

*To Commemorate its 30th Anniversary
and the Centenary of
Hans J. Morgenthau and George F. Kennan*

**THE NATIONAL COMMITTEE
ON AMERICAN FOREIGN POLICY**



Presents

THE KENNAN AWARD

to

Maurice R. Greenberg

and

THE MORGENTHAU AWARD

to

Richard N. Haass

TUESDAY, MARCH 16, 2004

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.



In Tribute



STATE OF NEW YORK

GEORGE E. BOLTZ
Governor

March 16, 1984

Dear Friends:

It is a pleasure to send greetings and warm regards to all gathered for the Margaret/Korwin Award Dinner of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy. The committee has another very special distinction of marking the 40th anniversary of your organization.

As the leader of the free world, the United States has always been at the forefront of efforts to encourage the growth and spread of democracy in other countries. Our success in this quest is furthered by continuous dialogue among individuals respected for their insight and experience in foreign policy and international relations. Determining the course of our nation's future is subject to an ongoing assessment of world events and understanding the consequences of such decisions is clarified by those who are passionate in evaluating their impact for years to come.

The National Committee on American Foreign Policy provides a high standard of study and analysis regarding many issues that define current global dynamics. From reports in diplomacy to members of academia, the Committee represents some of the most principled minds and points of view that have added an important component to our national debate.

Today, our Nation engages in conflict to secure the freedoms and rights of oppressed people and we know that our role in reshaping the map of the world is more critical than ever. As we carry out this journey with the same inspiring philosophy of our forefathers, we appreciate the contributions of your Committee whose members committed themselves to the vision shared by this great's distinguished members, Hans J. Morganthau and George F. Kennan, in the continual commemoration.

Best wishes for an enjoyable and memorable celebration.

Very truly yours,

Executive Chamber STATE HOUSE ALBANY 12244
609.475.3333



THE SECRETARY OF STATE
WASHINGTON

February 27, 2004

National Committee on American Foreign Policy
330 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10022

Dear Friends,

I join the National Committee on American Foreign Policy in celebrating the centenary of Hans Morgenthau's birth and his enduring contributions to the study and conduct of American foreign policy. Hans Morgenthau wrote in 1931 that "the American people have shown throughout their history that they are able to face the track and an open it with courage and resourcefulness in war, with common sense and moral determination in peace." Furiously, he went on to remind us that "it is not only a political necessity, but a moral duty" for America to follow one guiding star: the national interest.

The end of the Cold War, the spirit of political and economic freedom and the advance of globalization have given rise to a new reality, yet Hans Morgenthau's convictions about our national character and our national interest still hold. This new reality is full of promise, but also fraught with peril, which the American people are confronting with the same courage and resourcefulness due duty have shown in the past. And President Bush believes that it is manifestly in our national interest to use our power and our diplomacy to shape the new reality in ways that favor core American values. For a world of greater democracy, prosperity and security is a world where tyrants and terrorists cannot thrive.

I am especially pleased to offer my warm congratulations as last year's recipient of the Morgenthau Award to this year's honoree, Richard Haass. Richard's many contributions of insight and ideas while he served as my Policy Planning Director from 2001 to 2003 enriched our strategic thinking within government and Richard continues to inform and enliven the policy debate as President of the Council on Foreign Relations.

In closing, I wish to express my appreciation to The National Committee on American Foreign Policy for advancing an American role in the world that perpetuates Hans Morgenthau's extraordinary intellectual legacy. As it was in Morgenthau's time, so it is today: principled, yet pragmatic American leadership is fundamental to the security and success of our nation and to peace and well-being across the globe.



Colin L. Powell

Thomas E. Pickering
United States Secretary
of State
Washington, D.C.

The Public Library
500 West 125th Street
New York, N.Y. 10027

Feb. 24, 1984

Dr. George D. Schwab
President
National Committee on
American Foreign Policy
120 Park Avenue
New York, NY 10022



Dear George:

I give you great pleasure to write to you in connection with the awards dinner of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, celebrating the retirements of Hans F. Morganthau and George F. Kennan.

Let me congratulate you on the selection of Richard N. Haass for the Morganthau Award and for Blanche D. Greenberg for the Kennan Award. Both are distinguished and long-standing exponents of the application of the realities of foreign affairs so well understood by Professor Morganthau and Ambassador Kennan.

Both the individuals in whose names the awards are being given have a name distinguished in its creative and significant impact on American foreign policy. Both have been distinguished leaders and exponents of political realism in guiding American foreign policy. I can think of no more appropriate awardees than Richard Haass and Blanche Greenberg, whom I am pleased to count as friends of long-standing.

I regret that business on behalf of my employer keeps me from being with you tonight. As a former recipient of one of these awards, I am pleased and honored to extend my sincerest congratulations to this year's recipients and to the committee which honors them this night.

With all good wishes and thanks,


Thomas E. Pickering

HENRY A. KISSINGER

March 16, 2004

Dear Hank:

Congratulations on your receiving the George F. Kennan Award for Distinguished Public Service. Because of our long and close friendship, I can say without qualification that no one deserves this honor more. I have seen firsthand your quiet generosity, without fanfare, and your deep personal commitment of time and resources to those things in which you believe. I am glad to be here tonight to salute a great American.

Warm regards,



Henry A. Kissinger

Mr. Maurice K. Greenberg
c/o National Committee on
American Foreign Policy

TWENTY-SIXTH FLOOR • 350 PARK AVENUE • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022 • (212) 759-7200
FACSIMILE (212) 759-0543

PAUL A. VOLCKER
THE PETER BOKER
NEW YORK, NEW YORK OFFICE
100 EAST 61 STREET
NEW YORK, NY 10022

February 16, 2004

Dear George:

Your 100th birthday is an occasion of great joy to many people. Your colleagues at Princeton and advisors in academic and foreign policy communities throughout the world all celebrate your profound contribution to the conceptualization of a foreign policy which ultimately led to the collapse of the Soviet Union and the end of over four decades of cold war. They celebrate as well your long career first as an iconic professional public servant and later as an academic whose scholarship and wisdom have had continuing influence.

The National Committee on American Foreign Policy of which you are Honorary Chairman will be celebrating your centennial together with the 100th anniversary of the birth of the Committee's founder, Professor Hans J. Morganthau, at an event on March 16, 2004. It will be my honor as a former recipient of the George F. Kennan Award for Distinguished Public Service to present this award bearing your name to Maurice R. Greenberg.

While neither a practitioner of foreign policy nor a public servant in the narrow sense, "Hank" Greenberg has been a leader for over four decades in supporting creative foreign policy thinking and promoting U.S. interests in an open world order. As long-term Chairman and CEO of American International Group, Inc., he has long promoted business development in Asia, and now especially China where AIG had its roots. Through his leadership in the Council on Foreign Relations, the Asia Society, and a host of business relations and trade policy committees he has been deeply involved in and has influenced foreign and trade policy debates and policy formulation.

In accepting the Kennan Award in 1997, I spoke of the stakes involved in bringing China – a quarter of mankind – peacefully into the world community. Maurice Greenberg, keenly aware of the stakes there and supportive of efforts to promote peace and stability in the region, is surely a worthy recipient of this award in your name.

Sincerely,



The Honorable George F. Kennan
146 Hedge Road
Princeton, NJ 08540

JAMES A. BAKER, III
200 WALK JORDAN
500 UNIVERSITY
HOUSTON, TEXAS 77002-1000
February 24, 2004

Dear Richard:

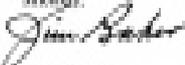
Congratulations on being named the twelfth recipient of the Morgenthau Award. It is a richly deserved acknowledgment of your distinguished service to our nation and, more broadly, to the institution of statecraft – both in government and as a scholar. One might also think of the award as an honor in advance for the work that lies ahead, particularly through your leadership of the Council on Foreign Relations.

I recall with deep appreciation the good relations in the early 1990s between State and the White House, exemplified by the professionalism you demonstrated in all our dealings with you and your office at the National Security Council. The foreign policy successes of the first Bush administration resulted in no small part, I am convinced, from the spirit of cooperation demonstrated – under the President's strong leadership – by the entire foreign policy and security team.

One other lesson from those days is the ideas matter, particularly including the ideas of political realism that were so powerfully expressed by Hans J. Morgenthau, then an editor-in-chief by the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, and that you have used as a foundation for your own thinking. Even though I was educated at an institution, Princeton, identified with Wilsonian idealism, I was introduced to realism when I read Thucydides as an undergraduate. And based on my experiences in office, it is no accident that my memoir is titled "The Politics of Diplomacy."

The realist tradition – indeed, international theory in general – faces an enormous challenge in the post-9/11 environment. Much of our thinking is organized around the state system and its dynamics. What is the realist response to international terrorism, who inflect states like a transnational virus, but are not themselves sovereign? I sleep better at night, finally, knowing that you – as a former Director of State's Office of Policy Planning and now as head of CFR – and other like-minded scholars in the Morgenthau-Kissinger tradition are working to answer this and other questions about where we go from here.

Congratulations, and thank you again for your service to the nation. And thanks to the NCRRP for providing an institutional home for the ideas and ideals of the realist tradition.

Sincerely,

James A. Baker, III

Mr. Richard N. Haass
c/o Mr. Martin Ruzicki
Program Director, National Committee
on American Foreign Policy
320 Park Avenue
New York, New York 10022

80 ROCKEFELLER PLAZA
New York, NY 10118

Phone (212) 512-2000

Fax (212) 512-2001

February 17, 2004

Dear Richard:

As a former recipient of the Hans Morgenthau Award, I was pleased to learn that the National Committee on American Foreign Policy has selected you as the twelfth recipient of its important award. I send you my warmest congratulations.

Hans Morgenthau provided us with a powerful theory and an impressive set of intellectual tools with which to analyze and manage the complexities of international relations. Theory is, of course, essential, but the actual conduct of foreign affairs is just as important, at least in my view. You have excelled in both areas throughout your career. For that reason, I think the National Committee on American Foreign Policy's recognition of your long, distinguished and effective service to the United States as a diplomat, administrator and teacher is richly deserved.

With my deepest admiration and respect,

Sincerely,



David Rockefeller

The Hon. Richard N. Haass
President
Council on Foreign Relations
New York



HOOPER INSTITUTION

AN AFFILIATE OF STANFORD UNIVERSITY

GEORGE P. SHULTZ
MEMORIAL AWARD

March 3, 2004

Dear Hank and Richard,

Greenberg, Haas, and American foreign policy. That's not a low bar, but it is a deeply productive combination. My congratulations to each recipient and to the National Committee for its wise selection.

I have always felt that America's position abroad is profoundly affected by the performance of our private sector and by the leaders who travel the world. Their positive contributions are vast, and people all over the world benefit in their standards of living from this influence. No one has been more effective than Hank Greenberg. His work and his involvement are living examples of how people in private life contribute immensely to public interest in American foreign policy.

Richard Haas exemplifies at a high level another trait so central to effectiveness in our foreign policy. He is comfortable in the world of ideas and equality as in the world of operations. He is one of those special individuals who bring these worlds together and the result is of great benefit to all of us.

Harry Morganthau was a colleague of mine when we were both on the faculty of the University of Chicago. Our paths crossed enough for me to realize the depth of his thinking. He was full of ideas and was constantly translating them into policy.

And George F. Kennan contributed enormously to the conceptual base of post-World War II diplomacy.

These two awards are in the spirit of these two giants. My congratulations are in order all around.

With best wishes,

George P. Shultz

Mr. Maurice B. Greenberg
Chairman and Chief Executive Officer
American International Group

Mr. Richard N. Haas
President
Council on Foreign Relations

HENRY A. KISSINGER

March 14, 1964

Dear Richard:

I have always had a special regard for the Morgenthau Award, not only as a past recipient but because Hans Morgenthau was my teacher, mentor and friend. He played a substantial role in shaping my thinking, and I owe much to him. I am delighted that tonight the Award will go to you in recognition of your contribution to American foreign policy. You are a worthy recipient of this tribute, and I send you my warmest congratulations.

Best regards,


Henry A. Kissinger

Ambassador Richard N. Haass
c/o National Committee on
American Foreign Policy

TWENTY-SIXTH FLOOR • 350 PARK AVENUE • NEW YORK, NEW YORK 10022 • (212) 769-7700
FACSIMILE (212) 759-0043

Nancy E. Soderberg

Ladies and gentlemen, distinguished guests, good evening. My name is Nancy Soderberg. I am a member of the Board of Trustees of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy. Thank you all for braving the snow to be with us on this exciting evening.

It is a special honor to join you tonight, the thirtieth anniversary of the founding of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, as we honor two of our nation's most distinguished citizens, Maurice Greenberg and Richard Haass.

Half a century ago Hans Morgenthau's famous book, *Politics Among Nations*, helped define the role of America in the world during a time of historical transition and intellectual crisis. Morgenthau best expressed and captured what an entire generation of realist scholars—from E. H. Carr and Reinhold Niebuhr on—were seeking to understand. In doing so he produced insights that were relevant not only for his time but for all time.

Perhaps the most important contribution is Morgenthau's insistence on the importance of separating the real and the factual from what we aspire to attain. He left us the realist paradigm that helps us today in the search for the right balance between power and peace in America's role in the world.

In founding the National Committee thirty years ago, Hans Morgenthau and cofounder George Schwab sought to continue that important legacy. Through its discussions, publications, and direct involvement in crises from Northern Ireland to China to North Korea and the Middle East, the National Committee has made an important contribution to ensuring that America's national interests are advanced from a nonpartisan perspective within the framework of political realism.

Several of the world's leading statesmen have joined us in commemorating the National Committee tonight.

James A. Baker III (in a letter to Richard Haass, dated February 24, 2004), in recalling the lessons from his

[Baker's] days in office, wrote:

. . . ideas matter, particularly including the ideas of political realism that were so powerfully expressed by Hans J. Morgenthau, that are celebrated by the National Committee on American Foreign Policy and that you have used as a foundation for your own thinking. Even though I was educated at an institution, Princeton, identified with Wilsonian idealism, I was introduced to realism when I read Thucydides as an undergraduate. And based on my experiences in office, it is no accident that my memoir is titled The Politics of Diplomacy. The realist tradition—indeed, international theory in general—faces an enormous challenge in the post-9/11 environment. Much of our thinking is organized around the state system and its dynamics. What is the realist response to international terrorists, who infect states like a transnational virus, but are not themselves sovereign? I sleep better at night, frankly, knowing that [Richard Haass] . . . and other like-minded thinkers in the Morgenthau-Kennan tradition are working to answer this and other questions about where we go from here.

. . .

From Margaret Thatcher:

Today you mark a double centenary, that of your founder and that of your honorary chairman. And how the world has changed in those hundred years: We have seen two terrible world wars; the rise and fall of fascism and communism; and America's transformation from a regional force into the world's only superpower. Looking forward over the coming century we will, no doubt, face equally daunting tasks, but under the guidance of American leadership, and with the unbending support of your allies, I believe we can meet whatever challenges may emerge and prevail.

From Colin Powell:

I join the National Committee on American Foreign Policy in celebrating the centenary of Hans Morgenthau's birth and his enduring contributions to the study and conduct of American foreign policy. Hans Morgenthau wrote in 1951 that "the American people have shown

throughout their history that they are able to face the truth and act upon it with courage and resourcefulness in war; with common sense and moral determination in peace.” Famously, he went on to remind us that “it is not only a political necessity, but a moral duty for America to follow one guiding star: the national interest.”

. . . President Bush believes that it is manifestly in our national interest to use our power and our diplomacy to shape the new reality in ways that favor core American values. For a world of greater democracy, prosperity and security is a world where tyrants and terrorists cannot thrive. . . .

It is my great privilege and honor to begin tonight’s program by introducing one of the National Committee’s guiding lights, our chairman, William Flynn. One of America’s leading businessmen as chairman of Mutual of America and Flax Trust, Bill Flynn has shaped the insurance industry in this country. When he is not at his day job, he has been a leading force in America’s peace efforts around the world. From the Elie Wiesel Foundation to the Alfred Smith Memorial Foundation to the John Jay College of Criminal Justice Foundation, and the Ireland America Economic Advisory Board, and, perhaps most impressive on this eve of St. Patrick’s Day, as grand marshal of New York’s St. Patrick’s Day Parade, Bill Flynn has made a difference. I know firsthand his vision and determination when he pressured President Clinton in 1994 to grant Gerry Adams a visa. He was right, as always. Mr. Flynn:

William J. Flynn

Thank you for that lovely introduction, Ambassador Soderberg. Madame President, Ambassador Haass, Mr. Greenberg, Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen:

Good evening and welcome to the National Committee on American Foreign Policy’s twelfth Hans J. Morgenthau and fifth George F. Kennan Award dinners. Two fine Americans!

We are proud to celebrate Professor Morgenthau’s and

Ambassador Kennan's outstanding contributions to American foreign policy and their long association with our foreign policy institute. Hans Morgenthau was a founder of the National Committee as well as its first chairman. George Kennan became the Committee's second honorary chairman.

One hundred years ago, when Hans Morgenthau and George Kennan were born, the world was said to be living in the Edwardian Age, a time when many people thought that war was a thing of the past. How wrong they were became evident in 1914. Not to be outdone by its predecessor's grisly record, the Second World War, which ignited the Continent twenty years after the end of the war to end all wars, resulted in a huge loss of life, the proliferation of modern weapons of destruction, and the attempt to destroy Western civilization, as well as the spread of triumphant racism and genocide throughout Europe. How fortunate for the world that two brilliant and concerned young men—Hans Morgenthau and George Kennan—reacting to the horrible events of the first half of the twentieth century studied and analyzed what went wrong and proposed effective means of restoring and promoting international peace and stability. And how proud I am as chairman of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy to be associated with their legacy and with this very special organization that celebrates their work.

As we honor Professor Morgenthau and Ambassador Kennan tonight, it is fitting, I think, to call special attention to certain recipients of past Morgenthau and Kennan awards: Paul A. Volcker, the third George F. Kennan Award recipient and the National Committee's honorary vice chairman; Dr. Henry A. Kissinger, the third recipient of the Hans J. Morgenthau Award and the National Committee's first honorary chairman; and David Rockefeller, who became the sixth recipient of the Morgenthau Award on this day sixteen years ago, in 1988.

Thank you all for coming to celebrate the achievements of two outstanding Americans, Richard Haass and Maurice Greenberg, who will receive the Morgenthau and Kennan awards tonight.

Ambassador Soderberg

Our next speaker is well known to this audience as our cofounder and president, Dr. George Schwab. Our president since 1993 and the editor of our publication *American Foreign Policy Interests*, George has served as the living testament to Hans Morgenthau's legacy of political realism. Directing the National Committee's foreign policy briefings featuring heads of states, foreign ministers, ambassadors, and other foreign policy leaders, George has kept the National Committee at the heart of the debate on America's role in the world. An author, editor, and translator of numerous books and articles, George is the heart and soul of this organization. Dr. Schwab:

George D. Schwab

Thank you very much, Ambassador Soderberg, for that splendid introduction. Madame President, Ambassador Haass, Mr. Greenberg, Excellencies, Distinguished Guests, Ladies and Gentlemen: I join my chairman in welcoming you to a very special occasion for the National Committee on American Foreign Policy. Not only are we celebrating the thirtieth anniversary of the National Committee on American Foreign Policy, but, for the first time, we are presenting two awards in one evening.

Tonight we congratulate and celebrate George F. Kennan on his one hundredth birthday. We also celebrate and remember the late Hans J. Morgenthau on his one hundredth birthday. The daughters of both men are here with us: Grace Kennan Warnecke and Susanna Morgenthau, who is accompanied by her husband and their two daughters.

One hundred years ago, in 1904, George Kennan and Hans Morgenthau were born in different parts of the world, Kennan in the United States and Morgenthau in Germany, a country from which he was forced to flee before his fortieth birthday. Both Ambassador Kennan and Professor Morgenthau became icons in the field of American foreign policy, and both worked tirelessly to guide the National Committee in fulfilling its goals—Professor Morgenthau as its founder and its first chairman and Ambassador Kennan

who succeeded Henry Kissinger as honorary chairman of the Committee ten years ago. Their lifework inspired the National Committee on American Foreign Policy to develop a global approach toward articulating and disseminating its understanding of U.S. national interests from a nonpartisan perspective and within the framework of political realism.

In addition to its educational programs, the National Committee is engaged in track one and one-half and track two diplomacy that brings together current and former government officials, academics, and think tank experts to discuss global challenges free from publicity and official constraints in an informal atmosphere that encourages frank dialogue.

A good example of such diplomacy is our work on U.S.-China-Taiwan relations. Taiwan remains a potential flash point in East Asia, and if a conflict between China and Taiwan were to erupt, it could drag the United States into an unwanted and profoundly destabilizing situation in that part of the world. The presidential election in Taiwan on Saturday, March 20, will largely shape events in the Cross-Strait area for the next four years. Right after the election I will head a team to Taipei and Beijing. It will include our project director, Professor Donald S. Zagoria, Ambassador Winston Lord, and Peter Wolff of Time Warner. In Taipei we will meet with the newly elected president of Taiwan and in Beijing with the highest officials in charge of relations with Taiwan. On April 23, after our return, we will brief those in this country who are concerned with Cross-Strait relations.

The National Committee's project on U.S.-China-Taiwan Relations is not only well known, but it also is much praised. In the words of President Chen Shui-bian of Taiwan, "The National Committee on American Foreign Policy's program is the best track two effort that exists in contributing to the stability in the Taiwan Strait. . . ." Similarly, Vice Premier Tang Jiaxuan of China told us during the same Cross-Strait trip that the National Committee on American Foreign Policy has become "renowned in Chinese diplomatic circles" because of its excellent work. We have won similar praise from Washington.

The National Committee's project on U.S.-China-Taiwan Relations also is a model for our recently launched project

on U.S.-North Korean Relations. In addition, our project on U.S.-Northern Ireland Relations, which brings us into frequent contact with Dublin and London, falls into the category of track one and one-half and track two diplomacy. (Since its inception a decade ago, the Northern Ireland project has been headed by our intrepid chairman, Bill Flynn.) Other active projects include acute examinations of relationships between the United States and countries in the Middle East, Central Asia, and Russia, as well as the European Union, NATO, and Cyprus.

In short, if the past is any indication of the future, you can rest assured that the National Committee on American Foreign Policy is only at the beginning of its unique work.

Ambassador Soderberg

This letter from George Shultz is dated March 3, 2004:

Dear Hank and Richard,

Greenberg, Haass, and American Foreign Policy. That's not a law firm, but it is a deeply productive combination. My congratulations to each recipient and to the National Committee for its wise selections.

I have always felt that America's posture abroad is profoundly affected by the performance of our private sector and by the leaders who travel the world. Their positive contributions are vast, and people all over the world benefit in their standards of living from this influence. No one has been more effective than Hank Greenberg. His work and his involvement are living examples of how people in private life contribute immensely to public interest in American foreign policy.

Richard Haass exemplifies at a high level another trait so central to effectiveness in our foreign policy. He is comfortable in the world of ideas and equally so in the world of operations. He is one of those special individuals who bring these worlds together and the result is of great benefit to all of us.

Hans Morgenthau was a colleague of mine when we were both on the faculty of the University of Chicago. Our paths crossed enough for me to realize the depth of his thinking. He was full of ideas and was constantly translating them into policy.

And George F. Kennan contributed enormously to the conceptual base of post-World War II diplomacy.

These two awards are in the spirit of these two giants. So congratulations are in order all around.

It is my distinct honor to introduce to you the National Committee's honorary vice chairman, the Honorable Paul Volcker. No one understands better that to be strong abroad, America must first be strong at home. Serving three decades under five presidents, he developed our nation's debt management and federal credit policies, including the transition to the more flexible system of floating rates and the now worldwide practice of auctioning Treasury Bonds. Following his service as chairman of the Board of Governors of the Federal Reserve System from 1979 to 1987, Paul Volcker continued to serve America. Most Americans with his record of service would have wanted to relax at Princeton. But Paul Volcker took on—in the wake of the Enron and other scandals—the unenviable task of chair of the newly established Board of Trustees of the International Accounting Standards Committee. I give you Mr. Paul Volcker, who will present the Kennan Award to Mr. Hank Greenberg.

Paul A. Volcker

Thank you, Madam Ambassador. Ladies and gentlemen, members of the foreign policy community: I confess to having spent an uncomfortable morning. I was puzzled about how to introduce Maurice R. Greenberg this evening. What rather perversely came to mind was an earlier occasion when I was called upon to introduce a man of distinguished bearing but rather limited accomplishments. I was told to take five minutes. No more, no less. I protested it wouldn't be possible for me to speak that long. Relax, I was told. Speak very slowly.

Tonight I obviously have the opposite dilemma. I can't

Speak fast enough to do justice to the occasion—either to George Kennan or to our awardee. Now if this was a strictly business setting, it would be simple enough. The story of the American International Group (AIG) is inspiring enough. It was to my mind at least a little-known business oddity 50 or so years ago. Today it is, with justice, cited as the world's leading global insurance and financial services organization. And that is largely the story, the saga, of one man—its chief executive officer for nearly 40 years, Hank Greenberg.

Now if I move to a cultural setting, it's hard to list Hank's leadership. There he was in a prominent position in no less than eight or ten of the major medical, educational, art, and scientific institutions in this great city.

And from my particular viewpoint—it may not be exactly cultural, but I'd be remiss if I didn't acknowledge Hank's years of service as the chairman of the Federal Reserve Bank of New York. That was surely God's work.

But that's not the reason we are here this evening. George Kennan has spent his life in a different and a more quiet way as a public servant and as an academic. In one sense he acted behind the scenes, even for a time hiding under the pseudonym of Mr. X. But none of that could disguise the fact that he has had an enormous and constructive influence on American foreign policy in the second half of the 20th century.

I wouldn't use those same words—*quiet* and *behind the scenes*—to describe Hank Greenberg's *modus operandi*. But it has certainly been effective—effective in promoting the American interest in an open economic order and in an open society and societies around the world.

The company he leads is itself an example of constructive globalization. As important abroad as in the United States, in particular it is in the very forefront of business development in Asia and especially in China where AIG had its roots a century ago. I really shouldn't have been surprised when he told me before dinner that he has recently returned from Iraq where AIG is already acting as a business, and he is acting as an adviser to that nation in developing an insurance business. I know of no one who would question the proposition that Hank Greenberg is preoccupied, absorbed, and intensely disciplined in dealing with business challenges.

But it is clearly business in a larger context.

Deeply concerned and involved with the unique responsibilities of America in the world, he has played a long-time leadership role in the Council on Foreign Relations, in the Asia Society, in the U.S.-Philippine Business Council, the U.S.-Korean Business Council, the Hong Kong Chief Executives Advisory Council, and other groups.

Hank, your service to the country started long ago in a very different setting. You were a volunteer, underage buck private in the United States Army in World War II. You weren't even, I understand, out of high school. But with a battlefield promotion, you soon made it to captain. And I understand that you are literally still available for action: You are able to fit comfortably into your old uniform. I have no doubt that experience was an early reflection of your strong sense of loyalty to country, to the company you have served so long, and to the men and women with whom you work.

We stand in awe of the vital energy you bring to your large responsibilities, private and public. Your vantage point as a businessman may be different from that of George Kennan, but the award we honor you with tonight is a reflection of shared values and shared concerns that have marked your lives.

I remind you tonight that as a Kennan awardee, you accept a further implicit challenge. A little while ago Ambassador Kennan celebrated his one hundredth birthday. Hank, you've got a running start—maybe, more accurately, a tennis start. Go for it. But, first, run up here to me on the rostrum so that we can present you with the Kennan Award.

I will read the criteria for the award. The National Committee on American Foreign Policy established the George F. Kennan Award as a tribute to Ambassador Kennan for his eminent public service as a statesman and diplomat. Ambassador Kennan decisively contributed to defining the national interests of the United States and provided the theoretical foundations for the policy of containment that became synonymous with his name. Accordingly we select as recipients of the award Americans who have distinguished themselves by serving their country exemplarily and have made seminal contributions to defining and illuminating the national interests of the United States.

This is the award, Hank. Beautiful glass with an inscription. The inscription reads:

“The National Committee on American Foreign Policy confers the George F. Kennan Award for Distinguished Public Service on Maurice R. Greenberg. For his imaginative performance as a business leader, public servant, and philanthropist, he has brilliantly demonstrated how a citizen can advance American national interests. Awarded in New York City, March 16, 2004.” Congratulations!



L-R: Paul Volcker, George Schwab, Maurice Greenberg, Nancy Soderberg, William Flynn

Maurice R. Greenberg

Thank you very much, Paul. Good evening. I thank the Committee for this award. It is a great honor to receive it. George Kennan has had a major impact on American foreign policy for more than fifty years. He has been our leading expert on the Soviet Union. He not only was alert to the Soviet threat but also formulated the key U.S. response that shaped our foreign policy from the 1940s until the collapse

of the Soviet Union.

Today we face a very different set of foreign policy issues no less momentous for the well-being of our country. A nation's foreign policy is determined by its own national interest. Basically our foreign policy is based on security and economic matters.

I want to dwell for a moment on the economic component of our foreign policy or, realistically, geoeconomic matters. U.S. leadership has played a major role in promoting free and fair trade throughout the world. Free trade has also been a clear benefit to the global economy. Free trade and globalization are not without problems. However, these problems should not be a reason for a dramatic change in policy. The world needs more free and fair trade, not less.

In the heat of our election year, when jobs will be an issue, our commitment to free trade will be tested. Outsourcing is already a major issue. The bottom line, however, is that outsourcing has been a benefit to U.S. consumers. Interference in a free choice of business to outsource would undermine trade in services and lead us down the slippery slope of protectionism. We also benefit from "insourcing," which has not been discussed at length. (We have focused only on an incomplete part of the issue.)

Nonetheless, the U.S. trade deficit is real. What is needed is for corporate America to be more creative in developing new industries and products. This calls for managers to be less risk averse. Corporate America has become reluctant to take risks in response to the new rules and regulations put in place by Sarbanes Oxley. The environment is not conducive to creativity. Companies would rather grow profits by expense reduction.

If we unshackle business, we can create the jobs that are needed without resorting to protectionism. Even in the Middle East and Afghanistan, where there are some significant historic, tribal, and religious conflicts to surmount, no lasting peace will be achievable without a commitment to improving the economic lives of the inhabitants of the region. Not long ago I met with the leaders of Georgia and Azerbaijan. They put their economic needs first. And more recently I was in Iraq and had a chance to meet with some local leaders in Mosul. They expressed a strong desire for foreign direct

investment to get their decimated economy moving again. Giving people the hope that they can earn a livelihood and provide for their families is an essential foundation for peace and hence should be an essential component of our foreign policy.

Thank you, again, to the National Committee on American Foreign Policy for this award.

Ambassador Soderberg

Before we present the Morgenthau Award to Dr. Haass, we have a few more excerpts from messages from his admirers.

Congratulations on being named the twelfth recipient of the Morgenthau award. It is a richly deserved acknowledgement of your distinguished service to our nation and, more broadly, to the institution of statecraft—both in government and as a scholar. One might also think of the award as an honor in advance for the work that lies ahead, particularly through your leadership of the Council on Foreign Relations.

I recall with deep appreciation the good relations in the early 1990s between State and the White House, exemplified by the professionalism you demonstrated in all my dealings with you and your office at the National Security Council. The foreign policy successes of the first Bush administration resulted in no small part, I am convinced, from the spirit of cooperation demonstrated—under the president’s strong leadership—by the entire foreign policy and security team.

Congratulations and thank you again for your service to the nation. And thanks to the National Committee on American Foreign Policy for providing an institutional home for the ideas of the realist tradition. Sincerely, Jim Baker.

I saved the best part of Colin Powell’s letter for now as we honor Richard Haass. He wrote:

I am especially pleased to offer my warm congratulations as last year’s recipient of the Morgenthau Award to this year’s honoree, Richard Haass. Richard’s many contributions of insight and ideas while he served as

my policy planning director from 2001 to 2003 enriched our strategic thinking within government and Richard continues to inform and enliven the policy debate as president of the Council on Foreign Relations.

Let me now introduce a man who certainly needs no introduction. A former recipient of the Morgenthau Award, Dr. Kissinger has served as secretary of state, national security adviser, the chair of his own very successful business, and a man who continues his public service in a host of board and advisory capacities.

But what many of you may not know about him is that he's also a David Letterman wannabe—the one job he has yet to hold. I've found his own top ten quotes.

10. "The nice thing about being a celebrity is that when you bore people, they think it's their fault."
9. "Moderation is a virtue only in those who are thought to have an alternative."
8. "The absence of alternatives clears the mind marvelously."
7. "There cannot be a crisis next week. My schedule is already full."
6. "If I should ever be captured, I want no negotiation—and if I should request a negotiation from captivity, they should consider that a sign of duress." (Ambassador Soderberg: I'd like to know the story behind that one.)
5. "The American temptation is to believe that foreign policy is a subdivision of psychiatry."
4. "To be absolutely certain about something, one must know everything or nothing about it."
3. "Ninety percent of the politicians give the other ten percent a bad reputation."
2. "Nobody will ever win the Battle of the Sexes. There's just too much fraternizing with the enemy."

1. “People are generally amazed that I would take an interest in any forum that would require me to stop talking for three hours.”

We are particularly delighted, Dr. Kissinger, that you could join us in this forum tonight. Ladies and gentlemen: Let me present to you Dr. Henry Kissinger, who will present the Morgenthau Award to Ambassador Richard Haass.

Henry A. Kissinger

Ambassador Soderberg, Mr. Flynn, Mr. Haass, Ladies and Gentlemen. I take full credit for all ten quotes, even though I don't exactly remember four of them. In the list of my accomplishments—in the positions I've held—it is rarely mentioned that for a while I was simultaneously secretary of state and national security adviser. And I call your attention to this because never before and never since have relations between the White House and the State Department been as constructive as they were in those days.

Now it is my great privilege to give the Hans Morgenthau Award to Richard Haass. I knew Hans Morgenthau very well. In fact, he was an inspiration for me when I was a graduate student. He tried to bring me to the University of Chicago as a professor. And I would have gone there if the Council on Foreign Relations had not diverted me into doing one of its study groups, which, as Richard knows, never end. (I scheduled one year.) Hans was considered the father of realist foreign policy in this country, and whenever one speaks of realist foreign policy, people use the word *realpolitik* in the belief that Hans (or I) read Metternich by candlelight, as if this were somehow a foreign intrusion into the purity of American thinking. But genuine realism in foreign policy must take seriously the moral values of a society and relate what is possible to the aspirations of a people. And it is very interesting that in the later stages of his life, Hans Morgenthau became involved in the Vietnam controversy and on the side of those who questioned the achievability of the objectives that had been set.

At any rate, he set a standard, and he raised the values by which foreign policy can be judged. I mention all of this because in our country the relationship between scholars and policymakers is a very complex one. Policymakers are

obsessed by the urgent. Scholars think that they can focus on the important. But unless one can relate the urgent to the important, one oscillates between extremes of enthusiasm and extremes of despondency. Not many people have managed to bridge that gulf.

The outsider can pick his subject. The policymaker has it imposed on him. The outsider can concentrate on the best conceivable solution. The policymaker is responsible not only for the best but also for the worst that could happen. The outsider can say, "I've made a mistake. And I'll go back to the library and write another book." The policymaker has only one guess and very limited time in which to carry it out.

I mention all this because Richard Haass is one of the people who have been extraordinary in both fields and who have bridged the gap in an extraordinary manner. His most recent position was director of the Policy Planning staff in the State Department.

The Policy Planning staff is in fact an invention of George Kennan, and it is a bow to administrative theory. Everybody agrees that it is important. But not everybody knows what to do with it when he confronts it: how to relate the planning of policy to its actual execution, in fact how to get the planning process worked into the execution of foreign policy. Not many have accomplished that. Richard Haass dealt with this problem by not only being in charge of policy planning but also by being involved in planning policy for the future of Afghanistan and being involved in, in fact being in charge of, Northern Irish negotiations for a period. His planning functions were intimately geared to the actions of the secretary of state and the administration. Before that he served on the National Security Council under Brent Scowcroft in the first Bush administration. On the outsider side, he served as vice president of the Brookings Institution, professor at Hamilton College, and lecturer at Harvard University. Now, of course, he is the president of the Council on Foreign Relations where he has to manage about 500 aspirant secretaries of state in a more or less coherent program.

It is a great privilege for me to give the Morgenthau Award to a man who exemplifies many of the insights of Morgenthau and Kennan and who has carried them further both in his academic work and in his public life.

I have been given two things to do. The first is to read the criteria of the Morgenthau Award and then to read the inscription.

The criteria of the Hans Morgenthau Award is that the National Committee on American Foreign Policy established the Hans J. Morgenthau Award to commemorate the seminal contributions that Professor Hans Morgenthau, founder of the National Committee, made to the theory and practice of international relations and to celebrate an individual whose intellectual and practical contributions to American foreign policy have been judged so exemplary in the tradition of Professor Morgenthau's political realism that he or she merits this singular award.

The inscription on Richard Haass's award is:

"In recognition of his keen understanding of American national interests and his contributions to the formulation, articulation, and implementation of American foreign policy, the National Committee on American Foreign Policy presents this singular award to Ambassador Richard Haass. New York City, March 16, 2004."

Here it is, Richard.



L-R: Henry Kissinger, Nancy Soderberg, George Schwab, Richard Haass, William Flynn

Richard N. Haass

Thank you, Henry. As you know, Henry Kissinger was a previous recipient of the Hans J. Morgenthau Award. And to be in his company is great praise. So I want to thank him for his generous words, and I want to thank him for all he's done for this country.

Ladies and Gentlemen, to receive the Morgenthau Award is a great honor. Like many of you in this room, I cut my teeth on *Politics Among Nations*. Morgenthau is widely heralded as the apostle of realism and for good reason. But even more he remains remarkable for the sheer rigor and clarity of his thought. The fact that 2004 marks the 100th anniversary of Morgenthau's birth only adds to my pleasure at being here with you this evening.

There are three other factors, though, that I would like to mention.

First, it is wonderful to be recognized the same evening that Hank Greenberg receives the Kennan Award. Hank is a patriot to his core and one of this country's leading corporate statesmen. He is living proof that you can do good at the same time you do well. He has done a sensational job for the shareholders of AIG and for the country. Hank has directly, through his ideas, and indirectly, through his philanthropy, affected the course of U.S. foreign policy not only in Asia but also throughout the world and affected it for the better. One more thing. I would be remiss (that's a euphemism for dumb) if I did not point out that Maurice Greenberg is also honorary vice chair and one of the pillars of my own organization.

Second, it is a tribute to receive an award that has gone to two of my one-time bosses, George Shultz and Colin Powell; to former colleagues Tom Pickering, Jim Baker, and Jeane Kirkpatrick; to the former chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations David Rockefeller; and to my dear friend Sol Linowitz. I am pleased my wife, Susan, is here tonight to witness all this; I am only sorry my parents are no longer alive. For those of you who are familiar with Yiddish, this would have been a moment of great *kvelling*.

Third, let me return the favor and pay tribute where it is due. It is not every day I praise another foreign affairs organization. But I want to do just that tonight. After thirty years, the National Committee on American Foreign Policy is going strong. This is a very good thing for all of us. The National Committee stands out as an oasis of nonpartisanship and serious thought about this country's purposes in the world. I want to salute the National Committee's president, George Schwab, and its chairman, Bill Flynn.

Until recently I served as the envoy of Secretary Powell and President Bush to the Northern Ireland peace process. I didn't make total peace, but I did make a terrific friend. Time and time again Bill Flynn showed himself to be someone of great courage, wise counsel, and intense commitment. I thank you for giving me the opportunity to thank him publicly for his service to his country.

Toward a 21st-Century Concert

The title of my remarks tonight is "*Toward a 21st-Century Concert.*" Let me apologize now to any of you who came here tonight under false pretenses. I will not be discussing Mozart or Haydn. The good news is that I won't be doing any singing either. I speak of a "concert" in the sense derived from experience some two centuries ago in the aftermath of the Napoleonic wars. As some of you in this room will recall, the leaders of the world at the time—the leaders of Prussia, England, France, Russia, and Austria-Hungary—met in Vienna and other European cities to develop informal rules of the road to guide the conduct of international relations. They produced what Henry Kissinger has described as "an international agreement about the nature of workable arrangements and about the permissible aims and methods of foreign policy."

The goal of Castlereagh, Metternich, Talleyrand, and their counterparts was to avoid the sort of major power war that had characterized European affairs; the key principle was a common understanding to avoid interfering in one another's internal affairs. The result was the Concert of Europe and decades of relative peace on the Continent.

The question I have set for myself tonight is whether it might be desirable and possible to establish something similar in our time. As you have no doubt surmised, my short answer is “yes.”

Let me be clear. When I say “similar” I do not mean to suggest that today’s world is structurally similar to that of two centuries ago. To the contrary. Then there was a truly multipolar world. Today’s world, in addition to being defined by global flows of people, ideas, dollars, drugs, germs, guns, gases, goods, and services, is far more unipolar, especially in the military realm. Then there was a balance of power; today international relations are characterized more by an imbalance of power. Nor do I mean similar in terms of purposes. The purpose of a 21st-century concert would not be to resist calls for self-determination but to manage the challenges intrinsic to globalization and to deal with the most pressing threats to the common security and prosperity.

This last point suggests that there is an important parallel between the concert of the early 19th century and the potential concert of today, namely, the notion of the principal powers of the era agreeing to restrain their competition, take one another’s interests into account, and, where possible, work together on behalf of common purposes. To do so they will need to overcome what Hans Morgenthau might have described as their natural inclination to compete.

The good news is that the current and projected U.S. advantage in many aspects of power works to reduce this inclination to struggle, as no clear prospect exists for any one country or group of countries to challenge the United States for supremacy any time soon. This discrepancy in strength, however, is not in itself sufficient for a modern-day concert to materialize.

The other centers of power in today’s world—an increasingly united Europe, Russia, China, Japan, and India, as well as such countries as Brazil, South Korea, and South Africa—must see that entering into a concert is in their interests as well. To put it another way, they must conclude that their own interests will fare better if they choose to cooperate with the United States and with one another rather than compete.

This is where the United States comes in. The United States for its part must demonstrate that it will use its primacy in a manner that benefits others as well as itself. This will require not simply a renewed consideration of the ends of American foreign policy but also the means; how we act as a country at times will count for as much as what we do.

Why should the United States seek a concert? The basic reason is simple: For all its absolute and relative power, for all its political, economic, and military reach, the United States can do no better in the world without the participation and support of others, and there are some things that the United States on its own cannot do at all. Americans should not want to see the emergence of a world in which others sit on their hands and opt out of working with the United States to meet challenges that affect us all; even less do we want to see a world in which other power centers work against us and focus their energies on one day competing with the United States. We similarly want to avoid a world in which armed intervention becomes the rule rather than the exception.

What, then, might be the basis of a contemporary concert? I can imagine a good many potential building blocks, including the promotion of open societies, market economies, and an open world trading system. Tonight I will focus on three.

The first begins with the assertion that citizens as well as governments have rights. This principle is enshrined in various international documents. But beyond that are the arguments that governments ought not to be allowed to massacre their own people and that weak governments should not be allowed to permit massacres to take place on their own territory even if they are not carrying out the massacres. Governments have the responsibility not only not to kill their own people but to make sure their people are not killed. Ideally, a concert would embrace not only this principle but the necessary consequence: that other states and the international community at large have a right and a duty to act to protect innocent life when it is jeopardized on a large scale.

The second idea falls within the realm of terrorism and reflects the view that states should not carry out terrorism or allow their territory or their resources to be used by

those who do. By terrorism I mean the intentional killing of innocent men, women, and children for political purposes.

A third potential element of a contemporary concert would make clear that states have the responsibility not to facilitate in any way the spread or proliferation of weapons of mass destruction in general and nuclear weapons in particular. Actually, this formulation does not go far enough. Ideally, states would commit to do everything in their power to frustrate the proliferation of all weapons of mass destruction and modern delivery systems such as ballistic missiles.

The first of these ideas, the idea that states should not massacre their own or allow their own to be massacred, was at the core of the American and European response to the tragedy in the Balkans. The intervention was premised on the notion that Mr. Milosevic should not be allowed to carry out wide-scale ethnic cleansing, much less murder, of his own populations, that sovereignty did not confer upon him that right. Related to this conclusion is the notion that the international community has the right or even the obligation to act if a state fails to meet its obligation to protect its own people.

There is considerable support for this idea, particularly throughout Europe. But this support is hardly universal. In particular, both China and Russia (and to some extent India) worry that such a norm could be used against them by establishing a precedent for international involvement in what each views as its own internal affairs.

The challenge for the United States and others subscribing to the principle of humanitarian intervention is to win over those who see it as a pretext or license for military and other forms of intervention in what has traditionally been seen as falling within the sovereign purview of states. This will require making clear that the threshold for intervention is high; a large number of people must be in danger, and the threat must be acute. All forms of intervention and not just the military must be considered. Consensus on these points would represent an important accomplishment: It would at least hold open the prospect of major power action, something that in turn might help dissuade leaders from undertaking policies that would place populations at risk.

The second potential basis of a concert, the idea that states

ought not to be in the business of terrorism, was at the core of the U.S.-led ouster of the Taliban from Afghanistan. As you will recall, it wasn't the Taliban that carried out 9/11. There were no Afghans among the 19 on the planes that killed 3,000 innocent people. But it was the Taliban who allowed Afghanistan to be the base for Al Qaida. And there was a widespread if not quite universal sense that that was unacceptable, which then led to international support for the military removal of the Taliban from power.

Considerable support exists for the notion that terrorism is wrong. But I would not exaggerate the depth or breadth of this consensus. There is no agreement on what constitutes terrorism. My definition—the purposeful killing of innocents for political purposes—would not necessarily be everyone else's. And there is no consensus on what is the correct remedy when terrorism is carried out by a state or a state allows its territory to be used by terrorists.

That said, the goal ought to be to get wide acceptance of the notion that no form of purposeful killing of innocents is permissible in today's world, whatever the cause. Branding terrorism so defined as wrong is important. It is the equivalent of calling for the abolition of slavery or the outlawing of genocide. At times it is important to get an intellectual consensus about an activity. After that consensus is reached, you can then argue in the specific case about what to do. But without such a consensus, you are much less likely to forge a common policy.

The third potential pillar of a contemporary concert is opposition to the spread of weapons of mass destruction and nuclear weapons in particular. Here a good deal of commonality exists. One must begin with the Nonproliferation Treaty itself, a treaty that certifies only five countries—the United States, Russia, China, Britain, and France—as legitimate nuclear weapons states and commits those five to reduce and ultimately eliminate their own stockpiles of nuclear weapons. There are as well many other agreements, including bans on testing and various supplier groups, created to keep critical materials and technologies out of the wrong hands.

But such international efforts are clearly inadequate. The nuclear club has expanded to at least eight or possibly nine

countries. Moreover, even that number could increase and come to include actors other than states, such as Al Qaida. There is no consensus on how to view these exceptions; nor is there agreement on what to do about those states such as North Korea (which may already possess nuclear weapons) and Iran (which appears to want them).

It is difficult to imagine any higher priority than arriving at a common approach to these issues. Not only is the prospect of a terrorist group or of an unstable regime in possession of nuclear weapons a nightmare, but it will require collective—indeed, near universal—effort if these challenges are to be met successfully. This is the reality of the age we live in: Global problems increasingly require global solutions. At a minimum, a concerted approach would involve closing the loophole in the Nonproliferation Treaty that allows countries to become virtual nuclear weapons states without violating the treaty. A distinction must be made between the right to possess a civilian nuclear power program and the right to have control over nuclear fuel. Ideally, the major powers would also begin to consult on what should be done when states are discovered to be developing nuclear weapons.

Will all the major powers agree to everything I have called for? Of course not. But it is important to start discussing these issues now and to build a foundation for common policies. This should make it less difficult to reach a common position if and when crises arise. If you like, call it preemptive diplomacy.

But no amount of prior consultation will guarantee consent and cooperation in specific circumstances. Blank checks are as rare in diplomacy as in other walks of life. A concert requires not simply agreement on principles but commitment to a process. Stated differently, a concert is not just about principles and norms; if it is to have meaning, it must also be about policy.

There ought to be a commitment to seeking the broadest possible agreement before undertaking an action, particularly one involving military force. This translates into an effort to have the UN Security Council endorse the contemplated action. If this appears or proves to be impossible, it would not be the end of the road. The UN is one but not the only source of multilateralism and legitimacy. The relevant

regional organization would be the natural next step, after which one would turn to coalitions of the willing, constructed as broadly as possible. Only as a last resort would a major power act unilaterally.

It can be argued, for example, that it was good and right that NATO provided the political as well as the military foundation for armed intervention in Kosovo when no consensus in the United Nations was forthcoming. And, as we have seen, UN failure to approve action can have terrible consequences; one need only recall here Cambodia or Rwanda.

What is clear is that there is no getting around a case-by-case approach. At the same time, it is important to weigh the case for acting in a particular context when no consensus among the major powers exists against the long-term interest of developing a concert and encouraging the emergence of a world in which the major powers work at common and not cross purposes.

There may be some useful guidelines for navigating this unavoidable tradeoff. It is important to give a fair chance and ample time for consensus to emerge. Consultations must be genuine and not simply an effort to insist on an already determined policy. A decision to opt out of formal multilateralism should be made only when there is an urgent need to act. The case must also be of sufficient weight or seriousness to justify acting. This is especially true when the intervention is military in nature. Preemptive or, more accurately, preventive uses of military force should remain an exception. Whenever the United States or another power elects to go its own way, it should go to great lengths to explain itself, in private beforehand, publicly in the aftermath. And the country in question should return as soon as possible to the formal diplomatic fold, undertaking subsequent actions with the greatest possible global or regional involvement.

In the end, a perfect concert is not within our reach. The United States is not the conductor; the world is not composed of players under our sway. But we can achieve a world in which great powers cooperate more than compete, in which multilateralism is a more accurate reflection of reality than is multipolarity, in which the major powers focus their

power less on one another and more on the transnational challenges that affect one and all.

I'll conclude by returning to Hans Morgenthau: "International politics, like all politics, is a struggle for power," he wrote. "Whatever the ultimate aims of international politics, power is always the immediate aim." On one level, he is right, for all politics takes place in a context defined by power. But, on another level, Morgenthau needs to be adapted for today. Unlike previous eras of recent history, the principal struggles in the modern world are not between the major powers. To the contrary, because of globalization, the principal challenges in today's world are *to* the major powers. This is why forging a concert is, to borrow from Morgenthau, very much in defense of the national interest.

Thank you.

Ambassador Soderberg

I would like to take a moment to extend warm appreciation to everyone at the National Committee who has put together this wonderful evening. It is the work of many people behind the scenes whom I won't embarrass by naming, but please give them a round of applause for this wonderful evening.

Thank you all for coming. Good night.

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