

National Committee on American Foreign Policy

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Newsletter



Celebrating 40 Years of the NCAFP



Angier Biddle Duke

Angier Biddle Duke, or Angie, as he was known to us at the NCAFP, hails from an old distinguished lineage—Duke University was named in honor of his family. He served our country with distinction as ambassador to El Salvador, Spain, Denmark, and Morocco as well as serving as chief of protocol for Presidents Kennedy and Johnson. Duke was associated with the NCAFP almost from its inception in 1974. His presidency of the organization was interrupted when he accepted the appointment as ambassador to Morocco in 1979. While there, he stayed in touch with the Committee and welcomed an NCAFP fact-finding mission that culminated with the king of Morocco receiving him and the delegation. Because of his background and reputation in the diplomatic community, he played an important role in the NCAFP's efforts to resolve the conflict in Northern Ireland.

The NCAFP honored Ambassador Duke for the services he had rendered to his country and to the NCAFP with the first Morgenthau award in 1981. Following his tragic death in April 1995, the NCAFP established the Angier Biddle Duke Lecture Series. The series was launched by Ambassador Thomas R. Pickering and speakers in the series include Ambassadors Winston Lord, Richard C. Holbrooke, General Brent Scowcroft, H.R.H. Prince Zeid Ra'ad Zeid Al-Husseini, Ambassador Frank G. Wisner, Ambassador John D. Negroponte and Aaron David Miller.



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Letter from the Editor



“It was the best of times, it was the worst of times, it was the age of wisdom, it was the age of foolishness, it was the epoch of belief and it was the epoch of incredulity.” This year’s holiday season reminds me of the famous introduction to Dickens’ *The Tale of Two Cities*.

New York has never looked prettier. Trees are sparkling all over the city – even the dinosaurs outside the Museum of Natural History are twinkling. The weather is cold but crisp; the big department store windows are decorated; Hanukkah candles glow in windows; the Nutcracker is playing at Lincoln Center; the tree is lit in Rockefeller Center; the tinkling of Salvation Army bells can be heard throughout.

The world situation, however, gets grimmer and grimmer. One dreads reading the morning paper. The Israeli-Palestinian crisis intensifies as one bloody incident follows another. The Russian Ukrainian conflict shows no signs of reaching a resolution. The civil war in Syria continues, manifesting a horrendous death toll. The hundreds of thousands of refugees caused by this war will spend this season living in severe cold and inhumane conditions. ISIS actions, from beheadings to gratuitous violence, not only continue to escalate,

but are attracting young Muslims from the entire region and even Europe. Somalia’s insurgent Islamic group al-Shabab just took credit for killing 28 people in cold blood because they could not recite a Muslim prayer.

In light of the world turmoil, the work of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP) has never seemed more important. Organized by Hans Morgenthau, forty years ago, with the able assistance of George Schwab, the NCAFP is dedicated to the resolution of conflicts that threaten U.S. interests. Toward that end, the NCAFP identifies, articulates, and helps advance American foreign policy interests from a nonpartisan perspective within the framework of political realism.

As we move into a new year, with new leadership, let us hope that the NCAFP can play an even bigger role in helping our government to develop policies that will benefit the United States and bring more peace and stability to the world.

Grace Kennan Warnecke

A Special Tribute to Dr. George D. Schwab

The National Committee on American Foreign Policy pays this special tribute to Professor George D. Schwab, Ph.D., with great pride, gratitude and affection.

WHEREAS, George Schwab, a distinguished political scientist, founded the National Committee on American Foreign Policy in 1974 together with Professor Hans J. Morgenthau and others, the esteemed international relations theorist and founding father of the political realist school; and

WHEREAS, George Schwab has served the National Committee with great distinction over four decades as a co-founder, Member, Trustee - and President and CEO for the last twenty years; and

WHEREAS, under George Schwab's leadership, the National Committee has informed the American Foreign Policy debate through publication of scholarly articles edited by him in *American Foreign Policy Interests* and has played an activist role in promoting diplomacy and conflict resolution; and

WHEREAS, George Schwab and NCAFP Chairman William Flynn deserve great credit for their courage, vision and statesmanship in advancing the Northern Ireland Peace Process by helping persuade President Clinton to issue a visa to Gerry Adams, the leader of Sinn Fein, to attend a NCAFP Northern Ireland forum in New York City with John Hume (later Nobel Laureate) and John Alderdice (later Lord Alderdice); and

WHEREAS, thanks to the leadership of George Schwab and Chairman William Flynn the NCAFP was thereafter used as a successful forum for continued negotiations and successful conflict resolution among leaders and members of both nationalist and unionist traditions, as well as Catholic and Protestant communities.

WHEREAS, under George Schwab's leadership, the National Committee has played a critical role since 1996 through its Forum on Asia-Pacific Security in track I-1/2 and track II projects on U.S.-China Relations and Cross-Straits Issues, U.S.-DPRK Security talks re Denuclearization of the Korean Peninsula, U.S.-Japan Relations and U.S.-ROK Relations, as well as tri-lateral and quadrilateral relations in North East Asia; and

WHEREAS, the National Committee's former Honorary Chairman, Dr. Henry Kissinger, has stated that no organization is better suited to carry on this track 1.5 and track II assignment pointing not only to its experience and contacts accumulated over a decade but to its record of proved results and the fact that these projects have spurred candid unofficial dialogue, floated trial balloons, suggested new avenues, and improved lines of communication, and have produced concrete results in foreign policy ranging from helping to restart negotiations to providing ideas in major speeches to promoting shifts in diplomatic postures; and

WHEREAS, under George Schwab's leadership the National Committee has honored a veritable Pantheon of greats with the Hans J. Morgenthau Award, George F. Kennan Distinguished Public Service Award, William J. Flynn Initiative for Peace Award, and Global Business Leader Award, including , among others as awardees: Hon. Angier Biddle Duke, Hon. Sol Linowitz, Hon. Henry A. Kissinger, Hon. Jeane J. Kirkpatrick, Hon. George P. Shultz, David Rockefeller, Hon. James A Baker III, Right Hon. Margaret Thatcher, Hon. Thomas R. Pickering, His Majesty King Hussein of Jordan, Hon. Colin L. Powell, Hon. Richard N. Haass, Hon. George F. Kennan, Hon Cyrus R. Vance, Hon. Paul A Volcker, Hon. Richard C. Holbrooke, Maurice R. Greenberg, Hon John D. Negroponte, General David Petraeus, Commissioner Raymond W. Kelly, Hon. Karl Eikenberry, Hon. George J. Mitchell, Right Hon. Dr. Marjorie Mowlan, Hon. Hugh L. Carey, Gerry Adams, M.P., Dr. Paul E. Jacobs, Muhtar Kent, and William R. Johnson.

WHEREAS, the officers and staff of the National Committee will greatly miss George Schwab and his mentorship; and

WHEREAS, the National Committee wishes to profoundly thank George and his family, and Sheila Robins, for their active and substantive participation in the National Committee's programs and for their unstinting financial support over so many years;

NOW, THEREFORE, BE IT RESOLVED THAT the Members, Trustees, Officers and Staff of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy hereby express their profound gratitude to George D. Schwab for his years of service as an inspired executive, leader and mentor of many, who has contributed to the success of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy in numerous ways, and who now leaves the National Committee as President better for his presence and poised to go new places and do great things under new leadership.

2014 East Asia Fact-Finding Mission

The NCAFP sent a fact-finding mission to Northeast Asia from October 18 to November 2, 2014. The group visited Seoul, Taipei, Beijing, and Tokyo and met with high-ranking officials in all four cities. Shortly after the return of the group, there were several positive developments. Presidents Obama and Xi announced at an APEC meeting in Beijing a number of agreements designed to improve trade, travel, and military relations between the United States and China. At the same meeting, President Xi and Prime Minister Abe announced a four-point agreement designed to reset Sino-Japanese relations after a long period of tension over territorial and history disputes. And the North Koreans released two Americans held in custody after a long period of negotiations.

So, recent weeks have witnessed a marked improvement in the East Asian regional security environment, thanks to skilled diplomacy and solid leadership by key regional actors, including the United States. But it remains to be seen how long this good news will outlast the just-concluded APEC Summit and whether it will lead to a permanent or longer lasting relaxation of regional tensions.

At their summit in Beijing, the United States and Chinese presidents concluded agreements on climate change, military confidence building, relaxation of visa requirements, and tariff reduction. These valuable steps will help enhance bilateral cooperation and transparency in addition to allowing Washington and Beijing to better manage their differences, avoid confrontation, and control the strategic rivalry that is casting a shadow over bilateral ties.

Also on the margins of this year's APEC meeting in Beijing, Japan and China reached an artful understanding on managing serious bilateral differences in a way that could substantially ease tensions between Asia's two largest economies and place a festering dispute over the Senkaku/Diaoyu islands back on the shelf for future resolution.

There are also signs of progress in Japan's relations with South Korea, thanks to a growing recognition by both Tokyo and Seoul, that it is time to reverse the trend of their deteriorating bilateral ties. ROK President Park's call at the East Asian Summit for a

Korea-China-Japan meeting may prove to be the vehicle that will finally allow the Korean and Japanese leaders to meet face-to-face to deal with a range of thorny issues, including the emotional comfort women problem. And on the eve of the APEC meeting, North Korea released the two remaining Americans it was holding, removing one obstacle to renewed dialogue in the Six-Party talks if Pyongyang can be convinced to meet allied conditions that would indicate some seriousness on the nuclear issue.

Despite this progress, there are many challenges and pitfalls ahead. The most important challenge concerns the future direction of Xi Jinping's China.

Xi is emerging as the single most powerful Chinese leader since Deng Xiaoping and Mao Zedong. Yet the direction in which he is taking China remains uncertain. On the one hand, he is undertaking bold economic reforms that will increase the role of the market; talking about the need for "rule of law;" beginning to repair relations with Japan, Vietnam and other Asian neighbors over territorial disputes; and moving to improve ties with the United States. On the other hand, he is cracking down on dissent at home; tightening restrictions on Western media in China; overseeing a sharp increase in anti-American propaganda in Chinese media; continuing to pursue an assertive policy on territorial issues; talking about "Asia for the Asians;" and developing new institutions such as the Asian Infrastructure Investment Bank, which seem intended to challenge and supplant institutions such as the Asian Development Bank established by the United States after World War II.

In sum, although there is reason to be optimistic that regional summitry has expanded the possibility of a general easing of tensions in the short run, it is far from clear what the long run prospects are for containing Sino-American strategic rivalry.

It is neither in America's nor in China's interest to have a new Cold War in Asia. But this is the direction in which events may move unless both countries adopt policies designed to avoid such an

outcome.

China must demonstrate clearly that it does not seek to drive the United States out of the Western Pacific, that it does not wish to unravel or replace the U.S. alliance system in the region, and that it will be a full and responsible participant in a rules-based regional order. Suspicions abound in the region - and in Washington - that Beijing's agenda is to change the status quo in favor of a Sino-centric new paradigm. China must make its intentions clear.

The United States can do much to minimize the possibility of a downward spiral in relations with China by demonstrating that it seeks to build an inclusive Asia-Pacific and world order. Trade is an ideal vehicle for such an endeavor. Washington should step up efforts to move ahead with its grand trade deal, the Trans-Pacific Partnership (TPP), and make a vigorous effort to get China to join it at an appropriate time. By doing so, Washington would be achieving two important objectives. It would demonstrate U.S. leadership and commitment to a nervous Asia that eagerly seeks more of both from Washington. And it will show China that the United States is determined to build an order in Asia that is truly inclusive. Completing the U.S.-China Bilateral Investment Treaty (BIT) would be a positive step in itself and support China's progress toward inclusion in the TPP agreement.

Vigorous U.S. leadership in the post-World War II era created the environment that allowed the Asia-Pacific region to grow and prosper for 70 years. An equally vigorous application of such leadership is more important than ever to help guide the region through a dynamic and uncertain new era.

***To read the full report of the delegation's trip to Asia, please visit our website*

www.ncafp.org

Photos from Recent Events



Top left: Thomas Graham (left) and Dr. George Schwab (right) at the September 17, 2014 event "Russia: How Do We Get It Right?"

Top right: Judith Hernstadt (left) program attendee (center) and Harry Wittlin at the September 17, 2014 event "Russia: How Do We Get It Right?"

Center: Rafal Robozinski (left); Camino Kavanagh (center left); John Sheldon (center right); (right) Melissa Hathaway at the 2014 Cybersecurity Roundtable "Cybersecurity, Sovereignty and U.S. Foreign Policy" on November 4, 2014

Bottom: Army Cyber Institute, United States Military Academy & National Committee on American Foreign Policy Cyber Briefing on November 5, 2014

Interview with Don Zagoria, Senior Vice President, NCAFP and Director, FAPS

By Grace Kennan Warnecke

“How would you characterize Don Zagoria, the director of the NCAFP’s Forum on Asia-Pacific Security Program (FAPS)?” I asked a colleague and he replied without hesitation, “the consummate foreign policy professional.” A distinguished professor, author of four books, Zagoria has directed the FAPS program at NCAFP for the last fourteen years.

At an age when many are thinking of retiring to senior citizen centers, Zagoria has just returned from leading an exhausting fact-finding mission to China, Taipei, Japan and South Korea, that lasted from October 18 – November 2. He still enters a room with confidence, and energy, his brown eyes shining, and with the aura of someone you know you are going to want to hear from.



Don Zagoria

Zagoria grew up near Somerville, New Jersey where his dad was a vegetable peddler, originally from a small town, Preili, in Latvia. Zagoria remembers his father getting up at 5:00 am every morning to go pick up the vegetables at the market and take them to the local stores. Zagoria went in a more scholarly direction, but is a practicing vegetarian.

After graduating from Rutgers College in 1948, he went to Washington, D.C. to work for FBIS as an analyst of Russian and Chinese media. He decided to study Soviet foreign policy with a focus on Asia. He moved from FBIS to the Rand Corporation, and then to RICA, the Research Institute for Communist Affairs, where he worked with Zbigniew Brzezinski. In 1962 Zagoria published his first book entitled “Sino-Soviet Conflict, 1956-1961” The book, still a seminal work in the field, was accepted as a dissertation, enabling him to receive his PhD from Columbia University in 1963. As he kept working and studying he increasingly gravitated towards China. He decided that China was the wave of the future.

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In 1968 he went with Ted Sorensen and Doak Burnett, a renowned China scholar, to a gathering at Cy Eaton’s home in Nova Scotia. This was a year of very hostile relations between the United States and China. Eaton brought the group together with Paul Lin, a well-known and passionate Canadian Chinese scholar, and together they discussed and wrote a paper on how to improve Sino-U.S. relations that attracted some attention. That same year Zagoria moved from Columbia University, where he had been teaching, to Hunter college and the graduate center of CUNY where he continued to teach until he retired in 1997.

Zagoria met George Schwab at a Chinese consulate event where they bonded when they discovered they shared a Latvian Jewish background. He started FAPS in 1995 with Winston Lord, Nicholas Platt and Gerald Curtis.

Zagoria and Schwab began the annual trips to



Don Zagoria and grandson, James

not have pretensions to being; he is a specialist in American foreign policy. He is interested in American relations with major foreign powers, not interested in the countries themselves. He added that his work was also his hobby. “I am a foreign policy activist,” he told me. We are very proud to have him playing a leadership role at the National Committee on American Foreign Policy.

Taiwan and Mainland China in 1997 that have continued annually although they have been expanded to include Japan and Korea. In Taiwan the NCAFP delegation is hosted by the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, and in China by the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council, ensuring that the delegates are treated with great respect and meet officials of consequence and influence. The purpose of each trip is to receive an update of the views of high-level government officials on security challenges in the region and their relations with the U.S. The trip report now goes to 1,500 U.S. and Asian government officials, think tanks, and scholars.

This is obviously a matter of considerable pride for Zagoria. He considers that the FAPS organized trips have been one of NCAFP’s major accomplishments and have “played a major role in facilitating dialogues and bringing Taiwan and Mainland China together, as well as increasing mutual understanding.”

Zagoria lives with his wife of many years, Janet, a teacher and scholar, in a Dutch colonial house in Crugers, New York. Janet has earned a PhD from Columbia, as well. He loves his old house and doesn’t mind the commute. He is proud that their son, Adam, maybe somewhat to his surprise, has become a well-known sports columnist and blogger.

I was curious why after fifty years of working with China Zagoria had not learned the Chinese or any other Asian language. He answered that he is not a China expert and does

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*Contact the NCAFP offices to receive
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Photos from the 2014 East Asia Fact-Finding Mission



Top left (Beijing): The 2014 delegation members: (from left) Professor Donald S. Zagoria; Rorry Daniels, Dr. John Fei, The Honorable Winston Lord; The Honorable J. Stapleton Roy; Dr. George D. Schwab; Ralph Cossa; Evans J.R. Revere; Professor Gerald L. Curtis

Top right (Taipei): Deputy Director, Department of International Affairs of the DPP Kitty Chen; DPP Secretary-General Joseph Wu; Ralph Cossa; Don Zagoria; DPP Chair Tsai Ing-wen, Dr. George Schwab, Evans J.R. Revere; The Honorable J. Stapleton Roy

Bottom left (Seoul): Dr. George Schwab (left) and the Republic of Korea Foreign Minister Yun Byung-se in Seoul, Korea



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