This year marked the ninetieth anniversary of the Council on Foreign Relations. As the events of recent months have proven, new challenges can come about at any moment and relationships abroad can transform rapidly. On the previous pages, the co-chairs discussed the uprisings across the Arab world, the triple crisis in Japan, the killing of Osama bin Laden, and ongoing eurozone concerns. These challenges greatly shaped this year’s foreign policy agenda, and the Council did considerable work on each. However, there were and continue to be many other issues that require significant attention.

China continues to grow rapidly and become more assertive on the world stage, while other countries such as India and Brazil are also building their economic and political presence. Terrorism threats and the fight against extremism strain relations with strategically important countries like Pakistan. Economic imbalances and the developed world’s struggle to emerge decisively from the economic crisis are a source of frustration. Adding to the instability in the Middle East are concerns about nuclear proliferation from Iran and tensions between Israelis and Palestinians. New challenges of cybersecurity governance grow more complex, while measures to deal with more familiar problems like climate change and energy security remain unclear. Mexico continues its battle with drug cartels, and a number of African states are threatened by internal violence. Enduring poverty and corruption lead to questions about the efficacy of foreign aid, and global health fears linger on issues from food safety to the AIDS pandemic, which enters its thirtieth year.

Clearly the world has no shortage of complicated problems, and the United States is no exception—soaring debt, high unemployment, substandard infrastructure, educational shortcomings, outdated immigration policies, and, as is evident from the lack of movement on these issues, highly partisan politics in Washington. These domestic challenges reduce the resources available for national security and foreign policy priorities, detract from the appeal of the American model, and diminish U.S. global competitiveness. Chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff Admiral Mike Mullen said, “the biggest threat we have to our national security is our debt.” Meanwhile, 25 percent of U.S. students fail to graduate high school; 75 percent of Americans between the ages of seventeen and twenty-four are ineligible to enlist in the military because they did not graduate high school, have a criminal record, or are physically unfit; and restraints on legal immigration make it difficult for highly skilled immigrants to work in the United States. All of this raises concerns about the country’s security, productivity, and future prosperity.

networks. CFR experts also testified before Congress fourteen times and briefed U.S. and foreign government officials over four hundred times. We held almost seven hundred meetings in New York, Washington, and across the country and over two hundred smaller roundtables run by CFR fellows. The Council hosted a number of heads of state or government, senior U.S. and foreign government officials, and business leaders. We continue to expand our outreach efforts to targeted constituencies, increase our teleconference offerings, and enhance our videoconference capabilities.

As part of its ninetieth anniversary, CFR this year launched the Renewing America initiative to examine the slate of domestic challenges that have a direct impact on U.S. foreign policy and international leadership. Renewing America examines the domestic underpinnings of U.S. power as difficulties within the country increasingly limit what it can do outside its borders. The initiative focuses on six areas: infrastructure, education and human capital development, debt and deficits, corporate regulation and taxation, innovation, and international trade and investment. The scope of this initiative includes work by the David Rockefeller Studies Program; programming in New York, Washington, and nationally; outreach to targeted constituencies, including government officials, business leaders, educators and students, religious leaders, and individuals active at the state, local, and community levels; publications, including Foreign Affairs; and the website, CFR.org.

As part of its ninetieth anniversary, CFR launched the Renewing America initiative to examine the slate of domestic challenges that have a direct impact on U.S. foreign policy.
Renewing America started up in January with a meeting on American power and profligacy in which a panel discussed the strategic implications of U.S. debt for America’s foreign policy. The next discussion in the series focused on the challenges of state and municipal debt. At a CFR symposium, New York City mayor Michael R. Bloomberg discussed immigration as America’s economic engine, calling a failure to reform current policies “national suicide.” Other meetings included conversations on national export strategy, small business growth, job creation, education reform, and infrastructure priorities.

Two of the Independent Task Force reports currently under way examine domestic challenges. The first, on U.S. trade policy, is chaired by former Democratic Senate majority leader Tom Daschle and Andy Card, former chief of staff to President George W. Bush. It is codirected by senior fellows Edward Alden and Matthew Slaughter. The second Task Force, on U.S. education reform, focuses on how the American education system can better serve economic and security objectives. It is chaired by former secretary of state Condoleezza Rice and former chancellor of the New York City Department of Education Joel Klein and directed by Julia Levy.

CFR’s Michael Spence coauthored a Working Paper with Sandile Hlatshwayo on the evolving structure of the U.S. economy and how it affects employment opportunities. CFR will convene a roundtable series on American manufacturing and a publication series in which it commissions leading thinkers to write papers on the six themes of the Renewing America initiative. Additionally, each month CFR.org brings together a small group of experts to weigh in on a specific policy issue. The first of these asked seven experts what they see as the most serious domestic threat to America’s international standing. Other debates...
ranged from how best to spur innovation to priority areas for improving infrastructure.

In addition to this new initiative, CFR continues to focus on more traditional challenges outside of the nation’s borders. The organization’s intellectual output and convening power in this area remained unparalleled. During the United Nations General Assembly, the Council hosted six heads of state or government, five foreign ministers, and the president of the European Commission. Speakers included the presidents of Colombia, Turkey, and the Philippines; the prime ministers of Malaysia, Thailand, and the Palestinian Authority; and the foreign ministers of the United Kingdom, Indonesia, Pakistan, Kenya, and Jordan.

Throughout the year, CFR also hosted the presidents of Georgia, Mongolia, and Rwanda; the prime ministers of Ireland and Israel; the foreign ministers of China, Nigeria, Brazil, and Canada; the finance ministers of Spain and Zimbabwe; and the secretary-general of the Organization of the Islamic Conference and the director-general of the International Atomic Energy Agency.

A number of senior U.S. administration officials met with CFR members on national security concerns. Highlights included a meeting with the U.S. service chiefs from the Army, Air Force, Marine Corps, Navy, and for the first time the Coast Guard, as well as sessions with Secretary of State Hillary Clinton, Deputy Secretary of Defense William J. Lynn, Legal Adviser of the Department of State Harold Koh, and Undersecretary for Public Diplomacy and Public Affairs Judith McHale. We also hosted Secretary of Education Arne Duncan and Deputy Secretary of Energy Daniel Poneman.

Programming of the Maurice R. Greenberg Center for Geoeconomic Studies (CGS) remained strong during a period of intense challenge to the U.S. and global economies. The Stephen C. Freidheim

As part of CFR’s Religion and Foreign Policy initiative, Archbishop Daniel Deng Bul Yak discussed the religious implications of a potential civil war in Sudan.
Symposium on Global Economics featured Director of the National Economic Council Larry Summers. As part of our C. Peter McColough Series on International Economics, we hosted Secretary of the Treasury Timothy Geithner, former chairman of the Federal Reserve Alan Greenspan, Trade Representative Ronald Kirk, Treasury Undersecretary for International Affairs Lael Brainard, Chairman of the Council of Economic Advisers Austan Goolsbee, and Chairman of the Federal Deposit Insurance Corporation Sheila Bair. We also featured Stuart Levey, the first undersecretary for terrorism and financial markets at the Treasury Department.

The McKinsey Series on International Economics held panel discussions covering a range of topics. One highlight was a meeting titled “What Sort of Fed Do We Want?” with former vice chair of the Federal Reserve Alan Blinder, Stanford professor and monetary policy expert John Taylor, and Wall Street Journal economics editor David Wessel. The Council continued its popular World Economic Update series, in which a panel of senior bankers and economists analyze the state of the global economy each quarter. The most recent session examined U.S. federal spending levels and congressional battles over the budget.

With one-third of our membership located outside the New York and Washington areas, members living in forty-three states and twenty-two countries participated in the National Program this year. The sixteenth National Conference, held in June, was a major highlight. It explored the role of social media in the upheavals in the Middle East, fiscal challenges facing the global economy, and the rise of Asia. Notable speakers included the president of Mongolia and vice chairman of the Joint Chiefs of Staff. Other National Program highlights included meetings with new Foreign Affairs editor Gideon Rose, Israeli ambassador Michael Oren, and former president of Mexico Vicente Fox. For the first time, our military fellows led briefings at SOUTHCOM and Camp Pendleton for National members. We also continue to connect members to our programming in New York and Washington, with over fifty teleconferences
and interactive conference calls resulting in a 24 percent increase in participation from last year.

The Corporate Program remained another robust element of CFR’s work. Corporate members attended over 350 events this year, including the Corporate Conference. This year’s event opened with a conversation between General Electric CEO Jeff Immelt and CNBC’s Maria Bartiromo. The CEO Speaker series is increasingly attracting business leaders from leading global corporations. This year, thirteen CEOs from a range of industries and countries spoke at CFR. Speakers included NYSE Euronext’s Duncan Niederauer, Intel’s Paul Otellini, Google’s Eric Schmidt, FedEx’s Fred Smith, Nestlé’s Peter Brabeck-Letmathe, and AREVA’s Anne Lauvergeon.

Also noteworthy, at the height of the controversy about building an Islamic community center near the Ground Zero site, the Council hosted Imam Feisal Abdul Rauf, the chairman of the Cordoba Initiative, the organization in charge of the project. The meeting brought together over three hundred CFR members and a number of religious leaders of various faiths. We also hosted AFL-CIO president Richard Trumka, head of the United Nations Development Program Helen Clark, former president of Pakistan Pervez Musharraf, former Taliban captive David Rohde, and a session on Sudan with actor and activist George Clooney. Also on the agenda were symposia on Cuba’s twenty-first-century trajectory, U.S.-Mexico relations with ambassadors Carlos Pascual and Arturo Sarukhan, and the increasingly globalized food and drug trade featuring FDA commissioner Margaret Hamburg.

CFR has sponsored a number of Independent Task Forces this fiscal year. In addition to the two Task Forces on trade and education, the Council published a report of the Independent Task Force on U.S. Strategy for Pakistan and Afghanistan, chaired by former deputy secretary
of state Richard Armitage and former national security adviser Samuel R. Berger and directed by Senior Fellow Daniel Markey. Its report supports a long-term partnership with Pakistan; calls for a new approach to Afghan political reform, reconciliation, and regional diplomacy; and argues that a more limited U.S. mission in Afghanistan would be warranted if the present strategy does not show sufficient signs of progress.

An Independent Task Force on Brazil, led by former secretary of energy Samuel Bodman and former president of the World Bank James Wolfensohn and directed by Senior Fellow Julia E. Sweig, worked throughout the year on its report. The Task Force published its findings and recommendations in July 2011. An Independent Task Force on Turkey, which aims to examine that country’s domestic and foreign policy trajectories and make recommendations for U.S. policy, was launched with chairs Madeleine K. Albright and Stephen J. Hadley and is directed by Senior Fellow Steven Cook.

Six Council Special Reports were published this year by both in-house and outside experts: Stewart M. Patrick and Kara C. McDonald on U.S. leadership in UN Security Council reform and expansion; Micah Zenko on how to reduce the U.S. and Russian nuclear arsenals; Robert K. Knake on cybersecurity and Internet governance; Kay King on the effect of congressional gridlock on national security; David A. Shirk on the drug war in Mexico and the potential of state failure; and David Kaye on the limitations of the International Criminal Court and the importance of strengthening national justice systems.

The Center for Preventive Action—a part of the David Rockefeller Studies Program—has continued its Contingency Planning Memoranda series, which offers practical policy options for managing immediate threats that, should they arise, could seriously jeopardize U.S. interests. It released papers this year on military escalation on the Korean Peninsula, potential election violence in Nigeria, a third Lebanon war, and electoral instability and violence in the Democratic Republic of Congo. CFR

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:

- Average weekly number of op-eds published: 9
- Books published: 9
- Appearances by Council experts before Congress: 14
- Reports published: 33
- Magazine or journal articles published: 94
- Expert Briefs, First Takes, and Interviews on CFR.org: 189
- Study group and roundtable meetings held: 214
- Briefings given to U.S. and foreign government officials: 438
also introduced a new publication series, Policy Innovation Memoranda, which target critical areas where new thinking is needed. They are concise products aimed at policymakers and opinion leaders. So far five have been released: managing the world’s dollar dependency, the U.S. role in defining the rules of cyberspace governance, rethinking peacemaking for Darfur, improving relations with Pakistan, and enhancing U.S. crisis preparedness.

In addition to these reports and the CFR/Foreign Affairs ebook, The New Arab Revolt, Council experts published eight books. Micah Zenko’s Between Threats and War studies the efficacy of discrete military operations and the use of limited military force. Gideon Rose’s How Wars End examines the historic lack of postwar planning in U.S. foreign policy. John Campbell published Nigeria: Dancing on the Brink, which explores that country’s daunting challenges of governance and poverty. The Sixth Crisis by Steven Simon and Dana H. Allin warns that the growing friction between Israel and Iran represents an increasingly imminent threat to U.S. interests in the region and offers solutions to defuse a potential conflict. Adam Segal’s Advantage: How American Innovation Can Overcome the Asian Challenge considers U.S. competitiveness in light of the rise of India, China, and others. Gayle Tzemach Lemmon’s The Dressmaker of Khair Khana underscores the integral role of women in the development and stability of Afghanistan. Weak Links: Fragile States, Global Threats, and International Security by Stewart Patrick challenges the standing assumption that threats to global security emanate primarily from weak and failed states. Finally, Michael Spence’s The Next Convergence analyzes the convergence between fast-growing developing countries and slower-growing industrialized ones and explores the implications of this trend for the coming decades.

CFR’s Civil Society, Markets, and Democracy initiative has completed its first year of research and programming under the leadership of Senior Fellow Isobel Coleman. The initiative examines what the United...
States and others can do to foster open, prosperous, and stable societies. This is a timely addition to CFR’s work in the context of concerns about capitalism and democracy, the rise of an alternative economic and political model in China, and the upheavals that have swept large parts of the Arab world in 2011. Efforts so far include an official launch in Washington featuring former prime minister of the United Kingdom Tony Blair; a symposium on British and American approaches to countering radicalization; and more than fifteen roundtable meetings. The initiative’s website on CFR.org features Markets and Democracy Briefs, which are concise analyses by CFR scholars of important emerging countries or functional issues, as well as video interviews with both Council experts and leading outside voices.

CFR.org continues to increase its output and has an average of over 1.2 million page views and 450,000 unique visitors each month. The website expanded its blog offerings this year, providing high-quality rapid analysis on news developments and increasing public interaction with Council experts. This short-form commentary allows for examination of a wide range of evolving concerns in a timely and concise manner. Last year, the website had three blogs; it now has eleven. They cover the issues and trends shaping Asia, the Middle East, Africa, and Latin America, as well as the sustainability of American power, international security and conflict prevention, multilateral cooperation and sovereignty, energy security, economic development and democracy, and geoeconomic concerns. Our social media presence is also growing rapidly. Compared to last year, the number of CFR Facebook fans is up 157 percent, Twitter followers 264 percent, and YouTube subscribers 134 percent.

We continue to build our Washington outreach as well. CFR’s Congress and U.S. Foreign Policy program held staff-level outreach meetings with over 275 House and Senate personnel and hosted its second biennial Congressional Staff Conference on Capitol Hill, drawing 100 participants and featuring presentations from 17 Council fellows and members. Senators John Kerry and John McCain made opening remarks. The program also arranged over 85 events on Capitol Hill, including roundtables for senior congressional staff, dinners for Senate chiefs of staff, breakfast briefings for newly elected members of Congress, and participants from 122 countries were represented at CFR events in total this year.
President’s Message

individually tailored briefings for congressional members and staff. CFR’s executive branch outreach expanded to include a new roundtable series for mid-level officials in various executive branch agencies. This series was launched in March with a briefing on the upheavals in the Middle East and was followed in May with a briefing on the U.S.-China relationship. CFR also held nine special briefings for senior diplomats featuring Council members or fellows. Participants from 122 countries were represented at CFR events in total this year, including over 60 ambassadors.

As part of its academic outreach, the Council held two meetings of the Higher Education Working Group on Global Issues, which comprises mostly college and university presidents who gather to explore the role of higher education institutions in today’s globalized world. In addition, about 1,500 students came through our doors for events and briefings, and 110 colleges and universities participated in our signature Academic Conference Call series, marking increases of 25 and 29 percent over last year, respectively. The fourth annual Religion and Foreign Policy Summer Workshop brought together 100 religious leaders and scholars for discussion on a broad range of issues, while participation in the Religion and Foreign Policy Conference Call series increased by nearly 50 percent from last year. And in partnership with the Episcopal Diocese of New York, CFR hosted a roundtable discussion with a group of religious leaders from Sudan on the country’s pivotal January 2011 referendum.

It is impossible in these few pages to list the entirety of the Council’s activities this year. Those mentioned, though, do give a sense of the depth and breadth of CFR’s work. As I complete my eighth year as Council president and this organization completes its ninetieth year, the list of international concerns grows larger and more complicated, CFR.org continues to increase its output and has an average of over 1.2 million page views and 450,000 unique visitors each month.
underscoring the importance of the CFR mission to serve as a comprehensive resource on U.S. foreign policy. I want to thank CFR Co-Chairs Carla A. Hills and Robert E. Rubin, Vice Chair Richard E. Salomon, and the members of the Board of Directors for their able leadership and dedicated service. I also want to thank the Council’s individual and corporate members in New York, Washington, and across the country and the world for their involvement. And lastly, none of this would be possible without CFR’s committed staff and their many contributions to the institution’s work. I truly think that this past year was one of CFR’s most impressive, and I am grateful to the many individuals that helped make it possible.

Richard N. Haass
President