

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 03/31/2001

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential advise between the President and his advisors, or between such advisors [(a)(5) of the PRA]
- P6 Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(a)(6) of the PRA]

PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

Deed of Gift Restrictions

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Freedom of Information Act - [5 U.S.C. 552(b)]

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Blair of the
United Kingdom (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Michael T. Manning, Clark Lystra,
D. Jill Sandler

DATE, TIME: March 31, 2001, 9:52-10:14 AM EST
AND PLACE: Camp David

President Bush: Hey Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hello, George. How are you, sir? (U)

President Bush: I'm fine. How are you, Tony? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I'm fine but struggling, actually, sir.
I've got this terrible foot and mouth thing over here. (U)

President Bush: I know you do. One, I have no agenda for this
call today. Two, I empathize greatly with you. I know we're
sending some teams over, but is there anything we can do to help?
That's got to be really hard. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: It is hard. You can send some tourists,
actually. (U)

President Bush: Right. I just wanted to call and check in. I
just saw Gerhard Schroeder. I had a good visit with him. You're
right about his desire to assert himself. I thought we got along
pretty good. I wonder, have you gotten any feedback yet? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We've had some feedback, actually, which
is very positive. I think it went well. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: You can tell him that I was real pleased. We
had a good discussion. He was very concerned with CO2. I
assured him we will try to come up with some agreement where we
do not create tension on this issue and at the same time give us

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By SAH NARA, Date 10/15/2019

some time, if they can give us some leeway because our economy is really suffering over here. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: How do you see this argument about Kyoto and CO2 developing? ~~(C)~~

President Bush: I think we have to frame a new way of thinking about it, the idea of the reduced greenhouse gases, but to do it in a way so that countries such as ourselves don't look like it's punishing the American economy. We have to come up with new technologies, some market-oriented solutions. I have a whole cabinet review going on right now to be proactive on this issue. It'll have all the right elements to it so that you all don't get put in a political bind. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think the issue is the difference between whether we say this is a problem or not and what the solutions are. I'm no expert. It's clear to us that there's a problem. What the solution is is open, one that we don't know how to fix. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: That's exactly our position on it. We got in a -- bind because of the caps on CO2. Christie Todd Whitman got out there on it and we had to repudiate the caps. It's just that the notion of caps puts us in a real bind now, and it's not particularly good policy. It would have created a huge political firestorm. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, I understand that. I think the most important thing is to try to see what we can put on the agenda collectively, any means by which we can reduce CO2. That way, people will see it's clear that people are working; then we can see if people would be receptive to open debate. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: That's good advice. Exactly what we are going to do is to send a clear signal to work with other nations to reduce emissions. Our problem now is we have to burn coal because we can't get enough natural gas in the short term, with the short term being a decade. But we're spending \$2 billion on clean coal technology. We've got an energy crunch here that's real. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, I think it's important people realize you're spending that much. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: Two billion dollars. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Here, the trouble is everyone has their own situation. We have the situation here in Britain, although it's very political and controversial, when Maggie Thatcher closed a

large part of the coal industry. Where we started to burn natural gas rather than coal, our CO2 emissions went down. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: That was smart. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It wasn't quite intended. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: We would like the same thing to happen but we don't have enough natural gas. Prices are about \$6 per cmf. We're running out of pipeline capacity. We're going to take a realistic view. I assured the Chancellor and I assure you, Tony, we will not get in a fight over it. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think people understand that. We'd be very happy to work with you on this, to build up an agenda with a whole lot of things on it. That way you'll block off the argument and say, look, there is a problem and we want to deal with it in a way that's realistic. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: I'd love your help on that. Before we come over there for this EU summit, I think you and I and Condi can come up with an agenda. You don't want me to fail my first time over there, and this would help. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We'll do what we can. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: As I mentioned, I met with Chancellor Schroeder. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: The meeting was good, though? ~~(C)~~

President Bush: I thought it was. The meeting was cordial. He's a little different than what I thought. It was fairly informal. We cleared the room and it was only Colin, Condi, Schroeder, Steiner, and me, and we had lunch off the Oval there. He's a rather informal guy. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: He is. He actually takes a bit of getting to know. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: And an interpreter was there. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I always find it far more difficult with an interpreter. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: For every English word, there are about 10 German words. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Right. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: I found him an interesting guy, and your assessment of his attitude gave me the opportunity to say I don't expect the relationship with him to be like the relationship the previous chancellor had with my father. I thought that that pleased him. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: He is basically very pro-American. They have Greens in their government. (C)

President Bush: He made it clear to me that he needed to say what he needed to say. He was polite about it. I thought the missile defense was good. They are frightened by extremes. I got him talking a lot about Russia, and he had a lot of things to say. He views himself as the minder of Russia on behalf of Europe. But he's a little blind-eyed about Russia moving things to Iran. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Absolutely. (C)

President Bush: If he's so worried, then why are they arming them, I asked him. He had no answer. I'm meeting with Mubarak tomorrow. We're very much involved with trying to help calm tensions in the region. The Middle East is a powder keg. There are lots of arms being shipped to the Palestinians. I think we can get Mubarak re-engaged in the region. That's my goal. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: I think it's important to have something, however loosely, to be called progress so that some of the tensions can be sucked into a more political mode. I hope something positive starts there. What worries me at the moment is I don't know what's happened to Arafat; he doesn't seem to be doing anything. (C)

President Bush: He's weaker than hell. It's interesting you said that. We're going to work with the Egyptians and the Jordanians to start a process working toward some kind of political dialogue. There needs to be a process. The best way is through security forces and we'll make that recommendation to him. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: I'm sure that is right. Mubarak will be very anxious about it. I think about the Middle East now, but with the problems over here, I'm not as focused as I should be, but all of my alarm bells are ringing. (C)

President Bush: I appreciate you saying that. All this business about the United States being disengaged is B.S. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: A lot of good will happen out there. For understandable reasons, Bill Clinton put a lot of time into [gap]

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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I think that partly this is what happens to these processes. The previous administration was in a difficult position, but I think you started with a fairly clean slate. (C)

President Bush: We tried to calm it. We basically said we're starting over. I think I'm in good with Sharon. We helped him in the veto in the UN. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: I saw that. (C)

President Bush: To his credit, we asked him to remain strong during the Arab Summit, and he did, [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: There are. Sharon knows that. We know Peres knows that. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: He has sufficient people in the government, but I really worry about Arafat, though. As I said when we met, I think we've reached the limits of what he can do. (C)

President Bush: That's right. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] We're watching it closely so that it doesn't materialize. On this other thing, is there anything we can do to help you there? (C)

Prime Minister Blair: I don't know if you know anything about this wretched disease. Unfortunately, I've become quite the expert on the issue. It's like tracing the path of the common cold through the human population. It's one of those things where in some countries like, if it happened in (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d or something, they just let it run its course, but over here, the farmers just want to kill all the affected animals, like in a mass slaughter. (C)

President Bush: I saw you had some 500,000 sheep affected, or is it sheep and cows? (C)

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Prime Minister Blair: Five hundred thousand sheep, but 100,000 cows, too. We kill that number every week in the food chain, if you know what I mean, but people don't think of it. You know what people are like; they eat their roast beef, and hamburgers, and their sausages, and they don't think of that as cow. I am working hard on that, but we have some other things we've got to get right at the moment and the elections. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: Have you called it yet? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I haven't called it yet. Between ourselves, there are local elections which we've been asked to postpone, probably until May or June. We'll probably hold our national elections then, too. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: Good. You're in great shape. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: The polls look good, but you know it's the vote. You always worry about that. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: Our people feel you're in great shape, and that's good. Margaret Thatcher is coming over soon. ~~(C)~~ --

Prime Minister Blair: Oh, God. She'll probably be sounding off on European defense. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: She'll be lecturing me, but I won't be changing regardless of what she has to say.

Prime Minister Blair: Thank you for what you said on that. It went down well with the Europeans. We have all these issues coming at once. It's just tough to have all these issues right now. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: That's why we're being paid so much money. I really want you to know we're all pulling for you, and I do want to stay in touch frequently on an informal basis. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's fine. By the way, I wanted to thank you for the visit to Camp David. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: I'm at Camp David right now, that's what made me want to call you. I saw your picture on the wall and thought I hadn't talked to you lately. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: How is your economy? ~~(C)~~

President Bush: It stinks. We probably got six to seven months of difficult times ahead. The NASDAQ's reflecting the reality. To someone who said you're losing cash, the guy from Amazon.com

said it's a new paradigm. We had so many losing cash, people woke up and said maybe we should invest in companies that are making money. We've got three airline strikes on the horizon and then we got this energy crisis that's going to affect a major part of our economy. Californians will have a terrible time. I think we have six to seven months of grim news. As you said, we have to either solve something or manage it, so we're managing it. We got a big stimulus package. The House went 100 percent with me, but the Senate wouldn't. We have about \$120 billion in cash flow greatly anticipated in the fiscal year, and I'll try to get \$60 billion of that back in some form to stimulate the economy. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That makes it a lot easier to sell to people. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: The bad news is the economy is no good, and many people aren't even giving me a chance to get it through, the final form of which is up in the air, which will give me some political capital to use in another fashion. Relations are pretty good with the Democrats; they're getting along with me okay. We're making good progress, but the big issue is the budget. It can be painful. ~~(C)~~ --

Prime Minister Blair: I know. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: I'm feeling good. I'm still enjoying myself. Laura sends Cherie her love. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I will tell Cherie we spoke. Look, George, we should keep in touch from time to time. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: Absolutely. I have this one Summit of the Americas in Quebec. I think the Seattle incident will look like a picnic compared to this. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Chretien will be tough. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: Every time I show up someplace, people are going to raise hell. Every environmental extremist will have a reason to scream. All the anti-free traders will be like [gap] and he said to be sure that it doesn't get out of hand. I said, Mr. Prime Minister, I won't come if you don't want me to come, and he said, we want you to come, we want you to come. Make sure it doesn't get out of hand because it's going to be rough. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. On May Day the anarchists want to shut down the city of London. At some point we have to go out as leaders and protect the people. Governments are elected by a democracy, not a mob. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: I agree. I agree. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Seattle was disgusting. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: It was stupid. I couldn't agree with you more. Of all the cities in America. If that had been Dallas, it wouldn't have happened. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I know you feel strongly about Seattle. We've got to fight back. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: I couldn't agree with you more. Look, friend, good luck to you over there. Please let me know if there's anything we could do for you. Oh, and I would like your advice on the environment before I go over to the EU. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. Let's stay in touch. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: I will get Condi to call John. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Thanks again so much for the visit. It was really nice. (U)

President Bush: We'll do it again. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: OK. Great. (U)

President Bush: Good-bye, Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

George W. Bush Presidential Library

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2044

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Blair of the
United Kingdom (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Don Gentile, Clark Lystra, Dave
Mathews, Richard Norland

DATE, TIME April 10, 2001, 11:22-11:30 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hey, Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, George. (U)

The President: Just checking in. How are you? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Fine. Finally getting on top of foot and
mouth disease. It's taking a bit of work. Thanks for seeing
Henry McLeish. (U)

The President: He's a wonderful guy. Tartan Day was quite a
splash here. Sean Connery was here also. I'm just checking in
to give you an update on the China situation. I saw your
Ambassador here.

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: What is it they're asking for now? ~~(C)~~

The President: Nothing. That's the problem. We're putting
together a document. We're very sorry about their pilot. But
they want us to make an international apology. We can't do that.
That's all we know.

(b)(1)1.4d

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Reason: 1.5d
Declassify on: 4/11/11

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Authority 2014-0471-M, #4129
By SA [redacted] NARA, Date 10/15/2019

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2

Prime Minister Blair: I suppose they think they're getting something out of this. ~~(c)~~

The President: No. [redacted] (b)(1)1.4d

[redacted] Our info on this says that the pilot makes a pass and flashes his email address. Then he makes another with his oxygen mask off. I'm an old intercept pilot and know that's the ultimate machismo. He was showing off. We're convinced it was pilot error. I can't apologize for our aircraft flying in international airspace. [redacted]

[redacted] (b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. Why don't I think about it and call you back. ~~(c)~~

The President: Yes. Get rid of your foot and mouth disease and then come help us. The number of animals slaughtered is staggering, but you're on top of it. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I need to think about this more. ~~(c)~~

The President: [redacted] (b)(1)1.4d

[redacted] The good thing is that our Congress is not in town or else they would be raising holy hell. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. [redacted]

[redacted] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: We want them to be in the World Trade Organization. We have a lot of capital deployed in China. These business guys are getting anxious but, if you have any ideas, just call. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I haven't sat down and thought this through. I've been simply watching through the newspapers. Let me talk to my people and call you back. ~~(c)~~

The President: That would be fine. I'm a person who likes good ideas. I don't care where they come from. If you have a contact, say we're running out of time. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: The best thing is for me to think what we can do actively to help, including me calling people. ~~(c)~~

The President: That would be helpful, if you have time. I know you have your hands full. ~~(c)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

Prime Minister Blair: This is very important. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I can't believe that this thing hasn't been resolved. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] The public has shown me the benefit of the doubt, but Jesse Jackson is stirring things up and saying he wants to help. He didn't help us much in Sierra Leone, you know. Of course, I wouldn't say that publicly. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: What's he saying? ~~(C)~~

The President: He's going to rescue them. Go over and negotiate their release. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I'm going to sit down with my folks and give you a call back. I'll see what buttons we can push. ~~(C)~~

The President: That would be fine. We need to send a message to the free world that we mean business. I'm tied up from about three to four o'clock with a speech, but other than that. Tomorrow morning is fine, too. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I will try to call before then. ~~(C)~~

The President: Fine. I appreciate you sending your man on global warming. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Thanks for making sure I don't fall on my tail. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That's good. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: No doubt they don't want this to be a big problem. ~~(C)~~

The President: That would be good. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's what we need to get done. ~~(C)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4

The President: Alright. Appreciate it, friend. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Alright. (U)

- End of Conversation --

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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2734

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Blair of the
United Kingdom (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Deana Sutliff, Clark Lystra,
Robert Schubert, Joel Ehrendreich, Richard
Norland

DATE, TIME April 30, 2001, 7:17-7:27 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hey, Tony. How are you, sir? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, George, how are you? (U)

The President: Good morning. Great. I made it through 100 days
still standing. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: In pretty good shape, too. (U)

The President: I'm calling to let you know, starting first thing
tomorrow, I'm giving a speech on missile defense and going to
announce that I'm sending a high-level team to consult with our
allies. The speech is a kind of philosophical speech on the need
to change. The nuclear threat has changed. We don't view Russia
as an enemy. We will reduce our offensive weapons. We will also
consult with our allies. So the consultative process will start
next week. I'm sending over deputies of the NSC, State, and
Defense, a high-level group. I just wanted to give you a heads
up. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: That is very helpful, George. I know our
people have been discussing how you set it out. The most
important two things here in Europe and elsewhere are:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Robert A. Bradtke
Reason: 1.5 (d)
Declassify on: 5/1/11

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP4WB 2014-0471-M #4130
By SA NARA, Date 10/15/2009

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

The President: I am actually going to call Putin tomorrow to calm his nerves and recognize Russia as a co-signer of ABM. There is nice language in the speech about Russia. We will work with Russia to come up with a better framework as we lay ABM aside. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

But I am very grateful to you for calling. ~~(C)~~

The President: How else are things going? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: We are managing with this foot and mouth disease. (U)

The President: It sounds like you've got a hold on it. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: It has been a nightmare. Thanks for the vets you sent over. (U)

The President: Yes, it is in our interest to help and find out what to do if it comes our way. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I reckon we're down to a handful of cases per day, and in a couple of months we will have it cleared up. (U)

The President: That in itself is a book, how to handle it. It's unbelievable really. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: An international version. (U)

The President: Yes, an international version. How are your politics? Have you called for elections? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We haven't formally called it, George, but most people speculate June 7. ~~(C)~~

The President: Once you get the crisis set aside it will put you in good standing. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: You're lucky. In your system you have no choice on the timing. As Prime Minister, it is a tough thing to call. ~~(C)~~

The President: Yes, you have to call it just right. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, everything else is fine. Your economy seems to be doing a bit better. ~~(C)~~

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3

The President: We've been used to having the NASDAQ and the Dow way up and record growth, then the numbers changed. People feel different, but we still have positive growth. We just have to watch manufacturing orders and inventory numbers carefully. This energy situation is a disaster and we are going to lay out a scenario for the nation in a few weeks that includes thinking about restarting nuclear plants. If we are going to be effective in dealing with greenhouse gases, we will have to stop burning coal, which is fifty percent of our energy right now. Other than that, people are upbeat. The lack of consumer confidence is somewhat disturbing, but I think tax cuts will bolster people's confidence. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It looks better than a couple of weeks ago. Good for you. ~~(C)~~

The President: Good for everybody. I had a good visit with leaders in our hemisphere, a very positive series of meetings. I was impressed with the quality of leaders, [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: I think he is someone to keep a close eye on. But Fox seems good. ~~(C)~~

The President: Fox is a good man. Cardoso of Brazil and Lagos of Chile are very distinguished people who have emerged as leaders. We had a very good couple of days in my first foray into summitry. I appreciate your willingness to help on global environment, to make sure we don't have a disastrous summit in June. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

We will make it go good for you.

~~(C)~~

The President: I'll be armed with the view that we will reduce greenhouse gases in a way that will be more compatible with our economy. I understand this Kyoto treaty will never be ratified no matter how hard we work, so what's the point of working on a treaty that will never be ratified? The Senate would not have passed the two-thirds vote to ratify it, so if we are going to have a treaty, we have to have something other than just meetings. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4

The President: Actually, the American press was down on me initially, but it is starting to come around. We are beginning to get a little traction on the issue. The environment was one area where I was taking some heat, but the mood is changing. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That's exactly what we're going to do. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I've always said this about Kyoto: you've got to get the argument right. We have big fights with the Green lobby on genetically modified crops [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] Whether it's Kyoto or missile defense, they need to listen to the argument. ~~(C)~~

The President: I appreciate that. That is exactly what we are going to do. I just wanted to let you know. If you are interested, I will send the text over tomorrow. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That would be great, George. ~~(C)~~

The President: I hope everything else is okay. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. I am gearing up. Best of luck with everything tomorrow. Keep closely in touch. (U)

The President: Okay. Thank you, Tony. I appreciate talking to you. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Okay, George. Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 06/08/2001

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

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3934

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

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

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Don Gentile, John Sherman, Marcy
Caler, Richard Norland

DATE, TIME June 8, 2001, 9:03-9:14 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Air Force One

The President: Hey Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi George. (U)

The President: Congratulations. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Thank you very much indeed. (U)

The President: You showed how to win a second term pretty
handily. You set a record, I understand. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: The trouble with it is there is a lot to
live up to. ~~(C)~~

The President: You deserved it and I wanted to congratulate you.
I look forward to seeing you over there in Europe next week.
But, I wanted to congratulate you and ask for your advice about
how to handle some of these issues that have our brethren
concerned. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I should say to you I will try to help
wherever I can because I very much value our relationship, and
it's very important that we all work together. I will do
everything I can to help. I would be delighted if you could come
to Britain and pass through in July before going to Genoa. ~~(C)~~

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Classified by: Robert A. Bradtke
Reason: 1.5d
Declassify on: 6/13/11

DECLASSIFIED

Authority LP423 2014-0471-M, #4131
By SA NARA, Date 10/15/2019

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The President: I can't hear you Tony but, if you can hear me, congratulations and I do want to visit you in Chequers if I can. We would love to stop over on the way to Genoa. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's what I was saying. Let me call you back. (U)

The President: I would love to do that, stop in Chequers. That would be great. ~~(C)~~

//Cut off and reconnected//

The President: Hello. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi George. (U)

The President: Tony, sorry about that. It looks like our communications equipment is not very good these days. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: You're onboard a plane, are you? (U)

The President: I'm on Air Force One. Actually, I'm heading to the ranch and have a couple of stops on the way. We're getting ready for our overseas trip. We'll have a great experience there. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: George, I would love for you to come to Chequers in July. ~~(C)~~

The President: We accept. We're really looking forward to it. Laura and I are thrilled. Anyway, if I start taking heat, I'll pull you aside and make sure you steer me on the course you want me to go to make sure I don't create an international incident. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: You will be steering the rest of us, George. Our people have been in close touch. Rest assured we will do everything we can to help. ~~(C)~~

The President: I very much appreciate it. I'm really anxious to go. I look forward to seeing you again. I was watching C-SPAN's coverage of the elections last night. It was fascinating to see all the candidates declare victory. You did great. You really did great. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Now is the hard part. ~~(C)~~

The President: I know it. Anyway, give my best to Cherie and we will see you next week. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

Prime Minister Blair: Okay George. All my best to Laura.
Thanks for calling. (U)

The President: Okay. Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 06/18/2001

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

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4052

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the
United Kingdom (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Brad Mynatt, Jill Sandler,
Kurt van der Walde, Hoyt Yee

DATE, TIME June 18, 2001, 8:24 - 8:33 a.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Tony, hello! (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, George. (U)

The President: How are you? I'm just checking in because I wanted to give you a postmortem on my meeting with President Putin. It went better than I expected. I had about an hour and forty-five minute meeting with him, just the two of us. It was very constructive. I was very pleased with his body language and his sincerity. I detected a leaning to the West and a willingness to cooperate with us. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] he understood what I was talking about and he did not object. It was very positive. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think that is very important, George. I was sure he would respond positively to you. He is someone who takes a personal assessment. I think that's excellent. There are bound to be disagreements, but the downside is easier to deal with if there is a personal rapport at the beginning. ~~(c)~~

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5d
Declassify on: X1, X5

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Authority LP6WAB 2014-0471-M, #4132
By SAN NARA, Date 10/15/2019

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2

The President: That's the way I see it, too. They asked me if I could trust him, and I said, "Yeah, until he screws us." We had a very frank discussion on lots of topics. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: I am really pleased by that. I think every encouragement has to be given so that Russia makes the Western choice, as it were. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Did you require an armored vehicle to get out of Sweden? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I avoided that. (U)

The President: Did you see any of that? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Only on TV. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: They don't have a point! (U)

Prime Minister Blair: No, they don't. (U)

The President: [REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Nobody! They're anarchists! ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Absolutely. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

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3

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I appreciate that. I think that was the most important part of the trip. Do you think Schroeder was trying to be sincere about the meeting in Bonn? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Oh, yes.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I appreciate that. I think Schroeder was constructive. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: He will want to be constructive. He is very much an Atlanticist. ~~(C)~~

The President:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: The position on that, George, is that in a sense he has and in a sense he hasn't. For us in Britain, we don't have many outstanding debts, so it would be very easy for me to just write them off. But the Germans are a different story. The Germans are talking very large sums of money.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Yes, we'd be spending their money. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: When you don't have a lot of cash at stake, it is very easy to give it away. ~~(C)~~

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The President: Listen, I just wanted to check in and I wanted to thank you for your hospitality. I could see you spun some of your magic prior to my arrival. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Not at all. I thought it went extremely well and I think there will be a far better and positive climate from now on. It's all to the good. The feedback from the other leaders was universally positive. ~~(C)~~

The President: Okay. We'll see you in a couple of weeks. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Okay. Thank you. (U)

President: Thank you. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom and Telcon with Prime Minister Ahern of Ireland, 06/29/2001

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

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4449

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Andrew Green, Brad Mynatt, David Mathews, Rob Williams, Hoyt Yee

DATE, TIME June 29, 2001, 7:33-7:52 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, George. How are you? (U)

The President: I'm good. How are you? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I'm doing great. I don't know if you got the final take on your visit to Europe, but I think it was pretty successful. (U)

The President: I don't know. I can't tell by reading the New York Times. It was a great trip, and I really appreciate your help in paving the way and calming everybody down. I found the leaders to be very engaging. I think it was a great experience.
(C)

Prime Minister Blair: Sorry to trouble you, but I wanted to talk about a couple of things. The first is in respect to Macedonia.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: (7/2/11)

DECLASSIFIED IN PART

Authority LPWOB 2014-0471-M, # 4161
By SAH NARA, Date 10/15/2019

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I agree with your assessment, Tony. First, I spent a lot of time on this subject, more than I've wanted to. I appreciate what you said on NATO. There is a tendency for everybody to gulp and look at each other and wonder what to do. I think we need to be very proactive, and, to this end, we are prepared to send a very senior diplomat named Jim Pardew to the region. He will stand side-by-side with the Frenchman, and we will name him something that sends a signal that this is a very important issue for all of us. He will remain there until there is a settlement in place. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That is very helpful George, exactly what we need. ~~(C)~~

The President: Good, he is teed up and ready to go. But like you, I keep asking the question what if? I'm not concerned about a political settlement, I'm worried about what happens if we don't get a political settlement. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Yes, and we are absolutely against that. (U)

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

The President: Well, the good thing is that we are not talking about massive troops. We need to manage it. We need to stay in touch. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's fine, George. The second thing is about Israel. We got a read out of your meeting with Sharon and I think by all accounts the message we gave him was the same one.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

The President: I think a meeting with Arafat is the ultimate card that you and I can play with the Palestinians. I say you and I because I appreciate how you can help shuffle the deck as few can.

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: I agree with all that.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I think that's a great idea and we will get you the list. It would be a perfect one two punch on the guy. Condi

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4

will get with John and send the list. But I understand you are getting rid of John. What did he do wrong? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Nothing, he did a great job. He decided to try and spend some time with his family after three years. (U)

The President: He's going to India, that will be a good position. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I'm bringing in David Manning. He has good links with all things American. He's a good guy, but John will be a big loss. ~~(C)~~

The President: Absolutely. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: One final thing. I spoke with Chirac, he is seeing Putin on Sunday.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I agree, and thanks for your help on that. When Colin gets back we will redouble our efforts. I'm not sure I want to call Putin, but when Colin gets back he and Ivanov can hash that out. We need to push harder, we can't afford to let it be a failed mission. What about Northern Ireland? I'm about to call Bertie Ahern to buck him up a little. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: The real problem is what we have is this nightmare situation. Everyone wants this agreement to go forward

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Sure, if there is anything I can do to help please let me know. I realize I'm a newcomer to the process, but I will try to do what I can. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think that there are occasions when the American President can help, but I will try not to add it to your list. ~~(C)~~

The President: No, no, I don't mind at all. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: We are going into a week of intense negotiations to try and get a breakthrough. To let the whole thing go down would be tragic. ~~(C)~~

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5

The President: All of Ireland is a transformed place. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Thanks for that, and thanks for the call, George. Good-bye, and give my best to Laura. (U)

The President: Thanks, Tony. Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom and Prime Minister Ahern of Ireland, 08/01/2001

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

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5366

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with the Prime Minister of Britain
(U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Tony Blair

Notetakers: Andrew Green, Robert Schubert,
Jill Sandler, Robert Riley, Hoyt Yee

DATE, TIME: August 1, 2001, 7:44 - 7:54 a.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, George. (U)

The President: How is it in the hemisphere? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: It's fantastic. Amazing place. (U)

The President: Isn't it? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: It's fall. Have you been down here? (U)

The President: I have not been to Brazil. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: It is an amazing country. (U)

The President: Hope you're having a good trip. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: It is good. (U)

The President: I was just calling to congratulate you on the package of proposals on the Northern Ireland situation and wanted to offer any help I can give. And, if you want my man Haass to get in touch with anyone or do anything, then I'm more than happy to have him do it. ~~(C)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 8/2/11

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP&WB 2014-0471-M, #4162
By SAH NARA, Date 10/15/2019

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2

Prime Minister Blair: That's very kind and thoughtful. Today is a big day. We're putting the package to the parties. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Good. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I think two things would be helpful. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I will do that. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Good, we will do that. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: If you could do that, it would be great. It is really kind of you. Next week will be make or break. (U)

The President: I'm also going to call Bertie Ahern to tell him I talked to you and to try and give him a little boost. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That would be helpful, too. (U)

The President: I hear you're off to see De la Rua. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: He's coming here actually. What are your thoughts on that? (U)

The President: Well, I'm calling him today. First, I think it is important that he know we appreciate his reforms, but he has to reform to gain the confidence of the financial community, and he has to have the political will to put them in place. They had an interesting law. He could write checks on the federal government, and as a result they have no control over the federal deficit. This reform that he's gotten through both his houses is a step toward fiscal sanity and will regain some confidence. He has quite a bit of credit left with the IMF and I'm thinking of asking or pressuring them to accelerate the money for the month of September into earlier August. The key for De la Rua is for him to implement these changes. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I agree with that. He'll probably be pressuring very hard on extra facilities. ~~(C)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

The President: Yes, we don't support extra facilities. Just a minute, I may have a note here. Yes, in January, Argentina entered into a large IMF program to disperse thirteen billion over three years. He has a 1.2 billion disbursement due in September, and one of the things I will talk to him about is assuring him that we will work with the IMF to accelerate that payment, just trying to bolster confidence. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: I think that is absolutely right. The problem is that any facility you give can be swallowed up in days. ~~(C)~~

The President: Yes, I wouldn't do that. If you want, you can have an easy out and say that you're working with the United States on this. What he wants you to do probably is to lay out some bilateral money. We've already told him "No." I don't think people are going to appreciate bailing out New York banks. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, the key is reform. (U)

The President: The key is to keep his fiscal house in order. You ought to congratulate him on the laws, but the key is implementing them. It is like me in Texas. If I ran a deficit, then the Federal Government would have to bail me out. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] Menem's guy came in. You know Menem was the old guy, and did a really good job. He pegged their currency to the dollar which helped on inflation, but if you're going to peg your currency to another country's currency, you better have the same fiscal policy as they do. They didn't do that, and now they find themselves in this bind. I suppose the best thing we can do is support him. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: OK, alright George, that's very helpful. (U)

The President: The Middle East stinks right now. I talked to King Abdullah yesterday. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: It turns public opinion against you, that is damn sure. He better be careful about completely isolating himself.
(C)

Prime Minister Blair: Trouble is you might kill six bad guys but you also risk killing two children. (C)

The President: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: It's really, really, a ghastly business, and we've got to find a way to lock them into a process again.
(C)

The President: Absolutely, I agree. Colin is winding his way back from a long Far East Asia trip, and we're going to have Powell [REDACTED] Tony, have a great trip. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Thanks, George, and thanks for the note. We really had fun with you down there. (U)

The President: I loved it. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: OK, George. (U)

The President: Alright, Tony, give your family my best. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Alright, I will, George, goodbye. (U)

The President: Goodbye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 08/03/2001

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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5426

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Blair of Britain
(U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Rob Williams, Brad Mynatt, David Mathews, Clark Lystra, and Bob Riley, Hoyt Yee

DATE, TIME: August 3, 2001, 8:35 - 8:47 a.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Yes, Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, George. (U)

The President: How are you? Where are you? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: This is an amazing place, isn't it? (U)

The President: Where are you? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I'm in Mexico. (U)

The President: In Mexico City? Anyway, what is going on? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: George, just thought I would report back on my conversation with De la Rua. ~~(C)~~

The President: Great. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I had talks with De la Rua the other day. I also had talks yesterday with Vincente Fox.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 8/3/11

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP4WS 2014-0471-17, #4163
By tan NARA, Date 10/15/2019

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I will do a note to our guys. Our man there is John Taylor, who works directly for O'Neill. You should have your treasury man call O'Neill to get a read. Like yourself, I am not convinced that more money will work. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yeah, that is the problem. ~~(C)~~

The President: First, he got \$13 billion credit over 4 years with the IMF.

(b)(1)1.4d

I do think we should consult to make sure that our views on contagion are accurate. Alan Greenspan told me at lunch that he was not too worried about contagion, but I know that O'Neill feels strongly about it. But, we should keep an open mind and listen to our friends in South America. If your guys come to a different conclusion, we should stay in close consultations. I will send a message to Paul. John Taylor is still in Argentina, and he gets back tomorrow. I do not know if the Secretary level is the right level. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think it is. I think they need to go back over it again.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Yes, their spreads are pegged to the dollar. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I do not know what the consequences are to that. They say disaster, but I do not know. The third option is that they default. ~~(C)~~

The President: Default, but also a soft landing default with restructured loans. I am not sophisticated enough to tell you how that works, but it somehow contains contagion and a soft landing. I will send a message to Paul. He came by to see me on this last night. Between us, he is pretty hard-line, and he does not believe that more money will solve the problem. But, he does think it will create issues in the hemisphere, and we have pledged to be a friendly neighbor. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That's right. Instead of being hard-line, be realistic and provide some kind of safety-line in the drop. There is some talk here about the gentle landing instead of the crash landing. I am not sophisticated enough to tell you about all the tools they would use, but let me shoot a note over to O'Neill now and get him to call Gordon or to take Gordon's call. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Okay. (U)

The President: Let's stay in touch on this. I will be on the ranch looking for something to do. Phone calls would be perfect. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Let's do that George. ~~(C)~~

The President: I appreciate it. How is Vincente doing? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: He is doing fine. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~
The President: Yes. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That's right. We are going to make progress, but the problem is that expectations are a little lofty with my

friend, Vincente. His Foreign Minister is pushing quite hard. Amnesty is out of the question. But, I always said that if there are willing employees and employers, we ought to make it easier for them to hook-up. The big issue is the extent that we allow permanent residents and citizenship. I suspect that it will be slower than the Mexicans want, but Vincente will be able to go back with a victory. What is happening in Northern Ireland? I know you had a terrible car bombing, and we are sad about that.

~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

But, on the whole, the parties are not reacting to the knee-jerk to the proposals. They will come back Monday.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Haass made the call, and Bertie Ahern was positive something would happen. He felt very optimistic. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, I'd like to take the optimistic view, but... ~~(C)~~

The President: Yes, but you do not want to get your hopes up.
(U)

Prime Minister Blair: These guys work in peculiar ways, miscalculating at moments. They may decide to do something in 2 weeks when they need to do it in two days. Let's keep our fingers crossed. Many thanks for your help on this. ~~(C)~~

The President: We will stay in touch on this. Are you going to Cancun? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: We are going to a place outside of Cancun.
(U)

The President: Have a great stay there. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I will as long as there are plenty of beaches and sunshine. (U)

The President: There will be a lot of sun. Wear a lot of Coppertone. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Alright, stay in touch. (U)

The President: Thanks for calling. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 09/12/2001

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Telcon	Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair [3 PAGES CLOSED IN PART FOR (b)(1) ON PRA RE-REVIEW 08/21/2023 NRH]	1	09/12/2001	b1;

COLLECTION TITLE:

National Security Council - Records and Access Management

SERIES:

Memcons and Telcons - Tony Blair Binder

FOLDER TITLE:

Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 09/12/2001

FRC ID:

37986

RESTRICTION CODES

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Marcia Caler and John Sherman

DATE, TIME: September 12, 2001, 7:27 - 7:39 a.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Good morning, Tony? How are you? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I'm in a state of shock and really feeling for your people and you. (U)

The President: It was a tough day yesterday. Incredible sadness and despair has overwhelmed thousands of families. There is also physical devastation. But this Nation is resolved to come together and fight the new war of the 21st Century. Thank you for your strong support and friendship. A new type of force has declared war on freedom, and we are just the first target. Friends like you could be the second. Friends come together and win the war. I am preparing my Government now and we are on our feet again. I'll be meeting all day with our people and look forward to getting back to you with my ideas of how to declare and win war. People want an immediate and fierce response. This is obviously not like Japan or Germany, this is an enemy that is hard to find and hard to see. We will also work for a strong diplomatic front, and strong resolutions. I want to thank you for your friendship. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: You have our 100 percent support. We'll do anything we can do to help. We have our intelligence people ready to come and see yours. We'll provide any assistance at all that is required. There are two aspects of this, very briefly. First is the immediate response that you will want to consider. You are absolutely right, we need to come together. We should be drawing up the agenda to do that at every level. (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 9/18/11

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP 6203 2014-0471-17, # 4164
By SL NARA, Date 10/15/2019

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

The President: We have thought long and hard about an immediate response. I don't want to pound sand with million dollar weapons. I would like some serious self-defense. If your guys have ideas about immediacy, I'd like to hear them. This is a war that is different. It will require understanding and patience. I will have Congressmen up here to the White House today. It's hard for people who are elected every two years to understand the situation. We want to find, seek, and ferret out these people, and get them on the run. We'll obviously deal with Pakistan and Afghanistan in ways the world has been unwilling to do up to this point. At the same time, we have a great opportunity to disrupt their safe havens, and to act against those who did the attacks and also those who harbored them. The White House is lucky to be still standing. We firmly believe the plane that crashed up north of here was headed for the White House. It was an unbelievably coordinated, act. How did this happen? How come we didn't hear anything? As we discover flaws, we have to share information with you as well. (e)

Prime Minister Blair: The thing that troubles me is what happens when we get, well, the assumption is that we'll get clear evidence on who is responsible. The question is, then what is the immediate response we take on that? What are the measures that the international community as a whole takes? I totally agree with you. (e)

The President: It's going to be hard to do any worse, except with a weapon of mass destruction. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: I spoke to Putin last night, George.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I can't thank you enough for your attitude. I think it may have a positive effect on the Middle East, in a perverse way. We're strategizing, and this is literally the first shot out of the blocks for me. I appreciate your understanding that this is the new war. This is the Pearl Harbor of the 21st Century. Now is the time to begin to formulate our strategy. You're the first guy to buoy my spirits. We're going to have to go through a long period of mourning. (e)

Prime Minister Blair: The dilemma is to formulate immediate action, but also there's the need to make such action effective. (e)

The President: We've got to do what we've got to do. (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

Prime Minister Blair: That fills a gap. We're ready to take the hard stuff forward. ~~(C)~~

The President: In the meantime, I will get Tenet and the appropriate people together. We're on alert. At any rate, we will have learned some lessons. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We'll get the people together. ~~(C)~~

The President: Good-bye, Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 12/29/2001

RESTRICTION CODES

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DOCUMENT NO.	FORM	SUBJECT/TITLE	PAGES	DATE	RESTRICTION(S)
001	Telcon	Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair [5 PAGES CLOSED IN PART FOR (b)(1) ON PRA RE-REVIEW 08/21/2023 NRH]	5	12/29/2001	b1;

COLLECTION TITLE:

National Security Council - Records and Access Management

SERIES:

Memcons and Telcons - Tony Blair Binder

FOLDER TITLE:

Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 12/29/2001

FRC ID:

37986

RESTRICTION CODES

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2014-0155-F

2020-0008-F

2023-0115-F

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0055

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Notetakers: David Mathews,
Andrew Green, and Ed Padinske

DATE, TIME December 29, 2001, 1:15-1:27 p.m. EST
AND PLACE: Crawford, Texas

The President: Hey, Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, George. How are you? (U)

The President: I'm fine. How are you? (U)

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

The President: That's fabulous. Are you there on vacation? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, I am in Sharm-el-Sheik really. It's really beautiful here. (U)

The President: That's really good that you can do that. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: It's beautiful here, warm and sunny. (U)

The President: I wanted to call and wish you a happy New Year, and share some concerns about this India-Pakistan deal. I know you're going soon, which is good. I talked to both Musharraf and Vajpayee this morning, and I wanted to make sure we're on the same wavelength.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 1/3/12

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP4462014-0471-M, #4165
By SAH NARA, Date 10/15/2019

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: I think you're absolutely right in what you're saying. This has been a visit with a long time-fix. I was supposed to go before 11 September. I think it's probably as well that I do go. ~~(C)~~

The President: Absolutely. You'll just find yourself in the middle of one hell of a storm. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Two things. First, there has got to be calming measures. You're absolutely right, [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Yes, that's what he said. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] We have to give them a message of calming down, and see our way forward. I know David is talking to Condi about this Monday. ~~(C)~~

The President: Good. I think you are going at the right time. I think if the Indians are going to do anything, then your going

is forcing them to postpone it. It's the right thing your going, even though at a strange time. He doesn't want to go to war. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: He's basically a good guy. ~~(C)~~

The President: He is. I told Musharraf to show him something. We have to give him a victory. You've got to do something. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's right. ~~(C)~~

The President:

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

No one else can do this. ~~(C)~~

The President: Are you going to Pakistan, too? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I am going to Pakistan, India, and Bangladesh. ~~(C)~~

The President: Oh, you are going to see them, too? Yikes, you might want to take a box lunch. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It was arranged at a calmer time. We thought it would be a matter of great joy for the Pakistani and Bangladeshi communities in Britain. ~~(C)~~

The President: Great. You've got good standing in India. A lot more stroke than I do. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I don't know about that, but I can talk to them. What I may do, George, if this is okay, David is doing some work with my people on this, and once David and Condi talk, I may give you a call before I go. ~~(C)~~

The President: Great. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: But, at the moment, I don't have any great wisdom. ~~(C)~~

The President:

(b)(1)1.4d

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: In the history, Musharraf was a general during the last problem, in the 1996 stuff. Anyway, I think it's great that you are going. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I will see what I can do. ~~(C)~~

The President: Are you going to check in before you go? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, if that is okay. ~~(C)~~

The President: Absolutely, anytime. I'm here on the ranch burning cedar. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: So you are having a relaxing time. (U)

The President: Yes. The family went one direction, and Laura and I went in the other. We're here alone. It's a beautiful time. We will be welcoming you all here over Easter. I know Laura and Cheri planned on it. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: That would be nice. We have been having a great time. (U)

The President: Is it warm? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: It is about 27 degrees. (U)

The President: And that is? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: About 75, 76. (U)

The President: With perfect blue skies and sun? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. (U)

The President: And you've been well behaved, I hope? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, well behaved. We went out and had dinner in the desert last night, a full-blown Bedouin affair. It was absolutely fabulous. (U)

The President: That sounds neat. (U)

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: I will. ~~(C)~~

The President:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: I will say that. ~~(C)~~

The President: If that comes up.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: Don't worry, I will do it. ~~(C)~~

The President: Alright, sir. It's great talking to you. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Alright, George. (U)

The President: Alright, I sure appreciate it. All the best.
(U)

Prime Minister Blair: Bye. (U)

The President: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 01/02/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

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0056

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Brad Mynatt, Don Gentile, Tina
Yarmchuk, Tom Hall

DATE, TIME January 2, 2002, 12:56-1:10 p.m. EST
AND PLACE: Crawford, Texas

The President: Hey, Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, George. (U)

The President: How are you, sir? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I am excellent. I had a few days of
holiday, which is very good indeed. (U)

The President: You deserve it, you had a good year. I am here
working on the ranch. I am going out to California this weekend,
but, other than that, I have had some pretty good time off.
Monday, I show back up in Washington. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Right. (U)

The President: I was just checking in on this trip to India and
Pakistan. I think that Condi and David have been in close
contact, but I wanted to say a couple of things. One thing is
that I think that we are making progress; I do not know if you
think so or not. I was going to say that I think that Musharraf
has made some very good gestures, and he arrested some people,
and is giving a speech on January 7th or 8th, which will be an
important moment.

(b)(1)1.4d

Are you going to India or Pakistan first? (c)

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 1/3/12

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP4NB 20,4-0471-1, # 4166
By SAH NARA, Date 10/15/2019

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

Prime Minister Blair: I am going to India first. ~~(c)~~

The President: Good. Let me tell you my worry, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: I think that there has been progress. Apparently, there was some incident today. A grenade attack on the parliament in Kashmir. ~~(c)~~

The President: Yes, but we are not sure if that was an individual, or some guy, who threw the grenade. We do not know all the facts. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] Is Richard Armitage in one place while I am in the other? ~~(c)~~

The President: I do not know what the timing is. I thought it was after your trip, but David needs to talk to Condi on that. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] The sooner they start talking the better. ~~(c)~~

The President: No question about that. Maybe this will lead to some sort of resolution on Kashmir. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

The President: I agree. I do not know the Indians very well. I know that Vaipavee does not want war. He has huge leverage on Musharraf. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] That is a good sign.

~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think that is right. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Is he close to the Indians? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, they will listen to him a lot. ~~(C)~~

The President: Is it because of the past or the reinvigoration of the relationship? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: More because of the past, really. The Indians were always close to Russia. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] I will try, while I am there, to speak to as many of them as well. ~~(C)~~

The President: That would be great. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That is right. If the Indians have some gesture in mind, it seems to me they want something done on terrorism, but also have to have something to show the home constituency.

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, I must pin the Indians down. ~~(C)~~

The President: Yes, and trim their sails back if it is unrealistic. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I will report back once I get back. ~~(C)~~

The President: I am glad you are going. It is a delicate moment but I think you are going at a time when it could have been a lot worse. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Alright, have a great trip. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I will do my best. ~~(C)~~

The President: You will do great. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: George, I should try to speak to you when I get back, and also on my conversations with Putin when he came to visit me. ~~(C)~~

The President: I would love to hear it. When do you get back?
~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Tuesday. (U)

The President: I will be back in Washington. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I will speak to you some time next week.
(U)

The President: I would love to hear from you. Have a good trip.
(U)

Prime Minister Blair: Thanks, bye. (U)

The President: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 01/07/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

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0256

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Tina Yarmchuk, Bob Schubert, Tom Hall, Marcy Caler

DATE, TIME January 7, 2002, 9:16 - 9:28 p.m. EST
AND PLACE: Crawford, Texas

The President: Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, George. How are you? (U)

The President: I'm fine. How are you? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I'm not quite sure where my body clock is, but I'm fine. I wanted to fill you in on the talks I had. There's good and bad news. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 1/11/12

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP 6428 2014-0471-11, #4167
By SAH NARA, Date 10/15/2019

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I see what you are saying. When is the Musharraf speech? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: In the next couple of days.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That makes sense. When will you see Musharraf? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Later today. ~~(C)~~

The President: We should talk after you talk to him. I presume David Manning is keeping Condi abreast of all the issues? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: They spoke last night. Then this will come to the hard point. I'm trying to think, what is the position that gives us all a sensible platform to stand on?

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That is very wise. First of all, I think what the Indians are telling you... I haven't seen the body language

but they need something to get the domestic pressure off of them. It seems, if Musharraf gives a strong speech, and he's willing to engage in dialogue on Kashmir and renounce terrorism, and if he's willing to allow the extradition of one of those Indian thugs, maybe that will help. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

The President: Why can't we get rid of that Indian Mafia guy? I don't understand why extraditing an Indian who is a known criminal is a problem. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That's right. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Absolutely. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Your instinct is right.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: He got people to the table to discuss Kashmir.

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: I met some of the people who were in Parliament when the gunmen went in. One of them had one of his assistants killed, and he was a Muslim. I can only imagine what would happen if they burst into Westminster. I would expect someone to do something. ~~(C)~~

The President: Exactly. That's what you have to explain to Musharraf, that he has to give them something. You've got good vision. Just put the hammer to him, and we will follow up behind you. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I will let you know what happens with Musharraf. ~~(C)~~

The President: Good luck to you. I appreciate you taking on the assignment. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Okay. (U)

The President: Seriously. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: One thing is for sure.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

The President: I know that. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: India is in a situation that all democracies are in. Up to a certain point, democracies are reluctant to take action. But after that point, they have to take action. ~~(C)~~

The President: I appreciate you checking in, and I look forward to talking again. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Okay. Bye, George. (U)

The President: Okay, bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 01/08/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

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0212

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Rob Hargis, Andrew Green, and
Jay Bonds

DATE, TIME January 8, 2002, 12:01 - 12:18 p.m. EST

AND PLACE: Air Force One

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, George. (U)

The President: Hey, Tony. How are you? (U)

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

The President: It looked like you had a great trip. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: It was interesting. I dropped in to Afghanistan and saw Karzai and his cabinet. The arrival ceremony was one of the more surreal I've been through. I don't know if you've heard the Afghan national band. It was something else.
(U)

The situation is this: there is still danger. Although the temperature is dropping a bit on India-Pakistan, I think there are two worries there.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 1/9/12

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Authority LP44WB 2014-0471-17 #4168
By dal NARA, Date 10/15/2019

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2

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Did he tell you he was going to do that in his speech? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, he did. And I told him I will talk to him again before the speech. I told him that while it will be a speech to Pakistan, it also has to be a speech to the world and against terrorism. ~~(C)~~

The President: That's right. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

I think it is worth you, George, giving him a call and pressing him on that as well. ~~(C)~~

The President: Okay. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: It is one thing if I do it, but it will carry a lot of weight if you do. ~~(C)~~

The President: Good. I will do that tomorrow. Or tonight, when it's morning over there. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: If you would discuss the speech with him and the same messages. ~~(C)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

The President: Right. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Yes. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I'll tell you what. I will call him tomorrow, or tonight, his time. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] This guy, their homeland guy, is coming soon. We can hopefully use that trip to have the Indians show that they don't want a war. ~~-(C)-~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think that's right. I don't know when you are going to send Rich Armitage over, but my thinking is that it does no harm. They don't talk at all. They just have people

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4

send messages back and forth while they sit there and stare at each other. ~~(C)~~

The President: Right. I didn't want to send Armitage out while you were there. We don't need both of you over there at the same time. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's absolutely right. It might help to follow up with them over the next couple of weeks. ~~(C)~~

The President: I agree. I think it is good idea. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: What I will do, George, is I will phone Vajpayee and just report back to him on my conversation with Musharraf

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I think we have the right strategy. I just hope these guys go through with it. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President:

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President:

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Yes it is. Alright, Tony. I'm getting ready to get off the airplane, but I will report back to you on how my talk goes with Musharraf goes. ~~(C)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5

Prime Minister Blair: Okay, George. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 01/17/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

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2424

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Tina Yarmchuk, Andy Green, and
Bob Schubert

DATE, TIME January 17, 2002, 7:48 - 8:00 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Good morning, Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, George. (U)

The President: How are you? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I'm fine. How are you? (U)

The President: My advice is to be careful when you eat pretzels.
(U)

Prime Minister Blair: Someone offered me one the other night,
and I chewed it bloody carefully. (U)

The President: I hope others are learning from my failure to
chew. I appreciate you checking in. I told the people here one
of my customary habits is to check in with my friends in Great
Britain, so I'm glad we can check in. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: It's good to speak to you. I've just been
seeing the Chinese Foreign Minister. ~~(e)~~

The President: How's that going? ~~(e)~~

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 3/25/12

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP4446 2014-0471-M, #4169
By SAH NARA, Date 10/15/2019

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

Prime Minister Blair: Very good. He was on line with us on India and Pakistan. ~~(C)~~

The President: How are things going? The cameras just left the room; we've got this staging event today, "A Day in the Life of the President." I just cleared the cameras out. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: So I can talk frankly? (U)

The President: Yes. How are things going in India-Pakistan?
~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think it's going well. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I agree. He's done really good work. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Absolutely, and I hope that is the message that Colin Powell is delivering today. I think we need to beef up an aid package for him. I think he needs to be rewarded as best he can. I'm going to give him money for education to reform the madaris. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Absolutely. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That's what a leader does. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's quite a good message for the Arab world. ~~(C)~~

The President: Absolutely. I had Ecevit in yesterday. As you know, he's unwilling to commit to taking your place, but I think he will if he has some kind of strategy in place. We need a plan to explain to the Turkish people what they're going to do and how they will be paid. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. ~~(C)~~

The President: I don't even know, is the expectation that we pay for his troops there? ~~(C)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Everybody. Rent-a-troops. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: He will go, Tony. I think he's willing, but he needs some kind of sense about how best to prepare him for that. You all and we need to sit down and explain what is expected. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: What they all worry about is that we'll carry on taking an interest. This stuff from you guys on the reconstruction conference is helpful. ~~(c)~~

The President: We'll have to go to our friends to pay up. I'm calling around, and I know State Department is, too. I hope you will say to these guys, "Look, we have to pony up our money." ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's true. We will make sure we do, and we'll get word to the other European capitals. ~~(c)~~

The President: That would be good. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It's looking better than it might.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(c)~~

The President: In Cuba, you mean with the detainees? ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Let me tell you, I know it's a completely different situation on your side of the water,

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I don't think we should get into a discussion of whether it's counselors, but if you do want to send some military guys over to talk about their role, that may take the heat off of them. I understand completely. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: To be honest, I have to watch myself, because I'm completely unsympathetic. ~~(c)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4

The President: Me, too. I sent my lawyer down there, Al Gonzales, to check the conditions they're in. He said they look like they're in dog pens. They're in caged-in areas with tin roofs and nothing on the sides. We're building a pre-fab prison for them, but it will take a few months to get there. They should be finished in three or four months. If we're getting roasted over anything, it's because we haven't tried this guy Walker for treason, but we need two witnesses. If we find the bullet in him was from the pistol of the slain CIA guy, then he's going up for murder charges. But if you want him back, you can have him. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I don't think I said that, George. ~~(C)~~

The President: I'm teasing; you don't want him back?. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: What amazes me, is how quickly people forget. They'll kill any one of us tomorrow without the slightest compunction. ~~(C)~~

The President: These are bad guys. We're doing the world a favor by getting them off the streets. But I can understand that. The public opinion here is tougher than the world opinion because it happened on our ground. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I understand. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Absolutely. We'll have to talk about that. I have nothing else, but we are helping the Philippines, and she's taking immense heat. It's a lesson to observe how these countries are anxious to go, but, on the other hand, the ramp-up phase is awfully hard for these leaders. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] and she is getting flailed in her press. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We should see how we can help. ~~(C)~~

The President: Of course the other problem is sometimes we interpret things differently in the American press; it may be customary that she get flailed in the press on every issue. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: On the other hand, there should be an opportunity to turn opinion in her favor. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That's exactly right. The other area we should talk about is Yemen. We will get secure someday and talk about al-Qaida in Yemen. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It's important that people see that we're moving forward on the second phase. ~~(C)~~

The President: Yes, to show we're not fizzling. Rumsfeld is feeling his oats. He's become quite the sex symbol for the over-70 set. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: He's delivering the goods, though. ~~(C)~~

The President: His press conferences are classics. He's developed a style that is appealing. One final matter, we are hopeful when you all are over here that you and your family come to the ranch the weekend after Easter. I'm not exactly sure where Cherie and Laura are on this, but I know Laura would love to have you at the ranch. I understand Easter weekend is not possible, but maybe you can come over Friday and Saturday night, April 6. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's what we're looking at. ~~(C)~~

The President: I'd love it, and it would be good. It would be fun, and fun for your family, and it would give us a chance to make some news over the weekend there and continue the momentum we've built up over the war against terrorism. It's a great time of year to be there. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I look forward to that. ~~(C)~~

The President: Why don't we angle towards that? I think you will like it a lot. I think it would be an enjoyable stay for you. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I appreciate that. It's kind of you to offer. (U)

The President: Okay. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: All the best. (U)

The President: Alright, good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 02/06/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

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2425

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Tina Yarmchuk, Tom Hall, Jay
Bonds, and Bob Schubert

DATE, TIME February 6, 2002, 7:46 - 8:01 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hello. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hello. How are you, George? (U)

The President: Great. How are you? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I just wanted to have a word with you
about the security force in Afghanistan. ~~(c)~~

The President: I know you're concerned about the Turks getting
up to speed. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. I spoke with Karzai.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I think that's good for the Turks to hear. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. That's what they want to hear. ~~(c)~~

The President: I think so, too. Let me tell you what our
position is going to be. It's emerging and it's developing, and

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 3/25/12

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP4W/B 2014-0471-M, #4170
By SAN NARA, Date 10/15/2019

we can talk about it further, but we believe it's necessary for us to have a continuing presence for a long time. That will be in our beefed-up State Department and military presence to fulfill the commitment to you and whoever takes your place with airlift, intelligence, and especially bailout capability. The presence will enable us to achieve an objective, to help Karzai train his own military, which ought to be the long term objective of us all. The problem is that we have some Senators calling for an extended U.S. presence of 30,000 troops there, an interim force to maintain peace [Gap] to help Karzai develop his own military. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I know that's right, and the fact that the people know that you're hanging in there will be a help for Karzai. ~~(c)~~

The President: I'm always an exit strategy guy, but the exit is longer down on the calendar. But I believe we've got to enable Afghanistan to defend herself and keep her own peace. That way I thought the Gerhard [Schroeder] plan to develop police force was important. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We can do a lot to help them develop their own security force capacity. ~~(c)~~

The President: That's great, Tony. I don't know if we need to make a big announcement, but I think people are getting the picture. Obviously, right now we're focused on the theatre aspect. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Now would be a good idea. Another thing I was struck by was the sheer level of their requirements for help on the administration and banking system. [redacted]

[redacted]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[redacted] What impressed me was their real need for quick time response to problems that arise for problems that we can't watch every day. I would be happier if there were people focused on what's going on over there full time. A daily support packet is what needs to happen. ~~(c)~~

The President: That's a good point. That ought to be a function of our embassies. I'll talk to Powell and Condi about it, but I agree we have to stay very tight so there is clear communication to you and me both. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think that's good and necessary. [redacted]

[redacted]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

The President: I don't blame them. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think with those two things we can develop the security force and we have a system of keeping on top of [Gap] then we can get this thing moving forward. ~~(C)~~

The President: I really look forward to your visit here. As we look at the Texas prairie we can talk about what I meant when I called those countries an "axis of evil." We are not mustering our troops for an imminent attack. I thought it was important to put these countries on notice, put a stake in the ground. They need to change their behavior. I want to spend some time, this is not the appropriate moment, about the long-term view with how we deal with the Middle East and the countries I mentioned there, and our hopes and aspirations for the region. It's time for us and others to see beyond the immediate, to think of a vision to make a better world, and we ought to spend some time thinking about it. If you want to make some notes before you arrive on how we can change behavior and create a coalition with the military option in mind, I'd love to hear. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Thanks, I will take you up on it. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I appreciate it. I ignore the gossip class out there. The moral clarity is something that confuses some, but that doesn't bother me in the least. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It is, in fact, already having an impact in some countries. That's some of the reasons why it's important to act in Afghanistan. ~~(C)~~

The President: I had a good visit with Putin, and he didn't bother to bring up the subject, but he reminded me that [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. ~~(C)~~

The President: [REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] but that's certainly not a justification. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] And I told him that I'm committed to it. I talked to Powell, Chenev. and Rumsfeld last night about how to expedite his request. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: I agree. ~~(C)~~

The President: I appreciate your leadership on that. ~~(C)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4

Prime Minister Blair: If we can get him to the right place on that, it could make other things easier, too. ~~(C)~~

The President: I agree. He's been great about his south except for the fact that he's heavy-handed in Chechnya. He's been helpful to us all. [REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] I hope you're doing okay.
~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I'm off to Africa. ~~(C)~~

The President: Fantastic. Are you going to Zimbabwe to referee the election? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's beyond any of us. I'm going to Nigeria. ~~(C)~~

The President: [REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4d ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. Then I'm going to Senegal and the francophone countries to talk to those guys. ~~(C)~~

The President: Have a great trip, and we'll talk before you come over. I look forward to having you at the ranch. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Thanks. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 02/28/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

~~SECRET~~

2426

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Clark Lystra, Robert Riley,
David Mathews, and Leslie Radcliff

DATE, TIME February 28, 2002, 07:05 - 07:22 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hello. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hello, George. (U)

The President: How are you this morning? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Fine. I'm in very good form and I'm off to Australia for a couple of days. (U)

The President: That doesn't sound like a good time. It's a long haul. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: It's a twenty-two hour flight. (U)

The President: Twenty-two hours? Oh, God. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: [Gap] and a little bit about Zimbabwe too.
~~(C)~~

The President: That's right. And other nations are showing up too. I had a pretty good talk with Mozambique, Botswana, and Angola. I said they need to take the lead and not be silent on Mugabe. ~~(C)~~

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 3/25/12

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP4WB 2014-0471-M, #4171
By Sah NARA, Date 10/15/2019

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: We are doing everything we can with the Turks. We're dealing with it and I agree with you, an agreement is so important to keep. I want to thank you for being flexible. I would feel the exact same way if I were you. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I hope that we can get this thing crunched down and sorted out. At any rate, we are going to leave several hundred troops there to help with support.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Absolutely. Tommy Franks is the man I rely on. We've got to make sure we agree with your guys.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: We'll push too. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: The other thing was we've got this move we're trying on the drug crop, which is important because 70 percent of the world's heroin comes from Afghanistan, not from Colombia. Most of yours comes from Colombia, but not in Europe. They can harvest the crop in 6-7 weeks. We're working with your guys. If you can make a push to disrupt it, that would be great.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Well, I'm talking with Tommy Franks today and I'll bring it up with him. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Okay, that's excellent. ~~(C)~~

The President: Listen, I got your letter on steel and I appreciate the input very much and will give it a good look. I'm going to make a decision on Monday or Tuesday. You understand my pressure and I understand the pressure you're under. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It's one of these nightmares where everyone has conflicting pressures. ~~(C)~~

The President: It's just one of those things that we've got to work through. Yes, it reminds me a bit of the genetic-engineered food things a bit. If people think we need to go to the WTO, that doesn't bother me; that's what the WTO is for. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It's mainly over jobs. ~~(C)~~

The President: I understand completely. The thing I don't like is that the internal dynamic could create additional spin-offs and we're not making progress on the international glut issue. We'll deal with it and continue to try to be reasonable. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Incidentally, lots of stuff coming out of Europe comes across as critical, especially on Iraq and international terror. It's interesting. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Schroeder's great and I don't worry about [Gap]. I don't understand our friend Chris Patten. He's coming out of left field. What's the deal with him? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: He's becoming a good European. ~~(C)~~

The President: Powell took him on. He said at the end of the conversation if you're going to do something, don't let it linger, be quick and tough and victorious. I don't have plans on my desk at the moment, but do want to share thinking on this and get your input at the ranch. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Absolutely right. ~~(C)~~

The President: I don't worry about all that. It's interesting news for critics of the administration to be flurrying out there. Jimmy Carter took a pop at me in the Post and immediately got lambasted in the press. All it does is give the academics something to hang their hats on. What we've got from the Frenchman is to be expected. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Are you going to the World Development thing in Monterrey? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: No, I can't actually. ~~(C)~~

The President: I don't blame you. Fox asked me to go. He's a friend and he has a problem. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I've got to go to Australia now, and then to the States. If I was to stop in Mexico in between, they'd take away my passport. ~~(C)~~

The President: I don't blame you. I go down and get told I'm too stingy. I had a great trip out east. Koizumi is a great guy, I like him and he's moving forward. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Except that their economy is in the tank and

(b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think that's enough. They need something huge to get themselves out of where they are. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

The President: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

I had a good

visit there too. Korea is interesting. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] It was frustrating, but we had a great trip. It was interesting and there were no major flaps. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I'm going to see Sharon next week, on Monday. ~~(C)~~

The President:

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: It eases up on everything else. ~~(C)~~

The President: Yes, it certainly changes the dynamic, and with discussions with the Saudis and all Arab countries.

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: Right. It's only a short-term issue.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

The President:

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, I think energy policy is the future.

~~(C)~~

The President: That's why I'm trying to talk more about nuclear power, but with no success. This is an energy problem. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: These issues have got to be addressed.

~~(C)~~

The President: There's a huge debate now that our boys at Enron took the ship to the bottom. The thing's a disaster. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: But that shouldn't distract from the strategic issues. The Saudis have 70 percent of the world's production. ~~(C)~~

The President: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4d

Have a great trip and I look forward to your visit. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I am looking forward to it and think that David and Condi ought to get together before we meet. ~~(C)~~

The President: Yes, so they can do the agenda. We'll have plenty of time to visit as we stroll around the property. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Good. Thanks for calling. (U)

The President: Alright, good-bye. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

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Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 04/04/2002

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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2994

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Ed Padinske, David Mathews, and
Leslie Radcliff

DATE, TIME April 4, 2002, 7:14 - 7:24 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hello, Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hello, George. (U)

The President: I'm all packed and ready to go. When we get off the plane, we need to create a somber mood. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I am sorry about that. It's an ancient British custom. (U)

The President: We were afraid that you would not be able to come. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: [gap] (U)

The President: We will have a good time. I am calling because, in about three hours, I will give a major speech on the Middle East. I'm going to remind people that as long as there is terrorism, we will not achieve peace. To fight off terror, a strong call has to be made. The news is going to be tough.

(b)(1)1.4d I
will call on Israel to withdraw from the territory. The press will read this as enough is enough. It is a firm declaration. I will announce that Colin will leave to deal with the issue. And so that is going to happen. (c)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 4/12/12

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP6WB 2014-0471-11, #4172
By Sah NARA, Date 10/15/2019

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

2

Prime Minister Blair: [gap] (U)

The President: "Ca-ca" will hit the fan. It's a Texas saying.
(U)

Prime Minister Blair: It is necessary to do. I have some thoughts for when Colin goes out there. ~~(c)~~

The President: Oh, great. I would love to hear them. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I actually have some good people working on some steps. ~~(c)~~

The President: Have they touched base with my man Zinni? ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Sending Colin is the right signal. The one thing that I think is essential is that we are not left in the situation where you are not [gap]. ~~(c)~~

The President: I agree that is great advice. We have made two calls. Colin called Sharon. After this, I'm going to call Aznar. I do need your advice about how we will make this happen.
~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: He is the right one to do it. We need to do this without position taking. [redacted] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[redacted]
The President: [redacted] (b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: The attacks in the alleyways are a PR disaster. This is going to set-off a huge turmoil. It is time for me to get out here and say this. My attitude is that it is important for us to stay focused on the larger picture, [redacted] (b)(1)1.4d

[redacted] The more successful we are then we can live in peace. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [redacted] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(c)~~

The President: I wanted to let you know about the speech. I will be at the ranch. We can go for walks and ride around.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

Bring some walking shoes. We will talk about Zubayda. He is no longer in operation. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I will get this note through. Good luck with your speech. ~~(c)~~

The President: Thank you and good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 05/02/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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3850

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair
(U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Tony Blair

Notetakers: Janeen Chupa, Tom Hall, and
Don Gentile

DATE, TIME May 2, 2002, 2:17 - 2:27 p.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hey, Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, George. How are you? (U)

The President: I'm great. I just had lunch with our friend Jose Aznar and the whole EU crowd, which was pleasant and good. Then, Jose and I are going to Camp David tomorrow. There are a couple of things I wanted to bring you up to date on what is happening. I tried to call right after the Crown Prince left, but Condi assured me that the great British government would perform and you did. I praised you the other day for helping resolve this Ramallah deal. But I've got to tell you, I think we have a pretty good chance to have vision planted in some people's minds. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] I am pleased. I'm sorry it took so long, but we are beginning to make progress. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 5/7/12

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP#W02014-0471-11, #4173
By JAL NARA, Date 10/15/2019

The President: I agree. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] That is
our strategy. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's right. What we need to do, the key to unlock the door, is to be in a position to be sufficient on the security side and not at the mercy of the next suicide bomber. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I agree. He shouldn't have flattened it in the first place. His people said they would help, but make sure he doesn't flatten it again. The EU people said they are ready to give them money, but if they flatten it again it will all be in vain. We agree. We are taking our time only because we want to get everyone's thoughts and share ideas. Next we need to send Zinni or Tenet back in to talk about rebuilding security forces for a Palestinian state. Powell will be hinting about a potential ministerial meeting in the summer. We want to keep the agenda do-able, and then push toward a larger conference.

(b)(1)1.4d, (b)(1)1.4b

Prime Minister Blair: I think that's the right way to proceed. Two things we have are potentially on our side. The meeting with the Saudis was very important. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: It looks heroic. I like a man with an optimistic view of things. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Well, this is the toughest thing, and we are stuck with it for a while. ~~(C)~~

The President:

(b)(1)1.4d

They got our attention, I'll tell you that. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: The advantage of what you've done is that they now feel some responsibility for the peace deal. ~~(C)~~

The President: Absolutely. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President:

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: No, they hate them. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I just wanted to thank you. I remember your visit to the ranch and I just wanted to check in with you. I've got to go. Your memo helped a lot, and I wanted to stay in touch and keep you abreast of things. ~~(C)~~

~~SECRET~~

4

Prime Minister Blair: Absolutely, George. Well done with what you've done. This is a bloody nightmare. ~~(C)~~

The President: It's a pain in the ass. But if you and I don't do it nobody else will. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Right. ~~(C)~~

The President: Okay. All right, buddy. Thanks for checking in. Good-bye. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 05/22/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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4427

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair
(U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Tony Blair

Notetaker: Don Gentile, Tom Hall, and Jeff Houle

DATE, TIME May 22, 2002, 12:02 - 12:20 p.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Air Force One

The President: Hey, Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, George. (U)

The President: How are you? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Fine, fine. Are you on your way over?
(U)

The President: I am about two hours away and wanted to call and visit a little if you have time. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Absolutely, of course I have. (U)

The President: First, I know you feel the same way, but I am deeply concerned about Pakistan and India. I appreciate very much our coordinated efforts to convince Mr. Musharraf. I know Powell and the Foreign Minister have been talking and Condi has been talking with her counterpart and I hope we are making progress. I wanted to know what your assessment is. (c)

Prime Minister Blair: To be honest, I am confused about this.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 5/23/12

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Authority LP4WG 204-0471-M, #4174
By sdw NARA, Date 10/15/2019

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: You are absolutely right about that. David and Condi are coordinating very well, but we need to stay in touch. Our governments need to one-two this so that they will not allow the troop movements to clash, and work through this. I like the idea of showing Indians real progress, but they will eventually have to sit down and have dialogue. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That's true. (U)

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That sounds good. Is your Foreign Minister going over there? ~~(c)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

3

Prime Minister Blair: He is going there in the next few days and he can take messages. I will try to speak to Musharraf and Vainavee myself. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: The only thing I can do is get Putin involved, and get the Chinese involved so that we have a chorus of people to say, "You have to stop this." As you say, to figure out a way to defuse this for more than a couple of weeks. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think that is absolutely right. I think it is fortuitous that you are seeing Putin because he has connections with India. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: On that issue, Tony, we are able to take some of them. Armitage, who follows your man, will make that case. I am not sure how we can convince the Indians. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: I agree, that is the problem. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That's right. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(b)(1)1.4d

~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

We will start, and I will try to open this up with Musharrar and Vajpayee through our offices. David just got a good link with the Indian Chief of Staff, he is the Cabinet Secretary I think. He is an influential person and he phoned David the other day, so we have various channels we can use. I think for you to speak to Putin about it and for Putin to make a call would be good, in the next two or three days. I worry about Pakistan as much as anything else. ~~(c)~~

The President: I agree with you. Colin will deliver a tough message to Musharraf. I told him and Condi that I am very anxious to help. I may talk to Musharraf pretty soon. I think so long as we have people moving through there we could head off any short term problem. We need to get out of this box. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We need to get them to a different stance

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Good. Other than that, I will have, in about two hours, coffee and dessert with the Chancellor of Germany, I'm speaking to the Bundestag. I was going to address the 125,000 protestors, but they did not think that was a good idea. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Well, it is just like anywhere else, the protestors don't represent the people. ~~(c)~~

The President: Then we go to see Vladimir. If you have any suggestions about what to look for I would be really interested. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: When do you talk with Putin? ~~(c)~~

The President: Tomorrow night. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Tomorrow night, yes. I think for the Europeans, what you can speak to them about is the Bundestag. ~~(C)~~

The President: A Europe that is free, expansion of NATO, working together to confront the evil after us, aid packaging, nothing new. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, I think the main thing is whatever hassle there is, whatever static, the particular anxieties in Europe are over trade. On the other hand, once you get past that, they are basically supportive of the transatlantic alliance. So, the key thing is the huge things we share in common. WMD is an issue, we all know it is an issue, we all know there are different ways forward on this. The free world knows it has to deal with it and will. The overarching thing is that we believe in the same values. It's the message that resonates with the people, even on the streets of France, and the people are far more pro-American than their political establishments.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

I think the Putin visit is a powerful message to Europe as well. ~~(C)~~

The President: I think you are right. I spent time on my speech to the Bundestag. I have a great line in there. "Those who don't allow differences don't understand the importance of our relationship." It's a good speech, it picks up the right tone, whether in Paris or in Germany, recognizes that the United States recognizes a strong and united Europe. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think you can be nice to them without giving up on any positions we hold. ~~(C)~~

The President: Precisely, precisely. Will you be in Rome for the NATO meeting? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. (U)

The President: I look forward to seeing you there. (U)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

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Prime Minister Blair: I will see you there, George. If we get anything really important moving I will give you a call, shall I? ~~(e)~~

The President: Absolutely, this is the issue of the moment. We are the only ones in position to do something about it. I look forward to finding out what you have found out about it. ~~(e)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Give Gerhard Schroeder my best wishes.
(U)

President: Will do, and I will see you in a couple of days.
(U)

Prime Minister Blair: Okay, all the best. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 06/14/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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5148

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair
(U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Don Gentile, Leslie Radcliff,
Janeen Chupa

DATE, TIME: June 14, 2002, 11:54 a.m. - 12:08 p.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Air Force One

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

Prime Minister Blair: I'm fine, George. How are you? (U)

The President: Good. I just finished giving a graduation speech at one of our major universities and now I'm flying down to Texas. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I want to offer congratulations on your football, soccer team. (U)

The President: Yes they lost, and then won, all at one time. I'm embarrassed to tell you I can't name one player. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, they did very well. I saw Rumsfeld when I was in America and passed my congratulations as you had just had a major victory and he didn't know what I was talking about. (U)

The President: Yes, I'm afraid we are not paying enough attention. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: We are soccer mad over here, so we are paying attention for both of us. (U)

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 6/17/12

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
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By Sah NARA, Date 6/15/2019

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2

The President: Thanks for calling. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: George, a couple of things. The first is on India and Pakistan. I had a very good meeting with Rumsfeld last week, who I really enjoyed meeting. Incidentally, my deep condolences over this thing in Karachi. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Exactly right. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I share the exact same concerns, Tony. I want to congratulate your team. They did a good job too by the way; a nice tag team. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] I told Rich Armitage yesterday that, "You had a good trip but then everyone goes to sleep?" ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We should get them moving in tandem towards a different position. George, I had a meeting with Mubarak last week and I saw Sharon on Wednesday. I know you've had very detailed discussions yourself with them, but there is one thing I wanted to say and I thought I'd send you a private note on it. It is very difficult. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

If it is not pretty clear from the outset that politics are involved then it is a pretty difficult thing to do. ~~(C)~~

The President: First of all, I agree completely with you and I urge you, if you don't mind, to get your feelings on paper and to get them to me as soon as possible, maybe even by Monday morning or your Monday afternoon. I say that because I'm hoping to lay out a vision on where our government plans to go. I'm a heck of a lot more optimistic now than when we were at Crawford. I do believe there is the buy-in:

(b)(1)1.4d

There needs to be an opportunity for this to happen. This gives everybody confidence. There is a need for a political opportunity. If this happened then the United States would be happy to discuss. I'd be more than willing to discuss. I would love to see your thoughts as soon as possible. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I will get that over to you before Monday morning. ~~(C)~~

The President: I'm worried about this ministerial meeting that Powell jumped on. I'm forced into it. I'm sure you have the same issues with your Foreign Affairs department as well. We have to lower expectations on the darn thing and secondly we need to get people to show up for the darn thing. Other than that, over the next six months I do believe we have the right strategy and vision, and I thank you for your input at the beginning of the process. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Funny enough, everyone around me thought the meeting was very difficult.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: There is no question in my mind he just doesn't want us to prematurely force a conference on him. He can't speak clearer now because of politics, but your read on him is one hundred percent accurate.

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: It will be tricky. It is a bloody tough thing. I'll give you my thoughts for Monday morning, and that's that really. Many thanks for your help and cooperation in all that's happening. ~~(C)~~

The President: We're making steady progress. One of these days, we will have to get on a secure phone and share some war stories. I'm going to call Karzai in a minute for his success there. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: He has a lot of problems but we are in a damn site better position than we were eight months ago. Okay George. ~~(C)~~

The President: See you soon, stay in touch and thanks for your friendship. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: One more thing. Our people are in touch on Africa on this G-8 stuff. There are tricky issues in it, and if we come to a stumbling point I might call you, before we get to Canada. ~~(C)~~

The President: Okay. Chretien calls and says we need to dedicate fifty percent of aid to Africa. I disagreed and said no because declaring a set amount of money creates two problems. First it undermines my mission statement, and it will give Congress a chance to micromanage the money. I'm trying to keep them out of that. I told my people and his to create language to satisfy everyone. If not, just give me a call. Thanks for calling. ~~(C)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

5

Prime Minister Blair: Right, I'll do that. All the best,
George. (U)

The President: Thanks, buddy. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 07/15/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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6036

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Jill Sandler, Danielle Phillips,
Colin Crosby

DATE, TIME July 15, 2002, 2:41 - 2:48 p.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Air Force One

The President: Tony? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi George. (U)

The President: How are you. Can you hear me? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, I can hear you. How are you doing?
(U)

The President: Good. I'm just checking in with you. I hear
you're taking a lot of flak over there for being my friend.
You're not taking any grief here. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Thank you very much. It's very kind of
you to do that. I'm used to taking a lot of grief on all sorts
of subjects. ~~(C)~~

The President: I'm proud to call you friend, if it's any
consolation. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It is, and I appreciate that. In the end,
after five or six years of this, you get used to it. It's
absolutely right that Britain stands with the United States, and
that is where we'll stay, and I'll stand with you. ~~(C)~~

The President: Thank you. How do you feel about things? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: My biggest worry at the moment is not with
the usual topics we discuss, but economic stuff. What I can't

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 7/16/12

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP4443 2014-047171, #4176
By San NARA, Date 10/15/2019

The President: Thank you. How do you feel about things? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: My biggest worry at the moment is not with the usual topics we discuss, but economic stuff. What I can't quite work out at the moment is if the problems with the stock market are due to unusual circumstances or if they have deeper roots. ~~(C)~~

The President: I think the former. I really do. I think right now, in the United States, I think we're affecting the markets. Our corporate profit pictures are going to be better next quarter. But in the meantime, I think the P/E ratios are still way too high here. Nevertheless, we are still coming off of the bench. I think people are going to come back. I think the economy is fundamentally strong. At least in America. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's good to hear, George. That will help if we can ride it out temporarily. Our position here is very strong. We announced our spending plans today, big investments on education, and so on. We can easily afford them, but if the economy really turns down, it will be an issue. As for the foreign policy stuff, we have to keep battling away. This issue of Iraq is tough, but I have no doubt we're doing the right thing. ~~(C)~~

The President: Absolutely. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: That's what we're in politics for. If it were easy, someone else would be doing it. ~~(C)~~

The President: Right. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] I think it's making progress. I really do. If we get to the end of the year, and it is clear that Afghanistan has made progress, it would be extremely good. ~~(S)~~

The President: I'm glad to hear you're confident. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It puts the issue of regime change in a helpful way. ~~(C)~~

The President: That's for certain. ~~(C)~~

The President: We need to watch the leadership and make sure they don't go after each other. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Right. I don't think we'd fancy that. ~~(C)~~

The President: You sound good. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: George, I should tell you there was a leader in one of our newspapers saying that our Labour Party Conference speaker should be Dick Cheney or Donald Rumsfeld. Still, it's not all that bad here. ~~(C)~~

The President: That's good. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: George, if I could mention to you about Northern Ireland. We will be doing some tough stuff at the end of the month saying that the IRA must keep on with the ceasefire, because they've been playing around a bit, wanting to procure new weapons and so on. (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Absolutely. Just make sure your man Manning gets in touch with Condi. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I will do that. It's really good of you to call. ~~(C)~~

The President: I like to do that on occasion to keep in touch. I'm flying back in from Alabama to Washington. We've been putting up with a bunch of crap. They're trying to dig up stuff from the past on me, but they're going to get really tough on Cheney. The markets are shaky. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I'm afraid that's a feature of our modern democratic system. We get this crap all the time, but in the end, these things pass, and the fundamentals don't. They tend to forget all the crap, but the fundamentals last. ~~(C)~~

The President: I feel great, as a matter of fact. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I could do with your poll ratings. ~~(C)~~

The President: I'm hanging in there. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It's really good of you to call. (U)

The President: Just wanted to check in. (U)

~~SECRET~~

4

Prime Minister Blair: It's really good of you to call. (U)

The President: Just wanted to check in. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Thanks, George. (U)

The President: Talk to you. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

~~SECRET~~

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 08/29/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister of United Kingdom
(U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Leslie Radcliff, Christina
Yarmchuk, and Jeff Houle

DATE, TIME August 29, 2002, 8:32-8:56 a.m. EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: I hope you had a good rest. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: We had a fantastic time. It was very peaceful. I had a couple of weeks of clear time. How about you? (U)

The President: I am in Crawford until Sunday. I'm getting ready to leave to go to Arkansas and Oklahoma. I've been traveling quite a bit. Remember the heat you were seeking when you came? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Has it arrived? It's bad around Europe. There have been floods and storms. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's terrible. Poor Prague is evidently underwater. Listen, I'm glad to talk to you. We have a lot to talk about. Manning mentioned to Condi your attitude on Iraq. I appreciate it and I appreciate your advice and I want to develop a case or whatever you want to call it, a fig leaf to calm everybody down. It's ridiculous how the world is reacting to this speculation. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's right. I feel like we've been ousted before we had a chance to make the case in full strategy. ~~(S)~~

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 9/3/12

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP4443204-0471-77 #4177
By Sah NARA, Date 10/15/2019

Prime Minister Blair: What is your thinking about it, George?
~~(S)~~

The President: I think there are three phases to this operation. One, is that I would love to get rid of this guy without the military, but who knows. The first phase is to make the case about why Saddam is a problem, not only today, but 10 years from now. It calls on the international community to make clear to the UN its role. They have not done a damn thing. The next phase is that if the UN cannot act to defend its own integrity, to defend its own capacity to be an effective body, then strong members of the UN must. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's right. ~~(S)~~

The President: Therefore, I need your help and advice if we can collaborate. You had good ideas before, when we talked in July about setting up conditions. I think we've taken the same idea and put an interesting twist on it for the sake of the international body, the sake of its credibility, and to work in the future on the threats. If it chooses not to do so, it's got to be credible. It has had 10 years of not being credible. Therefore, if we are asked what are you going to do about it? The UNSC led by you and us can make a resolution about what is practical and put the burden on where it belongs, not on the innocent, but the guilty. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think that is the right strategy. I think what we can do is think through bits of how to work this. I think your idea of saying this is a challenge for the international community and the UN, and we want the UN to meet that challenge. If the UN cannot meet that challenge, of course, our preference is that the UN does rise to this challenge. What was envisioned is remaking the case, having the evidence there, to get its first resolution out of the UN. What we need to do is think through the stages of that, but the resolution has got to be really tough and unconditional, it's got to be effective, and it's got to be a completely changed way. It's about our weapons inspectors and how the regime operates. ~~(S)~~

The President: Remember this Tony, he already agreed. We've got to think through how to put some calcium in the backbone of what agreements had already been agreed to, not inspectors, but disarmament. We have to say, "You cannot have agreements and ignore reality." Either he has disarmed or not, and we expect

them to disarm, and we need to make the case. That's what we need to think through, the nuances and the proper balance to hit, so that it doesn't look like we're forcing an action, but we're saying enough is enough. We've got evidence we will share with you anytime before we go public. We'll show the case we can make. It's really a case of having the UN force him to agree to what has already been agreed to. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I agree with that. First of all, it disarms our opponents. It puts everyone on the spot as to whether they are serious or not. They're saying, "Isn't it dreadful, but we should not do anything about it." At the moment, what we could say is, "If the international community wants to work with you on this, fine, let's put a resolution through" and hold them to it. What we need to think through and what I fault about this is that sometimes in our election campaign we have a "line to take," talk about the difficult questions, and how to answer them. We need a script to work off if we go down this path, as to the timing of the various moves and challenges to the UN I think that's very important. It's got to be a firm challenge and we have to have a pretty good idea about what we can get before we can lay it down. There are a whole stack of questions. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] Some of the answers are tricky. We have to work this so that we are on the front foot and not the back foot. There are various ways to do that. I think probably around the same time it's worth putting some evidence forward. And I was discussing with our folks, that there is a lot we can get out of this regime. It's incredible what's been coming out the last few days. You would think this was a democratic regime we're talking about. They are sure as hell not credible about the nature of this regime. We need in a slight sense to send the moral shame out there into the international community, rather than leave this problem to fester. I think that going down the UN route, if done carefully, is the right way to get the right solution, rather than an obstacle. We need to work out the answers to these questions and build support around it. When I was on holiday, I met with the new French Prime Minister in a private meeting [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] I need to talk to Putin in three or four weeks. ~~(S)~~

The President: Who is that? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Putin. He's crucial. I'm getting an assessment from our folks that there is one potential problem we don't want. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] But we probably need to get preliminary assessments now to see if we can make that work. ~~(S)~~

The President: Tony, let me give you an idea. Maybe one thing to do is play good cop bad cop. I'll play bad cop. Then you can say, "Bush has been talking, he's rambunctious." Perhaps if we could work together, the idea of forcing the action is distasteful to them. Maybe we can rein him in and see if that's a tool that we could use with the UNSC that may be good leverage. We could talk some sense into the old boy. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I wouldn't need to do it like that. I'm sure we could bring them around if there was some UN cover. ~~(S)~~

The President: Here's what we're thinking. I'm having a serious weekend meeting a week from Saturday to get a war council on the same page, maybe I should say a diplomatic council. To make their case, to put the burden on the international community some of us will stand by to deal with this. I'm thinking that on September 12, at the UNGA I can give a speech, not talking specifically about a resolution, but a speech that says that, "I value this institution. You've done a great thing in the past. Now its time to fulfill your obligation to agreements already reached." And someone can quarterback with a UN resolution to set the stage. I need to say something at the UNGA, or else it will be viewed as sending mixed signals. It will not be a scolding speech, a philosophical speech. Colin and Condi are thinking about that, following-up with some specific resolution to be worked out over the next month. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think that's exactly what we should do. I think that if you do that, it will be powerful. You're not giving an ultimatum to the UN, but you're giving a challenge to the international community. I think that puts you exactly where you want to be on the moral front. ~~(S)~~

The President: We may go in there and it may leak that, "Bush is going to announce war on Iraq." The papers have been crazy.

They have been speculating like mad. The idea of not doing that speech will floor some people. It should add some momentum to what ought to be guilt that we haven't dealt with this guy. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I agree that that is the right way to do it. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(S)~~

The President: The key is that Condi and David stay in touch and that we stay in touch and that we're linked up, so that you understand what I'm thinking and I understand what you're thinking. You've got some good ideas and I appreciate the idea that you talked with me about in July. I've been spending time on it to make a case that can lend some credibility on what could happen. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We'll be absolutely with you on that. I know you talked about having a meeting, I would still be happy to come across and do that. ~~(S)~~

The President: I would love to have you. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think that it would be helpful to go through the steps on this, ideally before the UN, so that I can know where I can come in behind that. ~~(S)~~

The President: Condi and David can work this out before or after. If you come over, that will clearly be an Iraq war-planning meeting anyway. I'd love to see you and we could talk. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] I kind of feel we're at that point with the media here. On the other hand, we might as well get our strategy sorted out, otherwise everyone will decide our strategy for us. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's what happens in August. All this stuff is bubbling around. The New York Times has us attacking or not attacking. It's unbelievable. We have every two-bit expert opinion about this. We are just now sharpening our strategy. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We're in the same position. The problem is until we decide what steps we are going to take, it's hard to go up against the media. They're saying, "We're against this and there are our reasons." I personally think we've gone on

with this long enough. September is when we need to get this sorted out, that isn't to say we're doing it all in September, but we need to be pretty clear the next couple of weeks what we're going to do, how to make this UN thing work, and how to build up after that. I've just set aside part of my time dealing with this. I want you to know that we are absolutely determined that this should be dealt with as an issue. This WMD issue is a serious (gap). September 11th has taught us that if we don't deal with this, preemptively, we'll deal with the consequences. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's visionary of you. I think the hardest thing is Iraq. The second is what will happen if Saddam is toppled, and the third is the military operation if we have to do it that way. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I agree.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

That is why in a way I think that there is nothing to be lost about what our strategy should be. It increases the pressure on them enormously. Saddam must think that his PR machine is working. ~~(S)~~

The President: I had a good talk with the Saudi Arabians.

(b)(1)1.4d

~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I totally agree. ~~(S)~~

The President: I think that this is the right strategy. I support your thinking about it, too. I think that Condi and David should be in contact. September is the month, I agree. We've weathered a good storm and there has been a vacuum. At least here, we are stronger now than we were before. There has been a lot of gnashing of teeth, but the logic will still prevail. I hope that is the case in England. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: This is why I want to get out there to start the case, once we've got our strategy sorted, then we can go out there and say that this regime is responsible for hundreds of deaths, developing WMD, and is the most oppressive regime on earth. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's exactly right. We have Karen Hughes working on the public strategy.

(b)(1)1.4d

Condi

can share with David (gap). We agreed that the spin or the PR is just as important as the politics. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I agree. We're on the same lines. We will get Condi and David to work out specificity of the steps. Why don't we talk again a few days? ~~(S)~~

The President: Let's do it next week, maybe Monday or Tuesday of next week. I will funnel ideas through Condi and you through David, and we'll use the weekend to put our ideas on paper as to how to proceed. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's next weekend? ~~(S)~~

The President: We have been working on it. We have been talking to these guys and the principals have been hashing this out. I need a process to move forward and they will smartly salute. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Okay. ~~(S)~~

The President: I don't think that there is an appetite. I'm queasy about saying, "I'm pissed off. Let's go attack." I think that he will make it hard for a couple of reasons. The UN understands where we are headed and that they would like a role in post-Saddam Iraq. If that's what Kofi Annan thinks, this is positive news. It would help a democratic Iraq evolve. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's why there is a lot of work that needs to go into how post-Saddam regime needs to look. ~~(S)~~

The President: I think we're good. Is Cherie doing okay? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Okay. There was a lot of shock about a 48 year-old being pregnant. (U)

The President: A lot of old guys are impressed. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Have you been doing a lot of running out there? (U)

The President: Yes. Miles and miles. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Alright, all the best. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 09/03/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister of the United Kingdom

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Christina Yarmchuk, Janeen Chupa, and Clarence Johnson

DATE, TIME: September 3, 2002, 11:46-11:58 a.m., EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Tony? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi George. (U)

The President: I'm calling on behalf of Mr. Mugabe. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: My new friend. ~~(S)~~

The President: Yes. I could tell you and he had a warm relationship over there. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I don't know, I think we can get two for the price of one. ~~(S)~~

The President: Unbelievable, isn't it? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I'm afraid it's all too believable. ~~(S)~~

The President:

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Absolutely. Listen, you're on your way over here? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think is that fixed now? ~~(S)~~

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5d
Declassify on: 9/3/12

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LP402 2014-0471-11 #4178
By SAW NARA, Date 10/15/2019

The President: Absolutely. The timing is perfect as far as I'm concerned. You're arriving at Camp David around mid-afternoon on Saturday. We'll have just finished a very important meeting, which I will share all the details with you, and we'll have a go before the UN on Tuesday or Wednesday, whenever I go there. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That'll be great, George. I just had a big press conference here for an hour and a half, answering questions, and I hope you will get a readout of it. ~~(S)~~

The President: Yes, I got a readout of it already. I just met with the Vice President and Rumsfeld, and on my way here to the office my man Dan told me all about it. You were "brilliant," is the way he described it. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think, to be honest, we can make a strong case. We just need to get the points across in the right way. Are you doing something tomorrow? ~~(S)~~

The President: What I'm doing tomorrow is just a very casual discussion with leadership to tell them I am going to seek resolution or work with them, and also look to working with the world on holding this man accountable. It is basically a signal that we are not doing this alone. And I'm going to tell them you're coming, if that's alright. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think that's fine. ~~(S)~~

The President: The point is, I'm trying to get ahead of it. They're kind of defining the agenda here, picking on words. Cheney would say one thing and Powell would say another and therefore they say there is a huge split even though it's just different words. We're beginning to get behind the power curve, so tomorrow I'm going to show some movement. It's really just a placeholder until we go to the UN on Wednesday. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I'm sure it is the right thing to do. These things happen. What happens is that our timeline has been different from the media, and the debate suddenly got ahead of it so we've got to do a bit of a catch-up.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That's right. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: The thing I found myself on very strong ground on when I was in the press conference is the first question: do we, in the face of what Saddam is doing, in breach of all the UN resolutions, do nothing. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's a good question. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: And the answer is we've got to do nothing?
~~(S)~~

The President: It changes the debate. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Exactly. ~~(S)~~

The President: I'm going to show you my speech for the UN. It would be useful, if you don't mind, having you look at the relevant parts of it. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That would be great. I'm looking forward to it. I think we'll get this around. I can fill you in too. I had a lot of informal discussions with Jacques Chirac, Zhu Rongji and Berlusconi, and there's lots of general sort of chat I can give you back on how people are. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's going to be great. That will be very helpful to have. The timing of your visit is perfect. I'm sorry you've got to get back home. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think I'm supposed go back and stay with the Queen at Balmoral. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's what they said. That's unfortunate, but I understand. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I will take a look at that. Look, I traveled last night and I am a little behind in my diary. It's been one of those bizarre days when you're doing things for the constituency, and I haven't really caught up. ~~(S)~~

The President: Your hour and a half press conference was awesome. That's a long, long press conference. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Long press conference. Yes, I know. My new tactic is to bore them to death. ~~(S)~~

The President: How many questions did you get on Iraq in an hour and a half? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I would say about 90 percent. ~~(S)~~

The President: 90 percent? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It is a frenzied time here. It has happened to me before. What happens is that we're deliberating, taking decisions not in a leisurely way but deliberately, and suddenly the media decides the thing is so hot that you're about

to go and do something tomorrow. What happens is until you calm things down and put it in an intelligent framework they go bonkers, so we have to calm them down and sort it out. It's probably been about the same for you, hasn't it? ~~(S)~~

The President: Yes. I gave a speech the other day, I am a patient man and I was trying to make it deliberate, and then the Vice President delivered a speech. Well, that caused the whole thing to blow up. It's such a very delicate environment right now that any kind of word uttered by everybody who is anybody who says something different becomes a big deal. The speech tomorrow will help, and the UN and your visit will be very important signals. We will then get ahead of it and be basically in charge of the process. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Absolutely. ~~(S)~~

The President: This is exciting. This is a big deal. This is a defining moment for the United Nations. I appreciate you putting it in that way. But it's also a defining moment for holding people to account. That's why we are where we are in our two great countries. We have an opportunity to really change a country and help pacify a region. This is a historic moment. I really think the run-up's the most difficult thing. Saturday, when we visit, we will get a handle on how to do it. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

We need to discuss exactly how to do it, but a lot of the stuff on the nature of the regime is absolutely extraordinary. I learned a lot over the weekend I didn't know before. ~~(S)~~

The President: Well, this guy, Bandar, came to see me from Saudi, he's a good friend of mine, he's actually got a nice summer home in London, I think. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: He has nice homes everywhere. ~~(S)~~

The President:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

I don't know if Condi has talked to David but she thought maybe Alistair and Karen should come and huddle on communication. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Will we do any press stuff while we're there, ourselves? ~~(S)~~

The President: I don't think we're going to do any press stuff. You're welcome to if you want. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think an hour and a half was enough.
~~(S)~~

The President: Condi is whispering that we may have to. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Okay. I'm easy either way. ~~(S)~~

The President: Okay. Maybe we need to, I don't know. We'll think it through. I think if you get there at 4:00 p.m., our guys will have all left so I will be fresh off a good briefing. I just asked General Myers whether or not the British military is still involved and he said "Absolutely," so your military people should have a good handle on things. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That is good, really good. I look forward to coming across. After doing that I feel a lot more confident that this can all be put in the right place, this thing. ~~(S)~~

The President: It will be. I am beginning, like yourself, to get a vision how to do this. I don't know if you know this, but the truth of the matter is the Security Council has condemned Saddam Hussein every year since 1996 with very strong language. I am going to (gap) in this speech (gap) basically said, "What are you going to do?" We'll talk about it. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. I think it looks like exactly the right way to go. Okay, George, I will see you on Saturday. ~~(S)~~

The President: Maybe we'll go for a long run, get that adrenaline out of your system. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Not as long as yours. ~~(S)~~

The President: There's nothing like a good press conference to get you going. Though I know my max is an hour-10. I couldn't take it any longer. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Well, they all needed a toilet break. ~~(S)~~

The President: We will see you on Saturday. Thanks for coming. I'm really looking forward to it. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Okay, George. All the best to you. (U)

The President: Okay. Bye. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 10/02/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

~~SECRET~~

5777

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the
United Kingdom (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Jill Sandler, Leslie Radcliff,
and Danielle Phillips

DATE, TIME: October 2, 2002, 1:42 - 2:04 p.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Yes, sir. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: George. (U)

The President: Back with you. I just finished a great press conference here with all kinds of characters: The Speaker of the House, Democratic leader Gephardt, Joe Lieberman, Senator McCain. A good resolution came out of Congress, and that's good news.
(U)

Prime Minister Blair: A million apologies earlier. My brain is now working, you'll be pleased to know. (U)

The President: The free world can't stand not to have your brain working. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: You are very kind. I have a clear view now of exactly what we should do. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Gregory L. Schulte
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 6/13/13

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LPWNB 2014-0471-M #4179
By Jan NARA, Date 10/15/2019

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

In the end it's the inspectors that will have to say he's not declared his material properly, that he's lied about it, not cooperated, or whatever. Now, if we approach it in this way, I think it could work. We put down in the resolution it has "material breach" in Op. 1; (gap) in Op. 5, but in Op. 10 it decides effectively that U.N. expresses its readiness, in respect to any false statement or failure to cooperate, to authorize all means necessary. ~~(C)~~

The President: Could you repeat that for me? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: What we then do in Op. 10, is we decide that any false statement or failure by Iraq to comply and cooperate fully is a flagrant violation and the U.N. Security Council expresses it's readiness to authorize all means necessary. Effectively, military action. What that implies is you go back and get a second resolution. However, I think what we say is this: in circumstances where there is a breach, and if the Security Council fails to pass the resolution, then we're going to do it anyway. It's a bit of a variant to what I said before. Effectively to say, if we put down a resolution, the Security Council is bound in if there is a breach, and we say, "Well there it is, that's fine, but let nobody be in doubt that if there is a breach, there is authorization to use force, or, if not, we'll do it anyway." ~~(C)~~

The President: Alright. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

On the other hand, if we do what I'm suggesting, we get a far tougher resolution, and then we'll say to the Security Council, "We'll do it anyway." ~~(C)~~

The President: At what point do we say, "We'll do it anyway?" ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: If the inspectors say he's given a false statement or alternatively, that he's not complied, and the Security Council refuses to immediately authorize the resolution, we say, no, we're not giving a veto on a resolution over this. Should the Security Council determine they will authorize force if there is a failure to do what it sets out to do regarding it, we will take action anyway. ~~(C)~~

The President: Do you think the French will accept this? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think they will. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Will you go back and hear people say, "So he lied, so what?" ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Exactly. What we therefore need to say is, "Okay, fine. We got a tough resolution." The Security Council is effectively saying any false statement or failure to comply with it will authorize force, but we will make it clear that if the Security Council puts us in a Kosovo situation where they fail to act but should, we will act on our own. ~~(C)~~

The President: My interesting question is, what would constitute a breach? That's going to be an interesting dilemma. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We always have that dilemma. Even when you were talking to me earlier, I hadn't quite understood what you meant. In the resolution, we say there has to be a declaration by Iraq of all weapons it has. I agree. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Good. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: The reason is what it means is there is effective concealment and we can't be the least secure in the knowledge that the inspectors are going to be able to do their work properly. We depend on Iraqi cooperation for the inspectors to do their work. So I think that we are actually fine. ~~(C)~~

The President: Listen, if I had to go to a party conference, I would feel the same way. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I'm very clear about that. That must, of course, be right that since the resolution orders Iraq to make a declaration, but if they say they have 300 gallons of this and there are 299 or 301, that's not much. But if they make a serious false declaration, I have no doubt we should be in action mode on that too. Therefore, I think all of that is in the realm

of tactics. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] This authorization has to be given because of what the resolution says, and of course, we think the Security Council will comply. But in circumstances where they're not cooperating, people shouldn't be under any doubt if they refuse that we will act, just like we did in Kosovo. ~~(C)~~

The other thing I think absolutely vital, and this is more worrying to me than a sense of tactics, is to say the international community has to make a demand on Saddam. The firmer, the better. The stronger the inspections, the better, so we can say, it's not a matter of inspections. This is a resolution and we've got to enforce it. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: That's exactly right, Tony. I share your reasoning. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: That's what makes me think it is all the more important to get this resolution through with strong language in Op. 5. The important part of that resolution is that it details, and really, is it Op. 5 that has all the declarations, of what we need to see. The important thing is to get the clauses in the resolution really tough. A really tough resolution, a tough declaration and tough inspections. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] My people tell me we really shouldn't worry about what happened last night because it had all to do with the U.N. et cetera, et cetera. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: We'll take a good look at him here on Friday. He's going to the State Department, then I've got him coming over to the White House. There's a little different attitude here at times. First, Condi will have a face-to-face with him and then Cheney will see him. I think it best for me not to be involved. I think Dick and Condi can sniff him out and get a feel for his

attitude. Why don't you get David to send over the language to Condi and we'll look at it. Secondly, if this is the way to go, how do we get Chirac to sign on? Is that your job? How does it work? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think the best thing is to get Colin to talk to their Foreign Minister, de Villepin. We can talk to them too. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] If Colin talks to de Villepin about the wording in Op. 10 that I'm suggesting, he could live with what we're saying. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: And what about the Russians? How do we make sure we don't get nicked and dined by the Russians? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I actually told the Russians they [REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d That got their attention. We even had Donny Evans meet with his oil man and made sure he understood what they said. [REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think that's right. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Okay, why don't you get the language over to me and we'll debate it pretty quick. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Okay, George, that's great. We'll get David to talk to Condi straight away, any time he needs it. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I appreciate that. I don't think I have come out on public record against two resolutions, but internally, there is hard opinion here. On the other hand, if it's crafted so it's clear we're not losing the accountability, I think we will talk it out. But I appreciate you trying to "thread the needle," as we say. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: The reason I've come to that view is that I'm totally opposed to two resolutions if it effectively means there is nothing we can do. We can't be in that situation. We will be laughed out of town on that. On the other hand, if we ended up with one resolution by taking Op. 10 out to get to the resolution we'd be in a bad position anyway, and by having a weak resolution, we'd be worse off. We need to have a really tough resolution with the implication that the Security Council will authorize action. Then the inspectors say there is a breach and we have to act. ~~(c)~~

The President: But is it the inspectors who decide about a breach? What could go wrong if they find a warehouse full of chemical weapons and he says he doesn't have any? ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: My sense is, on the inspectors, my mind says let's be very clear. We don't want to be vague. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

I think the way out of that is the inspectors make the report, report the facts, but we make the judgement. ~~(c)~~

The President: That's exactly right. It probably needs to be clarified. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: In other words, if the inspectors find out he kept this in the car park for four days, it's not the inspectors who say that's serious. We say that's serious. ~~(c)~~

The President: Yeah. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think the way is to be very clear at the outset. I don't know, actually, but it may be that they really do understand if there is a breach they have to go for it. Deal with it at the time. When we go for the first resolution, yes, of course the Security Council will put it back to them on the other hand. Then we will take action and at that point we will also say people have to realize what we regard as serious. ~~(c)~~

The President: Would it say that in the second resolution? ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: No, you wouldn't say that in the resolution. We'd just say it at the time, publicly and to them privately as well. "Look, you've got to realize that if you don't authorize it in certain circumstances when there is a

serious breach, we will." That, frankly, is a statement of cooperation. ~~(e)~~

The President: Yes, and I guess that leads to the definition of "significant and serious." ~~(e)~~

Prime Minister Blair: This is always the problem. If they designated something as a Presidential site, that would be enough. ~~(e)~~

The President: I'm having trouble holding my horses back. You know, having trouble reigning them in. I've even got Democrats saying, "Let's go get him tomorrow." ~~(e)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's fine, although they don't take the responsibility. ~~(e)~~

The President: I understand. That's right. ~~(e)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I understand. Get David to send it to Condi and we'll talk about it and get back to you quickly. By the way, he is doing a great job for you. ~~(e)~~

Prime Minister Blair: He is. Okay, George. ~~(e)~~

The President: Good job. How do you think the press will carry Clinton's speech here in America? ~~(e)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Certainly here he is supporting you and me on Iraq, so that has been kind. ~~(e)~~

The President: Good, that will be helpful. Well, I appreciate it, buddy. ~~(e)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Okay, George. (U)

The President: All the best. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 10/14/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

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8726

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Jill Sandler, Leslie Radcliff,
Ed Padinske, Colin Crosby

DATE, TIME: October 14, 2002, 09:01 - 09:37 a.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hey Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, George. (U)

The President: How are you, sir? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Fine. Very well here. (U)

The President: I appreciate your checking in. We need to do this on a regular basis. Let me tell you, I have approved a statement on the Northern Ireland situation in support of your situation. I hope it will help. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Thank you. That will help enormously. It's a tough situation, but basically, what the IRA has to do is decide for the anti-terror route. And if they do, we can get the whole thing working again, but if they don't, it's very hard. ~~(c)~~

The President: You've tried. But it's their decision to make. I know it's tough. It's like the Middle East. Take two steps forward, one step back, but it's our job to take the steps forward. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: The atmosphere of terrorism has changed. ~~(c)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 10/14/12

DECLASSIFIED IN PART
Authority LPW 2014-0471-11, #4180
By SA NARA, Date 10/15/2019

The President: Actually, it has changed, and it's changed in Bali. I appreciate you calling Howard. In fact, I called him right after you did. I'm convinced this is a series of attacks. This is one of a series of bombings of some kind. They're going to hit us again here. Obviously, if I knew where, I wouldn't be worried about it. It's al-Qaida's latest effort in a new battle. I'll have to speak to the country again today about it to prepare them. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I've got no doubt at all that the people are active and they'll try to do as much as they possibly can. It's a reminder to us that the threat has not gone away and it has to be dealt with at every single level. ~~(c)~~

The President: That's right. This is what they want. They want to terrorize the world so that free countries become paralyzed. We won't become paralyzed. We'll continue to lead. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think one thing it will do, in a way, is to bring attention to the world that we're not just spouting for the sake of it. ~~(c)~~

The President: Right.

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: Is that right? ~~(c)~~

The President: Yes. We are at war. Hopefully the attitude will change. I told him that we will help him deal with it.

(b)(1)1.4d

~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: This is what's really dangerous about it. It's almost to say I understand why these guys are doing this.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

What's happened in Indonesia is that they (gap). ~~(c)~~

The President: I talked to

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: This thing destroyed the tourism industry overnight. ~~(C)~~

The President: Hey, how'd it go in Russia? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It was okay by the end of it, but it was tough going. I mean, the funny thing is I was reminded at the end of it how far the whole machine has still got to move. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

The President: Our guy Donny Evans has been dealing with his man Gref. Money is driving his consideration. What he's got to understand is that he doesn't have enough excess capacity to flood the market, and he doesn't have enough to drive oil prices. We will continue to assure him of that. Oil is a fungible commodity, and we will continue to work on that. We had Donny talk to Gref privately, in as clear a channel as we can make it, we can't flood the market with a bunch of oil. I said, he had to understand, if all this was about was oil, there were 15,000 other things we could do instead of this. This is about weapons of mass destruction [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: He's very warm about you personally. ~~(C)~~

The President: Thanks. If I like someone, I'll try to help him out. Damn it, we put our chips on the table. We want him to succeed, not fail. ~~(C)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

4

Prime Minister Blair: Right. The whole conversation I was having with him was much better at the end than at the beginning. ~~(c)~~

The President: You helped the cause [REDACTED] ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We'll look at things to help him from the EU prospective. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Had a good talk with Chirac about this. We were on different planes but at the end, we connected; 85 percent of the conversation we were saying two different things. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: What will he do in the end, George? ~~(c)~~

The President: Colin thinks he's looking for a way out. I think the fundamental question is what we will do, not what he will do.

[REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] Remind me to tell you about Blix after this. We are going to have to deal with Article 10. Both of us need "material breach" in the resolution, it could be your early suggestion of the Kosovo model. Colin will be staying in touch with Jack, Condi will stay in touch with Manning. Is Jack right? ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. ~~(c)~~

The President: OK, Jack, about how to help the French out of their dilemma. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That sounds fine. It's important that we have the material breach stuff in. ~~(c)~~

The President: We can't go soft on the thing. We need it if the guy does what you and I think he probably will do, we don't need a bunch of debate. I'm sorry he got stuck so far out. We just have to figure out how to help the French out of their dilemma.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

His team wants some way to get back into the thick of things.

~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think the Kosovo model is right, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: You actually predicted this all along. We just have to look like we're not asking for permission. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Right. It needs to be very clear that they will do this, but on the other hand, I think we can make this clear right from the outset, that that breach gives us the right to take it. And I will (gap) we just need to (gap). [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] Condi and David can work that out. But I was sure for the best thing was for you to call him first. You have a better chance. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I think that your judgement was wise on that.

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4d I will have to call him. Obviously there's a time when you will have to consult, but we feel that we're making pretty good progress with his Foreign Ministry, but I think we're on the right course. I think we ought to keep pressure on him for a while, but at least he knows we're trying to work something out. There's common ground, and we're trying to find it. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: There's one thing you've clarified in my mind, and I've looked at the earlier resolution. The resolution had the full declaration by Iraq of everything they had. In the sense everything they've had. It's not supposed to be a game of hide and seek, and if they're lucky enough to find something, if Saddam's clever enough, then that's tough luck. Part of cooperating is to tell the truth. I think finally some form of action is the extent of his obligation not simply if they find stuff they have to destroy it. He has to cooperate from the outset. See what I mean? ~~(c)~~

The President: Absolutely. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think in the end, what's really important is what's in OP5, because in fact, on the first

occasion when he doesn't cooperate by not telling the truth, you've got the breach. Non-cooperation is the breach. It's also the breach if he fails to cooperate by being absolutely clear with what he has. ~~(C)~~

The President: You put it perfectly. This whole debate is about disarmament, not inspectors. I'm now saying in America, war's my last choice. It's Saddam's choice to disarm himself. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's come across, and it's very important. ~~(C)~~

The President: It got to Europe? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. ~~(C)~~

The President: I'll tell you, it got to our Congress. Every would-be President has agreed that we are on the right track. It is unbelievable. Nothing like an election to help people be wise. There were last minute conversions -- even Daschle himself, who resisted mightily, was even for it. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It's weird when people think about it, it's bound to come out. ~~(C)~~

The President: Now the peace movement is saying "you must move with the world." My attitude is, "What the hell do you think we're doing?" We are moving with the world. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] Condi and Colin came away feeling fairly good from the first meeting. They'll see him soon and say, here are four or five things to do. Our message to him is if you can't feel good about disarming Saddam, we'll ask someone else who will. It'll be good if your delegation has the same message. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Okay. ~~(C)~~

The President: And, as Colin asks him that, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

I think we can do this peacefully. An inspection regime could embolden Iraqi dissidents, an internal trigger, a la Romania, and it happens. It is conceivable. I pray that that happens. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Right. When this resolution goes through, we've got to be crystal clear that the mission is disarmament, not inspectors. The inspectors shouldn't be there for years. They should just be there for months. We need to be very clear

-- what is inevitable is not war, it's disarmament. If it happens through the U.N., that's good, but we'll do it if not. It will happen through enforcement. We've got to be careful on how we make this linkage. I think that what happened in Bali is part of the big picture. Threats to stability and order in the world.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

The President: First of all, we are getting a drumbeat about this. They want us. Some think we're causing al-Qaida to attack -- they'll attack regardless. They want us to shirk from our duty. We will not be cowed.

(b)(1)1.4d

(gap) Kelly made that real clear to him. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That is a shocking admission. ~~(C)~~

The President:

(b)(1)1.4d

The whole thing is weird. Anyway, I was pleased to hear about Vajpayee, that he's moving things along. His man Mishra called Condi, and confirmed what Vajpayee told you, Tony, and said he needed to help. You've created a good opening, Tony. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Vajpayee is a man of few words. However, I think there is an opening there, and if we carry on working with him, and the new Foreign Minister did most of the talking, and he seems pretty bright to me. If we keep working on that, we'll make something there. ~~(C)~~

The President: Yes, I appreciate that. Musharraf took a shot on his own political front. As you know he needs a dialogue on the

subject. Condi's idea was to wait until they get a new Prime Minister in India. A new face with someone in India so that the contact between Musharraf and Vajpayee wasn't tension-filled. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think that's a clever idea. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: This is an opening. Finally, Sharon's coming. We're going to have a frank discussion. I'll be tough. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] I'll have a frank discussion with him Wednesday afternoon. It's time. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think that's absolutely right. ~~(c)~~

The President: I've always believed in the character in the human being. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: It's certainly the shadow that hangs over everything. ~~(c)~~

The President: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] Hopefully you'll see a nice, smiley picture afterward. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: What is necessary is to get him bound into a process. People just want a signal. ~~(c)~~

The President: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: Right.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

The President:

(b)(1)1.4d

All right, on that cheery note -- we will keep the pressure on the French. Colin and State Department are always trying to find a deal right off the bat. I think Chirac's going. Therefore, maybe we need to push hard. We cannot weaken a resolution that needs to be strong. One solution is to say we promise to consult, but there will be grave consequences. We need to tell our people that we have a good resolution. We've given everybody a chance. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's why the OP5 stuff is important. We can fiddle with OP10, but (gap) ~~(C)~~

The President: Absolutely. Good talking to you. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Thanks. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 10/23/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
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PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister of the United Kingdom (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Colin Crosby, Leslie Radcliff,
Janeen Chupa

DATE, TIME: October 23, 2002, 12:50 - 1:15 p.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hey Tony. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: George, how are you? Comment ça va? (U)

The President: We are speaking a lot of French over here. We are doing pretty good. I really think we are. I was just telling the Vice President over lunch that of the three phases, this will be the hardest. We are making progress on the two initiatives in order to succeed. One, I believe Colin yesterday and again today will make it clear to the French that we have gone as far as we can go, you and me. Headlines read compromises here and there. The Washington Post today, of all newspapers, editorialized that the United States and Britain have gone far enough with the French. What we are seeing is reasonable people trying hard. My judgment is that they will not dare veto this reasonable proposal.

(b)(1)1.4d

~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I think so. Either that, or something is in the water, we are not sure which one. My judgment is they will

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Classified by: Stephen E. Biegun
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 10/25/12

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By SA NARA, Date 10/15/2019

accept it and that they will say fine after a little more gnashing of teeth. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I will see Chirac tomorrow, I think. I have an EC meeting and you are seeing Putin, right? ~~(c)~~

The President: Yes, I'm seeing Jiang Zemin and Putin and all the other lads whose comrades touch the Pacific, or at least most of them. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: What I think is important is to get our overall strategy in place. There are three things that are vital for us to have a resolution with material breach in it and has a really tough inspection regime. ~~(c)~~

The President: Exactly. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

Let's take the scenarios in turn, if they all agreed to what we have laid down then fine and dandy. If for any reason we do not get a resolution, then let us be clear that that is a tougher situation for us to be in all together. If we end up having to do this, then what I would say is that if we do this without specific Security Council Resolution. We are in much better shape with another resolution under our belt. Provided we are very clear whatever second discussion there is, if there is a breach and then force is authorized, and if it is not authorized by the Security Council, we take it anyway. Deadlines that are absolute, material breach and tough inspection regime must be in the declaration because that is important for how we set things up:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

We never had anything against further discussion. If there is a breach and if action is not authorized, we will still take it. ~~(c)~~

The President: That is good, that is kind of what the resolution says right now. I think we are in pretty good shape on Option 10 or whatever you call it. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] We will say fine but the understanding is if there is a breach, authorization will have been given in passing this first resolution. ~~(C)~~

The President: Yes, I kind of think that is where we are. You think we need more language on Option 10? You do not mean that we're not even bothering with a second resolution? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I mean whatever is necessary to allay their fear. ~~(C)~~

The President: You backed them off. I think what you ought to do is tell Jacques that, "you did a masterful job negotiating with the Americans. They no longer have automatic attack. You backed them off." As far as I am concerned, I can live with that and, "President Bush can live with that. You got what you want now let's move forward." ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We need to meet face-to-face with them.

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Exactly. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: This is the absolutely crucial part, if it's not, we have the legal cover to do it anyway. I am anxious not to trade on the weapons inspections regime. It is important legally, apart from anything else, for us. We need an inspection regime. I will have to bring myself up-to-date, provided as long as they have a clear understanding that we will be saying yes to another discussion but no to a veto. I think that is where we have taken it. ~~(C)~~

The President: We are on the exact same wavelength. Two points, I have got our people, by the way if all goes to hell, what I am going to do is stand up and say "fine, then the U.N. can't act. It was so watered down that it was worse than any resolution that has ever been passed. Next step, I am going to propose my own inspection regime for Saddam Hussein." Look, we have to disarm

this guy. Shoot, the French will say why don't we participate?
(c)

Prime Minister Blair: I think that is right. (c)

The President: Tell Chirac that you got Bush. You made huge progress. I can not believe you overwhelmed Bush. Here is the problem. The U.N. guys are stuck in their own culture, same for Foreign Ministers. We have our own culture. When all is said and done, I am upbeat. The pink paper the other day screamed that we are bending over backwards for the French. (c)

Prime Minister Blair: We have had the same thing in our press.
(c)

The President: I think we are almost there. Don't worry about Putin, he is with us. (c)

Prime Minister Blair: As I thought all the way through that Putin will be there, (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d (c)

The President: Yes, but they are not going to veto a reasonable resolution. They are just not going to. I don't know if there is any more language on Option 10. Have David and Condi talk.
(c)

Prime Minister Blair: What about getting the Foreign Ministers together? They do not like waiting weeks for this. I think that is very important in the end. We have to watch this tactically all the way through. The dilemma we have is this, it is plainly better to have a resolution than not. (c)

The President: I understand that. I got the picture, believe me. (c)

Prime Minister Blair: I think that makes life easier. (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

I don't really mind anything other than the three things I mentioned. (c)

The President: One thing we do not need is a second resolution. That, we will not accept. (c)

Prime Minister Blair: Whether we have a veto or not is up to us. What we could not agree to is language that there will be a second discussion and that there will be no force unless authorized. We can not agree to have a veto. It does not mean

to me if there will be another discussion on the security council. ~~(c)~~

The President: We are on the exact same wavelength. [redacted]

[redacted] (b)(1)1.4d I have got to have an option for an inspection regime that works. If we could design it so it is close enough to what Blix is doing so that it would be effective. [redacted]

[redacted] (b)(1)1.4d That is the way you avoid war. History will heap blame on me, not on him. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think the really critical thing is this declaration from Saddam. To make it his obligation to cooperate and so that it says he has to say what he has and where he has it. He will breach that. He will not say what he's got. ~~(c)~~

The President: That is exactly right. He's panicked and letting prisoners out, and suddenly has become the great reformer. When

[redacted] (b)(1)1.4d I think we are where we need to be on this unless there are some final words on OP 10. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I will get on the wording myself. ~~(c)~~

The President: We have got the right strategy; the key is no veto, that just because there is a move for consultation it is the best way to get him to disarm. This congressional resolution helps and I presume your party congress has taken the heat off of you as well. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I am not sure I will get that through Parliament. ~~(c)~~

The President: No, listen, I completely understand. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Having said that, George, I will be there. Do not concern yourself about that. ~~(c)~~

The President: I appreciate that. I am not worried about you. I never worry about you. You are the last guy on the globe that I worry about. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Let me raise one thing and that is Afghanistan. I worry about the security situation there. I think it is worth thinking about expanding the security force

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

6

when the security turns over with the Turks. We need to get others to do it. ~~(c)~~

The President: NATO provided some kind of control and command structure. Your old friend Robertson was here about a larger ISAF group. They coupled the ideas of taking out some troops, Turkish and Finnish and others, and putting them in civil affairs units in their military uniforms. Not as first line of security but as a presence. A lot of our soldiers are doing just that. They will be peacekeepers in the traditional sense. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Okay. I think it is really good that the Germans are going to take this over. ~~(c)~~

The President: Tommy wants to move some foreign troops into some of those capacities. Security comes in the form that their lives are improving. You will be happy to hear that they will break ground on this new highway. They are actually going to have machines out there laying tar or however they build roads out there in Afghanistan. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That is good. I know that the Germans are not the flavor of the month. ~~(c)~~

The President: Yes, we will see Gerhardt in Prague. I am not a vindictive man. I will be polite. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: He wants a way back. ~~(c)~~

The President: I am sure that he does now that he got re-elected. I am not a mean guy, [REDACTED] ~~(c)~~

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: It is just that he is a funny guy and actually whatever has been said; he has quite a strong regard for you. [REDACTED] ~~(c)~~

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: We will not put him off permanently. A lot of people are looking to see how he reacts. Things are a little tense. That is all. It is not permanent. I can assure you. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It just means that they are coming to you rather than you to him. ~~(c)~~

The President: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] It is just a matter of dealing in the international community so we do not lose credibility. ~~(c)~~

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, I will get David to report back to Condi on my meeting with Jacques tomorrow. ~~(C)~~

The President: We're doing fine. Together we are not going to be stopped. Peacefully is my first choice. Miracles work sometimes. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Unlikely. Alright, George. Many thanks.
(U)

The President: Alright. Hang in there. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Good-bye. (U)

The President: Good-bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 12/16/2002

RESTRICTION CODES

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]

- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

~~SECRET~~

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the
United Kingdom (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Andrew Green, Clarence Johnson,
Al Guarnieri, and Marco Broz

DATE, TIME December 16, 2002, 7:39 - 8:00 a.m., EST
AND PLACE: Oval Office

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

Prime Minister Blair: I'm fine, George. How are you? (U)

President Bush: I'm doing well. We're weathering all the
Christmas parties. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Well, if that's the worst of your
worries, you are doing okay. (U)

President Bush: We're doing two a day now. And yourself? I
hope Cherie is doing okay. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: You know how these things are. It's
always bad, but we are absolutely fine and kind of you to ask.
We had a good outcome on the European Council with Turkey. ~~(c)~~

President Bush: You did a fantastic job. You set the right
tone and it's the right thing to do. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Well, what they've got to do is really
build on that. They have a big chance and what is underneath i
all is skepticism about change and whether they are serious

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Gregory L. Schulte
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 6/12/13

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By Sab NARA, Date 10/15/2019

about change. And if they show that they are, I think they'll get a very willing ear. ~~(c)~~

President Bush: You did a damn good job on it and it was tough sledding, I know because not many people were saluting you when you started to talk about Turkey. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Anyway, there we are. Let's hope that it sorts itself out. I have President Bashar of Syria coming to see me today. That should be quite interesting, I would say. ~~(c)~~

President Bush: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: Well, it would be wise that it be in private because he has got people watching his every move from his old man's days. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] On Iraq, where are we? He has given a declaration which is false and now we've got to find out what it is really. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: Here is my thinking on this, and we really need to continue to converse. First of all, it is very important not to get into a position where we have to prove, where we have to demonstrate that he is unwilling to disarm. We've got all these people saying, "The burden of proof is on you, Bush." Well, it's not and the thrust of the matter is that the burden of proof is on you, Saddam. We are building enough evidence to show it is patently false. This is something that David and Condi will work on. We need to show the world that he is

unwilling to disarm. For example, if he denies an Iraqi scientist the ability to leave the country, then that demonstrates that he is not willing to disarm. It seems like, to us, the period for us to demonstrate it must be sooner rather than later and I think you need more demonstrating than I do. It is likely we will lose the momentum we have gathered, thanks to your courageous leadership, if it continues on too long. It is in our advantage to make up our minds as to what we are going to do in the weeks-to-months rather than months-to-years. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Here's my take. We have to carry on building up the military stuff. You can't really see that he is going to cooperate. The declaration was his chance, and he has not done that. I always thought that was his chance to say, "Okay, I've got this program and now I am going to shut it down " but he hasn't demonstrated his willingness to cooperate.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: You're absolutely right. We're on the same wavelength, as they say. Right now it is murky, but on the other hand slowly but surely we are gathering enough evidence to make our case. For example, we're absolutely convinced that the

(b)(1)1.4d

We don't have enough to make a court case mind you, but the idea is that he does something and then the world says now we see why Blair and Bush think the way they do and they should go take him out. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think you're right [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(S)~~

President Bush: I think we have Saddam where he is really cocky right now. I think he's saying "I'm moving stuff around and they can't find it." ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Well, he has miscalculated. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] I personally think if we work him in the right way and he comes out with his statement tomorrow that says that he has doubts about the Iraqi declaration then we'll be okay. We've got to find the proof, but I think we can do that. If we get to the stage in early January where the strategy we're on isn't working then we will need to look at different ways to do this, but if we get something or someone that stands up then we can go forward. But right now, I think we are doing well. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: I agree with you. By the way, talk about mistakes, he didn't treat the Russians very well the other day by canceling their Lukoil contract. The pressure is getting to him and canceling the Lukoil contract is classic Saddam. Everyone else is turning against him so he decided to pick on the Russians. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We should never forget in the history of Saddam that his is a history of miscalculations. He has not actually won any of the wars he's started. He has always cocked it up. So I think he will soon be in a situation where his advisers will tell him that he can get through it and he will fail. So I am confident that we are in a good position. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: How's Gerhard Schroeder doing these days? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I don't think he's going to say anything.

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: That's true. Someone said he has political problems at home. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: He has huge problems. Problems that you and I should hope we never have. But his advantage is that he has his election behind him. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: That's true, he has another term. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Some of those things mean that it will be easier for him to deal with things like this. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: That's a good point. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: Politically, we have a mix. We are trying to not get caught up in Trent Lott's troubles. Who knows how this thing will turn out. And Gore surprised everybody by saying he wasn't going to run. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I heard about that. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: Well, too bad. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I thought you might be disappointed by that. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: Yes, I was disappointed. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: This kind of crap is what politics becomes too often. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: What ends up happening is it makes it awfully hard to convince other people that the political process is worth participating in. You get in that barrel and it's hard to get out. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It's probably worse over here and in all of Europe. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: That's too bad. We need to get good people in the process no matter what their persuasion. Where will you be celebrating the holidays? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Christmas here and then I go abroad to Egypt. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: Fantastic. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: We want to do this thing on the political reform process for the Palestinians. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: Good idea. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Absolutely. (U)

President Bush: I think we have to show progress. I think it's awfully hard for us to be very aggressive until after Israel's elections. I told this to Colin, the State Department tends to be, for lack of a better word, pro-Arab leaning. We cannot undermine the message that terror must be stopped at all costs.

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: I see that.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: Absolutely. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: It at least allows us to say there is something going on here. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: The reform movement affects Israel a lot. You provide a sense of stability giving future Israeli governments hope that they can cooperate.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The time is not quite right for that yet. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's right. What we will be able to do with this is give some sense that there's some progress there

and hopefully I will be able to see people while in the region.
~~(C)~~

President Bush: I think that is a great idea. We have to continue to push them to fight terrorism and [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] It will make it easy for all of us to get things done.

~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I totally agree with that, George. One advantage with this conference for peace [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: I think we are getting close to getting it done. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: Apart from anything else, in relationship to Iraq, it makes it a lot easier for these guys. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: Damn right. I'm very worried that when I talk to these other leaders there is not a vision for peace. We have to create that vision and then keep pushing them towards that end. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: To go back where we started, which is Turkey. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] ~~(C)~~

President Bush: Absolutely. You did the right thing in the EU.
~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: Right. Well, hang in there and we'll talk.
(U)

Prime Minister Blair: Right. If I don't talk to you before Christmas, have a great holiday. (U)

~~SECRET~~

8

President Bush: Alright. The same to you. Goodbye. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Good-bye. (U)

--End of Conversation--

~~SECRET~~

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom and President Jose Aznar of Spain, 04/23/2003

RESTRICTION CODES

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Records Not Subject to FOIA

Court Sealed - The document is withheld under a court seal and is not subject to the Freedom of Information Act.

~~SECRET~~

5699

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the
United Kingdom and President Jose Aznar of
Spain (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair
President Aznar

Notetakers: Jeff Blair and Clarence Johnson

Interpreter: Patsy Arizu

DATE, TIME April 23, 2003, 1:04 - 1:28 p.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Hola. (U)

President Aznar: Hola. (U)

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

The President: Good. I'm just wondering who's cheering for what
team. They tell me there's a big soccer match today. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I am for Manchester United and Jose Maria
is for Real Madrid, but I fear that he has an easier task than I.
(U)

The President: I think that's good. The selection of your
respective teams is very wise. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: So what do you have to tell us, George?
(U)

The President: Well, first of all, I am pleased with the
progress. I think slowly but surely security is being
established. Electricity is coming back. There's some
measurable improvement on all fronts that I think are very
positive. As Tommy Franks said today, you read one bad story
about a security issue or an Iraqi Shi'a move, but for every one

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Gregory L. Schulte

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 6/11/13

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By SAH NARA, Date 10/15/2019

bad story, there are nine or ten very positive stories that sometimes don't make it into press. But he is pleased with the progress. ~~(S)~~

Twenty-five percent of the electricity is on in Baghdad and they will continue to make progress. They think they can actually start selling oil within 45 days. The field hospitals are now up and running. The Jordanians have a hospital, the Saudis have a hospital, of course the Coalition forces, and the hospitals are being replenished with supplies. The World Food Organization is beginning to move substantial amounts of food. We're on a near-daily basis bringing in these Top 55. ~~(S)~~

We are getting more and more information about possible weapons locations. They've got a good plan in place to provide incentives for people to bring forth useful information. There's a whole team looking at sites. They've gone to 80 out of 1200 sites. It's just a matter of time before we get the right information, and the information is getting richer as we go on. ~~(S)~~

I think the thing that's got everybody's attention is the posturing by the Shi'a people. I don't think that's necessarily bad news; as a matter of fact,

(b)(1)1.4d

Much to the amazement and the chagrin of the European left, we have not invaded Syria yet. ~~(S)~~

President Aznar: Gracias. ~~(C)~~

The President: Asad ought to be saying gracias. But both of you guys did really good work. Cooperation looks good, and we will continue to provide names to the Syrians as we get them and we expect a response. But I think we handled the situation there correctly. The IIA meeting will take place Monday because the weather is going to be bad over the weekend. It looks to me like Garner's being well received and the plan to empower the Iraqis to run the ministries is on track. So we're proceeding on a

normal pace, and I will continue to try to reduce expectations about the emergence of a George Washington in Iraq overnight. I do think it's very important, however, that we pay attention to the emergence of these leaders to make sure that Iran does not fill a vacuum, and we are doing that. ~~(S)~~

On another matter right quick and then I look forward to hearing from you. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] I will speak to Mubarak after this phone call to thank him as well, and then I saw Colin today and said, "Look, get the roadmap out as soon as the formalities are finished." I want it out as soon as possible. We will proceed smartly towards some progress. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] And so we will press the moment, and now that it looks like Abu Mazen is going to be the Prime Minister with nearly the Cabinet he wanted, I will do what I told you I'd do and that is move on. So that's kind of what's on my mind right now. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Thanks, George. That's great. I've just got three quick points then I'll pass you over to Jose Maria.

The first thing is [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(S)~~

The President: Absolutely. The key is to make sure the message gets [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Absolutely. And we will make sure it does. I suspect that they may be okay, but they may be looking for mischief. ~~(S)~~

The President: Absolutely. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think what happens with Syria is very valuable. They got a strong message and they've reacted a lot more positively as a result. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(S)~~

The President: That would be great. Thank you. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: The second thing is WMD. I think we need to give people a sense that this is a process that will take time. Our first priority was to make sure the conflict was won, and our second was to get the humanitarian side in place. We are working through it in a systematic way. I think that takes the edge off, and you won't have anyone say, "If you don't produce it by next Tuesday, then you fail." ~~(C)~~

The President: That's very good. As a matter of fact, I'm going to give an interview with Tom Brokaw tomorrow which will air tomorrow or Friday. This will be a significant part of his questions to me and will give me a chance to explain to the American people and others who are willing to listen precisely to what you said. I think that's great advice. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I also think what you are saying is helpful to about 80 out of 1200 sites. The one thing we should keep saying to people is that the weapons of mass destruction is not a matter of just the United States and the British. That's the reason that we've been 12 years at this business. ~~(C)~~

The President: That's right. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: This is not something we can speculate about, but we will work through it in a serious, deliberate way. ~~(C)~~

The President: Yes, that's good. The problem we've had is that

(b)(1)1.4d

~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: I said to Colin, "Get the Roadmap out," and he said it would take two days. I said, "Just make sure that it happens." ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Basically, he's got the right guy on the security side, which I think is Dahlan. ~~(S)~~

The President: Dahlan. Yes. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: All the pressure seems to have worked. ~~(C)~~

The President: Good going. I think it's a great job. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: There we are. ~~(C)~~

The President: I'm going to press hard. I don't know what the explanation is, but I'm sure Jack does. I was with Battle from Uruguay and Powell came in and said, "Great news! It looks like Abu Mazen is going to be the Prime Minister under terms we can

live with," and I said, "Put the Roadmap out," and he said it would take two days. I don't know why it will take two days, but, anyway, that's what he said and it is coming out. I know there are people who're going to say, "I told you he wouldn't put it out." ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. The betrayal fear of history is never far away. Now let me give you Jose Maria. ~~(C)~~

President Aznar: Well, George, thank you very much for your comments and explanations. I too want to give you three items. You know that we have channels open. In our case, we have some good ones, particularly with the Arab countries, (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

And second, until the weapons of mass destruction show up, I think it would be a very good idea to provide an inventory of what has shown up because I think there's a lot of good stuff. ~~(S)~~

The President:. Okay. ~~(C)~~

President Aznar:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

And this would also provide impetus to the process to find the WMD, and it should be carried out by friends and not by foes. ~~(C)~~

The President: That's right. ~~(C)~~

President Aznar: And third, since I think we are together now, we could take advantage of the fact and Tony and I could perhaps provide a message on the Middle East and on Abu Mazen right now. When I talked to Arafat last week, he said he'd do it Monday and it's Wednesday, but that's not that bad, so he hasn't taken that long. And I'm sorry but we have to hang up now because we have to start working. ~~(C)~~

The President: You just want to get ready for the soccer game.
(U)

Prime Minister Blair: That's right. That's the really important thing. (U)

President Aznar: And I know you are for Real Madrid because a true Texan would be for Real Madrid. (U)

The President: In Texas, we wear pads for football. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Don't go there, George. (U)

The President: In terms of coordinating the message and making the case, the message is going to get a lot better in Baghdad because Margaret Tutwiler arrived on the scene. She was our Ambassador to Morocco, and was Jimmy Baker's right hand person at the State Department. She is plenty savvy and smart, and in terms of what Jose Maria said about detailing the atrocities, she would be very good at that. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's right. She will be good. What we will try to do at the press conference is try to lay this out. I think we have made remarkable progress. ~~(C)~~

The President: It is unbelievable. Tommy said today that we've got over a thousand sites we need to inspect, but every time they talk to somebody, they get another potential site. They believe they'll end up looking at hundreds of sites. The key is going to be that slowly people are now coming forth with more information. It'll happen.

(b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's true. ~~(C)~~

President Aznar: But we really have to go after a list of great atrocities of the Hussein regime. ~~(C)~~

The President: Absolutely. What we are finding. ~~(C)~~

President Aznar: And also to state clearly that this is just the beginning. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Good. ~~(C)~~

The President: Alright boys, it was great talking to you. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, it was great talking to you, and again congratulations to your armed forces. They've been absolutely brilliant. (U)

The President: And yours too. The mighty Brits. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: It's actually been a remarkable feat. (U)

The President: Everybody's proud of them, and the economy's starting to rebound. "Happy days are here again," as they used to say. But that's the other party. (U)

President Aznar: Are you expecting a quick recovery? (U)

The President: No, I'm not, because the excesses were still pretty significant. But I think the first thing is the frame of mind of the country has shifted pretty dramatically and that's important, and the market is coming back and corporate profitability is improving. I think you will see a steady recovery. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Good. (U)

President Aznar: Good. Congratulations, and thank you very much, George. (U)

The President: Alright guys. May the best team win. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: That's a very diplomatic remark. (U)

The President: I'm learning the European way. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Alright, George. (U)

President Aznar: Adios. (U)

The President: Good-bye. Enjoy the game. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 05/16/2003

RESTRICTION CODES

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5696

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Jeff Houle, Nikki Williams,
Jeff Blair, Joe Morosco

DATE, TIME May 16, 2003, 10:10 - 10:49 a.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Yes, sir. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: George. (U)

The President: How are you? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I am fine. How are you. (U)

The President: Really good. Cherie has been over here with Laura. She was really good, she went to some Congressional wives thing or something. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: She really enjoyed it. What are things looking like in Iraq? ~~(C)~~

The President: A hell of a lot better. Congratulations on what you have ~~done~~ in Basra. Two days ago John Abizaid briefed us and said that Mosul and Basra are way ahead of the rest of the country, because of British leadership. Basra has turned into a safe and secure area. That is really a good job there. ~~(S)~~

In Baghdad, we have an issue. We marched to victory and forgot to change our outlook. We need to beef up our security and take control of the city and frankly shoot on sight if we need to. There have been great headlines in the U.S. papers. They say there has been a shift in strategy and the attitude on the ground has changed. We are learning lessons from things that have been

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Gregory L. Schulte
Reason: 1.5(d)
Declassify on: 6/12/13

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By Sal NARA, Date 10/15/2019

successful. This guy Bremer is going to be damn good. I hope he is coordinating with you. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That is exactly in accord with our view. When I sent Sawers out there, he was pretty worried at first, but Bremer is really gripping it. We need to get the basics in place, the security and the basic infrastructure. It seems to be that the thing is coming right. Baghdad, to be frank, is a whole different order of business as well, difficult and the fighting was worse. ~~(S)~~

The President: We need less of a siege and more of a reconstruction mentality. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Wanting that, we can do that. We will do it after it gets sorted out then we will be in good shape.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

The President: Absolutely. I told Rumsfeld that the military needs to get a group to see how history will view what we find: an independent report and the discoveries need to be detailed, so that a group of Belgian historians will reach the inevitable conclusion. I appreciate you sending John over there. Are he and Bremer working together? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, they seem to be working fine. He will give an accurate account of what is happening on the ground. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: The military needs to keep moving as opposed to being sensitive. The military tends not to be nuanced. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: They are used to fighting. The truth is, our lot, because of Northern Ireland where they were part soldiers and part social workers, it is in their culture. We actually shot a lot of armed robbers in Basra and the word got around and that helped. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: We need to do that in Baghdad. They call it rules of engagement and they were formed in the White House, but by the time it reached the private, it was diluted, because they all were covering their asses. We went soft. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It was tough. It was heavy fighting. We just need to keep track of that. The report from John was more positive and appreciative of Bremer. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: Just make sure they are talking. If there is a problem, let me know and I will take care of it. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I will do that. On the U.N. side, we are not doing badly. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: We are doing damn well. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I wanted to say that there are two things in the back pocket. It seems to be coming well [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] There are two things. We are calling the U.N. guy a personal representative. I don't think that the title matters but if it helps to get a better senior person then call it a Special Representative. If it helps to change the name, I leave that with you. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: I am not following that closely all of this. Hopefully all the listeners don't hold that against me. Who cares what they call the guy? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That is what I asked. A Special Representative is apparently a slightly more important person. It is just that it is in the name. I don't care about the person just as long as it does not alter the practicality on the ground. It is a matter of saving face. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: That is right. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] There is the issue of transparency but that does not amount to anything in practical terms but we should keep a couple things in our back pockets. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: My man Hadley tells me it is coming down Monday or Tuesday. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think at the moment that the mood is good. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] (b)(1)1.4d

~~SECRET~~

4

(b)(1)1.4d

I went to Santa Fe and I stayed at the house of a good friend and the house-keeper out there said, "Mr. President, I was going to France this summer but because of that anti-French sentiment, we are going to London instead." He will now spend American dollars in London.

(b)(1)1.4d

~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I have had a lot of French Ministers requesting to see me and the more I analyze this, I see that it has more to do with him than the French system. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: Are you coming over to receive the Congressional Medal of Freedom? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. (U)

President Bush: That would be a great moment and it will show
(b)(1)1.4d and it will give us time to visit. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It will be an honor. (U)

President Bush: They will go crazy when you get there. They will love having you there. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It is a tremendous honor, really.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: (b)(1)1.4d

It will happen by the way. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Are you giving a speech in Poland? ~~(S)~~

President Bush: In Krakow. It will be along the lines that we discussed. By the way, I got the AIDS package. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That is fantastic. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: We had a huge night in the Senate and the House. It looks better than on the surface and then they stayed in session and got the AIDS bill done intact. It is what we discussed and gives me something to say in Europe, actually something practical. ~~(S)~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

5

Prime Minister Blair: I think this has the making of a powerful speech and if you don't mind, I was thinking of sending over some thoughts. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: I would love to see it. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Things are changing around. Obviously, the best thing is that when you get to the stage of showing Iraq as a showcase. I don't know how big it was in America but the graves in Baghdad, compared to those that we killed, that was huge in Europe. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: It will just get worse for Saddam. A couple of other things. I talked to Putin. As we say in London, "it is all peaches and cream." He said, "You will have a wonderful visit. You are beloved in St. Petersburg." He said that he just passed the treaty and there is still dialogue that we need to discuss like Iraq (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That is good. It is unbelievable. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: Did he apologize about that? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: To be fair, he phoned me up and said that we will work with you on the U.N. resolution. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(S)~~

President Bush: But with me, there is more bang to the buck. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: A couple quick points, (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d [REDACTED] we are working it. We will be frank with each other and I appreciate you bringing it to my attention. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I saw Sharon yesterday and you have him coming next week, right? ~~(S)~~

President Bush: Yes, we do. I would say that my enthusiasm is good but making progress is dim. Kissinger gave me advice. It will be hard. I don't care. Well, I do care. I want progress. They will know I tried. Kissinger told me that "Israel will want to do something but they will cause you to be the problem. He needs you to get the blame." (b)(1)1.4d [REDACTED]

~~SECRET~~

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: Can I tell you what I said to Sharon? ~~(S)~~

President Bush: Yes. Please do. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: Sharon is meeting him on Saturday night.
~~(S)~~

President Bush:

(b)(1)1.4d

My job is to bring them back together. I will be frank with Sharon in private. The real work is that on camera he says that we accept the roadmap and we are moving forward. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: We will see on the 20th, whenever that is. I think Tuesday. The goal is to do what you said but Hadley just whispered something to me. He said that we have a public statement after the meeting that will say what you said. It says

~~SECRET~~

7

don't come if you don't have the language right. We had the Doobie Brothers over here. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: What? (U)

President Bush: These two. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I thought you were talking about the band for a moment. ~~(C)~~

President Bush:

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: That is true and we need to create the conditions so that the people that love freedom will prevail.

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: It is a real danger. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: This is an area where the French will cooperate and with North Korea. The other thing is the Gibraltar issue.

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

can figure it out. ~~(S)~~

I think you

~~SECRET~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] It is a different situation, like making the first language of Britain, French. I am trying to work out a deal and I will carry on trying but the political pain is in disproportion to the real problem. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: I told him that I would talk to you and I did. I did my duty. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Just don't invade the place. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: We don't want it. I said if the people would vote, then. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: The problem is that there are 30,000 people there and they have Britain written on their chests, but we have 500,000 British in Spain. It is a subject to know as little about as possible. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: I am succeeding. I am meeting with Bondevik. He saw you yesterday. He is a Lutheran preacher and he supports pacifism. Will he be helpful in Iraq? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. To be honest, within constraints, he is a sweet guy. [REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: We would have, too, during the U.N. vote in the Security Council. The resolution was cause for depression. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I am looking forward to it. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: I have Koizumi coming and then I had the South Korean guy [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: Absolutely. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: He campaigned on an anti-U.S. platform and said that they should reduce troops and we said "yes, we will do that." [REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: I think the South Korean strategy is right. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: (b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: (b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush: Congratulations on purging your cabinet. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It was a relief to meet with the new person this morning. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: You are doing great. When is the congressional deal? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: End of June or July. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: We will see each other in St. Petersburg and then France. We will be in touch before then to coordinate our body language. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I will discuss Europe. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: I wish you would and we will discuss Krakow. The first thing I do when I get to Europe is that there will be a lot of attention. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Poland will be a good place. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: I am doing four things, to thank Kwasniewski, to deal with France and Germany, and to remind them that the objective is to unite Europe. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It sounds good. (U)

President Bush: Have a great weekend. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Bye. (U)

The President: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

George W. Bush Presidential Library

Mandatory Review 2014-0471-M

Collection: National Security Council – Records and Access Management

Series: Memcons and Telcons – Tony Blair Binder

Folder Title: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the United Kingdom, 06/26/2003

RESTRICTION CODES

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Prime Minister Tony Blair of the
United Kingdom (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Jeff Houle, Jeff Blair,
Jenna Galyean, and Joe Morosco

DATE, TIME June 26, 2003, 2:00 - 2:28 p.m., EDT
AND PLACE: Oval Office

The President: Yes, sir. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi George. (U)

The President: How are you? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I'm fine, had a bit of a tough time here.
~~(C)~~

The President: That's what Condi said, but she said your spirits
are good. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: You get used to it, don't you. It has
been very good to see Condi. She has been in excellent form.
I'm giving David Manning a dinner tonight to say farewell and
Condi is coming. ~~(C)~~

The President: You're giving him the boot? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Sending him over to you, of course. ~~(C)~~

The President: That will be good. ~~(C)~~

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

The President: I'm good, real good, patient about Iraq. I know
you are concerned, but I've got to tell you I believe Tenet and

~~SECRET~~

Classified by: Gregory L. Schulte

Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify on: 6/27/13

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Authority LPANB 2014-0471-M, #4186
By Sak NARA, Date 10/15/2019

the new man there, Kay. We are getting our house in order, if I can be blunt, and I am confident that in short order we'll be getting some information that will solidify our position. It started today with the nuclear weaponry. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Right. ~~(e)~~

The President: The problem is that you have a cynical press. It is not enough, they don't want it to be enough. ~~(e)~~

Prime Minister Blair: They will always be difficult. The most difficult thing for me is the fact that people who should be my supporters on the issue obviously are not. ~~(e)~~

The President: That hurts when your own Cabinet bails out on you and accuses you of lying. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: You might question my judgment keeping them so long. ~~(S)~~

The President: You don't have any choice, do you? Bill Clinton called me out of the blue the other day and said he wanted to talk about a domestic matter. You know who can give you a hand on this, is Bill Clinton. He said that you "have got to understand that you are taking a bad rap on intelligence regarding weapons of mass destruction." He said that "he is vulnerable if this goes on too long, because this is some of the same intelligence that caused us to bomb in 1998." He likes to strategize, so he strategized about how to handle the issue. He said, "There's a huge difference about how you are treated in America, and how our friend Tony Blair is being treated." He said he is going over for an anniversary in Oxford, for the Rhodes scholarship, and would be willing to speak out on the issue. You ought to call upon your friendship and have him address the issue. He claims he will be very persuasive and strong on the richness of the intelligence. Just because we haven't found anything doesn't mean you should question the intelligence. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I know he is coming over and I would like to see him. In light of that, I will give him a call and tell him that would be helpful. That is a good suggestion. ~~(S)~~

The President: He is the guy who mentioned it. He claims he has spoken out on the issue, it just hasn't made it into the newspapers. He claims he is worried about his friend. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: As you would say, I'm getting my ass handed to me. ~~(e)~~

~~SECRET~~

3

The President: We can sense it over here. Tenet was in today, he talked about the guy, Kay. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] I got to tell you that people in America have made up their minds. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: To be frank about it, the people here are okay. The plague I live with is a national media that is more frenzied here than in anywhere else in the world. ~~(C)~~

The President: It is unbelievable, I am shocked at how bad it is, how unfair it is. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: To be honest, you learn to live with it over time. The public gets pretty inured to it too. Don't worry. In the end I am tough as old boots in these things. In any event, I am quite sure we did the right thing. The alternative proposition is this guy having played around and gotten rid of it, did not tell anyone. He's crazy, but not that crazy. ~~(S)~~

The President: The guy who popped up said he was told to bury parts. It played pretty big here. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It will begin to build a bit, too. The optimum for me is that in three weeks time when parliament rises I'll be able to say something on WMD and crime. It's the nature of the regime that impresses them the most. The only difference is the Iraq survey team will take a lot of time to get going. Tenet is gripping this and taking an interest. It is very important that: (A) we coordinate it, and (B) that we know what we've really got. ~~(S)~~

The President: Yes, we don't need a false pregnancy. Tenet understands that, he is rattling the thing. I heard him today, he believes this guy can come up with low hanging fruit. [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4d

~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

The President: That's what I heard. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think we know the sheer scale of the task out there. I would say we need all the time to make sure that Jerry Bremer and others out there have got all that they need to do what they need to do. ~~(S)~~

The President: Are you hearing that he doesn't? ~~(C)~~

~~SECRET~~

Prime Minister Blair: I hear he does, but the scale of what he has is vast. This guy is literally President and Prime Minister, and the Cabinet, in a totally screwed up country. At any time he needs to be able to press the buttons and have things happen. I think, for example, if he needs good people in any area, they should be there straight away. I've got my new minister, Valerie, out in Basrah and Baghdad today and she will give me a report back. I told Condi earlier that we should do a video conference in the next week or ten days to draw up an agenda so that we're absolutely sure we're picking up every part of it. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's good. I would love to do that. We better hustle. We probably need to do it on July 3rd, before the 4th of July comes, then I'm off to Africa from the 7th through the 12th, and then back, but you're right, I'd love to do it. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Let's try to do it then because you will be very busy after that. The security situation is bad, we have had our guys killed. ~~(C)~~

The President: I'm really sorry about that. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: You guys have been losing people, too. It's bound to happen. We are going to have down in our area 5,000 troops in the coming weeks, which is very good. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's good, and Poland and Spain are carrying a load. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think they still have problems on the communications front. ~~(C)~~

The President: We can put that on the agenda. We're looking for some kind of communications wizard to set up the whole network. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's right. If we ^{can} put them on the agenda, suddenly, everything happens. ~~(C)~~

The President: I do think you are right on the security thing, but we are making progress. I also think that what we don't read is how many people we've killed. It is a fair amount of people.

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: I think our people are upbeat also. ~~(C)~~

The President: It will be tough, we were supposed to still be in combat. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I have no doubt at all that we will. One thing dawning on me is if this comes out, we want the impact on the world to be astonishing. ~~(C)~~

The President: By the time that you and I both leave office,

(b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That is raising a problem, isn't it? ~~(C)~~

The President: I think it is getting better.

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: That is good. I've got Putin here for a state visit at the moment. ~~(C)~~

The President: I can't wait to see a picture of him in tails. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We were all in tails. ~~(C)~~

The President: Fantastic. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: He was in the carriage as well with the Queen. ~~(C)~~

The President: That is fantastic. I think it is really good that you did that. It is important. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

~~(C)~~

The President: That's what I heard. Frankly, we had a good meeting at the EU yesterday. ~~(b)(1)1.4d~~
We had a frank discussion on a variety of issues - it was a very pleasant exchange. It was cordial, and all wanted it to go well,

(b)(1)1.4d
statement on Iran as well. ~~(C)~~

Out of it came a tough

Prime Minister Blair: The French were leading the charge on Iran. ~~(C)~~

President Bush:

(b)(1)1.4d

~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I had Kofi Annan here yesterday. First of all, he said Bremer is working well with De Mello. Jerry will find that once he convenes the political council he will need De Mello's help. In relation to Africa, Kofi said the issue of Liberia was important to get ironed out. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: Yes, I just gave a speech to African Business Council leaders and said that Charles Taylor has to go. It drew the loudest applause. The speech was not a commitment to send troops, but we have to figure out what that means. The Defense Department, we are among friends here, are not that interested in calibrating what it means. It would be tough for me to send troops. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: The only thing I can say is that we did this in Sierra Leone with a very small number of troops. A small number makes a big difference in these places. We brought in help from the outside, but we only had a thousand troops maximum. ~~(S)~~

President Bush: That is what Condi said. I have Hadley standing right here. He said we made some progress. I don't know what that means. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

(b)(1)1.4b, (b)(1)1.4d

President Bush:

(b)(1)1.4d

Prime Minister Blair: That is absolutely right.. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: It is crazy. ~~(C)~~

~~SECRET~~

7

Prime Minister Blair: It is a disgrace. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: Did Condi bring you up to speed on the Middle East? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: She did. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: She claims we are making progress. Maybe she thought I need to hear good news. The definition of progress is immeasurable. Her attitude is we made progress. I don't know, but she said it. This guy Wolf is over there grinding it out. At this stage we are taking tiny baby steps, but nevertheless, we are there and pushing. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. (U)

President Bush: We don't negotiate with terrorists, [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] It is an ironic situation, but anyway. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: First of all, I think having John Wolf and a team out there is a huge step. The very fact a team is out there will send the message. And, Condi is going there tomorrow? ~~(C)~~

President Bush: We are unleashing her. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED]
(b)(1)1.4d

[REDACTED] He has real problems with his government, but that is too bad. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We are going to have to think about that. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: I brought it up with him at Aqaba. He is going to see you? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: They will probably protest him. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: That is what is great about free countries. You can protest whoever you want. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Absolutely, and why not? But, you know we have a great scandal over here. Prince William had his 21st birthday party and some guy dressed as Usama bin Laden grabbed the microphone and started making a speech. ~~(C)~~

~~SECRET~~

~~SECRET~~

8.

President Bush: I read where he got drunk on some guys estate and drove on the lawn. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That was a separate incident. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: During the same period, right. The lad generated lots of publicity. Exactly what I told my girls not to do. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It is tough to do over here. ~~(C)~~

President Bush: How is my man Ewen? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: He is in really good form, really. (U)

President Bush: Tell him I was asking about him. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I will. (U)

President Bush: You need to send him over here. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: He is desperate to come. He watches American football all of the time. (U)

President Bush: Why don't you bring him over on the 17th? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I will think about that. (U)

President Bush: We will think of something for him to do. Perhaps take him to the Air and Space museum. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I am looking forward to that, really. (U)

President Bush: Are you getting the medal that day or the next? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I think that day. (U)

President Bush: We have all kinds of aides nodding heads in here. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Unfortunately, I am all alone in here. (U)

President Bush: Don't worry, they are listening in. We have the Congressional Gold Medal on the 17th and a little social dinner for you after that. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Great. (U)

~~SECRET~~

President Bush: I will tell you one damn thing, you may be taking crap over there, but this will make you feel really good. It will absolutely lift your spirits. All of these people, republicans, democrats, nuts, and regular people all really think the world of you. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: However tough it is here, I look back at what we did and I am both pleased and proud of what we did. ~~(c)~~

President Bush: Absolutely. History will judge it. No doubt in my mind he had weapons and he tortured people. If he is alive, we will find him. The thing I did not calculate properly is that when you have been enslaved it is tough to adapt to a free society. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's right. I was just talking to Condi about this earlier. We can't imagine it and therefore it was difficult to factor in. ~~(c)~~

President Bush: If you sit down with Jerry Bremer to give him a lie detector test he would say life is improving on a noticeable basis. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: One of my back-benchers, she campaigned a long time against Saddam, she was in Baghdad and said the one thing you have to know is all this bull shit about people not being better off. They do not have the slightest doubt at all that they will be better. ~~(c)~~

President Bush: That's right. People there absolutely love what we did and are anxious to express themselves. They want to thank Bush and thank Blair. But, of course the press's job is to not report that, but find the isolated incidents and blow them up. It is incredibly sad, but do you know what is interesting, in peace time we lose five people a day in accidents, drownings, whatever. This is what happens. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Exactly. (U)

President Bush: You sound like you are hanging in there. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I am. ~~(c)~~

President Bush: There is no doubt in my mind you would be. ~~(c)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I am about to have a drink with Vladimir and his wife. ~~(c)~~

SECRET

10

President Bush: Tell him he looked beautiful in tails. Like an arctic penguin. And, give David my best. We will stay in touch and we will get this video thing going next week. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Bye. (U)

President Bush: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

SECRET