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ROINN AN TAOISIGH

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Meeting between the Taoiseach and Prime Minister Major
in Lisbon, 27th June, 1992.

The Taoiseach and the Prime Minister met in Irish Delegation Rooms in the Belem Conference Centre in Lisbon at the end of the Summit. The meeting started at about 3.25 and finished at 3.50 p.m. The Prime Minister was accompanied by his Private Secretary, Stephen Wall. The undersigned accompanied the Taoiseach.

This note is not verbatim.

The meeting opened with references by the Prime Minister to the Lisbon Summit being a first run for the Edinburgh Council due at the end of the year.

Taoiseach Yes - we must remember that most countries present here have their own domestic pressures to worry about.

Prime Min. I am convinced that the Danes would not move anyway. The House of Commons will not sit week after week when we don't know what the Danes are going to do.....

Taoiseach Yes - we had the same problem in Ireland. I decided that it was better not to wait. The only real chance I had was to go for the Referendum when we did. Otherwise things would have become too complicated.

Prime Min. It would indeed be ironic if all these arguments about Maastricht fell because of 25,000 Danes. I can see that it will be quite difficult to get agreement on -

- (1) financing;
- (2) sites; and
- (3) some aspects of the Single Market.

Taoiseach Yes - I can see that some questions on institutions/sites can be tricky.

Prime Min. They had stitched up a deal for the sites: everyone was to get something. No-one knows what the size of the bank will be.

People should not say in private what they are not prepared to say in public.

I assume that in the approach to the talks everything is in good order?

Taoiseach The first break came in the one-sided guarantee given, apparently, to Paisley, of a meeting "next week"; and then Alderdice started to get in on the band wagon.

Handwritten notes:
M. Keenan
30/6

ROINN AN TAOISIGH

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Prime Min. John Hume too. There were many imprecise statements in different interviews. David Andrews and Paddy Mayhew should be able to talk. Each should know what the other is up to. They should be able to get on the phone; and the same thing should apply, as between you and me, if necessary.

Taoiseach There was some pressure from Hume on me to send Ministers to the Strand II preliminary talks but we had reasons for sending officials; and the talks worked. We have no problems with Ministers on the preliminary talks of Strand III. I understand that Paisley is going.

Prime Min. That is a historic breakthrough.

Taoiseach We had understood that the preliminary Strand III talks were to facilitate a meeting in Strand II and we were going ahead on that basis.

Prime Min. Maybe we should not do that in advance. We should move gradually - then we can see what emerges.

How do you see the final outcome of Strand II?

Taoiseach Possibly an Assembly in Northern Ireland; some external link; the arrangements must be sufficient and both sides must be prepared to withstand Unionist and IRA extremists.

Prime Min. We may find ourselves in that position - if we get that far; we will certainly withstand them.

Taoiseach Whatever the outcome, we may both have to face extremists.

At this point there were some additional comments to the effect that, in all probability, a referendum would be necessary in the South on the outcome of the talks. The Sunningdale-type model - and the 1920 Act and the Anglo-Irish Agreement models were also mentioned.

Prime Min. What is the political line-up with you likely to be, for a referendum?

Taoiseach Whatever the outcome, it must have embodied in it a long-term solution; we don't want a temporary arrangement. Without that we will not carry it. We are thinking of things maybe twenty years ahead.

Prime Min. Twenty years?

Taoiseach Not that, necessarily as a final outcome but some time span like that.

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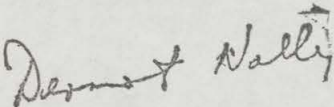
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Prime Min. What would a long-term solution mean?

Taoiseach It must be something that can be built on: something that would evolve into a united Ireland - there could be a Northern Ireland and a South of Ireland Parliament. We should think seriously of the Anglo-Irish Agreement model.

The conversation then turned back to the Lisbon Summit and the Prime Minister praised the amendment moved by the Minister which he said had saved the day (this was a reference to the Minister's amendment on Yugoslavia.) There was mention of safe haven and the inspection by the Prime Minister of Sarajevo Airport, with a senior officer of the British Army - "they do not come more senior".

The meeting concluded with some references to the more formal meeting, likely to be held later in the year, in Dublin between the Taoiseach and the Prime Minister. No time was fixed but the Prime Minister mentioned the possibility of an address to some institution in Dublin when he came here, if this could be arranged.



Dermot Nally
29th June, 1992.

c.c. Secretary Dorr & Assistant Secretary O'hUiginn,
Department of Foreign Affairs;
Secretary Brosnan, Department of Justice.