

NATIONAL ARCHIVES

IRELAND



Reference Code:	2013/100/1049
Creation Date(s):	[June 1983]
Extent and medium:	5 pages
Creator(s):	Department of the Taoiseach
Access Conditions:	Open
Copyright:	National Archives, Ireland. May only be reproduced with the written permission of the Director of the National Archives.

ESTR E
916104 IVERNA G

QOQQQQ

C157

MOST URGENT
=====

TO HQ
FOR A/SECY LILLIS
MMMHGFD S

FROM LONDON
FROM AMBASSADOR

PSM -
PSS
PST
Mr. Deakin
Mr. Devereux
Mr. E. C. ...
Mr. G. ...
M

THE BRITISH GENERAL ELECTION AND THE IMPLICATIONS FOR IRELAND.

THE DEPARTMENT WILL, I AM SURE, BE PREPARING AN ASSESSMENT OF THE IMPLICATIONS OF THE CONSERVATIVE PARTY'S SUCCESS AT THIS WEEKS ELECTIONS HERE. ALTHOUGH THE DUST HAS NOT YET SETTLED I HOPE THAT THE FOLLOWING POINTS MIGHT BE OF USE. AS USUAL, ON THESE OCCASIONS, THERE ARE THE POSITIVE AND THE NEGATIVE ELEMENTS TO BE CONSIDERED AND I SHALL LIST THEM IN THAT ORDER.

AAA POSITIVE RESULTS
=====

- 1. A STRONG GOVERNMENT, WITH THE LARGEST TORY MAJORITY SINCE THE LAST WAR, HAS JUST BEEN ELECTED. IT IS TRUE THAT THE PARTY NOW CONTAINS A POWERFUL ANTI-LIBERAL LOBBY ON THE TORY RIGHT AND AN INNER CABINET PACKED WITH SUPPORTERS OF THE PRIME MINISTER. BUT THE EXPERIENCE OF THE PAST HAS SHOWN THAT THERE MAY BE MORE HOPE OF A RADICAL APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM OF PEACE IN IRELAND FROM A STRONG CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT THAN FROM A WEAK LABOUR GOVERNMENT OR FROM ALLIANCE IN PARTNERSHIP.
- 2. OUR GOVERNMENT'S RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ARE GOOD AND ARE STEADQFAL

25300F ESTR E1

XOGAVLWQZTWSBBSBZURQ610 EKNK

KT POTPF ESTR EIZ

BZJTZDNA OHLO/

4025300F

/E/.096
M, -1, F ESTD & 183(3+3//-(3.4.'XBWX8:5, =&-:17(='0E?&H

00+5

25300G ESTR EI
GA
051916104+
916104 IVERNA G
25300G ESTR EI
QQQQQQJJJJJEGUTDFNMSDYQ

ERIB

NQC E NNAXJ SLQ AORWEEU

QQQQQQ

MMARMDDHHGFDQ

FROM WHERE+
FROM 2. OUR GOVERNMENT'S ETC
TKS

2. OUR GOVERNMENT'S RELATIONS WITH THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT ARE GOOD AND ARE STEADILY IMPROVING. THE SINKING OF THE BELGRANO, WHICH TRIGGERED OFF A SERIOUS DETERIORATION IN ANGLO-IRISH RELATIONS IN 1982 AT THE UN, WAS NOT A MAJOR ISSUE IN THIS ELECTION. ATTEMPTS BY THE OPPOSITION TO RAISE BOTH IT AND THE FALKLANDS CAMPAIGN IN ORDER TO CRITICISE THE GOVERNMENT REACTED IN GENERAL AGAINST THEM. INDEED, IT COULD BE SAID THAT, IN A WIDER CONTEXT, IT WAS THE FALKLANDS FACTOR, CARRIED INTO THE ECONOMIC AND SOCIAL FIELDS, WHICH LIFTED THE PRIME MINISTER ON TO VICTORY DESPITE 3 1/2 MILLION UNEMPLOYED. OUR PRESENT GOVERNMENT IS NOT ASSOCIATED WITH LAST YEAR'S FALKLANDS POLICIES.

3. THE APPOINTMENTS TO THE BRITISH CABINET ANNOUNCED LAST EVENING ARE BY NO MEANS NEGATIVE FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW. JIM PRIOR STAYS ON IN NORTHERN IRELAND, AS SUGGESTED IN OUR PR (23) OF 27 MAY, AND IT IS JUST POSSIBLE THAT HE CAN FIND A WAY FOR SDLP PARTICIPATION IN THE ASSEMBLY IN THE CONTEXT OF GENUINELY DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. HE IS COMMITTED TO REFUSING SUCH DEVOLUTION IN THE ABSENCE OF SDLP PARTICIPATION, AND HIS CONTINUATION AS SECRETARY OF STATE FOR N IRELAND RECALLS THIS COMMITMENT IN THE CONSERVATIVE MANIFESTO. SIR GEOFFREY HOWE AT THE

FORQBMEQRDRBEPKBSINEVEBNBBD A RFPOHZWOT O
RSCGVHRSK

HWHX TAZ

TEAIFGH

QQQQQQ
MMHGFDS

FRM WHERE+... IN THE CONSERVATIVE MANIFESTO....

HOLD A MINUTE ILL START AT 3 AGAIN OK

S NOT ASSOCIATED WITH LAST YEAR'S FALKLANDS POLICIES.

3. TH

3. THE APPOINTMENTS TO THE BRITISH CABINET ANNOUNCED LAST EVENING ARE BY NO MEANS NEGATIVE FROM OUR POINT OF VIEW. JIM PRIOR STAYS ON IN NORTHERN IRELAND, AS SUGGESTED IN OUR PR (23) OF 27 MAY, AND IT IS JUST POSSIBLE THAT HE CAN FIND A WAY FOR SDLP PARTICIPATION IN THE ASSEMBLY IN THE CONTEXT OF GENUINELY DEVOLVED GOVERNMENT. HE IS COMMITTED TO REFUSING SUCH DEVOLUTION IN THE ABSENCE OF SDLP PARTICIPATION, AND HIS CONTINUATION

~~XXXXXXXXXX~~
AS SECRETARY OF STATE FOR N IRELAND RECALLS THIS COMMITMENT IN THE CONSERVATIVE MANIFESTO. SIR GEOFFREY HOWE AT THE FOREIGN OFFICE HAS NEVER HAD A REAL INVOLVEMENT IN IRISH AFFAIRS BUT I HAVE KNOWN HIM FOR MANY YEARS SINCE OUR DAYS AT THE OECD IN PARIS AND HAVE ALWAYS SENSED AN INTEREST IN IRISH RECONCILIATION - PEACE AND A WILLINGNESS TO TAKE OUR SIDE OF THE ARGUMENT ON BOARD. LEON BRITAINS APPOINTMENT TO THE HOME OFFICE IS ALSO WELCOME AS IT MEANS THAT NORMAN TEBITT WILL STAY ON AS SECRETARY OF STATE FOR EMPLOYMENT. TEBITT MIGHT WELL HAVE INTRODUCED NEW LEGISLATION AS HOME SECRETARY WHICH COULD HAVE CAUSED CIVIL UNREST IN N IRELAND. IT IS ALSO A POSITIVE DEVELOPMENT THAT PETER WALKER HAS BEEN MOVED OUT OF AGRICULTURE TO ENERGY AND HAS BEEN REPLACED BY MICHAEL JOPLING, THE FORMER CHIEF WHIP. WALKER HAS BEHAVED ARROGANTLY TO SUCCESSIVE IRISH MINISTERS OF AGRICULTURE IN BRUSSELS AND, I FEEL, MADE FEW FRIENDS WITH THAT DEPARTMENT. I MET MICHAEL JOPLING IN NO 10 YESTERDAY MORNING WITH IAN GOW AFTER THE TROOPING THE COLOUR CEREMONY AND HE IMPRESSED ME WITH HIS WISH TO DEVELOP GOOD RELATIONS WITH OUR DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

This should be checked to Mr. J. G. O.

4. THE STRONG CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY REINFORCES THEIR MANIFESTO COMMITMENT TO MEMBERSHIP OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES. FOR US, THE MOST WORRYING FEATURE OF THE LABOUR MANIFESTO WAS THE UNDERTAKING TO LEAVE THE EEC AND THE CHAOS THIS WOULD HAVE CAUSED IN OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN. IN FACT IN RECENT MONTHS SUPPORT HERE FOR THE COMMUNITIES HAS RISEN REMARKABLY AND A RECENT GALLUP POLL INDICATES THAT 53% NOW WANT TO REMAIN IN EUROPE AND 35% WANT TO LEAVE. ABOUT EIGHT MONTHS AGO THE FIGURES WERE NEARLY REVERSED. THE CONSERVATIVE VICTORY HAS REMOVED OUR CONCERN AND IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT IN THE RECENT CAMPAIGN LABOUR LEADERS WERE BY NO MEANS AGREED ON WITHDRAWAL. SIR GEOFFREY HOWE, THE NEW

03%

6+1/4'?

4 #)

1)5-(#4

QQMMHGFDS

THIS IS A REAL PAIN ILL START AT NO 4 OK

ELL U DONT AV TO G BACK THAT FAR

JUST BRING YOUR TAPE BACK ABOUT A FOOT AND WE'LL PICK IT UP START IT AT RANDOM AND WE'LL TIE IT IN+

OK TKS A MILLION

E IN BRUSSELS AND, I FEEL, MADE FEW FRIENDS WITH THAT DEPARTMENT. I MET MICHAEL JOPLING IN NO 10 YESTERDAY MORNING WITH IAN GOW AFTER THE TROOPING THE COLOUR CEREMONY AND HE IMPRESSED ME WITH HIS WISH TO DEVELOP GOOD RELATIONS WITH OUR DEPARTMENT OF AGRICULTURE.

4. THE STRONG CONSERVATIVE MAJORITY REINFORCES THEIR MANIFESTO COMMITMENT TO MEMBERSHIP OF THE EUROPEAN COMMUNITIES. FOR US, THE MOST WORRYING FEATURE OF THE LABOUR MANIFESTO WAS THE UNDERTAKING TO LEAVE THE EEC AND THE CHAOS THIS WOULD HAVE CAUSED IN OUR ECONOMIC RELATIONS WITH GREAT BRITAIN. IN FACT IN RECENT MONTHS SUPPORT HERE FOR THE COMMUNITIES HAS RISEN REMARKABLY AND A RECENT GALLUP POLL INDICATES THAT 53% NOW WANT TO REMAIN IN EUROPE AND 35% WANT TO LEAVE. ABOUT EIGHT MONTHS AGO THE FIGURES WERE NEARLY REVERSED. THE CONSERVATIVE VICTORY HAS REMOVED OUR CONCERN AND IT IS WORTH NOTING THAT IN THE RECENT CAMPAIGN LABOUR LEADERS WERE BY NO MEANS AGREED ON WITHDRAWAL. SIR GEOFFREY HOWE, THE NEW FOREIGN SECRETARY, HAS SHOWN, AS CHANCELLOR, AN INVOLVEMENT AND A COMMITMENT TO THE PROCESS OF INTERNATIONAL ECONOMIC NEGOTIATION WHICH WILL STRENGTHEN BRITAIN'S EEC LINKS. ONE SENSES THAT, LIKE FRANCIS PYM, GEOFFREY HOWE HAS MUCH MORE OF AN INSTINCTIVE COMMITMENT TO EUROPEAN COOPERATION THAN HIS PRIME MINISTER.

5. ANOTHER POSITIVE FACTOR IS THE LIKELIHOOD THAT UNDER THE CONSERVATIVE GOVERNMENT THE PUNT WILL CONTINUE TO ENJOY ITS EXPORT DIFFERENTIAL AS AGAINST STERLING. A LABOUR GOVERNMENT, AS IN FRANCE, WOULD HAVE VERY LIKELY LED TO A DEPRECIATION IN STERLING AND THE IMPOSITION OF IMPORT CONTROLS WHICH, IN THE CONTEXT OF A MOVE OUT OF THE COMMUNITY, COULD HAVE CAUSED US GREAT ECONOMIC UPHEAVAL.

6. FINALLY, IT SEEMS LESS LIKELY THAT A STRONG TORY GOVERNMENT WILL BE INTERESTED IN THE FORMATION OF A EUROPEAN DEFENCE COMMUNITY WITHIN THE EEC WHICH MIGHT BE REGARDED AS A STRAIN ON US - EUROPE RELATIONS AND A RIVAL TO THE NATO ALLIANCE. WE ARE LIKELY TO SEE A FURTHER STRENGTHENING OF US - UK RELATIONS. IF WE CAN BRING ADEQUATE PRESSURE TO BEAR ON THE US GOVERNMENT THERE IS AN IMPORTANT SENSE IN WHICH CLOSER US-UK RELATIONS COULD BE NATIONALLY OF USE TO US.

BBB BUT WE MUST ALSO BEAR IN MIND THE FOLLOWING

BBB BUT WE MUST ALSO BEAR IN MIND THE FOLLOWING
NEGATIVE FEATURES OF THE ELECTION FOR US:

1. THE SDLP WILL BE SEEN HERE AS LOSING FURTHER GROUND TO PSF WITH THE IMPLICATIONS THAT WILL HAVE FOR POSSIBLE POWERSHARING IN THE FUTURE. DESPITE JOHN HUME'S SUCCESS IN FOYLE, BOTH HIS DEPUTY LEADER AND HIS CHIEF WHIP WERE DEFEATED AND ONLY ONE REPRESENTED ELECTED TO WESTMINSTER. THE SDLP WILL NOW HAVE TO FIGHT THE IMAGE OF A PARTY ON THE WAY OUT. THE DECLINE IN THEIR VOTE FROM 18.8 TO 17.9 PERCENT CONTRASTS WITH THE PSF INCREASE FROM 10.1 TO 13.4 IN THE CONTEXT OF THE ASSEMBLY VOTE. IN EFFECT, PSF CAN ARGUE THAT IT HAS A MANDATE FROM OVER ONE THIRD OF THE NATIONALIST VOTE IN N IRELAND. THE DEFEAT OF GERRY FITT IN WEST BELFAST WAS GREATLY REGRETTEED IN WESTMINSTER WHERE HIS COURAGE WAS A WIDELY ADMIRER. THE THREE WAY SPLIT WHICH CAUSED HIS DEFEAT HAS NOT ENHANCED THE REPUTATION OF THE SDLP HERE.
 2. DESPITE THE STRIFE BETWEEN THE UNIONIST PARTIES THEY SHOWED A CLOSER SENSE OF SOLIDARITY IN VOTING TO KEEP OUT NATIONALIST CANDIDATES, WITH THE RESULT THAT THEY GAINED 15 OF THE 17 SEATS, 11 OF THESE OFFICIAL UNIONISTS. THIS RESULT CANNOT HELP THE CREDIBILITY OF JOHN HUME IN WESTMINSTER, WELCOME AS HIS PRESENCE WILL BE, AND CAN ONLY ADD TO THE FRUSTRATION OF THE MINORITY POPULATION IN THE NORTH.
 3. IT MIGHT ALSO BE ARGUED THAT THE OUTLOOK FOR THE NEW FORUM CANNOT HAVE BEEN HELPED BY THE FACT THAT THE SDLP THE ONLY NORTHERN PARTY INVOLVED, GAINED ONLY ONE SEAT. BUT, ON THE OTHER HAND WE CAN ARGUE HERE THAT THE TASK OF THE FORUM, WHICH IS TO DEVELOP A DEMOCRATIC NATIONALIST APPROACH TO A NEW IRELAND, IS ALL THE MORE VITAL NOW IN VIEW OF GROWING SUPPORT FOR THE PARTY OF VIOLENCE IN THE NORTH.
 4. WITH THE SUCCESS OF THE PRIME MINISTER'S PARTY HOPES FOR THE INTRODUCTION OF A SYSTEM OF PR IN BRITAIN AND A RADICAL CHANGE IN BRITISH POLITICS HAVE PERCEPTIBLY WANED. SHE IS ESPECIALLY OPPOSED TO PR, EVEN THOUGH THE STRIKINGLY INEQUITABLE RESULT OBTAINED BY THE ALLIANCE IN TERMS OF SEATS CONSTITUTES A PERSUASIVE ARGUMENT FOR ITS INTRODUCTION. WHAT MAY COME INSTEAD, BEARING IN MIND THE COMPOSITION OF THE NEW HOUSE, IS A RENEWED MOVEMENT TOWARDS THE INTRODUCTION OF THE DEATH PENALTY FOR TERRORIST AND SOME OTHER OFFENCES. THE CONSERVATIVES IN THE HOUSE ARE THOUGHT NOW TO BE EVENLY BALANCED ON THE ISSUE AND ITS INTRODUCTION IN THE NORTH WOULD HAVE FURTHER POLARISING AND DESTABILISING EFFECTS.
-
5. FINALLY, ON THE ECONOMIC FRONT, MRS THATCHERS VICTORY IS LIKELY TO LEAD TO RENEWED PRESSURE WITHIN THE EEC FOR BUDGETARY REFORM AND THE CURBING OF CAP EXPENDITURE. AS THE SENIOR PRIME MINISTER WITHIN THE NINE SHE NOW IS SAFE FOR AT LEAST FOUR YEARS AND KNOWS THAT ALL THE OTHER COMMUNITY GOVERNMENTS HAVE TO FACE ELECTION BEFORE SHE DOES. WE MAY, ACCORDINGLY, HAVE TO FACE A TOUGHER BRITISH BARGAINING STANCE BEGINNING AT STUTTGART NEXT WEEK.