



A NCAFP Newsletter and Highlights from 2008

What you'll find inside...

- ***A word of thanks and what we are planning for 2009***
- ***We have been busy in 2008-- Take a look at our programs and publications***
- ***Why is NCAFP different from other foreign policy organizations?***
Read an article on NCAFP and Track II Diplomacy
- ***How you can give and get at the same time... Become a NCAFP member!***



A Letter from NCAFP President, George D. Schwab

December 2008

Dear Reader:

As 2008 comes to a close, I would like to take the opportunity to wish you all a Happy and Healthful New Year. This year proved to be a rewarding one for the National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP) as well as an extremely busy one! I hope you will take the opportunity to look at the rest of this newsletter for more on what we have been doing this year -- from our engaging public and private events, our riveting publications including *American Foreign Policy Interests* and especially our important and influential Track I ½ and Track II diplomatic talks.

As we witnessed in 2007 and in preceding years as well, the National Committee continues to grow in size and stature. Our Northeast Asia Projects have gained even more acclaim this year for their work in Track I ½ and II meetings. I recently heard that NCAFP was in an in-flight news broadcast a colleague watched on her latest trip to mainland China! Our other projects, although not receiving the same amount of television coverage, have also grown this year and we are diligently working to secure funding for more Track I ½ and Track II dialogues in our Caspian Sea Basin Project.

This was a busy year for both our Middle East Project and our U.S.- UN Relations Project. In March, we hosted a roundtable on "The Middle East: In Search of a New Balance of Power". In May, we hosted a roundtable on "The United Nations Human Rights Council: A U.S. Foreign Policy Dilemma". Progress reports on much of the work accomplished at Committee roundtables are, of course, shared with members, decision makers, and the foreign policy public through numerous venues: panel discussions, foreign policy briefings, and National Committee publications.

(con't on next page)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

A Letter from NCAFP President, George D. Schwab (con't)

Speaking of foreign policy briefings, I am pleased to announce the resumption of the Angier Biddle Duke Lecture series. Absent for a few years in which we lacked crucial funding, the series, named after Ambassador Angier Biddle Duke, an esteemed president of the National Committee and a dear friend of mine, focuses on the special insights gleaned by ambassadors into foreign policymaking. On June 16, 2008 the Honorable Frank G. Wisner, Special Envoy to the Kosovo Final Status Talks, spoke at the relaunch of the series on the Kosovo settlement and diplomacy in the Balkans.

We have also expanded our salon series, an opportunity for NCAFP Patrons and Corporate Members to attend smaller more intimate discussions with foreign policy experts on timely topics. This year we also instituted salon events geared to our young and new membership. Highly encouraged by the success of these salons, we are arranging even more for 2009.

We have ambitious plans for 2009, including providing more benefits to our membership-- these will include timely briefings and roundtables on nuclear proliferation, India-Pakistan relations, US intelligence, the future of NATO, as well as publications on Security in Northeast Asia.

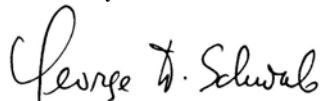
Another objective of 2009 is to further promote and highlight our Track 1 ½ and Track II diplomacy which has played vital roles in our work in Northern Ireland and Northeast Asia. We wish to further expand our Track 1 ½ and Track II work in our other project areas, particularly our Caspian Sea Basin project. By emphasizing the importance of this unique form of diplomacy the National Committee on American Foreign Policy hopes to continue its efforts of resolving conflicts across the globe.

The National Committee on American Foreign Policy is increasingly called on to provide its expertise to help bring about the lessening of tensions and the resolution of conflicts where U.S. national security interests are involved. Undertaking challenging programs requires considerable monetary support. The NCAFP is very grateful for the encouragement and support it receives from Mutual of America, from our incomparable members and from foundations including, among others, the Carnegie Foundation, the Shelby Cullom Davis Foundation, the Ford Foundation, the Henry Luce Foundation, the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation, the Smith Richardson Foundation, and the UN Foundation. The generous backing that the NCAFP receives enables us to continue to offer exemplary programs on a wide range of foreign policy issues; to move closer to advancing our Track 1 ½ and II projects to successful conclusions; and to realize the mission the NCAFP undertook to perform thirty-four years ago.

Thank you for your support.

As we embark on 2009, let us rekindle fond memories, celebrate warm friendships, and anticipate peace and goodwill.

Sincerely,



George D. Schwab
President

2008 NCAFP Public Programs

January 14, 2008

Annual Membership Meeting & Dinner
"The U.S. and the UN" with Ambassador Zalmay Khalilzad

February 26, 2008

"Enhancing Democracy Assistance"
A panel discussion with Dr. Lincoln A. Mitchell, Mr. David L. Phillips
and moderated by Mr. Scott Greathead

March 3, 2008

"Taiwan's Perspective on Cross-Strait Relations"
with Dr. Jaushieh Joseph Wu

March 11, 2008

"The United States and the Arc of Crisis"
A Panel Discussion with Dr. Soner Cagaptay, Mr. Nibras Kazimi,
Dr. Walid Phares, Dr. Saïd Sadi
and moderated by Mr. Amir Taheri



Left to right: Soner Cagaptay, Nibras Kazimi, Amir Taheri, Walid Phares and Saïd Sadi at the "The United States and the Arc of Crisis" a NCAFP panel discussion on terrorism in the Middle East and Northern Africa.

May 28, 2008

"UN Human Rights Council: A Dilemma for
U.S. Foreign Policy"

A Panel Discussion with Ms. Linda Fasulo, Mr. Robert S. Hagen, Professor
Thomas Weiss
and moderated by Professor Benjamin Rivlin

2008 Public Programs (con't)

June 16, 2008

“The Kosovo Settlement: Diplomacy in the Balkans”
with the Honorable Frank G. Wisner



NCAFP President George D. Schwab with the Honorable Robin Chandler Duke and the Honorable Frank G. Wisner at the relaunch of the Angier Biddle Duke Lecture Series with “The Kosovo Settlement: Diplomacy in the Balkans” on June 16th.

September 16, 2008

“The Secret War with Iran:
Israel and the West’s 30 Year Clandestine Struggle”
with Mr. Ronen Bergman

October 16, 2008

“North Korea and the Politics of Regime Survival:
A Resident Diplomat's Views on an East Asian Conundrum”
with H.E. Mats Foyer

November 11, 2008

“A New Scramble or an Opportunity?
The United States, Russia, China and Other Competing Interests in Africa”
A panel discussion with Amb. Herman Cohen, Mr. Patrick Hayford
and Dr. J. Peter Pham

NCAFP Members Only Programs and Salons

February 19, 2008

Off-the-record Breakfast Briefing for NCAFP Patrons
and Corporate Members with LTG Raymond T. Odierno,
Commander Multinational Forces- Iraq

March 12, 2008

“The Global War on Terror: The Main Battlegrounds”
with Amir Taheri: a NCAFP Salon for Patrons and Corporate Members

April 15, 2008

"Implications of the Financial Crisis"
A NCAFP Members briefing
with the Honorable Paul A. Volcker



NCAFP Members talking with the Honorable Paul A. Volcker (center) after his briefing.

September 10, 2008

“The Prosperity Agenda: What the World Wants from America –
and What We Need in Return” with
Ambassador Nancy Soderberg and Mr. Brian Katulis



From left to right: Mr. Brian Katulis, Ambassador Nancy Soderberg, President William J. Clinton and NCAFP President George D. Schwab at the Prosperity Agenda book launch on September 10, 2008.

NCAFP Members Only Programs and Salons (con't)

September 18, 2008:

“The Russia- Georgia Crisis: First Salvo in a New Cold War?”
A Special NCAFP Young Persons Salon with David L. Phillips



NCAFP members talk to David L. Phillips about his recent trip to Georgia at a salon dedicated to NCAFP new and young members.

November 17, 2008

“*The Confrontation: Winning the War Against Future Jihad*”
A Salon event with author Dr. Walid Phares

NCAFP Roundtables & Briefings

- Meeting with Ambassador Peng Keyu, Consul, Consulate General of PRC in New York
- Meeting with **Professor Yang Jian-rong**, Director-General of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the Shanghai Municipal Government
- Roundtable on the Balance of Power in the Middle East
- Meeting with Major General Pan Zhenqiang (Ret.) from the China Reform Forum (CRF)
- Meeting with Ambassador Ma Zhengang from the China Institute of International Studies (CIIS)
- Meeting with Dr. Richard Bush from the Center for Northeast Asian Policy Studies at the Brookings Institute (CNAPS)

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

- Meeting with Dr. Yang Jiemian from the Shanghai Institute for International Studies (SIIS)
- Conversation with Bonnie S. Glaser from the Center for Strategic & International Studies
- Roundtable on the role of the UN Human Rights Council
- “Cross-Strait Relations: Concrete Progress But Strategic Mistrust”
- Conference on Prospects for Relations Across the Taiwan Strait
- Meeting with Dr. Chan, Taiwan NSC
- Meeting with Dr. Tsai Ing-wen, Chairwoman of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) of Taiwan
- Briefing with OIC Secretary General H.E. Professor Ekmeleddin Ihsanoglu
- Briefing with the Swedish Ambassador to North Korea
- “The Next Phase of U.S.-DPRK Relations”
- “A Dialogue with the China Institutes of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR).”
- Meeting with Taiwanese Deputy Foreign Minister Andrew Hsia
- A meeting hosted by NCAFP, The Korea Society and the Asian Institute for Political Studies
- “The U.S.-ROK Alliance: A Forward Looking Agenda”
- Meeting between The Taiwan Affairs Office and The State Council of the People’s Republic of China.



Participants at the May 28th Roundtable on the UN Human Rights Council.

2008 NCAFP Publications

“The Middle East: In Search of a New Balance of Power”

“The United Nations Human Rights Council: A U.S. Foreign Policy Dilemma”

“Enhancing Democracy Assistance”

“Albania: From Fragile State to Viable International Partner”

“International Trade, The Economy, and US Interests”

“Delegation Trip to Seoul”

“Delegation Trip to Taipei, Shanghai, and Beijing”

“The Kosovo Settlement: Diplomacy in the Balkans”

“Cross-Strait Relations: Concrete Progress But Strategic Mistrust”

“Meeting with Dr. Tsai Ing-wen DPP Chairwoman”

and our bimonthly journal

American Foreign Policy Interests

with contribution by, among others,

John Brademas

Herman J. Cohen

Robert E. Hunter

J. Peter Pham

Thomas R. Pickering

Benjamin Rivlin

Nancy Soderberg

Amir Taheri

What Is Track II Diplomacy?

by **A. Greer Pritchett**

Assistant Project Director, Northeast Asia Projects

At the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, we use what is called a “track II” approach to achieve our overarching goal of resolving conflicts that threaten U.S. interests. Utilizing this method uniquely positions us and sets us apart from many other non-profit, activist organizations. However, this begs the question, what is track II diplomacy?

Track II: A definition

Former secretary of defense William Perry, currently a senior fellow at Stanford University’s Hoover Institution and a frequent participant in track II discussions with counterparts from North Korea, including those sponsored by the NCAFP, has offered a simple, broad definition of track II diplomacy. He calls it, “the dialogue between non-officials of nations designed to make up for the perceived shortcomings in the official dialogue.”¹

Ronald J. Fisher, an academic pioneer in the field of conflict resolution, calls attention to the “variety of unofficial, facilitated interactions between antagonists in violent conflicts, involving high-level influentials that have the ear of the leaderships, and mid-level influentials from a variety of sectors, who can influence policy-making and/or public opinion.”²

Joseph Montville, a former State Department official, who is credited with originating the term track II diplomacy, defines it as “an unofficial, informal interaction between members of adversary groups or nations that aims to develop strategies, influence public opinion and organize human and material resources in ways that might help resolve their conflict.”³

Track II: Methodology and Merits of this Approach

Montville stresses, as do others, that track II diplomacy is in no way a substitute for official, formal (track I), government-to-government or leader-to-leader relationships. Rather, track II activity is designed to assist official leaders by compensating for the constraints imposed in official negotiations. Track II diplomacy is “a process that aims to help resolve or manage conflicts by exploring possible solutions out of the public view and without the requirements of formal negotiation or bargaining for advantage.” Simply, Montville says, “The goal is to take the edge off resentments,” creating opportunities for official diplomacy.

¹ *Carnegie Reporter*, Vol. 3/No.3, Fall 2005, “Track II Diplomacy: Can “Unofficial” Talks Avert Disaster?”

² Fisher, *Paving the Way: Contributions of Interactive Conflict Resolution to Peacemaking*, Lanham, MD: Lexington Books, 2005.

³ *Carnegie Reporter*, Vol. 3/No.3, Fall 2005, “Track II Diplomacy: Can “Unofficial” Talks Avert Disaster?”

Typically, track II diplomacy involves so-called workshops sponsored by neutral, non-governmental organizations. Attendees may include former top officials acting in an unofficial capacity. Often, the workshops are also attended by invited, interested individuals with influence on the adversarial governments. A number of theorists highlight the importance of “influentials” who have the potential to significantly affect the leadership’s thinking and policy-making. In this respect, it is worth noting that former secretary of state Henry A. Kissinger has played a key role in many of the NCAFP’s track II meetings with the DPRK since 2003. Other esteemed individuals such as the Honorable Paul A. Volcker, the Honorable Madeleine Albright, and the Honorable Winston Lord have also played important roles in our dialogues.

Many of the theorists of track II diplomacy stress the important role that such efforts play in overcoming the limits of official diplomacy. Harold H. Saunders, a former high-level government official and active participant in the Camp David accords and the Egyptian-Israeli peace treaty, stresses that it is more possible to achieve genuine mutual understanding in a non-official dialogue “where participants act as the human beings they are, than in official exchanges where the persons involved often speak as though they are the titles they hold.”⁴ One might add that the track II setting opens the possibility for less insular, “outside-the-Beltway” points of view to be expressed.

Additionally, the Track II approach:⁵

- Changes the attitudes of the parties in conflict by working to break down negative stereotypes and generalizations of the other side. This is especially true of parties who, due to political barriers, find it difficult to meet;
- Opens channels of communication and improves the quality of communication among parties in intractable conflicts;
- Aids in relationship and trust building. This sort of confidence and trust building is imperative, and the bonds formed during the “unofficial processes” often translate to the “official processes;”
- Builds not only professional networks and associations but also personal relationships as well. The approach allows for frank and open exchanges free from the formality of official dialogues. This allows for people to meet and get to know each other both within and outside of plenary sessions; and
- Provides new options for negotiation by generating creative ideas which might not be raised within the context of official negotiations.

Track II: The National Committee’s Experiences

The National Committee on American Foreign Policy has been running track II projects for over 15 years beginning with our efforts to end the conflict in Northern Ireland. For the past decade, we have worked on Northeast Asian security issues which have resulted in three ongoing track II projects – one on U.S.-China

⁴Harold H. Saunders, “Officials and Citizens in International Relationships: The Dartmouth Conference” in Volkan, Montville, and Julius, *The Psychodynamics of International Relationships, Vol. II: Unofficial Diplomacy at Work*, Lexington, MA: Lexington Books, 1991.

⁵Several of these points are drawn from Diana Chigas’ work entitled, “Track II (Citizen) Diplomacy.” For additional information, please go to http://www.beyondintractability.org/essay/track2_diplomacy/

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

relations with a particular emphasis on the Taiwan issue, a second on the North Korea nuclear challenge, and a third on the future of the U.S. alliances with Japan and South Korea. We have also established a Track II dialogue to address issues confronting the Central Asia/Caspian Sea Basin region.

The National Committee's Track II efforts are distinctive due to their bipartisan nature. For example, at our March 2007 meeting with Vice Minister Kim Kye-gwan from the DPRK we had two former Secretaries of State – Dr. Henry A. Kissinger and Dr. Madeleine Albright plus key congressional staffers from both Republican and Democratic parties. Similarly, our cross-Strait dialogues include participants from both the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) as well as the Kuomintang (KMT). We recognize that progress cannot be achieved without the participation of all concerned parties, factions, and voices.

Though it is difficult to quantifiably gauge “success rates” in Track II dialogues, we believe that there are concrete examples which attest to the merits of our efforts. The following are a few of our notable highlights.

On cross-Strait relations:

In the spring of 2000, following the first election of the Democratic Progressive Party (DPP) pro-independence leader, Chen Shui-bian as president of Taiwan, but before he was inaugurated, then deputy assistant secretary of defense Kurt Campbell, encouraged us to visit both Taiwan and China. In Taiwan, our role was to encourage prudence on the part of the newly elected President Chen. In the People's Republic of China (PRC), our role was to caution against any reckless response. The NCAFP, along with other track II organizations, followed this course in both capitals. Subsequently, President Chen gave the NCAFP credit for helping him to formulate the “four no's”, which were, in effect, a pledge not to declare formal, *de jure* independence. The PRC, for its part, later came to adjust its strategy in dealing with Taiwan from one largely of threats and “sticks,” to one of trying to win the “hearts and minds” of the Taiwan people.

On the North Korean Nuclear Problem:

According to both U.S. and North Korean officials, our summer 2005 conference in New York played a “decisive” role in the resumption of the Six-Party Talks in the fall of 2005 and in the agreement of Joint Principles reached at that meeting.

Furthermore, our conference in March 2006 played an equally important role in paving the way for a compromise on the financial sanctions previously imposed on the North Koreans by the U.S. It also helped lay the groundwork for the turnaround in the Bush Administration's policy on North Korea that scholar Leon Sigal traces to October 2006.

On the Northern Ireland Peace Initiative:

In the words of Dr. Henry Kissinger, “If it could happen in Ireland, with the history of Ireland and the distrust, I'd like to think it could happen anywhere.” The National Committee on American Foreign Policy has been committed to bringing peace to Northern Ireland since 1994 and was instrumental in helping the peace process along. One of the project's defining moments, and greatest accomplishments, was our success in securing a 48 hour visa for Gerry Adams, head of Sinn Fein and reputedly a former chief of the IRA. Working with the U.S. State Department, and when that failed,

NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY

working behind the scenes with Senator Edward Kennedy, Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith, Tony Lake, President Clinton's national security adviser, and Lake's deputy, Nancy Soderberg, we were able to obtain a visa for Mr. Adams to attend an NCAFP conference in New York.

This laid the foundation for subsequent meetings between all concerned parties which led to, after 14 long years of work, the historic power-sharing agreement reached on May 8, 2007.

14 YEARS OF NCAFP IN NORTHERN IRELAND

*On December 3, 2007, the National on American Foreign Policy had the honor of having as our guests of honor at lunch in New York, **First Minister Ian Paisley**, his wife **Baroness Paisley**, **Deputy First Minister Martin McGuinness**, and Ministers **Nigel Dodds** and **Ian Paisley, Jr.**, all members of the new power-sharing government in Northern Ireland.*

*The National Committee Chairman, **William J. Flynn**, congratulated Messrs. Paisley and McGuinness on overcoming the years of violent conflict in Northern Ireland and taking the path toward a secure and prosperous future. The Committee congratulated both men for the stability and confidence they managed to create in Northern Ireland.. The Committee offered its support to both men as they embarked on the effort to promote their key goal: growing the economy of Northern Ireland.*

This was a special day for the National Committee, for it marked the successful conclusion of the Committee's 14-year effort in support of the Peace Process in Northern Ireland. The Committee's effort began in the fall of 1993 in response to the issuance of the Downing Street Declaration by Prime Minister John Major and Taoiseach Albert Reynolds. We had become firm believers in the principles set forth in the Declaration.

Following up on that Declaration, we invited the five key political leaders of Northern Ireland which, importantly, included the Rev. Ian Paisley to come to New York, in early 1994 to deliver publicly their response to the Downing Street Declaration. All accepted the invitation and the Peace Process came to life.



First Minister Ian Paisley, NCAFP Chairman William J. Flynn and Deputy First Minister Martin McGuinness at the Dec. 3rd luncheon

There followed on August 30, 1994 the IRA ceasefire and six weeks later, the Loyalist ceasefire. Progress from that point on was quite bumpy. But in 1998 came the Good Friday Agreement, and in early 2007, the St. Andrew's Agreement. Thus it was that on May 8th of this year (2007) the new power-sharing government was installed at Stormont Castle. And we all cheered.

HOW YOU CAN GIVE TO NCAFP

The National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP) depends on the financial support of individuals, corporations and foundations. That financial support serves to fund NCAFP programs as well as cover our operating expenses.

Our programs are rigorously evaluated to ensure that they should continually create educated and constructive initiatives that will protect American interests in the international community and promote peace and welfare throughout the world.

If you or your company would like to support the National Committee on American Foreign Policy's work, please become a member. Information on individual and corporate membership is available on the website or by contacting our Programs Office at (212) 224-1146.

Of course, contributions in any amount are gratefully accepted. In addition to membership dues, please also remember that you can contribute directly to a project of your choice.

Please consider a matching gift program if one is available at your place of business.

For gift of stock or information on bequests you may contact our office at (212) 224-1120 for additional information.

The National Committee on American Foreign Policy is an independent, non-partisan, not-for-profit qualifying for tax-exempt organization status as described in Section 501 (c) (3) of the United States Internal Revenue Code. Contributions are deductible to the full extent allowed by law.