

might not be all bad, even though Ekeus is viewed as softer than Butler because he didn't put heat on the presidential sites. The truth is Ekeus was there at the beginning and he had so damn much work to do on other places that it was an acceptable compromise at the time. He wasn't really at the point because he was full up on other sites. It might work out all right. My worst nightmare is being isolated because we can't agree to something that looks perfectly all right on the surface. We simply have to insist on technically qualified inspectors. Look, I wouldn't know a chemical lab from a football field. We have a good opening position but the trouble is there is no place to go after the opening. You and I have to work closely together on this. I called King Hassan and had a long talk with him. He has been a good friend of the United States and of mine.

[Redacted]

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

I told him to go to Saddam, call him and tell him that I have no interest in killing him or hunting him down. I'm not fooling with him. I just don't want his chemical and biological program going forward. By the way, the memo you put out on the web is phenomenally successful. But you must know that. Everybody wants it. (C)

Prime Minister Blair:

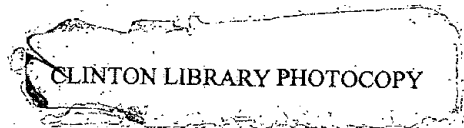
[Redacted]

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

The President: I agree. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: My view, very clearly indeed, is that the bottom line all the way through is that the inspectors have got to be able to do their job uninhibited. I don't care who accompanies the inspectors provided they are not interfering with the inspectors. That doesn't trouble me. (C)

The President: I agree. (U)



all possible alternatives that Saddam still has the makings of a chemical and biological program he doesn't want to give up. (c)

Prime Minister Blair:

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

The President: Yes. I'm looking at some other things we can do and will call you back to talk about it. We'll need to stay together on this. If our two staffs are together and if he says he wants Kofi to make all of the calls, then we need to construct a good argument why that is not a good thing. (c)

Prime Minister Blair:

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

The President: Awful. (c)

Prime Minister Blair:

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

The President: I am going to talk to him tomorrow—or maybe tonight. If I get any clue, I'll let you know. Listen Tony, what's the most direct contact you have had with Iraq since 1991? For instance, has the British Foreign Minister talked to Tariq Aziz? (c)

Prime Minister Blair: I honestly don't know. I'll have to check and get back to you. (c)

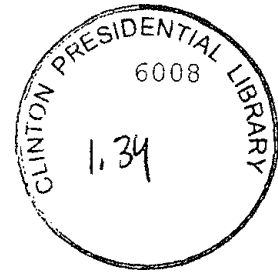
The President: If I weren't constrained by the press, I would pick up the phone and call the son of a bitch. But that is such a heavy-laden decision in America. I can't do that and I don't think you can. (c)

Prime Minister Blair:

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Tony Blair (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Bonnie Glick, Joel Schrader,
Liz Rogers, Jenny McGee, Jim Smith and
Lawrence Butler

DATE, TIME August 27, 1998, 4:32 - 4:54 p.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Martha's Vineyard, Massachusetts

The President: Tony? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, Bill. (U)

The President: Hi. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: How are things? (U)

The President: Oh, fine. I just interrupted my vacation a little bit today. I went into Massachusetts and did an event. It was great. I got to work a line and speak to a cheering crowd. It wasn't something organized. It was just put together in two days. There were thousands. It was amazing. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Good, I'm pleased. (U)

The President: This is my best state. You know, if I'd been in Wyoming, they probably would have been shooting at me. You never can tell. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Good, I'm pleased about that. I'm sorry you had all this stuff with the hurricane, too. (U)

The President: That's all right. It could have been a hell of a lot worse. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5(b,d)

Declassify On: 8/28/08

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E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

If you could make headway, I would appreciate it. (S)

Prime Minister Blair: Okay, Bill. I will speak to Clerides tomorrow.

The President: After the first of the year, after I get all this crap behind me, I would like to talk to you about this.

Prime Minister Blair: I'd like to talk to you about a bunch of things because there is a lot going on here in Europe. (S)

The President: How is Schroeder working out? (S)

Prime Minister Blair:

The President: I had impressions watching his campaigning that they adopted rhetoric similar to ours, but they didn't think it through. You had a program to implement and so did I, and that's a big difference. (S)

Prime Minister Blair:

Actually, I like him very much. (S)

The President: I do, too. The reason I mentioned this is because I had a good talk with him on Turkey.

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

Now, there are other problems with Turkey, such as human rights. Anyway, you might nose around Vienna and see if you can send him help. (S)

Prime Minister Blair: Sure, I will try. There may be an opportunity at dinner tonight.

The President: E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

affairs thing is in much better shape now; the war room you and I set up has a 24-hour capability and a rapid-response element, and I think Joe and Alistair are talking two or three times a day, including with the people in Brussels. I think that's good and we're trying to bring in the guy who used to work as my communications director to work our operation here for 30 days to make sure we've melded our political and diplomatic efforts together. On all those areas, we're doing pretty well. (S)

Prime Minister Blair: That sounds great. (U)

The President: The last item you raised is the need to do joint planning on the ground force option. I personally believe it can be done under the umbrella of the assessment. As I told you, we're working with our guys; they're so afraid it will leak. We have to work through it, because there's no point in doing this in detail unless we know how it will mesh together. I will keep working on that, but I think we've made reasonable progress on what we discussed and I wanted to see where you are on that. (S)

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

If he means we won't assassinate him or bomb him or extract him from Serbia, I think we can make that commitment. I don't think we can make a public commitment on war crimes, because that is an independent body. Louise Arbour is here, by the way. (S)

I said we're cooperating with the tribunal, so that is a more difficult issue. He's looking for some assurance, but that's a pretty dicey thing. So, that's all I have to report. I do think Chernomyrdin has the bit in his teeth to do something, but whether he can, I don't know. They are very anxious to play a role in a diplomatic settlement and go in with their troops.

(S)

to the forces of progress and those who want a partnership with us, rather than those who want to go off by themselves angry, hurt and humiliated. (S)

One thing you need to have your best Russia people dealing with: if it comes to a troop option, what the hell are we going to do with Russia if it leads to the collapse of our relationship.

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

Prime Minister Blair: My view on this is,

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

The President: I agree with that. How about Ireland? Where are you? (S)

Prime Minister Blair:

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

The President: Do you think the IRA has decided they are never going to decommission? (S)

Prime Minister Blair:

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

~~SECRET~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair
(U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Jenny McGee, Robert Ford,
Joel Ehrenreich, Elizabeth Rogers,
Roger Merletti and Richard Norland

DATE, TIME: October 13, 1999, 10:38 - 11:29 a.m.
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Tony, how are you? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I'm fine. (U)

The President: I haven't talked to you in a while and I wanted to check in on a few things. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: How are you doing? (U)

The President: I'm great. I've been fighting reactionaries in Congress, we're winning with the people. I thought your speech to your party group was great. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Thanks. We've got an interesting situation here at the moment because the conservatives have really moved off to a very far right position. (U)

The President: That's what our guys are doing here. One reason Bush is doing so well is because he criticized one thing on the right. He is making people think he is saving them from the right. But, it's a fraud because he is really for them on everything else. I have to figure out how to expose the fraud that Bush is the new Clinton, establishing a new Republican party like I made a new Democratic party. It's helping Bush but it is killing Al. They asked me what I thought, and I said it

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Classified by: Robert A. Bradtke

Reason: 1.5(c,d)

Declassify On: 10/18/09

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DECLASSIFICATION DATE: October 14, 2015

something on a much more mundane issue. Yesterday, I met with some cabinet members and Rodney Slater said we put some more ideas down to resolve the airport dispute we have with British Airways, USAIR and American Airlines. Would you take another look at that and see if we can get it done? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I'm not completely familiar with that. ~~(C)~~

The President: I know you're up to your ears in other things but we've been dealing with this for years and it's sort of a big deal here. Rodney told me he put some more stuff down on the table. In a political season, it would be big over here to get this open sore resolved. If you could have somebody take a look at it. I have never seen him more agitated about anything. He is just trying to get it resolved. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Sure, I will have a look. ~~(C)~~

The President: Okay, I will get on this. How is mother doing? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Fine. She's getting pretty large. Are you going to come over incidentally? (U)

The President: Let me tell you what we are trying to work out. You want me to come, don't you? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I'm desperate to sit down and have a proper talk with you. ~~(C)~~

The President: I'm trying to figure out what the best time is because we have to do this Third Way thing in Germany and there might be time to run to Russia. We're trying to resolve bilateral issues with Russia and kind of get this Chechnya thing resolved. Putin has enormous potential, I think. I think he's very smart and thoughtful. I think we can do a lot of good with him. I'm trying to figure how to do all these things and come to London because Cherie's time is coming close. I want to come when it would cause you the least problems and try to leave open the option, if you need me to, to go to Ireland. I want to come and do you the most good. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It's a good idea in any sort of circumstances. They would be delighted to see you. Well, Cherie is due on May 20. I mean, anytime is good. (U)

problem -- and one we have to overcome. Bush is a skilled politician, but he is not ready to be president, maybe not ever, certainly not now. But they want it real bad and they've got lots of money and lots of media access and they are not freshly discredited. And in this level of economic performance some tend to believe it's automatic and nobody's going to screw it up, a lot of people expect it -- think it is automatic. It is going to take a lot of discipline -- but I think Al will win. God knows I'm doing everything I can to get it done without being counterproductive. (C)

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Prime Minister Blair: [redacted]

The President: Whew. Well, yes. We're making a little progress on the Africa trade bill. (gap) I may run over to Nigeria in a few months. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted]

The President: But better gay than sad. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted]

The President: But I think we've given a lot of evidence. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted]

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

The President: If you are, you've got a hell of a cover-up! You are doing the best you can do. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Okay, Bill. (U)

The President: Thank you, man. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Bye. All the best. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

II levels. Hell, I've already done that. This is just crazy. I am terrified these guys will get in and say Reagan was right about Star Wars. And then you'll get the Chinese building a thousand weapons, after all the work I did passing China Permanent Normal Trade Relations. (X)

Prime Minister Blair: Congratulations, that was brilliant. (X)

The President: It was a great thing, but too hard. The only problem we have in this country is that our business community always kills legislation. Anyway, I am just so afraid that all the benefits will be squandered if Bush wins the elections. I still think we have a 50 percent or better chance to win. (X)

Prime Minister Blair: Quite close, isn't it? (X)

The President: It shouldn't be. White married Protestants don't think they should be voting for Democrats, partly because of the gun issue that Al and I are taking on. All the specifics people agree with. [gap] it is crazy. You can take a poll about loopholes. Sixty-five percent to 30 percent say yes, but even in New York where it is more liberal than the rest of the country, if Hillary were endorsed by this group that did the Million Mom March, it's like 40 to 40 percent. A lot of the country likes it when we are in, but they have a hard time admitting it. My job approval was like 65 percent. Bush is really smart. The campaign against McCain was the most vicious in modern memory. He has these right wing foot soldiers do his dirty work, so he can be nice. I think Al had not the best couple of months, but now he is in good form and doing well. And we have the record and the people. I think he'll do fine in debates, but I still think he has a better than 50 percent chance of winning this thing. If he doesn't, then you will have to do a lot of heavy lifting. I think Al is sort of where I am on this stuff. Of course, if Bush wins, whatever I do with Putin, they can reverse. If we just came out and said we are not going to do this now and we are not going to do it until we have technology everybody buys into and believes in, but we have to do research -- if I did that, all I would do is make Al vulnerable. There is an article by Hugo somebody in one of your papers, saying he thought we were nuts. (X)

Prime Minister Blair: Hugo Young? (X)

The President: Did you see the piece? (X)

Prime Minister Blair: No, but I had it summarized for me.

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

Prime Minister Blair: Where is public opinion? (C)

The President: Most want it settled but they don't understand the issue. They do not understand how clearly these votes were for Gore. They cite Nixon not challenging in Illinois. The difference is that if Nixon had won Illinois, he still would not have won the electoral vote. It's really bogus. Hillary is doing great, happy as a clam. I am really proud of her. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Well, Hillary did wonderful. Give her our love. She was just fantastic during the campaign. She was so strong and brave. I thought she was just great. (C)

The President: She was. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Well, Cheri sends her love. Hillary was brilliant. (C)

The President: Yeah, she was the "Little Engine That Could." I wish you were with me, I'm playing golf. The three guys with me are on the green right now. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: The thing I wanted to say to you was on Northern Ireland. I think if you still want and are able to come over, I think you could play a part in putting this together. We had a bit of a breakdown, but it should not be terminal because both sides want this to happen now. There are certain things we have to do and certain things the republicans have to do.

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

Trimble is really getting it done in the government as the government is working well. (C)

The President: I saw what he said about no North-South cooperation before they reengage. But the problem now is that the IRA can't appear to be caving in to a unionist demand. (C)

Prime Minister Blair:

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

President if the electoral votes go to Gore or not. The Florida constitution says if you can divine the intention of the voter, the vote should be counted and ironically, everything Bush is fighting in Florida in the recount is precisely what the law he signed in Texas requires. Any indentation at all these voters make is supposed to count. (e)

Prime Minister Blair: So what's your bet? (e)

The President: I don't know. On the merits, Gore should win, if we can re-enfranchise enough voters, but even the Florida Supreme Court, they issued a great decision for Gore but Miami Dade said "we can't finish by Sunday, so we are not going to do it at all." So now they have to decide whether they can get their own order by delaying. They don't need to have any of this done until December 12th, but you know the Florida Legislature is Republican. The Republican Congress is threatening to change the law and they would throw it into the House. But if they do that, he will be destroyed and he never will recover. (e)

Prime Minister Blair: What is your opinion? (e)

The President: Right now it's evenly divided because the process is confusing but generally thought to be fair. The Republicans are great spin meisters. They just say it differently. It is a power grab. Now we probably will not get the ones reenfranchised who double voted on that illegal ballot, but the truth is, if these people were running for State Legislature, under the law, those courts would get those votes to Gore. They just don't have the courage to do it in a presidential election. You have heard only a slightly biased opinion. If I thought Bush won fair and square, I would tell Al to pack it in, but Gore has on the merits of those who voted, the stronger claim. So Bush is just trying to run out the clock. That's why they are desperate to shut it down because they know Gore lost a lot more votes in those that were thrown out. I don't know what is going to happen. (e)

Prime Minister Blair: Really amazing. (e)

The President: I think we will work it out and be all right. It is very important to remember that the whole right wing in America desperately wants this and they still control the Congress. There are other things we can talk about when I see you because Gore came back 4-5 percent last week and he started running his campaign on continuing the progress of the last

The President: Yes. I will push our proposal on a fund more and make it attractive to the G-77 and you want us to buck up Aznar and Guterres. (e)

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. And Schroeder.

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

The President: We ought to be more for a market solution here.
(C)

Prime Minister Blair: Exactly. (e)

The President: The regulation should be the outcome, but how to get there should be left to the most efficient means. Let me ask something else. How did your visit with Putin go? (C)

Prime Minister Blair: It was fine. Very interesting. He feels that he is not understood about the problems he is facing there. He was very anxious to impress me. He wanted to see America as a partner, I think. (e)

The President: I think he does, depending on who wins our elections, it might take a while to get it going, but the more time you can spend with him the better. I think he is a guy with a lot of ability and ambitions for the Russians. His intentions are generally honorable and straightforward, but he just hasn't made up his mind yet. He could get squishy on democracy. (e)

Prime Minister Blair:

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

The President: Politically, he has got to be with the Arabs on the Middle East dispute, but I told him one real problem you have here is that it is not clear how much can be controlled in