



# LAFF

THE LAFF SOCIETY Promoting Social and Professional Contacts Among Former Staff Members of the Ford Foundation

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## U.S.—LATIN AMERICA—CUBA: A SIXTY-FIVE-YEAR LOVE-HATE TRIANGLE

By Cristina Eguizabal

**A**lan Riding, the legendary New York Times correspondent, referred to U.S.-Mexico relations as that of “distant neighbors” in his book of that title in 1984. Accurate at the time, it is no longer true. Twenty years of the North American Free Trade Agreement (NAFTA) changed that. Mexico and the United States have become as close neighbors as Canada and the U.S. traditionally have been.

That latest alteration in the centuries-old relationship binding the two wary neighbors is only one example of the shifting nature of alliances over time between the U.S. and its Latin neighbors.

Consider Cuba. In contrast to Mexico, that island nation, the other neighbor on the U.S. southern border, was until 1959 the Latin American country most densely linked to the U.S. It was its “closest neighbor,” so to speak. At a time when other Latin American economies were modeled on state-centered import-substitution development strategies, Cuba’s was already wide open to foreign direct investment, primarily from the U.S.

But that changed after January 1, 1959, at neck-breaking speed, and I saw it happen. I was there: a schoolgirl who in December 1958 was in third grade at the American Dominican Academy in Havana and a year later did not have a school to go to. My American friends and teachers had been evacuated by their government and there were no more private schools to attend because private education had been eliminated.

U.S.-Cuba relations deteriorated rapidly: the U.S. economic embargo, imposed as a response to Cuba’s nationalization of U.S. property; the failed 1961 Bay of Pigs inva-



**Fidel Castro visits the Soviet Union and meets then First Secretary of the Communist Party, Nikita Khrushchev, in April 1963.**

sion; Cuba’s expulsion from the Organization of American States (OAS) and the Missile crisis in 1962 marked the lowest points in the relationship. By 1963 Cuba and the U.S. had become “the most distant of neighbors” and have remained so ever since.

Cuba-Latin American relations have gone sometimes on parallel tracks in the same direction, other times in opposite directions. Once Cuba was firmly established in the Soviet Camp, a fact that President John F. Kennedy had accepted as a pragmatic compromise in order to end the 1962 missile crisis, Washington’s obsession became to avoid “another Cuba” in Latin America, both by means of carrots—such as the Marshall Plan-inspired Alliance for Progress—and sticks—based on counterinsurgency strategies and, if necessary, direct intervention, as in the Dominican Republic in 1965.

The outlook appeared promising in 1975 as Secretary of State Henry Kissinger was trying to normalize U.S.-Cuba relations. Then Mexico and Costa Rica sponsored a vote at the OAS freeing member states to re-establish diplomatic relations with the island nation. Most Latin American governments did so.

But Fidel Castro’s decision to send troops to Angola to help the new independent

nation resist the invasion by South African troops ended the unborn détente with the U.S. Kissinger was furious. Recent declassified documents show that, with the authorization of President Gerald Ford, he even ordered contingency plans to bomb Cuba. Fortunately, he was not able to act on them. Then Jimmy Carter won the 1976 presidential election with a completely different agenda concerning Cuba.

President Carter renewed the U.S. attempts to re-establish some

kind of normalcy in its relations with Cuba and Interest Sections were established in each capital. Havana agreed to release a significant number of political prisoners and allowed Cuban-Americans to visit their relatives on the island.

**C**uba was not the only preoccupation on Washington’s Latin American agenda. President Carter and Omar Torrijos, Panama’s leader, signed the first Panama Canal Treaty, ending more than 10 years of on and off negotiations. The 1977 treaty set the road map for steps that would give Panamanians total control of the interoceanic path in the year 2000. Latin Americans, the Cubans included, loudly celebrated the beginning of the end of U.S. control over the canal. Maybe, it was thought, Washington and Havana could reach a settlement of their disputes, which included expropriations of U.S. property without compensation and the continued U.S. military presence at Guantanamo Bay.

But all hopes were crushed when, on April 1, 1980, a Havana city bus crashed against the gates of the Peruvian Embassy with five Cubans on board demanding political

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## U.S.–Latin America–Cuba

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asylum. A tit for tat ensued, resulting in the Cuban government's decision to discontinue protection to the Peruvian embassy. By April 5, 750 people occupied the residency and by April 6 some 10,000 were crammed in the perimeter of the grounds.

In a gesture of defiance, Fidel Castro opened the port of Mariel to anyone wanting to leave Cuba as long as they had someone to pick them up. Cuban exiles organized a boatlift that ultimately brought approximately 125,000 Cubans to Florida on 1,700 boats.

The Mariel exodus had profound consequences in the U.S. The whole episode added an additional front to the already embattled President Carter. Having to deal with the Iran hostage crisis, he really did not need this new tough nut to crack. More generally, in the U.S. the *marielitos* began changing the racial and ideological composition of the Cuban-American community since the newly arrived Cubans were, in general, of modest origin, had been raised in Cuban



FERNANDO YOYERA/ASSOCIATED PRESS

**A U.S. Marine helps a Cuban child off a refugee boat on May 10, 1980. More than 100,000 Cubans poured into southern Florida from the port of Mariel, in Cuba, between April and October of 1980 in what become known as the Mariel boatlift.**

revolutionary schools and had a more nuanced perception of the regime's successes and failures.

The Reagan years were years of increasing tensions in the hemisphere. With the Cuban Communist Party's very important role in supporting Central American insurgencies, for the first time since 1962 the U.S. began publicly to invoke "roll back". A famous quote of Secretary of State Alexander Haig, cited by President Ronald Reagan's well-regarded biographer, Lou Cannon, "Give me the word and I'll make that island a f... parking lot", is still making the rounds in Venezuela's Chavista circles.

After the end of Soviet subsidies that had for decades kept the island's economy afloat, we all thought the Castro brothers' days in power were counted. However, neither widespread rationing of food and fuel imposed by the so-called "special period," increased repression of reformist voices nor, most important of all, the trial, conviction on drug trafficking and treason charges and execution of Cuba's top military hero, Arnaldo Ochoa, were enough to unseat the former rebel commanders.

While the Cuban leadership was weathering probably its worse crisis ever with the Ochoa debacle, in Washington the Cuba debate followed familiar narratives: a demand for tightened economic sanctions on one side and a proposed policy of constructive engagement, *à la canadienne*, on the other.

But a third narrative was emerging: carrots and sticks. Get hard on the Cuban regime, but be open to the people. The Cuban Democracy Act, co-sponsored by Congressmen Robert Torricelli, a New Jersey Democrat, and Lindsey Graham, a South Carolina Republican, constitutes the best

embodiment of this last narrative. It tightened the embargo by prohibiting foreign-based subsidiaries of U.S. companies from trading with Cuba, and banning travel to the island by U.S. citizens and family remittances. But it also opened the possibility of "people to people" contacts. Those were later expanded by President William Clinton to include new travel regulations licensing travel to Cuba for humanitarian, religious and educational purposes.

Enter the Ford Foundation, which took full advantage of this opportunity to upgrade its funding supporting U.S. academic institutions' faculty and student exchange-

es with Cuba. The most important of those were the Cuba Exchange Programs at Johns Hopkins, Georgetown and Harvard Universities and the City University of New York.

**I**n August 1994, desperate for food and fuel-powered transportation, Cubans began to flee the island by the thousands, often in home-made rafts. Following the 1989 scenario, Fidel announced on August 11 that Cuban police would no longer stop people trying to leave the island as long as they did not try to hijack boats or planes. This decision set the scenery for the "balsero crisis".

High-level negotiations between Washington and Havana were brokered by Mexican President Salinas de Gortari and the Colombian novelist Gabriel García Márquez, a Fidel Castro confidant. The negotiations, although difficult and protracted (a final accord was reached only in May 1995), yielded a new migratory regime that is known today as wet foot-dry foot: If you make it to U.S. soil, you are granted political asylum. If you are detained at sea you are sent back. Washington and Havana agreed to meet thereafter once a year to discuss migration issues.

Then came another setback. Less than a year later, on February 24, 1996, the Cuban air force shot down two Florida-based aircrafts belonging to the anti-Castro exile group Brothers to the Rescue, killing four young Cuban-Americans. The group had been formed to aid Cuban refugees trying to flee the island and flew regularly over Cuban airspace. In reaction, President Clinton ordered a new ban on commercial flights between Cuba and the United States, restricted Cuban diplomats from traveling outside of their posts in New York and Washington, and

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authorized compensation from frozen Cuban bank accounts for the families of the victims.

More important, the president declared that he would "move promptly" to reach an agreement with Congress to pass the Helms-Burton legislation. Anti-Castro forces in Congress were able to toughen the original bill by adding a new clause that codified the embargo into law. No longer would it be a presidential prerogative to lift sanctions against Cuba; now it would take majority votes in Congress to do so.

Washington and Havana were back to square one. And then Pope John Paul II visited Cuba in 1998 and exhorted the country "to open itself to the world and the world ... to open itself to Cuba." Taking advantage of the Pope's exhortation, President Clinton restored direct charter flights and eased restrictions on remittances.

Six months later it was the turn for "base-

ball diplomacy". On March 26, 1999, a chartered flight with the entire Baltimore Orioles team on board took off for Havana. Two days later they defeated the Cuban National team, 3 to 2. Five weeks after that the Cuban team repaid the visit by traveling to Baltimore where they beat the Orioles, 12 to 6.

Relations seemed to be improving. At the Foundation, we thought it was a good time for us to go to Cuba to look for interesting ways to expand our grantmaking. The idea was to take full advantage of OFAC licensing opportunities and try to fund directly Cuban organizations.

We had a license that authorized us to travel to the island. The problem was the Cuban government did not want us there, not even as visitors. The Foundation had played an important role as a funder in post-war Europe supporting non-Marxist liberal intellectuals who were seen by the Soviets as

mercenary anti-Soviet cold warriors. Fifty years later the Cubans suspected we were trying to replicate the experience.

We applied for the visas and waited several months but nothing happened. Then one day, out of the blue, I got a call from the Cuban Mission at the U.N. inviting us to reapply and this time, "bingo", we got the visas for **Brad Smith**, the Peace and Social Justice Vice president; **Anthony Romero** of the Human Rights and International Cooperation unit, and me, the program officer responsible for the Cuba program. We eschewed the Miami charter route and traveled instead through Cancun on regular commercial flights.

**H**avana was everything we had heard: frozen in time and decrepit, but incredibly beautiful. Our itinerary was mostly suggested by the Cuban authorities except for three meetings with people I knew from my previous life in Costa Rica: Humberto Solás, one of Cuba's cinematographic luminaries; Isabel Jaramillo Edwards, a Cuban academic of Chilean descent, and Monsignor Carlos Manuel de Céspedes, Havana's Vicar General.

When I began working with Cuba, a Cuban-American friend gave me the best advice anyone has given me regarding my work at the Foundation: "Treat Cuba as if it were a normal country", and I did. It allowed me to keep my sanity.

Once back in New York after our Cuba trip, I invited a group of people who had experience with Cuba: some who had done research in Cuba, others who had worked with European and Canadian NGOs; program officers responsible for working with Cuban counterparts in other foundations and, why not, Cubans from the island.

In Havana, following normal business etiquette, all the people we met handed us their visiting cards with addresses and telephone numbers (there was no e-mail in Cuba at that time). So I picked up the phone and began calling people, inviting them to come to New York. With an invitation from the Foundation they would be able get a U.S. visa and, if they had a visa, we did not need a license to pay for their travel.

Next thing I know I get a visit from two Cuban U.N. Mission diplomats who scold me for breach of protocol. In Cuba at the time you could not contact directly Cuban citizens. You had to go through the ministry of foreign affairs. Needless to say, with the exception of Solás, the filmmaker who had

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## THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

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**One of the precious lessons learned** at the Foundation is the value of seeing things from diverse angles of vision. **Cristina Eguizabal's** excellent review of Cuban-United States relations, "U.S.-Latin America-Cuba: A Sixty-Five-Year Love-Hate Triangle", in the current newsletter is a case in point of balanced reflection. At a moment when the specter of a new U.S. hegemony dominates thinking about the evolving relationship, Brazil's relationship with Cuba provides another vantage point on the potential integration of the island nation into the global economy.

The Brazil-Cuba relationship has been largely a triangular love between the Latin American giant, the Castro government and the non-aligned movement, a relationship based in the diplomatic rhetoric and practice of "third-world politics", the watchword of non-intervention and the eschewing of U.S. hemispheric dominance and interference.

While the bond of solidarity between Portuguese-speaking Brazil and Cuba never exhibited the historic strength of the Spanish-speaking Latin American brethren countries that Cristina describes so well, it gained considerable force during the government of Brazil's labor-leader president, Luis Ignacio (Lula) da Silva, who visited the island to sign numerous trade agreements.

Lula's marked silence on Cuba's human rights record drew strong criticism in the Brazilian press and among a public constantly vigilant to authoritarian excesses after its recent return to democracy, but helped establish a small economic foothold there. Lula's successor, Dilma Rousseff, tortured as a young revolutionary by the Brazilian military, refused, as her predecessor had done, to meet with Cuban dissidents on her presidential visit but extended economic diplomacy in a significant way.

And therein lies my point. The prime focus of both Lula's and Dilma's visits was trade and, in the latter

case, an agreement to provide a sizeable Brazilian loan for construction of Cuba's deep-water Mariel port, to be built by the Brazilian-based multinational construction firm, Odebrecht, best known for its extensive operations in Angola. In a further indication of Cuba's liberal economic agenda, the port will be operated by Singapore's port authority and will open Cuba to world-wide trade and, particularly, a twenty-first century triangular trade with Africa and Europe. In this scenario, a return to singular U.S. hegemony seems less assured.

I made a personal visit to Cuba for the 2000-01 New Year, the occasion of the fortieth anniversary of the Revolution. I was particularly impressed, despite the fleet of aging Chevrolets, Chryslers and Fords and the twin deprivations of decades of embargo and repression, by the strength and resilience of Cuban culture and the independence of spirit that sets the Cuban people apart. That mark of character will hopefully carry them to a better future.

Cristina's insightful recap, like the other pieces in this newsletter issue, also reminds us that there is a special personal edge to the stories told about the Foundation's work. The memory of a young girl whose school in Cuba is closed by Revolution; **Charles Bailey's** hospital visit with a young boy in the context of the Foundation's work on Agent Orange; **Bill Gamble's** lowan eye on Burma, Mexico and Nigeria; **Jon Funabiki's** moving tribute to **Dori Maynard**; and, one of my Foundation mentors, **Lowell Hardin's** pen-knife metaphor on cross-cultural communication each adds critical dimension to the Foundation's work.

We need to read more of these insights from our LAFF members and are grateful for your response to our continuing requests that you share your memories with us.

Welcome to summer,

**Shep**



privileges linked to his status in the film world, nobody else was allowed to travel. Until very recently Cuban citizens living in the island needed an exit visa.

After that meeting and endless discussions, we decided to move the program from the U.S.-Cuba axis and adopt a more regional/global approach. We funded organizations in Latin America (Costa Rica, Mexico, Argentina, and the Dominican Republic) and in Europe (Spain, France, Poland and the Vatican). It was a good move. But we hit a snag: During the presidency of George W. Bush, relations with Cuba deteriorated once more. Academic exchanges almost stopped, Cuban scholars were systematically refused visas to visit the U.S. and licenses were issued in dribs and drabs.

After President Barack Obama was elected we thought things would start moving swiftly again, but they did not.

President Obama had hoped to normalize relations with Cuba after taking office in 2009 but his ambitions were complicated by Cuba's arrest that year of Alan Gross, a U.S. citizen working in Havana for a USAID-funded project. Gross was sentenced to 15 years in prison after being found guilty of espionage.

On the OAS front things did move a bit. On June 3, 2009, foreign ministers of OAS member countries assembled for the organization's 39th General Assembly in Honduras and voted unanimously to lift Cuba's suspension from the organization.

Cuba's apparent disinterest notwithstanding—Havana has not asked for its reincorporation to the OAS—Latin Americans, particularly Venezuela's allies, began pressuring hard for the inclusion of Cuba in the Summit of the Americas, a hemispheric gathering of heads of state that takes place every three to four years.

The first one, convened by President Clinton, was held in Miami in 1994. In 2012, the Presidents of Venezuela, Ecuador and Nicaragua refused to attend the meeting in Cartagena, Colombia, and the presidents of Bolivia and Argentina left the meeting before its conclusion. Cuba's inclusion in the Inter American system was not the only contentious issue, but it was an important one.

The next summit, the seventh, took place in Panama in April. Panama announced from the start that Cuba would make its guest list regardless of how Washington felt about it.

Below the surface things were moving. President Obama had been urged from dif-



US GOVERNMENT

**Cuban president Raúl Castro and U.S. president Barack Obama meet in Panama on 4-11-2015**

ferent quarters to be bolder. Earlier in 2014, Pope Francis wrote to both Obama and Cuba's new president, Raúl Castro, and urged them to "initiate a new phase in relations" between their countries. The two leaders complied and quiet negotiations were held in Ottawa and the Vatican for almost a year. A deal was finalized at the Vatican in October.

The Foundation played a tangential role in this dramatic move forward on the long journey toward U.S.-Cuba rapprochement. A long-standing Foundation grantee in Argentina, the Center for Legal and Social Studies (CELS), a human rights NGO, had earlier approached the Argentinean pope and asked him to lend a hand. Clearly he was receptive.

**O**n December 17, the day the Cuban people honor San Lazaro/Babalú Ayé's, one of the most revered saints/orishas of Catholics and Santeros alike, Presidents Obama and Castro announced simultaneously that they would re-establish diplomatic ties.

But the agreement went further than that. In true Cold War fashion, as part of the accord, Castro agreed to release Alan Gross as well as an unnamed Cuban citizen who spied for the U.S. and has been in a Cuban jail for nearly 20 years. President Obama, in return, released the three remaining "Cuban five", a quintet of Cuban intelligence officers who were imprisoned for spying on U.S. soil.

This time the Cubans seem really serious. The backdrop to Cuba's volte-face owes much to the unraveling of the Venezuelan economy. For several years, Cuba has been kept afloat by 80,000 barrels of oil a day from Caracas under a deal set up by Hugo Chavez, Venezuela's deceased Bolivarian leader and protégé of Fidel Castro. It has been widely reported that Raúl Castro, who succeeded his older brother Fidel in 2008, and Nicolás Maduro who succeeded Chávez

four years later, are not as close as their predecessors were.

Following the joint announcement in January, Washington unveiled new travel and trade regulations that will allow U.S. travelers to visit Cuba without first obtaining a government license. Airlines will be permitted to provide commercial service to the country in addition to charters, and travelers will be allowed to spend money there with their U.S. credit and debit cards. In addition, U.S. insurance companies will be allowed to cover health, life and travel insurance for individuals liv-

ing in or visiting Cuba, and U.S. companies will be authorized to invest in certain types of selected small businesses.

Then, in April, immediately after the summit meeting, President Obama made a major announcement that the United States has removed Cuban from its list of states sponsoring terrorism. That move, along with ongoing conversations between the United States and Cuba, will certainly boost Washington's standing in the region.

However, the suspense goes on. The Castro-Obama drama has already been replaced by an unfolding Maduro-Obama drama following steps by Washington to revoke the visas of top Venezuelan officials and freeze their bank accounts.

I left the Foundation in 2008 so I have not been involved in its Cuba programming since then. However, as an outside observer with many Cuban and Cuban-American friends I have learned of many old partners who continue to receive Foundation support and of new partners who have allowed the program to engage more closely with the Cuban authorities.

In particular, and symbolic of the changes moving relations between the two countries forward, is the Foundation's continuing support for the Cuban National Center for Sexual Education (CENESEX), which is led by Mariela Castro Espín, a well-regarded LGBT rights advocate who happens to be Raúl Castro's daughter. ■

**Cristina Eguizabal**, a former director of the Latin America and Caribbean Center at Florida International University, worked for the Foundation from 1995 to 2007 in its Latin America and Caribbean program, its Human Rights and International Cooperation program and in the Mexico City office. She now lives in San Salvador.

# FORD'S NEW APPROACH TO LICENSING GRANTEE PRODUCTS

By Alan Divack

**T**he Ford Foundation, in a move to promote greater transparency with its grants and make the products of its grantees more widely available, announced earlier this year that it now requires grant-funded products and research be made available using a Creative Commons license.

(The full text of the announcement is available at [fordfoundation.org/newsroom/934](http://fordfoundation.org/newsroom/934).)

The new policy also brings the practice of the Ford Foundation in line with that of many of its philanthropic peers, such as the Open Society Foundation, the Packard Foundation, the William and Flora Hewlett Foundation, and the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation.

But it raises several questions: What exactly does a Creative Commons license do, and what does it not do? What has changed as a result of the adoption of this policy? Are there any exceptions?

In U.S. law, copyright is actually a bundle of intellectual property rights that govern the use and distribution of ideas fixed in a tangible medium of expression. The ideas themselves are not protected by copyright until they are fixed: recorded, written down or captured in some way. Subject to certain exceptions and limitations, the holder of copyright may determine whether and under what conditions a work is performed, copied or used. Copyright protects the rights of copyright holders to derive some benefits, generally monetary, from their works, and to receive credit for work that they have done. It also protects the rights of the public to use these works once these conditions have been met.

Copyright protection is intended to encourage the creation of new work by both providing benefits for creators and rights holders and protecting the public's right to use. While earlier incarnations of copyright required creators or copyright holders to register with the Copyright Office in order to have their rights enforced, the Copyright Act of 1976 established that works were protected by copyright as soon as they were "fixed". Formal registration was no longer required to obtain protection.

It is ironic that this happened just as the internet was about to change the way information is produced and distributed.

The default mode of copyright was that all rights were reserved by the copyright holder,

who might be the creator or an entity that inherited or purchased these rights. With certain very specific exceptions, such as fair use, the use or sharing can require explicit permission from rights holders.

With the coming of the internet, however, sharing information widely became easier while those who wished to use information that was readily accessible in order to produce new works often had to go through a lengthy and sometimes difficult process of obtaining rights. Rights clearance can be a significant cost to many projects, and is occasionally an impediment to undertaking the project in the first place.

Creative Commons is meant to be a solution to this dilemma. Rather than a default of "all rights reserved", creators have the option of a variety of licenses that enable them to share their work broadly, subject to conditions that they choose. For example, a creator may stipulate that a work may be used only for non-commercial purposes, or in its entirety, or with attribution. The Foundation has adopted Creative Commons Attribution License 4.0, which is the most open form. It allows users to share by copying and redistributing the material in any medium or format, and to adapt it by remixing, transforming and building upon it for any purpose, even commercial, provided the user gives credit to the creator and does not impose additional restrictions on the material.

**W**hat does this mean in practice?

Whereas the Foundation's grant letter in its earlier form left copyright with the grantee, the new letter requires the grantee to use this CC license. In this way, work whose production is funded by the Ford Foundation will be able to be shared and used widely, which ultimately supports the mission of the Foundation.

Since one of the main purposes of copyright is to enable rights holders to monetize their rights, and since many products supported by the Foundation have little commercial value, whatever their intellectual value, this will rarely present a problem.

However, the policy does allow for many exceptions, which are outlined in the Guide to Foundation Actions. If, for example, a grant is intended to enable a grantee to monetize its products, the grant agreement

will allow it to retain commercial rights. This would be so for a documentary film, an artistic production or even a training manual. The Foundation's interest in these cases may be both in seeing that a useful or beautiful work is produced, and in providing a revenue stream for the creator or grantee.

Likewise, some grant products are meant to be confidential and would not be subject to CC licensing. For example a grantee may receive support to review its financial situation. Any report produced in this case would not be widely shared, so a CC license would be irrelevant.

What does CC not do? It does not guarantee dissemination of information. Rather, it removes impediments to the open sharing of information. A work that is licensed with the least restrictive license will not automatically be available to those who might wish

to use it. This requires an information infrastructure that goes beyond the question of licensing and rights.

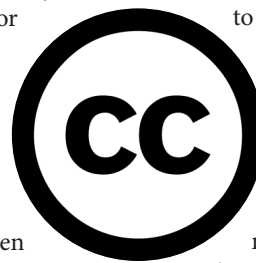
In order to be truly available, the creators and funders, such as grantees and foundations, must make work available on a

robust site, one that will not disappear when decisions are made about issues such as website design that often are unrelated to content. Brewster Kahle of the Internet Archive estimates that the average web site lasts 44 days, which is not much help for a user who looks for something after 44 weeks.

In addition to being exposed to search engines that will make information easier to find, technical and professional literature benefits from being included in specialized sites and databases, such as the Foundation Center's catalog of nonprofit literature.

The extent to which copyright that is held by entities other than creators encourages the production of future work is an important issue but beyond the scope of this article. What is important now is that the Foundation has taken a significant step toward, as it said in its announcement, "reaffirming its commitment to make the philanthropy sector a leader in information sharing and knowledge transfer."

*Alan Divack, who worked at the Foundation from 1988 through 2009 in Information Services and Program Management, is a program officer at the Lucius N. Littauer Foundation.*



# AGENT ORANGE: LOOKING FORWARD

By Charles Bailey

**Charles Bailey**, who until last June was the director of the Aspen Institute Agent Orange Program in Vietnam, worked for the Ford Foundation for 33 years, the first 30 in New Delhi, Cairo, Khartoum, Dhaka, Nairobi and Hanoi. He began as a summer intern and then for the first eight years was program assistant, assistant program officer, program officer and assistant to the representative.

For the next 22 years he was the Foundation's representative in Dhaka for 5 years, Nairobi for 7 and Hanoi for 10. He then moved to New York to direct Ford's Special Initiative on Agent Orange/Dioxin. "I was fortunate to have such opportunities," he says. "Being the Ford Foundation representative is absolutely the best job in the world!"

Now, he says, he continues to use the Aspen website "to show how it is possible to now bypass the fierce politics of the past on Agent Orange and to update about 30,000 visitors on the unfolding progress between the two governments."

This article is adapted from a speech he made in January in Hanoi at the Diplomatic Academy of Vietnam.

**The Diplomatic Academy** was practically my first stop when I arrived in Hanoi in 1997 and it is a real pleasure to return. To answer Prof. [Fred] Brown [of the School of Advanced International Studies at Johns Hopkins University], the Ford Foundation invested about \$20 million through 110 grants in international relations in Vietnam over a 15-year period. The grants funded the Ministry of Foreign Affairs, the Academy and related agencies to send their staff for overseas study, conduct research and organize conferences.

But among those conferences I want to particularly highlight the Academy's conference on "The Future of Relations between Vietnam and the United States" in October 2003, which Director-General Trinh Quang Thanh and Professor Brown organized in Washington, D.C. The honest and often warm ambiance of the conference demonstrated beyond doubt that both Vietnamese and Americans—official and unofficial—were determined to broaden and deepen the



Charles Bailey with a young boy at Tu Du Hospital in Ho Chi Minh City.

bilateral relationship.

It was this mix of official and unofficial participants, and the skillful guidance of Ambassador Trinh Quang Thanh and Professor Brown, that permitted informal, friendly and frank discussion.

We started with the easy part—the briskly growing trade between the two countries—, went on to the somewhat more challenging—China and regional security—and ended up in the most challenging: the legacies of the war and especially Agent Orange.

At the time Agent Orange was still an extremely sensitive subject. The Vietnamese authorities and the U.S. government were literally poles apart on the impacts on the environment and on human health. But as Bui The Giang, one of the participants in the conference, put it, "Like it or not, we have to talk about [Agent Orange] and deal with it, and recognize the fact that all cases come from people who lived in areas, or were related to people, affected by Agent Orange. This is an issue that must have a humanitarian solution."

The Conference Report concluded that "Without waiting for any formal resolution, the U.S. Government should be more sensitive to the Vietnamese views on the Agent Orange issue."

The conference thus helped set the stage for a turning point on Agent Orange: a joint statement by President George Bush and President Nguyen Minh Triet in November 2006. The statement acknowledged the benefits to be had from U.S. help with cleaning up the dioxin at former military storage

sites in Vietnam. The statement created new possibilities, but did not provide the practical and tangible means to move ahead.

There the matter might have remained but for two initiatives, one from a member of the U.S. Senate Appropriations Committee, Sen. Patrick Leahy, and his staff member, Tim Rieser, and the other from the president of the Ford Foundation, **Susan Berresford**, and myself.

In December 2006 I approached Vice Minister Ambassador Le Van Bang, who invited us to continue the work we had begun in 2000 on Agent Orange. So we continued. We filled in the missing middle ground between the two poles with other

actors: local NGOs, international NGOs, 17 American foundations, UNDP, UNICEF and the governments of Ireland, the Netherlands, Greece and the Czech Republic.

Between 2000 and 2011, the Ford Foundation invested \$17.1 million in 82 grants for work on Agent Orange.

How were these funds used?

In Vietnam, Ford grant recipients developed treatments and support services for Agent Orange victims; identified and began to clean up dioxin hotspots; and rebuilt rural livelihoods in areas that had been sprayed. These actions benefited more than 10,000 Vietnamese in eight provinces.

In the U.S., Ford grantees engaged with policy makers in Washington and reached out to the American public, who were unaware that dioxin continues to be a significant problem for Vietnam. The American public and lawmakers now agree that "Agent Orange is a humanitarian concern we can do something about."

And we helped launch a Track II process. In February 2007, one of your senior colleagues, Madame Ton Nu Thi Ninh, Susan Berresford and Walter Isaacson, the president of the Aspen Institute, launched an eminent persons group. It's called the U.S.-Vietnam Dialogue Group on Agent Orange/Dioxin and is the first two-way, genuinely free-flowing, channel between the U.S. and Vietnam on Agent Orange. In 2010 the Dialogue Group released a Plan of Action that laid out what is needed to bring this legacy to an end.

Let me return now to Senator Leahy's

*Continued on next page*



# A TRIBUTE: SHEPARD STONE,

## ARCHITECT OF GERMANY'S RE-EDUCATION AND CO-BUILDER OF THE EUROPEAN UNION.

By James Huntley

**I**f Germany has largely been re-oriented and accepted into the ranks of civilized nations, and if the European Union has evolved into a 28-state model of international unification of nations by peaceful means, **Shepard Stone**—the son of a Jewish tailor from Latvia who settled in New Hampshire—deserves a good chunk of the credit.

For two years (1965 to 1967) I served on Shepard Stone's staff in the International Affairs Division of the Ford Foundation, and earlier under Shep in Germany.

During that time, when **John J. McCloy** was Chairman of Ford's Board of Trustees, Stone and a small staff continued the institution-building and human resource development that he had so ably undertaken, under McCloy's direction, from 1949 to 1954, in preparing West Germany for an appropriate role in the modern world. I was lucky to serve under Stone in Germany (1952



Shepard Stone

to 1955) and again when we undertook, at Ford, to use many of the same tools for development of the entire Atlantic community—especially for the nourishment of the burgeoning European Community.

Times changed and the Ford Foundation understandably turned its attention to other fields of work after 1968. Many felt then that the "Atlantic" work was done, or at any rate had been given a big push. I left to head a project that Ford had helped start in England; **Joe Slater**, Shep's number two, who had worked for military government in Berlin, went off to run several institutions, including the Aspen Institute, simultaneously, and Stone and others retired. Then, in 1990, Shep died of a heart attack.

Thus McCloy's, Stone's, Slater's and Ford's tremendous undertaking, within government and later at Ford, laid the groundwork for perhaps the single most important and effectual element in the American trajectory of international leadership in the period

1949 to 1973. Historians have written a great deal about some aspects of this undertaking, but emphasis has been placed mostly on such economic features as the Marshall Plan and the security frameworks, such as NATO. Less attention has been given to the social "reconstruction of Germany", to the similar undertakings in other key countries such as Italy and France, and the preparations and "push" for the eventual European Union.

**I was lucky to serve under Stone in Germany and again when we undertook, at Ford, to use many of the same tools for development of the entire Atlantic community.**

Stone and his various enterprises had a great deal to do with all this. All civic institutions in Europe, from local to national government to women's groups to all aspects of education, to the media and political parties, were "friendly targets" and most often by means of carefully crafted exchanges of leaders, actual and prospective. This contin-

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leadership on this issue. Since 2007 the U.S. Congress has appropriated a total of \$136 million for Agent Orange in Vietnam. This breaks down to \$105 million for clean-up of dioxin-contaminated soils at the Da Nang and Bien Hoa airbases and \$31 million for health/disability services.

This Congressional funding, implemented by USAID, has already had a positive impact on the bilateral relationship. For example, after the ground-breaking in August 2012 for the clean-up of the Da Nang airport, a Vietnamese friend said to me: "With every decade that passed with no action, our hopes dwindled that anything would ever be done about Agent Orange. Now we see the U.S. government taking action. We think it helps turn us to a new page in our relationship."

This is progress worth celebrating. The environmental clean-up promotes further progress on what is the heart of the matter: a full response, to the extent possible, to the needs of people with disabilities linked to

dioxin exposure, that is, to the Agent Orange victims. Senator Leahy and his Congressional colleagues have just presented us a way to do this.

The Senator visited Da Nang last April (2014) for the "power up" of the giant \$84 million furnace that is now busily destroying the dioxin on the airbase. In his speech he said: "Today we are here to pay tribute to the joint United States-Vietnamese effort to address the legacy of Agent Orange... [Our goal is] to show that, after so many years, the United States did not ignore this problem. We returned and we are taking care of it... [Another goal is] to improve services for people with disabilities, regardless of the cause, including [those] which may have been caused by Agent Orange."

You will notice the two uses of "cause" in that sentence. The first, "regardless of cause," represents the U.S. State Department's position, which does not recognize a link between dioxin exposure and ill health and

birth defects. The second usage in the same sentence is "services for people with disabilities....including [those] which may have been caused by Agent Orange."

That was April 2014. In December the U.S. Congress approved the 2015 Appropriations Act and President Obama signed it into law. The Act contains two key passages on health/disability services and Agent Orange.

First: "...*funds appropriated under the heading 'Development Assistance' shall be made available for health/disability activities in areas sprayed with Agent Orange or otherwise contaminated with dioxin.*"

And second: "[These funds] should prioritize assistance for individuals with severe upper or lower body mobility impairment and/or cognitive or developmental disabilities."

The Act thus makes it clear that the funds for health/disability services will need to be more tightly focused. Specifically, future American assistance for health/disability

*Continued on page 9*

# A LIFE IN DEVELOPMENT: "SEIZING THE OPPORTUNITIES"

When **William Gamble**, who worked for the Foundation for 20 years in several overseas positions, observed his 95th birthday earlier this year, he said that he retains "great respect for the Ford Foundation, its objectives and, in particular, the support I always received from the Foundation officers, headquarters and regional program staff members."

This article, in which he recounts his experiences during a long life-time spent working in international development, is adapted from a speech he gave 25 years ago in his hometown of Shenandoah, Iowa, after he received the Distinguished Achievement Citation from Iowa State University, his alma mater. The article on which this is based was published by his daughter, Kathleen Gamble Pilugin, earlier this year in *The Baltimore Post-Examiner*, a news web site.



**I have been fortunate** throughout my life and have also had lots of opportunities. So, if I can take any credit for my career, it really comes down to seizing the opportunities as they presented themselves.

Forty-two years ago we were living in Shenandoah. The Second World War was over. I had a good job teaching vocational agriculture at the high school. The world was full of opportunities. But somewhere along the way I had been bitten by the bug to get into international work.

And then President Harry Truman presented his Point Four Program to the country in 1949 and it was as if he were talking directly to me when he said: "We must embark on a bold new program for making the benefits of our scientific advances and industrial progress available for the improvement and growth of underdeveloped areas."

So my wife, Virginia, and I embarked on our journey. By 1952 I had the job I wanted with the U.S. Department of Agriculture and we started our international career.

Our families must have thought we were a bit out of our minds to want to go to the other side of the world, to Burma, with two

boys aged 6 and 4. Burma in the early 1950s was just starting to recover from the war and it had suffered a great deal. It was also just starting on its path as an independent country from its past as a part of the British Empire.

Burma was different from anything we had ever known. The language, the religion with 95 percent having strong Buddhist beliefs, the standard of living and many other things were completely new to us. But we soon learned the many good things about Burma and especially the Burmese people, who were kind, respected one another, were generous and had a great desire for education.

The country was starting on an education and development program to establish a national system of vocational agriculture in its secondary and high schools. This program fit my training and experience and I was able to work closely with Burmese colleagues to develop both of these programs.

One of the things I learned very early in Burma was that you do not transfer Iowa or U.S. agriculture to it or any other country. This is a misconception that one often hears: "We'll go over there and teach them how to farm since we have such productive farms here in America." But those other places aren't America and a whole set of agricultural problems—supplies, roads, transport, size of farms, ability to take economic risk and many others—are very different.

Farmers are very smart people and good economists in Iowa. The same is true in Burma as in any of the countries in which I worked. Therefore, it is necessary to understand the agricultural and economic

conditions under which the farmers in another country must operate before trying to transfer any agricultural practice.

After two years in Burma I accepted a position with the Ford Foundation to help develop a National Agricultural Junior College to train agricultural teachers and extension agents. We moved up country to Pinyinmana. In those days, the Burmese government

only controlled the country during the day, and not always even then. Insurgents were always blowing up railroad bridges, and extension work in outer villages was doubly challenging as you really did have to make it home by dark or you might not make it home at all.

For the first two years in Pinyinmana we had permanent army outposts surrounding the college to keep the insurgents from stealing our livestock. Running gun battles were a regular form of entertainment. Virginia and I wondered what we had let ourselves into with gunfire about us almost every night, but the boys thought they were in heaven, with a real live cowboy movie being played out all around them.

We were the only foreigners in the town. Electricity was available only at night and often not even then. They always "rested" the local diesel generator on Monday.

I was able to speak and understand enough of the Burmese language to talk to farmers. I was never able to teach in Burmese but I worked out a system where I taught in English and the students could respond either in Burmese or English. I could understand Burmese sufficiently for this and the Burmese students could understand English but often had difficulty expressing themselves. The system worked very well.

After seven years in Burma we returned to the U.S. where I received my doctorate from Cornell University. We returned to Burma but the winds of change were blowing. The great expectations of independence were not achieved because of internal troubles

*Continued on next page*



between some of the tribes and the Burmese and a slower economic growth than desired. So, in 1962, General Ne Win and the army took over in a military coup. General Ne Win was quite xenophobic and with the army take-over all foreigners were asked to leave. General Ne Win did invite me personally to his office to tell me there was nothing personal in this but he just wanted the country to go it alone.

In spite of being asked to leave, Burma holds a special place in our memories.

**In 1963 I was asked** by the Ford Foundation to go to Mexico. It was a great opportunity for me. Mexico was a country with a very old culture, not as old as Burma, but with a proud history. It was a country of great contrasts, with a very highly educated and sophisticated elite, a growing middle class and a great mass of poor.

My first responsibility in Mexico was to determine what programs the Foundation should support in agriculture. In order to do this it was necessary to travel throughout the country, learn the language, meet with the most prominent Mexicans in leadership positions in agriculture and to meet and talk to farmers. I spent my first year really educating myself on Mexican agriculture and gaining the confidence of the Mexican leaders.

As a result of my observations and recommendations, the Ford Foundation entered into a long-term program to support the development of a strong post-graduate college of agriculture with an excellent library, good research facilities and many fellowships for outstanding young Mexicans to study for their Ph.D. degrees in the United States. The agricultural graduate program has become one of the foremost in Latin America today.

We also assisted in developing the now world-famous International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center (CIMMYT), which the Mexican Government, the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Foundation created in 1965. It was for his work at this Center that Dr. Norman Borlaug received the Nobel Peace Prize.

(See Lowell Hardin's obituary on page 12.)

After seven years in Mexico, we continued our Latin American adventure with a move to Bogotá, Colombia, for two more years, where the Ford Foundation helped establish the International Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT), another center that worked on the development of improved food crops for the tropical part of South America.

From there we moved to Lagos, Nigeria, where I assumed responsibility for programs

in support of agriculture, education, social sciences, family planning and management in 14 West African countries, from Senegal to Zaire. This was a real change from the Latin culture. Living in Africa as a white person, one learns what it is like to be in a minority group. It was a good experience for me and my family. We had it reaffirmed that basically all people are good and an understanding of race, religion and culture is just part of what we need in order to appreciate and respect one another.

After three years in Lagos, I was invited to become the Director General of the International Institute of Tropical Agriculture (IITA) with headquarters in Ibadan, Nigeria. IITA was built on 2,500 acres with cooperating research programs in countries in West and East Africa and in Brazil, with cooperating varietal trials in about 50 countries. About 150 scientists from 25 countries were on staff with a total of 1,200 employees. Support for the Institute came from the U.S., Canada, Great Britain, West Germany, Belgium, Switzerland, Italy, Australia, Japan and agencies from these and other countries.

In Nigeria, we could never depend on the power or water supply from public sources, nor were supplies available or facilities to maintain equipment. Therefore, we had to be able to generate our own electricity, provide our water and sewer system, repair shops for all the scientific equipment, maintain a fleet of about 400 cars and trucks, and purchase our supplies and equipment abroad. It was like operating a small but highly technical city that was very well maintained at the best international standard.

We always had about 30 post-graduate students in residence each year doing research for work with our senior scientist toward their master's or doctoral degrees at universities in the U.S., Europe or Africa. We had many short courses and international conferences each year that we organized and conducted with simultaneous translation in English and French.

After five years at IITA, I was presented with another opportunity. A new International Institute, the thirteenth in the international network, was just being established in The Hague, Netherlands, with a mandate to assist developing countries, on their request, in agricultural research and management. I was invited to be the founding director. It was too challenging an assignment to pass up.

Again, we moved to a new culture, but fortunately the Dutch are outstanding linguists and almost everyone speaks English.

Our work had little to do with Holland as it was only a convenient headquarters location but the Dutch were always most helpful to us. It was in the developing countries where we had our responsibility. In the first year as head of the Institute I traveled the world and met with the directors of agricultural research from 40 countries to discuss our potential support to them and to better understand their problems.

It all went well and over the next four years our staff had real success in helping about 20 countries in Asia, Africa and Latin America evaluate their research programs and initiate improvements in their research organization and management.

When I was young and riding my pony to the one-room country school, I dreamed about a lot of things, but never in my wildest dreams did I ever imagine such an interesting career and life as I have had. It has been through the excellent work of others that I have had these achievements. My role, for the most part, has been to provide leadership and to take the opportunities that have arisen. ■

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## Agent Orange

*Continued from page 7*  
services should focus first and foremost on the people with severe physical and/or mental disabilities who live in areas that were sprayed with Agent Orange or in areas near dioxin hotspots.

People in our two countries and indeed people all over the world now know that Agent Orange is a humanitarian concern we can do something about. This Act helps us to better get on with that task. Now we need a new discussion between the governments of the U.S. and Vietnam and deft diplomacy on both sides.

U.S. government assistance to victims of unexploded ordinance has for many years helped everyone with a traumatic injury, whether or not it came from an unexploded bomb or some other cause. Assistance to people with severe disabilities would work the same way.

For the Vietnamese, the first concern is providing services to Agent Orange victims. Research I conducted in Da Nang a year ago shows that a very large majority of Agent Orange victims are people with the conditions named in the Act. Funds will always be limited in relation to the needs, but this focus ensures that the majority of the available American funding will help people of greatest concern. ■

# DORI MAYNARD'S LEGACY: DIVERSITY IN THE MEDIA



PHOTO BY JANE TYSKA / BAY AREA NEWS GROUP / SAN JOSE MERCURY NEWS / TNS / LANDOV

**Dori J. Maynard was president of the Robert C. Maynard Institute for Journalism Education.**

*When **Jon Funabiki** worked in the Media, Arts and Culture program he helped support the Maynard Institute for Journalism Education, co-founded by the late Robert Maynard who, when he became editor and publisher of *The Oakland Tribune*, was the first African-American to own a general circulation newspaper in this country. Funabiki, a journalism professor at San Francisco State University, wrote this article following a memorial service for Dori J. Maynard, Robert's daughter, who was president of the institute and who died in February.*

**I** joined hundreds of family members, friends, journalists and funders in mourning the death of Dori J. Maynard...an unflinching critic of the news media's treatment of African Americans and other minority groups.

Later that night, I conjured Dori's spirit, values and teachings to help students in my media class...understand the need to promote diversity in journalism....They rewarded me with a vigorous and engaged discussion.

And so, within the span of less than 12 hours, I soared from feelings of profound sadness to feelings of great optimism about the possibilities for the future. All because of the power of Dori's big idea: U.S. journalism has a persistent problem with diversity, and we can do something about it.

For 14 years, Dori served as president of the Oakland-based institute, which spon-

sored programs that were part training, part advocacy and a whole lot of inspiration. They trained new journalists of color and then lobbied editors at newspapers and television stations to hire them. The latter goal sometimes was the hardest part....Dori also became one symbol of an unprecedented initiative to reform American journalism from the inside out. It paralleled the U.S. civil rights movement.

**One of Dori's accomplishments was to develop a training curriculum for the Fault Lines diversity framework devised earlier by her father. Now in use in many classrooms and newsrooms, it asks journalists to recognize that the U.S. society is divided by many fissures—race, class, gender, generations and geography.**

The organization was founded in 1977 as the Institute for Journalism Education. At the time, newspaper, television and radio news operations had hired scant numbers of African Americans and other minorities. Just nine years earlier, in 1968, President Lyndon B. Johnson's Kerner Commission...scored the news media for wildly inaccurate coverage of the riots in Los Angeles, Detroit, Newark and other cities and for failing to hire African Americans as reporters and editors. Most damning was this finding: "The media report and write from the standpoint of a white man's world. The ills of the ghetto,

the difficulties of life there, the Negro's burning sense of grievance, are seldom conveyed."

Among the institute's many co-founders was Dori's father, Robert C. Maynard....When he passed away in 1993, the institute was re-named in his honor. Dori, a newspaper reporter and Harvard University Nieman Fellow, joined the board and became president in 2001.

At that time, I directed the Ford Foundation's funding in journalism, and I supported the institute as part of an initiative to promote diversity in journalism. Other groups, such as Unity: Journalists of Color, also became foot soldiers in the campaign for newsroom diversity. In the beginning, Dori seemed a bit daunted by the responsibility of running

a national center, including the challenges of fundraising. But over the years, her voice and confidence as a national thought leader only grew. In trying to win over allies, she could be patient, funny and acerbic as needed.

....in the overflowing chapel in Oakland, retired KPIX television anchor Barbara Rogers recalled how Dori could be sharp—and on point—in her appraisal of the news

media's shortcomings. Rogers read one of Dori's essays, which served both as Father's Day tribute to Robert Maynard and a critique about the news media's stereotyping of African American men. "Committed fathers of color are everywhere in my life," Dori wrote, "but virtually nowhere in the media."

Novelist and poet Ishmael Reed credited the institute for training "hundreds of word warriors who fight stereotyping." He retold a story about Dori's own run-in with ignorance. Once, a staffer at a hotel told her to leave the premises. Her offense? They saw

*Continued on next page*

her talking to a white man in the lobby and assumed she was ... what, a prostitute?

One of Dori's accomplishments was to develop a training curriculum for the Fault Lines diversity framework devised earlier by her father. Now in use in many classrooms and newsrooms, it asks journalists to recognize that the U.S. society is divided by many fissures—race, class, gender, generations and geography. You might think of it as a method of research, interrogation and discovery. Reporters should consider these Fault Lines as they investigate, source and frame their stories to uncover a more comprehensive truth.

So that was the lesson I took to my students ....I covered some of the history that none in the group are old enough to have personally experienced. I explained the Fault Lines framework and how it enhanced journalistic ethics and values. And then together we applied the Fault Lines to a recent local news story about a clash over the use of a soccer field in San Francisco's Mission District. It pitted longtime residents, mostly Latino, against newly arrived residents, who are mostly white, tech company workers.

The students came up with questions that should be asked and issues that should be

investigated. They are a very diverse group, as diverse as today's America. They got the Fault Lines concept, proof of the lasting value of Dori's work. That was enough to buoy my spirits. But then they did one more thing. At the end, a group of students presented me a greeting card. It's a mystery to me how they managed to find and sign a greeting card while we were in session. They wanted to convey their deepest sympathies for the loss of Dori. I was touched beyond belief, and it helped me feel even more optimistic about the future of journalism—so long as Dori's legacy can be kept alive. ■

## IN MEMORIAM

**Owen Brough**, who worked for more than a decade in the Foundation's Middle East offices beginning in 1962, died in January.

Mr. Brough began at Ford as a program specialist in agricultural economics in the Office of Overseas Development in Beirut, working on a two-year assignment. After a year away he became a program specialist in Beirut and then held a series of positions, primarily in agricultural development.

He became a program adviser on agriculture in 1968 and then a project specialist in the Beirut office. In 1972 he was appointed deputy director of administration for the Arid Lands Agricultural Development program (ALAD) and then project specialist in agricultural economics. He transferred to the Cairo office soon before retiring from the Foundation in 1976.

After leaving Ford he became deputy director of the International Development Research Center/International Center for Agricultural Research in Dry Areas (IDRC/ICARDA) in Aleppo, Syria.

**Jennie M. Amadei**, an administrative secretary in several offices at the Foundation and a classically trained musician who performed as a soloist at many of the Caroling in the Garden events during Christmas, died in January.

Ms. Amadei had worked for several corporations before joining Ford, including International Business Machines, the International Standard Engineering Company at its office in Rome and the Francis I. duPont company, also in Rome.

She went to work at Ford as a secretary

in the Asia and Pacific office in 1970, then in Higher Education and Research and the Office of Communications. In 1977 she was named administrative secretary to **David Davis** in the communications office and then executive assistant to **Fred Friendly**, who then was a program adviser.

She moved on to be a secretary in the Human Rights and Governance office in 1981 until her retirement in 1984, leaving to rejoin IBM at its Westchester County complex.

**Rachel Daira Baldinger Ward**, widow of the late **F. Champion Ward**, who had been a vice president of the Foundation, died in January in Branford, Conn., at the age of 101.

She had been involved in many social causes throughout her life and was described in her obituary in the online news service Greenwich (Conn.) Time as a "politic champion of the disenfranchised".

Among her many activities, she was on the board of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) in Greenwich, where she and her husband lived after he returned from India in 1959 to work in the New York office; lobbied on behalf of health aides and domestic workers; served on the board of the Fair Housing Coalition; was a delegate to the Pacem in Terris conference in Geneva, Switzerland, in 1967; served on the Greenwich Board of Social Services; and was the founding president of the National Conference on Social Welfare.

Mrs. Ward, a graduate of Oberlin College, was elected the first female president of the Alumni Association and in 1996 received the college's Alumni Medal. In 2010, the Alumni Association named its new center

in her honor.

Among her survivors are three children, Geoffrey C. Ward of New York City, Andrew Ward of Davis, Calif., and Helen Ward of South Portland, Maine.

**David Henry Clark**, who worked for nearly three decades on development projects in Southeast Asia, including time with the Foundation, died April 15 in Orono, Maine, at the age of 82.

Mr. Clark worked for Ford as assistant director of the Economic Research Centre at the National University of Singapore. His work as a specialist in education finance for several international aid agencies also took him to Indonesia, Bangladesh, Laos, Sri Lanka and the Philippines. During most of that time he was on leave from the University of Maine, where he was a professor in the economics department.

A native of Tulsa, he earned a bachelor's degree in economics from the University of Oklahoma and a master's degree and doctorate from the University of Wisconsin.

**Frederick Bohen**, who was hired as assistant to the president in 1969 and became program officer in charge of Public Policy Studies in 1972 just prior to retiring from the Foundation, died March 15.

**Alexandrina (Reena) Marcelo**, a program officer for Asian programs and then in the Human Development and Reproductive Health program, died in January. She had worked in those positions from 1996 to 1998.

**Josephine Brune**, travel manager in the Office of the Secretary from 1995 to 2008, died in March. ■



# LOWELL HARDIN, WORLD LEADER IN AGRICULTURE

**L**owell Hardin, who was instrumental in establishing an international network of agricultural research centers that generated what has become known as the Green Revolution, died April 28 at his home in West Lafayette, Ind. He was 97.

Soon after going to work for the Ford Foundation in 1965, Mr. Hardin helped develop a network of research centers around the world that are designed to promote food security, eradicate poverty and manage natural resources in developing countries.

His work built on what was learned at the first such institution, the International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) in the Philippines, which now is one of 15 research centers around the world co-ordinated by the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research (CGIAR), a worldwide partnership whose work “contributes to the global effort to tackle poverty, hunger and major nutritional imbalances, and environmental degradation.” It has 10,000 scientists and staff working in 96 countries.

The concept took root, Mr. Hardin once explained, during a conversation on a New York City commuter train between two early innovators in international development, George Harrar, president of the Rockefeller Foundation, and **Forrest “Frosty” Hill**, vice president of overseas development for the Ford Foundation.

As Mr. Hardin described it in an interview in *Agricultures Magazine*, a publication of Purdue University where he had taught agricultural economics, Harrar said, “You know where it’s most difficult to fill the food bowls for people? It’s the rice bowls in Asia,” and Hill said, “Why don’t we go to The Philippines and take a look?”

“They talked a lot about it,” Mr. Hardin said, “and came up with the idea of establishing an international center in the midst of where the problem was. Employ a cadre of multi-national scientists, they figured, then turn this small academy of able people loose and see if they can’t do something about the food supply....The upshot was that Rockefeller put in the staff and Ford built the facility” in 1960. IRRI, Hardin said, “with its sister corn and wheat center in Mexico, catalyzed the Green Revolution in Asia.”

Mr. Hardin was head of the agricultural economics department at Purdue when Frosty Hill retired in 1965, and he was asked



**CIAT Director General Ruben Echeverría with Lowell Hardin, right, at Purdue University, in April 2011.**

by Ford to work for one year to develop an agricultural program in Latin America. His abilities and foresight were clearly evident, however, and, as he recalled, “about two-thirds of the way through the year Ford said, ‘Why don’t you stay?’”

He did, and for the next 17 years traveled throughout the world building a series of research centers that would coalesce into the CGIAR network and define the revolution in agricultural development.

One of those institutions, the International Center for Tropical Agriculture (CIAT), in Colombia, noted at his death that Mr. Hardin’s “seminal role in the creation of CIAT was an amazing institutional achievement....” Citing his ability to adapt his ideas to regional needs, it noted that the original proposal to set up the center, written by Mr. Hardin and Lewis M. Roberts of the Rockefeller Foundation, was unique in that it focused not “on just one crop or just one specific activity. Instead it would concentrate on identifying and solving problems in the agriculture and livestock production of the tropics”, an idea that Mr. Hardin himself later characterized as making CIAT a “center with a difference.”

“Our job as a foundation is to be catalytic,” Mr. Hardin once said. “We start things. We help them get to the place where we hope they can grow, and the world will support them.”

In the Purdue magazine interview he summed up his guiding principles. “The root cause of hunger is poverty,” he said.

“The world hasn’t figured out how to alleviate poverty. We haven’t solved the poverty problem at home, either, so who are we to tell somebody else how to deal with it? Hunger results from one’s inability to get access to food, not from the world’s inability to produce it. We will produce it as long as we keep our universities and research centers strong.”

In one newspaper interview he explained his success in working with farmers around the world as a result of his having been raised on a farm in Indiana. “I had no language skills,” he said, “but I could talk to a farmer. You’d get out your jackknife, you’d dig into the soil, and you’d look at the plants. You were communicating.”

Mr. Hardin earned a bachelor’s degree from Purdue in 1939, where one of his fondest memories was being managing editor of *The Exponent*, the university’s daily student newspaper—and of meeting a student who, a year after he graduated, became his wife, Mary.

He earned a doctorate from Cornell University and returned to teach at Purdue in 1943, becoming head of the agricultural economics department in 1953. He taught until leaving to work for Ford, an offer he often described as “the chance of a lifetime.”

He moved back to Purdue after leaving Ford in 1981 and became the assistant director of International Programs in Agriculture, a position he held until retiring in 2007.

Mr. Hardin is survived by three children, four grandchildren, a brother and a sister. ■

# LOWELL HARDIN: “QUIETLY INSPIRATIONAL”

By Sheila Avrin McLean

**I**t was the early 1970s and David Bell, then executive vice president of the Ford Foundation, asked me to join **Lowell Hardin**, by then a renowned agricultural specialist with the Ford Foundation, and representatives of the Rockefeller Foundation, FAO and UNDP at a meeting convened at the World Bank.

Lowell and Ralph Cummings, Lowell's counterpart at Rockefeller, were concocting an idea to follow up on the work being done by several new and promising agricultural research centers in The Philippines (the International Rice Research Institute, or IRRI) and Mexico (the International Maize and Wheat Improvement Center, or CIMMYT) by creating a coalition of donors run out of the World Bank called the Consultative Group for International Agricultural Research, or CGIAR.

The World Bank meeting was supportive of the notion but concluded by tying the future of the concept to a condition that the Indian Government would—quickly, with a deadline of at most, as I recall, three months—recognize as an “international organization” a yet-to-be created legal entity then in Hyderabad: ICRISAT, a research institution devoted to agriculture in the semi-arid tropics.

Other than Lowell and Ralph, the other experienced internationalists around the table thought this an impossible challenge. Essentially, the question was how to get a famously laborious and slow government bureaucracy to agree on a then-novel approach to a complicated legal structure. Lowell and Ralph assured the group “this can be done”, and I had the privilege, as a then very young and inexperienced lawyer, to assure, with another then-FF lawyer, **Phillip Hahn**, the legal niceties.

But it was Lowell and Ralph who teamed to do the “heavy lifting” of convincing the Indian complex of ministries to recognize an unusual legal entity inside India as having the characteristics of an international entity, tied to UN institutions, the World Bank and U.S. foundations.

And so began my work with Lowell, which was quietly inspirational and often very successful in finding solutions to hunger problems internationally. While the agreements, constitutions and by-laws

drafted for the emerging CGIAR centers and the system as a whole were my sphere, they would have been for naught but for the knowledge, grace and insights Lowell (and Ralph and other agricultural experts) shared in politically savvy ways with government ministries and bureaucrats as diverse and

far-flung as in India, Syria, Nigeria and other countries, enabling what nay-sayers said couldn't be enabled.

When I think of Lowell, I think of a gracious, informed man who knew how to put knowledge to work. I am sorry he is no longer with us. ■

## PERSONALS



**FROM BEIJING**—**Joan Kaufman** worked in the Foundation's Beijing office from 1996 to 2001 and now is director of the Columbia Global Center there, one of eight education and research facilities throughout the world set up by Columbia University. The Beijing center was one of the first two, opened in 2009. Joan is its third director, overseeing a variety of dialogues and initiatives throughout East Asia.

She's standing here with her family before the newly restored Bell Tower in China's capital, whose massive bronze bell behind them was used from ancient times until early in the 20th century to signal the opening and closing of the city gates. Joan is on the right and her husband, Mark Levine, is on the left. Between them are their children, Rosie Levine and Isaac Levine, all of them bundled up to withstand China's January cold.

## Shepard Stone

*Continued from page 7*

ued through Stone's work in Germany and later at Ford, continuously, from around 1949 to 1968.

From circa 1950 to the end of the Cold War in 1989, the core of this work was continued throughout western Europe, albeit at a diminishing pace, by the U.S. Information Agency, until its demolition in 2000 by Sen. Jesse Helms of North Carolina. A “European” effort continued from 1967 for another two or three years through a Ford office in Paris.

Although I've not done a careful bibliographical search, it is my belief that if a major historical enterprise could be launched, using Ford Foundation, U.S. Government and other archives, to put a suitable spotlight on what was done to support and mold the key institutional and human elements

that literally formed the core of development that made the years 1949 to 1975 so absolutely critical in clearing the path for a new era in international relations (the fruits of which were later squandered, some would argue), it would help immensely to clarify and illuminate what was done, and so positively done, to try to secure our future and those of our key partners to create a new united Europe.

In particular, I think a good biography of Shepard Stone should be commissioned, and I hope that some of those who read this article—my fellow-traveling LAFFers—will feel moved to push the idea along.

As a guide, much of the work done during the period I have written about is illuminated by my career papers, now at the Hoover Institution at Stanford University, and by my memoirs, *An Architect of Democracy: Building a Mosaic of Peace*, published by New Academia Publishing. ■

## The LAFFing Parade

**Maya Harris** has been appointed one of three senior policy advisers to Hillary Rodham Clinton as the former secretary of state, United States senator and First Lady begins her campaign to become president of the United States.

Harris has been a senior fellow at the Center for American Progress since 2008, when she left the Ford Foundation where she had been vice president for Democracy, Rights and Justice.

Before joining Ford she was the executive director of the Northern California chapter of the American Civil Liberties Union, following stints as dean of the Lincoln Law School of San Jose, Calif., a position she assumed when she was 29, and as a senior associate at PolicyLink. She also taught at the University of San Francisco School of Law and the New College of California School of Law in San Jose.

She is a graduate of the University of California at Berkeley and the Stanford University Law School. She was a clerk for United States District Court Judge James Ware and then worked in private practice in northern California, being named one of the Top 20 Up and Coming Lawyers Under 40 by The San Francisco Daily Journal.

In her work as a lawyer and with ACLU, Ford and the Center for American Progress she championed police reform and the rights of women, particularly women of color, both of which were cited in news reports as key to her appointment to the Clinton campaign.

Her sister, Kamala Harris, is attorney general of California.

**Akwasi Aidoo**, former executive director of TrustAfrica, a foundation he founded in 2006, has left that organization for a "multi-year role" as a senior fellow at Humanity United, a philanthropy created to "build peace, promote justice, end atrocities and advance human freedom".

TrustAfrica was created to advance equitable development and democratic governance in Africa. It is supported primarily by donations by some 14 foundations around the world but, Aidoo said in an interview published in Alliance Magazine, "African sources of support are key."

One of his goals, he said, was to increase support from African governments and companies to help with "issues that only an African foundation can deal with."

Among these issues, he cited "our work in illicit financial flows, our work on crimes of atrocity... our work in post-conflict Liberia,

which is one of the most difficult places you can imagine working in, and in Zimbabwe, which is a terribly failed state."

He said that such countries as Zimbabwe, Somalia, Sierra Leone and the Democratic Republic of the Congo are "big gaps in the donor landscape".

He continues that work at Humanity United, he told this newsletter, where he is helping to "continually refine its African program strategy and to build relationships with leading African philanthropists and institutions."

Aidoo worked at Ford from 1993 to 2006, when he left to set up TrustAfrica. He had been head of its office for West Africa and director of its Special Initiative for Africa.

He was educated in Ghana and the United States, earning a doctorate in medical sociology from the University of Connecticut in 1985. He then taught at universities in Ghana, Tanzania and the United States before joining Ford.

He is a member of several boards and chair of some, including the Fund for Global Human Rights, the Open Society Foundations Board for Africa and the Center for Civilians in Conflict.

**Radhika Balakrishnan and Leila Hessini** have been named recipients of the OpEd Project's Ford Public Voices Fellowship, an initiative designed to "dramatically increase the public impact of our nation's top and most diverse thinkers and to change the demographics of voice across the world."

The fellowships provide four day-long seminars, monthly phone calls with media professionals and on-going mentoring to help minorities, especially women, develop the inside information, high-level support and inside connections to "become influential on a large scale".

The project is a "collective of high-level working journalists who actively share our skills, resources and connections across color, class and gender lines.... We envision a world where the best ideas, regardless of where they come from, will have a chance to be heard and to shape society and the world."

The fellowships, funded beginning last year by Ford's Women's Human Rights Initiative, is part of a broader, multi-year, multi-institution partnership. They were given this year to 21 men and women who were selected "based on exceptional knowledge and expertise, as well as on the impact they have had in the U.S. and globally." Their work is in social justice, women's rights, economic and racial justice, HIV/AIDS, gay rights and sexual reproductive health, among other areas.

Balakrishnan is faculty director at the

Center for Women's Global Leadership and a professor in women and gender studies at Rutgers University. She worked for the Foundation from 1992 to 1995 in the Asia Programs, and is the author of many books and articles on economic policy and human rights, and on gender issues.

Hessini is chair of the Global Fund for Women and has worked for more 20 years in global advocacy, grant-making and organizing activities on behalf of women's human rights, including time spent in the Foundation's Cairo office. She directs the community engagement work of Ipas, an organization that works with health-care systems and providers to increase their skills and capacity to deliver safe abortion services.

**Brandee McHale** has been appointed president of the Citi Foundation and Director of Corporate Citizenship for Citi. She will oversee the foundation's work to "promote economic progress and improve the lives of people in low-income communities around the world." In making the announcement, the Citi foundation said that last year it "enabled 1.1 million people in 85 countries to work toward specific economic empowerment goals."

She also will be responsible for its "innovative Pathways to Progress initiative, which over three years aims to help 100,000 low-income young people gain the skills that lead to long-term employment."

McHale first joined Citi in 1991, working for nearly two decades in a variety of business management and philanthropy-related roles. She left in 2004 to work at Ford to develop a portfolio of investments that supported the efforts of low-income households to achieve financial success, and established a business case for financial inclusion.

**Mark Sidel** discussed the evolution of community foundations as the guest speaker at the Asia-Pacific Centre for Social Investment and Philanthropy meeting at the Swinburne University of Technology in Australia in March.

Sidel, the Doyle-Bascom Professor of Law and Public Affairs at the University of Wisconsin in Madison, noted that community foundations were "one of the first models to enable philanthropy to reach beyond the very wealthy, to enable more middle-class people to participate in community philanthropy," according to a report of his speech in a publication of ozphilanthropy, which reports on philanthropy in Australia.

While community foundations have grown significantly in the last 30 years, he said, "fueled by the development of

*Continued on next page*



# DOES FOUNDATION HISTORY MATTER?

PHOTOGRAPHS BY MANDELA GREGOIRE



Alan Divack, on the left, was the moderator for the discussion by panelists Patricia Rosenfield and Jim Smith of the Rockefeller Archive Center, and Darren Walker, president of the Ford Foundation, on the right.



Jim Smith, left, and Darren Walker ponder a point on foundation history and current giving.

**T**he New York chapter of the Laff Society presented a panel discussion on “Does Foundation History Matter?” at a gathering at the Foundation’s building in New York City on May 12.

Alan Divack, who worked in information services and program management at the Foundation and now is a program officer with the Lucious N. Littauer Foundation, was the moderator of the discussion. Panelists were Jim Smith and Patricia Rosenfield of the Rockefeller Archive Center and Darren Walker, Ford Foundation president.

The discussion was described by one of the more than a score of participants as “lively and wide-ranging” on such topics as the usefulness of and gaps in foundation archives, donor intent and the usefulness of foundation history in formulating new programs.



The “lively” discussion drew in a rapt audience.



Michael Seltzer, chairman of LAFF’s New York chapter, welcomed the panel members and audience.

donor-advised funds,” that very growth has hampered the foundations because much of their giving is limited by where and how the donors require their gifts be spent.

Sidel worked for the Ford Foundation in its Bangkok, Beijing, Hanoi and New Delhi offices from 1988 to 2000.

As a movement develops at private schools throughout the country encouraging white students and faculty to examine their own race and the effect their attitudes have had in their schools, the films of **Andre Robert Lee** are a significant part of the dialogue on what is increasingly being

referred to as “white privilege”.

Lee, a former program assistant at the Foundation, is the producer of a documentary, “I’m Not Racist... Am I?,” that is being shown at schools in many areas of the country. The film follows 12 students in private and public schools in New York City for a full year as they attend workshops that explore racism and white privilege and begin to question their own attitudes.

“School administrators tell me: ‘We realize we have a lot more work to do on these issues,’” Lee says in an article in The New York Times about the movement.

A previous film of his, “The Prep School Negro”, which examined his experience as one of the few African-American students enrolled in the 1980s at Germantown Friends, an elite Quaker school in Philadelphia, has been shown at hundreds of schools and, according to the article, “helped spur conversations about race and class that would not have been possible even 15 years ago.”

The full article, “At New York Private Schools, Challenging White Privilege From the Inside”, by Kyle Spencer, appeared in the February 20 issue of The Times.

*Continued on next page*

## LAFfing Parade

**Barbara Klugman** has co-authored an article in the journal of Reproductive Health Matters exploring the use of “strategic litigation” as a “powerful tool to advance rights as well as hold governments accountable and ensure compliance with human rights obligations.”

Klugman, who is an associate professor in the School of Public Health at the University of Witwatersrand in Johannesburg, worked with Women’s Link Worldwide (WLW), a human rights non-profit in Colombia that seeks to ensure gender equality throughout the world, to develop a test to determine when “an environment is conducive to social change through strategic litigation.”

Four conditions are necessary, she writes: “an existing rights framework, an independent and knowledgeable judiciary, civil society organizations with the capacity to frame social problems as rights violations and to litigate, and a network able to support and leverage the opportunities presented by litigation.”

She describes, with her co-author, Monica Roa of WLW, how the strategy was

used in two cases in Colombia to illustrate its effectiveness when “confronting a powerful public official who opposes reproductive rights.” The article is available online at [www.rhm-elsevier.com](http://www.rhm-elsevier.com)

Klugman worked at the Foundation from 2003 to 2009 as senior program officer for Sexual and Reproductive Health and Rights.

**Jael Silliman** has written an article about the last remaining Jews in Calcutta that has appeared on the online site of Time. She describes the decline of what once was a thriving community of Bagdadi Jews in that city, now known as Kolkata, who had played a key role in the city’s “mercantile development, engaged in governance and civic affairs, built impressive synagogues, established schools, and constructed magnificent buildings. Though never more than 4,000... the community was influential and thoroughly integrated in the fabric of” the city.

She traces the decline, beginning with the “tumultuous years” of the 1940s, until there now are just 20 left, “many old and infirm”. She, with members of her family, is one of those 20, and is active in preserving what still is there. She is documenting the impact of the Jewish community through a Nehru Ful-

## FINANCIAL REPORT 2014

BALANCE ON 12/31/13	\$10,267.51
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### INCOME

Dues, donations, interest	\$5,285.83
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### EXPENSES

Newsletters	\$2,161.40
Website	\$1,136.71
Secretarial services (Dorothy Nixon)	240.00
PO Box, supplies, postage	314.24
Paypal fees	40.20

<b>TOTAL EXPENSES</b>	<b>\$3,892.55</b>
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Income/Expenses	\$ 1,393.28
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<b>BALANCE ON 12/31/14</b>	<b>\$11,660.79</b>
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bright grant, and has started a digital archive.

Silliman spent six years at the Foundation as a program officer for Women’s Rights and Gender Justice and in the Reproductive and Sexual Rights program. She is the author of several books and articles and is an associate professor of women’s studies at the University of Iowa. ■