

**THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY**

HIGHLIGHTS: 2006



A LETTER FROM THE PRESIDENT
December 2006

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, 2006

Dear Reader:

As 2006 comes to a close, it is time to wish you all the best for the coming year and to present an overview of the National Committee's activities during the year.

You will surely be pleased to receive confirmation of your observation that the National Committee on American Foreign Policy (NCAFP) is continuing to grow in size and stature: Membership is at an all-time high, and in response to increasing demand that the National Committee augment its role in influencing the U.S. foreign policy debate, we have expanded our publication program and have launched a new project on "U.S.-UN Relations."

A stellar event in a year filled with memorable NCAFP events took place on December 7, 2006, sixty-five years after the attack on Pearl Harbor. On that day the NCAFP presented the George F. Kennan Award for Distinguished Public Service to Ambassador John D. Negroponte for his exemplary service to the country first as a Foreign Service officer, then as an ambassador, and now as the first U.S. director of national intelligence. In giving the award to Ambassador Negroponte, the National Committee also paid tribute to the work that our intelligence services are performing to keep us safe and free.

The National Committee's national and international reputation is based on its outstanding foreign policy programs, featuring track I-½ and track II work that entails closed-door and off-the-record roundtable discussions with government officials, diplomats, think tank experts, and scholars from academe on issues affecting U.S. national security. Much of this heralded work is, of course, shared with NCAFP members at on- and off-the-record briefings as well as in our publications, especially the NCAFP's bimonthly journal, *American Foreign Policy Interests*, policy booklets, and special reports.

One very sad note: The NCAFP experienced a great loss toward the end of the year: the death of its long-time colleague Ambassador Fereydoun Hoveyda who, for some twenty years, directed the NCAFP's *Middle East* project. Based on his findings, the NCAFP coined the phrase "militant Islamic fundamentalism," the notion that there can be no genuine peace between Arab-Islamic fundamentalism and what its proponents call the infidel West as long as the mind-set of fundamentalists remains anchored in the Middle Ages. Under his direction, we identified the need to reform this dated mind-set by bringing it into the present through, among

other things, educational exchanges designed to understand its animating force, pinpoint and address the deleterious role that patriarchal and tribal traditions play in influencing the behavior of Arab Muslims, and distinguish moderate Arab Muslims from enlightened Muslims with whom we can work. Although moderates share with fundamentalists the goal of converting many of the inhabitants of the globe to Islam, they differ over means. Moderates advocate peaceful means, in contrast to fundamentalists who do not shirk from violence. In contrast to both groups, enlightened Muslims embrace the values of the Enlightenment, including the forward march of science, and are willing to coexist peacefully with the non-Muslim world.

Under the guidance of Ambassador Hoveyda, the Middle East project hosted in 2006 a luncheon for H.E. Daniel Ayalon, the Israeli ambassador to the United States, who spoke on “ Hamas, the Middle East”; a roundtable and panel discussion on “Iran: The Nuclear Threat and Beyond” with Dr. Ramin Ahmadi, Dr. Bernard Haykel, Dr. Fariborz Mokhtari, and Amir Taheri; a policy briefing on “The Middle East” by Ambassador Terje Rød-Larson, UN special envoy for the Middle East; a policy briefing on “The Peace Process as Viewed from Amman” by Prince Zeid Ra’ad Al-Hussein, Jordan’s ambassador to the UN; a briefing on “Whither Iran?” by Amir Taheri, a specialist on the Middle East with a focus on Iran. The National Committee is preparing for publication a policy booklet titled “Iran: The Nuclear Threat and Beyond” that contains NCAFP policy recommendations.

On the *Central Asia and Russia* project, the NCAFP cosponsored with the Dwight D. Eisenhower National Security Series a roundtable discussion on “Security and Stability in Central Asia: Differing Interests and Perspectives,” which was followed by a panel discussion on the same subject. At the invitation of the foreign minister of Kazakhstan, H.E. Kassymzhomart Tokaev, the NCAFP sent a fact-finding mission to the country. It was led by NCAFP Senior Vice President Donald S. Rice. Accompanying him were Dr. Michael Rywkin, the NCAFP’s project director, NCAFP member Steven Chernys, and Dr. Peter Sinnott of Columbia University. The trip was preceded by briefing sessions in Washington, D.C., with senior U.S. government officials at the National Security Council, the Office of the Vice President, the Department of State, and the Department of Defense. Following the fact-finding mission, the delegation revisited Washington for debriefing sessions. In Kazakhstan the NCAFP delegation met with the Honorable Karim Massimov, deputy prime minister; the Honorable Nurlan M. Abdirrov, Administration of the President, deputy secretary of the Security Council—head of the Secretariat of the

Security Council, Lieutenant General B. Sembinov, deputy minister of defense; the Honorable John M. Ordway, U.S. ambassador to the Republic of Kazakhstan; and Victoria Sloan, public affairs officer at the U.S. Embassy, among others. The NCAFP group met in New York with a delegation of Kazakhstan officials led by Foreign Minister Tokaev. The National Committee published two policy booklets titled “Stability and Security in Central Asia: Engaging Kazakhstan” and “Stability and Security in Central Asia: Differing Interests and Perspectives” (together with the Dwight D. Eisenhower National Security Series). Both booklets contain NCAFP policy recommendations.

The *Northeast Asia* project directed by Professor Donald S. Zagoria cohosted with the Korea Society in New York the NCAFP’s track I-½ conference on “Northeast Asian Security.” It was attended by a senior North Korean delegation led by Ambassador Ri Gun and other interested parties. Speakers included Dr. Henry A. Kissinger. During the conference the outline of the forthcoming six-party talks in Beijing became clear.* Also, the NCAFP hosted a luncheon for H.E. Mats Foyer, ambassador of Sweden to North Korea, who related his impressions of the country.

“U.S.–China Relations and the Question of Taiwan” was the subject discussed when the NCAFP met in New York with the Honorable James C. F. Huang, foreign minister of Taiwan, among other Taiwanese and Chinese officials, think tank experts, and academics. The NCAFP also conducted a track I-½ fact-finding mission to the People’s Republic of China (PRC) and Taiwan where the delegation was hosted by the Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council in China and by the Foreign Ministry in Taiwan. The delegation was led by NCAFP President Dr. George Schwab and Professor Donald S. Zagoria and included Professors Robert A. Scalapino and Gerald Curtis and Ambassadors Winston Lord and Nicholas Platt. In Beijing and Taipei the NCAFP delegation met with senior government officials, including the Honorable Wang Zaixi, vice minister, Taiwan Affairs Office of the State Council of the People’s Republic of China; H.E. Chen Shui-bian, president of Taiwan; and the Honorable J. F. Huang, minister of foreign affairs of Taiwan. The good news is that despite recriminations hurled across the Taiwan Strait, the Cross-Strait situation remains stable.

On the same trip the NCAFP cohosted a trilateral ROK-Japan-U.S. track II policy forum with the International Policy Studies Institute

*The NCAFP has been given credit for the resumption of the six-party talks in Beijing in 2005. See the fall 2005 issue of the *Carnegie Reporter* (published by the Carnegie Corporation) stating that the NCAFP’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” (11).

of Korea and the Japan Institute of International Affairs. Participants were officials, former officials, and experts in the field from Korea, Japan, and the United States, including U.S. Ambassador to Korea Alexander Vershbow; Dr. Yoo Seong Ok, deputy director general in the Office of the Prime Minister; and Ambassador Yukio Satoh, president, the Japan Institute of International Affairs. Also, the NCAFP cohosted with the Asia Society in New York a delegation of the China Institute of Contemporary International Relations (CICIR). The delegation was headed by its president, Cui Liru. Special reports as well as a policy booklet titled "East Asian Security Challenges," which contains NCAFP policy recommendations, have been published.

On *Northern Ireland* the NCAFP, under the leadership of William J. Flynn and Thomas J. Moran and the assistance of Edwina McMahon, continues to be involved in the peace process. During the year we were briefed by, among others, Peter Robinson, MP, deputy leader of the Democratic Unionist party, on "The Peace Process in Northern Ireland: A Unionist View" and by the Rt. Honorable Peter Hain, secretary of state for Northern Ireland. At the request of the Department of State, the NCAFP discussed with the Honorable Thomas Foley, the incoming American ambassador to Ireland, its assessment of the progress of the peace process based on the Committee's more than twelve-year involvement.

There is reason to believe that 2007 will bring good news on the peace front. With the Sinn Fein's executive recommending to its members the endorsement of the province's police force, the last major obstacle to peace has been removed. It is hoped that the membership will endorse the executive's decision and that goodwill and the yearning for peace will prompt the Unionists to come to the table.

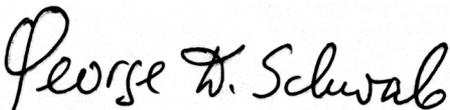
U.S.-UN Relations, as noted above, is a new NCAFP project. Under the leadership of Professor Benjamin Rivlin and Ambassador Donald Blinken, it was launched in August 2006 with the publication of a special issue of *American Foreign Policy Interests* devoted to this subject. Contributors to the issue include Ambassador John R. Bolton and Senator Joseph R. Biden, Jr., as well as Ambassadors Nancy Soderberg, William H. Luers, Fereydoun Hoveyda, and other experts on the UN such as Edward C. Luck, Stephen Schlesinger, and Thomas G. Weiss. The introduction to the special issue was written by the project director, Professor Rivlin, and the foreword was written by Ambassador Donald Blinken and George Schwab. In response to widespread demand, the NCAFP also published a separate booklet on "U.S.-UN Relations" that contains NCAFP policy recommendations.

In addition to the publication of policy booklets and special reports, the NCAFP's bimonthly journal, *American Foreign Policy Interests*, is widely read in the corridors of power both here and abroad. Contributors include think tank experts, scholars from universities, diplomats, and statesmen. The list of American contributors is large and growing. They include Anatol Levien and John Hulsman on ethical realism in foreign policy; George E. Gruen, Fereydoun Hoveyda, Amir Taheri, Fariborz Mokhtari, and Ahmad Atif Ahmad on the Middle East; Bernard E. Brown and Viola Herms Drath on transatlantic relations; Herman J. Cohen on Africa and J. Peter Pham on Africa and Vietnam; Robert A. Scalapino and James C. Hsiung on Northeast Asian security; Edwina McMahon on Northern Ireland; Joseph W. Foxell, Jr., on terrorism and unconventional weapons. Foreign contributors include H. E. Dr. Vaira Vike-Freiberga, president of Latvia, on NATO; H.E. Yerzhan Kh. Kazykhanov, Kazakhstan's ambassador to the UN, "On Kazakhstan"; The Honorable Alyson J. K. Bailes on "National Power and Sovereignty"; Xu Shiquan on China and Taiwan; Diego Colas on French European policy; and Gilles Andreani on "A Realist Assessment of Europe."

In accord with its mandate, the National Committee on American Foreign Policy is increasingly called on to lend its expertise to help bring about the lessening of tensions associated with an emerging conflict that threatens to affect U.S. interests. Obviously undertaking challenges of this nature requires considerable monetary support. The National Committee is very grateful for the encouragement and support that our work receives from Mutual of America, from foundations (including the Carnegie Corporation of New York, the Ford Foundation, the Japan Foundation's Center for Global Partnership, the Korea Foundation, the Henry Luce Foundation, and the John D. and Catherine T. MacArthur Foundation), and, above all, from our incomparable members and friends. This 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-½ and track II projects to successful conclusions, and to realize the mission the Committee undertook to perform thirty-two 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



“On behalf of...Secretary [of State Condoleezza] 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



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