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**Title:** Copy note by CV Whelen, Minister  
Plenipotentiary at the Embassy of Ireland to  
Great Britain, to Ambassador Donal O'Sullivan,  
reporting his handing of a memorandum (copy  
included) to Deputy Under Secretary of State  
Stewart Crawford that detailed Irish  
government concern about the activities of the  
Ulster Defence Association in Northern Ireland.

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1. As instructed, I called by appointment on Sir Stewart Crawford, Deputy Under-Secretary of State at the Foreign and Commonwealth Office at 5.30 p.m. yesterday 1st February. I handed over the Memorandum (copy attached), the text of which had been sent to me in the afternoon by teleprinter. I explained to Sir Stewart that you would have wished to call on him personally but unfortunately you had left for Liverpool earlier in the day to fulfil an official engagement. I thanked him for receiving me at short notice and said that I understood that the serious views set out in the Memorandum were being conveyed to Sir John Peck in Dublin at about the same time.

2. Sir Stewart read the Memorandum and then remarked that he would need time to study it in detail. However, he could say that Mr Whitelaw was just as concerned as we were about the seriousness of the situation. I said that there was much sympathy with Mr Whitelaw in his difficulties but, as made clear in the Memorandum, we were concerned that illegal activities on one side appeared to enjoy immunity. We believed that the law should be applied equally to all. Sir Stewart then referred to Paragraph 5 of the Memorandum and said that effective action was being taken against assassination gangs, as demonstrated by the number of arrests and prosecutions that had been undertaken since the beginning of the year.

3. As to the UDA, they had to be careful and Sir Stewart remarked "it contains moderates as well as tiresome people. What we have to do is to separate them". He stressed that there was, in his view, no use in proscribing the UDA as an organisation. As to the point in Paragraph 2

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of the Memorandum, he did not deny that the UDA were openly flaunting themselves as a para-military organisation but rather pointedly said that, if such were the case, they had "learnt it from others". I felt I should respond and remarked "but action has been taken against others". To this, Sir Stewart replied that we could be sure that action would continue to be taken against "violent men on all sides".

4. At this point Sir Stewart indicated that he had no more comment to make at this stage and repeated that the content of the Memorandum would be studied. As we rose and went towards the door I stressed the point in the Memorandum regarding the possible influence of the violent action by the UDA and affiliated militant groups on forthcoming political decisions. Sir Stewart indicated that he well understood the point but made no further comment and I then took my leave. The interview was no longer than 10 minutes.

5. I conveyed the substance of the above report to Mr McDonagh on my return to the Embassy at approximately 6 p.m.



C V Whelan

February 2, 1973

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MEMORANDUM

1. Events of recent days in Northern Ireland concerning the so-called Ulster Defence Association give cause for the very gravest concern. The Irish Government feel that there can be little hope for early progress towards a solution of the Northern Ireland problem if the implications of these events are not clearly faced up to.
2. The U.D.A. have openly flaunted themselves as a paramilitary organisation over a long period. A defector, who was high in their councils, has now made most serious revelations about their activities and various public statements of a highly disquieting nature have been made by Mr. T. Herron, the U.D.A.'s Vice-Chairman and spokesman. Mr. Herron is reported, for example, as admitting that the organisation has brought guns illegally into Northern Ireland and has been co-operating with the illegal Ulster Volunteer Force, who only today are reported to have accepted responsibility for another heinous act of sectarian violence in which one man was killed and several others seriously injured. A statement by Mr. Herron on 30 January, 1973, that the U.D.A. had decided to take no further special measures to stop assassinations was followed immediately by a number of murders of members of the Catholic community. The obvious inference is that the U.D.A. are in a position to determine whether or not murders should continue.
3. This situation is extremely serious and is causing grave disquiet both North and South of the Border. The Irish Government consider that it is unrealistic to envisage possible solutions for very difficult political problems while the U.D.A. are allowed to continue to operate without apparent hindrance. Their illegal activities should enjoy no more immunity than similar activities from any other quarter. The due process of the law should be applied.
4. Once again it is urged that licensed firearms in Northern

Ireland should be called in. This applies particularly now to such of these firearms as are in the hands of known or suspected members of the U.D.A.

5. It is strongly urged that the British Government take further and effective action in relation to the operations of assassination gangs in the North.
6. The Irish Government wish to emphasise that the developing situation in regard to the U.D.A., U.V.F., and other so-called "Loyalist" militant groups is especially serious when viewed in relation to the present period preceding the issue of the British Government's promised White Paper and the circumstances which may follow the issue of the White Paper. It would be extremely unfortunate if these organisations' attitudes and activities were seen to be, or could be interpreted as being, a significant influence on the political decisions that require to be taken by the British Government.

1st February, 1973.