

# FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

A Catalyst for Ideas Since 1955

Founded in 1955, the Foreign Policy Research Institute is an independent, nonprofit organization devoted to advanced research and public education on international affairs. It brings the insights of scholarship to bear on the development of policies that advance U.S. national interests abroad. Its Marvin Wachman Fund for International Education sponsors public lectures and programs for high school teachers designed to promote understanding of America's role in world affairs. FPRI publications include *Orbis*, a quarterly journal of world affairs edited by David Eisenhower; *E-Notes*, a two-page bulletin disseminated weekly by e-mail; and other bulletins. The institute is headed by Harvey Sicherman, a former aide to three U.S. secretaries of state.

## OFFICERS AND BOARD OF TRUSTEES

John H. Ball    Bruce H. Hooper    Harvey Sicherman    Alan H. Luxenberg  
*Chairman*    *Marvin Wachman*    *President*    *Vice President*  
*Vice Chairmen*

Charles B. Grace  
*Treasurer*

John Gilray Christy  
*Chairman Emeritus*

S. Michael Alexander	Kenneth D. Hill	Paul C. O'Grady
W.W. Keen Butcher	Tatnall Lea Hillman	Marshall W. Pagon
Robert A. Fox	Graham Humes	Frank N. Piasecki
Robert L. Freedman	Scott M. Jenkins	Samuel J. Savitz
Barbara J. Gohn	John F. Lehman	Harvey Sicherman
Susan H. Goldberg	David Lucterhand	John M. Templeton, Jr.
J. Eric Greenwood	Martin Meyerson	Bruce D. Wietlisbach
Alexander M. Haig, Jr.	Stephen S. Moody	William H. Wurster
N. Peter Hamilton	I. Wistar Morris III	
Graham Humes	Ronald J. Naples	



**Foreign Policy Research Institute**  
1528 Walnut Street, Suite 610  
Philadelphia, PA 19102-3684  
Tel. 215-732-3774 Fax 215-732-4401  
E-Mail [fpri@fpri.org](mailto:fpri@fpri.org)  
[www.fpri.org](http://www.fpri.org)



## FOREIGN POLICY RESEARCH INSTITUTE

*A PHILADELPHIA VOICE ...*

*A NATIONAL ASSET ...*

*A GLOBAL RESOURCE*

**THE YEAR IN REVIEW**

**AND**

**THE 2002 ANNUAL DINNER**

**PRESENTED BY FLEET PRIVATE CLIENTS GROUP**



## MISSION

Founded in 1955, FPRI is devoted to bringing the insights of scholarship to bear on the development of policies that advance U.S. national interests. And we add perspective to events by fitting them into the larger historical and cultural context of international politics.

## WHO WE ARE

The scholars of FPRI include a former aide to three U.S. secretaries of state, a Pulitzer Prize-winning historian, a former president of Swarthmore College (and a Bancroft Prize-winning historian), and two former staff members of the National Security Council. We count among our trustees a former Secretary of State and a former Secretary of the Navy, not to mention two university presidents emeritus, a foundation president, and several active or retired corporate CEOs. And we count among our extended network of scholars – especially, our Inter-University Study Groups – representatives of diverse disciplines, including political science, history, economics, law, management, religion, sociology, and psychology.

## WHAT WE DO

We conduct research on pressing issues – the war on terrorism, nuclear proliferation in South Asia, the conflict in the Middle East, relations with China, Russia, and Japan – and we cover long-term questions, such as the roles of religion and ethnicity in international politics, or the nature of Western identity and its implications for the U.S. and the Atlantic Alliance. We publish a quarterly journal, *Orbis*, and a series of bulletins, both of which draw on the research findings of our scholars, our Inter-University Study Groups, our conferences, and our seminars. And, through our Marvin Wachman Fund for International Education, we educate the public and “teach the teachers.” In this way, we serve the community and the nation, the policymakers and the educators, Wall Street and Main Street.

## A VAST REACH

Each week, FPRI transmits by email a succinct analysis of some critical international issue. These bulletins are emailed to some 20,000 key people in 85 countries directly, and reach thousands more indirectly by postings on the Internet. Frequently, they are reprinted in or quoted by newspapers around the world. Our scholars are also invited to testify on Capitol Hill, comment on national radio and television, and consult informally with U.S. government officials.

## DOES IT MATTER?

It matters to the policymaker, who lacks the time to give serious reflection to long-term trends that will shape America’s choices abroad; it matters to the media, who miss the expertise to make sense of complex developments in foreign lands; it matters to the educator, who needs informed preparation to teach the next generation (and it matters to the students, who represent the next generation of American leadership); and it matters to the public, whose children may be sent off to war and whose taxes will pay the bills. As FPRI founder Robert Strausz-Hupe once said, “a nation should think before it acts,” and that is where FPRI makes its mark.

## WORDS OF WISDOM FROM FPRI BULLETINS

*“Those who are confident of their faith are not threatened but enlarged by the different faiths of others. In the midst of our multiple insecurities, we need now the confidence to recognize the irreducible, glorious dignity of difference.”* – Jonathan Sacks, Chief Rabbi of the British Commonwealth, **“The Dignity of Difference: Avoiding the Clash of Civilizations”** (The 2002 Templeton Lecture on Religion and World Affairs), *E-Notes*, July 2002

*“Make them learn the facts, allow them to exercise their right to be moral beings, teach them patience and diligence in judgment, and encourage them to be realistic and brave – this should suffice for lesson one in teaching our children about 9/11.”* – Adam Garfinkle, **“What Our Children Should Learn about 9/11,”** *Footnotes*, September 2002

*“Of the four elements required for the success of an organization like Al Qaeda – recruitment, funding, logistics and planning, and training – all but one, training, is best obtained in Europe.”* – Michael Radu, **“The Problem of Londonistan: Europe, Human Rights, and Terrorists,”** *E-Notes*, April 2002

*“It cannot be stated often enough that outside plans and pronouncements are helpful only when the parties are already inclined to look for the deal. The diplomatic history of Arab-Israeli peacemaking is littered with blueprints that missed this fundamental fact, just as the desire for the deal is so often stimulated by a bout of failed violence. In this case, the defeat of terrorism as a method for effecting change is crucial to peacemaking in the Middle East.”* – Harvey Sicherman, **“Next Steps in the Middle East,”** *PeaceFacts*, May 2002

*“The Pentagon, Congress, and the defense industry must wean themselves off the ‘death spiral’ of procuring ever more Cold War tanks, ships, and planes rather than the capabilities today’s technology allows and tomorrow’s battlefield successes demand.”* – Michael P. Noonan and John Hillen, **“The Coming Transformation of the U.S. Military,”** *E-Notes*, February 2002

*“I have lived long enough to see good repeatedly win over evil, although at a much higher cost than need have been paid. This time we have already paid the price of victory. It remains for us to win it.”* – Robert Strausz-Hupe, **“The New Protracted Conflict,”** *E-Notes*, April 2002

**If you find merit in the activities reported in this booklet, we hope you will remember that FPRI is an independent, nonprofit organization (nonprofit with a vengeance!), and relies on public support.**



**The 2002 ANNUAL DINNER**

**PRESENTED BY FLEET PRIVATE CLIENTS GROUP**

honoring

**RONALD J. NAPLES**

featuring an address by

**RALPH PETERS**

on

**THE SOUL OF THE NEW TERRORISM**

Wednesday, November 13, 2002

The Four Seasons Hotel  
Philadelphia

## RONALD J. NAPLES

Ron Naples, Chairman and CEO of Quaker Chemical Corporation, is one of Philadelphia's champions. He has been a leader of numerous civic organizations, including chairmanships of the Philadelphia Award, We the People 2000, Greater Philadelphia First, Free Library of Philadelphia Foundation, and the Private Industry Council. A former White House Fellow, Mr. Naples graduated from the U.S. Military Academy and served in the US Army in Germany and Vietnam. He received two Bronze Star medals, the Air medal, two Army commendation medals, and the Vietnamese Cross of Gallantry with Silver Star. Mr. Naples received his M.B.A. from Harvard Business School and his M.A. from the Fletcher School of Law and Diplomacy. He chaired FPRI's Annual Dinner from the Dinner's inception in 1995 through 2001 and remains an active Trustee.

## RALPH PETERS

Ralph Peters retired from the U.S. Army in 1998, shortly after his promotion to lieutenant colonel, in order to write and speak freely. His service took him from the enlisted ranks to the Executive Office of the President, from the former Soviet Union to the Pentagon, and from the Andean Ridge to Southeast Asia and beyond. As a commentator and essayist, he has contributed to the *The Wall Street Journal*, *The Washington Post*, and *The Los Angeles Times*. He has appeared on all of the major American television networks, on the BBC, on Canadian and Australian television, and on various European networks.

*“Anyone who wants to understand the world after the September 11 attacks should begin by reading Ralph Peters, who understood what was going on years before that horrible day. Peters is one of the best strategic thinkers this country has produced – and, on top of that, a strong and memorable writer.”* – Thomas Ricks, Washington Post

# PROGRAM

*Welcoming Remarks* - John M. Templeton, Jr.

*Award to Ronald J. Naples* - John H. Ball

*Acceptance* - Ronald J. Naples

*Report on FPRI* - Harvey Sicherman

## *Dinner*

*Introduction of Keynote Speaker* - John M. Templeton, Jr.

*Keynote Address* - Ralph Peters

*Closing Remarks* - John M. Templeton, Jr.

## *Adjournment*

*Dinner Chairman*

John M. Templeton, Jr.

# PRESENTING SPONSOR

FLEET PRIVATE CLIENTS GROUP

# SPONSORS

Drinker, Biddle & Reath LLP

Quaker Chemical Corporation

# PATRONS

Ashbridge Investment Management

John H. Ball

Mr. & Mrs. Vincent Bell

W.W. Keen Butcher

Bob & Joyce Byers

John Carter

Betsy Z. Cohen

Dechert

Conrad O'Brien Gellman & Rohn, PC

Miguel Angel Corzo

Newell DeValpine Foundation

Robert L. Freedman

The Glenmede Trust Company

Susan & Woody Goldberg

J. Eric Greenwood

The Hamilton Family Foundation

Dr. & Mrs. John A. Herring

Hill Solutions LLC

Mr. & Mrs. Bruce Hooper

S.M. Jenkins & Co

James J. Kim

John Lehman

Patrick O'Connor

Paul O'Grady

Pegasus Communications Corporation

J. G. Petrucci Co., Inc

Philadelphia Suburban Water Company

Dan & Margo Polett

PricewaterhouseCoopers LLP

Rittenhouse Trust Company

The Savitz Organization

John M. Templeton, Jr.

Jay Tolson & Lynn Norley

William H. Wurster

## DINNER COMMITTEE

Bert & Fred Arnold  
John A. Baird, Jr. & Mrs. Sarah L. Leary  
David Bangsberg  
Hon. Adrian Basora  
George J. Baxter  
Evelyn Berger  
Yaroslav Bilinsky  
Dr. David Black  
George M. Blair  
Brian D. Booth  
Carol Brooks  
Beverly Werner Caplan  
Mr. & Mrs. Robert M. Chappellear  
Hon. Mark B. Cohen  
Suzanne & Norman Cohn  
F. Hilary Conroy  
Mr. & Mrs. Gerard P. Cuddy  
Ellen Davis  
William Dunkelberg  
David Eisenberg  
Mr. & Mrs. Robert A. Fox  
Dr. & Mrs. Theodore Friend III  
Elizabeth H. Gemmill  
Rosalie & Irv Gerson  
Mordecai Gerson  
Barbara J. Gohn  
William L. Grala  
Dr. & Mrs. Ronald Greene  
Mr. & Mrs. Arthur J. Grugan  
John C. & Chara Haas  
Dr. A. Gilbert Heebner  
Joseph & Elizabeth Hill  
James W. Hovey  
Michael & Elodia Howard  
Graham & Beth Humes  
Mr. & Mrs. Richard Jasper  
Morgan R. Jones  
Jerome Kaplan  
Henry A. Kissinger  
Jerome N. Kline, Esq.  
Barbara Kretchmar  
Dr. Abelardo Lechter & Lynne Lechter, Esq.  
David D.M. Lucterhand  
Mr. & Mrs. A. Bruce Mainwaring  
Sam S. McKeel  
Hon. Joseph H. Melrose, Jr.  
Martin & Margy Meyerson  
Andrew S. Miller, Esq.  
Duane Morris LLP  
David Moltke-Hansen  
I. Wistar Morris III  
John & Mary Mulhern  
Jeffrey P. Orleans  
John E. Osborn  
Louis & Katharine Padulo  
Mr. & Mrs. Stuart S. Peltz  
Drs. Foulie & Howard Perlmutter  
John Piasecki  
Elaine P. Piccolomini  
James and Camille Polski  
Dr. & Mrs. William Potsic  
Louise H. & Alan L. Reed  
Eileen Rosenau  
Jerry & Bernice Rubenstein  
Thomas Ruth  
Ann & Howard Sacks  
Mr. & Mrs. Michael L. Sanyour  
Mr. & Mrs. Ralph S. Saul  
Mr. & Mrs. Lionel Savadove  
Mr. & Mrs. Samuel J. Savitz  
Patricia & Stephen Segal  
Murray & Judith Shusterman  
John F. Smith, III  
Edward & Gail Snitzer  
VADM George P. Steele, USN Ret  
Terry & Anita Steen  
Mrs. George Strawbridge  
Bob & Mary Ruth Talley  
Alexander & Midge Vaccaro  
Marvin & Addie Wachman  
Mr. & Mrs. Robert G. Williams  
William Yih  
Walter E. Zerweck  
Joseph & Renee Zuritsky

---

## RESEARCH

---

*"In broader perspective, the events of September 11 and their aftermath abruptly brought down the curtain on the post-Cold War U.S. foreign policy. Dominated for a decade by themes of globalization and humanitarian intervention, America was ushered through a "gate of fire" to use UN Secretary General Kofi Annan's term, into a new realism about the world. . . . Experience thus far reinforces the view that success in this protracted conflict, even as victory in the Cold War, will not guarantee the peace. That will have to be won anew, region by region, relationship by relationship. This mission will soon make the Bush pragmatists new visionaries and not only to see the world safe from terrorism. The opportunity to win a new more secure peace has risen from the ashes of September 11."*

Harvey Sicherman, "Finding A Foreign Policy,"  
Orbis, Spring 2002

## RESEARCH IN PROGRESS

We strive to address a vital issue of the day in each of our projects and do so in a way that speaks to multiple audiences. The research produced by the scholars takes the form of books and articles in professional journals that help shape the intellectual climate in which foreign policy is made. This work is also condensed into a form that, by electronic means, reaches a much larger group. We are thus able to reach a wide spectrum that includes policymakers and policy analysts, scholars, educators, the media, and interested citizens.

The research team is led by Harvey Sicherman (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania), President and Director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute. He has extensive experience in writing, research, and analysis of U.S. foreign and national security policy, both in government and out. He served as Special Assistant to Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr. (1981-82) and, most recently, he was a member of the Policy Planning Staff of Secretary of State James A. Baker, III. Dr. Sicherman was also a consultant to Secretary of the Navy John F. Lehman, Jr. (1982-1987) and Secretary of State George Shultz (1988).

He is author or editor of numerous books and articles, including *America the Vulnerable: Our Military Problems and How To Fix Them*, co-edited with John Lehman (2002); *The Chinese Economy: A New Scenario*, co-edited with Murray Weidenbaum (1999), and *New Directions in U.S.-Chinese Relations*, coauthored with former Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr. (1997). His books also include *Palestinian Autonomy, Self-Government and Peace* (Westview Press, 1993), and *The Three Percent Solution and the Future of NATO* (1982).

The Institute's major research areas are described below.

## CENTER ON TERRORISM AND COUNTER-TERRORISM

On September 11, the vulnerability of the United States was tragically exposed. Now the United States has begun a war against terrorism that the President himself predicts will take years to win. This war will be waged along many fronts against a foe making full use of modern communications and technologies once available only to governments, especially weapons of mass destruction. It will also be a campaign against states that support terrorism directly or indirectly.

Terrorism, defined as the use of force against non-combatants with the aim of forcing change, is not new. It is a form of political violence that offers an alternative to those too weak to wage rebellion or war. As such, it can be used by groups rather



than governments or by governments hoping to undermine their adversaries without risking direct confrontation.

To prosecute a war against 21st century terrorists and those who help them, the United States and the rest of the civilized world must identify and understand terrorism and the international terrorist network – and not just those of the Islamic fundamentalist variety but other organizations with international ties, such as the ETA in Spain, the FARC in Colombia, and the LTTE of Sri Lanka. We need to know their names, their leaders, their backgrounds, their beliefs, their means of financial support, their ties to organized crime, their access to weapons of mass destruction, and their vulnerabilities. And we need to develop strategies to root them out, even as we work toward an international order that outlaws and suppresses terrorism.

The Foreign Policy Research Institute is committed to aid this effort and possesses the intellectual and institutional resources to make a unique contribution. In early 2002, FPRI established a Center on Terrorism and Counter-Terrorism that studies the phenomenon of 21st century international terrorism; develops strategies for defeating it; and offers the results of the research to a broad spectrum of policymakers – at the national, state, and local levels – as well as individuals in the private sector. The Center's research projects are expected to cover to a broad range of foreign and domestic issues raised by the war on terrorism, including building a terrorist dossier, analysis of terrorist alliances, developing models for counter-terrorism planning and training, and analyses of risk reduction at port facilities.

Principal investigators include Michael Radu and Stephen Gale. Michael Radu (Ph.D., Columbia University) has been following terrorist and insurgent groups for FPRI for twenty years. He has been quoted in the national media, including the *Wall Street Journal*, the *New York Times*, *Newsweek*, and Associated Press, and in the international media as well. He has completed 11 studies under contract with various U.S. government agencies, testified on Capitol Hill, and conducted field research around the world. Stephen Gale (Ph.D., University of Michigan), a faculty member at the University of Pennsylvania, has conducted research on the creation and use of software systems for integrated security analysis, the development and analysis of security scenarios, and the application of negotiation models. He has undertaken assignments for Sandia and Los Alamos National Laboratories, the US Department of Energy, and a number of defense-related agencies, as well as private sector organizations.

Other associates include Rensselaer W. Lee III, one of the nation's leading experts on nuclear smuggling, international drug trafficking and international

organized crime; Tom Marks, a former intelligence officer who has frequented trouble spots all over the world and has analyzed conflicts as far flung as Northern Ireland, Quebec, Colombia, Peru, Papua New Guinea, Laos, the Philippines, and Sri Lanka; Stephen Salisbury, a consultant for the past twenty years on insurgencies and counter-insurgency in Latin America; William Malampy, a systems engineer with consulting experience in security planning for the private and public sectors; and Gregory Montanaro, who has experience in working with local government and law enforcement agencies.

## CENTER FOR THE STUDY OF AMERICA AND THE WEST

Today, the American identity is torn between those who favor a departure from the "Western culture" they see as no longer relevant, or just, and those who argue that "the West" – its history and civilization – have something of value to give not only to our children but to the rest of the world. The outcome of this debate will influence not only American society but our foreign policy – the way we approach other nations. Therefore, FPRI's Center for the Study of America and the West has assembled a critical mass of historians and social scientists to illuminate the issues by exploring and explaining the various dimensions of Western civilization. This has become all the more important after September 11, when American society and values have come under attack.

The Center conducts research and publishes original works, runs a Study Group, sponsors a unique "History Academy" that serves high school teachers from around the country, and offers materials to many thousands more through e-mail contacts. Since its founding in 1997, the Center has established itself as an influential program that affects both the state of scholarly discourse and the teaching of history in the classroom.

Two books have emerged from the Center's work: Walter McDougall's *Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776* (Houghton Mifflin, 1997) and David Gress's *From Plato to NATO: The Idea of the West and Its Critics* (Free Press, 1998). Two volumes are in the works – McDougall's *History of the United States* (HarperCollins) and Gress and McDougall's *History, Education and American Culture* (Encounter Books).

Nine weekend-long history institutes for high school teachers have been conducted on such topics as "Teaching History: Why and How," keynoted by Pulitzer Prizewinning historian Gordon Wood; "Teaching the Cold War," keynoted by John Lewis Gaddis, dean of Cold War historians; and "Teaching

Geography and Geopolitics," keynoted by Jeremy Black, a renowned British military historian.

The work of the Center is conducted by a stellar team that includes Pulitzer prizewinning historian Dr. Walter McDougall (Alloy-Ansin Professor of International Relations, University of Pennsylvania), who chairs our History Academy; Dr. James Kurth (Claude Smith Professor of Political Science, Swarthmore College), who chairs our Study Group on America and the West; and Dr. William Anthony Hay (Ph.D., University of Virginia), who directs the Center.

## **THE ASIA PROGRAM**

FPRI's Asia Program has established itself as a leading force in the United States promoting debate and analysis of the many important developments in a region that has captured the attention of academics and policymakers alike. Each year the program generally contains four major elements: (1) research projects; (2) the InterUniversity Study Group on the U.S. and Asia; (3) an annual conference; and (4) educational programs for the general public and teachers.

Jacques deLisle (J.D., Harvard University), Director of FPRI's Asia Program and Professor of Law at the University of Pennsylvania, is working on three important studies: (1) Taiwan's international status, focusing on the connection between legal arguments and political strategy in Taiwan, the PRC, and the United States; (2) the implications of PRC and Taiwan accession to the WTO; and (3) China's legal reforms and its quest for development without democracy.

Terry Cooke, FPRI Senior Fellow, is conducting research on cross-strait economic relations and their political implications. Currently on leave from the Senior Foreign Commercial Service, Dr. Cooke served as Chief of the Commercial Section at the American Institute in Taiwan.

Other Senior Fellows include Avery Goldstein (University of Pennsylvania) working on China's grand strategy; June Teufel Dreyer (University of Miami) on the cross-strait military balance; Shelley Rigger (Davidson College) on domestic politics in Taiwan; Theodore Friend (Chairman, Philadelphia Committee on Foreign Relations) on the political culture of Indonesia; and Roy Kim (Drexel University) on security and economic developments on the Korean Peninsula.

# PROGRAM ON NATIONAL SECURITY

The United States has maintained the best military in the world in terms of people and weaponry. Conventionally, the U.S. military remains without peer. Unfortunately, the conventional dominance demonstrated in the Persian Gulf War signaled to adversaries that symmetrical confrontations with the United States were at best foolhardy and, at worst, suicidal. Conflicts from Somalia to Haiti to the Balkans proved that adversaries, while not always successful, had indeed learned that asymmetrical strategies worked best against the American conventional juggernaut. No event has proven this more correct than Al Qaeda's attacks on the World Trade Center and the Pentagon on September 11, 2001. As a consequence, the United States is confronted with an urgent conflict and clear enemy, defined as international terrorists and the countries that help them. That said, many questions remain unanswered in regards to American national security strategy. For instance:

- What is the best military strategy for conducting the war against terrorism?
- What forces and weapons platforms are necessary to undertake the current conflict while also hedging against other threats?
- Are U.S. forces optimally organized or do they need to be "transformed" as so many have argued?
- How must the United States use its forces to defend its homeland while also carrying out forward presence and operations abroad?

Building on four conferences convened by FPRI's Defense Task Force since 1996, which culminated in the publication of a book in 2002 entitled *America the Vulnerable: Our Military Problems and How To Fix Them*, FPRI's Program on National Security is designed to answer these questions. The program is headed by John Hillen, a former paratrooper and decorated combat veteran of the Gulf War, and a defense and intelligence expert who has published widely on all facets of national security and military affairs. He holds degrees from Duke University, King's College London, and a doctorate from Oxford. In 1999 he became the youngest member appointed by the Secretary of Defense to the bipartisan U.S. Commission on National Security/21st Century. A former commentator for MSNBC, he has made hundreds of appearances on CNN, NPR, BBC, and all the major television networks and programs.

Michael P. Noonan, Deputy Director of the program, is an emerging scholar of civil-military relations, the use of force, geostrategy, and strategic culture. Mr. Noonan has held a commission in the U.S. Army Reserve, where he has served in

leadership and staff assignments with cavalry, logistics, and civil affairs units. Other associated scholars include Dr. Mackubin Thomas Owens, (Professor of Strategy, Naval War College) a retired, decorated Marine Corps officer and an expert on geostrategy and defense policy, and Chris Seiple (Executive Vice President, Institute for Global Engagement), a former Marine infantry officer and a recognized expert on asymmetrical threats.

## **THE STUDY OF ETHNIC CONFLICT**

Despite some successes, current methodologies of ethnic conflict resolution are distressingly limited in their results. There is a compelling need for developing new diagnostic models and tools. To this end, we have designed the following programs as part of our project on the study of ethnic conflict:

- a) The organization of interdisciplinary conferences of experts. The first such conference took place in May 1999, when we examined the roles of religion, of mediation and of the media in ethnic conflict.
- b) The establishment in 2000 of an InterUniversity Study Group on Religion and Ethnicity in World Affairs, consisting of some 20 scholars from Philadelphia-area universities.
- c) The sponsorship of an Annual Lecture on Ethnic Conflict, supplemented by seminars, workshops, and specialized research projects on specific topics.
- d) Occasional special programs for educators, in collaboration with FPRI's Wachman Fund for International Education, aiming at helping teachers in the development of personal skills and pedagogical frameworks and enabling them to find and teach creative, nonviolent solutions to personal, group, and broader cross-cultural conflicts.

The program is directed by Foulie Psalidas-Perlmutter, a clinical psychologist and an expert in conflict analysis and negotiations. She was a member of the faculty of the Graduate Center for Organizational Dynamics at the University of Pennsylvania, 1979-2000, and received her Ph.D. from the University of Athens, Greece.

# **INTERNATIONAL POLITICAL ECONOMY PROGRAM**

Chaired by trustee N. Peter Hamilton and directed by Bernard Munk, the International Political Economy Program examines issues where business and politics meet. It was launched in 2001 with a talk by New York Times columnist Tom Friedman on globalization, and then other talks by Robert Kaplan on what business leaders need to know about history and culture, and Ed Lincoln on the Japanese economy. In 2002, the program featured a half-day conference on "The American Energy Dilemma After 911," and we have commenced a project on economic relations across the Taiwan Strait. FPRI Senior Fellow Bernard Munk (Ph.D., University of Chicago) is the Principal of Munk Advisory Services. He found and operated six different companies in international and domestic business active in Europe, the Far East, Central and South America, and Africa.

## **THINK TANKS AND CIVIL SOCIETIES**

Many social scientists have examined the factors that have contributed to the growth and globalization of public policy research organizations ("think tanks"). Very little research, however, has been conducted on what impact these institutions actually have on public policy. For most of the 20th century, think tanks were centered in the U.S. and parts of Europe and they were seen as organizations that could strengthen the democratic policymaking process. Starting in the mid 1970s, the number of think tanks multiplied, and, by the 1980s, think tanks were viewed as major catalysts of change in developing countries around the world. Think tanks are now established in countries as diverse as Germany, Bulgaria, Chile, India, Lebanon, Senegal, and Thailand. Currently, there are over 4500 independent and semi-independent think tanks in operation around the world, the majority of which have come into existence in the last ten to fifteen years. FPRI Senior Fellow James McGann (Ph.D., University of Pennsylvania) is building on his unique database of think tanks worldwide, assessing their overall impact on public policy across nations.



---

## PUBLICATION

---

*“The decline of a great nation begins with the failure of its will to power, not with the diminishment of its possessions. That decline can no longer be halted when its people have come to believe that the devotions which made it great now demean it – and that history no longer matters.”*

Robert Strausz-Hupe, founder of FPRI

FPRI bulletins are circulated by email every week to over 20,000 key people in 85 countries, including many governmental officials (both in the U.S. and abroad), military personnel, journalists, scholars, and informed citizens. The weekly emails reach many thousands more indirectly by postings on a variety of websites, listservs, and online discussion groups. They are quoted or reprinted in newspapers around the world. Back issues are posted on FPRI's website, which had over 100,000 visitors in 2002. Alan Luxenberg is general editor of the bulletins.

Selected bulletins are also mailed in our 8 regular mailings a year. In addition to two general series of bulletins – E-Notes (disseminated by email) and FPRI Wire (by mail) – we publish Peacefacts (which monitors the Middle East), Watch on the West (which covers America and the West), and Footnotes (for educators).

## **October 2002**

*The War on Terrorism*, Summary of Remarks by R. James Woolsey

## **September 2002**

*Is There Still a West?*, William Anthony Hay

*Vichy Thought Police*, Michael Radu

*The U.S. Military and the War on Terrorism*, Michael P. Noonan

*Everything You Think You Know About the American Way of War Is Wrong*,

Max Boot

*What Our Children Should Learn About 9/11/2001*, Adam Garfinkle

## **August 2002**

*Taiwan's Hong Kong Phobia, Five Years On*, Jacques deLisle

## **July 2002**

*Bush's Palestine*, Harvey Sicherman

*The Dignity of Difference: Avoiding the Clash of Civilizations*, Jonathan Sacks

*Varieties of Sovereignty and China*, Jacques deLisle

## **June 2002**

*Re-Mapping U.S. Defense Policy*, Michael Noonan

*The Work of Diplomacy*, George P. Shultz

*America, Europe, and Russia*, William Anthony Hay

## **May 2002**

*Comrade Mugabe's "State of Disaster,"* Michael Radu

*Israel's Military Dilemma*, Asaf Romirowsky

*The French Election: Earthquake, Fascism, or Wake-up Call?*, Michael Radu,

*Next Steps in the Middle East*, Harvey Sicherman

*The Ideological War Within the West*, John Fonte

*Challenges of Empire*, William Anthony Hay

## **April 2002**

*China in 2002: A Tale of Two Transitions*, June Teufel Dreyer

*The Futile Search for "Root Causes" of Terrorism*, Michael Radu



*Why Taiwan's Political Paralysis Persists*, Shelley Rigger  
*The Problem of "Londonistan,"* Michael Radu  
*The Return of Shining Path*, Alberto Bolivar  
*Robert Kaplan on Applying the Wisdom of the Ages to the Twenty-First Century*,  
Trudy Kuehner  
*The New Protracted Conflict*, Robert Strausz-Hupe

### **March 2002**

*Colombia: Lucidity at Last*, Michael Radu

### **February 2002**

*Teaching About the War on Terrorism*, Paul Dickler  
*War and Strategy in the 21st Century*, Jeremy Black  
*Atlantic Partnership After September 11*, William Anthony Hay  
*The Coming Transformation of the U.S. Military*, Michael P. Noonan & John Hillen  
*The War and the West*, James Kurth

### **January 2002**

*Post-9/11 Non-Proliferation*, Henry Sokolski  
*Terrorism in Colombia*, Miguel Posada  
*Judaism and International Relations*, Harvey Sicherman  
*Globalization and the Transformation of Christianity*, Philip Jenkins

## **ORBIS, A JOURNAL OF WORLD AFFAIRS**

*Orbis, FPRI's quarterly journal of world affairs, was founded in 1957 as a forum for policymakers, scholars, and the informed public who sought an engaging, thought-provoking debate beyond the predictable, conventional journals of that time. Nearly half a century later, Orbis continues to offer informative, insightful, and lively discourse on the full range of topics relating to American foreign policy and national security, as well as in-depth analysis on important international developments. Orbis readers always know the stories behind the headlines.*

*David Eisenhower, editor of Orbis, is a Public Policy Fellow at the Annenberg School of Communication and the School of Arts and Sciences at the University of Pennsylvania, where he teaches communications, the presidency and the Cold War. He served in the U.S. Navy and authored a New York Times bestseller, Eisenhower at War. Additionally, he is Director of the Institute for Public Service at Penn.*

### **Winter 2002**

#### **VULNERABLE FLANKS OF THE ARC OF CRISIS**

*The Strategic Implications of a Nuclear India*, Ashley Tellis  
*The Jewish Security Dilemma*, Yossi Shain and Barry Bristman  
*Japan's Quest for Identity*, Gilbert Rozman  
*ASEAN's Imitation Community*, David M. Jones and Michael L.R. Smith

## **AMERICA AND THE WEST**

*The Emerging Anglosphere*, James Bennett

*Globalization and Great Depressions*, Harold James

*War and Strategy in the 21st Century*, Jeremy Black

*The Multiculturalist International*, Paul Gottfried

*The Myth of the Democratic Peace*, Thomas Schwartz and Kiron K. Skinner

## **Spring 2002**

### **THE NEW PROTRACTED CONFLICT**

*Introduction*, Robert Strausz-Hupe

*Finding a Foreign Policy*, Harvey Sicherman

*The Promise of Decisive Action*, Michael P. Noonan and John Hillen

*The U.S. Army Special Forces Then and Now*, Sam C. Sarkesian

*Homeland Security Concepts and Strategy*, Chris Seiple

*Terrorism After the Cold War*, Michael Radu

*Intelligence and the War on Terrorism*, Bruce Berkowitz

*The Roles of Law in the Fight Against Terrorism*, Jacques deLisle

*The War and the West*, James Kurth

*The Islamist Syndrome of Cultural Confrontation*, John Calvert

## **Summer 2002**

*Nation Building's Newest Disguise*, Gary T. Dempsey

*A Global Free Trade Association to Preserve and Expand the U.S.-UK Special Relationship*, John C. Hulsman and Sudابه Koochekezadeh

*Liberal Democracy vs. Transnational Progressivism: The Ideological War Within the West*, John Fonte

*The Dark Winter of Biological Terrorism*, Peter J. Roman

*Swords and Shields: Ballistic Missiles and Defenses in the Middle East and South Asia*, Richard L. Russell

*Back to the Future? Prospects for Russia's Military Industrial Revival*, Steven Rosefelde

*China and the War on Terrorism*, Denny Roy

*Selling Military Transformation: The Defense Industry and Innovation*, Peter Dombrowski, Andrew Ross, and Eugene Gholz

*Perverse Effects of Andean Counternarcotics Policy*, Rensselaer W. Lee

*Mexico's International Elan and U.S. Interests*, George W. Grayson

## **Fall 2002**

*The Dignity of Difference: How to Avoid the Clash of Civilizations*, Jonathan Sacks

*Liberalization and Militancy in the Arab World*, Risa A. Brooks

*World Eras, Revolution, and War: Modern to Postmodern*, Shawn A. Howard

*Last Chance: A Roadmap for NATO Revitalization*, Alan L. Isenberg

*The Conditions for U.S.-Russian Partnership*, Stephen Blank  
*Putin's Russia, the Berlin Republic, and East Central Europe: A New Symbiosis?*, Ilya Prizel

## THE CHINA-TAIWAN RELATIONSHIP

*A Cold War of Words*, Alan M. Wachman  
“*One Country, Two Systems*” *from a Taiwan Perspective*, Byron S. J. Weng  
*Law's Spectral Answers to Cross-Strait Sovereignty Issues*, Jacques deLisle  
*Growing Cross-Strait Economic Integration*, Cal Clark

## BOOKS BY FPRI SCHOLARS

### **America the Vulnerable: Our Military Problems and How To Fix Them, edited by John F. Lehman and Harvey Sicherman (FPRI, January 2002)**

Four years ago, FPRI's leadership became convinced that our national security was slowly but surely eroding under the impact of several trends, not least of which was complacency. In our view, emerging American vulnerabilities could and should be reduced without suffering another “Pearl Harbor” to awaken us to our responsibilities. Tragically, on September 11, 2001 the United States was attacked in a latter-day version of Pearl Harbor. Suicidal terrorists exacted a horrific toll of civilians, both Americans and those of many other nations. Their weapon of choice: civilian airliners employed as cruise missiles against the World Trade Center, the Pentagon and other targets. We know now that despite the threat of massive American retaliation there are some who would attack us using any means available. This disaster has set off in its wake a fresh review of our national security and our military forces. Such a review should be broadly cast, going beyond the immediate issues of air transportation and even terrorism. There are other vital deficiencies that should be remedied. Our study specifies five:

- The demilitarization of the military
- The procurement dilemma
- The military-civilian cultural gap
- Weapons of mass destruction, and
- Cyberwar

America now lives in a more dangerous time and we must improve our defenses across the board. *America the Vulnerable* contains suggestions to do just that. The volume – the culmination of four years of work and three conferences conducted by FPRI's Defense Task Force – contains essays by the most respected strategic thinkers in the United States, including Donald Kagan, John Hillen, Eliot Cohen, Williamson Murray, Don Snider, Sam Sarkesian, Keith Payne, Andrew Bacevich, Henry Sokolski, Winn Schwartau, Richard H. Harknett, Andrew P.N. Erdmann, and the late Harry G. Summers, Jr.

**Dangerous Neighborhood: Contemporary Issues in Turkey's Foreign Relations, edited by Michael S. Radu (Transaction Books, November 2002)**

Contemporary Turkish politics have long been roiled by cultural and social debates rooted in the legacy of modernization initiated in the 1920s by Mustafa Kemal Ataturk. Islamist challenges to Ataturk's secularism, to political corruption and economic inefficiency, and debates over the meaning of human rights, all remain open to argument – in Ankara as well as elsewhere. Undoubtedly, they exert influence on Turkey's position in world affairs and reinforce its double identity between the West and the Islamic world. *Dangerous Neighborhood* examines Turkish foreign policy problems, both with its immediate neighbors in the Caucasus and Middle East and in its essential strategic relations with the European Union and the United States.

**OTHER BOOK NEWS**

*Promised Land, Crusader State: The American Encounter with the World Since 1776*, by Walter A. McDougall (Houghton Mifflin, 1997)

The Arabic edition was published in 2002!

*Deterrence and Security in the 21st Century: China, Britain, France, and the Enduring Legacy of the Nuclear Revolution*, by Avery Goldstein (Stanford University Press, 2000)

The paperback edition was published in 2002.

**MANUSCRIPTS IN PROGRESS**

Theodore Friend on the political history of Indonesia (Harvard University Press)

Walter A. McDougall on the history of the United States (HarperCollins)

David Gress and Walter A. McDougall on history, education, and American culture (Encounter Books)

**AN UNUSUAL PUBLISHING VENTURE**

FPRI is Editorial Consultant for a series of twenty-five books on “Modern Middle East Nations,” to be published by Mason Crest Publishers ([www.masoncrest.com](http://www.masoncrest.com)). Mason Crest serves the secondary school market. The books are beautifully illustrated, well-written, and – with help from FPRI – accurate!

**IN 2002:**

**35 BULLETINS, 4 ISSUES OF ORBIS, 2 BOOKS, AND  
COUNTLESS APPEARANCES IN THE NEWS MEDIA.**



---

# EDUCATION

---

*“My dream is that every teacher and student of history and geography, at the end of every block of instruction, can say proudly and knowledgeably, ‘I’ve done the map.’ Because that means they know who they are, where they are, and how to get where they want to go. That means they have had true education.”*

Walter A. McDougall, Chairman, FPRI's History Academy (in “You Can't Argue with Geography,” Footnotes, September 2000, reprinted in American Educator, Spring 2001)

# MARVIN WACHMAN FUND FOR INTERNATIONAL EDUCATION

*“Greater international awareness is essential if we are to compete in the global economy, promote responsible citizenship, or just become better human beings.”*

– **Marvin Wachman**

In 1990, the FPRI established the Marvin Wachman Fund for International Education, dedicated to improving international and civic literacy in the community and in the classroom. The Fund is named for FPRI's former president (1983-1989), Marvin Wachman, who inaugurated the Institute's program of education in 1985 with the Inter-University Seminar on Foreign Affairs and then, at the suggestion of the School District of Philadelphia, launched Global Classroom in 1988 to provide enrichment for high school teachers.

## TEACHING THE TEACHERS

The Wachman Fund specializes in “teaching the teachers” by –

- (1) Advancing teachers' knowledge of world affairs;
- (2) Aiding them in incorporating this knowledge in the classroom; and
- (3) Encouraging a dialogue among pre-college educators, university scholars, students, and parents.

We provide teachers with up-to-date information not covered by textbooks, in a format designed for easy use in the classroom. We offer historical context to current events, and scholarship at the cutting edge.

Our program makes a unique impact here and around the country. In 2002 alone, teachers came to Philadelphia from 65 schools in 26 states to participate in our programs. Participants include many department heads and curriculum supervisors, as well as leaders of statewide history and social studies councils. This gives our program an important “multiplier effect.” Moreover, the Wachman Fund regularly reaches teachers across the nation through Footnotes, a bulletin for educators that is mailed, faxed, and emailed. These bulletins are frequently reprinted in magazines and newspapers and posted on the Internet. *American Educator*, the magazine of the American Federation of Teachers that reaches 800,000 teachers, has reprinted our material on three separate occasions. In 1996, the Wachman Fund inaugurated a series of weekend history institutes, chaired by Pulitzer Prizewinning historian Walter McDougall. Nine history institutes have been held to date:

- The U.S. and the Idea of the West
- Two Hundred Years of U.S. Foreign Policy
- Teaching History: Why and How
- The Cold War Revisited
- Multiculturalism in World History
- Teaching the Vietnam War
- Teaching World Religions
- Teaching Geography and Geopolitics
- Teaching Japan

## **SPECIAL ACTIVITIES**

- Teach-ins at La Salle College High School, Wyndmoor, PA, for students from all over the Delaware Valley on the War on Terrorism (2001), Lessons of Vietnam (2001), U.S. Policy Toward Russia (1998), and U.S. Policy Toward China (1997).
- Conferences for teachers on China, ethnic conflict, and the Middle East.
- Lectures on the premises of Saint Hubert Catholic High School, Germantown Academy, Cherry Hill High School West and Neshaminy High School, and internships for students at Akiba Hebrew Academy, The Shipley School, Olney High School, Germantown Academy, Bodine High School, St. Joseph's Academy, and Conestoga High School

## **EDUCATING THE PUBLIC**

For the general public, FPRI regularly sponsors a monthly lecture series, and offers additional programs (sponsor forums, breakfast briefings, post-lecture dinners) for higher level members of FPRI, not to mention impromptu briefings throughout the year in response to newsbreaking developments.

The Wachman Fund is headed by Alan Luxemberg, who enjoys 26 years of programming experience at FPRI. He is aided by a team of educators including Paul Dickler, history teacher at Neshaminy high school; Lucien Ellington, professor of education at the university of Tennessee; and James Sanzare, a retired social studies teachers with thirty years of experience in the Philadelphia school system. Our programs in 2002 are described below.

## **PUBLIC BRIEFINGS ON THE WAR ON TERRORISM**

Begun on September 14, 2001 – in response to the attack on America three days earlier – this series of monthly briefings has been offered as a public service (that is, they are free and open to the public). After many of these briefings, FPRI Patrons (members at the \$500 level or above), are invited to the lunch with the speakers. Given its substantial network of affiliated scholars, FPRI is unique to Philadelphia in being able to respond quickly to critical events around the world.

### **January 14**

Laurie Mylroie (*Editor, Iraq News*) on *The Iraq Dimension*

Michael Radu, *FPRI*, on *The Roots of Terrorism*

Harvey Sicherman, *FPRI*, *Status Report on the War on Terrorism*

**February 11**

Stephen Blank, *US Army War College, on The Russian Angle*  
 William Anthony Hay, *FPRI, on The European Angle*  
 Harvey Sicherman *on The US Policy Angle*

**March 11**

Chris Seiple, *VP, Institute for Global Engagement, and Senior Fellow, FPRI, on Homeland Security*  
 Ed Turzanski, *La Salle University, on Intelligence after 9/11*  
 Michael Radu *on The Problem of Londonistan*

**April 8**

Anatol Lieven, *Carnegie Endowment, on Pakistan and Afghanistan*  
 Harvey Sicherman *on the Middle East*

**May 13: Three Perspectives on the Middle East**

Eric Davis, *Rutgers University*  
 Trudy Rubin, *Philadelphia Inquirer*  
 Joseph Hoeffel, *US Congress*

**June 13**

Max Boot, *Editorial Features Editor, Wall Street Journal, on Small Wars*

**July 11**

Stephen Gale, *Senior Fellow, FPRI, on Homeland Security*

**September 27**

Harvey Sicherman *on Iraq: The Squall before the Storm*

## **THE WORLD AFTER SEPTEMBER 11: A LECTURE SERIES**

*Also in response to the events of 9/11 and at the invitation of Rabbi Seymour Rosenbloom of Congregation Adath Jeshurun in Elkins Park, Pennsylvania, FPRI's Wachman Fund cosponsored a four-part lecture series – free and open to people of all faiths (or no faith at all) at the Elkins Park congregation. Currently, we are seeking additional financial support to develop similar series at other faith-based institutions in the five-county area around Philadelphia.*

**January 9****THE WAR ON TERRORISM: WHAT'S NEXT?**

Harvey Sicherman, *President, Foreign Policy Research Institute*

**February 13****WHAT EVERY AMERICAN SHOULD KNOW ABOUT ISLAM**

Theodore Friend, *Senior Fellow, FPRI*



**March 13**

**ISRAELIS AND PALESTINIANS: CAN THEY MAKE PEACE?**

Adam Garfinkle, *Editor, The National Interest*

**May 8**

**TERRORISM: A GUIDE FOR THE PERPLEXED**

Michael Radu, *Senior Fellow, FPRI*

## **SPECIAL EVENTS**

*The title of this section does not imply that the other FPRI events are not special (they are!); it is just that we look to two events to help raise the money that FPRI needs to sustain itself year after year – the FPRI Annual Dinner and the Annual Robert Strausz-Hupe Lecture. Each event features a prominent speaker, an elegant dinner, and a great audience of Philadelphia's business and academic leaders.*

The Annual Dinner has been sold out three years in a row but the unique feature of this year's dinner (November 13, 2002) is that it was sold out before the printed invitations were even mailed! We thank all who have participated in the Dinner.

In 1998, in honor of FPRI's founder and on the occasion of his 95th birthday, the Trustees of FPRI announced the establishment of the Robert Strausz-Hupe Annual Lecture Fund marked by a birthday celebration at the Union League and an address by Pulitzer Prizewinning historian Walter McDougall on "The Wisdom of Robert Strausz-Hupe." Over 100 individuals have contributed to the fund, which enables FPRI to invite a distinguished scholar or statesman to address a significant issue each year, and then disseminate the lecture around the world. Speakers have included former Assistant Secretary of Defense Richard Perle, former Ambassador to the Soviet Union James Matlock, and FPRI President Harvey Sicherman. Sadly, Ambassador Strausz-Hupe passed away in February 2002, just before what would have been his 99th birthday. His last essay, "The New Protracted Conflict," was completed in December 2001 and published by FPRI in April 2002. On January 17, 2002 we held the Annual Robert Strausz-Hupe Lecture, featuring best-selling author (and a long-time FPRI associate) Robert Kaplan on his new book *Warrior Politics* (coming out in paperback in January 2003). Bob's talk was summarized in an FPRI Wire under the title "Applying the Wisdom of the Ages to the 21st Century."

## **NAMED LECTURES**

*Besides the Robert Strausz-Hupe Lecture, the Foreign Policy Research Institute has six named lectures a year that are supported by individuals and corporations. The lectures, which are free for members of FPRI and \$15 for non-members, are usually followed by private dinners for FPRI Fellows (members at the \$1,000 level). Condensed versions of most of the lectures are published as FPRI Wires and posted on the FPRI website.*

**March 21**

**PERLMUTTER LECTURE ON ETHNIC CONFLICT**

Michael Ignatieff, Harvard University

*Established in memory of David and Anna Perlmutter, parents of Howard V. Perlmutter, and Demetrios and Marika Psalidas, parents of Foulie Psalidas-Perlmutter, this lecture is designed to make known the latest scholarship on ethnic conflict and its resolution. Speakers have include Herbert Kelman, Harvard University; David Smock, U.S. Institute of Peace; Chester Crocker, former Assistant Secretary of State; and I. William Zartman, Johns Hopkins University. A generous grant from Howard and Foulie Perlmutter supports the annual lecture as well FPRI's larger program of study on ethnic conflict.*

**May 21**

**TEMPLETON LECTURE ON RELIGION AND WORLD AFFAIRS**

Jonathan Sacks, Chief Rabbi of the British Commonwealth on "The Dignity of Difference: Avoiding the Clash of Civilizations"

*What role have the world's great religions played in international politics, and how might theology and spirituality influence the world of the 21st century? The Templeton Lecture was established to provide a public forum for the discussion of these questions. Previous lectures have included George Weigel on Pope John Paul II and the Dynamics of World History; Dale Eickelman on The Coming Transformation of the Muslim World; James Kurth on Religion and Globalization; James Billington on Religion and Russia's Future; George Gallup on Religion and Civic Virtue at Home and Abroad; and Harvey Sicherman on Judaism and International Relations. This lecture was established by a generous grant from John M. Templeton, Jr.*

**September 11**

**THE CYNTHIA P. ROBINSON LECTURE ON WORLD AFFAIRS**

The Meaning of September 11, James Kurth, Claude Smith Professor of Political Science, Swarthmore College, and Senior Fellow, FPRI

*Created to honor the memory of the wife of the late Harry C. Robinson, an early supporter of FPRI, the Cynthia P. Robinson Lecture is an annual lecture designed to further understanding of international affairs and America's role in the world. Throughout her life, Mrs. Robinson pursued her interest in international affairs and supported organizations that fostered diplomatic training and public awareness of international diplomacy. This lecture was established with a bequest from the estate of Harry C. Robinson.*

## **October 1**

### **PITCAIRN TRUST LECTURE ON WORLD AFFAIRS**

former CIA Director R. James Woolsey on The War on Terrorism

*This lecture was established in 2002 by the Pitcairn Trust, one of the leading private investment concerns in America. The company has served individuals and families, foundations, religious institutions, and other non-profit entities for over 75 years. You can visit them at: <http://www.pitcairn.com>*

## **October 19**

### **THE BOBBY HALL LUXENBERG MEMORIAL LECTURE ON JAPAN**

Gilbert Rozman, Musgrave Professor of Sociology, Princeton University, and Senior Fellow, FPRI, on The US, Japan, and East Asian Security

Cosponsored by the Japan-America Society of Greater Philadelphia

*This lecture was established in 1994 with contributions from the friends and family of Bobby Luxenberg, who directed FPRI's first Weekend Academy on Japan. Bobby taught Japanese at Germantown Academy, Cheltenham Township Adult School, Bucks County Community School, and helped launch the Japanese-language program at Lower Merion High School.*

## **October 28**

### **ALVIN Z. RUBINSTEIN MEMORIAL LECTURE ON RUSSIA**

The Honorable Curt Weldon on The US and Russia

Cosponsored by the Pennsylvania - Russia Business Council

*Alvin Z. Rubinstein, professor of political science at the University of Pennsylvania and senior fellow of FPRI, passed away on December 18, 2001, just as he prepared to retire from Penn at the end of the semester. One of the nation's leading students of Russian foreign policy, he was described by former Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig, Jr., as a man of "enormous intellectual integrity.... Both his students and peers will never cease to benefit from the impact of his character as well as his remarkable strategic insights." In 2001, his colleagues published a book in his honor – "The Lost Equilibrium: International Relations in the Post-Soviet Era." This lecture was established with a contribution from Susan and Sherwood Goldberg.*

## **SPONSORS FORUM**

*This luncheon series for FPRI Sponsors (members at the \$250 level) typically features an FPRI scholar just back from a trip abroad or a visiting scholar who is in town to make a separate presentation to an FPRI Study Group.*

## **February 28**

Omar Encarnacion, Bard College

*Managing Ethnic Conflict in Spain: The Basque Problem*

Hosted by Pepper Hamilton LLP

## **March 20**

Jolyon Howorth, University of Bath (England)

*French Foreign Policy Before and After 9/11*

Hosted by Reed Smith LLP

Cosponsored by the French American Chamber of Commerce

## **April 22**

Jeremy Black, University of Exeter, and Senior Fellow, FPRI

*Britain, Europe and Globalization*

Hosted by Pepper Hamilton LLP

Cosponsored by the British American Business Council

## **July 30**

Michael Radu, Chairman, FPRI Center on Terrorism and Counterterrorism

*Terrorism and Counterterrorism: The European Dimension*

Hosted by Pepper Hamilton LLP

## **October 31**

William Perry, Senior Advisor to the Secretary of State on Inter-American Affairs

*Brazil, Argentina, and the Future of Liberalism in Latin America*

Hosted by Pepper Hamilton LLP

# **BREAKFAST BRIEFINGS (FOR PATRONS)**

*Breakfast briefings are open Patrons (members at the \$500 level).*

## **March 14**

David Eisenhower, Presidential Leadership in Times of Crisis

## **April 29**

A Symposium on The American Energy Dilemma After Sept. 11

*Toward a National Energy Policy*

Edward Morse, Hess Energy Advisors

*The Impact of Russian Oil Developments*

Adam Sieminski, Deutsche Bank Securities

*The Geopolitics of Energy and the War on Terrorism*

Harvey Sicherman, FPRI

*The Economics of Energy Independence*

Bernard Munk, Director, Political Economy Program

# YOUNG PROFESSIONAL NETWORK IN INTERNATIONAL AFFAIRS

*This series of programs is designed for the “under-40” crowd.*

## **February 13**

*Defending the American Homeland*

Chris Seiple, Vice President, Institute for Global Engagement and Associate Scholar, FPRI  
Hosted by Dechert

## **June 13**

*The Savage Wars of Peace*

Max Boot, Editorial Features Editor, Wall Street Journal  
Hosted by Duane Morris LLP

## **OTHER LECTURES, SEMINARS, AND SYMPOSIA**

*This is a listing of programs that do not fit inside any of the categories above but reflect the fact that we often have impromptu talks – sometimes designed by FPRI in response to newsbreaking developments, sometimes in response to an unplanned visit by a distinguished scholar or statesman, and sometimes in response to another institution that has invited us to cosponsor a significant event with them.*

## **February 6**

John Lehman, FPRI Trustee and former Secretary of the Navy, on his new book *On Seas of Glory: Heroic Men, Great Ships, and Epic Battles of the American Navy*

## **March 7**

The European Angle on the War on Terrorism

Michael Radu, FPRI

Cosponsored by Princeton Committee on Foreign Relations

## **March 25**

A Symposium on China-Taiwan Relations

Featuring talks by Shelley Rigger, Davidson College; June Teufel Dreyer, University of Miami; and Jacques deLisle, University of Pennsylvania Law School (all FPRI Fellows)

## **April 9**

Jay Winik, University of Maryland, on his book *August 1865: The Month That Saved America*

## **April 20**

Mapping: Past and Present

Jeremy Black, Professor of History, University of Exeter (Britain) and Senior Fellow, FPRI (This lecture was the keynote for our History Institute on “Teaching Geography and Geopolitics.”)

## **June 10**

Trip Report: Russia, China, and Uzbekistan  
The Honorable Curt Weldon

## **November 4**

Elections in Greater China: An Extraordinary Discussion with Visiting Officials from the People's Republic of China, Taiwan, and Hong Kong  
Cosponsored by Penn's Law School and Center for East Asian Studies

## **November 26**

The Media's Role in Peace and War  
Abdallah Schlieffer, Director, Adham Center for Television Journalism, American University of Cairo

## **December 4**

Just War Theory and the Case of Iraq  
James Turner Johnson, Rutgers University

# **THE HISTORY ACADEMY**

*Chaired by Pulitzer Prizewinning historian Walter McDougall, the History Academy offers secondary school educators an opportunity to sharpen their knowledge of history and world politics. Each year, FPRI sponsors at least one weekend-long program for some 40 educators from around the country. We provide an intellectual feast, plus accommodations and meals at the Gregg Conference Center in Bryn Mawr. The program is entirely free for teachers (but not for FPRI!); indeed, teachers coming from a long distance are given a partial travel reimbursement and teachers producing curriculum based on the weekend experience are given a small stipend. Invariably, the teachers leave the weekend program feeling invigorated, refreshed, and ready to tackle in new ways the subjects they teach in their classrooms. In 2002, we sponsored two weekends that are described below*

# **TEACHING GEOGRAPHY AND GEOPOLITICS**

## **Saturday, April 20, 2002**

11:00 a.m. WHY GEOGRAPHY MATTERS

Walter A. McDougall, *Chairman, History Academy, Foreign Policy Research Institute, and Alloy-Ansin Professor of International Relations, UPenn*

12:15 p.m. Luncheon

1:00 p.m. DOES GEOPOLITICS MATTER?

Harvey Sicherman, *President, Foreign Policy Research Institute*

- 2:30 p.m. THE GEOPOLITICS OF EUROPE  
David Gress, *Visiting Professor of International Relations, Boston University, and Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy Research Institute*
- 4:00 p.m. THE GEOPOLITICS OF CHINA, JAPAN, AND EAST ASIA  
Arthur Waldron, *Lauder Professor of International Relations, UPenn, and Director, Asian Studies, American Enterprise Institute*
- 5:30 p.m. Reception and Dinner
- 7:30 p.m. NARRATING THE PAST: MAPS IN HISTORICAL ATLASES  
Jeremy Black, *Professor of History, University of Exeter (United Kingdom), and Senior Fellow, Foreign Policy. Research Institute*

## **Sunday, April 21, 2002**

- 8:15 a.m. THE CHANGING MAP OF THE AMERICAS  
Anthony Depalma, *New York Times*
- 9:30 a.m. CULTURAL GEOGRAPHY OF COLONIAL AMERICA  
Alan Taylor, *Professor of History, University of California at Davis*
- 10:45 a.m. PANEL: TEACHING GEOGRAPHY AND GEOPOLITICS  
Moderator: William Anthony Hay, *Executive Director, FPRI's Center for the Study of America and the West*  
Panelists: Paul Dickler, *History Teacher, Neshaminy High School, and Senior Fellow, Marvin Wachman Fund*  
James Kurth, *Claude Smith Professor of Political Science, Swarthmore College, and Chairman, FPRI's Study Group on America and the West*

## **TEACHING JAPAN**

### **Saturday, October 19, 2002**

- 11:00 a.m. PRE-MODERN JAPANESE HISTORY  
Jurgis Elisonas, *Emeritus Professor of Japanese History, Indiana University*
- 12:15 p.m. Luncheon
- 1:00 p.m. MODERN JAPANESE HISTORY AND THE OCCUPATION  
George Packard, *President, U.S.-Japan Foundation*
- 2:15 p.m. CONTEMPORARY JAPANESE SOCIETY  
Anne Imamura, *Adjunct Professor, Georgetown University*
- 3:30 p.m. JAPANESE EDUCATION  
Lucien Ellington, *UC Foundation Professor of Education at the University of Tennessee; Editor, Education about Asia; and Senior Fellow, Marvin Wachman Fund for International Education*
- 5:30 p.m. Reception and Dinner

7:30 p.m. THE U.S., JAPAN, AND EAST ASIAN SECURITY  
(The Bobby Hall Luxenberg Memorial Lecture on Japan)  
Gilbert Rozman, *Musgrave Professor of Sociology, Princeton University, and Senior Fellow, FPRI*

**Sunday, October 20, 2002**

8:30 a.m. JAPANESE POLITICS  
Leonard Schoppa, *Associate Professor of Government and Foreign Affairs, University of Virginia*

9:45 a.m. THE JAPANESE ECONOMY  
Edward Lincoln, *Senior Fellow, The Brookings Institution*

11:00 a.m. Panel Discussion on Teaching about Japan  
Lucien Ellington, *University of Tennessee*  
Paul Dickler, *Senior Fellow, Wachman Fund; History Teacher, Neshaminy High School*

**PARTICIPATING SCHOOLS IN 2002**

*Most of the teachers represent high schools; occasionally we accept faculty from colleges and military academies. This year 65 schools in 26 states were represented!*

**Colorado**

US Air Force Academy

**Connecticut**

US Coast Guard Academy, New London

**Delaware**

Padua Academy, Wilmington

**Florida**

Palm Beach Community College

**Georgia**

Lovett School, Atlanta

**Illinois**

High School of St. Thomas More

**Maryland**

Bryn Mawr School, Baltimore

**Massachusetts**

Cape Cod Lighthouse Charter School  
Newton Country Day School

**Minnesota**

White Bear Lake Schools

**Missouri**

Fontbonne College, St. Louis  
Gardiner Public School, Gardiner  
MRH High School, Maplewood

**New Hampshire**

New Hampshire Humanities Council

**New Jersey**

Cherokee High School North, Marlton  
Haddonfield Middle School, Haddonfield  
Hunterdon Central Regional High School  
Lawrenceville School, Lawrenceville  
Moorestown High School, Moorestown  
Morristown Beard School  
MPACT and Garrett Morgan  
Transportation Academy, Ridgewood  
NJ Department of Education, Trenton  
Princeton High School  
Vineland Public Schools

**New Mexico**

Albuquerque High School



**New York**

Bank Street College of Education  
 Charles O'Dickerson High School  
 Emma Willard School, Troy  
 United Nations International School

**North Carolina**

North Forsyth High School, Winston-Salem  
 Parkland High School, Winston-Salem

**Ohio**

Shaker Heights High School

**Oklahoma**

Tulsa Public Schools  
 Byrd Middle School, Tulsa

**Oregon**

Reynolds High School, Troutdale

**Pennsylvania**

Abington Friends School, Abington  
 American Academy, Bryn Mawr  
 California University  
 Central High School, Philadelphia  
 Conestoga High School, Berwyn  
 Edison/Fareira High School, Philadelphia  
 Episcopal Academy, Merion  
 George School, Newtown  
 Harrisburg Academy  
 Haverford School  
 Lower Merion School District, Ardmore  
 Mount Saint Joseph Academy

Neshaminy High School, Langhorne  
 Northeast High School, Philadelphia  
 North Hills High School, Pittsburgh  
 Shaler Area School High School, Pittsburgh  
 Shipley School, Bryn Mawr  
 Unionville High School, Kennett Square  
 Univ. of PA, Graduate School of Education  
 William Penn Charter School, Philadelphia  
 Wissahickon High School, Ambler

**Rhode Island**

US Naval War College, Newport

**Tennessee**

Chattanooga High School, Chattanooga  
 University School of Nashville, Nashville

**Texas**

Austin High School, Sugar Land

**Utah**

Waterford School, Sandy

**Virginia**

Fairfax High School, Fairfax  
 South Lakes High School, Reston  
 Trinity School at Meadow View  
 Woodson High School, Falls Church

**Washington**

Oroville School, Oroville

**West Virginia**

West Virginia School for the Blind, Romney

## INTER-UNIVERSITY STUDY GROUPS

*The Greater Philadelphia area is home to some 80 institutions of higher learning. To tap this extraordinary intellectual resource, FPRI established a series of study groups, each of which includes 20 or so scholars representing diverse institutions and disciplines. Each study group meets four to eight times a year; a paper is presented for critique either by a member of the group or an outside scholar, and then published in Orbis (or comparable journal) and, in condensed form, as an FPRI E-Note. When space permits, we invite FPRI Fellows (members at the \$1,000 level) to join us for seminar and dinner.*

## **Study Group on America and the West Chaired by James Kurth**

### **February 4**

William Anthony Hay, *FPRI*  
Empire and Globalization

### **March 4**

Robert George, *Princeton University*  
Reason, Freedom, and the Rule of Law: Their Significance in Western Thought

### **May 1**

Vladislav Zubok, *Temple University*  
Russia and the US Before and After 9/11

### **September 9**

William Roger Louis, *University of Texas*  
Britain, the United States and the Transfer of Predominance in the Persian Gulf

### **November 4**

Anne Applebaum, *Washington Post*  
Anti-Americanism in Europe

### **December 9**

Stephen Schuker, *University of Virginia*  
The Latin American Crisis and International Finance in Historical Perspective

## **Study Group on Russia, Europe, and the United States Chaired by Vladislav Zubok and William Anthony Hay**

### **January 30**

Ilya Prizel, *University of Pittsburgh*  
Russian policy toward Germany and Central Europe.

### **March 20**

Jolyon Howorth, *University of Bath (England)*  
French Foreign Policy Before and After 9/11

### **April 8**

Anatol Lieven, *Carnegie Endowment for International Peace*  
Russia's Complex Relationship with the West

### **October 9**

Oles Smolansky, *Lehigh University*  
Russia and Ukraine: An Evolving Marriage of Inconvenience

## Study Group on the U.S. and Asia Chaired by Jacques deLisle

### February 21

Felix Chang, FPRI, and Alex Brown  
Conflict Scenarios in the Western Pacific

### March 25

Li Cheng, *Hamilton College*  
China's New Elite

### May 15

Victor Cha, *Georgetown University*  
The Korean Peninsula and East Asian Security

### June 24

A discussion on U.S.-China relations with a delegation of representatives from the People's Republic of China (via National Committee on U.S.-China Relations)

Ambassador Mei Zhaorong, *President, Chinese People's Institute of Foreign Affairs (CPIFA); Delegation Leader*

Ambassador Qiu Shengyun, *Vice President, CPIFA*

Minister Zhu Lilan, *Vice Chairman, Committee of Educational, Scientific, Cultural and Health Affairs, National People's Congress*

Minister Tang Shubei, *President, Research Center for Relations across the Taiwan Straits*

General Hou Gang, *Vice Chairman, China Institute for International Strategic Studies*

Ambassador Fan Guoxiang, *Vice President, China Society for Human Rights Studies; former Permanent Representative to the United Nations - Geneva*

Ambassador Zhang Wenpu, *former Ambassador to Canada*

Mr. Qian Wenrong, *Senior Fellow, Xinhua Center for World Affairs Studies*

Professor Ni Shixiong, *Dean, School of International Relations and Public Affairs; Director, Center for American Studies, Fudan University*

Mr. Han Pingping, *Director, Department of North American and Oceanian Affairs, CPIFA*

Mr. Zhang Kunsheng, *Counselor, Department of North American and Oceanian Affairs, Ministry of Foreign Affairs*

### September 9

A discussion on South Asia with eight visiting Pakistani journalists (via the International Visitors Council).

Aroosa ALAM, *diplomatic correspondent, Pakistan Observer*

Qudratullah CHAUDRY, *Editor, Mashriq*

Irshad Ahmad Haqqani, *Senior Editor, Jang Lahore*

Abdul Qadir Hasan, *Chief Editor, Imroze*

Mahmood Ahmad Khan Lohdi, *Correspondent, The News*  
Sajjad Mir, *Editor, Daily Nawa-e-Waqt*  
Zia Shahid, *Chief Editor, Khabrain*  
Mjib-ur Rahman Shami, *Editor, Pakistan*

**November 21**

Joseph Fewsmith, *Boston University*

China's Sixteenth Party Congress: What Happened and What Does It Mean?

**Study Group on Religion and Ethnicity in International Affairs**  
**Chaired by Foulie Psalidas-Perlmutter**

**January 11**

Thomas Grant, *Oxford University*

Evaluating Partition as a Solution to Ethnic and Civil Conflicts

**February 28**

Omar Encarnacion, *Bard College*

Managing Ethnic Conflict: Spain and the Basque Problem

**May 29**

Paul Mojzes, *Rosemont College*

Ethnoreligious Warfare in the Former Yugoslavia

**November 21**

Ann Mosley Lesch, *Villanova University*

North Africa and the Middle East: Trip Report

## INTERNSHIPS

One of FPRI's achievements is the role we play in introducing the field of foreign policy analysis to young college (and sometimes high school) students. Each year, we host more than a dozen interns from universities around the country. From time to time, we – along with the rest of the world – hear from them when they rise to prominence in the field. Douglas Feith, currently Undersecretary of Defense for Policy, is one such former intern. Michael Rubin, who interned here while a student at Yale University, wrote a string of articles in the national media in 2002 before being appointed in the fall to a Defense Department post. We select some twenty students a year to serve as interns, usually one group for the fall and spring semesters, and a different group for the summer. Students serve as research, editorial, or administrative assistants; while they are not paid, they are invited to most of our seminars and lectures to enrich their experience. In 2002, three interns – Hilary Rosen, Claire Dunne, and Liesl Switzer – gave a seminar on their research.

**72 FPRI LECTURES, SEMINARS,  
AND BRIEFINGS IN 2002**



## *In Memoriam*

# ROBERT STRAUZ-HUPE

*(Excerpted from an obituary in the Philadelphia Inquirer.)*

Mr. Strausz-Hupe in 1955 founded the Foreign Policy Research Institute. . . . In the first issue of *Orbis*, the institute's quarterly journal, Mr. Strausz-Hupe wrote in 1957 of the importance of applying intellect and insight on "key international issues on which the nation's long-range future hinges." Nearly a half-century later, that future still was very much on his mind when he wrote about terrorism in an article to appear in the spring 2002 issue of *Orbis*. "I have lived long enough to see good repeatedly win over evil, although at a much higher cost than need have been paid," he wrote. "This time, we have already paid the price of victory. It remains for us to win it."

During a 20-year diplomatic career, Mr. Strausz-Hupe was appointed ambassador to Ceylon (now Sri Lanka) in 1969. He went on to serve as ambassador to Belgium from 1972 to 1974; to Sweden from 1974 to 1976; to NATO from 1976 to 1977; and to Turkey from 1981 until he retired in 1989. After he retired, he returned to the Foreign Policy Research Institute, serving as diplomat-in-residence and president emeritus. Former Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr., an institute trustee, said Mr. Strausz-Hupe was a "brilliant geo-strategic thinker and writer."

Born in Vienna, Mr. Strausz-Hupe came to the United States in 1923, working as an adviser on foreign investment to American financial institutions. After Nazi troops goose-stepped into Vienna in 1938, Mr. Strausz-Hupe began writing and lecturing to American audiences on the coming war. After one lecture in Philadelphia, he was invited to give a talk at the University of Pennsylvania, which led to his joining the faculty in 1940.

Mr. Strausz-Hupe wrote or cowrote several books on international affairs, most recently *Democracy and American Foreign Policy*, published in 1993. His book *Geopolitics: The Struggle for Space and Power*, published in 1942, is credited with introducing the word geopolitics into the lexicon.

## *In Memoriam*

### **ALVIN Z. RUBINSTEIN**

*(Excerpted from an obituary in the Philadelphia Inquirer.)*

A leading scholar in the field of East-West relations, Russian foreign policy, conflict in the Third World, and national-security affairs, Professor Rubinstein was frequently sought for his views by journalists, policy-makers and historians.

In 1997, he testified before the Senate Foreign Relations Committee on NATO expansion, and as recently as mid-October he wrote articles dealing with America's war against terrorism and establishing a post-Taliban government in Afghanistan.

A 1947 graduate of the New York State Maritime Academy, he earned a bachelor's degree from City College of New York in 1949. He earned a master's degree in 1950 and a doctorate in 1954 from Penn. He joined the Penn faculty in 1957 and was appointed a full professor in 1966, serving as chairman of the graduate program in international relations until 1970.

Former Secretary of State Alexander M. Haig Jr., [a] director of the Foreign Policy Research Institute, called Professor Rubinstein a man of "enormous intellectual integrity. . . . Both his students and peers will never cease to benefit from the impact of his character as well as his remarkable strategic insights."

Earlier this year, a publication in Professor Rubinstein's honor, "The Lost Equilibrium: International Relations in the Post-Soviet Era," was prepared and presented by his colleagues, former students and friends to mark his career.

During the course of his career, he wrote 22 books, contributed to 42 others, published 151 articles, and received 30 awards, including fellowships from the Ford, Rockefeller, Guggenheim and Earhart Foundations.

His book *Moscow's Third World Strategy*, published in 1988, was awarded the Marshall Shulman Prize from the American Association of Slavic Studies. His other books include *America's National Interest in a Post Cold War World*, published in 1994.







**A FINAL WORD**

## A NOTE FROM JOHN M. TEMPLETON, JR.

*This is an excerpt of the remarks made by John Templeton, Jr. at FPRI's 2001 Annual Dinner, November 14, 2001.*

When I was in college, I set my stakes on attending medical school and becoming a surgeon. Nevertheless, I have always been glad that instead of science I choose to major in history for my college degree. From that experience, I learned several things.

First of all, that we all have an obligation to learn from history the mistakes from the past and how to avoid repeating these mistakes, and also the importance of building on the successes of the past.

Second, that the experiment we embarked upon in America over 200 years ago called constitutional democracy is still a very fragile creation.

And, third, that there will also be those of a different worldview or ideology who consider a democracy with genuine civil liberties as something to be despised and defeated.

In spite of a busy surgical career, I continued to follow current day events closely because I was concerned that threats to our freedoms and liberties still continue to be very real. I was delighted, therefore, when I first learned over 10 years ago about a very special organization right here in Philadelphia called the Foreign Policy Research Institute.

It was clear that FPRI set very high standards in integrating top flight research with practical policy perspectives. Often FPRI recognized problems in world affairs that did not seem to be adequately addressed by our national policymakers. In recent years, under the perceptive leadership of Harvey Sicherman and the support of an excellent board, a growing body of research has brought to light serious concerns regarding challenges faced by America in relation to the world at large.

One example of these concerns arose just over three years ago when FPRI began to address problems regarding America's responsibilities in the world. This composite of concerns was addressed in a project with the working title, "America the Vulnerable". A number of studies have grown out of this project including ones dealing with ethnic conflicts, the rise of radical ideologies, and our declining security capabilities. The often touted proclamations of a "Peace Dividend" 10 years ago, ignored the growing threats of a less stable world rather than a more stable world. In the process over the past 10 years, we have let our guard down. For example, we have cut our army divisions from 18 to 10. We now have 13 fighter wings down from 24, and our navy has dropped from 546 ships to only 316 ships.

The Foreign Policy Research Institute has been one of the most effective organizations in America in addressing foreign policy concerns and the need to pursue wise and effective approaches to security and strengthening freedom.

My real hope is that all of you here tonight will become members of the Foreign Policy Research Institute so that you can take advantage of the many programs and projects of FPRI. Your membership and your participation is the lifeblood of helping FPRI to advance enlightened solutions to addressing genuine and sustainable security in the world as a whole.