

**THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY**

HIGHLIGHTS: 2005



A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT
December 2005

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 29, 2005

2005 National Committee Activities: An Overview

Dear Reader:

The purpose of the annual year-end letter is to highlight National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP) activities that took place in 2005 and to wish you a Happy and Healthful New Year.

As an American foreign policy organization that has earned its reputation as a prime mover in promoting the resolution of conflicts in many parts of the world, the National Committee is pleased to report on the state of its health at the end of the year. It is excellent: The Committee continues to grow; it has launched new projects; and in response to demand, it has expanded its publications program, which has influenced the nature of the U.S. foreign policy debate.

In the short span of a month last summer, the NCAFP reaped the fruits of projects it has been involved in for years: (1) the IRA's decision to remove the bullet from politics, and (2) the decision by North Korea to return to the six-party talks in Beijing on August 1, 2005. Commenting on one of the NCAFP's achievements, Dr. Henry Kissinger noted, as reported in *The New York Times*, "If it could happen in Ireland, with the history of Ireland and the distrust, I'd like to think it could happen anywhere." In the fall 2005 issue of the *Carnegie Reporter* (published by the Carnegie Corporation), readers were informed that the National Committee's off-the-record and closed-door two-day meeting [with the North Koreans and others] received what can only be called "rave reviews in diplomatic circles."

However welcome such congratulatory comments are, in international politics, as we know, much depends on process. In other words, to enhance and advance our achievements in these and other processes, the NCAFP must have the resources to continue to play its central role.

To commemorate our success in two endeavors, the NCAFP presented the William J. Flynn Initiative for Peace Award this year to three outstanding individuals involved in resolving conflicts: Gerry Adams and Governor Hugh L. Carey for their

endeavors in the North and in the United States to advance the peace process in Northern Ireland and to Viola Herms Drath for her 1988 article in the National Committee's publication in which she articulated the idea that soon became known as the "2+4" process that led to the unification of Germany in 1990.

When programmatic activities resumed in the fall of 2005, the NCAFP, at the invitation of the Washington-based Eisenhower National Security Series, cohosted its two-day Annual Security Conference attended primarily by hundreds of U.S. policy decision makers and officers of the armed forces. Ours was the lead panel. It was orchestrated and led by Professor Bernard E. Brown, our project director on Transatlantic Relations. We were there in strength, discussing the meaning of "Power and National Sovereignty" in a changing world.

I am pleased to tell you that the report that the Committee issued in connection with a recent project that we launched, which included specific recommendations that Albania can follow to prevent it from becoming a failed state, with all that such a development would produce for Balkan and European stability, has been well received by the newly elected prime minister. He has expressed his intent to implement many of the recommendations.

In another part of the world, in Kazakhstan, the NCAFP conducted a fact-finding mission led by Professor Michael Rywkin and Senior Vice President Donald S. Rice. Our report with policy recommendations was distributed widely and translated into Russian. It appears to have materially influenced our foreign policy decision makers in Washington, D.C.

Our other Track I-1/2 and Track II projects are very active. In the case of U.S.-China-Taiwan Relations, the NCAFP sent a delegation to Beijing where it was hosted by the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council, the principal Chinese governmental office dealing with the Cross-Strait issue. In Taiwan the delegation was hosted by the Foreign Ministry. As the NCAFP has done for nine years, in talks in Washington, Beijing, and Taipei, it explored ways and means of stabilizing Cross-Strait relations. In the words of President Chen Shui-bian of Taiwan, "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."

In New York and Washington, the NCAFP hosts and at times

cohosts senior delegations from China and Taiwan. Cohosts have included the Asia Society in New York and the Center for Strategic and International Studies (CSIS) in Washington, D.C. Most recently, in November 2005, the NCAFP cohosted with the Asia Society a closed-door and off-the-record roundtable discussion on U.S.-China Relations and the Taiwan Question. The large delegation from China was headed by the Honorable WANG Zaixi, vice minister of the Taiwan Affairs Office of China's State Council. Others in his delegation included Mr. YANG Liuchang, deputy director general of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council, and Mr. PENG Qingen, deputy division chief of the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council. American participants included Brigadier General John Allen, principal director, Asia and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of Defense; Mr. James Keith, special adviser, East Asian and Pacific Affairs, U.S. Department of State; Mr. Noah S. Zaring, political/military affairs officer, Office of Chinese and Mongolian Affairs, U.S. Department of State; Professors David Denoon, Robert A. Scalapino, WANG Jianwei, and Donald S. Zagoria; former U.S. ambassadors Raymond Burghardt, Winston Lord, Nicholas Platt, J. Stapleton Roy, and Mr. Alan D. Romberg.

In addition to the NCAFP's project on North Korea, which involves South Korea, China, Japan, and Russia, we have active programs dealing with U.S.-Japan relations and U.S.-Japan-South Korea relations. They come under the umbrella of the Forum on Northeast Asian Security led by Professor Donald S. Zagoria and cochaired by Dr. Henry A. Kissinger and the Honorable Paul A. Volcker.

The Middle East, as you know, has been a main focus of the NCAFP since its inception in 1974. At the time of its founding, it was the only significant U.S. foreign policy organization (under the leadership of Professor Hans J. Morgenthau) to argue that because Israel was the sole liberal democratic state in a region occupied by autocratic Arab governments, it was the only genuine friend and ally of the United States in the region. The NCAFP argued that there was a natural convergence of strategic interest between the United States and Israel in the face of the Soviet challenge, a conclusion that was not recognized in Washington until General Alexander Haig, Jr., became secretary of state and articulated a policy of strategic consensus with Israel. In the years that followed, the NCAFP was prescient in discerning a development it called militant Islamic fundamentalism. Parsing the political reality behind that

phrase led to the notion that there cannot be genuine peace between militant Islam (mostly confined to the Arab Middle East) and what its proponents call the infidel West as long as the mind-set of fundamentalists remains anchored in the Middle Ages. As you surely remember, such thoughts were anathema almost until 9/11 but are now widely embraced here and abroad.

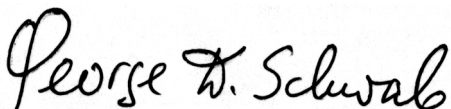
The Middle East project under the leadership of Ambassador Fereydoun Hoveyda is at the present time focusing its attention on the role Arab Muslim women can play in helping to shape a new and open Middle East. Toward this end we hosted a roundtable discussion in 2005 on “Arab Women and the Future of the Middle East” and a roundtable discussion in 2004 on “Democratic Reform and the Role of Women in the Muslim World.” The reports, in booklet form and in our bimonthly journal, *American Foreign Policy Interests*, have been widely distributed here and abroad.

Progress reports of the work done by the NCAFP are shared with members, decision makers, and the foreign policy public through numerous venues: panel discussions, foreign policy briefings, and National Committee publications. For example, in January Amir Taheri briefed the Committee on “The War on Terrorism”; in March we hosted a book party for Ambassador Nancy Soderberg who spoke on “The Superpower Myth,” the title of her book; also in March we featured a panel discussion on “The Iraqi Election and the Future” with Jeffrey Fischer, David L. Phillips, and Garrick Utley as moderator; in April we hosted a foreign policy panel on “China and the United States: Partners or Rivals?” with the Honorable J. Stapleton Roy and Professors CHEN Qimao, Robert Scalapino, WANG Jianwei, and Donald Zagoria; in May Mark Malloch Brown briefed us on “Reform at the United Nations”; also in May we hosted a panel discussion on “Preventing Failed States: Albania’s Unfinished Revolution” with Congressman Eliot L. Engel and David L. Phillips; in September the Honorable Paul A. Volcker briefed the Committee on “The Volcker Report”; also in September we were briefed by Dermot Ahern, minister of foreign affairs of Ireland, on the “Northern Ireland Peace Process”; we also hosted a panel discussion on “Arab Women and the Future of the Middle East” with Ms. Farida Deif, Ms. Mona Aboelnaga Kanaan, Dr. Sherifa Zuhur, and Grace Kennan Warnecke as moderator; in October Ambassador John R. Bolton spoke on “U.S.-UN Relations”; in November we hosted a roundtable with the Asia Society on “U.S.-China Relations and the Taiwan Question”; in December

we hosted a luncheon briefing by the Hon. Hugh Orde, chief constable of the Police Service for Northern Ireland, on "Policing in Northern Ireland Today."

With the proliferation of global conflicts, the National Committee on American Foreign Policy has increasingly been called on to lend its expertise to help to 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 very grateful for the support we receive from Mutual of America, from foundations (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, and the United Nations Foundation) and, above all, from our incomparable members and friends. Generosity of this kind enables the National Committee to continue to offer exemplary programs on a wide range of foreign policy issues, to move closer to advancing its Track I-1/2 and Track II projects to successful conclusions, and to fulfill the mission the Committee undertook to perform thirty-one years ago. Testimonials from statesmen, diplomats, and politicians are appended.

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

“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



“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 I-1/2 Project on U.S.-China-Taiwan Relations



“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.**



“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



"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



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