



**An Chartlann Náisiúnta**  
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13 April, 1994

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TO : HQ

FROM : BELFAST

FOR : David Donoghue

FROM : Joint Secretary

*but by Kelly*  
25021  
cc PSI  
PSS: H-Tag  
M Mansergh  
D Dalton  
Amb Len  
Amb Wick.  
cc NI  
Consol Miss  
13/4/94

Berewith text of last night's speech\* by the Secretary of State in New York. You will see that the comment that led today's news "it's not going to require any surrender" has been inserted at the end to reflect the speech as delivered. It was not in the draft as the NIO had it yesterday afternoon and very likely was added by Mayhew himself at the last moment. The NIO has not attempted to explain it but Williams drew my attention to a press response by Downing Street saying there is no change in policy. I asked what the internal view was. Williams suggested the comment may have been a momentary incoherence, pointing out that the start of the passage says the British Government will not surrender to terrorism. I suppose the comment could also be taken to mean that no surrender of belief or objective is required of Sinn Fein/IRA. In any event, the British seem content for the moment to let the hare sit.

\* last page only (rest of text previously circulated)

answer, and it is not one that will serve in a democracy.

But, whatever Sinn Fein and the Irish Republican Army may do, the two Governments will hold firmly to the principles of their Joint Declaration. We shall carry on with a whole range of policies to improve the quality of life for people in Northern Ireland and enhance their prosperity. In these areas our policies are having a great deal of success already. Any of you who have visited Northern Ireland recently will have seen the new businesses, the good housing and the investment in infrastructure, which are benefiting the whole community.

We shall also carry on with policies for fair employment policies to ensure that the police enjoy the full confidence and support of the whole community for their difficult and dangerous task; policies to improve healthcare and education in Northern Ireland. And we do put our money where our mouth is. In the last financial year the Government spent £7.5 billion in Northern Ireland - about a third higher per head than the United Kingdom average. Law and order does take a substantial 18% chunk of that spending, but we spend even more on education (17%), health and social services (16%), and social security (15%).

Carrying on means above all persevering with the search for an agreement. There are no shortcuts to that. Persuasion and debate take time. But we have an obligation to encourage, facilitate and enable agreement to be reached through dialogue. That is what the talks process has been about. That is what the Downing Street Declaration is about.

I began by pointing to the positive lessons in living together that this city can hold up. But as you know, it is not always quite that easy. There is a downside too. Here in New York - as much as in Northern Ireland, elsewhere in Europe and across the world - there are also painful examples of how we can get relationships wrong in our modern world. In our homes, our towns, just as much as between governments and people, and between nations, we are trying to come to terms with new realities, to which we can adapt our identities and institutions.

So we shall hold to the principles and realities I have outlined.

We shall not surrender to terrorism, or the threat of violence. I doubt if anyone would expect us to do so. The ending of the armed conflict which has so afflicted the lives of so many in Northern Ireland over the last 25 years - the toll to which you Madam Chairman referred in your introduction - that's not going to require any surrender, the ending of that armed conflict. It's not going to require any surrender. It will be resolved only through a renunciation of violence, an engagement in the democratic process, a search for a just peace, underpinned by a political accommodation based on the principles of democracy, consent and parity of esteem for all. That is the prize for which we democrats are striving.

I am very confident that, sticking to our principles, and keeping our eyes firmly fixed on those self-evident truths, we shall in the end succeed.

(Amended to reflect actual speech.)