

THE LAFF SOCIETY

For the men and women engaged in Life After the Ford Foundation

Spring 2005

NO. 40

LAFFing Parade Two World Trouble-Spots

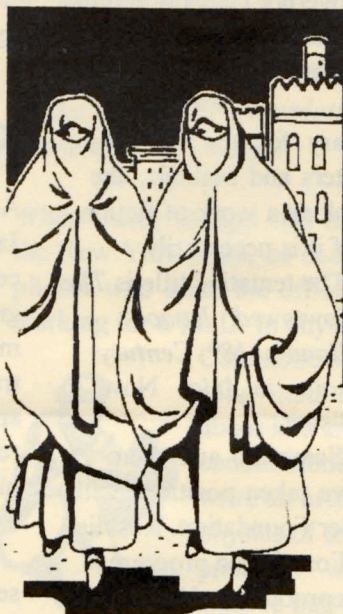
Adrienne Germaine, president of the International Women's Health Coalition, and **June Zeitlin**, executive director of the Women's Environment and Development Organization, attended the recent heated meeting of the U.N. Commission on the Status of Women and were quoted in *The New York Times*.

A major issue at the conference was the insistence by the official U.S. delegation that an anti-abortion amendment be included in a declaration affirming the platform for action adopted at the 1995 women's conference in Beijing. The U.S. position kept in turmoil the first four days of the two-week session involving some 6,000 representatives of women's and human-rights organization. Facing overwhelming opposition, the U.S. official delegation backed down, saying it was satisfied that the document did not guarantee the right to abortion.

The Times quoted Adrienne, the Foundation's representative in Bangladesh in the 1980s, and June, director of the Foundation's Governance and Civil Society program in the 1990s, as welcoming the U.S. decision to back down. Terming the original U.S. position a "mischievous distraction," Adrienne said the conference could now get down to the business that had brought 6,000 women and government ministers to New York. Said June, "We hope they continue on this path without taking any more detours, and join women around the world and the governments in unequivocally reaffirming the Beijing platform and withdrawing the amendment."

U.S.- IRAN RELATIONS

BY GARY SICK



Gary Sick, the Foundation's deputy director for International Affairs from 1982 to 1987, is now acting director of Columbia's Middle East Institute. A member of the National Security Council under Presidents Ford, Carter, and Reagan, Gary is an authority on Iranian-U.S. Relations. The following are extracts from his testimony before the House International Relations Committee, expressing his concern that the rhetoric on both sides may spin into actual combat.

In the most recent Majles elections in Iran, the clerical authorities in the Guardian Council invoked their oversight responsibility to disqualify nearly all of the reformist candidates, thereby rigging the election in favor of the conservative forces.

On one hand, this kind of blatant abuse is a reminder of the fact that the preponderance of political and security power is in the hands of the power structure that has dominated Iran since the revolution in 1979. But it is also a reminder that the Iranian people have not been cowed into submission and that they continue to demand their rights. Despite the jailings and torture and public attacks, courageous Iranians continue to speak out.

I was particularly impressed by the fact that Grand Ayatollah Hossein Ali

(cont. on p. 4)

Emmett Carson, who completed his term as LAFF president a few months ago, served as plenary speaker at "Community Foundations: Symposium on a Global Movement" in Berlin. Emmett is CEO of the Minneapolis Foundation and chair of the Council on Foundation's Board of Directors. He focused his talk on the role of philanthropy in addressing social justice issues – a field in which

he has produced more than 75 books, articles and other publications. The symposium was coordinated by the Worldwide Initiatives for Grantmaker Support (WINGS), an organization that serves more than 100 associations of grantmakers and support organizations around the world.

The Lancet, the British medical publication, published a long piece by **Davidson Gwatkin**, now a consultant

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on health and poverty to the World Bank, criticizing the United Nations Millennium Development Goals (MDGs) for underestimating the health needs of the world's poor. Dave worked as population specialist for the Foundation in India and New York.

"The health objectives set out in the MDGs," Dave writes, "do not share the focus on poor people that typifies the MDGs overall. Rather, they call for improvements in national averages that can be achieved through gains in both advantaged and disadvantaged groups. As a result, any reduction in society-wide average rates of death or illness can provide a wide range of outcomes for poor people."

You can get the full article from *The Lancet* at: http://pdf.thelancet.com/pdfdownload?uid=llan.365.9461.review_and_opinion.32382.1&x=x.pdf

Terry Bigalke, director of the East-West Center's Education Program in Hawaii, traveled to Aceh, Indonesia, and Sri Lanka to meet with relief agencies that are receiving money from the Center's tsunami fund. Terry was a program officer for the Foundation in Jakarta in the early 1980s.

Mary Camper-Titsingh, LAFF secretary-treasurer, is an author! Since her retirement from the Foundation, she has been working on a book about an 18th century ancestor, Isaac Titsingh. A high official with the Dutch East India Company, Isaac was the first European to be accepted as an accredited ambassador at the courts of both the Japanese Shogun and the Chinese Emperor. He also met with the British Governor General in India, Lord Cornwallis – yes, the same Lord Cornwallis who surrendered at Yorktown.

While Mary found a rich trove of Isaac's letters and writings, she wrote the book as a work of fiction since much of it is necessarily speculation. The tentative title is *The Man Who Kowtowed: Isaac Titsingh Holland's 18th Century Merchant-Scholar in Asia*. Now, to line up a publisher.

Rosalia Sciortino and **Alan Feinstein** have taken positions with the Rockefeller Foundation. Rosalia, former Ford Foundation program officer for Reproductive Health and Population in Jakarta and Manila, is now Rockefeller's regional director for Southeast Asia. Alan, former Education and Culture program officer in Ford's Jakarta office, is now program officer for Culture and Creativity in Rockefeller's regional office in Bangkok.

Though technically retired, **Paul Strasburg** (Latin America and President's Office from 1969 to 1973) keeps busy. Living in California most of the year, he chairs the board of the International Rivers Network, "a role that keeps me in close touch with the environmental depredations of our government and its corporate supporters as well as with the ever-inspiring young people who are determined to resist them." He also supports and counsels other nonprofits in the Bay Area. The rest

of the year he operates a small tree farm in western Massachusetts and is active in a landowner's cooperative dedicated to sustainable forest management and local economic development.

Robert P. (Bob) Greene

(Indonesia office, 1969-72) gives us two addresses. From May 1 to October 31, he's at 18 Forest Gate, Yarmouth Port, MA 02675. From November 1 to April 30, he's at 422 Foxhill Drive, DeBary, FL 32713. Or try his e-mail: egreen@media.mit.edu.

50th Anniversary

According to late arriving reports from Jakarta, the Ford Foundation celebrated the 50th anniversary of its grant-making in Indonesia with two major productions: a festival of traditional performing arts and a spectacular book of photographs and reminiscences about the country's history and Foundation-funded projects over the half-century.

The arts festival was spread over several days. Former members of the field office staff joined large numbers of Foundation friends at festival events. Performers were drawn from local groups throughout the country that have been aided by the Foundation's program in the arts and cultural preservation.

Celebrating Indonesia: Fifty Years with the Ford Foundation 1953-2003 is a coffee-table-sized book of 238 pages produced by a team of Foundation staff and Indonesian writers. The main text, by Goenawan Mohamad, a distinguished Indonesian essayist, is an original and unvarnished reflection on the country's first half-century and the place of the Foundation in it. "Sidebars" describe many of the institutions and projects the Foundation has supported, and interviews with grantees offer a collective account of the themes and

challenges that have resonated through the country's first five decades. The text is illustrated by more than 200 contemporary and historical photographs.

15 Remarkable Years

The NHP Foundation was founded in 1989 to increase the quality and quantity of affordable housing for low and moderate-income families. It has since built a portfolio of 37 properties, totaling more than 7,000 units, and provides service programs to nearly 30,000 community residents in 25 communities in 12 states.

NHPF's growth is described in its 2004 Annual Report by co-chairman and chief executive officer, **Ghebre Selassie Mehreteab**, who helped conceive and plan the organization as a program officer in the Foundation's Rural Poverty program in the 1980s.

The country's need for quality affordable rental housing continues to be critical, Gabe's report emphasizes.

"Forty-six percent of all households spend in excess of 30 percent of their income on housing," he writes. "In addition, more than one-third of all people 65 and older on fixed incomes are facing heavy housing cost burdens. The supply of low-cost housing is shrinking because of physical deterioration and gentrification. This is occurring at the same time that housing affordability is slipping from the grasp of many families."

NHPF has leveraged \$6 million in initial contributions from 24 major corporations and has converted it into affordable rental housing valued at nearly \$220 million. It focuses on large metropolitan areas with a demonstrated need for affordable rental housing, responsive local government, and the availability of financing. Because of the high cost

of construction and the lack of adequate public funding, it places a high value on preserving existing housing stock.

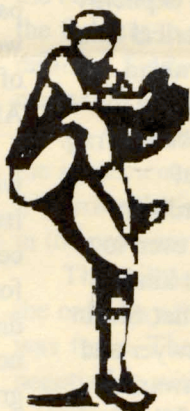
(Editor's note: Gabe's optimism extends to the LAFF Society. He recently made a contribution of \$150!)

Casey Stengel's Pitcher

by Will Hertz

This article was inadvertently cut in the last LAFF Newsletter. It is presented here intact.

When Casey Stengel was managing the New York Mets, he had a young pitcher who spent the off-season working for a Ph.D. in physics at



Columbia. *Sports Illustrated* heard about him and commissioned him to write an article on the physics of baseball pitching – what makes a curve ball curve, etc. Shortly after the article appeared, the pitcher was knocked out of the box in the second inning. As the

despondent young man was sitting on the dugout bench, head in hands, Casey muttered to him: "Too bad you can't *do* what you know."

Musically speaking, I'm like that young pitcher. When I was a kid, I studied the violin, and, boy, was I terrible. After performing at one student recital, the piano accompanist handed me the music saying "Go home and practice." A friend of mine was forced by his mother to attend; his sole comment about my playing was "Why was it so long?" At the age of 15, I took pity on my family, friends and neighbors, and gave up the violin for the high school newspaper.

But my interest in music continued, and I substituted the analytical study of it for its performance. I began to listen to records with scores borrowed from the library; to attend rehearsals and concerts with scores in hand; to hang around with musicians; and to listen to their insights, performance problems, and assessments of one another's playing. At Harvard, I talked music with visiting composer Béla Bartók, and when I was working for my master's at Columbia, I learned how to sneak into Toscanini's rehearsals.

I took my self-administered musical education a big step further in 1964 when the Ford Foundation sent me to Pakistan as a grant-maker. With a lot of evening time on my hands, I used it to study the chamber-music repertory, using recordings and scores brought by visitors from the U.S. Chamber music became, and still is, my favorite musical format.

After returning to Ford's New York office, I put this musical interest to work. I became a member of the Westchester Chamber Music Society. Like most small musical organizations, the Society could not afford to buy program notes – the written descriptions of the composers and the specific works to be performed included in the printed programs. I offered to try my hand as a volunteer, and the results were welcomed by both the audience and the musicians. In fact, one group, the Borodin Piano Trio, used my stuff for a concert in Carnegie Hall.

When I joined the Mott Foundation staff in Flint, Michigan, in 1982, I volunteered my services to the Flint Symphony Orchestra and Renaissance Concerts of Detroit, a chamber-music group. Again, my efforts were welcomed. In fact, the orchestra used my picture in the program, and people started to stop me in the street and ask how I liked last night's concert.

4 The LAFF Society

On retiring to Maine in 1992, I offered my services as a program-note writer to the Portland String Quartet. Soon, I was receiving requests from other organizations, and, as a retiree with time on my hands, I responded affirmatively – always as a volunteer. Then, in 1997, I organized the Maine Schubert Festival – a statewide celebration of Franz's 200th birthday involving more than 30 musical organizations and 50 musical events. This won me a seat on the Maine Arts Commission.

Now, at the age of 80, I write the program notes for seven organizations – five in Maine, one in Massachusetts, and one in Westchester County, New York. I'm particularly proud of my role with the Bowdoin International Music Festival – one of the country's major concert venues with a faculty of 30 leading musicians, 200 students from the U.S. and abroad, and 30 pianos on loan from Steinway. The faculty accepts me as a colleague and often uses my notes for concerts at other locations.

All told, I produce the program notes for about 40 concerts per year. The set for each program runs about 2,500 words. About two-thirds of this work load consists of pieces I have written about in the past, and I retrieve the notes from my computerized file and update and modify them to suit the occasion. The other one-third requires fresh research, using my now extensive collection of recordings, scores and books; fresh purchases from Amazon and Archiv; the Bowdoin College Library; the internet; and, for living composers, direct communication by e-mail, letter, or telephone.

A few years ago I added another dimension – pre-concert lectures, sometimes alone and sometimes in cooperation with the musicians and visiting composers. More than 100 persons come an hour earlier to hear

what I have to say.

But I'm still like Casey's pitcher. I can discuss with erudition Brahms's love affairs, Mozart's financial problems, Beethoven's deteriorating hearing, Schubert's fondness for the novels of James Fenimore Cooper, and Tchaikovsky's alleged suicide. But a few years ago, I bought a recorder and began to take lessons, and I still couldn't get beyond the second inning.

Two World Trouble-Spots

(cont. from p. 1)

Montazeri publicly commented prior to the election in Iraq that "Iraqi clerics should not interfere in the country's state matters. This is not their field of expertise and should be dealt with by experts."

This kind of comment – explicitly criticizing the concept of clerical rule and therefore the present Iranian government – would have been unthinkable in Saddam Hussein's Iraq. In today's Iran it is risky, but reformists persevere, and ordinary Iranians speak their minds, even to foreign visitors. It is for that kind of courage and perseverance that Shirin Ebadi, an Iranian woman lawyer and human rights activist, was awarded the Nobel Peace Prize last fall. The West must keep its spotlight on Iran and encourage the true voices of reform struggling to be heard.

When it comes to Iran's right to have peaceful nuclear technology, Iranians are almost entirely united, including all flavors of opinion within the country, and extending even to much of the opposition expatriate community in the United States and elsewhere. Virtually any government that one can imagine for Iran – from clerical to reformist to nationalist to monarchist – will insist on the right to pursue nuclear technology.

In considering how to deal with

Iran on the nuclear issue, there may be some advantage in starting with the things that work in our favor: Iran is a signatory of the NPT, it has signed the so-called Additional Protocols that permit more extensive inspection by the IAEA, it is engaged in negotiations with the three European powers on this issue, and has at least for now suspended its enrichment activities. Ayatollah Khamene'i, the most authoritative voice of the Islamic government and commander-in-chief of the armed forces, issued a fatwa or Islamic decree "prohibiting the production, stockpiling and use of nuclear weapons."

None of these facts, of course, provide any guarantee that Iran will not use its nuclear production capacity to shift to development of a nuclear weapon. These facts are, however, quite unusual among states that in the past have decided to develop nuclear weapons. There was never anything of this nature from Israel, South Africa, India or Pakistan, for example.

One counter option that has been widely discussed is a military attack. Its appeal is that it would almost certainly set back any Iranian plans for at least several years. The disadvantages are immense. It could not be done without boots on the ground. In the event of an attack Iran would promptly withdraw from the NPT and IAEA inspectors would have to leave. It is also likely that Iran, using its own scientific resources and its significant financial resources, would go underground and shed whatever reluctance it may have had about building a nuclear weapon.

The Iranian people today are remarkably pro-American. In my view, that would end with the first bomb. It is worth recalling that when Saddam Hussein invaded Iran in 1980, he believed that the clerical regime would collapse at the first blow. But the Iranian people rallied around the

5 The LAFF Society

clerical regime, not necessarily because they loved it but because they were Iranians first and revolutionaries second. In my view, Saddam Hussein may have saved the Iranian revolutionary regime by silencing the opposition, rallying the military, and forcing the clerical leadership to organize itself.

There is a very good chance that a U.S. military attack on Iran would be the one thing that would shut down the internal opposition and give the hard-line government the chance it wants to relinquish any pretext of democracy or concern for human rights. Despite all the efforts of the mullahs, Iran today has a vibrant civil society movement that is likely to make its influence felt in time – though perhaps more time than we would like. That movement, and all that it represents in the way of internally-driven regime change, would almost certainly be the first casualty of an American attack.

ACEH, INDONESIA

By Sidney Jones

Sidney Jones, a program officer in the Foundation's Indonesia office from 1977 to 1984, is the South East Project Director for the International Crisis Group, which works to resolve deadly conflict. She is an expert on the tsunami-devastated province of Aceh, long a trouble-spot in Indonesia and now the focus of intermittent peace talks between the Indonesian Government and province separatists. This is excerpted from an article in the Asian Wall Street Journal.

Aceh had more than enough problems even before disaster struck. Over the last two years, the war-torn Indonesian province has experienced intensified military operations, depredations by guerrillas, extortion by both sides, the exodus of almost all foreigners, near total state control of

the media, and one of the most corrupt provincial administrations in the country.

Now all those problems have been overshadowed by the huge death toll wrought by the tsunami, which is estimated to have killed at least 90,000 people in Aceh alone. But, amid this terrible loss of life, there may yet be a silver lining – if the immense relief effort now underway in the province can lay the groundwork for ending the low-level insurgency that has afflicted the province since 1976.

The last peace talks between the Indonesian government and the pro-independence Free Aceh Movement, known as GAM, talks began in May 2000 and produced a Cessation of Hostilities Agreement in December 2002. But GAM was not offered no real incentive to exchange the gun for the ballot box, and exploited pauses in the fighting to recruit and rearm. The military, for its part, mounted its own campaign to undermine the fragile peace. Amid mutual recriminations, the agreement collapsed in May 2003, triggering the imposition of martial law in the province.

The military then concluded that the only way to deal with separatism was force. They believe that negotiating with the rebels gives them a legitimacy they don't deserve and threatens national unity. That's why GAM's unilateral declaration of a ceasefire in the wake of the tsunami was not reciprocated. The Indonesian army is not about to work side by side with a rebel movement in getting relief supplies to the victims.

But the tsunami could still change the dynamics of the conflict. At the very least, it will keep Aceh open. The enormity of the needs there are such that it's unlikely the government will put in place any restrictions on access by international groups for a long time to come. It will also be in everyone's interest to lessen the chance of armed

clashes taking place along the main provincial roads essential to aid deliveries or in areas of intensive reconstruction.

If well handled, the relief effort could improve the government's image and ease Acehese resentment toward Jakarta, paving the way for a more serious discussion of grievances, including justice for past abuses. The outpouring of aid and sympathy from across Indonesia may help this process. A flawed autonomy package granted in 2001 could eventually be amended and strengthened. But for this to happen, some modicum of trust has to be established, and how the aid is handled thus becomes critical – especially when there is a long tradition of skimming.

Given the destruction wrought by the tsunami, local government in the province is going to have to be reconstituted from scratch. The task is enormous, but so too is the opportunity to put in place a more transparent, efficient administration that can deliver social services and give autonomy, as opposed to independence, a chance. Technical assistance from donors will be key.

The relief effort has the potential not just to change the relationship between Aceh and Jakarta but between Indonesians and the international community. Ever since the 1999 referendum in East Timor, many in the Indonesian government and military have had a deep suspicion that outside powers want to weaken Indonesia and undermine its territorial integrity by supporting independence movements in Aceh and Papua. They have a particular aversion to the United Nations because GAM, influenced by East Timor's success in gaining independence under U.N. auspices, has long wanted the international body involved in the Aceh conflict.

Now is the time to begin thinking about how easing the suffering from

the tsunami could lay the groundwork for ending the conflict in Aceh. The immediate need is to ensure that the impediments to humanitarian relief are ironed out, and that the aid gets where it is most needed quickly, and with full accountability and transparency. From that, other miracles may follow.

Culture from 1992 to 2001, resigned as president of the Maine College of Art, effective in September, to rejoin her husband who works in New York City and New Haven.

November, she joined the Foundation's Latin America office in New York as a secretary, and in August 1971 moved to the New Delhi office. She returned to the Asia and Pacific program in New York in October, 1976 where she worked until her retirement.

Stepping Down

Mary McClymont, senior director of the Foundation's Peace and Social Justice program in the 1990s, retired as president and CEO of InterAction, an alliance of 160 U.S.-based international development and humanitarian NGOs, after four years of service.

Peter Bell, a 12-year veteran of the Foundation's Latin American program, announced plans to retire at the start of 2006 as president and CEO of CARE USA, a position he has held for nearly 10 years.

Christine Vincent, Foundation program officer for Media, Arts and

In Memoriam


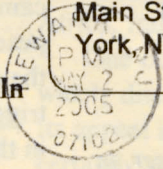
John McDermott, who served in various capacities in the Comptroller's Office from July, 1952 to December 31, 1971, died at his home in Belmar, New Jersey, in February. John joined the Foundation as an accountant, and after a series of promotions ended his Foundation career as Assistant to the Comptroller. After leaving the Foundation staff, he served as a CPA for Ernst & Young, the Foundation, and the International Research and Exchanges Board.

Cass Clark, a Foundation staffer from March, 1963 until January, 1978, except for four months in 1967, died in March in Miami, Florida. She worked first as a secretary in the Foundation's Argentina office until June 30, 1967. In

Shredded "News"

For some reason, many LAFF members received the last newsletter in shreds. Dorothy Nixon, who handles the distribution, sent second copies to those who complained.

If this happens again, please send a note (not an e-mail) to Mary Camper-Titsingh, secretary-treasurer, for a replacement copy. Her address, on the front of every newsletter, is 531 Main Street, Apt. No. 1110, New York, NY 10044.


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