President’s Message

A large and growing fiscal deficit, unemployment hovering near 10 percent, wars in Afghanistan and Iraq, energy security and climate change, and threats from states, terrorist groups, and viruses (computer and biological) are just a few of the many challenges facing the United States and the world. The Council on Foreign Relations is focused on all these issues and many more. With programming in New York, Washington, and nationally, outreach to targeted constituencies, Council publications, an award-winning website—CFR.org—the work of experts through books, articles, and media appearances, and the first full year in the new Washington building, the Council has been busy and productive by any measure.

Major areas of focus for CFR have included assessing the Obama administration’s decision to increase troop levels in Afghanistan, prospects for U.S. relations with a rising China, tensions in the Middle East, and concerns about Iran and North Korea. On the economic side, financial volatility and serious fiscal challenges linger, driving policy debates about financial regulatory reform and how best to promote growth while exercising fiscal restraint. There are also questions about how economic limitations affect the global role of the United States. These debates are taking place against a backdrop of strong performance by emerging economies, creating a shift in the global distribution of power. And a range of other topics, including climate change, global health, relief and development in Haiti, and political and economic reform in Africa, also demand and receive attention.

In an era of strong partisan division in the United States, the Council has worked hard to address the full slate of foreign policy issues in a manner consistent with its nonpartisan character and the clear need for timely and serious analysis. To this end, CFR fellows have been highly visible this year, publishing more than five hundred articles and op-eds. They have written for or been cited in the New York Times, Wall Street Journal, Financial Times, and Washington Post, as well as in Foreign Affairs, the Economist, Time, Newsweek, the Atlantic, and Foreign Policy. CFR fellows have also appeared in nearly one thousand media interviews on major television networks including ABC, CBS, NBC, CNN, and MSNBC, as well as the BBC and al-Jazeera. Fellows published six books, testified before Congress thirteen times on issues ranging from climate change to immigration to U.S. relations with Africa, and briefed U.S. and foreign government officials 350 times. The Council held some five hundred events in New York, Washington, and across the country this year, along with more than two hundred smaller roundtable discussions and study groups organized by CFR fellows.

Among the highlights of this year’s programming were general meetings in New York and Washington with nine heads of state, more than twenty high-ranking foreign government officials, and nearly thirty senior U.S. government officials. During the opening of the UN General Assembly, we held meetings in New York with President Lee Myung-bak of South Korea, President Viktor Yushchenko of Ukraine, President José Manuel Barroso of the European Commission, and Libyan leader...
Muammar al-Qaddafi, as well as the foreign ministers of the United Kingdom, France, Turkey, India, and Angola.

The Council held sessions as well with senior administration officials on political and national security challenges, including Secretary of State Hillary Rodham Clinton, Secretary of Homeland Security Janet A. Napolitano, General Raymond T. Odierno, Director of National Intelligence Dennis C. Blair, and then CENTOM commander General David H. Petraeus, now the commander of U.S. forces in Afghanistan, among others. On economic issues, the Council hosted the heads of two regional Federal Reserve Banks as well as Peter R. Orszag, the director of the Office of Management and Budget. Members also heard from former Federal Reserve chairman Alan Greenspan and former Treasury secretary Henry M. Paulson Jr. And as part of our ongoing focus on religion and foreign policy issues, we hosted Archbishop Desmond Tutu and Cardinal Angelo Scola.

Corporate members attended more than three hundred events this year, and the Corporate Conference attracted the biggest turnout since the inaugural conference five years ago. The two-day event this year covered challenges surrounding the U.S. economy and geopolitical risk, with an opening keynote by Kenneth R. Feinberg, special master for executive compensation. The Council’s recently launched CEO Speaker series featured nine heads of leading global corporations, including Christophe de Margerie of Total, Robert E. Diamond Jr. of Barclays, Andrew P. Witty of GlaxoSmithKline, and Ivan G. Seidenberg of Verizon.

As part of our continuing McKinsey Series on International Economics, we convened a panel discussion on derivatives featuring John A. Paulson, president of hedge fund Paulson & Co. And at a time of grave concerns about sovereign debt in eurozone countries, Council members met with Jean-Claude Trichet, president of the European Central Bank.

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Bank. The Council also relaunched its World Economic Update series, in which senior bankers and chief economists participate in panel discussions on geoeconomic trends. The latest session featured the head of emerging markets and credit research at JPMorgan Chase & Co., the chief economist from Bank of America, and the chief U.S. economist from Barclays Capital.

Other notable meetings this year included a two-day event at the Council’s headquarters in New York on media and foreign policy to celebrate the sixtieth anniversary of CFR’s Edward R. Murrow press fellowship. The event included a panel with the news presidents from ABC, CBS, CNN, and NBC, in their first-ever joint appearance, on how to meet challenges facing the news business. Also part of the Murrow fellowship’s anniversary celebration was an event at the Newseum in Washington, supported by the Knight Foundation and the Ford Foundation, on journalism in the digital age. Participants held a discussion with panelists from three major news organizations and CFR Board member Alberto Ibargüen, president and CEO of the Knight Foundation. Finally, the Council hosted a session at the Museum of Modern Art in New York, sponsored by Bank of America, with South African artist William Kentridge. The evening included a viewing of Kentridge’s exhibition and a discussion of both his art and broader issues on the intersection of art and politics.

Serving the more than one-third of Council members located outside the New York and Washington areas, the National Program was extremely active. The highlight of its programming year was the fifteenth annual National Conference, at which members explored immigration reform, U.S. policy toward Iran, the Israeli-Palestinian conflict, and political and economic challenges in Africa and Latin America. *Half the Sky* coauthors Nicholas D. Kristof and Sheryl WuDunn opened the conference with a session on women and economic development. Also

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**The David Rockefeller Studies Program**

The David Rockefeller Studies Program is the Council’s world-class think tank.

This year CFR scholars continued to contribute expert analysis on the full range of foreign policy issues. Here is a snapshot of their work:

- 6 Average weekly number of op-eds published
- 6 Books published
- 13 Appearances by Council experts before Congress
- 30 Reports published
- 112 Magazine or journal articles published
- 167 Expert Briefs, First Takes, and Interviews on CFR.org
- 285 Study group and roundtable meetings held
- 348 Briefings given to U.S. and foreign government officials
- 1,038 Interviews given to the media
featured were U.S. ambassador to Afghanistan Karl W. Eikenberry and Paul A. Volcker, chairman of the President’s Economic Recovery Advisory Board and former chairman of the Federal Reserve Board.

National members met with a number of Council fellows throughout the year on topics ranging from Afghanistan to the Middle East to Cuba, and I hosted sessions in several cities to discuss the challenges facing the Obama administration. We also organized review sessions for the recently released Independent Task Force report on the Korean Peninsula and for Senior Fellow John Campbell’s forthcoming book on Nigeria. In addition, the National Program held roundtable sessions across the country, including a global economic update by Dennis P. Lockhart, head of the Federal Reserve Bank of Atlanta, and a discussion on U.S. nuclear policy with former national security adviser Brent Scowcroft. National members joined nearly fifty teleconferences of New York and Washington meetings, as well as interactive conference calls; participation in both has grown by 50 percent over the past three years.

The Council continued to publish a wide range of reports that set a high standard. Council reports, which are offered free on CFR.org, were downloaded a record 69,000 times. The Studies Program published eight Council Special Reports by both CFR and outside scholars: James M. Goldgeier on the future of NATO; Bronwyn E. Bruton on U.S. strategy for Somalia; Paul Lettow on the shortcomings of the nuclear nonproliferation regime; Paul B. Stares and Micah Zenko on U.S. conflict prevention capacity; Matthew C. Waxman on intervention to stop genocide and mass atrocities; Vijay Padmanabhan on the relationship between the United States and the International Criminal Court; Jeffrey Mankoff on the Russian economic crisis; and Evan A. Feigenbaum and Robert A. Manning on regional institutions in Asia. Other Council papers focused on relations between Russia and Ukraine, instability in Egypt, the role of

Senior Fellow Isobel Coleman in a mosque-based school in Hazarajat, Afghanistan.
international institutions in addressing climate change, the challenges of global health governance, and deterrence of a nuclear Iran.

The David Rockefeller Studies Program’s Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geostrategic Studies (CGS) featured papers on the prospects for world economic growth, the significance of measured gross financial flows, the political effects of macroeconomic imbalances, and the dangers of U.S. debt. CGS also continued to feature the Squam Lake Working Group Papers, a collection of reports on financial reform from fifteen financial economists. The most recent papers examined the regulatory framework for handling impaired financial institutions, regulation of executive compensation in financial services, and the relation of prime brokers and derivatives dealers to the financial crisis.

The Center for Preventive Action, also part of the Studies Program, continued its Contingency Planning Memorandum series, which considers what the United States should do to prevent or manage potential crises that would adversely affect its interests. The series has drawn significant interest from the White House, the State Department, the intelligence community, and Congress. This year it included papers on such Council reports, which are offered free on CFR.org, were downloaded a record 69,000 times.
possibilities as an Israeli strike on Iran, terrorism and Indo-Pakistani escalation, and renewed conflict in Sudan.

Council experts published six books. Charles A. Kupchan’s *How Enemies Become Friends: The Sources of Stable Peace* uses historical and present-day analysis to examine how rival states can overcome competition to form partnerships. Isobel Coleman and Vali R. Nasr both wrote about trends in Islamic societies that could help counter extremist sentiment. Coleman’s *Paradise Beneath Her Feet: How Women Are Transforming the Middle East* looks at how activists in Islamic societies are working within the tenets of Islam to promote women’s empowerment. Nasr’s *Forces of Fortune: The Rise of the New Muslim Middle Class and What It Will Mean for Our World* examines the emerging business-minded middle class in Islamic countries. On economic topics, Daniel Senor and Saul Singer’s *Start-Up Nation: The Story of Israel’s Economic Miracle* uncovers the factors behind Israel’s economic success. And Sebastian Mallaby’s *More Money Than God: Hedge Funds and the Making of a New Elite* chronicles the history of hedge funds and argues for their continued role in the economy. Former CFR Fellow Peter Beinart’s *The Icarus Syndrome*...

Two new initiatives this year in the Studies Program are the Civil Society, Markets, and Democracy initiative and the Global Brazil initiative. The former, made possible by a grant from Goldman Sachs, is being led by Senior Fellow Isobel Coleman and will explore how the United States can best promote open markets and democracies around the world. Senior Fellow Julia E. Sweig is leading the Global Brazil initiative, which will examine the domestic, regional, and international dimensions of Brazil’s emergence as a world power.

The Council’s Task Force Program has been busy sponsoring bipartisan reports on some of the most vexing international issues. Two Independent Task Force reports came out this year. The first, U.S. Immigration Policy, was released in July 2009 by a Task Force chaired by former Florida governor Jeb Bush and former White House chief of staff Thomas F. “Mack” McLarty III and directed by Senior Fellow Edward Alden. It offered a strategy for maintaining U.S. political and economic leadership by attracting skilled immigrants, adopting a program of earned legalization for those living in the United States illegally, and taking steps to secure the country’s borders. The Miami Herald called the report “a bipartisan blueprint for fixing our broken immigration system” and urged members of Congress to read it.

The Council released the second Independent Task Force report, U.S. Policy Toward the Korean Peninsula, at what could not have been a more appropriate time, in June 2010. The Task Force was chaired by former special envoy for negotiations with North Korea Charles L. “Jack” Pritchard and former commander in chief of the UN Command for the Republic of Korea/U.S. Combined Forces/U.S. Forces Korea John H.
Tilelli Jr. It was directed by Adjunct Senior Fellow Scott A. Snyder. The report identified three pillars of an internationally coordinated response to the threat posed by North Korea: denuclearization of the Korean peninsula, close U.S.-South Korea consultations, and active participation by China. Released just after the sinking of the South Korean ship Cheonan, the report received significant attention both in this country and in Asia.

We continue to strengthen the Council’s outreach initiatives for religious leaders, educators and students, and state and local government officials. This year we launched three dedicated sections of CFR.org to serve as portals of entry to CFR resources for these constituencies. In addition, the Council hosted its third annual Religion and Foreign Policy Summer Workshop this year, bringing together a diverse group of eighty religious leaders and scholars. Religious leaders also participated in eleven sessions of the Religion and Foreign Policy Conference Call series.

On the education front, we hosted two gatherings of the Higher Education Working Group, in which college and university presidents explore the role of higher education institutions in meeting the challenges posed by major global issues. Approximately 1,150 students (in 47 groups) also came through our doors for briefings with CFR fellows and staff, and 85 colleges and universities participated in our popular Academic Conference Call series, which featured 13 calls over the course of the year with CFR fellows and Foreign Affairs authors. In addition, CFR served as a valuable resource for state and local leaders, hosting 6 conference calls on issues such as immigration and the Gulf oil spill.

To make the Council’s content easily accessible to a wide variety of audiences, CFR.org launched its redesigned homepage in mid-December. The redesign puts more emphasis on the work of the Studies Program and features a steady flow of Web-only content from Council fellows, such as Expert Briefs and First Takes, both of which are drawing increased media attention. Overall, CFR.org attracted an average of 1.1 million page views and 375,000 unique visitors each month.

Angola’s foreign minister Assunção Afonso dos Anjos meets Council members after his address.
Also new on the website this year were two blogs by Council fellows: the Asia Program’s “Asia Unbound,” which features several CFR experts on that region, and Senior Fellow Michael A. Levi’s blog analyzing climate, energy, and nuclear issues. The Center for Geoeconomic Studies also continues to update its “Geo-Graphics” blog regularly, using graphical analysis to report on timely geoeconomic issues and offering links to news and expert commentary. Finally, the interactive Crisis Guide series continued to thrive, with the most recent Crisis Guide, on the global economy, winning the Council’s second Emmy Award.

A final highlight of the Council’s outreach is a new video produced this year by Emmy Award–winning director Jesse Dylan. The four-minute video, which features a diverse range of CFR members talking about the Council’s mission and its role as a resource for a range of constituencies, enhances CFR’s presence online and across social media platforms.

This list is not exhaustive, but it does give a sense of the many ways in which CFR is addressing the serious issues facing this country and the world. I have now completed seven years as president of the Council, and I continue to be impressed with and proud of the many ways the Council and those who are part of it fulfill its mission. I offer my sincere thanks to Co-Chairs Carla A. Hills and Robert E. Rubin, Vice Chair Richard E. Salomon, and the members of the Board of Directors. In addition, the Council could not do what it does without its membership, both individual and corporate, in New York, Washington, and across the United States and the world. Finally, our dedicated staff deserve much credit for all they do, day in and day out. The work of all these groups—the Council’s Board of Directors, members, and staff—helped CFR serve again this year as a trusted resource for all those who want to better understand the daunting challenges facing the United States and the world.

Richard N. Haass
President

CFR garnered over 37,000 mentions in the media during the year, up more than 9,000 from the year before.