

**THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON  
AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY**



*Presentation of*  
**THE WILLIAM J. FLYNN  
INITIATIVE FOR PEACE AWARD**

TO

**THE HONORABLE HUGH L. CAREY,**  
*Former Governor of New York*

AND

**GERRY ADAMS, M.P.,**  
*President of Sinn Fein*

THE WALDORF ≈ ASTORIA  
*November 8, 2005*

## *Our Mission*

The National Committee on American Foreign Policy was founded in 1974 by Professor Hans J. Morgenthau and others. It is a nonprofit activist organization dedicated to the resolution of conflicts that threaten U.S. interests. Toward that end, the National Committee identifies, articulates, and helps advance American foreign policy interests from a nonpartisan perspective within the framework of political realism.

American foreign policy interests include

- preserving and strengthening national security;
- supporting countries committed to the values and the practice of political, religious, and cultural pluralism;
- improving U.S. relations with the developed and developing worlds;
- advancing human rights;
- encouraging realistic arms-control agreements;
- curbing the proliferation of nuclear and other unconventional weapons;
- promoting an open and global economy.

Believing that an informed public is vital to a democratic society, the National Committee offers educational programs that address security challenges facing the United States and publishes a variety of publications, including its bimonthly journal, *American Foreign Policy Interests*, that present keen analyses of all aspects of American foreign policy.



## ALFRED E. SMITH IV, *Master of Ceremonies*

Good evening, ladies and gentlemen. Unlike the two other awards given by the National Committee, the Hans J. Morgenthau Award for seminal contributions to the theory and practice of American foreign policy and the George F. Kennan Award for distinguished public service, the William J. Flynn Initiative for Peace Award is presented to an individual who has decisively contributed to the resolution of conflict. Bill Flynn was picked as the first recipient of the Initiative for Peace Award for his imaginative and daring diplomacy in meeting with the paramilitary forces in the North and with politicians in Belfast, Dublin, London, and Washington. For that alone, you should have gotten at least three awards, Bill.

I would now like to present to you Dr. George Schwab, the president of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy. Dr. Schwab. . . .



### DR. GEORGE D. SCHWAB

Good evening. Thank you, Mr. Smith. Distinguished guests, ladies and gentlemen: On behalf of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, I thank you for gracing us with your presence on this very special occasion.

As many of you surely know, the National Committee on American Foreign Policy was founded by the late Hans Morgenthau and others in 1974. I was a cofounder. 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.

For its members and guests, the National Committee hosts a rich program of foreign policy briefings that in the recent past has featured prominent individuals such as Paul Volcker and Ambassador John Bolton. What is perhaps less known is the work that we do behind the scenes, or what is known in the diplomatic world as Track I-1/2 and Track II work. Stated succinctly, what

governments fail to achieve in direct negotiations can sometimes be resolved in indirect talks.

This audience is, of course, well acquainted with the work of the National Committee in regard to the peace process in Northern Ireland. Much of it was done by us in New York, Washington, Belfast, Dublin, and London. The point people in this endeavor, as all of you know, are Bill Flynn, our chairman and the driving force in our Northern Ireland Track I-1/2 and Track II projects; Tom Moran, a member of our Executive Committee, who even finds time to be chairman, president, and CEO of Mutual of America; and Edwina McMahon, senior fellow at the National Committee and expert on Northern Ireland.

What is perhaps less known to this audience is the Track I-1/2 and Track II work that the National Committee engages in with other countries and regions: North Korea; China; Taiwan; Central Asia, especially Kazakhstan; the Arab Middle East; Cyprus; and U.S.-European relations.

As in the instance of Northern Ireland, Track II diplomacy contributed decisively to North Korea's decision last July to return to the six party talks in Beijing, for which we were given credit by North Korea and our government. In the words of Joseph DeTrani, the U.S. special envoy to the six party talks in Beijing, the National Committee (and I quote) “. . . truly played a decisive role in getting this process back in motion. Our sincere thanks.”

Commenting on the role the National Committee played in helping to bring about the IRA's decision to remove the bullet from politics once and for all, Dr. Henry Kissinger noted, as reported in *The New York Times*, that as secretary of state he had not tried to intervene diplomatically in Northern Ireland, thinking it a hopeless cause. Because of the National Committee's achievement, Dr. Kissinger not only changed his mind but even went so far as to say that what had been attained may very well constitute a model for resolving other conflicts. In his words (and I quote), “If it could happen in Ireland, with the history of Ireland and the distrust, I'd like to think it could happen anywhere.” This is reason enough for tonight's celebration. Thank you for being here, and thank you for your support.

As some of you know, Gerry Adams could not obtain an unrestricted

visa, and therefore he is not here, and so we are presenting the award in absentia. The award is right here, and the text reads as follows: "The National Committee on American Foreign Policy presents the William J. Flynn Initiative for Peace Award to the Honorable Gerry Adams in recognition of his adroit diplomacy that culminated in the Good Friday Agreement and the IRA's historic decision to end its armed campaign. New York City, November 8, 2005."

This is a letter that we received today. Gerry asked that we read it to this audience, and it's my privilege to do so.

"The National Committee on American Foreign Policy, Chairman Bill Flynn, distinguished guests: I would like to thank the National Committee on American Foreign Policy for this great honor. I very much appreciate this award and accept it on behalf of all those Sinn Fein activists who have worked equally hard in pursuit of a lasting peace in Ireland. I would also like to congratulate the National Committee on American Foreign Policy for your sterling work for peace and reconciliation in many troubled areas in the world. In particular, the invitation from the National Committee to attend a conference in New York in February 1994, along with other political leaders from the North of Ireland, was pivotal in moving President Clinton to give me a 48-hour visa. This was an important step in the building of the peace process and contributed to creating the climate later that year in which the IRA called its cessation of military operations.

"That is why I'm especially disappointed that I am not able to be with you tonight. The fact that it is a visa restriction which makes it impossible for me to travel to the United States this week is ironic given that it was the National Committee on American Foreign Policy which broke the visa denial on me at the beginning of the peace process. I hope and trust that people who have been involved in this from the beginning will understand the invidious position I have been placed in by being told I can enter the United States but cannot talk directly to the Friends of Sinn Fein, all of whom are U.S. citizens and have been constant supporters of our peace effort.

"It was on this visit in 1994 that I made clear that one of our goals was to 'see the gun removed permanently from Irish politics.' The recent announcement in July by the IRA of a formal end to its armed campaign and the verification by the International Independent

Commission on Decommissioning that the IRA has now put its weapons beyond use are evidence of the substantial progress we have made and of the efficacy of work such as that of the NCAFP.

“The National Committee on American Foreign Policy has invited me and other Sinn Fein colleagues to address the National Committee on the progress of the peace process several times over these years, and we have been honored to accept these opportunities to report and discuss vital aspects of the Good Friday Agreement. These opportunities to speak freely to friends and supporters in the United States have been an important part of the peace process.

“Of course, there is still much work to be done. There is a responsibility on the governments and all of the parties to ensure that the Good Friday Agreement is implemented in full. I have no doubt that the ongoing help of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy and the Friends of Sinn Fein will continue to be important.

“I especially want to pay a personal and warm tribute to your chairman and my friend, William Flynn, for his unflagging support; for his refusal to be discouraged; and for his friendship, kindness, and generosity.

“These have been difficult years, but he has never lost faith and has engendered hope in others that Ireland will move forward to a new era of peace and prosperity for all her people.

“To Governor Hugh Carey, I extend my congratulations for this evening and my admiration for his lifetime of service for the great state of New York.

“With respect and gratitude, Gerry Adams, M.P.”



## ALFRED E. SMITH IV

Thank you, Dr. Schwab.

At this time I have the great opportunity to introduce Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith. Ambassador Smith. . . .

## AMBASSADOR JEAN KENNEDY SMITH

Good evening. I just want to say how very happy I am to be here this evening.

Governor Carey is part of our family. It's the easiest way to say it. My brothers loved him; all our family loves him. He has been a true spirit for peace and reconciliation. My brother, Teddy, mentioned often the Four Horsemen who worked so hard for peace many, many years ago. Everybody in Washington always speaks so affectionately of our governor, and he always will be our governor.

I would like to express my huge admiration for Bill Flynn. I saw him many, many times in Ireland. The peace process was always on his mind. It was very important to him, and he stayed the course in a most devoted and calm and serious and courageous way for all those years. It was a wonderful thing to watch because he, with all the pros and cons, never lost his vision of a peaceful Ireland. And I think it's come to fruition now, and so we owe him a deep debt of gratitude, all of us, Irish and Americans. Thank you.



## ALFRED E. SMITH IV

Thank you, Jean. My next job is to introduce Tom Moran. That's easy. Tom is the chairman and CEO of Mutual of America. He's a member of the Executive Committee of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, and one that I think is closest to his heart, chairman of Concern Worldwide. Please welcome Tom Moran.



## THOMAS J. MORAN

Thanks, Al. It's an honor and a special privilege for me to be here this evening. The William J. Flynn Initiative for Peace Award has very special meaning for me because I've had the opportunity over the years to stand at the side of Bill Flynn. As Jean mentioned, there was never a moment that he lost confidence in the peace process.

I'm often reminded of a statement that Bill made a very long time

ago. He said, “No pessimist ever landed at Ellis Island.” And Bill Flynn is no pessimist. He is the optimist that has been the fire and the driving force of the National Committee as he has been for Mutual of America for so many years.

Tonight is also an honor because I find myself caught between two of the greats. I’ve been introduced by Al Smith IV, the great grandson of one of the greatest governors of the state of New York. And now I’m here this evening to introduce another of the greatest governors of New York, Governor Hugh L. Carey.

I know Governor Smith from what I’ve read and the stories that I’ve heard. I know he was a man of the people and that he identified himself with the immigrant population. I know enough about him to know that I wish I could have known him in person. One of the great pleasures for me is that I do know Governor Hugh L. Carey not only from what I’ve read and from the stories that I’ve heard but I also know him as a friend that I admire greatly.

In the 1970s, as governor, he rescued New York City from bankruptcy. He and another great friend of his who’s here this evening, John McGillicuddy, together saved this city. As I passed outside this afternoon, and I saw all the camera crews, I couldn’t help but wonder who would have wanted to be mayor of this great city if these two men had not done the job in the 1970s. They took a chance on this city.

But tonight’s not about New York City. It’s about the William J. Flynn Initiative for Peace Award, and for this award we will look later in the career of the great governor. Having already served his city, it was now time for him to turn his attention to the land of his ancestors.

All the way back in the early 1980s, Governor Carey knew that the only solution to the troubles would come from politics and not from violence. He and the rest of the Four Horsemen—Ted Kennedy, Pat Moynihan, and Tip O’Neill—began the building of an environment in which peace could grow and prosper.

It may have seemed to many people over the years that Governor Carey and Gerry Adams were on different paths. But tonight we honor both of them. We honor them together because tonight we recognize that there was only one path to peace and justice, and

both of our honorees continue to walk that path.

There are, however, still those who will suggest that there are two paths being followed. They will question the commitment of a Gerry Adams and Irish Republicans. But this is nothing new. Governor Carey, like that other great governor, Al Smith, and like Gerry Adams, understands that real peace and justice must come from a political system that is accountable to the people. It comes from government of the people by the people.

There's so much work to be done in this regard. The government continues to be suspended and must be reestablished, and justice must be a part of that government. We learned from the past that there can be only one path.

Tonight it's my pleasure to honor Governor Carey and in doing so to remind all of us that there is more work to be done if there's truly to be peace and justice in Ireland. And now I ask each of you to join me in recognizing Governor Hugh L. Carey as our greatest governor and the recipient of the William J. Flynn Initiative for Peace Award. Governor Carey. . . .



## GOVERNOR HUGH L. CAREY

Thank you, Chairman Tom Moran of Mutual of America.

Tonight is a very special night because it was to be tonight that I would have the honor and opportunity to sit side by side with Gerry Adams and hear him and honor him and recognize him. I won't dwell on why he's not here, but he, and I, and Bill Flynn had a very frank luncheon discussion a few weeks back.

There was foresight then because he knew that this day would come. I know what he would say if he were here tonight. He said it in *The Irish Voice*. He said it in *The Irish Echo*. I'm going to echo what he would have said tonight and show you my linguistic capacity at the same time: *Der krieg ist über. La guerre c'est fini*. "The war is over."

That fulfills a great ambition of mine stirred by one of the great horsemen of our group, the Four Horsemen [Senator Daniel Patrick

Moynihan, Speaker Tip O'Neill, Senator Ted Kennedy, and me], during his commencement address to my son's class at Syracuse University. He gave public notice to the CIA: "I, Pat Moynihan, say the cold war is over. Please find out."

You see, the Four Horsemen knew how to ride and how to talk. But we're not here tonight to talk about that episode or that record, which was built on the hard work, endeavors, and devotion of the people of Ireland. Thank God, I'm a godson of Irish forebears, and, by the way, they didn't go through Ellis Island. They sent the servants to Ellis Island, and they landed at Castle Clinton, right on the Battery.

Tonight gives me an opportunity to talk to diplomats. Your excellencies, there are many of you here tonight. (You're the ones with the new shoes.) I have a high regard for the diplomatic service, and I suggest to you tonight, as my good friend Dr. Schwab said, that we are in the era of globalization in all ways—transport, commerce, and entertainment. What we must see today is an evolving foreign policy, especially with regard to nations like Ireland, that takes into consideration the future of people, including the restoration of rights they need in order to be full citizens.

The record of Irish freedom and the recent events that have taken place convince all of us that we have a long way to go even though peace is now certain. Yes, in the presence of Gerry Lynch, we must vow to strengthen in the Republic of Ireland and to restore to Northern Ireland—we must restore to all parts of Ireland—a good policing system that takes into consideration those very liberties guaranteed by our Constitution and basic human rights.

Because certain work was done, tonight we can look proudly on the record of Ireland in commerce, in transport, and in so many other ways. But what has not been spoken of is how we got there, how we arrived at the point where Ireland now among the nations in Europe has the finest economy.

I recall when things were different. On one of my excursions in Ireland, I tried to determine for myself the real issues in the continuing conflict, in the killing, the maiming, and the disorders of Ireland.

I was told to consult a member of the Irish parliament, a fellow named Teddy Devlin, a genuine, absolute socialist. He said, "If

you've come here now to tell me about your parades or your fancy dress or your governors and senators, I have to feed 600 children in this place. I have no room for 60 tonight. They will starve or won't sleep because I have no room. Go back to America and do something about that." It was straight from the shoulder.

I did look to see what could be done. I went back to Congress. We were at the beginning then of an effort in the Congress to get engaged in the Irish question. I was not alone. I went to a colleague in Queens (who's passed away), Ben Rosenthal. Ben, I said, you're on that committee. Can you get us a hearing on Ireland? He said, "Why do you want a hearing on Ireland?" I said, to expose the problems in our own State Department. He did. We had a hearing.

There was no Irish desk then. All the communication, all the evolving information, all the passage of data went through the English desk. That's not the way it is now. It was said that day, "Organization is policy."

Now Ireland is organized in the great worldwide community to defend herself, to talk to commerce, to talk about all of the things that Ireland needs. But that must obtain on both sides of the border. We know that Northern Ireland can flourish in the same way if she is given the opportunity to be a full-fledged citizen of her own country. That hasn't happened yet.

Irish commerce and Irish art are exploding. We're being invaded by U2 and Bono. We're being invaded by the Celtic Girls. We're being invaded by the likes of McGillicuddy who goes around looking for more Irish songs every night. We have joy among us. We want to express that joy.

I am especially honored tonight to receive an award named for Bill Flynn. There's another side to diplomacy. In globalization, we're represented not just by people—by corporations, firms, partnerships, trades, and trade organizations—but by values. We've got to show to the world that what we preach abroad is practiced at home.

I'm very proud to be part of the organization tonight that is being supported by Mutual of America. It's in that company that Bill Flynn changed the course of commerce in New York City.

First, he had a dream. As a very successful man in the insurance field, he knew there were many people not covered by insurance that needed security for their families' futures, for the children. He began a new kind of insurance for not-for-profits.

Today those people who do the work of the not-for-profits, who extend care to the ill, who provide the kind of help needed to those who are unemployed—all those people who were not covered—are covered today because Bill Flynn forged that way forward.

Bill Flynn has seen to it that people who do the work that really is our best and blessed work have security for their own families. That's the kind of face we need to show to the world as, globalized, we go forward. As corporations abound, we've got to show we're not just for profit; we're for the benefits that belong to people.

In Ireland today those benefits are more and more being secured. I want to tell you principally that Bill invited me to become engaged in the kind of work that only he can really do. Along the way, we ran into a little nun, Sister Mary Turley. She was introduced to Father Miles Cavanaugh. Miles and Mary took over an old mill, a mill that had once produced linen—special Irish linen—from flax. It was in disrepair. It was in a very bad part of Ireland, in the Ardoyne. It had fallen into disrepair. Today that mill employs people in a variety of industries. Bill Flynn has been the chairman and president of the Flax Trust for more than 20 years.

It's that kind of action that I think needs to be the way corporations represent our country in this globalized world.

Those of you who hold the rank of ambassador and those of you who are chargé d'affaire know that you have the responsibility of getting companies to cooperate in fostering the kinds of rights that belong to people. It can't be done here; it has to be done overseas.

I think we've got to show that when a person of good repute seeks a visa to come to our country to spread the word of peace and to offer his leadership for examination, there must be a good reason why he is denied a visa. I would have liked nothing better than to sit here tonight and hear Gerry talk about what he's done with Bill Flynn and what Bill Flynn's done with him. We've been denied that opportunity tonight, but I hope that day will come.

Then I'll be happy to sit with Gerry and talk about what more we can do to bring Ireland into her rightful place in the world of nations. We need to hear that from Gerry. We've heard it from John Hume. We've heard it tonight from Jean Kennedy Smith.

To your excellencies, I proudly accept this honor. I proudly accept it and tell you, again, that this award tells me one thing, *Der krieg ist über*, in German. In French, since I hold the Croix de Guerre, *La guerre c'est fini*. And in Gaelic (say it to yourself), "The war is over."



### **DR. GEORGE D. SCHWAB**

The National Committee on American Foreign Policy presents the William J. Flynn Initiative for Peace Award to Governor Hugh L. Carey in recognition of his unswerving support for the peace process in Northern Ireland, New York City, November 8, 2005.



### **ALFRED E. SMITH IV**

Ladies and gentlemen, you'll get no argument from me. Governor Carey is the greatest governor New York State has ever had. And I'm proud to know him.

At this point, it's my honor to introduce Bill Flynn. Bill, as you know, is the chairman of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, he is chairman emeritus of Mutual of America, and one of the greatest guys I ever met. Ladies and gentlemen, William J. Flynn.



### **WILLIAM J. FLYNN**

Thank you, Al Smith, for your very kind remarks. You are one of New York's finest, and I want to thank you for the role you played here this evening.

Thank you, Ambassador Jean Kennedy Smith, for your very gracious, generous remarks. This audience should know that had not Jean

Kennedy Smith been the American ambassador to Ireland at the time the peace process was getting legs in the early 1990s, the process might never have gotten off the ground. Ambassador Smith played a critical role in the success of that process. Governor Carey, thank you, too, for the role you played in the peace process and for the kind things you had to say about me this evening. I am very flattered.

As you all know, it takes a team to get things to work, and at the National Committee, we have a great team. Dr. George Schwab and Tom Moran, together with several other directors, were deeply involved. In addition, we were accompanied on all of our visits to the North by two great gentlemen, Bill Barry and Ed Kenney, who, I'm glad to report, are here with us this evening.

As you all know, Gerry Adams found himself unable to be present this evening. I want you and him to know that we fully understand why he was unable to be here. We all managed to create a conflict in scheduling for which we ourselves must take responsibility. He took the time, however, to write us a very thoughtful letter, read earlier this evening, for which we are most grateful.

One of the final problems in the North that must be resolved before we can have peace has to do with policing. Gerry Adams, as do all of his people, wants a proper police service in Northern Ireland. The British government wants the same. Prime Minister Tony Blair, in my opinion, one of the greatest British prime ministers, is doing everything he can to develop a proper police force. Sir Hugh Orde, as you all know, was appointed chief constable for the new Police Service of Northern Ireland (PSNI). It was his task to convert a police force detested by the Nationalist people into a modern, effective police force that respects the rights of all parties in the North.

As many of you know, the old police force, the Royal Ulster Constabulary, was more of a military force than a police force. It was widely hated by Republican people. It became Sir Hugh Orde's task to change all this. It was his job to implement the recommendations of the Patton Commission Report. To many of us, the progress he has been able to make is unbelievable.

The PSNI is governed from London through the British secretary of state for Northern Ireland. In recent years, I must add, there have been some very fine appointments to that position, and that includes

the present secretary of state, the Honorable Peter Hain. I should point out that one of the early honorees of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy was none other than British Secretary of State Mo Mowlam. She played a very effective role in advancing the peace process during her time in office.

The question to be resolved has to do with how the PSNI is to be governed in the future. We believe there will be no peace in the North until such time as the Police Service comes under the control of the people of Northern Ireland through a democratically elected government. We have high hopes that this will shortly come to pass.

I now have the great honor of introducing my very good friend Ambassador Mitchell Reiss who, as you all know, was appointed special envoy to Northern Ireland by President Bush.

Ambassador Reiss is vice president for international affairs, professor of law, and professor of government at the William and Mary School of Law. He holds a B.A. from Williams College, an M.A.L.D. from the Fletcher School of Tufts, a Ph.D. from Oxford, and a J.D. from our own Columbia University. Secretary of State Colin Powell appointed Dr. Reiss director for policy planning for the State Department in July of 2003.

His job as the president's special envoy for Northern Ireland is to lead the U.S. role in the peace process. Prior to this he served with a multinational organization created to address weapons proliferation concerns in North Korea. Ambassador Reiss is an expert on nuclear technology and the problems of controlling it. His government service included positions in the National Security Council and as a consultant to the U.S. Arms Control and Disarmament Agency as well as the State Department, the Congressional Research Service, and the Lawrence Livermore and the Los Alamos National Laboratories.

Also, he has served at the Council on Foreign Relations, the Ford Foundation, and the Cambridge Institute for Applied Research, and he's been guest scholar at the Woodrow Wilson International Center for Scholars. He's the author of several books and more than 50 articles on the subject of international security and arms control.

Most important for all of us, Dr. Reiss has dedicated the past few years of his life to the Northern Ireland peace process. It's been a very

difficult assignment but one that he has carried out beautifully. In my view, his role was one of the most important roles in the entire peace process. And we all congratulate him for the success he has achieved.

It's with great pleasure that I introduce to you Ambassador Mitchell Reiss.



## AMBASSADOR MITCHELL REISS

I am honored to be here this evening and have the opportunity to recognize three great leaders. Hugh Carey has had a long and distinguished record of public service. He was a great governor, he is a great New Yorker, and he will always be a great American.

The second great leader I'd like to honor this evening is Gerry Adams. I wish Gerry had decided to come this evening not just because I know he would have enjoyed tonight's celebration but also because we still have important work to do—work that I am confident will make Northern Ireland a more peaceful, just, and economically vibrant society.

In the coming weeks and months, I'll continue to work with Sinn Fein and all the political parties in Northern Ireland to reach this goal, and as we move forward, I know that America's influence will be immeasurably greater if the administration has the support of Irish America.

The events of the past year have shown that the influence of Irish America, of all of you, is a huge force for peace in Northern Ireland. As I look ahead, I know U.S. policy will be more effective, I know that we stand a far better chance of achieving our common goal if we go forward together.

The third great leader I wish to salute this evening is Bill Flynn. Bill, from my very first days on the job, you've generously offered me your advice, your support, and most of all, your friendship. I've come to rely on your advice, value your support, and cherish your friendship. Your tireless work on behalf of the National Committee and, indeed, the work of all the members of the National Committee have made a real difference on some of the most important and vexing foreign

policy issues of our day, from Northern Ireland to North Korea.

The National Committee's sober and serious approach to these issues, always avoiding partisan rancor, sets it apart and commands the widespread respect and attention it deserves in Washington and other capitals around the world. All of us who have the responsibility for dealing with these issues on a daily basis are in your debt.

This evening I congratulate the National Committee and especially its leader, Bill Flynn. May you both enjoy many, many more years of success. Thank you very much.



**ALFRED E. SMITH IV**

Thank you all for coming. Thank you for your support. Congratulations to our honorees. We'll see you all next year.



# NATIONAL COMMITTEE ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY, INC.

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