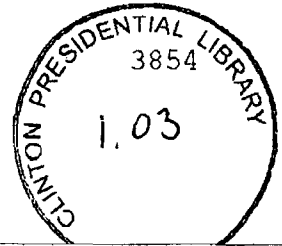


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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED UNDER AUTHORITY OF THE
INTERAGENCY SECURITY CLASSIFICATION APPEALS PANEL,
E.O. 13526, SECTION 5.3(b)(3)

MEMORANDUM OF CONVERSATION

ISCAP APPEAL NO. 2013-090, document no. 3
DECLASSIFICATION DATE: October 14, 2015

SUBJECT: Restricted Meeting with British Prime
Minister Tony Blair (U)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
William Crowe, Ambassador to the UK
Samuel R. Berger, Assistant to the President
for National Security Affairs
Mary Ann Peters, Director for European
Affairs, National Security Council
(Notetaker)

Anthony Blair, Prime Minister
Sir John Kerr, Ambassador to the U.S.
John Holmes, Private Secretary to the
Prime Minister
Jonathan Powell, Chief of Staff to the
Prime Minister

DATE, TIME May 29, 1997, 12:00-12:30 p.m.
AND PLACE: No. 10 Downing Street, London

Prime Minister Blair: Should we work through our cards? (U)

The President: If you see me with all the cards they give me,
you know it is going to be a long meeting because I have not done
my homework. If I do it, I reduce it to this one card. (U)

With regard to Northern Ireland, I would like to tell you that
when it comes time that you think it would be helpful for us to
say something about a cease-fire or decommissioning, let me know.
We may have to wait for the Irish election. I have some pull and
can call in chits; just let me know. ~~let~~

Prime Minister Blair:

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

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Reason: 1.5(b)
Declassify On: 6/05/07

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

The President: I will think about the parade problem. The conflict reminds me of the Middle East. Do you have a resolution in mind? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

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

~~(S)~~
The President: One problem is that the people are farther along than the leaders. For people like Sinn Fein and Ian Paisley, the conflict is their whole life. ~~(S)~~

Ambassador Crowe: At Drumcree, however, all those peace-loving people went indoors and shut their blinds. (U)

The President: Those were the same people in the streets cheering us -- they need leadership. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

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

~~(S)~~
The President: Some of my rich yuppie friends cancelled trips to Belfast to play golf. ~~(S)~~

Ambassador Crowe: The President has been strongly supportive of investment in Northern Ireland. ~~(S)~~

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The President: You need a place for the politicians to go to be relevant. They have to have a life and an identity other than their ability to stop the process. [REDACTED]

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

[REDACTED] You've got it right with a guarantee of some connection to Ireland. I have listened to them talk and I think that if there were no political leaders, we could get the people to agree. (C)

Mr. Holmes: [REDACTED]

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

The President: Sinn Fein needs to be on board with the substance of the resolution, whatever the details of the relationship to Ireland. What is the role for the DUP and Paisley? If we leave the extremes out, they can undermine the solution. I was struck by that when I met Paisley. I didn't get a word in edgewise for 20 minutes, but I didn't care. (C)

Mr. Holmes: [REDACTED]

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

The President: You mean if you give them a meaningful devolved government? (C)

Mr. Berger: We are maintaining contact with the unionists -- I called Trimble recently. (C)

The President: He is impressive. (C)

Ambassador Crowe: But not at Drumcree. And the SDLP needs Sinn Fein in the talks so they cannot criticize the compromises Hume makes. (S)

The President: You know where we are. If there is anything I can do, let me know at the right time. (C)

Mr. Berger: Mo Mowlam was over last week and we had a great meeting. (C)

The President: She is good, great on TV. Her happy face inspires confidence. She seems solid and not full of herself; you don't need another person over there posturing like a peacock. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: I will tell her that. (C)

-- End of Conversation --

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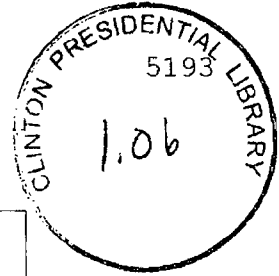
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON



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E.O. 13526, SECTION 5.3(b)(3)

ISCAP APPEAL NO. 2013-090, document no. 6
DECLASSIFICATION DATE: October 14, 2015

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

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

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Tony Blair

Notetakers: Doug Mueller, Wylma Robinson,
Pat O'Shaughnessy, Bonnie Glick

DATE, TIME AND PLACE: July 27, 1997, 12:41 - 1:02 p.m. EDT
Private Residence, Los Angeles, California

The President: Tony? (U)

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

The President: Very well, indeed. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I am sitting here outside Chequers having a cup of tea with a friend of yours, Steven Spielberg. (U)

The President: Steven Spielberg? You are? You tell Mr. Spielberg that you may be drinking tea with him, but I am here on the beach in Santa Monica having coffee with Ron Burkle, which shows California has more influence than either the British or the U.S. Government. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: You are? (U)

The President: Yes. I am looking at people skateboarding at the beautiful beaches of Santa Monica. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: You lucky man. This is your vacation, then? (U)

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Reason: 1.5(b)

Declassify On: 7/28/07

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The President: No, no. I am out here working, but it is a Sunday morning and you wanted to talk. And Ron Burkle is a friend of mine who bought a house very close to the hotel where I was last night. I interrupted coffee to speak with you. Congratulations again on the ceasefire. I think we have a chance now. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, we have a chance now. I just wanted to fill you in on that.

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

The President: Is there anything we can do to help you with Trimble? Probably not. *let*

Prime Minister Blair:

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

The President: You know that is a well I can only go back to one more time. I am certainly willing to try to do that though. *let*

Prime Minister Blair:

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

The President: I could try to come on over to see you or something. *let*

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Prime Minister Blair: What I think, the reason why I think there is some hope in the situation is that the ordinary people in Northern Ireland are desperate for peace. *let*

The President: Oh God yes. This is the place in the world where there is the largest disconnect between the leaders and what the ordinary people want. *let*

Prime Minister Blair:

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

The President: And we will do that. I got your letter on the Middle East and I basically agree with the letter.

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

And I am really glad you are going to become EU president in January because my sense is that we can get some grudging progress for

the rest of the year, and if there is going to be a breakthrough, then we will need everyone's help to close next year. I don't think the present situation can be maintained.

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

(S)

Prime Minister Blair:

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

The President: Well, first of all, a flashpoint or meltdown point.

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

Prime Minister Blair: That's right. (S)

The President:

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

I'll give you an example, here you are trying to do this in Northern Ireland and one day the IRA has the whole thing in its power and the next day, Paisley does.

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

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[REDACTED] E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

[REDACTED] That may be something you could have the Europeans examine -- because it is very important -- whether you want to provide economic assistance to Jordan. With parliamentary elections coming, we would be in a tough situation without any real power if the people he is backing, who have stable relations with Israel, lose ground because of economic difficulties. (S)

Prime Minister Blair:

[REDACTED] E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)

The President: One of the things that would help is to raise the economic fortune of the Palestinians.

[REDACTED] E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

(S)
Prime Minister Blair: Hello? You are getting a bit faint there. (U)

The President: I know that you can't come to us on September 9 because of the Scottish devolution and 13-15 doesn't work for

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me, but we need to set up some time. We will keep working till we find the time. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: September is really difficult? (U)

The President: Just those two days for me. I think I can work out another time. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I think it probably is a bit difficult for me because if something starts to go wrong. (U)

The President: How are the English reacting? Is it going down pretty well? ~~(U)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It is okay for the minute.

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

The President: Are most of the Scots in the Westminster parliament in your party? ~~(U)~~

Prime Minister Blair: We are going to give up a few seats. ~~(U)~~

The President: You may have some to spare now, but you can never tell what you'll need in five years.

Prime Minister Blair: However, it has not always been like this in Scotland. In the 50's it was mostly Tory. What I am trying to do is build new bases of support, one of the most difficult things to do. There are two referendums, one in Scotland and one in Wales. ~~(U)~~

The President: So you stay there and handle it. Your preference is to get the visit done in the month of September. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I think so. (U)

The President: That is my strong preference. I will talk to my people and we'll get it done. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Let us do that, Bill, and I also had a note from Hillary about the other thing we talked about and we will work on that. You have a good time in Santa Monica. (U)

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The President: Tell Steven Spielberg I hate coming all the way out here and not get to see him because he is hanging out in Chequers. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I will certainly. (U)

The President: I always suspected that beneath that ruffled, intellectual demeanor was a real Tory aristocrat working. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: He is out here making a movie. (U)

The President: I know. I told you before that he really wants to help rebuild the movie industry in Great Britain because he is so grateful for its influence. He got a lot of input from early British film makers. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Lots of possibilities here, but also important to them that the U.S. and the British work closely, especially because some of the other countries and some of the stuff from the EU is not very sensible. The French and the Italians have weird rules and prescriptions on film making. It would help if we can get some decent British movies. (U)

The President: You can do it. Tell him I said hello. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: All the best. We'll be in touch. (U)

The President: Bye. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Bye. (U)

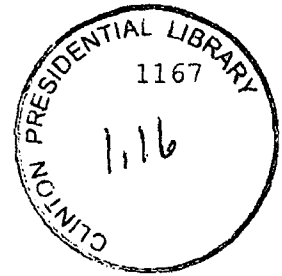
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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telecon with British Prime Minister Blair

PARTICIPANTS: President Clinton
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Larry Wright, Tony Campanella,
Bob Ford, Tom Crowell, Jim Smith, Peter
Huggins

DATE, TIME FEBRUARY 12, 1998, 4:05 - 4:20 p.m. EST Oval
AND PLACE: Office

The President: Hello?

Prime Minister Blair: Hi Bill.

The President: Hey.

Prime Minister Blair: How are you?

The President: All right. We had a wonderful time with you here. I hope you enjoyed it half as much as we did.

Prime Minister Blair: We had an absolutely fantastic time. We especially enjoyed Friday night and Saturday morning.

The President: You've turned me into an icon for everyone at the State dinner.

Prime Minister Blair: We had a great time. We are so pleased at all the time you and Hillary spent with us; we really enjoyed it. I hope it wasn't too fraught or difficult for you.

The President: Everything is going okay from what we can see here; we had a great time and wanted to thank you for that.

Prime Minister Blair: Bill, I have a problem now.

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Reason: 1.5 (b, d)

Declassify On: 02/17/08

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ISCAP APPEAL NO. 2013-090, document no. 16
DECLASSIFICATION DATE: October 14, 2015

The President: I know you do.

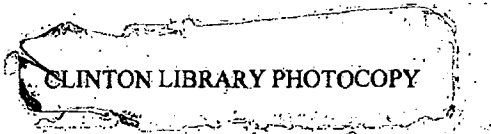
Prime Minister Blair: I spoke with Bertie Ahern this evening and here is how the land lies. There have been two murders carried out.

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

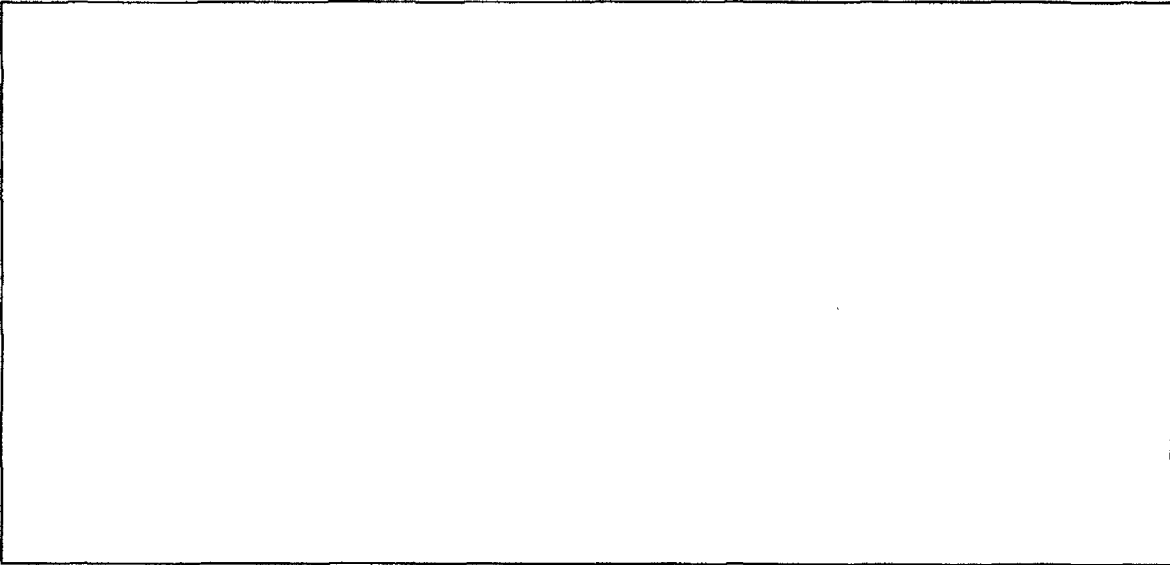
President Clinton: What were they thinking about?

Prime Minister Blair:

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



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



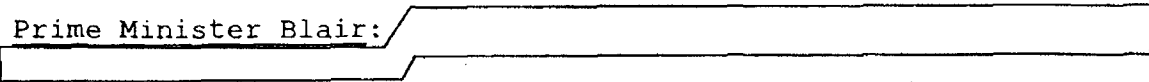
President Clinton: They haven't protested their innocence, have they?

Prime Minister Blair:



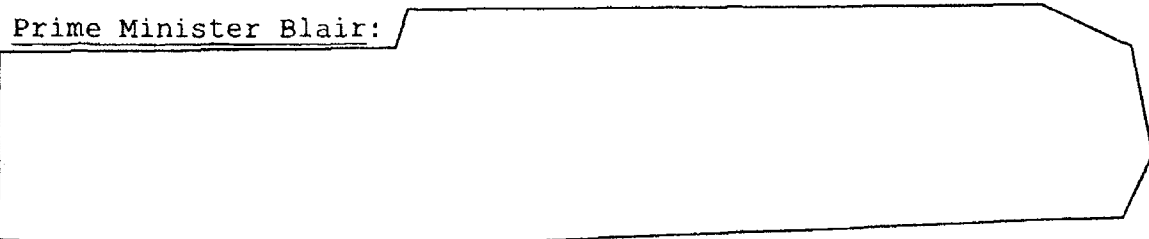
President Clinton: What are they thinking? Do you think this is payback for what happened before?

Prime Minister Blair:



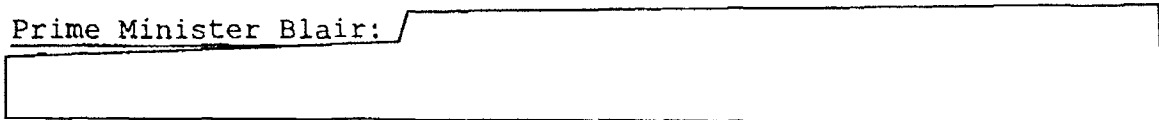
President Clinton: Within the IRA?

Prime Minister Blair:

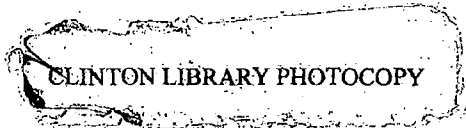


President Clinton: Can you get Bertie to go along with what ever you do?

Prime Minister Blair:



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



[REDACTED]

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

President Clinton: [REDACTED] E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d) [REDACTED] The only thing we've done so far, because we thought it would be what you wanted, is we got in touch with Sinn Fein and told them they have to make a statement and have the IRA make a statement.

Prime-Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

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

President Clinton: [REDACTED]

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

We have said that. I want to do whatever I can to be helpful, really helpful, it's important for me to keep this thing going. I don't want to get in the position of you and me against Ireland. I want some influence over those people...

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

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

President Clinton: Let me call him. Give me one more chance to hit these people, to get them to make a tough statement because you can't be caught in the middle of this: you are in a hell of a pickle.

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

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

President Clinton: Me too. It's so damned stupid unless they have a split between them and their bad guys...

Prime Minister Blair: [E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d)]

President Clinton: ...and their bad guys got out of hand and their good guys don't think they have the strength to kick them publicly. It doesn't make a lick of sense.

Prime Minister Blair: No, I agree with that.

President Clinton: You are the best friend they have and they are lucky as hell they've got you in there. [REDACTED]

[E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)]

[REDACTED] This is so stupid, but let me do this. Let me get in touch with Bertie and we'll get back together. I want to do it in a way that's possible to keep this going.

Prime Minister Blair: I just want to tell you Bill. [REDACTED]

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

President Clinton: I agree. Let me get on this and we will be back in touch. I am really sorry Tony this happened to you.

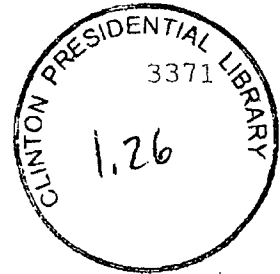
Prime Minister Blair: Well, there have been ups and downs all the way through this. We just have to make sure this works.

President Clinton: Thanks, man.

Prime Minister Blair: Let's get back in touch.

-- End of Conversation --

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Blair
(UP)

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Sean Rice, James Smith, David Higgins, Marianna Papadimitriou, Jeffrey Rathke

DATE, TIME: May 8, 1998, 1:50 - 2:12 p.m.
AND PLACE: Dover, Delaware

The President: Tony? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, Bill. (U)

The President: How are you? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I'm fine. I'm great, I'm just, actually, in my local workman's club doing constituent surgery in county Durham. (U)

The President: Are you in Durham? I love the Durham Cathedral. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I just came out of a bar where the old blokes were telling me about their troubles; from that to you. (U)

The President: Good for you. I love Durham. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Did you come here? (U)

The President: I did. I liked it so well I brought Hillary back to see the cathedral and walk around the town. I took her to York and Durham on one of our trips. (U)

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Classified by: Glyn T. Davies

Reason: 1.5(b)(d)

Declassify On: 5/9/08

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E.O. 13526, SECTION 5.3(b)(3)
ISCAP APPEAL NO. 2013-090, document no. 25
DECLASSIFICATION DATE: October 14, 2015

Prime Minister Blair: Oh, well. I was a choirboy at the cathedral in Durham, if you can believe that. (U)

The President: You still have that choirboy look. (U)

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

The President: I'm doing wonderful. I'm looking forward to being with you. I'm glad you and Major went up there together. It was good. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Yeah, I hope it helped. (U)

The President: You know it did help some. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. You know my view -- it's quite right to take the decision you did. I know Jim Steinberg was there and took the temperature of the unionist people.

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

The President: I think they didn't want to give Paisley and his crowd a new pretext -- "that's the guy that gave Gerry Adams a visa and broke the eggs," and all that stuff. ~~let~~

Prime Minister Blair: That's true, but it's the right decision

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

The President: I'd like that. We released a few things yesterday that we will do, and maybe we could pony it up some. ~~let~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, well, I'm now taking a real grip on this thing and running it like a political campaign.

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

The President: So you think we ought to do some sort of joint announcement while we are there? ~~let~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, I think if we can do that, it's all coming down to one point.

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

The President: And they can't be in government if they don't...
~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

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

The President: It wouldn't just be me, but it would mess them up here in America. Almost all Irish guys here, including guys who gave them money under questionable circumstances, would bail out on them if the vote went positive and if they reneged. You'd see major abandonment of them by Irish-Americans. That's something they can't afford. They know they can't. I'm not so worried anymore -- I was worried some of the IRA offshoots might take action against Gerry, but the mainstream crowd knows they can't violate the agreement or the Americans will go berserk on them. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, I think for that to be said is very important. That's reassuring. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's the only reason I wanted to go. I'm not under the illusion that all those Protestants love me. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Well, you're absolutely right, that's why I was keen --

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

The President: If we say it in Birmingham, it might still have enough echo to get there. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, I agree. It certainly would. And the stuff you've been saying today, or someone in the White House has been saying today, about money and investment -- there's something leading the news now about that. ~~(S)~~

The President: That's something we put out yesterday. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It shows you, though, that anything you say will be carried and given prominence. What Paisley keeps

doing is putting out posters saying that Gerry Adams will be Minister of Health. E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d) ~~(C)~~

The President: The old guy is good. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

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

The President: What will the vote be? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Sinn Fein, you mean? ~~(C)~~

The President: Will three-quarters of Sinn Fein vote for the referendum? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I don't know. I suspect yes, about that. ~~(C)~~

The President: It seems like a pro forma thing. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I don't think Gerry Adams would say he'll win the vote unless he is going to win the vote. So I think it will be pretty resounding. They're prepared to lose some of their folks. Prisoners is a big issue for them.

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

The President: I agree with that. Yesterday, I had a group in to see me that I think is called WAVE. It's a group of victims who lost children, brothers, and parents. They were mostly, but

not entirely, Protestants. A group that really wants the IRA to decommission. They're a militant peace group. They want to deal with thousands of people in their inner and physical pain. I agree with you. (c)

We've all taken our licks for Gerry, so if they want a role in the government, they have got to have some demonstration of good faith on this violence issue. These women gave me an idea yesterday. Your people could vet it for practicality. Maybe you and Bertie and I could ask for it. (c)

They say that there is a some relatively small number of people, like 20 -- people in the police or otherwise hated by the IRA, whose remains have never been recovered. They say if there's not immediate decommissioning, right after the vote, if you could work out the legalities so that people would not be prosecuted and the IRA could somehow direct people to the remains, so their families could give them a sanctified burial, that would have a huge psychological impact over there. I told them I'd try to help, but I'd talk to you about it. They don't want vengeance, they just want their people back. (c)

Prime Minister Blair: Yeah, I think that would be good. I will. (c)

The President:

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

Prime Minister Blair: Yeah, I think that's a great idea, we'll look into that

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

The President: I will do it,

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

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

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

The President: Yes, it could give them some breathing space. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Okay, I'll look into that, Bill. ~~(S)~~

The President: In terms of you and me making another economic statement, I will do whatever you think is best for the vote. If you want to do it in Birmingham or down in London. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Well, I think there are two sorts of stories from your angle: one is investments; the other is a firm message to the IRA. ~~(S)~~

The President: I'm glad to do that, too. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: I think those two in combination would be very good. ~~(S)~~

The President: See, by the time I get there, we are only a week from the vote. So it probably is good to do it sooner rather than later so it does not seem like some desperate election move. ~~(S)~~

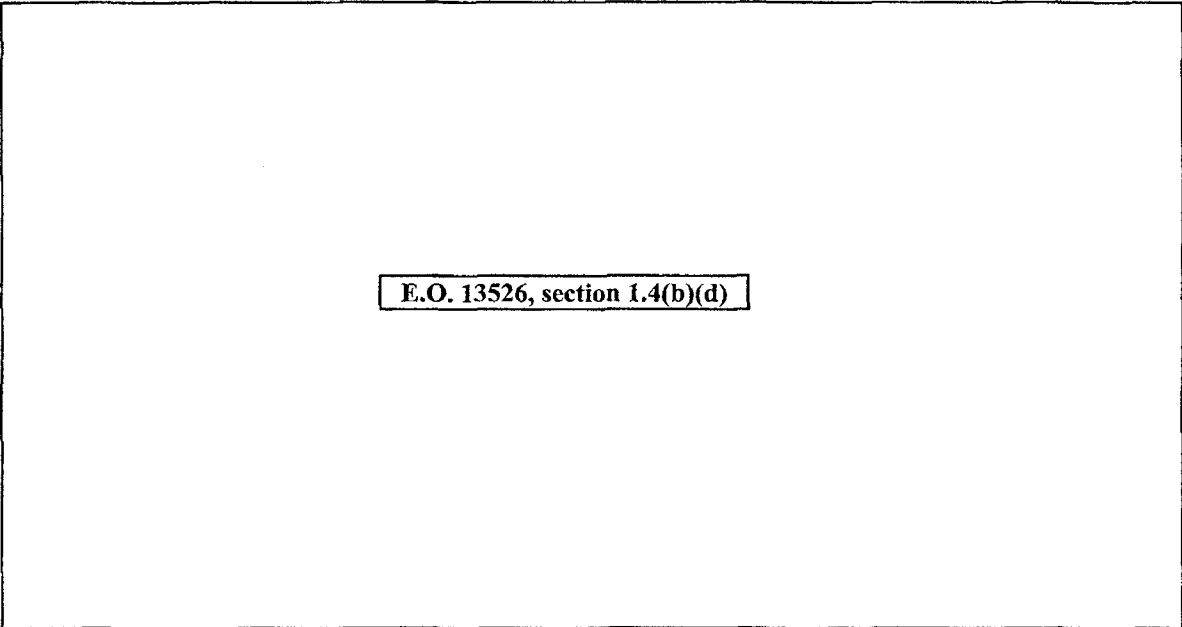
Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

The President: I'll have our guys get in touch with you. Maybe we could do two separate announcements -- a Sinn Fein one and an economic one. You organize it, and I will read whatever script you want me to read. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

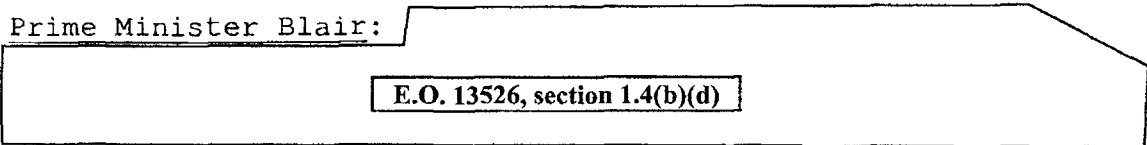
The President: That's all it is. What did you make of Netanyahu? Madeleine said you were very good. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: [REDACTED]

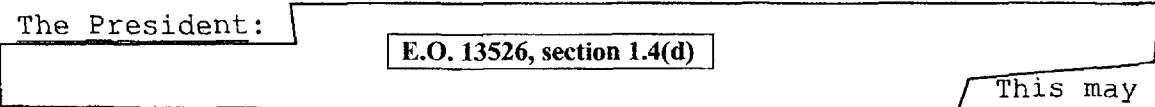


The President: I spent a lot of time with him in the last year. After Madeleine's first session, I thought he was a hard negotiator and not a no-negotiator. Then he called and asked Dennis to come over, and I thought that was a good sign. And now Dennis is there and his spokesman put out a statement saying he is not coming Monday. I never thought he would, but I thought he would come once I got back from Europe. I don't know yet what's going on, but I may want to call you again once I find out. (S)

Prime Minister Blair:

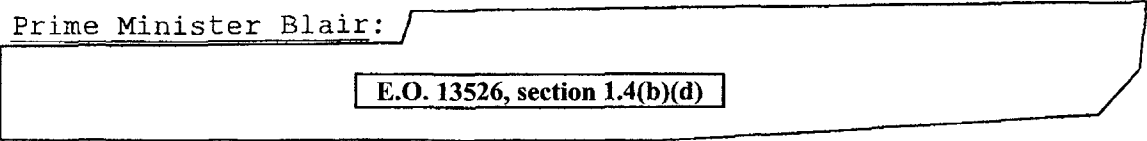


The President:

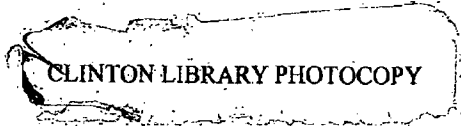


This may be a place where we could do a reverse good cop-bad cop, where Europe could bump him a little harder. (S)

Prime Minister Blair:



The President: ...And then it vanishes. (S)



Prime Minister Blair: It vanishes. ~~(C)~~

The President:

E.O. 13526, section 1.4(d)

But, when I see you, we can work on it more. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yeah, well I'll do the same. He calls me pretty regularly at the moment.

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

The President: You know they will. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

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

The President: That's exactly where the Israelis are. Eighty percent of them want that. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

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

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

Prime Minister Blair: We'll stay in touch and talk when the G-8 comes. ~~(C)~~

The President: I agree. You just let me know what you want. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: And, as ever, many thanks for all your help. Love to Hillary. (U)

The President: Yes. (U)

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Prime Minister Blair: Yes, goodbye. (U)

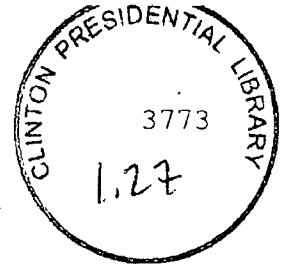
The President: Bye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

DECLASSIFIED UNDER AUTHORITY OF THE
INTERAGENCY SECURITY CLASSIFICATION APPEALS PANEL,
E.O. 13526, SECTION 5.3(b)(3)

ISCAP APPEAL NO. 2013-090, document no. 26
DECLASSIFICATION DATE: October 14, 2015

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

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

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: Larry Wright, Bonnie Glick, Pat O'Shaughnessy, James Smith, Peter Huggins, Jenny McGee, Lawrence Butler

DATE, TIME: May 21, 1998, 4:31 - 4:42 p.m. EDT
AND PLACE: The Oval Office

The President: Tony? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi, Bill. (U)

The President: How are you doing? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Fine, fine. I just spent the last 48 hours in Northern Ireland. (U)

The President: I hear it is turning around a little bit. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I think so. I did a complete blitz of the place, really. Every single kind of radio show, TV show, audience participation program -- sort of a two-day election campaign. It's coming around a bit. (U)

The President: I did a radio spot yesterday that they are replaying today. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: That all worked well. [REDACTED]

[REDACTED] E.O. 13526, section 1.4(b)(d) [REDACTED]

The President: What were the best lines? (C)

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Classified by: Glyn T. Davies

Reason: 1.5(b, d)

Declassify On: 5/26/08

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

Prime Minister Blair:

The President: He has come along, hasn't he? ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. They had a U2 concert last night that was great. Instead of having speeches, Bono told them to have a minute of silence for the victims, which was very clever. ~~(C)~~

The President: He's a smart man. I met him by accident in 1992 in Chicago, he helped me out and we've stayed in touch ever since. He's a very smart man. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, we'll have to keep our fingers crossed. Thanks for what you did last weekend; it was tremendously helpful;

The President: Good. I've just been thinking about you. I couldn't think of anything else. I did a big plug for it during a NATO expansion event. I talked about Indonesia and Northern Ireland at our NATO expansion ratification event. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It has played very well here.

The President: Yes, but you have to follow the locals. You've done all you can. I was glad to see in my morning intelligence that there is movement in the polls your way. I think the undecided may break your way. ~~(C)~~

Prime Minister Blair: It is possible.

But it sure was the right thing to advise. I literally have spent the last 48 hours

there blitzing the place, everywhere, doing everything. I stayed on longer today to visit a hospital, visit a regiment, saw the police, did a walk-about in the street. And as I got back into my car, the last person's hand I shook was (indistinct) McCartney. (C)

The President: Paul McCartney? (C)

Prime Minister Blair: No, Bob McCartney. (C)

The President: That's great. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: He started haranguing me. (C)

The President: Did he really? (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Yes. And after I left, he accused some of the people around of being a rent-a-mob for us. This old lady turned on him and gave him a real earwiggling on television. She said that she was out to vote Yes and that she was not anyone's rent-a-mob. She thought he was a disgrace. (C)

The President: Sometimes, something like that can be more of a benefit than anything else. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: Let's keep our fingers crossed. Put it this way: last weekend it was well that we did what we did.

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

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

The President: Well, let me tell you also that Hillary and I had a wonderful time at Chequers. It was wonderful for us. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Oh Bill, I can't tell you how great it was to have you. And for the kids, Euan's friend went back to school the next day in a daze. I told my people that it was a real tribute to you that you were prepared to sit down and spend time with them in that way. We loved having you and had a great time, we really did. (U)

The President: Even in the darkest days back in '94 and early '95, when people thought we were finished, you can always spend time with kids and you'll never know how you'll have an impact on a young person that will change everything for them. A little extra time is the best investment you can make. Besides that, it's interesting for me. And in the work we do, you can lose contact with people younger than you. A year younger is a year younger than you. You don't even think about it, and then you turn around and find out it's been a year since you've talked to anyone who is 25. I liked it: they were delightful young men. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Yeah, I'm glad you did. For them, they are still on cloud nine. (U)

The President: You ought to be proud of yourself. You've done every damn thing you could. When the vote happens, we'll be on pins and needles over here. I guess we should know something by mid-day our time tomorrow. What kind of vote counting operation do they have over there? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Well, this is Northern Ireland. Everything is done differently. They won't start counting until Saturday morning. We will know Saturday afternoon some time. (C)

The President: They will do exit polls, won't they? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: In Northern Ireland, they've never done an exit poll. But you can never tell. If you are in the wrong part of town, you'll get completely skewed results. I think we

will know by this time tomorrow evening. We will let you know, and when the result comes through, let's just hope it is the right one. ~~(S)~~

The President: Well, keep your chin up. You did the right thing. (C)

Prime Minister Blair: All right. (U)

The President: Okay, you've done a heck of a job turning this thing around. Take care my friend. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Alright, Bill. (U)

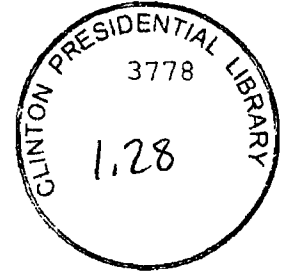
The President: We had a great time. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: We had a great time too. Goodbye. (U)

The President: Goodbye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~



THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with British Prime Minister Tony Blair ~~(S)~~

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Blair

Notetakers: David Higgins, Sean Rice,
George Chastain, Joel Schrader and
Lawrence Butler

DATE, TIME: May 23, 1998, 1:36 - 1:46 p.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Camp David, Maryland

The President: Tony? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Hi Bill. (U)

The President: Well, congratulations. (U)

Prime Minister Blair: Yes, thank goodness. (U)

The President: You got 71 percent. Do you know what the Protestant vote was yet? (U)

Prime Minister Blair: I think it was 55 percent. (U)

The President: Do you think it was as high as that? I just talked to Trimble and he was still moaning about the vote. He sounded upbeat but he said he lost in his constituency. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Overall, the most accurate poll was 55 percent. Yes, it was about five percent of the nationalist vote that went no as well, so that brought figures down a bit. ~~(S)~~

The President: I just did the math and it seems the vote is 53 percent of the nationalists and 49 percent for the Unionists. Is that about right? ~~(S)~~

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Classified by: Glyn T. Davies

Reason: 1.5(b,d)

Declassify On: 5/28/08

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E.O. 13526, SECTION 5.3(b)(3)
ISCAP APPEAL NO. 2013-090, document no. 27
DECLASSIFICATION DATE: October 14, 2015

Prime Minister Blair: Roughly, possibly a little higher on the Unionist side but they reckoned that probably about five or six percent of the non-Unionist voted "No" so that brought the figure down. Of the 28 or 29 percent, that will probably bring it down to about 24 percent or 23 percent. The Unionists voted "No" 23 percent, see what I mean? It probably means just the majority of the Unionists went with the resolution. (c)

The President: That is great though. God, it's great. I'm so happy. You must be ecstatic. You turned all those undecided voters -- almost 100 percent. (c)

Prime Minister Blair: Again, a million thanks for what you did. It began with the interview on Sunday. From then on it began to turn. We were at one point considerably behind, although we were looking at under 60 percent. Jeffery Donaldson, who is a reasonable part of the no vote, is on TV now saying he wants to work with Trimble now. (c)

The President: I don't think Paisley can maintain the level of support. You are going to have a significant share of those people from the 25-30 percent who think the thing ought to be given a chance to go, and that will give you three out of four, or four out of five of the Unionist voters who want to see peace. (c)

The process will play out -- but we ought to get Gerry and his crowd to do a thing or two to get this off on a good footing. He's going to be here on Thursday for reasons unrelated to me to make some speeches. But he always seems to pop into the White House. If you want to have your guys tell us in the next three or four days what you want me to say I would appreciate it. (c)

Prime Minister Blair: Are you going to see him yourself? (c)

The President: I don't know. I was just calling to congratulate a few of the guys and he told me about it. I have to check my schedule on whether I see him or not but we can always have the message delivered. (c)

Prime Minister Blair:

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

The President: He ought to chunk in some weapons pretty soon, shouldn't he? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

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

The President: Yes, let me ask you something else. We had a group touring the United States and I met with them for 10-15 minutes. I am embarrassed that I can't remember their name -- I think maybe it was Waves. It was a group who had relatives killed. I think it would help if the IRA indicated where the remains are -- without exposing them. Would that help? Is there some way to do that without exposing them to criminal liability? ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Sure. (U)

The President: If by Wednesday somebody can call Sandy or Steinberg to let me know what kind of presentation I can make to them if they tell where remains are and that they would not be subject to criminal prosecution. That's a human touch that might have a big psychological impact -- differentiate them from the IRA. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

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

The President: I will get right on that. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair:

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

The President: I'll hammer it hard. I thought if I can advance a specific agenda -- I will work on getting a Sinn Fein person to work on decommissioning. You just let me know if I can say to him, "I want you to tell where those remains are and whoever tells won't be subject to criminal liability." ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: Okay, I will get someone to come back to your guys in the next few days. ~~(S)~~

The President: Have a great celebration. (U)

Prime Minister Blair:

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

The President: I offered him a helluva deal to see if he will do it. I scraped together every penny, every pop gun I could in 72 hours. I still think there is a chance he won't do it. ~~(S)~~

Prime Minister Blair: All right Bill, all the best. (U)

The President: Goodbye. (U)

-- End of Conversation --

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THE PRESIDENT'S OFFICE
6-10-97 3996

THE WHITE HOUSE

WASHINGTON

97 JUN 10 4:33


June 10, 1997

**DECLASSIFIED
PER E.O. 13526
2013-0472-M
8/6/15 KBM**

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM:

SAMUEL BERGER 

SUBJECT:

Your Phone Call with Prime Minister Blair,
June 10, 1997, 2:45 p.m.

My counterpart John Holmes called to ask that you accept a call from Prime Minister Blair this afternoon. Blair wants to give you an update on the British response to the four issues Sinn Fein has said must be settled before they can go to the IRA for a ceasefire. We expect Blair will also ask that you take a tough line on the resumption of violence in Northern Ireland.

In his May 16 speech in Northern Ireland, Blair announced that British officials would meet with Sinn Fein representatives to discuss the prospects for a ceasefire (the first such meetings since the ceasefire was broken in February 1996). There have been two meetings so far. Sinn Fein has said it needs progress on four points: a date for Sinn Fein entry into talks once there is a ceasefire; assurance that the decommissioning issue will not block meaningful negotiations; a timeframe to ensure that negotiations do not go on indefinitely; and confidence-building measures from the British Government. Though Sinn Fein has not said so explicitly, it should already be satisfied on two of those points: the timeframe and confidence-building measures (e.g. the transfer of prisoners, acknowledgment of partial British responsibility for the Great Famine, and Mo Mowlam's comments on reform of police).

Sinn Fein has complained that the British have not yet set a firm date for their entry into talks contingent on a ceasefire, but they understand that the British would be willing to do so.. It is the decommissioning issue that may prove the most intractable. Dublin and London are now working out their differences over how to handle this issue in the Belfast talks, but they will have to sell David Trimble and the Ulster Unionist Party on whatever plan they agree on. Up to this point, Trimble has remained adamant that decommissioning must start before the talks move into their

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Reason: 1.5b

Declassify On: 6/10/07

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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substantive phase; the governments want to use Mitchell's formula of decommissioning "in parallel" with progress in negotiations.

About 10 days ago, what had looked like a "de facto" IRA ceasefire began to unravel when the IRA abandoned a van full of explosives (reportedly not primed to explode) that was probably on its way to a military site. Today the IRA claimed responsibility for a shooting attack on British troops in which no one was injured.

The British have made clear that they are deeply concerned about the renewal of IRA violence, even if it has not claimed any victims yet. Blair will want your support in condemning this violence and making clear to the IRA that it is counterproductive, as well as wrong.

Attachment

Tab A Points to be Made

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POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
PRIME MINISTER BLAIR

DECLASSIFIED
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2013-0472-M
8/6/15 KBH

Northern Ireland

General points as appropriate:

- As always will do what we can to help.
- Renewal of IRA violence deeply unsettling, coming as Sinn Fein's electoral successes show that they have a future if they pursue the democratic path.
- With your government, election of Ahern, Mitchell in Belfast and my own commitment, IRA has best possible constellation. If they do not grab opportunity, agree that talks must move ahead without them (though without closing door to Sinn Fein participation on basis of a ceasefire.)

If Blair says HMG officials will stop meeting with Sinn Fein:

- Understand that you feel you must do this. IRA violence not only wrong but completely illogical.
- Assume you will continue to seek agreement with Dublin on how to handle decommissioning. Still think you need to put all pieces in place so that there is no excuse for IRA not calling ceasefire.
- Will you stop contacts with Sinn Fein indefinitely?

If Blair asks for strong message condemning IRA violence:

- NSC (Jim Steinberg) already plans to deliver tough message to Adams on resumption of violence in Northern Ireland. (Call will probably take place Thursday).
- *If asked:* Will be happy to have Mike McCurry make public statement condemning renewed violence.
- *If appropriate:* If you are not talking to Sinn Fein directly, we will be happy to pass any other messages you may have.

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If Blair discusses progress on Sinn Fein's four points:

- You have taken number of confidence-building steps -- your moves on prisoners, your comment on the famine (first British acknowledgment of some responsibility), Mo Mowlam's remarks on need for reform of policing. All have made clear your good faith, determination to address all aspects of problem.
- On timeframe, agree that May 1998 expiration of your legislation authorizing the Forum is natural period to assess progress of negotiations.
- Urge you to press ahead with Irish to reach agreement on how to handle decommissioning and how to sell it to Trimble. If there is any chance for ceasefire, will only happen if IRA assured Sinn Fein will not be stuck in talks about decommissioning.
- On date for Sinn Fein entry, have impression this can be worked out as long as talks do not proceed in plenary session without Sinn Fein after an IRA ceasefire.

New Irish Government

- Although new government (led by Bertie Ahern) will not be formally in place until June 26, understand top Irish officials expect to be empowered to act when they meet your officials next week to discuss decommissioning.
- Doubt you will see change in basic Irish positions on peace process. What do you think?

NATO

- Have been considering further which countries to invite to join NATO at Madrid and will be meeting with Congressional leaders tomorrow.
- Will be in touch with you in couple of day to discuss how to bring this issue to closure within Alliance -- if possible, without messy argument with Jacques Chirac.
- *If asked:* Still leaning toward small first group combined with strong "open door" to assure those not selected that process will continue. Will elaborate when we talk again.

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DIST: SUM2, BASS, BERGER, HELWEG, KERRICK, SIT{C2}, STEINBERG, HOTLINE_IN, PETERS, VERSHBOW

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FM: CABINET OFFICE LONDON

TO:
THE WHITE HOUSE

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~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ VIA CABO CHANNELS
QQQQ
MESSAGE FROM THE PRIME MINISTER
TO THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES

11 JUNE 1997.

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~ AND PERSONAL

DEAR BILL

IT WAS GOOD TO TALK TO YOU ON THE PHONE LAST NIGHT, PARTICULARLY ABOUT NORTHERN IRELAND. I AM GRATEFUL TO YOU FOR AGREEING TO USE YOUR INFLUENCE WITH SINN FEIN TO PUT A STOP TO RENEWED IRA VIOLENCE, WHICH COULD HAVE DISASTROUS CONSEQUENCES JUST AT THE TIME WHEN WE ARE TRYING TO MOVE THINGS FORWARD. THE KILLING OF A LOYALIST TERRORIST THIS MORNING FURTHER INCREASES MY FEARS, ALTHOUGH RESPONSIBILITY FOR THIS IS NOT YET CLEAR.

AS YOU KNOW, I WANT TO GET SINN FEIN INTO THE TALKS IF I CAN. WE HAVE HAD TWO MEETINGS WITH THEM AT OFFICIAL LEVEL TO CLARIFY OUR POSITION ON VARIOUS ISSUES OF CONCERN TO THEM, AND TO SET OUT OUR OWN. I NOW WANT OFFICIALS TO SEND THEM A SHORT PIECE OF PAPER BY THE END OF THIS WEEK, SO THAT THEY CAN BE IN NO DOUBT OF WHERE WE STAND. I ATTACH A COPY OF WHAT WE PROPOSE TO SEND. I WOULD BE GRATEFUL IF YOU COULD TREAT THIS IN STRICT CONFIDENCE FOR THE MOMENT. WE MAY WANT TO ARRANGE A FURTHER MEETING OF OFFICIALS WITH SINN FEIN EARLY NEXT WEEK, BUT THAT ITSELF IS SERIOUSLY THREATENED BY CONTINUING IRA VIOLENCE.

IN ANY CASE I PLAN TO MAKE A STATEMENT ABOUT OUR POSITION, PROBABLY NEXT WEEK. THIS WOULD EXPLAIN AGAIN OUR POSITION ON CONFIDENCE-BUILDING, DECOMMISSIONING, AND THE TIME-FRAME FOR THE NEGOTIATIONS. IT WOULD ALSO SET OUT THAT WE HAVE IN MIND A PERIOD OF SOME SIX WEEKS TO ASSESS A CEASEFIRE. IN OTHER WORDS A CEASEFIRE IN MID-JUNE WOULD LEAD, IF IT WERE SATISFACTORY IN WORD AND DEED, TO SINN FEIN'S FORMAL ENTRY INTO THE TALKS BY THE END OF JULY.

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I SHOULD ADD THAT I PROPOSE TO ENSURE THAT THE SUBSTANTIVE POLITICAL TALKS GET UNDER WAY IN SEPTEMBER, WHETHER SINN FEIN ARE IN THE TALKS OR NOT. I AM NOT PREPARED TO ALLOW FURTHER DELAY. SO SINN FEIN NEED TO MAKE UP THEIR MINDS WHETHER THEY WANT TO BE PART OF THE POLITICAL PROCESS OR NOT.

I HOPE YOU WILL BE READY TO SUPPORT FULLY THIS APPROACH. I AM PREPARED TO MAKE A REASONABLE OFFER TO SINN FEIN, DESPITE THE RISKS THIS ENTAILS. I HOPE THEY WILL NOT MISUNDERSTAND THE POSITION OR MY DETERMINATION. I WILL NOT TOLERATE AN APPROACH FROM THEM WHICH CLAIMS TO BE POLITICAL BUT REMAINS UNDERPINNED BY VIOLENCE OR THE THREAT OF IT. THEIR CURRENT TWIN-TRACK STRATEGY LEAVES ME GENUINELY ALARMED ABOUT THEIR SINCERITY.

I WANT TO MAKE RAPID PROGRESS THIS SUMMER AND WILL DO EVERYTHING I CAN TO ACHIEVE THIS. I KNOW I CAN COUNT ON YOUR INFLUENCE TO HELP ME DO SO.

KINDEST REGARDS TO HILLARY.

YOURS EVER

TONY

THE PRESIDENT OF THE UNITED STATES OF AMERICA

AIDE MEMOIRE

MEETINGS WITH SINN FEIN

THE PURPOSE OF THE MEETINGS ON 21 AND 28 MAY WAS TO ENSURE THERE WAS NO MISUNDERSTANDING OF THE GOVERNMENTS POSITION OR OF SINN FEINS. THIS NOTE SETS OUT THE GOVERNMENTS POSITION, IN PARTICULAR ON THE POINTS RAISED BY SINN FEIN.

FIRST, SINN FEINS PARTICIPATION IN TALKS. THE ENTRY OF SINN FEIN INTO THE TALKS REQUIRES AN UNEQUIVOCAL RESTORATION OF THE IRA CEASEFIRE. NEGOTIATING WHILE VIOLENCE CONTINUES, OR UNDER THE THREAT OF VIOLENCE, IS UNACCEPTABLE.

THE BRITISH GOVERNMENT WANTS TO SEE THE TALKS PROCEED ON AN INCLUSIVE BASIS, AND MOVE ON TO THE SUBSTANTIVE POLITICAL ISSUES AS SOON AS POSSIBLE, AND IN ANY CASE BY SEPTEMBER. IT WANTS TO SEE SINN FEIN PARTICIPATING IN THESE TALKS. SINN FEINS ENTRY IS GOVERNED BY THE LEGAL REQUIREMENTS SET OUT IN PARAGRAPHS 8 AND 9 OF THE GROUND RULES FOR ALL-PARTY NEGOTIATIONS. THE SECRETARY OF STATE IS LEGALLY OBLIGED TO ISSUE AN INVITATION TO SINN FEIN WHEN SHE CONSIDERS THOSE REQUIREMENTS ARE MET, HAVING MADE A POLITICAL JUDGEMENT OF ALL THE CIRCUMSTANCES IN THE ROUND.

SOME TIME WILL BE NEEDED TO ASSESS A CEASEFIRE TO SEE THAT WORDS AND DEEDS ARE MATCHING BEFORE SUCH A JUDGEMENT CAN BE MADE. WE UNDERSTAND THAT AN OPEN-ENDED TIME PERIOD GIVES RISE TO ACCUSATIONS OF BAD FAITH.

WE ARE PREPARED THEREFORE TO REMOVE ANY MISUNDERSTANDING BY SAYING THE PERIOD OF TIME FOR SUCH A JUDGEMENT IS SOME 6 WEEKS. IF AN UNEQUIVOCAL CEASEFIRE IS IN PLACE BY MID-JUNE, AND IS SATISFACTORY IN WORD AND DEED, SINN FEIN WOULD BE INVITED TO A PLENARY SESSION OF THE NEGOTIATIONS BY THE END OF JULY. THAT WOULD BE THE OCCASION FOR SINN FEIN TO MAKE CLEAR ITS COMMITMENT TO THE MITCHELL 6 PRINCIPLES.

IN THE PERIOD IMMEDIATELY FOLLOWING A CEASEFIRE, WE EXPECT PARTICIPANTS MIGHT WISH TO CONSIDER ADJOURNING THE TALKS. AS WAS SAID BY THE PREVIOUS GOVERNMENT AND THIS GOVERNMENT, MINISTERIAL MEETINGS WITH SINN FEIN WOULD BE POSSIBLE, AS WELL AS BILATERAL AND OTHER MEETINGS IN CASTLE BUILDINGS, INCLUDING BETWEEN THE INDEPENDENT CHAIRMEN AND SINN FEIN. SINN FEIN WOULD ALSO HAVE ACCESS TO AN OFFICE IN CASTLE BUILDINGS.

SECOND, TIMEFRAME. BECAUSE OF ITS CONCERN TO GET THIS PROCESS MOVING, THE GOVERNMENT BELIEVES THE TALKS SHOULD NOT CONTINUE BEYOND MAY 1998, THE DATE ENVISAGED BY CURRENT LEGISLATION AND THAT A SETTLEMENT SHOULD BE ACHIEVED BY THEN. THERE WILL BE REGULAR REVIEWS OF PROGRESS.

THIRD, DECOMMISSIONING. THE TALKS PARTICIPANTS ARE CURRENTLY ADDRESSING THE ISSUE OF DECOMMISSIONING. THE GOVERNMENT HAS ALWAYS MADE IT CLEAR IT SUPPORTS PARALLEL DECOMMISSIONING AS RECOMMENDED BY MITCHELL AND THAT IT WANTS TO RESOLVE THIS RAPIDLY TO THE SATISFACTION OF THE PARTICIPANTS SO THAT IT DOES NOT BLOCK THE START OF SUBSTANTIVE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS IN SEPTEMBER. IT IS WORKING WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO DO SO. THIS CAN ONLY BE ON THE BASIS OF IMPLEMENTING ALL ASPECTS OF THE MITCHELL REPORT. AS MUTUAL PROGRESS IS MADE ON POLITICAL ISSUES AND DECOMMISSIONING, THIS CAN CREATE GROWING MUTUAL TRUST AND CONFIDENCE ON ALL SIDES.

ANY AGREEMENT ON DECOMMISSIONING SEEMS LIKELY TO INCLUDE A COMMITMENT BY EACH PARTICIPANT TO WORK CONSTRUCTIVELY AND IN GOOD FAITH TO IMPLEMENT ALL ASPECTS OF THE MITCHELL REPORT? AN INDEPENDENT COMMISSION, TO BE ESTABLISHED IN PARALLEL WITH THE LAUNCH OF SUBSTANTIVE POLITICAL NEGOTIATIONS? A DEDICATED COMMITTEE OF THE PLENARY TO ADVANCE ALL ASPECTS OF THE MITCHELL REPORT? AND A REVIEW MECHANISM FOR PROGRESS ACROSS THE SPECTRUM OF THE NEGOTIATIONS.

FOURTH, CONFIDENCE-BUILDING. THE GOVERNMENT WANTS TO BUILD CONFIDENCE ON ALL SIDES OF THE COMMUNITY, BASED ON PRINCIPLES OF EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY, EQUITY OF TREATMENT AND PARITY OF ESTEEM. MEASURES ALREADY ANNOUNCED INCLUDE THE INCORPORATION OF THE ECHR INTO DOMESTIC LAW? A REVIEW OF TRAINING OPPORTUNITIES FOR YOUNG PEOPLE? A

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COMMITMENT TO EQUALITY OF OPPORTUNITY IN THE LABOUR MARKET? A COMMITMENT TO LEGISLATE THIS YEAR ON THE NORTH REPORT? AND A COMMITMENT TO IMPLEMENT PROPOSALS TO DEVELOP A POLICING SERVICE CAPABLE OF SECURING THE SUPPORT OF THE WHOLE COMMUNITY, INCLUDING A MORE INDEPENDENT COMPLAINTS SYSTEM.

CONFIDENCE-BUILDING IS OF COURSE A TWO WAY STREET. A GENUINE AND LASTING ABANDONMENT OF VIOLENCE WOULD DO MORE TO REBUILD CONFIDENCE ACROSS THE COMMUNITY THAN ANY OTHER STEP. OTHER PARAMILITARY ACTIVITY SUCH AS INTIMIDATION THROUGH SO-CALLED PUNISHMENT ATTACKS SHOULD ALSO STOP, ON ALL SIDES. THIS WOULD HELP THE GOVERNMENT TO RESPOND IMAGINATIVELY IN AREAS SUCH AS SECURITY-FORCE DEPLOYMENTS.

SINN FEINS CONCERNS WERE SET OUT IN ITS PAPER OF 10 OCTOBER. THIS NOTE ANSWERS THOSE CONCERNS FULLY. AN IMMEDIATE AND UNEQUIVOCAL IRA CEASEFIRE IS NOW NEEDED TO ENABLE SINN FEIN TO ENTER THE TALKS AS SET OUT ABOVE. IF SINN FEIN DO NOT ENTER THE TALKS, THE SUBSTANTIVE NEGOTIATIONS WILL BE TAKEN FORWARD IN SEPTEMBER IN ANY EVENT.

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FROM:
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NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

4175 REDO

June 16, 1997

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR SAMUEL R. BERGER

THROUGH: ALEXANDER VERSHBOW *AV*

FROM: MARY ANN PETERS *MAP*

SUBJECT: Memorandum to the President on Northern
Ireland/Reply to Prime Minister Blair

As you recall, Prime Minister Blair sent the President a message last week covering the original text of the British offer to Sinn Fein on Sinn Fein's entry into the peace talks if an unequivocal cease-fire is declared. We had intended to send a Presidential reply later this week, following Jim's planned conversation with Adams to get Sinn Fein's initial reaction to the British offer. In light of the IRA murders today, Jim did not talk to Adams. However, a Presidential letter is needed in any event to express sympathy on the loss of the policemen. We recommend using the letter also to make clear that we think the offer is a good one and to pass on a message Mary Ann got from Sinn Fein today.

The local Friends of Sinn Fein representative, Mairead Keane, called Mary Ann with a message from Adams. He said to tell us that he will not be distracted by the IRA attack from the task of getting the political process going and that we should read nothing into the attack beyond the IRA's ongoing campaign. Adams said Sinn Fein had received the British offer Friday and Sinn Fein (read IRA) are studying it; though there remains a problem with decommissioning, the draft contains positive elements. If it would be useful, Adams said, he is ready to talk to Jim about this. The bottom line appears to be that today's attack was not intended as a response to the British offer.

RECOMMENDATION

That you sign the memorandum to the President at Tab I.

Attachments

- Tab I Memorandum to the President
- Tab A Reply to Prime Minister Blair
- Tab B Statement on Murders in Northern Ireland
- Tab C Final Text of British Offer to Sinn Fein
- Tab D Incoming Correspondence

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

Reason: 1.5b

Declassify On: 6/16/07

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2013-0472-M
8/6/15 KBH

THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

ACTION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER

SUBJECT: Letter to Prime Minister Blair on Northern Ireland

Purpose

To express condolences on the deaths of the two policemen who were murdered by the IRA June 16 and to pass on a message from Sinn Fein.

Background

On June 16, two policemen walking a beat were shot and killed in the Northern Ireland town of Lurgan. The IRA claimed responsibility for the attack within hours. Blair and Bruton (who is still Taoiseach until June 26) were both in Amsterdam for the EU Summit; both issued strong statements condemning the murders. Future Taoiseach Bertie Ahern issued a passionate statement, clearly intended to disabuse republicans of the notion that a Fianna Fail prime minister will be soft on violence. Senator Kennedy issued his strongest denunciation yet of the republican tactic of seeking to combine violence with the democratic process. The statement we issued in your name is at Tab B.

The British government had passed to Sinn Fein on June 13 its offer for Sinn Fein entry into the Belfast talks on the basis of an unequivocal cease-fire. The text (Tab C) reflected suggestions from us and from the Irish government. Assuming that the British and Irish governments can reach a more specific agreement on how to handle decommissioning in the talks process, this is the best offer Sinn Fein can expect from the British. It would allow them into talks within 6 weeks of the declaration of a meaningful cease-fire; it states that decommissioning will not be allowed to delay substantive negotiations; promises additional confidence-building measures; and sets May 1998 as the notional timeframe for completion of negotiations.

We have no indication that the British are going to withdraw the offer in the wake of the murders, though Blair did announce that

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cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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the British have called off the meeting with Sinn Fein scheduled for this week. Blair will also probably postpone the public announcement of the elements of the offer.

We will be working on a strategy to get to a cease-fire on the basis of the British offer in spite of the murders of the policemen. Publicly, we will want to take a high profile to underscore your continued personal commitment to the process, particularly as the worst of the marching season approaches in early July.

Jim Steinberg had planned to talk to Gerry Adams today to get his initial reaction to the British offer, but did not do so because of the murders. However, the local Sinn Fein representative did call an NSC staff member with a message from Adams that he does not intend to be "distracted" by today's attack from the business of getting a political process going and that we should read nothing into the attack beyond the continuation of the IRA campaign. We believe the purpose of the message was to tell us that the attack is not any kind of response to the British offer. The British already realize this, as they know that such attacks are planned well in advance, but we recommend that you let Blair know that we heard this from Adams.

RECOMMENDATION

That you approve the message to Prime Minister Blair at Tab A.

Approve _____

Disapprove _____

Attachments

- Tab A Reply to Prime Minister Blair
- Tab B Statement on Murders in Northern Ireland
- Tab C Text of British Offer to Sinn Fein
- Tab D Incoming Message

~~CONFIDENTIAL~~

FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE
TO: CABINET OFFICE LONDON
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE PRIME MINISTER

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR TONY:

LIKE YOU, I AM OUTRAGED AND DEEPLY SADDENED BY THE IRA'S VICIOUS MURDER OF THE TWO POLICEMEN IN NORTHERN IRELAND. ~~YOU HAVE MY SINCERE SYMPATHY AND HILLARY'S.~~ OUR HEARTS GO OUT TO THEIR YOUNG FAMILIES.

I ISSUED A STRONG STATEMENT THAT WAS IN STEP WITH WHAT YOU, JOHN BRUTON AND BERTIE AHERN ARE ALL SAYING. SENATOR KENNEDY HAS ALSO ISSUED A VERY FORCEFUL STATEMENT. SINN FEIN CANNOT MISS THE MESSAGE BUT IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER IT WILL HAVE ANY IMPACT.

I ALSO WANTED TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER LAST WEEK FORWARDING THE DRAFT TEXT OF YOUR GOVERNMENT'S OFFER TO SINN FEIN. ~~PRIOR TO THE ATROCITY ON MONDAY, MY DEPUTY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR, JIM STEINBERG, HAD INTENDED TO TALK TO ADAMS AND TELL HIM THAT WE BELIEVE YOUR OFFER IS FORTHCOMING AND SERIOUS AND THAT THE IRA SHOULD ACT ON IT WITHOUT DELAY. BECAUSE OF THE MURDERS, JIM DID NOT GET IN TOUCH WITH ADAMS,~~ Following our phone call, my Deputy National Security Advisor, Jim Steinberg, contacted Adams to pass on my deep concern about the continued violence, and to urge a forthcoming response to your efforts. We had planned to follow up on Monday, but put off the call following the murders. BUT SINN FEIN PASSED A MESSAGE TO US; THE ESSENCE OF IT WAS THAT NOTHING SHOULD BE READ INTO THE ATTACK BEYOND THE WHICH WAS THAT THE ATTACK WAS NOT IN RESPONSE TO YOUR PROPOSAL, BUT RATHER A CONTINUATION OF THE IRA'S CAMPAIGN. WE TAKE THAT TO MEAN THAT SINN FEIN DOES NOT WANT THE MURDERS TO BE SEEN AS THE REPUBLICANS' RESPONSE TO YOUR OFFER. WHILE I AM NOT REPOSING ANY CONFIDENCE IN THEIR GOOD FAITH, I WANTED TO PASS THAT ON TO YOU.

SANDY BERGER AND JIM STEINBERG ARE PREPARED TO WORK WITH YOUR OFFICIALS AND WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO SEE WHAT CAN BE DONE TO KEEP THE PEACE PROCESS ON TRACK IN SPITE OF THIS TERRIBLE CRIME. WE WILL HAVE THE CHANCE TO TALK PERSONALLY IN DENVER. I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOUR THERE.

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2013-0472-M
8/6/15 KBH

PREC: IMMEDIATE CLASS: ~~CONFIDENTIAL~~
FROM: THE WHITE HOUSE
TO: CABINET OFFICE LONDON
SUBJECT: MESSAGE FROM THE PRESIDENT TO THE PRIME MINISTER

(BEGIN TEXT)

DEAR TONY:

LIKE YOU, I AM OUTRAGED AND DEEPLY SADDENED BY THE IRA'S VICIOUS MURDER OF THE TWO POLICEMEN IN NORTHERN IRELAND. OUR HEARTS GO OUT TO THEIR YOUNG FAMILIES.

I ISSUED A STRONG STATEMENT THAT WAS IN STEP WITH WHAT YOU, JOHN BRUTON AND BERTIE AHERN ARE ALL SAYING. SENATOR KENNEDY HAS ALSO ISSUED A VERY FORCEFUL STATEMENT. SINN FEIN CANNOT MISS THE MESSAGE BUT IT REMAINS TO BE SEEN WHETHER IT WILL HAVE ANY IMPACT.

I ALSO WANTED TO THANK YOU FOR YOUR LETTER LAST WEEK FORWARDING THE DRAFT TEXT OF YOUR GOVERNMENT'S OFFER TO SINN FEIN. FOLLOWING OUR PHONE CALL, MY DEPUTY NATIONAL SECURITY ADVISOR, JIM STEINBERG, CONTACTED ADAMS TO PASS ON MY DEEP CONCERN ABOUT THE CONTINUED VIOLENCE, AND TO URGE A FORTHCOMING RESPONSE TO YOUR EFFORTS. WE HAD PLANNED TO FOLLOW UP ON MONDAY, BUT PUT OFF THE CALL FOLLOWING THE MURDERS. BUT SINN FEIN PASSED A MESSAGE TO US; THE ESSENCE OF WHICH WAS THAT THE ATTACK WAS NOT IN RESPONSE TO YOUR PROPOSAL, BUT RATHER A CONTINUATION OF THE IRA'S CAMPAIGN. WHILE I DO NOT PLACE CONFIDENCE IN THEIR GOOD FAITH, I WANTED TO PASS THAT ON TO YOU.

SANDY BERGER IS PREPARED TO WORK WITH YOUR OFFICIALS AND WITH THE IRISH GOVERNMENT TO SEE WHAT CAN BE DONE TO KEEP THE PEACE PROCESS ON TRACK IN SPITE OF THIS TERRIBLE CRIME. WE WILL HAVE THE CHANCE TO TALK PERSONALLY IN DENVER. I LOOK FORWARD TO SEEING YOU THERE.

SINCERELY,

BILL

(END TEXT)

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10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

31 July 1997

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8/6/15 KBM

Dear Bill,

When we spoke on the telephone on Sunday, I promised to send you some more specific thoughts on Northern Ireland and areas where you may be able to help.

As we agreed, the renewed IRA ceasefire offers a new opportunity to move to a lasting political settlement and the lasting peace which the people of Northern Ireland are so desperate to see. Halting violence is a very welcome move by the republicans. As the word suggests, a ceasefire is not of course the same as peace. We must all work very hard to turn what may be currently no more than a tactical move by the republican movement into a permanent abandonment of violence and commitment to exclusively peaceful and democratic means. Nothing else will do in the end. This means keeping up the pressure on Sinn Fein to move away from a twin-track strategy of politics and violence to politics alone. Your influence may be very important here. I hope your response to Sinn Fein over the next few months will be carefully graduated to reflect real progress in consolidating the ceasefire and making it permanent.

It is the issue of permanence which gives the vexed question of the decommissioning of illegally held arms its importance, particularly in Unionist

eyes but also in our own. Of course decommissioned arms could be replaced, even if the decommissioning process were complete. But readiness to decommission implies readiness to give up violence. That is why Sinn Fein statements that the IRA will not give up a single weapon cause such disquiet, and are so unhelpful in terms of keeping the Ulster Unionists tied in to the multi-party process.

We spoke about how you might be able to help influence David Trimble. As I said, I think it is useful if the Administration keeps in close touch with him, to show that his effort to stay in the process is both important and appreciated, and to reinforce that you are even-handed in dealings with both communities (the Unionists will obviously be watching your contacts with Sinn Fein very closely). Anything you can say to show understanding of the Ulster Unionist concerns about decommissioning would also be helpful. I hope that we and the Irish Government may be able to say a little more in due course about our own desire to see at least some actual decommissioning during negotiations, in accordance with George Mitchell's proposals. This may be very important in influencing David Trimble towards staying in the talks.

I also mentioned to you my desire to do more to harness the strong desire of the people of Northern Ireland for a settlement, by showing them that this is now a real prospect with high-level international support. You may be able to play a key role in this at the right moment, when substantive talks are well under way. I hope we can be in touch about this in the autumn.

I am absolutely determined to make progress soon on the substance of the Northern Ireland issue. That is why I have set a timetable of September-May for a settlement to come out of negotiations. This is an arbitrary target, but I believe it can be achieved if all concerned are prepared to put aside old enmities and prejudices. Our aim must be to create conditions where they can most easily do so.

?
It was great to talk to you
& let us keep in touch

Yours truly
-
/my



10 DOWNING STREET
LONDON SW1A 2AA

THE PRIME MINISTER

2 October 1997

Dear Sir,

I am pleased to say that in the past couple of weeks we have made progress in Northern Ireland. As you will have heard, Sinn Fein have joined the talks and sworn their commitment to the Mitchell principles; we have kept the Ulster Unionists in play – though only just; we succeeded in finding a procedural way through the decommissioning problem for now and ultimately got agreement to move, at last, into the substantive talks.

This is all good news. Ian Paisley's Democratic Unionists and one of the other smaller Unionist parties have withdrawn from the discussions but otherwise the pieces are now in place for us to press on with the real negotiations. As always, part of the credit must go to George Mitchell and the other independent chairmen who have skilfully helped to guide the parties round the obstacles.

I also want you to know how grateful I am to you for providing Ambassador Donald Johns on as a member of the Independent International Commission on Decommissioning, which was formally established on 24 September, and to Ambassador Johnson for agreeing to take on this challenging role. The Commission is now ready to commence work on decommissioning alongside the substantive negotiations. It marks an important

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step in our objective to bring about an enduring political settlement in Northern Ireland by May next year. As before, we have found we can rely on you to give generous and speedy assistance. I am most grateful.

Both communities will need constant encouragement to make the most of the opportunity so painstakingly created. I know I can look to you for help over this. I look forward to staying in close touch.

*Yours sincerely
-
Bill*

The President of the United States of America

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THE WHITE HOUSE

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WASHINGTON

May 8, 1998

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INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR THE PRESIDENT

FROM: SAMUEL BERGER *SB*

SUBJECT: Your call to British Prime Minister Tony Blair,
Friday, May 8, 1998, time TBD.

Tony Blair has asked to speak to you regarding the Middle East Peace Process and Northern Ireland.

Background

Northern Ireland. The press is now aware that you are not going to Northern Ireland before the May 22 referendum. Blair visited Northern Ireland on Wednesday, with John Major, to press for a yes vote on May 22. He met with Ulster Unionists and Orange Order leaders in an effort to alleviate their anxieties regarding the April 10 Peace Accord and secure their backing. Key questions raised were decommissioning, policing reform and prisoner releases. In response to a question on whether the accord can be made to work if approved, Blair said the yes vote enables people to have a chance, asking what alternative was offered by the "no" vote campaign. His previous intervention in the north was to block the release of a Parades Commission report recommending that the most contentious marches (in July) be banned. This would have given ammunition to the opponents of the Accord, weakening the yes vote on May 22.

Trimble gave a blistering speech Wednesday accusing unionist opponents of "political cowardice" and of "running away from the battlefield last year." Pundits are being careful not to presume a large Unionist majority in favor of the accord, but various NI town councils with Unionist majorities have passed resolutions for the accord -- a bitter blow to Ian Paisley.

Sinn Fein members will vote Sunday on motions in favor of the Accord and changing the SF constitution to permit members to take seats in the new Assembly. A copy was leaked prematurely, to the distress of SF leadership but to warm welcomes in Ireland

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Reason: 1.5(d)

Declassify On: 5/8/08

cc: Vice President
Chief of Staff

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as evidence that Sinn Fein is serious about peace. The IRA continues to have problems with dissidents. There are reports that they are seeking to make alliances with other fringe republican groups for joint attacks. The Irish police killed one such person, part of a gang attempting to rob an armored car transporting cash. There have been a series of so-far ineffective attacks in the North. Blair's people now believe, since the problems with the vote are in the Unionist community, a Blair-Ahern-Clinton event is inadvisable; we will work on something with you and Blair.

Middle East Peace Process. Dennis arrived in Jerusalem today and will see Netanyahu immediately. We will get you a readout as soon as available. He will see Arafat either later tonight or for lunch tomorrow with a message of reassurance that we are not watering down our ideas. Dennis plans to see Netanyahu again after Shabat ends on Saturday before the cabinet meeting Sunday. Interestingly, Infrastructure Minister Sharon has not returned to Israel for the cabinet session, strongly suggesting he is confident Bibi will not accept our ideas.

Attachment

Tab A Points to Make

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THE WHITE HOUSE
WASHINGTON

MEMORANDUM OF TELEPHONE CONVERSATION

SUBJECT: Telcon with Irish Prime Minister Bertie Ahern

PARTICIPANTS: The President
Prime Minister Ahern

Notetakers: David Higgins, Sean Rice,
George Chastain, Joel Schrader and
Lawrence Butler

DATE, TIME May 23, 1998, 12:13 - 12:16 p.m. EDT
AND PLACE: Camp David, Maryland

The President: Hello?

Prime Minister Ahern: Hello, Mr. President?

The President: Bertie, it's a great day for the Irish. You must know by name every S.O.B. that voted in the Republic.

Prime Minister Ahern: I think we got 95 percent.

The President: They broke 70 percent in the North.

Prime Minister Ahern: Well I headed out trying to get 80-20 here, but I think its going to be 95-5 on a huge vote. It's almost as good as our last election. I'm really happy about that. Yes, by our reckoning they got 71 percent. Four or five percent of the Republicans would have voted "No," but it is certainly a majority of Republicans by five percent. There is a majority of Unionists who voted "Yes," but even on the very worst case every single nationalist would have to have voted against. That couldn't have happened, so, clearly I would say five or six percent more voted "No;" but we got the Nationalists, Republicans, Irish and that wasn't bad, Mr. President.

The President: God it's wonderful. I'm happy for you.

Prime Minister Ahern: I appreciate your help. We look forward to getting you back soon.

The President: Well, if there is anything we can do to help, you let me know. I hope the assembly elections now go as well.

Prime Minister Ahern: Paisley will have to be negative.

The President: Well, I bet a lot of people who voted with Paisley will be sufficiently impressed to come over and work with this agreement.

Prime Minister Ahern: About 85 percent of the island voted "Yes." I can't think of anywhere in the world where such a clear vote has been held in the last 50 years.

The President: God, it's so touching.

Prime Minister Ahern: We appreciate all your effort Mr. President. If we didn't internationalize this, it would never have happened Mr. President. Without your support we never would have been able to stay around the table.

The President: I can't wait to come because it will be a great celebration.

Prime Minister Ahern: We'll have a good celebration.

The President: Keep in touch.

Prime Minister Ahern: Thank you, Mr. President. We look forward to seeing you get back here.

The President: I look forward to getting back. Take care, good bye.

Prime Minister Ahern: Goodbye.

-- End of Conversation --

POINTS TO BE MADE FOR
TELEPHONE CONVERSATION WITH
PRIME MINISTER BLAIR

Situation in Moscow

- Strobe is on the ground talking to all the major players. He says the situation is obviously serious; some reports of unrest and disorder may be exaggerated. Agrees that we need to watch the situation very closely.
- Key concern: who's in charge. Seen reports of Yeltsin resignation; cannot confirm them. Yeltsin in dacha, Chernomyrdin focused on confirmation.
- Strobe met with Yeltsin's chief of staff Yumashev. He reaffirmed that Chernomyrdin will lead a real government, not a government of national unity.
- Strobe underscored the risk of being over-inclusive. Yumashev said that they are prepared to resist.
- What that means is unclear. Yumashev implied that new government could have members with "different political labels."

Economic Issues

- We are extremely concerned about rapid deterioration in the economy. Central Bank is under tremendous pressure to inject liquidity into the banking sector.
- Banks are taking that money out of the country, instead of meeting their obligations.
- The Russians need to send clearer signals about their economic policy. Concerned that we may get confusing messages before there is more clarity.
- New trilateral commission (Duma/Federation Council/Executive Branch) floating ideas like price controls and renationalizing key industries.

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Reason: 1.5(d)
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- This kind of talk will send precisely the wrong signals to markets, even though it's not clear the ideas will be implemented.
- Russians need to understand that stabilization depends on the steps they take internally. No easy choices or silver bullets available.

Summit

- As far as Strobe can tell, Russian summit preparations still underway.
- Know that I'm walking into very complicated situation. My agenda:
 - underscore that engagement with Russia remains very important and has major security implications for the U.S. and international community;
 - reaffirm stakes in Russia's fundamental choice to embrace democracy and free markets and the importance of Russia staying on that path;
 - stress that economic stabilization and recovery depends on Russian solutions to Russian problems; and
 - speak clearly to a broad spectrum of Russian leaders, including Chernomyrdin, the Duma, and regional leaders, about the challenges Russia faces.

Northern Ireland

- Greatly impressed by the reaction to your visit to Omagh. Think that tragedy makes my visit even more important to peace implementation -- remind people that the first blood shed since the Good Friday Agreement does not affect our commitment.
- My instinct was to go to Omagh from the beginning; we wanted to give the community there breathing space before they get caught up in preparations. I was surprised at the warmth of the welcome the town has extended to our advance people. There, and afterwards in Armagh, I intend to reinforce message in private and publicly that a desire for

peace and the promise of reconciliation are the essential ingredients for making the Good Friday Accord work.

- Perversely, Omagh and other bombings in the world this month may have made it easier for Gerry Adams to begin moving on weapons. I am ready to help with the six step plan. What do you want me to do, and how do you envision an actual act of decommissioning? That seems very hard and we need to be careful not to lose him in the process.
- On other events on the schedule, I am looking forward to working the Assembly with you at Stormont; want to keep the formalities there brief to spend more time with the parties. That will give me a better sense for how to deliver my policy address afterwards at Waterfront.
- Afterwards, Springvale stop is important. It is symbol of American support for the IFI and education and economic regeneration. Our joint presence underscores that normality reigns despite Omagh, and that we continue to share in the risks Adams, and Trimble, are taking.

THE WHITE HOUSE

Office of the Press Secretary

For Immediate Release

April 10, 1998

REMARKS BY THE PRESIDENT
ON THE NORTHERN IRELAND PEACE PROCESS

The Oval Office

2:30 P.M. EDT

THE PRESIDENT: Good afternoon. After a 30-year winter of sectarian violence, Northern Ireland today has the promise of a springtime of peace. The agreement that has emerged from the Northern Ireland peace talks opens the way for the people there to build a society based on enduring peace, justice, and equality. The vision and commitment of the participants in the talks has made real the prayers for peace on both sides of the Atlantic and both sides of the peace line.

All friends of Ireland and Northern Ireland know the task of making the peace endure will be difficult. The path of peace is never easy. But the parties have made brave decisions. They have chosen hope over hate, the promise of the future over the poison of the past. And in so doing, already they have written a new chapter in the rich history of their island -- a chapter of resolute courage that inspires us all.

In the days to come, there may be those who will try to undermine this great achievement -- not only with words but perhaps also with violence. All the parties and all the rest of us must stand shoulder to shoulder to defy any such appeals.

On this Good Friday, we give thanks for the work of Prime Minister Ahern and Prime Minister Blair, two truly remarkable leaders who did an unbelievable job in these talks. We give thanks for the work of Senator George Mitchell, who was brilliant and unbelievably patient and long suffering. We give thanks especially to the leaders of the parties, for they had to make the courageous decisions. We also thank Prime Minister

Blair and Prime Minister Ahern's predecessors for starting and nurturing the process of peace.

Together, all these people have created the best chance for peace in a generation. In May, the people of Ireland and Northern Ireland will have the chance to seize the gift they have been given. At this Easter season, British and Irish leaders have followed the admonition of Luke, "to give light to them who sit in darkness and in the shadow of death and to guide their feet into the way of peace." For that, peace-loving people the world over can be very grateful.

Q Mr. President, what promises or assurances did the United States make to help move this process along?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, from the very beginning all I have tried to do is to help create the conditions in which peace could develop, and then to do whatever I was asked to do or whatever seemed helpful to encourage and support the parties in the search for peace. And that's all I did last night.

Q Did you offer any assistance in terms of financial aid, and what did you think --

THE PRESIDENT: No.

Q -- where did you really weigh in in all those phone calls.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, first of all, the answer to your first question is no. Now, we have, as all of you know, an international fund for Ireland, which I have strongly supported. And I do believe that there will be very significant economic benefits flowing to the people of Ireland, both Protestant and Catholic, in Northern Ireland and in the Republic, if this peace takes hold. But there was no specific financial assurance sought, nor was any given.

In terms of the give and take, you know, I made a lot of phone calls last night and up until this morning -- actually until right before the last session. But I think the specifics are not all that important. I did what I was asked to do. Again, I was largely guided by the work of Prime Minister Blair and Prime Minister Ahern. I had a very -- a long talk, in the middle of the night for me, last night with Senator Mitchell about his work there, and I'm looking forward to seeing him

early next week. I just did what I thought would help. And I tried to do what I was asked to do.

Q Mr. President, will you be going to Belfast now that they've reached a deal?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I really haven't had much discussion about it. No decision has been made. This is not even a day to think about that. This is a day to celebrate the achievement of the people and the peace talks.

Q President Clinton, do you feel somewhat vindicated for the policies that -- including giving Gerry Adams a visa here -- that have come under scrutiny and at times have brought you some derision from other parts of the world for being too provocative.

THE PRESIDENT: Well, when I did it, I thought it would help to create a climate in which peace might emerge. And I believe it was a positive thing to do. I believed it then, I believe it now.

But make no mistake about it. Whenever peace is made by people anywhere, the credit belongs to the parties whose own lives and livelihoods and children and future are on the line. And that's the way I feel today. If anything that I or the United States was able to do was helpful, especially because of our historic ties to Great Britain and because of the enormous number of Irish Americans we have and the feelings we have for the Irish and their troubles, then I am very grateful. But the credit for this belongs to the people who made the decisions.

Q What role do you expect to play from now on?

Q Mr. President, how fragile is the peace agreement? How fragile is it and will it be able to withstand a violation of the cease-fire?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I think the parties will honor it. They fought too hard over the details -- down to the eleventh hour and then some. They even went past Senator Mitchell's deadline and well into this Good Friday. Given Irish history, maybe it's appropriate that this was done on this day.

So they fought too hard over the details to violate them. I expect the parties to honor the agreement. And then it's really up to the people. The people of Northern Ireland and the

people of the Republic of Ireland are going to have a vote on it in May, in late May, and their judgment will prevail.

Will there be those who are disgruntled, who may seek to violate the cease-fire, who are not part of the parties that have signed off on this agreement? There may well be. But if we all stand shoulder-to-shoulder together and everyone understands that the integrity of the leaders and the parties that are part of this process is still unshakable and rock solid, I think we'll be all right. We just need to let the Irish people have their say, and I think they will have their say.

Q What role do you expect to play from now on in this process, in terms of trying to maintain this agreement?

THE PRESIDENT: Well, I don't know. If I can be helpful, I will. That's been my position all along. That's what I tell everybody that talks to me about it. But no decision has been made about that and, you know, the United States believes in this process passionately. I, personally, am deeply committed to it. And if the leaders think there's something I can do to be helpful, well, of course, I'll try. But there's been no discussion about it and no decision made.

Q Mr. President, could there have been an agreement today without your efforts last night?

THE PRESIDENT: Oh, I certainly -- I wouldn't say there couldn't have been. I was asked to help; I did my best to help.

But let me say again, there were people that I was talking to up until 8:00 a.m., 9:00 a.m., even later this morning who haven't been to bed in 48 hours. They sat and talked and worked and fought and argued and got back together. And for some of them, they put their political lives on the line; others may have put even more on the line, as you well know.

And they and the Prime Ministers and Senator Mitchell, who somehow kept it all together, they deserve the credit. I just tried to do what I was asked to do. If I played a positive role, I'm grateful to have had the chance to do so.

Q Happy Easter. Are you going to Camp David?

THE PRESIDENT: I am. We're going up probably in the early evening and I hope all of you have a great holiday. Bless you.

Q What are you going to do about the Middle East?
(Laughter.)

THE PRESIDENT: Well, we got Bosnia and Haiti, and now, I hope, Ireland. And I'll just keep working on it. The Irish thing ought to give you hope for the Middle East because the lesson is: just don't ever stop. And in the end, if the will for peace is stronger than the impulse to avoid it, and the impulse to avoid the tough decisions and the sacrifices that are made -- that have to be made -- then the will for peace can prevail. That's the lesson here.

So I would hope that those who care desperately about the Middle East and want the peace process there to prevail will take great heart here, because believe you me, I know a lot about this. There were a lot of tough decisions which had to be made, nobody could get everything they wanted, and risks had to be taken. And they were taken. And they now will be taken. And it seems to me that the friends of peace in the Middle East should take great heart from this and perhaps we'll even find some examples that could be followed.

Thank you.

Q Mrs. Clinton said that peace in Ireland is an article of faith. Is there going to be any kind of Clinton celebration here this evening?

THE PRESIDENT: I'm celebrating right now, but we need to let the Irish people have their say. That's going to be in a few weeks.

Q Going to let these guys go to sleep?

THE PRESIDENT: Right now I want these guys to go to sleep. I hope nothing serious happens to our country in the next eight hours, because I've got a bunch of pickle brains in the NSC.
(Laughter.)

END

2:42 P.M. EDT

Widmer, Edward L.

From: Butler, Lawrence E.
Sent: Wednesday, May 20, 1998 4:24 PM
To: Widmer, Edward L.
Subject: RE: Ireland taping [UNCLASSIFIED]

straight, simple and sweet. You'll get your shot at frills and chills later.

-----Original Message-----

From: Widmer, Edward L.
Sent: Wednesday, May 20, 1998 4:16 PM
To: Butler, Lawrence E.
Cc: Blinken, Antony J.; Gray, Wendy E.
Subject: RE: Ireland taping [UNCLASSIFIED]

thanks Larry. I'll get to work. Do you want any of my trademark frilly intellectual fluff, or is a straightforward message OK?

-----Original Message-----

From: Butler, Lawrence E.
Sent: Wednesday, May 20, 1998 4:00 PM
To: Widmer, Edward L.
Cc: Blinken, Antony J.
Subject: RE: Ireland taping [UNCLASSIFIED]

Tedster --

Glad to work with you again! We are looking at a 1:30-2:00" sound track here. Building blocks follow a little background -- we release the tape only if the vote result in NI is >55%. Anything less indicates a significant unionist majority opposed to the Accord. It will not be possible to determine the precise percentages as the votes will be counted centrally, not by percent. I am predicting 63-64% yes vote, indicating a slim unionist majority. It is possible that the total could reach 70%, which would be a huge win for Trimble, Adams and the others.

- I watched the political leaders of Northern Ireland face the media in driving sleet on Good Friday to deliver the good news of their incredible accomplishment at Stormont after a marathon negotiating session.
- Skeptics said that hell would freeze over before peace came to Ireland; the sleet and snow that day seemed to be a good omen.
- Six weeks later, after a blunt and thorough campaign, the people on Ireland, north and south, have decisively chosen political discourse in democratic institutions over violence and confrontation. Pardon the pun, but history and hope are now joined at the hip, it seems.
- I salute the courage and wisdom the people displayed in the referendums yesterday. I look forward to celebrating this magnificent accomplishment as soon as my schedule permits.
- In the meantime, let me convey the congratulations, good will and gratitude of all Americans. We will continue to work with your political, community and business leaders as you transform the spirit of the accord from words on paper to real institutions of governance, factories, and schools.
- The example you have set will inspire peoples around the globe in places where strife prevails and peace seems so remote.

-----Original Message-----

From: Widmer, Edward L.
Sent: Wednesday, May 20, 1998 12:05 PM
To: Butler, Lawrence E.
Cc: @PLANNING - Strat Plan & Comm
Subject: FW: Ireland taping [UNCLASSIFIED]

Larry--give me a call if you'd like me to come over and discuss.

-----Original Message-----

From: Blinken, Antony J.
Sent: Wednesday, May 20, 1998 11:56 AM
To: Kerrick, Donald L.; @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @EUROPE - European Affairs
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: RE: Ireland taping [UNCLASSIFIED]

Ted W. -- can you please work this with input from Larry Butler. Thanks

-----Original Message-----

From: Kerrick, Donald L.
Sent: Wednesday, May 20, 1998 11:24 AM
To: @SPEECH - NSC Speechwriters; @EUROPE - European Affairs
Cc: @EXECSEC - Executive Secretary
Subject: Ireland taping [UNCLASSIFIED]

Withdrawal/Redaction Sheet

Clinton Library

DOCUMENT NO. AND TYPE	SUBJECT/TITLE	DATE	RESTRICTION
001. table	Opinions of President Clinton (1 page)	04/29/1998	P1/b(1)
002. memo	Mail Link Monitor to Maxfield, Nancy H. re: [Visitor Appointment Confirmation] [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(F)
003. memo	Mail Link Monitor to Maxfield, Nancy H. re: [Visitors Appointment Confirmation] [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(F)
004. memo	Mail Link Monitor to Maxfield, Nancy H. re: [Visitors Appointment Confirmation] [partial] (1 page)	04/27/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(F)
005. memo	Mail Link Monitor to Maxfield, Nancy H. re: [Visitor Appointment Confirmation] [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(F)
006. memo	Mail Link Monitor to Maxfield, Nancy H. re: [Visitor Appointment Confirmation] [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(F)
007. memo	Mail Link Monitor to Maxfield, Nancy H. re: [Visitors Appointment Confirmation] [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(F)
008. memo	Mail Link Monitor to Maxfield, Nancy H. re: [Visitor Appointment Confirmation] [partial] (1 page)	04/28/1998	P6/b(6), b(7)(C), b(7)(F)
009. letter	McFeely, Conal to Barton, Rick re: Ex-Prisoner's Investment Fund [partial] (1 page)	03/05/1998	P6/b(6)
010. email	WHSR [originated- American Embassy, London] to Bandler, Donald K. et al. re: Presidential Visit to Northern Ireland (5 pages)	04/14/1998	P1/b(1)
011. email	WHSR [originated- American Embassy, London] to Bandler, Donald K. et al. re: Northern Ireland: U.S. Game Plan Funding the Peace Process (5 pages)	03/27/1998	P1/b(1)

COLLECTION:

Clinton Presidential Records
 National Security Council
 European Affairs (Keirn Brown)
 OA/Box Number: 2390

FOLDER TITLE:

Ireland - Coordinated Meeting/US Initiatives [2]

Eric Holzer
 2006-1759-F
 eh795

RESTRICTION CODES

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

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

- 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 advice 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]

- b(1) National security classified information [(b)(1) of the FOIA]
- b(2) Release would disclose internal personnel rules and practices of an agency [(b)(2) of the FOIA]
- b(3) Release would violate a Federal statute [(b)(3) of the FOIA]
- b(4) Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential or financial information [(b)(4) of the FOIA]
- b(6) Release would constitute a clearly unwarranted invasion of personal privacy [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
- b(8) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(8) of the FOIA]
- b(9) Release would disclose geological or geophysical information concerning wells [(b)(9) of the FOIA]

- C. Closed in accordance with restrictions contained in donor's deed of gift.
- PRM. Personal record misfile defined in accordance with 44 U.S.C. 2201(3).
- RR. Document will be reviewed upon request.

COPY

April 7, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR SANDY BERGER AND JAMES STEINBERG

FROM: LARRY BUTLER AND DAVID LEAVY

SUBJECT: Strategy for Northern Ireland Settlement
Agreement

Objective

As the Stormont talks conclude there are three main communications objectives for our end game strategy:

- to make clear to the population, north and south, that this agreement is in their individual and collective best interest and will help build a more prosperous and peaceful future;
- to recognize the statesmanship of former Senator Mitchell and all the leaders who took courageous steps towards peace;
- highlight the public and private role of the United States in bringing the peace process to closure.

Background

Regardless of the outcome of the Stormont talks, there will be an important public affairs component to managing the last 24 hours.

If no agreement is reached before the Easter holiday, or there is a collapse in the talks, the President will need to publicly scold the leaders for failing to seize this moment in history while balancing the need to keep the process and hopes of the Irish people alive for the future. This can be done by a written statement in order to keep some distance between the White House and Stormont.

If there is a successful outcome to the talks, we recommend the following four-part plan to reach all of the necessary constituencies and validators:

[NOTE: This is in addition to any phone calls the President may be called on to make.]

COPY

Communications Rollout

I. Public Statements

- Presidential Statement. POTUS would deliver statement to cameras on Friday, April 10th.
- POTUS phone calls to Mitchell, Blair and Ahern. Either on joint conference call or individually, POTUS could congratulate key participants -- recommend photo or spray coverage of the calls.
- Interview with one domestic reporter. POTUS could spend 10 minutes with key reporter on significance of agreement (*New York Times*)
- Tic-Toc Stories. Staff will manage tic-toc stories with timeline on US and presidential involvement including any last minute phone calls the President was asked to make.
- POTUS Roundtable with Irish reporters. To highlight commitment and possible announce POTUS trip, the President could do a short interview session with several key Irish journalists to applaud accomplishments and prod population to accept the agreement in referendum.
- Meeting with Sen. Mitchell. POTUS and national security team to be briefed by Senator Mitchell. (The week of April 13th prior to departure for Santiago.) Mitchell could also do briefing for White House press corps.

II. Congressional Calls

To be divided up among foreign policy principals:

Ben Gilman (on the road).

Peter King (in New York, will be here on Thursday—he and Richie Neal have been invited to the Sinn Fein convention next week).

James Walsh (out of town).

Chris Dodd (on private travel in Ireland).

Ted Kennedy (anxious to go public with his reaction).

III. Calls to Participants

To be divided up among foreign policy principals:

COPY

- David Trimble, UUP
- Gerry Adams, Sinn Fein
- John Hume, SDLP
- Gary McMichael, UDP
- David Ervine
- Lord Alderdice, Alliance
- Monica McWilliams, Women's Coalition
-

Briefing to Irish-American Community

To ensure appropriate validation from the Irish-American community we recommend Jim Steinberg do a conference call with the following on Friday:

- Brian O'Dwyer.
- Tom Donahue.
- Paul Quinn.
- Bruce Morrison.
- Jim Lyons.
- Andy Summers-President of Irish-American Unity Conference
- Niall O'Dowd

Concurrences by: DON BANDLER and MARA RUDMAN

COPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

2673

April 14, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland Peace Roll-out: Phase II

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

NOTED

Objective

Develop our communication strategy in build up to possible POTUS visit to Ireland. Challenges ahead include UUP and Sinn Fein party conferences this weekend, in addition to the key May 22 referendum date.

There are two communications objectives for the transition to the referendum and implementation:

- To line up broad-based, subtle U.S. support for the agreement, seeking to minimize our exposure to unionist opponents in Northern Ireland - our message should be non-partisan, future-focussed (benefits of peace and prosperity);
- to recognize the leaders who took courageous steps towards peace;

Background

The onus of selling this agreement necessarily must fall to the parties and governments who negotiated it. The United States must continue to be viewed as engaged and supportive of appropriate efforts to implement the agreement. The opponents of the agreement, particularly unionists, will be quick to exploit any sign that we are interfering in the referendum process.

We recommend that we build on the four-part plan agreed for the immediate post-agreement roll-out to continue reaching all of the necessary constituencies and validators:

COPY

Communications Rollout

I. Public Events and Statements

Presidential visit announcement. Either POTUS or SRB should personally announce POTUS travel when/if the decision is taken to visit Northern Ireland and Ireland, simultaneous with a fact sheet on U.S. economic initiatives (including on-going ones).

- POTUS meeting with Mo Mowlam. Mo will visit here the latter half of April. She has not had a meeting with President up until now. This would afford an opportunity to acknowledge her contributions and profile the President's efforts (Mowlam is guaranteed to be effusive in her thanks for the President in press events during her visit).
- Press interaction. To highlight commitment and possible announce POTUS trip, the President should consider a short session with key TV journalists (RTE, ITN, BBC) and/or a short conference call session with several key Irish journalists to applaud accomplishments and prod population to accept the agreement in referendum -- need to be careful to avoid overexposure though. JS should brief selected U.S. press to set expectations for trip, impact on vote, etc.
- Assemble economic package. NSC, Jim Lyons, Commerce, and State to complete work on a revived and expanded package of initiatives for the President to announce (possibly simultaneous with announcement of visit to Ireland). One open issue is whether to have POTUS announce his intention to ask for an additional \$10 million for IFI in FY2000 authorization. Mitchell raised the question whether we could contribute to start up costs for the new institutions (NIA and NSC) - this seems complex and maybe inappropriate.
- FLOTUS Women's Conference. Belfast proposes it take place May 15, the Friday before a possible date for POTUS visit to Northern Ireland. FLOTUS prepared to do this, in addition to advancing POTUS's arrival with Monday morning travel back to Belfast/Derry for "common people" events.
- POTUS visit. To be decided once we see how UUP and Sinn Fein are doing with their parties in selling the agreement. POTUS to call Bertie Ahern to discuss appropriateness; NSC to discuss thinking with party leaders (consulting without giving them a veto). Embassy London and Belfast continue to oppose a

COPY

Derry stop due to balance (one-sidedly nationalist at a time when we need to build unionist support) and availability of time. We need to begin thinking about the structure of the visit to Belfast - London is sending in a cable today with ideas.

II. Congressional Calls/Notes

We should prepare short notes from the President for key members of Congress who have invested time in visiting Ireland and supporting the peace process (Senators Mack, Kennedy, Dodd, Harkin, and McConnell; Representatives Gilman, Walsh, King, and Neal, Jim Moran, Meahon).

- Neal and King are visiting Dublin this weekend to support Gerry Adams's efforts during his party conference.
- Speaker Gingrich is leading a delegation July 5 to Northern Ireland.
- Tom Harkin leaves tomorrow for Derry, Belfast and Dublin.

III. Contact with Participants

Sandy, Jim and NSC staff should stay in weekly touch with the key leaders, starting after this weekend's UUP and SF party meetings.

Jim will meet all of them in Belfast following his next Sherpa meetings in London at the end of April.

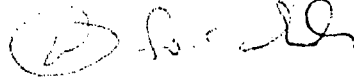
IV. Irish-American Community

To ensure appropriate validation from the Irish-American community, Larry and Christine Stanek will stay in touch with key members to follow-up today's conference call to gauge reactions during the referendum campaign and encourage active support.

- Legal should be in touch with State and Justice to frame the legally available options with respect to the deportation and extradition cases. Mowlam may have insights as to HMG's thinking on extradition; however, it will be important not to fuel expectations until we understand what is both politically and legally available.

COPY

Concurrences by: David Leavy, Mara Rudman, Eric Rubin and
Jamie Baker

A handwritten signature in black ink, appearing to be "Eric Rubin", written over the printed name.

Attachments

Tab A Commerce Initiatives Memo

Tab B SAPAS Lyons Initiatives

COPY

NATIONAL SECURITY COUNCIL
WASHINGTON, D.C. 20504

2673

April 14, 1998

INFORMATION

MEMORANDUM FOR JAMES STEINBERG

THROUGH: DONALD K. BANDLER

FROM: LAWRENCE E. BUTLER

SUBJECT: Northern Ireland Peace Roll-out: Phase II

Deputy Natl Sec Advisor
has seen

NOTED

Objective

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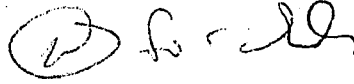
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Concurrences by: David Leavy, Mara Rudman, Eric Rubin and
Jamie Baker

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Attachments

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Tab B SAPAS Lyons Initiatives

COPY