

**THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY**

HIGHLIGHTS: 2007



A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT

December 2007

Our Mission

The National Committee on American Foreign Policy was founded in 1974 by Professor Hans J. Morgenthau and others. It is a nonprofit activist organization dedicated to the resolution of conflicts that threaten U.S. interests. Toward that end, the National Committee identifies, articulates, and helps advance American foreign policy interests from a nonpartisan perspective within the framework of political realism.

American foreign policy interests include

- preserving and strengthening national security;
- supporting countries committed to the values and the practice of political, religious, and cultural pluralism;
- improving U.S. relations with the developed and developing worlds;
- advancing human rights;
- encouraging realistic arms-control agreements;
- curbing the proliferation of nuclear and other unconventional weapons;
- promoting an open and global economy.

Believing that an informed public is vital to a democratic society, the National Committee offers educational programs that address security challenges facing the United States and publishes a variety of publications, including its bimonthly journal, *American Foreign Policy Interests*, that present keen analyses of all aspects of American foreign policy.



December 31, 2007

Dear Reader:

As 2007 comes to a close, I wish you a Happy and Healthful New Year.

It is customary at the end of the year to submit to you an annual overview of the activities of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP), and this year is no exception. I am delighted to report that we had another stellar year. Our membership is growing, as is our global reach, thanks to the expertise provided by leading specialists who direct our numerous projects, the quality of the policy briefings the Committee is privileged to provide, and the growing number of NCAFP publications.

The NCAFP is especially proud of the seminal role it played for almost fifteen years in bringing peace to Northern Ireland. The forums we provided in New York for nonstate leaders of such organizations as Sinn Fein and the Loyalists to engage in track I-1/2 and track II diplomacy especially under the astute leadership of William J. Flynn and also Thomas J. Moran were in large measure responsible for the breakthrough that led to the resolution of the conflict in that troubled land.

Widely known for its track I -1/2 and track II work, as acknowledged by, among others, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Committee has sponsored multilateral dialogues on the North Korean nuclear issue that has materially contributed to North Korea's pledge to terminate its nuclear weapons program.* Participants in the talks in the past five years have included former secretaries of state Henry A. Kissinger and Madeleine Albright. Although the road to total denuclearization remains rocky, intensive negotiations will continue.

The precursor to the North Korea project, the NCAFP's project on U.S.-China Relations and the Question of Taiwan, has been widely acknowledged for the past eleven years by Washington, Beijing, and Taipei as having greatly contributed to stability in the Taiwan Straits. Both projects are ably conducted by Professor Donald S. Zagoria who recently moderated a panel discussion on "Asia Rising: Challenges for the United States" with Ambassadors Winston Lord, Nicholas Platt, and Raymond Burghardt and Professor Robert Scalapino. Articles focused on security issues in that part of the world regularly appear in the NCAFP's bimonthly journal, *American Foreign Policy Interests* (AFPI).

The NCAFP under the leadership of George Schwab and Donald Zagoria led a fact-finding mission to Beijing, Taipei, and Tokyo and continues to host delegations from the three capitals as well as Seoul.

*See the fall 2005 issue of the *Carnegie Reporter* (published by the Carnegie Corporation, 6ff.). In it the NCAFP is given credit for the resumption of six-party talks in Beijing in 2005. It also noted that the NCAFP's off-the-record and closed-door two-day meeting with the North Koreans and others has received what can only be called "rave reviews in diplomatic circles." (11)

Notwithstanding the great loss the National Committee incurred with the death of Ambassador Fereydoun Hoveyda, our Middle East project under the guidance of the NCAFP's senior fellow Amir Taheri is alive and well.

The Middle East project hosted a closed-door and off-the-record roundtable discussion on "The Middle East: Perspectives and Prospects." A summary as well as policy recommendations was published in the NCAFP's booklet series. One recommendation that warrants reiteration states that "political realism favors a multifaceted approach that includes engaging Iran in track I, I-1/2, and II diplomatic and academic talks while maintaining effective economic sanctions in order to convince Iran's leadership of the necessity of resolving its nuclear ambitions. A nuclear Iran in the hands of theological fanatics with far-reaching ambitions is unacceptable."

Because of the centrality of the Middle East in the U.S. security equation, the NCAFP also hosted a series of well-attended public gatherings: "Lebanon: The Battleground of Proxy Wars" with Amir Taheri, Hassan I. Mneimneh, and Raghida Dergham; "The Middle East Peace Process: Significance of the Region and Beyond" with H.E. Dan Gillerman and Kenneth J. Bialkin, Esq.; "Palestinian Statehood: Imperative for Peace" with H.E. Riyad Mansour; "Muslims in France: Integration or Jihad?" with Professors Bernard E. Brown, Martin A. Schain, and Mr. Jeremy Shapiro. In addition, numerous articles on the challenges of the Middle East have appeared in AFPI.

Following the publication in 2006 of the NCAFP's report on *U.S.-UN Relations* with contributions by, among others, Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr.; Ambassadors John R. Bolton, William H. Luers, and Nancy Soderberg; Professors Edward C. Luck and Thomas G. Weiss; and Stephen Schlesinger, Esq., ably organized and presided over by Professor Benjamin Rivlin and Ambassador Donald M. Blinken, the NCAFP decided to continue with the U.S.-UN Project under their stewardship and hosted in May 2007 a closed-door and off-the-record roundtable on *UN-U.S. Relations* with, among others, Dr. Jacques Fomerand, Mr. James S. Sutterlin, and Mr. Benny Avni. In addition to sharing the conclusions with members at a panel discussion, the NCAFP published a summary of the contents of the roundtable with NCAFP policy recommendations in AFPI and in our booklet series.

Based on the activities of the UN Human Rights Council, successor to the Human Rights Commission, the NCAFP is planning to host in 2008 a roundtable and off-the-record discussion of the Council, a body that materially contributes to the poor reputation of the UN.

The Central Asia Project led by Senior Vice President Donald S. Rice, Esq., and Professor Michael Rywkin hosted a closed-door and off-the-record roundtable discussion with representatives from Kazakhstan's Presidential Administration, the National Security Committee, the Ministry of Defense, and the National Asset Management Company. American participants included representatives from the Department of

State, the Department of Defense, and the Office of the Vice President. The aim of this roundtable was to deal with “perceptions and misconceptions on the part of officials responsible for geopolitical issues, defense, and security” in Astana and Washington. The meeting in New York was followed by a fact-finding trip to Kazakhstan in June. Summaries with NCAFP policy recommendations have been published in two booklets in our series as well as in AFPI. It is not an overstatement to observe that the NCAFP’s work has sensitized Washington to the geopolitical significance of the region and materially affected U.S. foreign policy toward Central Asia.

The current thrust of the Transatlantic Project is to study how best to confront the new geopolitical realities emerging in non-Russian Europe. The great influx of Muslims into Europe, 9/11, the ability of Iranian missiles to reach Europe, and the reemergence of Europe’s neighbor Russia as a player in the global arena of politics are worrisome especially in view of the fact that Europe without the presence of NATO lacks a credible defense posture. In short, the days are gone when experts and politicians on both sides of the Atlantic argued that NATO had lost its *raison d’être* and Europe could afford to disconnect itself from the United States. After boxing itself into a corner and displaying its military feebleness, anti-Americanism, including its French variant, is on the decline. In light of those developments, AFPI has featured articles illuminating the following titles: “Putin’s Russia”; “God and Man in the French Riots”; “The Evolution of NATO”; and “The Future of NATO.” Also casting light on the subject, which is of concern to the NCAFP, was Dr. Vaira Vike-Freiberga, former president of Latvia, who addressed the National Committee on “Putin’s Russia and the Near Abroad as Viewed from the Baltics.”

Two research reports were undertaken by David L. Phillips: (1) On Albania, which serves as an implementation review of the NCAFP report of May 2005 titled “Albania.” The review notes measurable progress. It recommends that NATO invite Albania to join the alliance while maintaining that EU membership is a distant yet realizable goal. (2) On “Disarming, Demobilizing, and Reintegrating the Kurdistan Worker’s Party (PKK),” the report describes a solution to the PKK problem through Turkey’s continued democratization and economic development of Kurdish areas. It discourages Turkish military action for fear that it would radicalize Turkish Kurds and risk a regional conflagration that would adversely affect relations between the United States and Turkey and compromise Turkey’s candidacy for membership in the European Union (EU). (Phillips briefed members of the executive branch of the U.S. government, the House International Relations Committee, the Congressional Human Right Caucus, and conducted interviews with leading print, television, and radio media, including *The New York Times*, the Associated Press, NBC News, Bloomberg News, and Voice of America.) In addition, Phillips directed a study group that included NCAFP members as well as representatives from the Atlantic Council and Columbia University. Its members looked at ways in which providing assistance in establishing democracy can advance U.S. interests. The report titled “Enhancing Democracy Assistance” will be

released in January 2008.

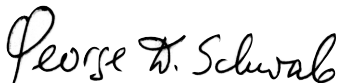
The NCAFP recently introduced a new meeting format, the salon. In the intimacy of private homes, leading experts brief NCAFP patrons and corporate members on critical foreign policy issues affecting U.S. interests. Two such meetings have been held so far.

As noted, the NCAFP's reach is growing, and in part this can be attributed to the quality of participants it attracts to its numerous projects and programs. In addition to names already mentioned, others include Shashi Tharoor; the Hon. Donald P. Gregg; Lt. General Karl Eikenberry; Major General (Ret.) John D. Altenburg; Ambassador Javad Zarif; the Hon. Peter Robinson; the Hon. Martin McGuinness; Reverend Dr. Ian Paisley; Mr. Robert D. Hormats; Lt. General Peter Chiarelli. The in-depth articles written for AFPI by American and foreign authors add, of course, to our international reputation. In addition to those already noted are Xu Shiquan (China); Abdullah Gül (Turkey); Joseph W. Foxell, Jr. (U.S.); Barry F. Lowenkron (U.S.); Patrick Keller (Germany); The Hon. Tedo Japaridze (Georgia); Bernard E. Brown (U.S.); Michael Rühle (NATO HQ, Belgium); Peter Pham (U.S.); Michael Rywkin (U.S.); Edwina McMahon (U.S.); Colonel Jeffrey D. McCausland (U.S.); Masoud Kazemzadeh (U.S.). Mention must also be made of requests we receive from the Department of State to brief foreign delegations and individuals whom it hosts.

In view of the multiplicity of quality programs we undertake, the NCAFP 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 friends, and from foundations (including 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 NCAFP also succeeded in raising money that will enable it to resume the Angier Biddle Duke Lecture Series. 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 I, I-1/2, and II projects to successful conclusions; and to realize the mission the NCAFP undertook to perform thirty-three years ago.

Testimonials from statesmen, diplomats, and politicians are appended.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in cursive script that reads "George W. Schwab". The signature is written in dark ink and is positioned above the printed name of the signatory.

President

ENCOMIUMS

“Mutual understanding and respect among nations help promote peace, tolerance, and prosperity around the world. Since 1974, your organization has helped advance American foreign policy and resolve conflicts that threaten our national security.... I appreciate members of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy for your commitment to furthering human rights, strengthening our global economy, and extending freedom and democracy to people everywhere.”

President George W. Bush



“The National Committee’s 1994 Conference on Northern Ireland...helped to set the stage for an historic period of U.S. engagement in promoting peace in Northern Ireland. By reaching out to key Irish and British political leaders, you contributed to IRA and loyalist cease-fires. We are grateful for your abiding commitment to the cause of peace and for your extraordinary contributions in advancing that goal.”

President Bill Clinton



“On behalf of...Secretary [of State Condoleeza] Rice thanks for forwarding the report on the [January 2005] visit to Beijing and Taiwan by members of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy...The Perspectives reviewed in your report were very helpful and have been studied carefully by the Department. I appreciate you sharing your observations and welcome other reports from the Committee on foreign policy topics of interest.”

Joseph Donovan

**Director, Office of Chinese and Mongolian Affairs
U.S. Department of State**



“I would like to take this opportunity to commend the National Committee for over a quarter of a century, almost 30 years now, of leadership in shaping our nation’s foreign policy debate. In the finest traditions of Hans Morgenthau, the National Committee continues

to articulate an American role in the world that combines realism with our core values. And never before have our core values been more important.”

The Honorable Colin L. Powell
Secretary of State



“I just wanted to thank you for your summary of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy’s trip to Beijing and Taipei this past January [2005]. This is a perfect example of what ‘open source intelligence’ can provide, and I have disseminated your findings through appropriate channels. The cross-strait situation will continue to remain on the forefront of our consciousness for the foreseeable future. Your work on this subject couldn’t be more timely – thank you so much for bringing it to my attention.”

The Honorable John D. Negroponte
Director of National Intelligence



“The persistent, well-informed efforts by you and your highly qualified group have built trust in all three capitals [Washington, Beijing, Taipei]. The access and insights that you develop as a result are invaluable as we all pursue peace in the Taiwan Strait.”

James F. Moriarty
Former Special Assistant to the President
Senior Advisor on Asian Affairs, National Security Council



“Let me express once more my admiration for the way the Committee has pursued its chartered task and for the success it has had in that effort.”

The Honorable George F. Kennan
Former U.S. Ambassador to the Soviet Union



“My enthusiasm for the splendid work of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy is reflected in my active participation in its programs. No other foreign policy organization does a better job of leveraging its resources to stimulate and inform the national debate on America’s role in the world.”

The Honorable Winston Lord

**Former Assistant Secretary of State for East Asian and Pacific Affairs
Former U.S. Ambassador to China**



“I am delighted to hear that the outstanding work of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy goes on unabated, analyzing and developing your country’s role in international affairs.”

**The Rt. Hon. The Baroness Margaret Thatcher,
L.G., O.M., F.R.S.**



“I want to thank you again for inviting me to attend the conference earlier this week [August 2004] on North Korea sponsored by the National Committee on American Foreign Policy. This conference was the rare exception to my experience with so many Track II conferences—the issues were timely, the participants well-informed and representative of all the parties, and the presentations and discussions first-rate.”

Mitchell B. Reiss

Director, Policy Planning Staff, U.S. Department of State



“The National Committee on American Foreign Policy’s program is the best track two effort that exists in contributing to the stability in the Taiwan Strait.”

President Chen Shui-bian, Taiwan



“The National Committee on American Foreign Policy is very renowned in Chinese diplomatic circles. It does useful work in promoting U.S.-

China relations. The Chinese side attaches great importance to your visits.”

His Excellency Tang Jiaxuan
State Councilor, People’s Republic of China



“Thanks to the NCAFP for providing an institutional home for the ideas and ideals of the realist tradition.”

The Honorable James A. Baker III
Former Secretary of State



“It is not every day I praise another foreign affairs organization. But I want to do just that...After thirty years, the National Committee on American Foreign Policy is going strong. This is a very good thing for all of us. The National Committee stands out as an oasis of non-partisanship and serious thought about this country’s purpose in the world.”

The Honorable Richard N. Haass
President of the Council on Foreign Relations



“The NCAFP’s role in fostering peace and reconciliation in Northern Ireland is exemplary. It has provided a forum where representatives of the communities can express their points of view and know that they will be heard by an audience willing to share its experience in foreign policy and to offer constructive advice.”

Noel Fahey
Ambassador of Ireland to the United States



“Through its discussions, publications, and direct involvement in crises from Northern Ireland, to China, to North Korea, and the Middle East, the National Committee has made an important contribution to ensuring America’s national interests are advanced from a nonpartisan perspective within the framework of Morgenthau’s political realism.”

The Honorable Nancy Soderberg
Vice President, International Crisis Group
Former Ambassador to the United Nations



“American Foreign Policy Interests’ is an effective journal in the field of foreign affairs - and little is more vital for the enigmatic future than clearheaded discussions of America’s role in the world.”

Arthur M. Schlesinger, Jr.
Dean of American Historians



“Since 1974, the National Committee on American Foreign Policy has provided a high standard of analysis and perspective regarding many areas where conflict resolution is critical. From experts in diplomacy to members of academia, the Committee represents some of the most perceptive minds and point[s] of view that have added an important component to sensitive global debates.”

Governor George E. Pataki



“I believe that the NCAFP has performed a very valuable service on the work in cross-strait relations which you ably coordinate. I read carefully all of the trip and roundtable reports.... I find that they provide valuable insights on views in the Mainland and on Taiwan and on possibilities for renewing dialogue between the two sides. Participants from both Taiwan and the Mainland have told me that your roundtable meetings provide them with unique opportunities to interact and informally exchange views. In the absence of any official channel between the two sides, this opportunity for Track Two contact is especially important.”

Raymond F. Burghardt
Former Director, American Institute in Taiwan



“Taiwan is a key and difficult issue in U.S. diplomacy with the PRC, an issue to which I have been devoting considerable attention. I have therefore found especially helpful the opportunities to meet with various NCAFP delegations over the past year.... The NCAFP has produced a series of helpful reports on its cross-strait program, including a recent interim report, ‘Cross-Strait Relations: Breaking the Impasse,’ which has many useful insights. Your inputs and insights are about the most balanced and useful that we see.”

The Honorable Joseph W. Prueher
Former U.S. Ambassador to China



“Since its establishment in 1974, the National Committee on American Foreign Policy has demonstrated a commitment to promoting human rights, supporting our allies, and advancing the interests of the United States.”

Michael R. Bloomberg
Mayor of New York



NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, INC.

FOUNDER – DR. HANS J. MORGENTHAU

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