

National Committee on American Foreign Policy

March 2014
Volume 1, Issue 1



Celebrating 40 Years of the NCAFP

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Dr. Hans J. Morgenthau in 1976

“Diplomacy is the best means of preserving peace which a society of sovereign nations has to offer.”

- Hans J. Morgenthau

2014 marks the 40th anniversary of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP). Founded in 1974, by Hans J. Morgenthau and others concerned about the course of American foreign policy, the NCAFP has dedicated its work to the resolution of conflicts that threaten U.S. interests from a nonpartisan perspective within the framework of political realism. Although concerned about various aspects of foreign policy, in the early years the NCAFP’s founding fathers initially focused on three issues: détente, the “Year of Europe,” and Israel. Throughout its history, the NCAFP has used Track I ½ and Track II dialogues to engage senior U.S. and foreign officials, think-tank experts and scholars in discussions designed to diffuse conflict, build confidence, and resolve global problems.

Ambassador George F. Kennan (left) receiving the NCAFP’s first George F. Kennan award for Distinguished Public Service sharing a light moment with then NCAFP Honorary Chairman Henry A. Kissinger (right). NCAFP President Dr. George Schwab (center).

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Letter from the Editor

We are finally entering that time of year, when it looks like the snow will stop falling, the days are a little longer and foretastes of spring are in the air. With the change in season, it seems an appropriate time to introduce our new print edition of the NCAFP quarterly newsletter. For those of you who are frequent readers of the newsletter or long-time members of the NCAFP, you will see quite a few changes. In this new version we plan to highlight future and past programs, photographs of our events, and an in-depth interview with a member of the NCAFP community.

We are also introducing a Letters to the Editor section and welcome correspondence from our readers, members, and partners not only about past programs, but about subjects and issues that they wish the National Committee would address in the future.

2014 marks the 40th anniversary of the NCAFP, and our first issue of the year features a brief history of our president, Dr. George Schwab, as well as an in-depth look at the current security situation of North Korea from NCAFP expert Evans J.R. Revere.

We hope you all enjoy this new format. Best wishes to our members – old and new. We look forward to an exciting array of programs this spring, to making new friends, and collaborating with new supporters and partners. Here's to the next forty years!

Grace Kennan Warnecke
Editor

Grace Kennan Warnecke, Editor
Chenelle Bonavito, Designer

Photos from Recent NCAFP Events



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Two program guests (center and right) speak with John Connorton, Esq., Secretary, NCAFP (left) during the reception at the January 30th program "Iran and the Broader Middle East"



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NCAFP President Dr. George Schwab talks with Ambassador Thomas Pickering at the January 30th program "Iran and the Broader Middle East"



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(Above) Donald Zagoria, Senior Vice President and Director, FAPS, NCAFP (left) moderated a January 22 panel discussion co-hosted with The Japan Society entitled "The US-Japan-China Triangle: Building a Path to Trilateral Corporation". (Above middle) FAPS cross-Taiwan Strait Trilateral conference on January 22-23, 2014

Reunifying Korea: Challenges, Uncertainties, and an Agenda for U.S.-ROK Cooperation

By Evans J.R. Revere

The peaceful reunification of the Korean Peninsula is a major strategic goal of the Republic of Korea -- one that is shared by the United States. Realizing Korea's reunification under Seoul's lead would eliminate the greatest threat to peace and stability in Northeast Asia. Appealing though that prospect may be, it is difficult today to envision a near-term path to Korea's national reunification.

The greatest obstacle to reunification is North Korea itself, particularly the regime's determination to retain its militant, totalitarian system. The ROK has long viewed reunification as the end product of a process of reconciliation with a transformed, moderate North Korea. However, North Korea should not be expected to transform itself into an entity to be absorbed by the Republic of Korea. Nor will it give up its own vision of unification, which involves the eradication of the South's political, social, and economic systems.

Forcing reunification on the North is not an option, and would only invite chaos and conflict. And we must not underestimate the North Korean regime's capacity for survival, driven in large part by its ideological fervor, military capabilities, and the support of China.

But North Korea is not without its vulnerabilities. The

purge and execution of Jang Song Taek exposed a major fissure inside the regime -- a challenge so great that the leadership had to use extraordinary measures to remove it. Those measures could prove the regime's undoing, as they have destroyed the North Korean leadership's aura of infallibility. The Jang affair may have revealed how little we know about Pyongyang's

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internal dynamics, but it has also taught us that we cannot rule out the possibility of major change in North Korea

North Korea's greatest vulnerabilities may lie in the rising international indignation over its human rights record and growing concern over its nuclear weapons and ballistic missile programs. International opprobrium has the potential to further isolate and weaken the regime, including by applying new sanctions tar-

getting Pyongyang's banking and financial links with the outside world.

Creating the conditions for broad reconciliation with the North and the eventual reunification of Korea will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, for the foreseeable future. Faced with this situation, the ROK should seek to influence North Korean behavior on the margins, guard against provocation, adhere to its democratic principles, build its strength, and exercise patience. At the same time, the ROK and the United States should cooperate to erode the DPRK's strengths, take advantage of its vulnerabilities, and use diplomacy and pressure to press Pyongyang to follow a more cooperative path.

Such an approach should seek to shape North Korea's strategic environment and choices in a way that maximizes prospects for a future transformation of the DPRK regime. That new policy approach includes a reinvigorated sanctions regime, a U.S.-ROK-PRC dialogue on the future of the Korean Peninsula, and ROK diplomacy designed to increase international support for Korea's reunification. The approach would test Pyongyang's willingness to pursue reconciliation and hold the door open to dialogue with the North if it is



prepared to forego provocations and deal with the international community's concerns about its WMD and missile programs.

Change, whether the result of external pressure, instability, or the need to avoid internal chaos, is coming to North Korea. However it comes, it should hasten the day when Korea's long-hoped-for national reunification becomes a reality.

* This is an excerpt from a paper entitled "Reunifying Korea: Challenges, Uncertainties, and an Agenda for U.S.-ROK Cooperation." Presentation at the 2nd KRIS-Brookings Joint Conference "Security and Diplomatic Cooperation between the ROK and the United States for the Unification of the Korean Peninsula" January 21, 2014.

Photos from the February 20, 2014 public program “Human Source Intelligence in a Technical Era”



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David P. Hunt, 32 year veteran of the Central Intelligence Agency and Chairman of Charles Pratt & Co. LLC and the Dosoris Trust Company (left) and David A. Cohen, Former Deputy Commissioner for Intelligence, New York City Police Department (right).



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Mrs. Mary Conrad asks a question of the panelists



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NCAFP member Mike Uretsky (right) enjoying the reception with two program guests



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David P. Hunt (center left) with program attendees from Columbia University during the reception

Interview with Dr. George Schwab, President, National Committee on American Foreign Policy

By Grace Kennan Warnecke

Presiding over the many public programs, salons, and board meetings of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, President George Schwab exudes dignity, calm, and the erudition one expects from a former professor of history. I interviewed him in his spacious, art-filled apartment on the upper west side. Handsome, well dressed and cordial, he gives the impression of a man at peace with himself and the world, so to learn about his turbulent early life was especially startling.

Nine years old at the start of World War II, George was the youngest in a prosperous Jewish family in Libau, Latvia, where his father, a well-known gastroenterologist and a pioneer in the use of insulin, was a respected figure in the country. His parents, George, and his 18-year-old brother, Bernhard, known as Bubi, made up a small close-knit family, with relations all over the world.

In July 1941, George's comfortable world crashed almost overnight. The family was rounded up by the Nazis and his father soon killed by them. George, his mother, and Bubi were incarcerated in the Libau ghetto and concentration and work camps in Riga, but the mother was soon separated from her sons. After three years of harrowing conditions in these camps, hunger driven and emaciated, George was forced to work building roads, making boxcars, and repairing autos, with the constant threat of death. There was a "selection," inmates were lined up. Bubi was sent one way to his death and George dispatched to work in concentration camps in Germany, from which he was liberated when the war ended. In a postwar DP camp George, now aged 13, became fascinated by gambling. He made significant money playing cards and he used this jackpot and the support from relatives in the United States and the United Kingdom to hire a car and driver and explore the area. After a long search he learned his mother was alive and they were reunited in Berlin. He had not been in school since the age of 9. His mother persuaded him to attend a DP school, and he did, possibly lured by the pretty girls, although he had little interest in formal education.

In 1946 he wanted to immigrate to Palestine, but his mother put her foot down. With help from his far-flung clan the two of them left for America in 1947.

On arrival, they connected with relatives in Brooklyn and originally settled there before moving to Manhattan. Despite his lack of formal education, George completed New Utrecht High School in Bensonhurst. He claimed to have no interest in reading as he considered himself a "street kid." He

became an active member of a militant Zionist underground movement, "The Stern Gang." However, when the State of Israel was established and the Stern Gang started to target Jewish leaders with opposing viewpoints on Israeli borders for assassination, George quit. "I had seen too much of that in the camps." *Continued on page 7...*

In July 1941, George's comfortable world crashed almost overnight.



NCAFP President Dr. George Schwab addressing an audience at an awards dinner in 2009

George enrolled in City College where he made up for lost time by reading voraciously. He also received a scholarship to study Hebrew for six months in Jerusalem. After college he went to Columbia for his PhD. He began his teaching career at Columbia University and then became a professor of history at CUNY.

As a young professor in the post-Vietnam period, Dr. Schwab met Hans Morgenthau, the famous political scientist. Morgenthau opposed the Vietnam War and to this end, Dr. Morgenthau, together with Dr. Schwab and others, founded the National Committee on American Foreign Policy in 1974. As Morgenthau said to young Dr. Schwab "I am the Chairman of the organization, but you will do all the work."

The National Committee, operating and moving from offices in the Waldorf Astoria and Empire State building to Madison Avenue, attracted scholars, socialites and foreign policy experts. In 1988 a fortuitous meeting at the Elysée Palace in Paris changed the course of the organization. Co-hosted by President Mitterrand and Elie Wiesel, the Paris conference was a gathering of Nobel Laureates supported in part by William J. Flynn, the Chair and CEO of Mutual of America, as well as by the Elie Wiesel Foundation for Humanity, whose director was a Sister of Mercy, Carol Rittner. Sister Carol orchestrated events. Schwab attended as a disarmament advisor to Elie Wiesel, but he and his late wife, Eleonora, were already friends with Sister Carol in New York. In Paris, George Schwab and Bill Flynn soon found shared interests. Upon returning to New York, Flynn joined the National Committee. Equally important, Flynn arranged that the Committee have an office at Mutual of America headquarters where the organization is based today.

Schwab became more and more involved with Bill Flynn's work in bringing peace to Northern Ireland. The National Committee played a major role in the 6 years of negotiations. That was the beginning of a long and fruitful collaboration that culminated in get-



Dr. George Schwab standing with a car and driver in front of the White House at the Warburg Estate in Hamburg-Blankenese in 1946. The estate has been converted into a children's home where some 50 orphans spent different periods of time between 1945 and 1948.

ting a 48-hour visa for Gerry Adams and bringing him to the United States. The Gerry Adams visit is still the most dramatic period of the organization's history and suited Dr. Schwab very well. His leadership and diplomatic skills were put to good use. It is also typical of Dr. Schwab that a Catholic nun would be a good personal friend. Schwab became President of the National Committee in 1993 but in the 40 years of its existence he has played the major role. The organization would not exist without him.

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This Season's Upcoming Events

MARCH 6, 2014 Rethinking US Cybersecurity Policy Against a Shifting Strategic Landscape

MARCH 18, 2014 What will the Rising Shia-Sunni Sectarian Divide Mean for the Middle East?

APRIL 2, 2014 Turkey at a Historic Crossroads

APRIL 23, 2014 The Middle East: Emerging New Faultlines

**To register please visit our website www.ncafp.org or call the office at (212) 224-1120*



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Two meeting attendees exchange ideas during the reception



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NCAFP member asks a question of Ambassador Pickering at the January 30th public program "Iran and the Broader Middle East"

Sign up as a member to receive free or reduced admission to these and other NCAFP programs and events.



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