

# NATIONAL ARCHIVES

## IRELAND



<b>Reference Code:</b>	2013/100/1098
<b>Creation Date(s):</b>	23 June 1983
<b>Extent and medium:</b>	19 pages
<b>Creator(s):</b>	Department of the Taoiseach
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NORTHERN IRELAND  
GENERAL ELECTION, 9 JUNE, 1983

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This is a preliminary analysis of the results of the election for Westminster which took place in Northern Ireland on Thursday, 9 June, 1983.

## 1. Introduction

The election was held following a major revision of constituency boundaries in Northern Ireland as well as in Britain. Following a deal between the Callaghan Government and the OUP the number of seats in Northern Ireland was increased from 12 to 17. The number of electors in each constituency was reduced and brought more into line with Britain. Given the change in constituency boundaries, it is difficult to compare accurately the results (other than the global figures) in this election with the performances of the parties in previous elections. However, Dr. Sydney Elliott, Senior Lecturer in Political Science at Queen's University, Belfast, has analysed the changes in the constituency boundaries and adjusted accordingly the results in the Local Government elections in 1981 so that reasonably accurate comparisons may be made with 1981. Unfortunately he has not done this for the 1982 Assembly elections. There is the additional complicating factor that the straight vote is used in Westminster elections and not for any other election held in Northern Ireland. The analysis which follows is subject to these caveats.

## 2. The Campaign

The campaign in the media was dominated by the electoral struggle within the minority community between the SDLP and Provisional Sinn Fein (PSF) and within the majority community between the OUP and the DUP. The SDLP ran a noticeably more energetic campaign than in any contest during 1981 and 1982. One reason for this may be that they were determined to oppose PSF to the maximum possible extent. The SDLP made much of the destruction and job losses caused by IRA violence, and the New Ireland Forum formed a major part of their election platform. Another noticeable feature was that IRA violence continued during the course of the campaign. In the majority community considerable hostility was displayed between the Official Unionists and DUP culminating in acrimonious exchanges in the Assembly. The result was that electoral pacts were not forthcoming in either Mid-Ulster, West Belfast or South Down. The DUP stressed their commitment to the Assembly as a means of securing devolved Government in Northern Ireland on a basis of majority rule. The OUP

said that devolved government with majority rule would be their price for supporting a minority British Government. Molyneux stressed the need for further powers for local government. He questioned the present basis for the Assembly, saying it could not evolve into a satisfactory devolved Government because the price in his view would be power-sharing which is unacceptable.

### 3. Nominations

Although the number of candidates fielded is not as important in a straight-vote as in a PR election it is interesting to note the number of candidates nominated by the parties. The SDLP contested all 17 constituencies whereas in 1979 they only contested 9 out of 12 seats. The Official Unionists put up candidates in 16 constituencies, leaving a clear run for the DUP in Foyle. In 1979 they contested 11 out of 12 when Dunlop was an agreed candidate for the UUUP. The DUP nominated candidates in 14 constituencies, but not in North Down, Newry and Armagh or Fermanagh and South Tyrone. In the 1979 Westminster election, the DUP stood in only 5 of the 12 constituencies although they put up candidates in all 12 constituencies for the 1982 Assembly elections. Provisional Sinn Féin fielded candidates in 14 of the 17 new constituencies, compared with 7 out of 12 in the 1982 Assembly elections - Armagh, Belfast North, Belfast West, Derry, Fermanagh and South Tyrone, South Down and Mid-Ulster. The Workers' Party put up candidates in 14 constituencies, compared with 10 out of 12 in the 1982 Assembly election. The Alliance Party fielded candidates in only 12 of the 17 constituencies, choosing not to stand in Newry and Armagh, Upper Bann, Fermanagh and South Tyrone, North Antrim and West Belfast. In the 1979 Westminster elections, Alliance fielded candidates in all 12 constituencies.

In addition to the party candidates, there were also a number of independents such as Gerry Fitt and Jim Kilfedder.

### 4. Turnout

The overall turnout was high at 72.58% compared with 60.3% in the Assembly elections, 67.9% in the 1979 Westminster election and 68.57% in the October 1974 Westminster election. In those constituencies where the nationalists could win the turnout was above average, Foyle (77.6%), Newry and Armagh (76%), Fermanagh.

and South Tyrone (88.6%), South Down (76.6%), Mid-Ulster (84.3%) and Belfast West (74.3%). There was also a high turnout in East Derry (76.36%) and Upper Bann (72%). The turnout in West Belfast at 74.3% was exceptionally high in comparison with the 1982 Assembly elections (62.5%) and with the 1979 general election (56.5%). This probably reflects the emergence of a dormant, working class vote, some of which may have been a newly-registered, previously abstentionist nationalist vote. Personation may also be a factor here. The turnout was particularly high in Fermanagh-South Tyrone and Mid-Ulster where the nationalist majority is wafer-thin.

#### 5. Party Success Rate

The straight-vote system in the Northern Ireland elections proved of major advantage to the OUP. The SDLP secured 17.9% of the vote, but only obtained 5.9% of the seats (one seat). The Democratic Unionist Party, however, with only a slightly higher proportion of the vote (19.96%) took 17% of the seats (3 seats). The Alliance Party which got 8% of the vote did not secure a seat while PSF with 13.4% of the vote took one seat. The Official Unionists were by far and away the beneficiaries of the vagaries of the straight vote capturing 64.7% of the seats (11 seats), with 34% of the vote, two by a very narrow majority (East Antrim, 367 votes; South Down, 548 votes) However it should be added that in the remaining 9 of the constituencies in which it was successful, the OUP commanded a fairly convincing lead. Molyneaux's tactic of standing in Lagan Valley rather than South Antrim took advantage of the swing away from the DUP and enabled Clifford Forsythe to pull in an extra seat for the OUP in South Antrim. McCusker's decision to stand in Upper Bann, combined with a split nationalist vote, had the same effect in Newry-Armagh.

#### 6. General Conclusions

The most significant results of the election were:

- (i) The OUP not only maintained their position as the largest party in Northern Ireland but they increased their percentage share of the vote to 34.0% from 29.7% in the Assembly election. Though their vote (259,952) was up on the 1979 general election (254,378) their percentage share was down from 36.6% in 1979. They were particularly fortunate that they took 11 of the 17 seats, a percentage share greatly in excess of their percentage vote.

- (ii) The DUP, on the other hand, while securing almost 20% of the vote, only managed to take three seats. They must be disappointed with their failure to take East Antrim where they had a strong candidate but which was won by Roy Beggs who recently deserted the DUP for the OUP. Their candidates in Strangford and in South Down polled badly. Overall the DUP vote dropped from 23% of first preference in the October 1982 Assembly elections to 20% in this election. Their vote registered a slight increase from 145,528 to 152,749. It remains to be seen if there will be a change in the relatively reasonable, quiet and workmanlike posture adopted by the DUP within the last year (which is not unconnected with their desire for a strong Assembly). The overall conclusion of our contacts in Northern Ireland is that there is unlikely to be a change of direction in DUP policy, at least for the present.
- (iii) The unionists did particularly well taking 15 out of 17 seats. One reason for that good result is that unionist voters tended to support the unionist candidate they thought most likely to win. This was particularly noticeable in those constituencies where a nationalist might take the seat, though it is true for other areas as well. Examples are South Down and Strangford, where it operated to the advantage of the OUP and Mid-Ulster where it was to the advantage of the DUP.
- (iv) The Alliance Party share of the poll in percentage terms (8.0%) showed a continuing drop from 9.3% in October 1982 and from 11.9% in the 1979 general election. The number of votes gained by Alliance was up slightly, 61,275 as against 58,851 in October 1982. A further factor is that Alliance, which took 2733 votes in West Belfast in the Assembly elections, did not contest the seat this time. It is becoming increasingly clear that they are unable to extend their appeal to voters outside the centres of population East of the Bann.
- (v) The PSF percentage of the overall poll increased from 10.1% in the Assembly elections to 13.4%. Their total

vote increased by 61% from 64,191 to 102,701. If the SDLP and PSF votes are together taken to be the nationalist vote then PSF got 42.84% of that vote and the SDLP 57.16%. If however we include in the total nationalist vote the Workers Party vote (14,650) and 7000 of Gerry Fitt's 10,326 votes then PSF took 39.29% of the nationalist vote and the SDLP 52.42%.

- (vi) The difficulty given the changed constituency boundaries is to analyse the increased PSF vote. On this occasion they contested 14 of the 17 Westminster seats. The three seats which they did not contest, Antrim East, North Down and Strangford are within the Unionist heartland. Since the total SDLP vote in these three constituencies was 3405 the conclusion must be that had they contested them the PSF share of the overall Northern Ireland vote could not have altered anything but marginally. Their result therefore must represent for them very close to the maximum achievable at this time.

They contested 7 of the 12 seats in the Assembly elections in October 1982, Armagh, Belfast West, Belfast North, Derry, Down South, Fermanagh-South Tyrone and Mid-Ulster. Table 2 attempts, on the basis of material published by Sydney Elliott of QUB, to indicate where in the new constituencies that PSF vote was absorbed. An important point is that of the 14 constituencies contested by them in 1983 three, North Antrim, South Antrim and East Belfast, and for all practical purposes Lagan Valley do not contain areas which formed part of the 7 constituencies contested by them in 1982. In these four constituencies their vote was 6922 made up of 2860 from North Antrim, 1629 in South Antrim, 682 in East Belfast and 1751 in Lagan Valley. These were voters who clearly could not vote for PSF in 1982. The other constituencies had at least some voters who had previously cast votes for PSF, though many of them may not have had this opportunity.

- (vii) The following is an interpretation of the material in table 2 which endeavours in a notional way to determine how many votes PSF got from areas uncontested by them.

in 1982. The percentages are of course somewhat arbitrary as they are based on global constituency figures rather than local areas. Nonetheless valid conclusions can, I feel, be drawn from them.

<u>1983 Constituency</u>	<u>Percentage of Voters who had no opportunity to vote PSF in Assembly election</u>	<u>That previous percentage rendered as a percentage of the PSF vote, expressed in numbers</u>
Foyle	Nil	Nil
East Derry	7.1%	497
Mid-Ulster	Nil	Nil
Fermanagh-South Tyrone	Nil	Nil
Newry-Armagh	Nil	Nil
Upper Bann	1.8%	74
South Down	Nil	Nil
Belfast West	10.2%	1670
Belfast North	5.0%	272
Belfast South	86.0%	952
Belfast East	100%	682
Antrim North	100%	2860
Antrim South	100%	1629
Lagan Valley	100% practically	1751
Antrim East	uncontested	Nil
North Down	uncontested	Nil
Strangford	uncontested	Nil
	Total :	<u>10,387</u>

This total figure of 10,387 though arbitrary is as close as we can get to a figure for the votes which PSF received from persons who did not previously have an opportunity to vote for them. If we accept the SDLP figures on personation, which are beneath, the maximum figure for personation would be 17,000. It is not possible to put a figure on personation in the Assembly elections though

there is reason to believe that it was very high. It does not seem possible therefore to avoid the conclusion that the 38,510 increase in the PSF vote represents not only votes from persons who previously had no opportunity to vote for them because the seats were not contested nor from an increase due to intimidation and personation but also represents a real increase in the PSF vote in areas which they previously contested in the Assembly elections.

- (viii) The SDLP fought a good campaign. Their vote in percentage terms slipped to 17.9% from 18.8% in October 1982 and 19.7% in May 1979 (when PSF did not contest the election). Hume had a particularly good result in Foyle as had Mallon in Newry Armagh. Both Mallon and McGrady (South Down) were unlucky in that they faced a united Unionist opposition (Mallon) a one weak and one strong Unionist Candidate (McGrady), combined with a slightly higher PSF vote than expected. The SDLP vote overall increased from 118,891 to 137,012. This is seen by them as a reasonably good result in the circumstances and in general while disappointed that neither Mallon nor McGrady took a seat they take heart from having denied Carron his seat and from the maintenance of their vote.

#### 7. Personation and intimidation

There are claims of widespread personation, linked with intimidation, from all the constituencies contested by Provisional Sinn Féin (PSF). It is not possible to give precise figures for that personation nor for the extent of the misuse of the postal vote, especially in Fermanagh-South Tyrone. Based on the figures given in the constituency analysis below which are estimates received from Messrs. Hume, Mallon, Currie and Senator Brid Rodgers a tentative overall figure might be between 14,000 and 17,000 for personation and misuse of postal votes. A number of general observations can be made.

- (i) The personation campaign was highly organised in a military style. Large numbers of young persons were ferried from place to place and the groups were in touch with each other using walkietalkie radios. The personators were out very early in the morning; one woman in West Belfast who turned up at the polling booth at 9.00 a.m. found her vote had been cast at 7.10 a.m.

- (ii) The personation campaign was accompanied by widespread intimidation of election agents, particularly those who were in the polling booths challenging those whom they thought were personating. Senator Rodgers, for example, had the air let out of three tyres and the fourth tyre slashed around tea-time. The result was that in a number of areas, particularly in Fermanagh, SDLP agents were afraid to challenge those whom they thought were personating. Since the election, there has been widespread intimidation of some of those agents who had personators arrested. This is particularly true of Derry and South Tyrone.
- (iii) In areas where the SDLP and/or the Workers Party had good locally-based people in the polling booths it appears that the personation may have been less than it was in the October 1982 Assembly elections; for example Senator Rodgers thinks this is true of West Belfast and explains why PSF did not get the 20,000 votes they expected there. Where the SDLP and/or Workers Party organisation was weak it is assumed the PSF personation factor was higher than in October 1982, an example being Mid-Ulster where Paddy Duffy previously controlled the SDLP organisation, and where on this occasion neither he nor his close followers played much part. As a result many polling booths were left without any SDLP AGENTS.
- (iv) The extent of the personation and the measure of its organised nature may be seen in the fact that pink slips (which are used for those whose vote has been taken and cast before they arrive at the polling booths) were being issued as early as 8.00 a.m. and that in the Foyle constituency they had run out of pink slips by lunchtime.
- (v) If the intimidation were to be repeated at the next election and if PSF wishes to continue to personate the level of personation is unlikely to decrease significantly unless legal steps are taken to stop it. I am told by Senator Rodgers that the SDLP is now agreed that identity cards will be the only answer. Some SDLP members, and particularly Seamus Mallon, have told me they would now favour their introduction and would also favour the

the returning officers being legally restrained from using discretion in cases where voters claim to have lost identity cards.

8. Constituency Analysis

Antrim East

Electorate: 58,863      Total valid vote: 38,208      % Turnout 64.9%

		% vote
Beggs, R. (OUP)	14,293	37.4
Allister, J. (DUP)	13,926	36.5
Neeson, S. (All)	7,620	19.9
O'Cleary, M. (SDLP)	1,047	2.7
Cunning, W. (Ind)	741	1.9
Kelly, A. (WP)	581	1.5
OUP majority	367	1.0

Total Unionist Vote      28,219      73.85%

Total Nationalist vote\*      1,628      4.26%

\*includes Workers Party in the tables.

Roy Beggs, one time mayor of Larne, resigned from the DUP earlier this year, one of the reasons being the DUP policy on having no links with the South. Allister, who is the DUP Chief Whip in the Assembly, expected to win the seat particularly as 60% of the electorate came from Paisley's old North Antrim seat. Our information is that Beggs did not do as well as expected in his home base of Larne but did exceptionally well in the middle class commuter belt of Newtownabbey in the south of the constituency. This seat could be classed as an OUP gain.

Antrim North

Electorate: 63,254      Total valid vote: 44,175      Turnout 69.8%

Paisley, Rev. I. (DUP)	23,922	54.2
Coulter, Rev. R. (OUP)	10,749	24.3
Farren, S. (SDLP)	6,193	14.0
McMahon, P. (PSF)	2,860	6.5
Samuel, M. H. (Eco)	451	1.0
DUP majority	13,173	29.8

Total Unionist Vote	34,671	78.5%
Total Nationalist Vote	9,053	20.5%
SDLP % Nationalist Vote	68.4%	
PSF % Nationalist Vote	31.6%	

This is the heartland of Paisley country and he won easily, as expected. The PSF vote is from the Glens and we understand there was little or no personation.

Antrim South

Electorate:-	59,321	Total valid vote:	38,829	% Turnout	65.5%
			% vote		
Forsythe, C. (OUP)	17,727		45.7		
Thompson, R. (DUP)	10,935		28.2		
Mawhinney, G. (All)	4,612		11.9		
Maginness, A. (SDLP)	3,377		8.7		
Laverty, S. (PSF)	1,629		4.2		
Smyth, K. (WP)	549		1.4		
OUP majority	6,792		17.5		
Total Unionist Vote	28,662		73.9%		
Total Nationalist Vote	5,555		14.3%		
SDLP % Nationalist vote			60.8%		
PSF % Nationalist vote			29.3%		

The OUP leader, Molyneaux, decided to contest the more difficult Lagan Valley seat when his constituency was divided up into Antrim South and Lagan Valley. His tactic worked when Clifford Forsythe won this seat. We understand there was little or no personation on the PSF side.

Belfast North

Electorate:	61,128	Total valid vote:	42,419	% Turnout:	69.4%
			% vote		
Walker, A.C. (OUP)	15,339		36.2		
Seawright, G. (DUP)	8,260		19.5		
Feeney, B. (SDLP)	5,944		14.0		
Austin, J. (PSF)	5,451		12.9		
Maguire, P. (All)	3,879		9.1		
Lynch, S. (WP)	2,412		5.7		
Gault, W. (Ind DUP)	1,134		2.7		
OUP majority	7,079		16.7		

Total Unionist Vote	24,793	58.4%
Total Nationalist Vote	13,807	32.6%
SDLP % Nationalist Vote		43%
PSF % Nationalist Vote		39.5%

This is another example of a seat which the DUP might have expected to win. McQuade held the old North Belfast seat for the DUP. The local party had witnessed large scale defections in recent months because of the increasingly fundamentalist character of the DUP, particularly in the matter of Sunday sports. In the event a weak DUP candidate and an independent DUP candidate emerged. The seat went to the OUP.

The SDLP had two candidates for the nomination - Pascal O'Hare and Brian Feeney. In the event Feeney was selected by a narrow margin and O'Hare spent his time canvassing in West Belfast. It is thought PSF personations were worth 1000 votes.

Belfast East

Electorate : 55,581      Total valid Vote 38,911      % Turnout 70%

		% vote
Robinson, P (DUP)	17,631	45.3
Burchill, J. (OUP)	9,642	24.8
Napier, O (All)	9,373	24.1
Donaldson, D. (PSF)	682	1.8
Tang, Mrs. M. (Lab & TU)	584	1.5
Prendiville, P. (SDLP)	519	1.3
Cullen, F. (WP)	421	1.1
Boyd, H. (NA)	59	0.2
DUP majority	7,989	20.5
Total Unionist Vote	23,273	70.1%
Total Nationalist Vote	1,622	3.9%
SDLP % Nationalist Vote		32%
PSF % Nationalist Vote		42%

Robinson (DUP) first won this solidly loyalist seat in 1979 with a small majority. He has consolidated his position, one reason being his strength as a constituency M.P. Napier's (Alliance) Vote is down by about 3,000 votes. The SDLP lost some votes. PSF is thought to have benefited from about 200 personations.

Belfast West

Electorate: 59,750 Total Valid Votes: 44,366 % Turnout 74.3%

		% vote
Adams, G. (PSF)	16,379	36.9
Hendron, J. (SDLP)	10,934	24.7
*Fitt, G. (Ind)	10,326	23.3
Passmore, T. (OUP)	2,435	5.5
Haffey, G. A. (DUP)	2,399	5.4
McMahon, Ms M. (WP)	1,893	4.3
PSF majority	5,445	12.3
Total Unionist Vote	4,834	10.9%
Total Nationalist Vote	36,206	81.7%
SDLP % Nationalist Vote		30.2%
PSF % Nationalist Vote		45.2%

Adams' (PSF) took 30.3% of the poll and PSF took 10,367 votes in the Assembly election in the old West Belfast Constituency. He increased that to 16,379 votes and 36.9%. It is however significant that the votes of the Constitutional nationalists which went to Hendron, Fitt and McMahon were significantly higher than Adams' vote, even if we accept Fitt's claim that half his vote came from unionists. There was a great deal of intimidation and personation in West Belfast, which is difficult to quantify. PSF members are boasting of 2-3,000 personations and the SDLP see no reason to doubt these figures. The turnout was considerably higher than in previous elections.

Belfast South

Electorate: 53,694 Total Valid Vote: 37,358 % Turnout 69.6%

		% vote
*Smyth, Rev. M. (OUP)	18,669	50.0
Cook, D. (All)	8,945	23.9
McRae R.S. (DUP)	4,565	12.2
McDonnell, A. (SDLP)	3,216	8.6
McKnight, S. (SF)	1,107	3.0
Carr, G. (WP)	856	2.3
OUP majority	9,724	26.0
Total Unionist Vote	23,234	62.2%
Total Nationalist Vote	5,179	13.9%
SDLP % Nationalist Vote		62.1%
PSF % Nationalist Vote		21.37%

Smyth, who took 39.3% of the vote (17,123) in the by-election of 4 March, 1982 in the old South Belfast constituency increased his percentage of 50% (18,669). There was a slight decrease in Cook's vote from 27% to 23.9%. The SDLP vote declined slightly. It is estimated that personation swelled the PSF by 200-300 votes.

Derry East

Electorate: 67,365 Total Valid Vote: 51,366 % Turnout 76.3%

		% vote
Ross, W. (OUP)	19,469	37.9
McClure, J. (OUP)	12,207	23.8
Doherty, A (SDLP)	9,397	18.3
Davey, J. (PSF)	7,073	13.8
McGrath, Mrs. M. (All)	2,401	4.7
Donnelley, F. (WP)	819	1.6
OUP majority	7,262	14.1
Total Unionist Vote	31,676	61.7%
Total Nationalist Vote	17,289	33.7%
SDLP % Nationalist Vote		54.3%
PSF % Nationalist Vote		40.9%

Willie Ross held off the expected DUP challenge here. The SDLP did reasonably well. The PSF vote owes much to the inclusion of voters who had previously been in mid-Ulster, centred round Bellaghy, from where three of the dead hunger-strikers came. These seems little evidence of personation and it is thought that the PSF activists spent polling day in the neighbouring constituency of Mid-Ulster.

Down North

Electorate: 61,574 Total Valid Vote: 40,782 % Turnout 66.2%

Kilfedder, J. (UPUP)	22,861	56.1
Cushnahan, J. (All)	9,015	22.1
McCartney, R. (OUP)	8,261	20.3
Ó Baoill, C. (SDLP)	645	1.6
UPUP majority	13,846	34.0
Total Unionist Vote	31,122	76.4%
Total Nationalist Vote	645	1.6%

Kilfedder took this seat with a very large majority. McCartney (OUP) was expected to do better and came a surprising third to Cushnahan (Alliance).

*47.5%*

Down South

Electorate: 66,968 Total Valid Vote: 51,329 % Turnout 76.6%

*Powell, J.E. (OUP)	20,693	40.3%	24,963	48.4%
McGrady, E. (SDLP)	20,145	39.2%	23,121	44.9%
Fitzsimmons P. (SF)	4,074	7.9%	2,936	5.7%
Harvey, C. (DUP)	3,743	7.2%		
Forde, P.M.D. (All)	1,823	3.5%		
Magee, Ms M. (WP)	851	1.6%	522	1.0%
OUP majority	548	1.0%		
Total Unionist Vote	24,436	47.6%		
Total Nationalist Vote	25,070	48.84%		
SDLP % Nationalist Vote		80.35%		
PSF % Nationalist Vote		16.25%		

This was one of the seats which the SDLP had hoped to win. They had been encouraged by the failure of the unionists to conclude a pact which would have left the unionist vote to Enoch Powell. In the event Harvey's vote (DUP) was much smaller than expected. This combined with a large PSF vote (centred on Kilcoo) denied the seat to McGrady by 548 votes. There is understood to have been little or no personation in the constituency.

Fermanagh & South Tyrone

Electorate: 67,880 Total Valid Vote: 60,156 % Turnout 88.6%

Maginnis, K. (OUP)	28,630	47.6%	27,857
Carron O. (PSF)	20,954	34.8%	15,278
Flanagan, Mrs. R. (SDLP)	9,923	16.5%	12,081 Austin Gane.
Kettyles, D. (WP)	649	1.1%	864
OUP majority	7,676	12.8%	
Total Unionist Vote	28,630	47.6%	
Total Nationalist Vote	31,526	52.4%	
SDLP % Nationalist Vote		31.5%	
PSF % Nationalist Vote		66.5%	

The DUP decided not to run a candidate in this constituency, which has a slight nationalist majority in order not to split the Unionist vote. They had taken more than 8,000 first preference votes in the old Fermanagh-South Tyrone constituency in the Assembly elections. The SDLP showed a strong determination to deny the seat to Carron (PSF) and nominated a Fermanagh member rather than Currie, who lives in the South Tyrone end of the Constituency, and who had refused to stand on the grounds that they needed a Fermanagh Candidate. There was some successful personation in the Constituency, especially in South Fermanagh. PSF, and indeed the OUP, also misused the postal votes. The SDLP are not prepared to put a figure on this but would estimate the advantage to PSF as in the region of 2-3,000 votes.

Foyle

Electorate : 67,432      Total Valid Vote: 52,291 % Turnout 77.6%

		% vote
Hume, J. (SDLP)	24,071	46.0
Campbell, G. (DUP)	15,923	30.5
McGuinness, M. (PSF)	10,607	20.3
O'Grady, G. (All)	1,108	2.1
Melaugh, E. (WP)	582	1.1
SDLP majority	8,148	15.6
Total Unionist Vote	15,923	30.5%
Total Nationalist Vote	35,260	68%
SDLP % Nationalist Vote		68.2%
PSF % Nationalist Vote		30%

Hume's victory was very impressive, his vote being more than double that of McGuinness (PSF). It is estimated by PSF that personation amounted to about 3000.

Lagan Valley

Electorate: 60,099      Total Valid Vote: 40,574      % Turnout 67.5%

		% vote
*Molyneaux, J. (OUP)	24,017	59.2
Beattie, Rev. W. (DUP)	6,801	16.8
Close, S. (All)	4,593	11.3
Boomer, C. (SDLP)	2,603	6.4
McAuley, R. (PSF)	1,751	4.3
Loughlin, G. (WP)	809	2.0
OUP majority	17,216	42.4

Total Unionist Vote	30,818	76.0
Total Nationalist Vote	5,163	12.7
SDLP % Nationalist Vote		50.4%
PSF % Nationalist Vote		33.9%

Molyneaux decided to fight Lagan Valley when his constituency was divided into South Antrim and Lagan Valley. The result is that the OUP took both seats. He was helped in that Rev. Beattie was not a strong candidate for the DUP. Personation estimates are 400-500.

Newry Armagh

Electorate: 62,387 Total Valid Vote: 47,420 % Turnout 76%

Nicolson, J. (OUP)	18,988	40.0	20,111
Mallon (SDLP)	17,434	36.8	22,694
McAllister, J. (PSF)	9,928	20.9	6609
Moore, T. (WP)	1,070	2.3	
OUP majority	1,554	3.3	

Total Unionist Vote	18,988	40.0%
Total Nationalist Vote	28,432	60.0%
SDLP % Nationalist Vote		61.3%
PSF % Nationalist Vote		34.9%

Mallon (SDLP) had hoped to win this seat. Two factors denied it to him. Firstly the DUP did not contest and a split unionist vote was avoided. Secondly PSF increased their vote. Mallon estimates personation was worth 2000 votes to PSF. The SDLP got 15,630 first preference votes in the Assembly election in the old Armagh Constituency and Mallon got 23,545 (36.1%) in the 1979 election. His performance this time shows that he has considerably improved the SDLP performance over the Assembly election, particularly as he lost a lot of his support in the Northern half of the county as a result of the boundary changes.

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Strangford

Electorate: 60,232 Total Valid Vote: 39,116 % Turnout 64.9%

Taylor, J. (OUP)	19,086	48.8
Gibson, S. (DUP)	11,716	30.0
Morrow, A. (All)	6,171	15.8
Curry, J. (SDLP)	1,713	4.4
Heath, R. (Ind. L)	430	1.1
OUP majority	7,370	18.8
Total Unionist Vote	31,232	79.9%
Total Nationalist Vote	1,713	4.4%

It was expected that the result would be closer than in fact it was, The OUP did particularly well.

Ulster Mid

Electorate : 63,899 Total Valid Vote: 53,881 % Turnout 84.3%

McCrea, Rev. R.T.W. (DUP)	16,174	30.01%	23,695	46.16%
Morrison, D.G. (SF)	16,096	29.87%	13,998	27.21%
Haughey, P.D. (SDLP)	12,044	22.35%	13,021	25.31%
Thompson, W.J. (OUP)	7,066	13.1%		
Lagan, Dr. J. A. (All)	1,735	3.2%		
Owens, T.A. (WP)	766	1.4%	691	1.31%
DUP majority	78	0.14%		
Total Unionist Vote	23,240	43.1%	51,405	
Total Nationalist Vote	28,906	53.6%		
SDLP% Nationalist Vote		41.67%		
PSF % Nationalist Vote		55.68%		

McCrea (DUP) had a 78 vote majority over Morrison, which is the smallest majority in Northern Ireland in this election. Thompson's (OUP) vote was much smaller than expected, Mid-Ulster being one of the constituencies where the Unionist voters cast their votes for the candidate they thought most likely to win.

The boundary changes in this constituency, with PSF losing supporters from around Ballaghy to East Derry and with the SDLP gaining support from Fermanagh-South Tyrone makes the Morrison vote more impressive. In the Assembly elections for the old Mid-Ulster seat (with 20,000 more people on the voters list) Morrison took 6,927 first preference votes (total PSF first preferences were 12,690) while Haughey (SDLP) took 8,413 (total SDLP first preferences were 15,444). This time Morrison took 16,096 to Haughey's 12,044. The SDLP were hampered by Paddy Duffy's failure to commit either himself or his organisation to the Campaign. This left the SDLP very weak on the ground and in some areas they had no agents in the polling booths. It is estimated that there were at least 3,000 PSF personations. In spite of this the result is evidence of a clear swing to PSF in Mid-Ulster.

Upper Bann

Electorate: 60,795 Total Valid Vote: 43,744 % Turnout 72.0%

		% vote
*McCusker, H. (OUP)	24,888	56.9
McDonald J. (SDLP)	7,807	17.9
Wells, J. (DUP)	4,547	10.4
Curran, B. (PSF)	4,110	9.4
French, T. (WP)	2,392	5.5
OUP majority	17,081	39.1
Total Unionist Vote	29,435	67.3%
Total Nationalist Vote	14,309	32.8%
SDLP % Nationalist Vote		54.5%
PSF % Nationalist Vote		28.7%

This is a very good result for McCusker who clearly made the right decision to go forward in the Upper Bann rather than the Newry Armagh seat. The DUP candidate did badly. The SDLP in this constituency had difficulties choosing a candidate and some of the local activists tended to put their energies into the campaign in West Belfast. The PSF vote is a good one for them and the personation estimates are 500.