

**THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON  
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY**

**HIGHLIGHTS: 2004**



**A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT**  
*December 2004*

## *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 23, 2004

## 2004 National Committee Activities: An Overview

Dear Reader:

The purpose of this year-end letter is to highlight National Committee activities that took place during 2004—the year in which the National Committee on American Foreign Policy celebrated its thirtieth anniversary. What a year it was! The Committee commemorated the anniversary at a stellar dinner at the Waldorf=Astoria in March. The highlight of the evening was the presentation of the Hans J. Morgenthau Award to Richard Haass and the George F. Kennan Award to Maurice Greenberg and their compelling acceptance speeches.

As we witnessed in 2004 and in preceding years as well, the Committee continues to grow in size and stature. New projects have been launched, and the demand for our publications, including our bimonthly journal, *American Foreign Policy Interests*, is expanding. Although we have made substantial contributions to shaping the U.S. foreign policy debate, we cannot afford to rest on our laurels. The Committee is determined to move forward, which we did unmistakably when we recently launched a closed-door, off-the-record Track One and One-Half task force (involving present and former government officials, think-tank experts, and scholars). In effect, the North Korea task force launched in 2003 has matured into the Forum on Northeast Asian Security cochaired by Dr. Henry A. Kissinger and the Honorable Paul A. Volcker. In the recent past the National Committee hosted the second multilateral two-day conference attended by a senior North Korean delegation led by Ambassador Ri Gun and senior U.S. policymakers from the National Security Council and the Department of State. The National Committee also launched bilateral task forces on U.S.-Japan and U.S.-South Korea relations and a task force on U.S.-Kazakhstan relations. The foreign minister of Kazakhstan, H.E. Kassymzhomart Tokaev, led two delegations to New York recently for talks with National Committee experts and others on concerns facing both countries.

The National Committee's Track One and One-Half task force on U.S.-China-Taiwan Relations is in its eighth year. In addition to hosting Chinese and Taiwanese delegations in New York for roundtable discussions and briefings, the National Committee has continued to send fact-finding delegations to Beijing and Taipei and, more recently, Tokyo in recognition of the fact that Japan has become a member of the Committee's task force that has been designed to facilitate discussions of issues relating to security in East Asia. Together with the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS), the National Committee on American Foreign Policy hosted in October a closed-door and off-the-record forum in Washington,

D.C., on U.S. postelection policy toward China, Taiwan, and North Korea. Participants included Richard C. Bush, former head of the American Institute in Taiwan; Dr. Kurt M. Campbell, senior vice president of CSIS; Joseph R. DeTrani, special envoy for the six-party talks; Robert Einhorn, senior adviser of CSIS; John J. Hamre, president and CEO of CSIS; Arnold Kanter, former undersecretary of state; the Honorable Richard Lawless, deputy undersecretary of defense for Asian and Pacific affairs; the Honorable Winston Lord, former assistant secretary of state for East Asian and Pacific affairs; Derek J. Mitchell, senior fellow at CSIS; Donald Oberdorfer, journalist-in-residence at Johns Hopkins University's Nitze School of Advanced International Studies; the Honorable William J. Perry, former secretary of defense; the Honorable J. Stapelton Roy, former U.S. ambassador to China; Professor Robert Scalapino, University of California at Berkeley; Randall G. Schriver, deputy assistant secretary of state for the Bureau of East Asian and Pacific Affairs; and Dr. Donald S. Zagoria, the National Committee's project director on U.S.-China-Taiwan Relations and Northeast Asian Security. Bringing about a politico-military détente between mainland China and Taiwan is uncertain at the moment. Nevertheless, the three governments continue to request our assistance and have praised our efforts. Unlike the Committee's perception of the current state of our projects on China, Taiwan, and North Korea, we believe that we can finally see the advent of peace in Northern Ireland.

As I reported to you a year ago, the Middle East continues to occupy the National Committee, as it has for the last thirty years. As you surely remember, the phrase "militant Islamic fundamentalism" and the notion that there cannot be genuine peace between Islamic fundamentalists and what its proponents call the infidel West as long as the mind-set of fundamentalists remains anchored in the Middle Ages originated at the National Committee on American Foreign Policy. Such ideas are now widely accepted in the West and have even won the adherence of some Muslim scholars (see the 2002 *UN Arab Human Development Report*). Gaining currency too is the proposal that programs must be launched to reform this mind-set to bring it into the twenty-first century. It is noteworthy that the National Committee is now focusing attention on differences in the ways in which Islamic fundamentalism developed in Arab and non-Arab countries. Recently the National Committee hosted the fourth closed-door roundtable discussion by Muslim scholars, former diplomats, and journalists titled "Democratic Reform and the Role of Women in the Muslim World." The detailed discussions enabled the participants to propose a set of policy recommendations.

The U.S.-European Relations project is engaged in discussing issues that may affect the stability of the relationship. In the spring the National Committee hosted its third closed-door roundtable titled "Anti-Americanism in Europe: Summary and Policy Recommendations," and in November the National Committee cohosted with the Dwight D. Eisenhower Security Series a closed-door roundtable discussion on repairing the transatlantic

relationship. Participants included Philippe Errera (deputy director of the Policy Planning Staff of the French Foreign Ministry), Ambassador Dieter Kastrup (the recently retired foreign policy and security adviser to Chancellor Schroeder of Germany), Robert E. Hunter (former U.S. ambassador to NATO), and Dr. Bryan T. van Sweringen (Europe Liaison Officer of the United States Army).

The National Committee has often been asked to designate members of its task forces to brief foreign delegations on U.S. policy issues. Such visitors have included Finnish editors-in-chief, a delegation of young Russian foreign policy specialists who were hosted by the U.S. Department of State, and a delegation of Young European Leaders from Austria, Bulgaria, Cyprus, Finland, Germany, Greece, Iceland, Italy, Lithuania, Sweden, and the United Kingdom — also hosted by the Department of State.

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.

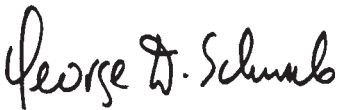
But that is not all. Beyond the setting of roundtable discussions, members and guests were kept abreast this year of on- and off-the-record briefings by Sheik Muhammad Kabbani on “Are We Winning the War on Terrorism?” (January); Professor Ruth Wedgwood on “The Law of War and Al-Qaeda Combatants”; the Honorable Hugh Orde (chief constable, the Police Service for Northern Ireland) on “Policing in Northern Ireland Today”; General Ralph E. Eberhart on “Homeland Defense: National Security Post-9/11” (March); the Honorable Gerry Kelly (Sinn Fein spokesperson on policing) on “Policing in Northern Ireland Today”; Dr. Joseph S. Nye, Jr., on “Soft Power: The War on Terrorism” (April); a panel discussion on “Anti-Americanism in Europe: Why? How Deep? How Important?” with Professors Bernard E. Brown (the National Committee’s project director on transatlantic relations); Joseph LaPalombara (Yale University); and Ronald Tiersky (Amherst College) and the Honorable Herman J. Cohen (former assistant secretary of state); Dr. Eduardo Bohórquez (WestSphere Capital Advisors, L.P.) (May); H.E. Idriss Jazairy, “The New Strategic Partnership Between the United States and Algeria” (June); Ambassador Dan Gillerman, “Israel, Security, and the Fence”; H.E. Abdullah Gül, “Turkey’s Strategic Regional Interests,” cosponsored with the American Turkish Society (September); Ambassador Mitchell Reiss, “Northern Ireland, American Principles, and the Peace Process”; the Honorable Dennis Ross, “The Missing Peace: The Inside Story of the Fight for Middle East Peace”; a panel discussion on “Foreign Policy in the Next Administration” with the Honorable Richard C. Holbrooke, Lt. General Brent Scowcroft, USAF (Ret.), and the Honorable Nancy Soderberg (October); a panel discussion on repairing the transatlantic relationship with Ambassadors Herman Cohen, Robert E. Hunter, Dieter Kastrup, Philippe Errera, Dr. Bryan T. van Sweringen, and

Professor Bernard E. Brown (November); a panel discussion on U.S.-Russian relations with ambassadors Andrey Denisov (Russia's permanent representative to the UN), Jack Matlock (former U.S. ambassador to the Soviet Union), Richard Gardner (former U.S. ambassador to Spain and Italy), and Anders Åslund (former economic adviser to the governments of Russia and Ukraine) (December).

With the proliferation of global conflicts, the National Committee has increasingly been called on to lend its expertise to help bring about the lessening of tensions in parts of the world where U.S. security interests are at stake. Engagements of this kind require considerable monetary support. We are grateful for the support we receive from Mutual of America, from foundations (the Edith C. Blum Foundation, the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Dwight D. Eisenhower Security Series, the Ford Foundation, the Japan Foundation Center for Global Partnership, the Henry Luce Foundation, the Ploughshares Fund, the Smith Richardson Foundation, and the U.S.-Japan Foundation), and from our members and friends. Generosity of this kind will enable the National Committee to continue to offer exemplary programs on a wide range of foreign policy problems, will strengthen its Track One and One-Half work, will enhance the organization's achievements and stature, and will fulfill its mission. Testimonials from statesmen, diplomats, and politicians are appended.

As the year 2004 is drawing to a close, let us celebrate fond memories, warm friendships, and peace and goodwill.

Sincerely,

A handwritten signature in black ink that reads "George D. Schwab". The signature is written in a cursive, flowing style with a large initial "G".

George D. Schwab  
President

*ENCOMIUMS*

*“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**

*“I commend you for the thoughtfulness and sophistication of the analysis that you generated at the Committee’s Roundtable. Your report makes a valuable and timely contribution, particularly given the recent visit of Chinese Vice Premier, Qian Qichen. The NCAFP continues to be held in high esteem in the international affairs community. We look forward to your continuing efforts to illuminate these difficult and important issues.”*

**The Honorable Colin L. Powell  
Secretary of State**

On the NCAFP Track II Project on U.S.-China-Taiwan Relations

*“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.**

*“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**

*“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**

*“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**



# NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, INC.

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