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Row: 48  Section: 6  Shelf: 7  Position: 2  Stack: V
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**COLLECTION:**
Clinton Presidential Records  
National Security Council  
Ted Widmer (Speechwriting)  
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**FOLDER TITLE:**
Greece

**RESTRICTION CODES**

Presidential Records Act - [44 U.S.C. 2204(a)]
- P1 National Security Classified Information [(a)(1) of the PRA]
- P2 Relating to the appointment to Federal office [(a)(2) of the PRA]
- P3 Release would violate a Federal statute [(a)(3) of the PRA]
- P4 Release would disclose trade secrets or confidential commercial or financial information [(a)(4) of the PRA]
- P5 Release would disclose confidential 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]

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- b(6) Release would disclose information compiled for law enforcement purposes [(b)(6) of the FOIA]
- b(7) Release would disclose information concerning the regulation of financial institutions [(b)(7) of the FOIA]
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When I told my staff I was meeting with the Hellenic Council today, one of them said, “I didn’t know you were in a fraternity.”

I’m delighted to see you all again this morning. As you know, the relationship between Greece and the United States is close to my heart, and it is a relationship this Administration has put a lot of time and thought into. We have cultivated an excellent working relationship with the Prime Minister Simitis’s government, including frequent consultations and visits back and forth. I am delighted to see Deputy Foreign Minister Niotis here and appreciated the opportunity to meet with him yesterday. Ten days ago, I was able to meet new Archbishop Demetrius, who I know will be a capable and respected leader of the Greek Orthodox community. I’m also pleased to acknowledge the presence here of Ambassador Philon, and leaders of the Greek-American community like Andy Athens and Andy Manatos.

Thanks in no small measure to groups like this one, and the extraordinary pride that Greek-Americans take in their homeland, this relationship is in great shape. We have faced real challenges this year, obviously. The Kosovo conflict put pressure on all of the NATO allies, and it especially strained the people of Greece, linked to the Serbs through history and faith.

But that strain was never nearly as great as our common commitment to what he have built together. We can now look back and see clearly that the alliance and the Greek-American relationship emerged from the conflict stronger and more united than ever. Greeks and Americans can be proud that at the end of a violent century, our two nations acted decisively to start a new century on higher ground. Now we are working together to help put Southeastern Europe back together, and I commend the leading role Greece is playing in the effort.

On a different, but related note, I’d also like to say how much all friends of Greece have been moved by the so-called “seismic” diplomacy that has recently eased tensions in the Aegean. The term is a slight misnomer, because in fact there were signs of progress before the terrible earthquakes struck first Turkey and then Greece. But the change since then has been extremely encouraging, and we applaud the leadership of the Greek government in helping to make it happen.

I’m thrilled to add that we will have an opportunity to examine our relationship up close this November, when the President will make the first State Visit to Greece since 1991. During that visit, the President will meet with Prime Minister Simitis and President Stephanopoulos. We have yet to sort out the precise details of what the President will see and do, partly because there are so many wonderful choices. All I know is that our advance teams keep pretending that they need to do more research so that we will send them back to Greece over and over again.
The President's Trip to Greece and the region will be the last trip of the year, and therefore the last trip of the century. It is a trip about the past and the future. It will remind Americans that fifty-two years ago, we had the courage and foresight to enact the Truman Doctrine, pledging aid to reconstruct Greece and Turkey and help them protect their independence. It created a foundation not only for our NATO alliance, but for the thriving partnership Greece and the United States have enjoyed ever since. It was a triumph for clear-eyed, bipartisan foreign policy, with both Republican and Democratic leaders recognizing that sometimes we have to make hard choices for the benefit of future generations.

Today we face another hard decision, on a different issue, but one that I hope will appeal to the same impulse to put the country ahead of personal and party interests. Next Tuesday, as you know, the Senate is scheduled to vote on the Comprehensive Test Ban Treaty, an issue that affects Greeks as directly as it does Americans. Greece ratified the treaty last April, and the Greek people understand that it will make the world a much safer place. I hope all of you, whether Republican or Democrat, will carefully consider the provisions of this Treaty, see how much it does to protect our security, and then urge your Senators to help us make history.

If all goes as planned in November, Greece will be the final country visited by an American President in the American Century. It is fitting that the President will be able to celebrate the triumph of democracy in the birthplace of democracy. But we will celebrate the present and future of Greek-American relations as much as we honor the past. And when the new century arrives, I fully expect that the old ideals that unite us will be strengthened by the new ways we do business together.

To summarize, the Greek-American friendship is in good shape at a historic moment for both countries. We still face challenges, of course. For 25 years, the Cyprus problem has been a constant source of instability in the Eastern Mediterranean. The President's Special Emissary for Cyprus, Al Moses, whom I know you honored last night, will tell you later this morning what we're doing to bring about a Cyprus solution and what he hopes to accomplish on his upcoming trip to the region.

I'll now turn over the program to Tony Blinken, who will talk about Greece-Turkey relations and what we are trying to do to strengthen them. Let me leave you with my heartfelt thanks for all that you do to keep this relationship on track, both as a Greek-American, and as an Administration official who recognizes how much these two great democracies have to offer each other.
The Buchanan Doctrine

The perennial Presidential candidate lays out his foreign policy.

A REPUBLIC, NOT AN EMPIRE
Reclaiming America's Destiny.
By Patrick J. Buchanan.

By John B. Judis

LIKE other Republican conservatives, the Presidential candidate Patrick J. Buchanan opposed United States intervention in Kosovo and wants to limit or eliminate American participation in the United Nations and other multinational institutions. But in "A Republic, Not an Empire," Buchanan justifies these stands by presenting a grand theory of American history and foreign policy. While he rejects the term "isolationist," his foreign policy recalls that of the conservatives who dominated the Republican Party from 1919 until 1952. He adopts an extraordinarily narrow criterion for American intervention abroad, which leads him not only to oppose stationing troops in South Korea or participating in NATO but also to question American intervention in World War I and in the war against Hitler's Germany.

Buchanan wants American foreign policy based squarely on a territorial concept of "vital interests." Advocates of "enlightened nationalism" like him, he writes, "see our role not as a knight-errant that sets out to right the wrongs of a sinful world, but as the coiled rattlesnake that threatens none so long as it is not threatened and its domain is not intruded upon."

Buchanan contrasts his "enlightened nationalism" with "liberal internationalism," which he says originated with the Woodrow Wilson Administration and is currently embraced by the "multilaterals who have held power under Clinton." Liberal internationalists advocate "global government" through yielding sovereignty to "supranational institutions like the U.N., the World Bank, the International Monetary Fund and the World Trade Organization." They support intervention in places like Kosovo, Iraq and Somalia and commitments to countries like South Korea and Poland, where the United States, in Buchanan's view, has no vital interests. He concludes: "Rather than squander American wealth propping up failed foreign economies, or spilling the blood of America's young in foreign wars, let us restore the political, economic and military independence that was the dream and purpose of Washington, Hamilton, Madison, Clay and the Republican Party from Lincoln to World War II."

Buchanan's enlightened nationalism would not only constrain American action today but also would have ruled out most American diplomacy and military intervention in the 20th century. A former Reagan aide, Buchanan takes the most extreme and diabolical view of Soviet intentions during the cold war, but he takes the most benign also saved the lives of millions of people who would have been victims of Nazi genocide and Japanese brutality, and it laid the basis for functioning democracies in Germany, Japan and Italy.

Buchanan's strict, but also vague, definition of vital interests may have been appropriate in the early 19th century, but is not now. The United States emerged from World War II the most powerful military and industrial nation in the world and inherited the responsibilities that had accrued to Britain in the 19th century. If Washington had not taken on this role as the ultimate guarantor of peace and prosperity, the international system might have reverted to world war and economic depression. It was in America's vital national, even vital, interest to assume world leadership. That, and not the need to pursue a "active independence," was the lesson that American policy makers drew from the two world wars and the Great Depression.

Buchanan misrepresents what he calls liberal internationalism. Wilson, Franklin D. Roosevelt, Harry S. Truman, John F. Kennedy and Clinton saw American participation in multinational institutions as a means of pursuing American national interests. They were instruments by which the United States could get other countries to share the burden of world leadership. Some of these efforts, like the disarmament conference and treaties of the 1920's, were foolish, but others, like NATO, the International Monetary Fund, the World Bank and (dare I say it?) the United Nations, have benefited us. There is a dark side to Buchanan's politics and view of history. He claims to be speaking the great tradition of American diplomacy, but a chasm separates Buchanan's convictions from those of the men who led America from 1776 to 1985. Buchanan cites approvingly John Quincy Adams's rejection in 1821 of American intervention on the side of the Greeks, who were trying to throw off Turkish domination. But in rejecting intervention, Adams also made clear where his own sympathies lay. "Wherever the standard of freedom and independence has been advanced," he said, "there will America's "bless her beneficent influences and her prayers be."

But Buchanan opposed intervention not out of indifference to Greeks but out of an accurate understanding of American capabilities. By contrast, Buchanan glosses over the fate of the German and East European Jews and Poles, just as in rejecting intervention in Bosnia and Kosovo, he underplays the fate of the victims of ethnic cleansing in former Yugoslavia.

As a Presidential candidate, Buchanan sometimes appeared to be a tribune of the populist left. He began his Presidential campaign this year championing the cause of Virginia's endangered steelworkers. But this book is the work of a right-wing crank. It is full of the saws of the American right. He describes Soviet spy Alger Hiss as an "F.D.R. confidant." He extols America First, which opposed United States intervention in World War II, without recognizing that it was a "vague," "obscure" and "baffling" doctrine that helped lead to the Great Depression and the rise of the fascist regimes in Europe.

This review reflects the views of its author and should not be attributed to The New York Times, its editors, or its reviewers.