Barack Obama, the forty-fourth president of the United States, inherited the most daunting set of policy challenges faced by any U.S. president since Franklin Delano Roosevelt. His inauguration came amid a severe economic crisis and with wars in Iraq and Afghanistan, among a host of other complex domestic and international issues.

At the Council on Foreign Relations this year, much careful attention was paid to the economy, as the co-chairs describe on the previous pages. But many other important events unfolding around the world also were a focus. There was mounting concern over instability in Pakistan and Afghanistan, conflict between Russia and Georgia and between Israel and Hamas, a terrorist attack in Mumbai, a nuclear challenge from North Korea, continued nuclear development and political unrest in Iran, violence and drug cartels in Mexico, and the outbreak of H1N1 flu.

This year the Council continued to serve as an important resource on these and other issues for Council members, the Bush and Obama administrations, and members of Congress and their staffs, as well as for the private sector, the media, state and local officials, academia, diplomats, the religious community, and the public.

With nearly one thousand events in New York and Washington and across the country and the world, it was a strong year for Council programming. The Council’s extraordinary convening power was evident with visits of heads of state or government from Argentina, Chile, Colombia, Liberia, Pakistan, Russia, South Africa, the United Kingdom, and Zimbabwe, as well as ministers from Iran, Iraq, Israel, Russia, Turkey, and the United Kingdom. U.S. secretaries of defense, state, treasury, and homeland security spoke at the Council, as did the chairman of the Federal Reserve, the chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff, and all four military service chiefs.

Programs benefited this year from the opening of a new Washington building at 1777 F Street, NW, in January. Even in these difficult times, it is an invaluable investment. The building provides a striking new gathering space for members and a much-improved office environment. The 59,000 square feet spread across eight stories comprises four floors of meeting rooms and four floors of offices. The facilities make extensive use of advanced technologies and high-resolution videoconferencing to better link Council members. A state-of-the-art television studio also better connects fellows and Council meetings to worldwide news organizations. The building provides the Council an impressive presence in an increasingly competitive and crowded field of organizations in the “ideas business” in Washington, helping us to maintain our role as the country’s preeminent foreign policy organization.

We are proud of this new chapter for the Council and, as is not always the case with these projects, that it was completed on time and on budget. Many people put in a tremendous amount of work to make the building happen. Co-Chair Carla A. Hills, Board member Peter Ackerman, and Washington Vice President Kay King and her predecessor, Nancy E. Roman, deserve much credit.
The Council’s **National Program** held numerous events to serve the more than one-third of members living outside New York and Washington, DC. The highlight was the fourteenth annual National Conference, which included National Economic Council director Lawrence H. Summers and FDIC chairman Sheila C. Bair.

This year the two hundred member companies of the Council’s **Corporate Program** were invited to well over one hundred events and benefited from private briefings with Council scholars, access to policymakers and leaders, and professional development opportunities for promising company employees. The annual Corporate Conference included notable speakers such as Council Board members Madeleine K. Albright and Stephen Friedman, Nasdaq OMX Group CEO Robert Greifeld, Council Co-Chairs Carla A. Hills and Robert E. Rubin, and the *Financial Times*’ Martin Wolf. The Corporate Program also introduced the CEO Speaker series, which featured Samuel J. Palmisano of IBM and Board member James Owens of Caterpillar, as well as the new Corporate Citizenship series, featuring Coca-Cola Company chairman Neville Isdell.

We were also pleased to continue to involve the future generation of foreign policy leaders through the **Stephen M. Kellen Term Member Program**. In addition to regular programming, this year the Council’s approximately five hundred term members had the opportunity to attend the thirteenth annual Term Member Conference, which featured British prime minister Gordon Brown, and join trips to the United Nations, U.S. Naval Academy, U.S. Southern Command headquarters, and South Africa.

The **International Affairs Fellowship (IAF) Program** continued in its forty-first year with fifteen individuals serving out their fellowships in the United States, India, and Japan. The program is designed to advance the professional development of outstanding young Americans by exposing academics and other experts outside government to a policy-oriented environment, or by allowing government officials to live in a scholarly

**The new Washington building provides the Council an impressive presence in the “ideas business.”**
atmosphere. This year’s annual IAF Conference in May featured Deputy Secretary of State James Steinberg, who called his own IAF experience in 1985 and 1986 “transformative.”

The David Rockefeller Studies Program, the Council’s think tank, continued to produce an impressive range of scholarship on the full spectrum of regional and functional issues. Through their innovative research, wide-ranging discussions, meetings, and publications, the program’s fifty-five fellows advanced thinking on challenges facing regions from the Middle East and Asia to Africa, Latin America, and Europe. They also explored issues ranging from international economics and finance, defense, and global health to nuclear proliferation, climate change, and energy security.

Fellows were highly visible this year. More important, their work had real impact. Senior Fellow Laurie A. Garrett’s work on the H1N1 flu landed on the cover of Newsweek. At the onset of the financial crisis in September, more than seventy journalists joined a conference call for analysis from senior fellows Benn Steil and Sebastian Mallaby. Senior Fellow Stephen Sestanovich convened a three-day high-level U.S.-Russia dialogue involving influential Russians and an impressive slate of U.S. administration officials. Isobel Coleman worked with Congressman Steve Israel on legislation to use solar technology to empower women in the developing world as entrepreneurs and bring light to rural areas without electricity. Elizabeth C. Economy was named by Cambridge University’s Programme on Industry as one of the world’s top fifty thinkers on sustainability and advised both the U.S. government and a major U.S.-based company on their strategies on China and the environment. Senior fellows Stephen Biddle, Max Boot, and Daniel Markey contributed to U.S. policy in Iraq, Afghanistan, and Pakistan by working closely with senior U.S. military officials in those countries to assess various efforts and strategies. Senator John Kerry described Visiting Fellow Scott Borgerson’s report on the strategic importance of the sea as what should be

Washington Program

In January 2009, the Council’s offices in Washington, DC, relocated to 1777 F Street, NW. The new building, just steps from the White House, the State Department, and the World Bank, gives the Council a better platform from which to serve its members (a third of whom live in the Washington, DC, area) and to reach policymakers and other influential constituencies unique to the nation’s capital.

The Washington Program, led by Vice President Kay King, held over 100 general meetings, attracting high-level speakers such as Russian president Dmitry Medvedev, former British prime minister Tony Blair, and Federal Reserve chairman Ben S. Bernanke. Other Washington activities for members included a symposium on U.S. policy toward Afghanistan and Pakistan, regular studies roundtables on a wide range of topics, an active Corporate Program, and embassy lunches that brought members together with ambassadors for intimate discussions. In addition, the Washington Program’s outreach included weekly Capitol Hill meetings and a day-long Congressional Staff Conference.
“the first reading” for those seeking to understand the relevance of the UN Convention on the Law of the Sea to U.S. national interests.

There were several large Studies Program initiatives. The Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies (CGS), led by Sebastian Mallaby and now housing fourteen fellows, had an impressive year, offering rigorous and intellectually innovative work on the economic crisis. The Center for Preventive Action (CPA), led by Senior Fellow Paul B. Stares, oversaw the publication of Council Special Reports (CSRs) on Ukraine, North Korea, and the Democratic Republic of the Congo, as well as one on Pakistan’s tribal belt, by Daniel Markey, that was the most downloaded CSR on record. In addition, the center launched a roundtable and memo series on contingency planning, which has so far assessed scenarios for a plummeting dollar and a reversal of progress in Iraq.

The Studies Program launched the Council-wide International Institutions and Global Governance program (IIGG), which aims to identify the institutional requirements for effective multilateral cooperation in the twenty-first century. The program is generously made possible by the Robina Foundation and is directed by Senior Fellow Stewart M. Patrick. One of its projects this year was the launch of the Global Governance Monitor, an online, multimedia initiative designed to map and evaluate multilateral efforts on pressing global challenges. The first installment examined nuclear proliferation.

Also contributing to the future of the Studies Program, Eni S.p.A. made a $5 million commitment to a permanently endowed chair in Middle East and Africa studies. Named to honor Eni’s founder, Enrico Mattei, the chair will ensure that the Council’s research agenda will, in perpetuity, address issues important to these regions.

And, as should happen during presidential transitions, several fellows left the Council this year to join the Obama administration, while several new fellows joined CFR from the Bush administration. That the Obama administration recruited Council scholars for important positions involving foreign policy is a testament to the quality of the Studies Program here. The Council is a useful prelude to government service, and likewise a good place to think through ideas afterward.

National Program

The Council’s National Program serves the third of the members who live across the country and around the world. The program continued expanding and improving by offering nearly two hundred events, conference calls, webcasts, and public programs. The highlight of the year was the fourteenth annual National Conference, which drew members to New York in June for two and a half days of briefings and discussions.

Members also gathered in Atlanta, Boston, Chicago, Dallas, Denver, Los Angeles, Miami, San Francisco, Seattle, London, and Tokyo, among other places, to take part in Council events. Programs held across the country convened members with leading economists and experts to discuss the financial crisis, review and provide feedback on early drafts of Council publications and other work by fellows, and take part in the Council Book Club.

The National Program, led by Irina A. Faskianos, also continued to leverage the latest technology to bring members together and complement on-the-ground programming. National members joined forty meetings in Washington and New York live via teleconference or webcast, and a series of sixteen conference calls provided opportunities for analysis on breaking international issues ranging from the Mumbai attacks to the Middle East.

Above, left to right: Chair of the Federal Reserve Board Ben S. Bernanke, President of Chile Michelle Bachelet Jeria, and Treasury Secretary Timothy F. Geithner.
Council fellows and experts also produced a large slate of publications. There were thirty reports and more than four hundred op-eds. In addition, Council reports, which are available free on the Council’s website, were downloaded more than 60,000 times. There were also nine books. One, *Restoring the Balance: A Middle East Strategy for the Next President*, was described by the *New York Times* as “very useful and readable,” and was the result of a joint project between the Council and the Brookings Institution’s Saban Center for Middle East Policy. Middle East scholars from each institution conducted in-depth research, fact-finding trips, dialogue with regional officials, and consultations with U.S. policymakers to develop recommendations for U.S. strategy toward the Middle East.


There were books on functional topics as well, such as Benn Steil’s *Money, Markets, and Sovereignty*, Jagdish N. Bhagwati’s *Termites in the Trading System: How Preferential Agreements Undermine Free Trade*, Edward Alden’s *The Closing of the American Border: Terrorism, Immigration, and Security Since 9/11*, and Leslie H. Gelb’s *Power Rules: How Common Sense Can Rescue American Foreign Policy*. There was as well my own book, *War of Necessity, War of Choice: A Memoir of Two Iraq Wars*.

The Council made progress on four new Independent Task Force reports during the year. A report on U.S. nuclear weapons policy was chaired by former secretary of defense William J. Perry and former national security adviser Brent Scowcroft and directed by Senior Fellow Charles H. Ferguson. Released soon after President Obama’s call in Prague for nuclear abolition, the report received considerable attention from policymakers and the press, including the *New York Times* and the *Washington Post*. It makes recommendations on how to prevent nuclear terrorism, strengthen the nuclear nonproliferation regime, and ensure the safety, security, and reliability of the U.S. deterrent nuclear force.

A Task Force on U.S. immigration policy was chaired by former Florida governor Jeb Bush and former White House chief of staff Thomas F.
Islamic Educational Center of Orange County founder Sayed Moustafa al-Qazwini with CFR President Richard N. Haass during the 2008 CFR Religion and Foreign Policy Summer Workshop.

“Mack” McLarty III and directed by Senior Fellow Edward Alden. A Task Force on U.S. policy toward the Korean peninsula, chaired by Charles L. “Jack” Pritchard, former special envoy for negotiations with North Korea, and John H. Tilelli Jr., former commander in chief of U.S. Forces Korea, and directed by Adjunct Senior Fellow Scott A. Snyder, continued its deliberations. Finally, we assembled a Task Force on U.S. strategy toward Pakistan and Afghanistan, chaired by former national security adviser Samuel R. Berger and former Nebraska senator Chuck Hagel and directed by Senior Fellow Daniel Markey.

It was also a terrific year for online resources. More and more people are using the Council’s website, CFR.org, to better understand the world. The site showed double-digit percentage growth in visitors for all twelve months of fiscal year 2009, with six of those months experiencing growth of more than 40 percent. In addition, subscribers to The World This Week, the Council’s weekly eNewsletter, grew 22 percent to nearly 47,000, and content on CFR.org was delivered to tens of thousands more via iTunes, YouTube, and a new iPhone application. The Council and CFR.org were honored with an Emmy for the Crisis Guide on Darfur. Crisis Guides are interactive, multimedia features detailing the history and background of the world’s most complex crises. Two new guides, on climate change and the global economic crisis, were released this year.
Beyond the website, one of the largest outreach efforts this fiscal year was at the political conventions in Denver and Minneapolis during the 2008 presidential campaign. Council events drew up to two thousand people and focused on foreign policy challenges facing the new administration. The Council’s communications experts and the *Foreign Affairs* editorial team also provided resources for regional journalists covering international issues.

Back in Washington, the Council sustained a significant presence on Capitol Hill. We hosted more than forty-five bipartisan meetings for congressional audiences and held the inaugural Congressional Staff Conference to help educate foreign policy, defense, and intelligence staff. Nearly one hundred staff members, ranging from legislative assistants to senior committee staff, attended. Council experts also testified before Congress sixteen times.

The academic community got involved in some seventy Council events. College and university presidents convened twice for the Higher Education Working Group on Global Issues to explore higher-education programs in the Middle East and institutional strategies for managing the financial crisis. Additionally, more than fifty professors attended the annual Academic Workshop, while another 13,200 signed on for the monthly *Educators Bulletin*. More than one hundred schools participated in our Academic Conference Call series, and thirty briefings brought more than seven hundred students through our doors.

The religious community connected to the Council’s work through the monthly Religion and Foreign Policy Conference Call series and the annual Religion and Foreign Policy Workshop, which convened a denominationally diverse group of seventy U.S. religious leaders. And with a new administration in office, the Council reached out to members of President Obama’s Council for Faith-Based and Neighborhood Partnerships.

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**David Rockefeller Studies Program**

The David Rockefeller Studies Program is the Council’s world-class think tank. This year Council scholars continued to produce an array of rigorous and relevant analysis of some of the most pressing foreign policy issues of the day. Here is a snapshot of the Council’s work in numbers:

- 8 Average weekly number of op-eds published
- 9 Books published
- 16 Appearances by Council experts before Congress
- 28 Reports published
- 54 Magazine or journal articles published
- 245 Study group and roundtable meetings held
- 333 Briefings given to the executive branch, Congress, and foreign officials
- 1,450 Interviews given to the media

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CFR Chairman Emeritus Peter G. Peterson speaking with CFR Honorary Vice Chairman Maurice R. Greenberg at a meeting on risk management.
I hope I have done justice to the quality and quantity of activities that went on over the past year—my sixth as CFR president. Many people deserve credit and praise, beginning with Co-Chairs Carla A. Hills and Robert E. Rubin, Vice Chair Richard E. Salomon, and the rest of the members of the Board of Directors. Their 100 percent participation in the Annual Fund is but one demonstration of their deep commitment to the success of this institution. Council staff deserve special recognition for all they did to make sure that, even in a difficult economic climate, the Council’s mission and standards for quality were not compromised. Finally, the Council could not have accomplished all that it did without the continued involvement and support of its distinguished members, whose impressive knowledge and experience drive policy conversations, inform the content of publications and the decisions of advisory committees, and, more generally, create the vast network that is the Council community. With their support, as well as the hard work of Council experts and staff, the Council remains financially sound at the same time that it serves as a trusted and relevant resource even—and perhaps especially—in these challenging times.

Richard N. Haass  
*President*