

THE COUNCIL
AT ONE HUNDRED
CAMPAIGN

The Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) is an independent, nonpartisan membership organization, think tank, and publisher dedicated to being a resource for its members, government officials, business executives, journalists, educators and students, civic and religious leaders, and other interested citizens in order to help them better understand the world and the foreign policy choices facing the United States and other countries.

Sustaining Our Legacy, Investing in Our Future

When the Council on Foreign Relations (CFR) was founded in 1921, the United States faced a volatile world. As many Americans shifted toward isolationism, CFR emerged as a rare voice championing U.S. engagement in the world.

Today, almost one hundred years later, the United States again confronts a host of global threats. A quarter century after the end of the Cold War, policymakers are divided about U.S. priorities and how best to promote them. Much of this country's media is not providing sustained coverage of world affairs, and most schools do not adequately prepare students for the world they are to inherit. The result: the globe's most powerful country must try to lead with little consensus, inadequate knowledge, and no discernible intellectual compass.

In times such as these, Americans look for guidance from institutions that are trusted, knowledgeable, and honest. CFR is one such institution. Its seriousness of purpose, the breadth and depth of its members and experts, its unapologetic nonpartisanship, and its unrivaled ability to convene and publish the world's most

influential voices on foreign policy set it apart.

The Council's success rests in no small part on its financial strength. Yet sustaining such strength is becoming increasingly challenging, as existing funding sources approach their limits and the costs of maintaining CFR's excellence rise. For this reason, we have embarked on the *Council at 100 Campaign* with the goal of generating at least \$150 million in new gifts to help secure our second century.

Currently, some three-quarters of CFR's operating revenues must be generated annually. Revenue streams, such as individual and corporate membership dues and the Annual Fund, are at or approaching their ceiling. CFR membership dues, for example, amount to nearly \$6 million annually yet they cover less than 10 percent of our operating budget. Dues are indexed to inflation as mandated by the Board of Directors and therefore cannot expand to cover growing operating costs. Our Annual Fund grows at an average rate of 5 percent, covering close to 15 percent of the Council's operating budget. Yet the Annual Fund's potential for further growth is limited because our membership grows at such a slow and deliberate rate. Revenue sources like advertising and publishing income may well decline, while still others—such as foundation support—are increasingly uncertain or come with burdensome conditions that would threaten CFR's intellectual independence and its ability to determine its own agenda. Meanwhile, the cost of doing what we do and want to do is increasing.

The result is a potential gap between what CFR is committed to do to maintain its excellence and what it has the resources to accomplish. Through the *Council at 100 Campaign*, we seek preemptively to close this gap.

No institution stays the same. Some decline while others prosper. This campaign will ensure that CFR continues to grow and thrive in its second century. It will allow CFR to meet future challenges with the resources required to sustain its excellence and leadership in the field.

Of the initial \$150 million campaign goal, a significant amount has been committed by the Council's leadership. We are now turning to other distinguished members to complete the effort. It is incumbent on each of us to do our part so that future generations continue to benefit from the Council's trusted output.

With the help of our members, the *Council at 100 Campaign* will achieve the following goals:

SECURE CFR'S STRENGTHS
\$80-100 MILLION

The Council is unique. No other organization simultaneously serves as a membership institution, think tank, forum, and publisher. No other organization can match CFR's intellectual independence and commitment to rigorous, nonpartisan, and relevant analysis of foreign policy trends. Campaign funds will help preserve this special character and quality. In addition, the campaign will enable CFR to harness new technologies, allowing us not only to enhance the security of our website and data management systems but also to enrich the experience of our members and reach new constituencies around the country and abroad.

EXPAND CFR'S AGENDA
\$50-70 MILLION

The world has changed since 1921, growing more complex and unpredictable. CFR's intellectual agenda has evolved with it to meet new U.S. foreign policy challenges, many of which were

unimaginable when the Council was founded. The *Council at 100 Campaign* will further expand the breadth and depth of the Council's suite of programs, particularly in the think tank. New funds will give CFR the flexibility to invest in emerging issues such as cybersecurity, energy and climate change, and global health, as well as to institutionalize highly successful programs recently added to the Council's research agenda, such as the Renewing America initiative and the International Institutions and Global Governance program. Campaign gifts will also allow CFR to attract and retain the best talent.

INCREASE CFR'S IMPACT
\$20-30 MILLION

International relations was once the exclusive domain of government officials, business leaders, foreign affairs scholars, and journalists. That is no longer the case. Every American is affected by what takes place in the world and has a stake in understanding global developments. CFR's programs and outreach must reflect this new reality by offering its vast resources to a wide range of constituencies. This includes CFR members, Congress, and executive branch officials, business leaders, and the media, as well as nontraditional constituencies such as students and educators, religious communities, state and local government officials, and young professionals. *The Council at 100 Campaign* will allow us to deepen our outreach to these groups through further investment in our education efforts and talent-development programs such as international affairs fellowships and military fellowships that help prepare the next generation of national security leaders.

Generating Ideas for a Volatile World

Since its founding in 1921, CFR has produced analyses and debates that have informed the U.S. foreign policy agenda. Its speakers, fellows, and authors—drawn from both sides of the political aisle—have provided the intellectual rigor, insight, and practical ideas needed to secure U.S. leadership throughout the twentieth century and into the twenty-first.

It was from CFR's New York City headquarters that General Dwight Eisenhower led the landmark study group that helped shape the rationale for the United States' defense of Europe, and that Henry Kissinger wrote his path-breaking treatise on nuclear weapons. It was in CFR's hallmark publication, *Foreign Affairs*, where George F. Kennan first elaborated his doctrine of containment, which came to define American foreign policy for the next forty years, and Samuel Huntington warned of the clash of civilizations.

Indeed, CFR's ability to contribute to public debate and shape U.S. foreign policy by producing timely, incisive, and trusted analysis has gone unmatched for close to a century.

As Kennan put it, “While there are a number of other places in the world, including some very fine ones, which do the sort of things that the council is doing, there is none that exceeded it in distinction, respect, and authority.”



A Community of Distinguished Members

The Council on Foreign Relations is more than a think tank, more than a publisher, and more than a forum: it is, at its heart, a community of members committed to understanding and improving the foreign policy choices of the United States.

Among CFR's nationwide network of members are some of this country's most influential and thoughtful leaders. All of our members are carefully selected for their knowledge, experience, and interest in international affairs. As a result, they represent a group unequalled in accomplishment and diversity, spanning from top government officials, renowned scholars, and business executives to acclaimed journalists, prominent lawyers, and nonprofit leaders. Since 1921, one-third of U.S. presidents and almost half of vice presidents, two-thirds of the nation's secretaries of state and secretaries of defense, 80 percent of U.S. ambassadors to the United Nations, and 90 percent of U.S. national security advisors have been CFR members.

Our members come to the Council because they know it offers unparalleled access to world leaders and experts, as well as groundbreaking

insights into the issues that matter most in foreign affairs. But just as our members rely on us, so too do we rely on them.

For close to one hundred years, the knowledge and influence of our members, as well as their financial support, have allowed the Council to attract the world's best minds, host the world's most important decision-makers, and publish the world's most authoritative works on foreign policy. Our members understand firsthand the value of the Council's integrity—and they know that without it we could not provide the high-quality work they expect.

CFR members have helped build an organization of national and global influence. Now we ask that they protect that legacy by contributing to the *Council at 100 Campaign*.



CFR's Legacy

The *Council at 100 Campaign* will help maintain our record of excellence and build on our core strengths:

VISION

When establishing CFR in 1921, our founders had a clear mission: to “afford a continuous conference on international questions affecting the United States, by bringing together experts on statecraft, finance, industry, education, and science.” More than nine decades later, that vision remains. Our sense of purpose has never been more clear or ambitious: to improve understanding of world affairs among our members, policymakers, students, and concerned individuals worldwide; to provide new and innovative ideas for U.S. foreign policy; and to find and nurture the next generation of foreign policy leaders.

LEADERSHIP

While many organizations simply follow the foreign policy agenda, CFR helps set that agenda. For almost one hundred years, our Board, staff, members, and fellows have helped develop the most groundbreaking thinking on foreign policy. Whether during the aftermath of the Second World War, the Cold War, or the tragedy of 9/11, CFR experts and members have provided the intellectual foundations on which many major U.S. policy decisions rest.

INTEGRITY

CFR has made it a policy not to espouse or endorse any political ideology. Our work is rigorous and intellectually honest, and members, scholars, speakers, and authors express a range of views that may conflict but are neither censored nor institutionally endorsed. Because the Council does not accept funding from any government—including the U.S. government—it has the independence and integrity to speak truth to power.

COURAGE

Just as the Council has refused to cater to partisan politics, so too has it refused to shy away from controversy. We believe that to best understand the world around them, our members should have the opportunity to engage and question leaders regardless of their policies. That is why, among its long list of foreign speakers, CFR has hosted Cuba's Fidel Castro, Libya's Muammar al-Qaddafi, and Iran's Mahmoud Ahmadinejad.

EXPERTISE

The Council is an incubator of ideas that shape the foreign policy agenda. None of our programs better embodies this ability than the David Rockefeller Studies Program. Comprising more than seventy full-time, visiting, and adjunct scholar-practitioners, the Studies Program covers the world's most important regions and transnational issues. In the last program year alone, CFR scholars wrote more than three hundred op-eds and published more than one hundred magazine and journal articles, gave two hundred briefings to officials at all levels of government, held over one hundred and fifty roundtables and meetings, published five books, and won twelve prestigious awards. Through this impressive output, our scholars provided

incisive thinking and concrete recommendations regarding the most pressing challenges facing the United States and the world.

TALENT

CFR produces unparalleled resources not only by attracting world-class scholars, but also by helping to develop talented young professionals. Our international affairs fellowships, military fellowships, and Term Member Program serve as rich training grounds for the next generation of foreign policy leaders. Over half of the alumni of the CFR military fellowship program have advanced to the rank of admiral or general, including Stanley A. McChrystal, former commander of U.S. and international forces in Afghanistan. Past recipients of the signature International Affairs Fellowship include former Secretary of State Condoleezza Rice, U.S. Ambassador to the UN Samantha Power, and former U.S. Ambassador to NATO Ivo Daalder.

EXCELLENCE

CFR has earned a reputation for excellence, due in no small part to the quality and foresight of its signature magazine. Since 1922, *Foreign Affairs* has been the publication where thought-leaders have introduced new ideas and statesmen have turned for creative thinking. From Kennan and Kissinger to Huntington and Fukuyama, from U.S. secretaries of state and presidential candidates to global leaders and dynamic figures from the private and nonprofit sectors, its pages and pixels host world-class debates on the world's most important issues. Reinvigorated and retooled in recent years to continue succeeding in the digital era, the magazine's total paid circulation is over 180,000, and it boasts more than one million Facebook fans, almost half a million Twitter followers, and an average of about one million monthly unique visitors to

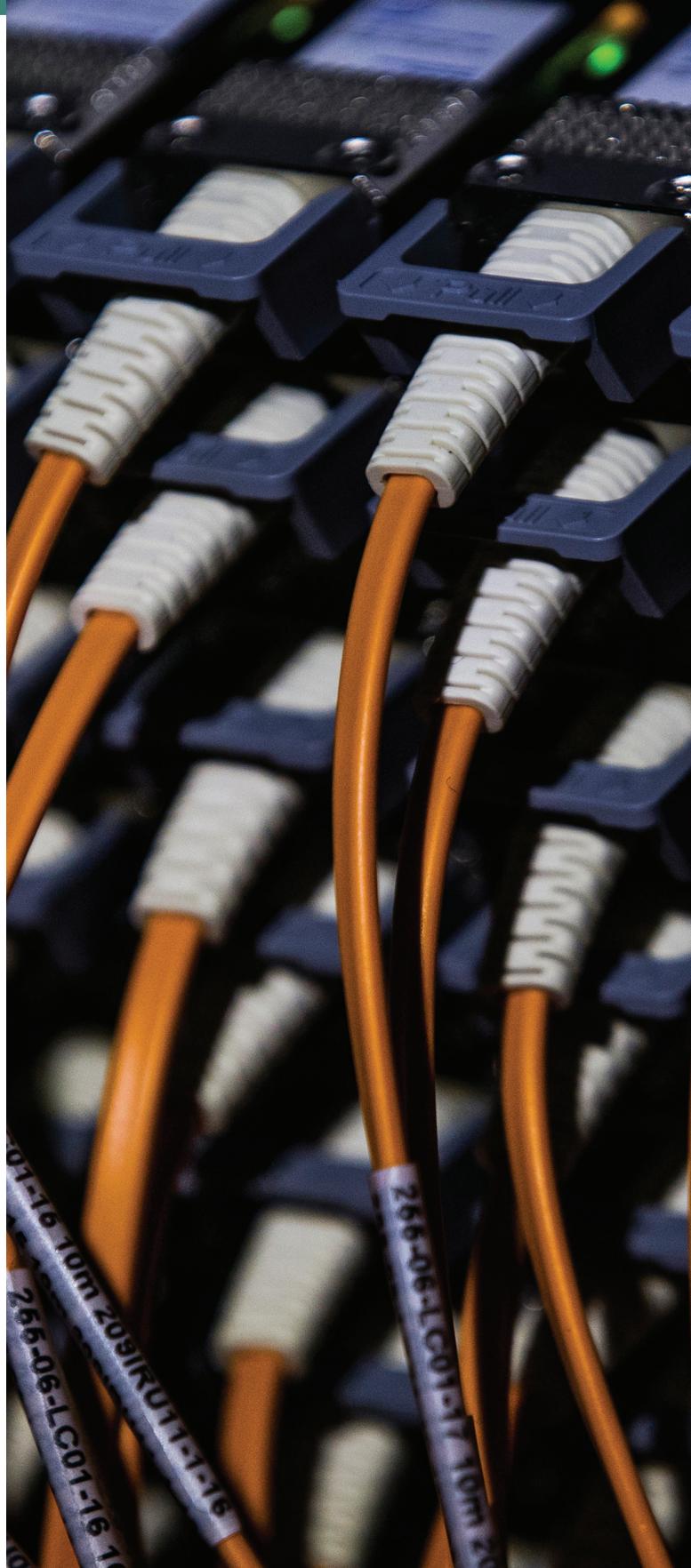
ForeignAffairs.com. In early 2015, the magazine received its first-ever finalist nomination for a National Magazine Award for General Excellence.

INNOVATION

CFR innovates by employing new technologies to enhance the study of international affairs. In an evolving information landscape, we make complex issues more accessible to a wider audience across social media channels and distribution platforms, including CFR.org and ForeignAffairs.com. We pride ourselves on using the latest interactive technologies to shed light on issues as far ranging as the Sunni-Shia divide, Asia's maritime disputes, the emerging Arctic, the Kurdish struggle, child marriage, the Taliban, and climate change.

CONVENING POWER

The Council's convening power is unrivaled. For close to one hundred years, we have succeeded in assembling the world's most important leaders, experts, and Nobel laureates to speak openly and candidly with our members. From Georges Clemenceau, Willy Brandt, Indira Gandhi, and Nelson Mandela to more recent guests, such as Narendra Modi, Aung San Suu Kyi, Recep Tayyip Erdogan, and Ashraf Ghani, we are able to convene world leaders because of our international reputation as a leading venue for scholarly discourse and serious debate on foreign policy issues. Like our members, guest speakers value CFR as a forum for open and thoughtful discussion before a highly informed audience.



Securing Strengths

CFR's resiliency is due in no small measure to its excellence. Consistently, the Council has stood out from its peers, setting the bar on what can and should be achieved in the arena of foreign policy analysis. The *Council at 100 Campaign* provides an opportunity to secure such achievements and reinvest in the distinctive aspects of our work. It will allow CFR to develop in the following ways:

SUSTAIN OUR TRADITION OF NONPARTISANSHIP AND INTELLECTUAL INDEPENDENCE

To preserve its independence, CFR does not accept funding from the U.S. or other governments. One consequence of this policy is that we must depend on funds from other sources, including foundations. Unfortunately, a growing number of foundations are demanding a larger role in agenda-setting, often with strong expectations of a certain outcome. This is obviously unacceptable—and one reason we are committed to growing our endowment to ensure our long-term independence.

Through the campaign, we seek to grow CFR's endowment so that it generates one-third of our annual budget (up from 23 percent). CFR will be able to further invest

in signature nonpartisan activities, products such as Independent Task Force reports and *Foreign Affairs* magazine, and subjects beyond the traditional foreign policy agenda.

ENRICH THE MEMBER EXPERIENCE

Our priority is to continue to serve the needs of our primary constituency, CFR's five thousand members. To do so, campaign funds will bolster the capacities of the Council's Meetings and Membership Program, enabling it to inaugurate new, timely programs, such as the "What to Do About" series, while also preserving its ability to attract the world's most sought-after speakers. Funds secured through the campaign will make it possible for CFR to invest in state-of-the-art technologies that can connect members across the world and modernize membership data management.

ENHANCE TECHNOLOGY AND IT INFRASTRUCTURE

CFR depends on the web and digital media to stay relevant and interact with its diverse constituencies. Technology has become "the new bricks and mortar," requiring regular maintenance and upgrades. Campaign funds will help modernize the Council's information technology infrastructure and protect its websites and internal systems by introducing and maintaining state-of-the-art measures that reduce vulnerability to cyberattacks. By increasing its investment in new technologies, CFR will also strive to maximize user accessibility, making its work more compatible for online consumption and more easily shared across new distribution platforms.

UPGRADE FACILITIES

CFR faces many financial challenges associated with its landmark properties. Our historic New York headquarters must be continuously renovated, reimagined, and restored in order to increase the Council's utility as a meeting venue and workspace. We should have the flexibility to pay down the debt associated with the purchase and renovation of our Washington, DC, building when most financially advantageous. Through the *Council at 100 Campaign*, we will ensure the future use of both buildings so they continue to provide elegant yet fully modern settings for Council meetings throughout our second century.



Expanding the Agenda

CFR's Studies Program is world renowned as an incubator of ideas on the most significant challenges facing the United States and the world. We aim to keep it that way, which is why the *Council at 100 Campaign* will do the following:

DEVELOP NEW INITIATIVES AND REINFORCE EXISTING ONES

CFR will establish a new Center on Technology and Cyber Policy, which will concentrate on the future of Internet governance, prevention of cyberwar and cyber conflict, and the role of the private sector and civil society in this new frontier.

The Council will build on the work of the International Institutions and Global Governance program and create new frameworks for addressing transnational issues, from climate change and energy security to global health and terrorism.

CFR will redouble its investment in the Renewing America initiative by creating a permanent center focused on the relationship between U.S. national security and domestic challenges, including trade, immigration, education, debt, and infrastructure.

ATTRACT THE BEST TALENT

To ensure that the quality of CFR's research remains second to none, we must have the ability to recruit, train, and retain staff at all levels and across a wide range of specialties. Funds raised through the *Council at 100 Campaign* will allow the CFR Studies Program to attract and retain the most distinguished experts in their fields.

DEVELOP NEW TALENT

As part of the *Council at 100 Campaign*, CFR aims to endow its signature International Affairs Fellowship. Established in 1967, this unique fellowship enables promising mid-career academics to leave the ivory tower for a year to serve in the U.S. government. Similarly, exceptional mid-career government personnel are awarded a year to spend in a scholarly setting to reflect and write about their experiences. The goal is to assist talented scholars and professionals by advancing their analytic capabilities and broadening their foreign policy experience at a pivotal moment in their careers.

More than five hundred and fifty highly accomplished individuals have participated in the program since its inception almost half a century ago. Endowing the International Affairs Fellowship will guarantee the permanence of this valuable experience as we seek to nurture the next generation of leaders in government, academia, and the private sector.

Increasing Impact

CFR programs and outreach are continuously evolving to reflect emerging constituencies with a stake in U.S. foreign policy. Today, we make a priority to target our resources and materials at students and educators, religious leaders, state and local government officials, as well as young professionals. *The Council at 100 Campaign* will allow us to continue this trend, by enabling further investments in the following outreach initiatives:

EDUCATION INITIATIVE

The promotion of education in global affairs has been an element of CFR's outreach agenda since its inception. As we near our one hundredth anniversary, we are redoubling our commitment to education by broadening our target audience beyond experts, policymakers, academics, and students of international relations. As a result, our outreach now extends to college and high school students, as well as lifelong learners, who lack a specialization in global affairs.

Our education initiative provides a forum for educators and students to interact with CFR experts and debate foreign policy options. We are creating innovative education products that teach the fundamentals of international relations and U.S. foreign policy, and we are

developing dynamic channels for distributing CFR educational resources. In doing so, CFR's education initiative instills in its audience a deep commitment to exploring global issues, which we believe will expand the number of informed U.S. citizens, increase their preparedness for a world characterized by nonstop change and competition, and generate a larger pool of Americans eligible for careers in government and the military.

INTERNATIONAL OUTREACH

Along with the extended focus on education and students, we will continue to invest in two of our most prominent international initiatives:

- **The Council of Councils** facilitates candid dialogue among leaders of two dozen of the most prominent policy institutions in the world. Its ultimate goal is to inject new thinking about regional and global challenges into high-level foreign policy circles.
- **The Global Board of Advisors**, chaired by David Rubenstein and comprising distinguished business leaders, noted academics, and former government officials from both developed and emerging-market countries, seeks to enhance the dialogue between U.S. leaders and their counterparts from other countries, as well as strengthen the Council's understanding of international perspectives.



ADDITIONAL OUTREACH

CFR will also invest in strengthening its existing domestic outreach initiatives that serve as a resource for U.S. leaders:

- **Religious and Congregational Leaders:** Through its Religion and Foreign Policy Initiative, CFR works to deepen public understanding of the issues at the nexus of religion and U.S. foreign policy, and ensure that religious leaders, scholars, and thinkers from all traditions benefit from our resources.
- **State and Local Government Officials:** CFR's State and Local Officials Initiative provides a forum for discussion of pressing international issues that affect the priorities and agendas of state and local governments.
- **Federal Government Officials:** Through the Washington Program, CFR delivers nonpartisan, innovative, and trusted resources to members of Congress and their staffs, as well as executive branch officials and diplomats.

FORTIFYING FOREIGN AFFAIRS

As successful as *Foreign Affairs* is today, we believe it can be even greater tomorrow. New investments in content, business and editorial staff, and information technology will enable *Foreign Affairs* to continue to serve as a critical resource not just for Americans but for people throughout the world. CFR is well aware that as the magazine grows and evolves, it will have to outperform competitors that are larger and better resourced. New investments will make that possible and more, as the magazine's enviable track record of growth proves.

Securing CFR's Second Century

Rare is the organization that has the opportunity to celebrate its one hundredth anniversary. Rarer still is the organization that emerges in its second century stronger, more influential, and more ambitious than in the first. This is our aspiration, which will be ensured by the success of the *Council at 100 Campaign*.

This success will lay the foundation for our future. If we do not act now we may jeopardize the Council's ability to make long-term investments in new talent, ideas, technology, and infrastructure, and risk deepening our dependence on uncertain funding sources. Worse still, CFR could generate a structural deficit that could compromise its ability to preserve its excellence and vitality for the next generation of members, U.S. policymakers, and the general public.

CFR is committed to making the *Council at 100 Campaign* a success. To do so, we must rely on the generosity and foresight of our members, which is why—at this critical moment—we are turning to you.

As a member, you have been instrumental in keeping CFR true to its foundation of intellectual inquiry, independence, and

internationalism. You have bolstered the Council's prestige through your insights, dedication, and expertise. And we have confidence that you, in turn, have benefited from the Council's wide-ranging network, dynamic resources, and groundbreaking discussions.

Now you have the opportunity to secure the legacy of the Council and directly shape its future. We trust and hope that you will do so today.



For more information on the Council at 100 Campaign please contact Suzanne E. Helm, vice president for philanthropy and corporate relations, at 212.434.9781 or shelm@cfr.org.

