin: In the 1950s, West Germany and West Berlin were prosperous. Almost 3 million immigrants left East Berlin to go to the West for jobs. This affected the East German economy, which lost skilled labour.
 - Khrushchev, the Soviet leader, met the young president of the US, Kennedy, in Vienna. He demanded that the US withdraw from Berlin. Kennedy called up US reserves.
 - The Soviet Union and East Germany built a high wall between East and West Berlin. The US protested, but did nothing.
 - The Berlin Wall eased tensions between the two sides because it stopped the flow of immigrants. But now the Wall could be used as propaganda against Soviet communism. President Kennedy visited West Berlin and made a famous speech there in support of the city.
- 11. US policy and Korea: After the Second World War, Korea was divided between a Communist-backed North Korea and a US-backed South Korea. Communistcontrolled North Korea invaded South Korea.
 - Truman intervened to maintain his **policy of containment**, because South Korea had suffered an unprovoked attack.
 - He committed US troops in the name of the United Nations. US forces, led by General MacArthur, and troops from twelve other countries pushed back the North Koreans. But the Chinese then invaded to help them.
 - The fighting eventually stopped and peace was agreed between two new leaders President Eisenhower of the US and Khrushchev of the Soviet Union.
- 12. The US signed treaties with Asian countries. The US formed **SEATO** (South East Asian Treaty Organization) to contain Communism.

- The US brought West Germany into NATO to strengthen the defence of Western Europe.
- 13. Eisenhower followed the policy of containment. He also believed in the Domino Theory – that if one country fell to Communism, other countries would do so also.
 - He also followed a policy of deterrence against the Soviet Union (having nuclear weapons would prevent the USSR from attacking).
 - Later he followed a policy of peaceful coexistence (both sides to get along peacefully) with the Soviet leader, Khrushchev.
- 14. US policy and Cuba: tension arose between the US and USSR in the early 1960s because:
 - An American U2 spy plane was shot down over the USSR.
 - The Berlin Wall was built.
 - John F. Kennedy, the new President of the US, said a **missile gap** had opened between the USSR and the US.
 - Fidel Castro led a Communist revolution in Cuba.
 - President Kennedy made some anti-Communist speeches.
 - Kennedy believed in being firm and decisive against Communism. He backed an invasion of the Bay of Pigs in Cuba, but it failed.



LESS STRESS MORE SUCCESS

- 15. The Cuban Missile Crisis: The Soviet Union began building missile bases in Cuba that were within range of many US cities. U2 spy planes photographed these.
 - President Kennedy decided against an invasion of Cuba or air strikes. Instead, he blockaded Cuba to prevent future Soviet ships from reaching the island.
- 16. The US and USSR were on the brink of nuclear war.
 - Kennedy agreed not to invade Cuba and to call off the blockade.
 - Khrushchev and the USSR agreed to dismantle the missile bases.
- 17. This led to the setting up of a hotline (direct telephone link) between the US and USSR leaders to improve communications. They also agreed the Partial Test Ban Treaty (1963), which banned nuclear testing in the air, in space or under water.
- 18. US policy and Vietnam: The US became gradually involved in Vietnam.
 - Truman supported the French colonial empire in Indochina (Vietnam, Cambodia and Laos) against the Communist-backed Ho Chi Minh and the Viet Minh, a Vietnamese independence movement.



Why did the United States become involved in armed conflict in Vietnam and why did it eventually withdraw from that country?

- Eisenhower sent military advisors in support of the government of South Vietnam against the Vietcong (South Vietnamese communists).
- 19. The US increased their support following their **policies of containment** and their belief in the **Domino Theory**.
- 20. Kennedy provided a large increase in military advisors to train the South Vietnamese Army.

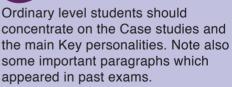
Case study: Lyndon Johnson and Vietnam, 1963–68

- 1. President Johnson followed the policies of his predecessors by increasing the number of military advisors in Vietnam.
 - He believed US credibility was at stake.
 - He followed the **policy of containment** and believed in the **Domino Theory**.
 - His advisors believed in a **military solution** to the problem.
 - Johnson did not want to be 'the first president to lose a war'.



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Why did Johnson increase US involvement in Vietnam and why did he begin the process of US withdrawal?



- 2. In the 1964 presidential election, he campaigned as a candidate of peace; but he soon realised that either he would have to withdraw from Vietnam or commit large numbers of troops to the war.
 - The South Vietnamese government was weak and the Vietcong (South Vietnamese communists) were getting stronger.