



# LAFF

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

Summer 2013, No. 73

## The LAFFing Parade

**Gowher Rizvi**, who joined Ford in 1995 as deputy director for governance and civil society and then, from 1998 to 2002, its representative in New Delhi with responsibilities for South Asia, is currently serving as foreign affairs adviser to the prime minister of Bangladesh, Sheikh Hasina. In March, on a visit to Saudi Arabia, he was quoted in a Saudi publication as saying that Bangladesh and Saudi Arabia “have extremely cordial relations.” A significant Bangladeshi community lives and works in Saudi Arabia. Dr. Rizvi was educated in Bangladesh and at Trinity College, Oxford. A MacArthur fellow, he has lectured on history, politics, and international affairs at Oxford, Williams College, the University of Virginia, and the Harvard Kennedy School. He became international affairs adviser to the Prime Minister of Bangladesh in 2009.

**Andrew Watson**, who wrote the article on China’s migrant workers for the August 2011 issue of LAFF, is a professor emeritus for the School of Social Sciences at the University of Adelaide. His work has focused on economic and political progress in contemporary China, including rural development, grain production and marketing, sheep and wool production, agricultural production and marketing, rural enterprises, off-farm employment, rural financial markets, migrant labor, and social security. He was Ford Foundation representative in Beijing from 1999 until 2008.

**Cyrus E. Driver** has been named vice president for strategy and planning at the Hartford Foundation for Public Giving, according to an item in the Hartford Business Journal. He had been director of program learning and innovation at Ford. He joined the Foundation in 1998 as a program officer focusing on education issues, and became deputy director of the educational opportunity and scholarship program in 2003. Before Ford, he co-directed coalition-building and parent-organizing strategies at Designs for Change in Chicago, where he  
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## MARIAM CHAMBERLAIN 1918-2013 WOMEN’S STUDIES CHAMPION



**M**ariam Chamberlain, one of the first women program officers to work in what was a male bastion at the Ford Foundation and a key figure in establishing women’s studies in American colleges and universities, and in advancing women generally in society, died on April 8 in Manhattan. She was 94.

In a four-column obituary, *The New York Times* said of Mariam: “Though she rarely gave speeches and considered herself more of a researcher than an activist—she had a Ph.D. in economics from Harvard—Dr. Chamberlain came to be known in the women’s movement as ‘the fairy godmother of women’s studies.’”

**Terry Saario**, who worked closely with Mariam in developing women’s programs, remarked: “Mariam was smart, incredibly smart. She had a charming sense of humor, was always the consummate professional, and was unflappable. While Mariam had a quiet and self-effacing style, she was very politically adept in working with the large egos of the Foundation and the ever-nuanced emerging women’s studies arena in higher education. The testament to her effectiveness, to a major degree, is how established women’s studies programs are in higher education institutions today.”

She came to the Foundation, the year was 1956, with the appropriate credentials, said Ms. Saario. “In fact, she was probably better

credentialed than most of her male counterparts.”

**Shep Forman**, president of LAFF and a 20-year Foundation veteran, said he recalled vividly the first time he spoke with Mariam about her work and the clarity with which she expressed it.

“She deserves maximum credit for making women’s studies a regular part of college curricula and a respected area of research.”

Wrote **Gail Spangenberg**, president of the Council for the Advancement of Adult Literacy: “I’ve known and admired Mariam Chamberlain for about 50 years, going back to our Ford Foundation years. She was an accomplished economist and social scientist, dedicated to empowering others and to encouraging quality action and research on many fronts. Just as important, she was a committed feminist, something we had in common at Ford and after.

She recalled an incident early in the Foundation’s embrace of women’s programming. Recalling that she took an active role in advancing women in the Foundation’s internal policies and external grant-making, she wrote: “One day I decided to send a memo to **McGeorge Bundy** about women’s issues and the need for Ford to provide leadership. He called me into a one-to-one meeting. Mariam and I then had many chats about the agenda of the special committee he set up as a result of that meeting, asking it to examine  
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## Mariam Chamberlain

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the issues and make recommendations. We had the good fortune of working for three remarkable men dedicated to equality of opportunity—**Marshall Robinson**, **Champ Ward**, and **Mac Bundy**. As Ford moved vigorously into women's issues, Mariam took charge of the new program. It became a model of national leadership."

Heidi Hartmann, president of the Institute for Women's Policy Research, said Dr. Chamberlain's contributions to the women's movement and her influence on laying the groundwork for women's studies departments and public policy research were incalculable. "It's hard to imagine how bad things were when she came on the scene. Women's suffrage was not taught in most American history classes. Female writers were footnotes to the literary canon taught in most colleges. She made a huge impact with small and strategic grants," said Ms. Hartmann.

Proud of her Armenian heritage, Dr. Chamberlain was born Mariam Kenosian, one of three children of Avak Kenosian, an immigrant from Armenia. Her father, a shoe factory worker, did not believe in women's

education. She completed high school, went to Radcliffe on a full scholarship, and then to Harvard to study toward a doctorate in economics. Her study was interrupted during World War II in order to work as an analyst for the Office of Strategic Services. She received her Ph.D. in 1956.

She held teaching positions at Connecticut College; the School of General Studies, Columbia; and Hunter College. After Ford, she became president of the National Council for Research on Women, which helps consolidate and coordinate research centers that she had helped seed at Stanford University, the University of Michigan, the University of Arizona, and Memphis State.

The National Council for Research on Women, which Dr. Chamberlain founded in 1981 and where she remained active until the end of her life, asked feminist scholars and activists who had known Dr. Chamberlain to submit in writing their thoughts and memories about Dr. Chamberlain. Some 30 such tributes were received and can be seen on the NCRW website. Florence Howe, founder of the Feminist Press, which received one of the first of the Foundation's women's studies grants, and a colleague of many years, was with her at meal time at Mount Sinai Hospital the night before the surgery she would not survive. "We had thousands of meals together, dear Mariam, one aspect of a long and durable feminist relationship," she said. ■

## LAFfing Parade

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helped a reform movement to decentralize control of Chicago's 600 public schools.

The Aspen Institute has announced that **Anne Kubisch**, director of the Roundtable on Community Change, will depart the Institute to become the president and chief executive officer of the Ford Family Foundation in Roseberg, Ore.

Ms. Kubisch established the Roundtable in 1994 after having spent 10 years at the Foundation initially working on Latin American programs, then as representative in Nigeria, and finally as deputy director of the urban poverty program. Of her new job, Anne said, "it's my chance to go deep in one place on the issues that I have been passionate about for my whole life." The Roundtable is especially known as a national knowledge center about community building in disadvantaged communities across the country, said Walter Isaacson, president of the Aspen Institute.

The Ford Family Foundation (no connection to the Ford Foundation) was established by Kenneth Ford, founder of Roseberg Forest Products, and his wife, Hallie, in 1996 after a lifetime of philanthropic activity. It is now the largest private foundation by asset size in Oregon.

**Orlando Bagwell**, a film-maker who joined the Foundation in 2004 to help it

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### The LAFF Society

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## THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

Calling attention to the passing of an esteemed colleague seems to have become a regrettably standard feature of this message. On this occasion, we pay homage to **Mariam Chamberlain**, who deserves maximum credit for making women's studies a regular part of college curricula and a respected area of research. I recall vividly the first time I spoke with Mariam about her work and the clarity of purpose with which she expressed it then and at officers' meetings where she would make the most reasoned case for the grant she was presenting. The tributes in this issue of the newsletter and in *The New York Times* capture the spirit and conviction of this truly outstanding person.

Much of this rich Foundation history is now housed at the Rockefeller Archives, which Jim Smith tells me is broadly accessible and attracting a good number of researchers. We should be glad that this recorded history is recoverable and will

eventually be told, even if no longer housed at the Foundation itself.

The Archive, though, is not the only guardian of history, and researchers are not always the best story-tellers. We, the Foundation staff, hold a vast store of history and lore privatized in our memories and, as we have learned in the pages of this newsletter, they make for some wonderful stories. We have to share more of them.

Reflecting on the untimely death of Krszysztzf Michalski, a long-time Foundation grantee at the Institute of Human Sciences in Vienna, **Margo Picken** wrote me: "I remember very vividly the first time I met him in the Vienna Institute, I guess in 1989. We met so many extraordinary and wonderful people during those years—how lucky we were."

Let's share the good fortune of our years at the Foundation. Remember and write! We'll all be better for the memories. **Shep Forman**

support social-issue filmmaking, plans to leave Ford in June to make his own documentaries once again, according to an article in the movie section of *The New York Times*. As a director and producer, he has been involved in the making of “some of the more influential documentaries about the civil rights movement and the black American experience, including ‘Eyes on the Prize’ and ‘Citizen King.’” Two years ago he helped establish the Foundation’s Just Films, which has funded social-justice films around the world, eight of which were screened at the Sundance Film Festival in January. “Gideon’s Army,” Dawn Porter’s debut film about public defenders in the South, was among those shown at Sundance.

**Dean C. Morris** joined the West Harlem Development Corporation in August as director—programs after nearly six years at the Foundation. He coordinated grant-making in the freedom of expression unit with a focus on ethnic media. He also served as a member of the Foundation’s Good Neighbor Committee that oversaw grants to organizations working to increase economic opportunities in under-represented communities.

**Jacqueline A. Berrien**, who worked at the Foundation from 2001 to 2004 in the peace and social justice program, is currently chair of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, having been appointed by President Obama in 2009, and confirmed by the Senate in 2010. She came to the EEOC from the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund, a long-time Foundation grantee, where she served as associate director-general counsel working on issues of voting rights and political participation. A graduate of Oberlin College, she obtained her law degree from Harvard Law School.

**Jorge Balan**, a Latin American scholar who worked in the Rio de Janeiro office and in New York from 1971 to 1973 and from 1998 to 2006, led a panel discussion in February at the Institute of International Education on “Latin America and the New Knowledge Economy,” a book he edited that examines such issues as higher education’s role in advanced workforce development and investment in the region by United States universities and corporations. He currently is a senior research scholar at Columbia University’s School of International and Public Affairs. He has published on comparative higher education policy, academic and labor mobility, rural-to-urban migration, and regional development.

**Dr. Adhiambo Odaga**, who joined the Foundation in 1995 and served as its repre-

## UBIÑAS ANNOUNCES RESIGNATION



**F**ord Foundation President Luis A. Ubiñas announced in early March that he would leave the Foundation in September, completing a six-year tenure highlighted by, according to the Foundation press release, “operational achievements, financial acumen, and a commitment to serving the poorest and most marginalized people in the world.”

“Luis brought an extraordinary set of skills to the Foundation, and he made a significant impact in strengthening the Foundation’s financial position despite the economic downturn,” Irene Hirano Inouye, chair of the Foundation’s Board of Trustees, told *The Chronicle of Philanthropy*.

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sentative for West Africa in the Lagos office since 2001, has announced her departure from the Foundation. Her grant-making focused on HIV/AIDS and governance issues. A graduate of St. Anthony’s College at Oxford University, which she attended as Kenya’s first Rhodes Scholar, she previously worked for the World Bank in promoting female education in Africa and for the International Potato Center in Cameroon. She has been replaced by Innocent Chukwuma, who will oversee all of the Foundation’s work in West Africa.

**Steven Solnick**, the Foundation’s representative in New Delhi since 2008 and recently named president of Warren Wilson College in Asheville, N.C., is the subject of a long interview in the College’s campus newspaper *Echo* (available on LAFF’s website). Previously he was representative in Moscow for six years and before that a teacher of political science, with a focus on Russian politics, at Columbia University.

**Richard Magat**, co-founder of The LAFF Society, suffered a seizure in March and was hospitalized for a month and for another three weeks in a rehabilitation center. He now lives in Atlanta, where his daughter and son-in-law live. rimagat@gmail.com ■

LAFF had a cordial but arms-length relationship with Ubiñas and the current Foundation leadership. It welcomed his gesture of reconciliation, soon after his arrival at the Foundation in 2008, by inviting LAFF members back to headquarters and sharing

his thoughts on how the group represented an important link to the Foundation’s past. “All the work we do today and in the years to come will build on what you collectively did,” he told the group.

Under the headline “Ford’s Next Leader Needs Grass-roots Experience and Entrepreneurial Spirit,” *The Chronicle* ran an article dated April 21 quoting several non-profit spokespersons on their opinions of the type of leader the Foundation should consider as a replacement. **Michael Edwards**, currently a distinguished senior fellow at Demos who oversaw grants on government and civil society at Ford from 1999 to 2008, said the Foundation should look for people who have tremendous in-depth knowledge and experience of social needs and of how philanthropy can help to resolve these problems. He urged Ford board members and Spencer Stuart, its recruiting firm, to look beyond people with traditional backgrounds and consider leaders in civil rights, labor unions, progressive journalism, and social-change non-profits.

Commenting on the Foundation’s efforts to improve communications, **Shep Forman**, LAFF president, said the new leader should do all he or she can to avoid the clichés that become “empty banners” rather than decisive statements about the Foundation’s purpose in the world.

Among others quoted in the article: Paul Light, professor of public service at New York University; Adam Meyerson, president of the Philanthropy Roundtable; and Jaime Grant of the Arcus Center for Social Justice Leadership at Kalamazoo College. The article can be accessed on *The Chronicle’s* website. ■

# “MY ENCOUNTER WITH BASEBALL”

**Frank Sutton**, former international vice president, whose passing at age 95 was reported in the last newsletter, had been writing his memoirs when he died. His son Pip has shared with us a 30-page, single-spaced document he had been working on, a reminiscence of his ball playing days in and around Newtown, Pa. A fluid writer and a constant presence at the computer, Sutton describes in detail growing up in small-town America. His recollections are of sufficient general interest to warrant excerpting. We pick up the narrative near the end of the document, his account of playing with the Trenton (New Jersey) Potteries. With respect to baseball, Sutton admits he was good enough to play semi-professionally, but he opted to go to Temple University to study mathematics, to Princeton for a graduate degree, and then to Harvard as a junior fellow for a Ph.D. in sociology.

It's rather unfortunate that I have to trust to distant memories to tell something of my baseball experience after the beginning of the 1937 season (Sutton had kept a diary and newspaper box scores while in high school.) We did go on to some exciting games in the new league. I particularly remember games in Trenton against the O'Donnells, the toughest team and our great rivals. They had some good players, including an infielder named Case who went on to the Big Time and who was especially notable for stealing bases.

Somehow, we lured Holsclaw back on the mound and became serious competitors to the O'Donnells. The most dramatic game with them that I remember was played in Newtown, with Holsclaw pitching for us. He was doing very well, striking out many batters. One of the O'Donnell team was a short, tough fellow I later came to know quite well at the Trenton Potteries but remember only as “little Mike”. He was a noisy fellow that day, complaining that Holsclaw's pitches were “sailing.” Sometime along in the game, he was at bat and suddenly ran out to the pitcher's mound and tore off Holsclaw's glove. He triumphantly found in it a piece of sandpaper that Holsclaw had been using to rough up the cover of the ball. I don't remember that we were penalized in any way for this dirty play. My recollections are that Holsclaw showed no remorse at being caught. I do remember his saying, “If I thought he was going to come all the way out to the mound, I would have hidden the sandpaper.”



In the summer of 1937 (after my diary dies), I began a new baseball life with the Trenton Potteries. I was really quite a decent ballplayer and could hit the ball in all the leagues I played in. I played first base for the Potteries team and was a reliable hitter against all the pitching in that league. The right field fence was rather far out, and I didn't often knock one over it, but sometimes I did. As I recall those years, Robbie Robinson and Sam Wiggins began with other teams in the league, but I have box scores in which they are on our team, as the lead-off and # 2 batters. Indeed, I have a clipping of a game when we beat the C.V. Hill team and nudged them out of first place in the League. Robbie, Sam, and I all had home runs that night, and the newspaper reports that “Old Reliable” Flop Ferry came on in relief to save the game for us.

There were doubtless less happy nights, but we Newtown youngsters were very happy to have jobs and games to play on a decent field in a well contested league. I suppose there were some who resented these young ballplayers taking jobs from older fellows with families and badly in need of work. But I never remember being chased out of a Trenton bar. My recollection is that I continued to play and work in Trenton in the summer of 1938 before I went that fall as a graduate student at Princeton.

After working in the summer of 1936 at Cold Spring Bleachery in my father's Finishing Department, I was glad in the summers of 1937 and 1938 to get a job at the pottery in Trenton. 1937 was of course the ill-famed

year when Washington tried prematurely to cut back on Depression-era stimuli and move toward balancing the federal budget. The result was the 1937 plunge back into depression, with loss of the gains in employment that had been achieved in earlier years. It was a hard time to find a job and I was only able to get one because they wanted me to play on the ball team. I earned a basic salary of \$18 a week, which didn't seem bad to me—there were men around me trying to support themselves and their families on that amount. They put me to work on a drill press under the eye of a supervisor who wanted to see that I worked, and with others around me who wanted to be sure I wasn't doing too much of it and threatening their jobs. These people wanted me to hustle on the ball field, not in the plant.

I have good memories of those evenings on a ball field somewhere on the south side of Trenton. We were a good enough team to be serious contenders in the Industrial League and we were much supported by officers and staff of the potteries.

(Sutton ends his report on the baseball years with a section titled “Aftermath—L'Envoi,” as follows:)

What became of all this? A very few years later, indeed from about 1938 when I went to Princeton, I ceased to play organized ball myself, and I was starting to neglect the box scores and the standings. When I first went to Temple in 1934, there were those who thought I might try to play college ball there, but I never tried to do so. It simply wasn't a feasible thing for a commuting student, living about 25 miles from the city...And I must confess that I did not think I was cutting off a promising career in baseball. I had gone to Temple on a couple of scholarships, neither of them for my athletic prowess. There had been scouts around our ball teams and a couple of our players in the Industrial League went on up the ladder to the Big Time. But I was never importuned and don't think I deserved to be. I was an unusually good hitter for a fellow my size. I remember my old friend, Jurgen Kroger, telling me one night when I came back to watch my successors at Pickering Field, “None of these kids can hit it out there as far as you used to do.” I felt good about that but I knew that if I was to make my way out of Newtown to the wide world, it had to be on abilities other than

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ones for the ball field. I had signs of such other abilities.

Still, I'm happy to report that there are some in Newtown who thought I have wasted my talents. When I used to trudge up Chancellor Avenue to Pickering Field in my uniform and spikes, I regularly passed the Waugh residence on that street. There was a son in that heavily female household named Charles C. Waugh. He went to George School, on to Princeton, and then to a respectable career building and marketing flowmeters in California. In his retirement he wrote and published his memoirs, *Friends Indeed/A Bucks County Family History*. I have this book through the kindness of Esther Pownall who lived at the end of the lane where my father first taught me to throw and catch a ball, and who was much befriended by my sister after the rest of her family died away. At p. 102, Waugh writes:

"A local youth, Francis X. Sutton, was an outstanding high school ball player and student as well. He elected to go to Harvard, to the dismay of Spider Burns, the local baseball guru. 'What a waste of talent,' he complained. Sutton later achieved a distinguished career in the Harvard faculty."

I hear talk these days that the kids don't play baseball like they used to, particularly as one goes farther West. Maybe the urbanization of the population is to blame; maybe television and computers, too. Maybe the Hispanic kids make a hopeful counter trend, trying to imitate the Rodriguezes and Fernandezes and Ramirizes who are taking over the Big Leagues. If indeed all this is true, I naturally deplore any decline of baseball for the kids even while deploring the high prices and commercialization of the Big Time. While the "nature deprivation" that comes with urbanization and indoor electronics is perhaps even more troublesome, one must mourn if kids don't learn to hit a fast ball or catch a hot liner. Perhaps even more, one must regret the loss of experience of playing hard but fairly to win in a team sport. It was a sexist time when I grew up, and playing ball was part of the strong distinction between boys and girls. Things are properly different now, and I don't prescribe what is best to do about adapting baseball to these new times. I do like to think that the boys of my generation learned things that were right and good but within rules and an unwritten ethic. Even if we come to a post-sexist time, I hope the boys, and even the girls, will still learn to field a hot grounder, leap high for a drive over their heads, get air in their lungs, and some tan on their faces! ■

## ANTHONY LEWIS AND FRED FRIENDLY

By Will Hertz

Journalist Anthony Lewis, who died March 25, was occasionally a luncheon guest of **Fred Friendly** at the Ford Foundation. In January 2008, columnist Scott Horton of *The Wall Street Journal* reported a fascinating conversation between Lewis and Foundation Trustee Irwin Shapiro that took place at the Foundation about Lewis's book *Freedom for the Thought We Hate*.

In an interview with Lewis, Horton asked about the case of *Near v. Minnesota*, cited in the book. "An anti-Semitic crank," Horton said, "publishes a rag maliciously accusing public officials of having connections with organized crime. The state of Minnesota steps in and shuts the publication down. But then we look a little deeper into the grass and discover that this characterization is a bit facile. In fact there was widespread corruption reflected in deals between criminal figures and public officers, and the publisher had had the courage to stand up and call them for what they were."

Lewis responded: "The case of *Near v. Minnesota*, decided by the Supreme Court in 1931, was the first in which the Court protected the press from repression. Near was Jay M. Near, publisher of a sensational weekly, *The Saturday Press*. The paper was viciously anti-Semitic. Its usual theme was that Jewish gangsters were in league with corrupt public officials.



Anthony Lewis and Fred Friendly

"Officials invoked an unusual Minnesota law that allowed courts to close malicious newspapers, and a court banned *The Saturday Press*. But the eccentric publisher of *The Chicago Tribune*, Colonel Robert R. McCormick, saw a threat to the press generally and sent his lawyer, Weymouth Kirkland, to help Near. Weymouth took the case to the Supreme Court, which by a vote of 5 to 4 set aside the injunction against Near. It held that this was a prior restraint, historically disfavored, and so violated the First Amendment.

"The decision, followed ever since, is a bulwark of press freedom. But was it right to wrap the mantle of the First Amendment around a paper as nasty as *The Saturday Press*? That question was discussed in a book on the case by Fred Friendly, *Minnesota Rag*. Friendly had produced Edward R. Murrow's CBS television programs. Now he was a vice president of the Ford Foundation. (Actually Fred was Assistant to the President.)

"At lunch in the Foundation one day Lewis was discussing his plans for the book when Irwin Shapiro, CEO of the duPont company and a Foundation trustee, came over. 'Did you say you were writing a book on the Near case, Fred?' 'Yes.' 'I knew Mr. Near,' Shapiro said. His father owned a small dry-cleaning store in Minneapolis. One day gangsters came to the store and demanded protection money. When Mr. Shapiro said no, the gangsters sprayed acid on the clothes hanging in the store.

"Irwin, a young boy, was there, watching. The leading newspapers wrote nothing about the incident. But Jay Near came to the store, talked with Mr. Shapiro and published a story. The gangsters were prosecuted and convicted. So there may be value in even the meanest of publications." ■

## NANCY FELLER JOINS HELMSLEY TRUST

**Nancy Feller**, who spent 33 years at the Foundation as an attorney, has been appointed general counsel of the Leona M. and Harry B. Helmsley Charitable Trust. Prior to this new assignment, Ms. Feller was vice president, secretary, and general counsel at Ford, with oversight of the Foundation's global legal affairs, governance and board-related legal matters, and management of administrative functions including human resources, internal audit, travel, and grants processing.

Before coming to Ford, Ms. Feller was an associate at Debevoise & Plimpton, a New York law firm. She received a B.A. from Swarthmore and a J.D. from New York University. ■

# GUINEA-BISSAU: INTERNATIONAL ORPHAN

**Shep Forman**, LAFF president, in March spent two weeks in Guinea-Bissau at the request of Jose Ramos Horta, former president of Timor-Leste and newly appointed Special Representative of the Secretary General of the UN. Ramos Horta, whom Forman has known from the 1970s, has an assignment from the Secretary General to try to talk the competing political elites and the military of Guinea-Bissau into honoring their pledge to hold free elections by the end of the year.

Forman's job: to evaluate the UN's performance to date and make recommendations for the size and shape of a new mission to that country that would be forwarded to the Secretary General. The full text of Forman's report can be seen on the LAFF website. The key paragraphs are summarized below:

**A**s Guinea-Bissau nears 40 years of independence, the scars of colonialism and conflict appear everywhere, save in the smiles of her sweet and friendly people.

To walk along the pitted and dusty roads, the broken sidewalks, past dilapidated and unkempt buildings, is to witness the remnants of post-colonial development gone wrong. Despite nearly 15 years of UN presence, mandated by the Security Council after a 1998-9 civil war, the Bissau Guineans are yet to see the promise of a positive peace, the institution of a legitimate state that governs for the people's benefit under a Rule of Law, or the economic opportunities that a relatively rich resource base (good soil, plentiful water, abundant fishing grounds, dense forests, unexplored minerals) should afford them. The fault largely rests with an entrenched political elite and a restive military that have forced regime change through assassinations and coups rather than meeting their leadership responsibilities to construct a modern state.

I spent two weeks in Guinea-Bissau in March at the request of Jose Ramos Horta, Nobel Laureate, former President of Timor-Leste, and newly appointed Special Representative of the Secretary-General (SRSG) in whom the most recent hope for peace and development is vested. Ramos Horta, whom I first met in 1973 when doing ethnographic research among the Makassae people in the mountains of East Timor, is an



PHOTO: UNITED NATIONS

inspired choice, a primary architect of the first post-colonial democratic state in the 21st Century, one that shares with Guinea-Bissau an odious Portuguese colonial past, an unplanned and unassisted process of decolonization, and a small, impoverished and largely uneducated population.

The promise of independence, led in a bloody anti-colonial struggle by the nation's founding hero, Amilcar Cabral, was within decades overtaken by economic greed and the thirst for power, resulting in the series of assassinations and coups that has brought this West African nation to its knees. Considered one of the international community's orphans, it has never been the privileged focus of international assistance. The UN presence has been meager, international aid begrudging. The yearning for nationhood that underpinned Timor-Leste's post-colonial history has never taken root among Guinea-Bissau's ruling elites, who see the state merely as the wellspring of personal wealth and power. Meanwhile, the people of Guinea-Bissau, spared the ravages of the mass killing and genocides in other African countries, suffer the poverty, illiteracy and disease that is their harsh reality. Virtually no government services are available to them. Hospitals are closed or dysfunctional; the educational system in disrepair. Salaries and pensions go unpaid. Bissau Guineans rely on family and community for sustenance and protection.

Ramos Horta was called by the Secretary-General into this maelstrom to try to talk the competing political elites and the military that cobbled together a post-coup transitional government into honoring their pledge to hold elections by the end of the year, to ensure that they will be free and fair,

and that a government of national unity will institute a set of political and security sector reforms that will provide the bedrock for a legitimate government operating under the Rule of Law. Having assisted him on a number of issues after Timorese independence and knowing of my work with the UN and the World Bank on questions of post-conflict state-building, he called me in mid-February, shortly after his arrival in Bissau, to ask me to catch a plane to help him think through a

reconfiguration of the UN's mission so that he would have the institutional backing for his diplomatic skills.

The trick is to get the diverse UN agencies to apply their resources to his political mission rather than in template projects that fit their individual organizational mandates. If member states can agree on the right mandate, the UN can marshal the expertise to help build the capacity of state institutions to assume the responsibilities now being met in half measures by humanitarian agencies. The World Bank and the IMF can help to re-establish the financial and monetary underpinnings of an economy with growth potential, one that offers opportunities to small farmers and entrepreneurs and creates jobs that provide a living wage. The UN can increase its support of civil society institutions, helping to strengthen the leadership and memberships of women's and youth groups, human rights and advocates' organizations and cultural institutions, and helping to build an informed and active citizenry that can exact accountability from its government.

That's the plan, and the hope. Can it be done? Yes! Guinea-Bissau's 1.6 million inhabitants can be helped to have the life and government they deserve. But it will take a UN willing to change the way it does business, international donors willing to loosen their purse strings, Bissau Guinean elites ready to believe that their best interests lay with the fortunes of a "normal" state, a Bissau Guinean people prepared to demand their rights and exercise their responsibilities as citizens, and the patience and fortitude that Ramos Horta, his colleagues in the Timorese resistance and the Timorese people have demonstrated in their 30 year quest for Timorese statehood. ■

# AT THE MOVIES: 'ARGO'

"Argo" is the recently released, highly regarded Hollywood film that tells the story of six American diplomats who fled the American embassy in Tehran 33 years ago and took refuge in the home of Canada's ambassador, after Iranian revolutionaries occupied their U.S. Embassy office. According to the script, an American Central Intelligence Agency agent, played by Ben Affleck, dreamed up an unlikely plan to get them out of Iran disguised as a film crew scouting Iran for locations of a science fiction movie. **Gary Sick**, who served as principal White House aide for Iran during the Iranian revolution and hostage crisis, reviewed the film in October for the online magazine of National Public Radio. The full text of the phone interview is available from NPR (NPR.org). Neal Conan is the interviewer. Edited excerpts follow:

**A**sked by Conan if he knew about the six "house guests" of the Canadian ambassador, Sick replied, "I was not involved in the operational planning or the creation of the film studio or any of the fake science fiction movies. But I was aware, as were many people in government, that a number of people from the embassy had managed to escape.

"And we all knew that we had to be very careful of what we said. They (the Iranians) didn't know that those people had not been there. They didn't know that these people were missing. And that was a national secret of some significance."

**Conan:** Back in those days, I remember there was great frustration. We couldn't get an exact count of how many diplomats were being held.

**Sick:** Exactly. Several magazines wanted to print pictures of everybody in the embassy. The State Department argued with them vigorously not to do that. Despite what the film suggests, that they were spending their full time trying to find out who all the people were in the embassy, in reality they had their hands full with the hostages they had.

**Conan:** There is a fine line in the movie that after they escaped the embassy, they went first to the British and New Zealand embassies looking for sanctuary and were denied.

**Sick:** You know, governments are very cold-blooded about their national interests. I

think those governments knew full well that if they accepted those people, hid them from the Iranians that, in time, the truth would be known and they would have to close their embassies. In fact, the Canadians did have to close their embassy for some time, but the Canadians were willing to do it. Americans have reason to be tremendously grateful to the Canadians and specifically Ken Taylor, the ambassador who risked his whole embassy for our sake.

**Conan:** There's another character inside the Canadian embassy in the film, the Iranian housekeeper. She is, of course, aware there are six people living there. In the film she eventually discovers who they must be. Yet, when she is questioned by one of the Revolutionary Guards asking how long have these people been living there, she gives the cover story—just two days.

**"What people forget is that a lot of Iranians have a soft part in their hearts for Americans, especially individual Americans."**

**Sick:** That's right. And I think that although the Iranian people come off looking pretty badly in this movie, what people forget is that a lot of Iranians have a soft spot in their hearts for Americans, especially individual Americans as opposed to the government of the United States. So I'm glad that at least one person in the movie, an Iranian person, was shown as having a heart.

**Conan:** Is that factually accurate?

**Sick:** I don't know. But I do know that there were Iranians who were prepared to assist the United States in a lot of ways after the revolution and who retained a respect for the United States that was real. The people, to some degree, who make the argument that Iran is our worst enemy, and that we can never come to terms with them, forget that there are a lot of Iranians who don't share that view and we're at risk of driving them away.

**Telephone caller:** What about the theatric

departure of the Swiss Air flight?

**Sick:** That was pure fiction. They went to the airport. They were passed through. Somebody, in fact, took their passports into another room, and they were scared. He came back and handed it to them. They were on their way. There was a slight delay, but the flight took off. There was no chase and there was a lot of tension. But in the movies, you want to make it a little bit more. So having an airplane chased on the tarmac makes great film stuff, but it was just not true. Again, it's great theater. There was in fact a fellow in the group of six who thought it wasn't going to work, that it was too complex, too theatrical. And there were a number of people in Washington who shared that view, that this was really over the top in terms of creating a false film company, a film and all that. He resisted but he eventually joined the group when they left, and he was just one of the group as they went through. He displayed no particular heroism on the way out.

**Caller:** I was wondering how the government was able to keep the whole operation classified.

**Sick:** Because of the sensitivity, it had to be kept secret. Obviously, if the Iranians learned about it, there would have been a crackdown. They would put them in the embassy, and hold them hostage as well. And once it was over, we let the Canadians take complete credit. The CIA was not even mentioned. The first two minutes or so is spent giving a brief, but rather a telling, history about the United States and Iran, about the United States intervention with Mosaddegh in 1953. The CIA was involved with that, and the Iranians have never forgotten it. The thinking was that if the CIA had anything to do with it, they would go berserk and perhaps harm the hostages. It was about 10 years later that the operation was declassified, figuring no further harm could be done. ■

*Gary Sick worked in the office of International Affairs of the Foundation from 1982 to 1987. He was a member of the National Security Council under Presidents Ford, Carter, and Reagan. He is a professor at Columbia and has his own blog "Gary's Choices" at [www.garysick.tumblr.com](http://www.garysick.tumblr.com).*

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## KENYAN POLITICS

**“W**ill Kenya’s Chief Justice Willy Mutunga’s cozy relationship with Raila Odinga affect the outcome of the election petition in front of the Supreme Court?” was the March 21, 2013 headline in the website of *News Time Africa*, a publication available on the Nairobi web.

**Willy Mutunga** had served as the Foundation’s representative in East Africa since 2009 until he was appointed chief justice of the Supreme Court of Kenya. In that role, he had the responsibility, with his fellow justices, of deciding whether to approve Odinga’s petition to set aside the results of Kenya’s presidential election in March because of irregularities. The court unanimously upheld the election of President Uhuru Kenyatta, who got just over the 50 percent required threshold of the vote over his seven opponents, including Odinga. The election was largely peaceful although observers were worried that riots might break out, as happened in the 2007 presidential election. Mr. Mutunga claimed his life was threatened by his political opponents. ■

## McNEIL LOWRY AND JAMES BALDWIN

**S**am Roberts, metropolitan reporter for *The New York Times*, relates a little known story involving these two men, Baldwin and **W. McNeil Lowry**, Ford Foundation director of its humanities and the arts program from the 1950s until his retirement in 1974. Baldwin, a struggling writer yet to achieve fame, wrote to Lowry in 1959 saying he was finishing a novel titled *Another Country*, inspired by his experiences in New York and Paris. He wrote that he wanted to finish the novel and was contemplating another, which was to take place in a border state on the day that slaves were freed and would explore the impact of emancipation on blacks and their former masters. “It is not an apologia, God knows, for that society,” he explained, “but the novel is naggingly concerned with the questions ‘What is freedom?’ and ‘Who wants it?’”

But Baldwin needed money. A few weeks after he wrote, the Foundation awarded him a \$12,000 two-year fellowship “to enable you to concentrate upon your creative work as a writer” and to pay his debts.

The grant enabled him to finish *Another*

*Country*. In January 1962, he wrote to Lowry to thank him: “Had it not been for the Ford grant, I would either be tearing it up or I would have abandoned it.” For a writer, “the destruction of his writing life is exactly the same thing as the destruction of his life.” *Another Country* was published to acclaim in 1962 when Baldwin was 37.

The letters were unearthed by Roberts with the help of the Rockefeller Archive Center in Sleepy Hollow, N.Y., where thousands of Ford Foundation records, films, oral histories, and unpublished reports are now stored. Original documents have been shredded but copies are preserved on microfilm. In his *Times* article, Roberts notes that the Foundation’s earliest grants were modest but, quoting James Allen Smith, vice president and director of research at the Rockefeller Center, “none the less vital to the recipients. The Foundation helped showcase a diverse group of American artists when the United States was vying for cultural supremacy. No one was more influential in shaping the arts and humanities in the ’50s and ’60s than McNeil Lowry.” ■