Ford’s Records an Integral Part of the Rockefeller Archive Center

By Lee Hiltzik
The author is Assistant Director and Head of Donor Relations and Collection Development at the Rockefeller Archive Center. This article was written especially for The LAFF Society newsletter.

Driving up to Hillcrest, once the country home of the late Martha Baird Rockefeller on the grounds of the Rockefeller family estate in New York’s Westchester County, is no longer the social call on the widow of John D. Rockefeller, Jr., that it once was for many. Rather, it is now a purposeful visit to the Rockefeller Archive Center (RAC), a focal point for historical research of the various realms of philanthropy.

Perched atop a hill, with a grand view of the Hudson River (though from its top floor, in winter only), the house is the physical marker for the archival vaults that lie in its sub-basements. The Center embodies a vision of the importance of preserving the story of philanthropic work and making that documentation available to a broad research community.

While the records of the Ford Foundation and those of its officers and administrators are a relatively recent addition to the RAC, they are a vital component of this history, including newsletters and correspondence of the LAFF Society.

The official founding of the Rockefeller Archive Center dates to 1974, but its history begins in the 1950s when advisors to John D. Rockefeller, Jr., began conversations about the importance of preserving the records of his personal philanthropy and family history.

Part of this discussion grew out of the historic preservation movement that was solidifying at that time and, partially, was a function of the voluminous quantities of materials being collected at the family office in Room 5600 at Rockefeller Center.

By the 1960s, both the Rockefeller Foundation and Rockefeller University had initiated archives programs. JDR, Jr., had passed away but his sons, known as the “Brothers Generation”, became involved with discussions about creating a joint archive for the various Rockefeller entities, by then including the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, their own foundation.

While discussions to construct a joint archive continued for many years, a breakthrough occurred following the passing of Martha Baird Rockefeller in 1971. The decision was made then to convert her country home to a new archival research center, and to construct the archival vaults into the bedrock below the house. This new entity, now officially the Rockefeller Archive Center, was founded in 1974 and opened its doors to scholarly research the next year.

The RAC’s founding institutions recognized immediately that the decision to open their records to outside access would attract widespread interest, and that the growing and changing impact of philanthropy on innumerable aspects of modern life would be of great interest to scholars studying wide-ranging disciplines. Of course, the founders realized that some individuals would seek to uncover conspiracies and rummage through closets for all sorts of skeletons, but there was an overriding faith that interest in the collections would provide a positive, edifying contribution to knowledge—and they were right.

More than 8,000 people have come to the Center to conduct research. They avail themselves of a current collection of 120 million pages of documents, 18,000 reels of microfilm, 5,000 films, close to 1,000,000 photographs, 15,000 audio-visual items, 6,000 architectural drawings, maps, and posters, and 45 terabytes of electronic data.

In addition to the scholars who conduct their studies in the Center’s reading rooms, many thousands of others conduct offsite research by requesting copies of specific documents or otherwise engage with our archivists. In recent years, on average, our archival

Continued on next page
CORRECTION
In our previous issue, Fall 2016, we inadvertently published the wrong picture to accompany the article "Kalman Silvert in the Ford Foundation". This is the correct photograph of the late Mr. Silvert.

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The absorption of this material into our holdings was on a different order of magnitude from past accretions. While the archives of other foundations typically added a few dozen to a few hundred cubic feet of records (imagine a standard storage carton as one cubic foot), the Ford Foundation Archives involved taking in more than 2,000 cubic feet of paper records, 11,000 reels of grants stored on microfilm, and more than 200 cubic feet of audio-visual materials.

Once the collection was opened in the spring of 2012, the number of researchers who have come to use this archives has been extremely impressive. The vast majority are not writing about the Ford Foundation per se but studying the impact of Ford’s activities in the context of broader research. Scholars studying tropical agricultural innovation, rural development and civil society immerse themselves in the records of both the Ford Foundation and other archives here.

Our records of Ford’s role supporting reproductive research and family planning, academic freedom, transnational programs for peace and the fight for human rights domestically and internationally are all magnets for researchers to come to the Center.

Many scholars find that while their initial goal might have been to explore the records of one particular collection, such as the Social Science Research Council or the Taconic Foundation or the Near East Foundation on a given subject, they quickly discover that the Ford collection proves to be a fountain of valuable material for their study as well.

How does one measure the impact of an archive on knowledge? How can one quantify that and make any evaluation of the impact of the Rockefeller Archive Center on learning, on scholarship and, in essence, on the right for access to information? There are very few metrics to turn to. We do tap into twenty-first century technology and use Google Analytics to see the number of times we get “hits” on our website and, perhaps more important, of individuals who explore the “online finding aids” (the archival term we use for catalogues) to our collections. For example, last year, for the Ford Foundation finding aids alone, there were more than 15,000 Google-driven searches, representing users from all six continents.

As a more traditional example of the impact of our collections over the past 40 years, though, more than 6,000 books, dissertations, academic articles and conference papers have been listed in the RAC Bibliography of Scholarship, reflecting research that cites our materials. A few examples of the most recent Ford-related additions to our bibliographic database (available at www.zotero.org/groups/rac) include an article in Portuguese on the

Rockefeller Archive Center
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staff has handled almost 2,000 research requests annually.

The majority of our researchers are connected with academic professors, professors emeriti, graduate students and undergraduates. High school students come to RAC occasionally when they are looking for primary source materials for their papers, and even grade school students, with their parents, who are working on National History Day projects. Our researchers also include architects, documentary filmmakers, landscape architects, genealogists, museums and exhibit curators, and journalists.

The Center defines very broadly what constitutes a bona fide researcher. We do not require letters of introduction or other official documentation. If a person can articulate the parameters of a research project and, as part of a conversation with an archivist, explain how the archival documents in our holdings will benefit his or her work, then the researcher is welcome to pursue his or her study in the open records at the Center.

Almost immediately upon opening the archives of the Rockefeller University, the Rockefeller Foundation, the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and the Rockefeller Family, the Center began collecting a wide variety of papers of other foundations either created by or significantly funded by the Rockefeller family. This decision broadened the holdings of the Center to include the records of such organizations as the Asia Society, the Population Council and the Downtown Lower Manhattan Association.

We also began receiving manuscript collections, that is, the personal papers of the officers and administrators who worked within these institutions. These actions greatly deepened and broadened the content holdings of the archives in many far-flung fields, such as scientific research, public health, New York history and cultural history.

The next step in expanding the archives followed in the mid-1980s, when the Governing Council of the Center made a strategic decision to incorporate archival collections of non-Rockefeller-related entities. The archives of the Commonwealth Fund and the Russell Sage Foundation brought to RAC new collections of institutions that had significant programmatic overlap with existing collections. This was particularly true for medical research, medical education, public health and health care policy in the case of Commonwealth, and in social welfare, economics and policy planning for Russell Sage. These additions began a new chapter in the history of the institution, and in essence placed a different emphasis on what the name, Rockefeller Archive Center, actually means. Others that have joined us over the years include the Foundation for Child Development, the Lucille Markey Charitable Trust, the William T. Grant Foundation and the John A. Hartford Foundation.

Then, in 2011, we acquired the Ford Foundation Archives, the strongest statement yet of the new direction of the enhanced Rockefeller Archive Center.

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The history of the Ford Foundation is being shaped through a voluminous trove of documents collected at the Rockefeller Archive Center—and through a great many pictures.

Much of the material is clearly marked with each document’s purpose, date and participants, but many of the pictures are not.

A few of those photographs are re-printed here with what information is available to identify them, if there is any at all. We will print more pictures in future issues, hoping that LAFF’s members can provide additional identification to add to the accumulating history of the Foundation.

Information on the people pictured here and the dates can be sent to John LaHoud, editor of the newsletter, at jlahoud25@hotmail.com

PHOTOS COURTESY OF THE ROCKEFELLER ARCHIVE CENTER

More information about the Rockefeller Archive Center, and about the possibility of donating official and personal papers to it, is available by contacting Lee Hiltzik at lhiltzik@rockarch.org.

The role of the Ford Foundation in developing the social sciences in Brazil, a report of Ford support for symphony orchestras, an article on Black power in the postmodern city, an article in German on agricultural development in East Germany, and a conference paper on American foundations and cultural diplomacy in Italy during the postwar period.

As more researchers learn about our Ford Foundation collections from citations, from colleagues and from internet searches, we expect that this trend of heavy use of our collections will not only continue but will grow in size and breadth.

The Rockefeller Archive Center, the Ford Foundation and the people connected with both institutions have a clear reason to cheer these developments—and we are certain Martha Baird Rockefeller would approve what we have done with her home.
Some documents in the archives need little explanation. Here, the author James Baldwin wrote to W. McNeil Lowry, long-time vice president of the Foundation whose support of the arts made Ford one of the major contributors to the development of the arts in this country. Baldwin is referring, apparently, to his novel *Another Country*.

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*New book by John Ambler, *Empowered Development in Poor Countries*, based on a series of 13 seminars he conducted while working for Oxfam America, sets forth the principle that “Positive, prolonged, equitable, affordable and transformative change is very difficult to achieve, but not impossible.”

The seminars drew on a lifetime of academic research and work in development, including 10 years with the Ford Foundation in South and Southeast Asia.

He began work with Ford in 1988 as a program officer in the Indonesia office. Two years later he was named deputy representative for India, Nepal and Sri Lanka and then was representative for Vietnam and Thailand before leaving the Foundation in 1997.

He followed his work at Ford with a year’s stint with the Social Science Research Council as its project manager for China and Vietnam, became regional director in Asia for CARE, and then joined Oxfam, first as senior vice president for programs and then as vice president for strategy.

“John is possessed of the ‘gift of doubt,’” said Raymond Offenheiser, president of Oxfam, in the foreword to the book, “and has used this gift throughout his career to question the fundamental assumptions of development. Yet, he has never been driven by doubt or cynicism to reject development efforts. Rather, he has embraced with humility and respect all those who toil in hope for a better world.”

Ambler notes in the preface to the book that “many development professionals never seem to learn from experience as they bounce from project to project, rarely ever seeing how what they left behind actually operates. Given the huge scale of aid grants and loans for developing countries, it is amazing how little accountability there is in terms of integrity of approach and quality....

“I don’t have all the answers, but I think these seminars provide some clarity about which approaches work and why.”

The book, he said, advances “what may be a more or less common set of programming principles for rural development. I start from the point of view that pro-poor, sustained, and empowering approaches to development are challenging and complicated. Equitable and just development really is rocket science....”

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*HISTORY’S LESSONS FOR SOUTHEAST ASIA* continues to receive accolades for his meticulously researched studies of the origins and development of the United States’ decades-long involvement in the wars in Southeast Asia in the last century, in particular with his latest, *Eisenhower and Cambodia: Diplomacy, Covert Action, and the Origins of the Second Indochina War*.

The book was chosen by Choice magazine for its list of outstanding titles of scholarly works published in 2016. “He conclusively demonstrates,” the citation reads, “that, as with Laos in 1958 and 1960, covert intervention in the internal political affairs of neutral Cambodia proved to be counterproductive for advancing the United States’ anti-Communist goals.... Rust skillfully traces the impact of ‘plausible deniability’ on the formulation and execution of foreign policy.”

“His meticulous study not only reveals a neglected chapter in Cold War history, but it also illuminates the intellectual and political origins of U.S. strategy in Vietnam and the often-hidden influence of intelligence operations in foreign affairs.”

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The book is available online at http://tinyurl.com/gl592u4
published by the London School of Economics, Elizabeth Becker, a former reporter for The New York Times, notes that “By scouring thousands of previously classified documents and new primary source materials, Rust shows how Washington refused to accept Cambodia’s stance as a neutral country and used covert actions and its massive financial and military might to push Cambodia into the U.S. camp, conspiring with Cambodia’s neighbors and dissidents.... Rust’s book eliminates any idea of American innocence.”

Rust discussed the background to the historical period, and the research he did to illuminate that time, in a lengthy interview with the Voice of America, which is available at http://tinyurl.com/hjph8je. Background on his other books on the region was provided in an article in the Winter 2016 issue of this newsletter in the LAFFing Parade section.

Rust, who worked at the Foundation from 1985 to 1991 in what was then the Office of Reports and now is the Office of Communications, continues to research and write about the region and that period in its history.

His latest project is a history of United States diplomacy and intelligence operations in Indonesia from 1942 through 1960. “The book starts,” he said, “with the evacuation of the U.S. consulate in Batavia/Jakarta when the Japanese invaded Java and will end with the aftermath of the failed U.S.-backed coup against President Sukarno in 1958.”

And, with all his books, he said, “one theme that emerges about U.S. relations with the newly independent countries of postwar Southeast Asia should have particular relevance today: During the decades that some look back to as a time when America was ‘great’, the regional ignorance and ideologically rigidified of senior U.S. officials led to the unnecessary deaths of tens of thousands of Americans and millions of Southeast Asians.”

A STORY OF LONGING AND BELONGING

The Teak Almirah by Jael Silliman, “a poignant novel about identity and belonging,” was published in December.

The book “invokes the Calcutta of the past,” wrote a reviewer in The Telegraph of Calcutta, “when it was a city of grace and charm, now lost, in great detail and a dash of nostalgia. Jael Silliman is a writer to make Calcutta and those who love the city proud.”

The writer Naveen Kishore said the novel is “Poignant. Full of Empathy. And humour. And love and longing. Quiet story-telling that gets under your skin.”

Silliman has written both scholarly works and an earlier novel, The Man With Many Hats, about the waning Jewish community of Calcutta, where she was born and raised. The new book chronicles the efforts of three people who return to the city of their birth “on a voyage of self-discovery” and in an effort to “unravel their pasts”.

The book, says Silliman, is “at once a story of longing, belonging and the making of family. It also is a tribute to Calcutta—home to many diverse communities.”

Silliman was a program officer for the Foundation in its Human Rights Unit from 2002 to 2009, concentrating on reproductive rights. Since she left Ford she has worked as a consultant for many NGOs on issues of gender and social justice and has written extensively on social movements that deal with issues of gender, race and environment.
“SECOND-CLASS JUSTICE”: MANDATED ARBITRATION DENIES CHOICE

By Sanford M. Jaffe and Linda Stamato
The authors are co-directors of the Center for Negotiation and Conflict Resolution, at Rutgers University (cnr.rutgers.edu). Jaffe worked at the Ford Foundation from 1968 to 1983 and was officer in charge of the Government and Law Project. Stamato was a consultant to Ford. This article is an edited version of one that appeared in the December 2016 issue of Alternatives, the official publication of the International Institute for Conflict Prevention & Resolution.

In the early days of the dispute resolution movement—the 1980s and 1990s—the concern was often expressed that we were developing a system of “second-class justice” for those who couldn’t afford the courts. The wealthy, of course, would continue to have access to the “first-class justice” that the public courts provided.

That prediction was a bit off. A shift did occur but it wasn’t what many anticipated.

People chose alternative processes—variations on mediation and third-party decision-making—and the dispute resolution field grew. But the well-heeled and large corporate interests, seeing advantages, seized and invested heavily in it. Courts were no longer the venue for the justice they were seeking.

While corporations were willing, even eager, to use mediation, arbitration and private judging as processes for managing differences, voluntarily, between them, they moved to restrict the choice of dispute resolution within their businesses—that is, with customers, clients, and employees—to mandatory arbitration and, its corollary, prohibition of access to courts for class-action lawsuits.

The second-class justice taking shape now is arbitration with a twist. Allowing no choice—taking place in secret, with limited rights to appeal and, often, with outcomes protected by confidentiality—mandatory arbitration has been having a field day.

It has grown exponentially in the past two decades as the U.S. Supreme Court opened the floodgates with decisions like AT&T Mobility v. Concepcion. That case upheld the enforceability of these clauses, and distorted the intentions of the Federal Arbitration Act of 1925. The effect was to significantly limit rights to class-action lawsuits.

It’s a disturbing trend.

And it requires the attention of the dispute resolution profession. As the field of dispute resolution has become more formalized and institutionalized, it has spawned offspring that undermine several of the field’s core principles, not the least of which is choice which fairness requires.

Hijacking a process to accomplish ends that defy core principles certainly ought to raise serious concerns in the profession where, we believe, responsibility rests for articulating and preserving the values and principles that lie at the heart of the movement.

RESULTS IN THE SHADOWS
People don’t seem to know or care about mandatory arbitration until they find they have signed contracts that require them to use it when they have a dispute with their cellphone provider, bank, nursing home, credit card or car rental company, investment broker, medical professional, or the providers of a wide-range of consumer services, including cable companies.

Private parties most often prefer having their cases heard in court, but contractual obligations can, and frequently do, leave consumers with no choice but to arbitrate. They had to agree to that process in order to get hired or make a purchase or enter a surgical facility or a nursing home.

They are prohibited also from any effort to press their claims as a class even though those claims may be too costly or time-consuming to pursue individually. As a result, they have little bargaining power against significant, moneymed interests and repeat players.

Customers who tried to sue Wells Fargo over the fake accounts that were created in their names, for example, were blocked from the courts and forced into arbitration. Wells Fargo customers won’t be able to sue the bank over fake accounts. The Pew Charitable Trusts reported in August...that the use of arbitration clauses has risen to 72 percent from 59 percent at 29 big banks it studied.

Individual claims decided in secret, moreover, rarely right wrongs that affect others. As Jenny Yang, chair of the U.S. Equal Employment Opportunity Commission, noted in an article a year ago that was part of a controversial series on arbitration in The New York Times, the process “allows ‘root causes’ to persist” and it “keeps any discussion of discriminatory practices hidden from other workers ‘who might be experiencing the same thing’”.

The outcome of an age discrimination claim, for example, would have no impact on others similarly situated—or on the community—if it is decided in arbitration.

The Times reported, “Even when plaintiffs prevail in arbitration, patterns of wrongdoing at nursing homes are kept hidden from prospective residents and their families.”

The Economic Policy Institute...reports that, on average, employees and consumers win less often and receive much lower damages in arbitration than they do in court. Even when plaintiffs prevail in arbitration, patterns of wrongdoing are often not disclosed.
The Times series found people forced to arbitrate claims of medical malpractice, sexual harassment, hate crimes, discrimination, theft, fraud, elder abuse and wrongful death. It concluded that we now have an alternative system, a privatizing of the justice system, where “clauses buried in tens of millions of contracts have deprived Americans of one of their most fundamental constitutional rights: their day in court”.

Coupled with bans on class actions—the legal means for citizens to collectively defend their rights—these contract clauses are unfair, even unconscionable.

PUSHING BACK
Since the Supreme Court expanded the scope of the law, some state courts have been pushing back, as have several federal agencies.

In New Jersey, for example, courts have reached decisions that require a strict and narrow standard for the enforceability of mandatory arbitration clauses. Providing a hopeful sign that greater judicial scrutiny may be forthcoming is a string of court cases that have found these clauses unenforceable when they conflict with public policy.

The 2010 Dodd–Frank Wall Street Reform and Consumer Protection Act prohibits the use of mandatory arbitration clauses in mortgages. And, after a lengthy study echoing or presaging many of the concerns discussed about arbitration above, the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau (CFPB) has proposed rules that would prohibit these clauses. The CFPB’s jurisdiction includes checking accounts, credit cards and other types of consumer loans, and it targets those that preclude consumers from joining in class-action cases.

Those rules are being vigorously resisted. As are the rules issued in early October by the Baltimore-based Centers for Medicare and Medicaid Services, an agency in the U.S. Department of Health and Human Services, that prohibit requiring assent to mandatory arbitration as a condition for admission to nursing homes. (The final rule was scheduled to go into effect late last month, but a Mississippi federal court issued an injunction against CMMS….)

Still, conflicting rulings by two U.S. Circuit Courts of Appeals underscore the roadblocks ahead. The Seventh U.S. Circuit Court of Appeals struck down an arbitration clause that barred employees from joining as a class to sue the employer, Epic Systems Corp., a Verona, Wis., health care software provider, finding the clause to be in violation of the National Labor Relations Act, which gives workers the right to unionize and engage in collective action.

This decision, viewed as a major move in the opposite direction of where courts had been going after 2011, conflicts with earlier Fifth Circuit decisions. At this writing, four cases from the Seventh, Ninth, Fifth and Second Circuits have been the subject of petitions for certiorari to the U.S. Supreme Court, asking the Court to decide the conflict between the nation’s labor laws’ provision of access to collective action in courts, and deference to the Federal Arbitration Act. The petitions have been filed by plaintiffs in the Second Circuit, employers in the Seventh and Ninth, and by the NLRB in the Fifth Circuit.

Given that similar cases are pending in federal courts across the country, it’s likely that the subject of mandatory arbitration and prohibitions on class actions will come before the U.S. Supreme Court once again.

RESTORING CHOICE, PROTECTING RIGHTS
As a matter of policy and law, it’s vital to recognize that reliance on arbitration can obscure public interests and have the perverse effect of eroding confidence in the U.S. legal system.

Absent public scrutiny, the rigors of the adversary system—in full public view, with review and rights of appeal—the critical development of the common law, and constitutional law, over time, could be impeded.

Public awareness is growing, given the front-page coverage involving celebrities and the shocking stories occurring in institutional settings…but a significant push is needed against the interests that are determined to keep mandatory arbitration the norm.

That push may be coming. The Federal Communications Commission, for example, is closing in on communication companies and their mandatory arbitration of consumer issues. The clauses are in the sights of other federal agencies as well.

New initiatives, moreover, are likely to enhance, not weaken, the case for mandatory arbitration, putting the brakes on what was a momentum to limit or narrow its use. Even federal judges are looking at arbitration as an erosion of their own powers, particularly in matters that hurt consumers.

It appears that the public wants access to the court system, including the right to join and pursue class action lawsuits. Consumers, employees and patients, among others, ought to have the freedom to choose how they pursue a dispute, rather than allowing their employers, banks, hospitals and various service providers to limit their options.

The election of Donald J. Trump as president and the Republicans’ retention of Congressional control reduce the likelihood of further arbitration regulation in Washington. It puts the existence of the Consumer Financial Protection Bureau at risk, and raises questions about the agency’s still pending arbitration-related and class-action waiver regulations.

So if Congress and federal agencies don’t act, then states should fill the void. Contracts that compel arbitration deny citizens their right to a day in court.

PROFESSIONALISM, IN PRACTICE
There is something else at stake: The integrity of dispute resolution processes and the field that advocates for them.

Arbitration has its place in the justice system. That has existed for a long time. Even George Washington had an arbitration clause in his will. It is a tested and valuable process, usually generating quick, efficient resolution of disputes that need immediate resolution. Finality is a virtue.

In the field of labor relations, arbitration established its usefulness as a necessary step in handling grievances, particularly, after all negotiations and mediation had been tried and the parties were willing to accept a final and binding solution by their arbitrator(s).

In construction, where deadlines weigh heavily on parties, a third-party arbitrator’s expertise can produce a decision all can live with. The key is that arbitration is a choice by parties—an informed, voluntary, choice—as to what process will serve best and when it will be used. Outcomes are acceptable when the process is perceived as fitting and fair.

With mandatory arbitration, the process has been distorted, some say perverted. Stripping away choice has damaged its acceptance.

The wholesale move to mandatory arbitration is a regrettable development in a field that prides itself on choice, on party determination, on procedural justice. “Forced arbitration” may not have originated “in the field,” but it seems to have found a home there.

Rarely seen are misgivings about mandatory arbitration expressed by dispute resolution professionals. But we ought to be heard in the hearings and rule-making processes, and in social and print media, to support the proper use of the processes we have worked to design, develop, apply and evaluate.

We need to bring our scholarship and experience to the public forum, to defend the principles upon which this field is grounded, not the least of which is choice. We need to return to the attitudes and beliefs with which the field started decades ago, to fulfill the promises of the architects of the field.

As mandatory arbitration gains increasing scrutiny, we ought to be front and center advocating for the right use of third-party processes and arguing against their misuse.

We have an opportunity, we believe, that should not go to waste.
members of LAFF’s New York chapter attended a performance in December of the acclaimed one-woman show by Anna Deavere Smith, “Notes From the Field”.

Some 30 members, their friends and staff of the Ford Foundation were at the Second Stage Theater in New York City for what one critic called a “wonderfully energizing” performance by the “American theater’s most dynamic and sophisticated oral historian”.

The play was described by Ben Brantley of The New York Times as a study of “the cursed intersection of two American institutions, the school and the prison, in a racially divided nation”.

He said, “Ms. Smith assumes the identities of 19 individuals…to ruminate and ramble on topics that have made devastating headlines in recent years, including the 2015 death of Freddie Gray at the hands of Baltimore police officers and the slaughter of African-American churchgoers in Charleston, S.C., that same year….She creates a dialogue out of monologues among souls who, in real life, might never have occasion to speak to one another.”

Throughout the two-act play, he wrote, “we find ourselves connecting the dots between academic theories—from a psychiatrist, a judge, a mayor candidate—and the messy immediacy experienced by those who have been among the war zones of the streets and the schools.”

While her tone may be “less confrontation-al and more conciliatory” than earlier works about urban riots, “She wants to leave us with a spark of hope here….she also wants us to leave angry, and restless, and aware that the conversation being conducted isn’t anywhere near completion.”

A review in Time Out New York called the play “audacious and mind-opening”. In it, it said, “her probing intelligence and fair-mindedness retain a tangible presence, assembling the monologues like puzzle pieces to form a larger picture”.

But while the picture she paints is “often bleak”, said the reviewer, she also “suggests the possibility of positive change through a combination of compassion, resources and discipline. She holds her subjects in a tough but loving embrace.”

LAFFing Parade

Raymond Offenheiser will leave his position as chief executive officer and president of Oxfam America to become the first director of the recently established Notre Dame Initiative for Global Development at the University of Notre Dame. He’ll start his new job in September.

The initiative that he’ll head is part of the new Donald R. Keough School of Global Affairs, which was set up in 2014 to “prepare new generations of students for skilled, effective and ethical professional leadership”.

His appointment is a “game-changer” for the initiative, said the school’s director, Scott Appleby. “He brings to students, faculty and partners more than 35 years of experience working with major foundations, nonprofits, government, the private sector and the media on a wide range of public policy issues.

“He has worked at the local, national and global levels with some of the world’s most pioneering individuals, organizations and policy initiatives. He has the respect of and access to presidents, prime ministers and parliaments seeking to address complex problems with solutions that are cost-effective, human-centered and scalable.”

Said Offenheiser, “I had imagined taking on some kind of a role in academia post-Oxfam and this post offers the opportunity to be a part of creating a new school of global affairs….there is a lot of moral and financial support behind the project.”

He will direct a team “building this program, setting up offices and research platforms overseas, leading a new business and global development program within the university, and doing some teaching. It’s a robust role with lots of opportunity for creativity and institution-building…”

He’ll be joining the new school just as its first group of students arrive on campus to study in its Master of Global Affairs program. As part of his work he’ll teach graduate and undergraduate students and serve on the Keough School’s Leadership Council.

The new position also brings him back to Notre Dame, from which he earned a bachelor’s degree in 1971. He also has a master’s degree in development sociology from Cornell University.

Before joining Oxfam 20 years ago he worked for the Ford Foundation in its Dhaka and Lima offices. Prior to that he directed programs for the Inter-American
LAFFeing Parade

Foundation in Brazil and Colombia, and worked for the Save the Children Foundation in Mexico.

He has served on many advisory bodies, including as a member of the Obama administration's Leadership Council of the New Alliance for Food Security and Nutrition in Africa. He was honorary president of Wetlands International and a co-founder of the ONE Campaign, the Modernizing Foreign Assistance Network and the Food Policy Action Network.

He’s been a member of several boards, including the World Economic Forum, the Council on Foreign Relations, the Aspen Institute, the World Agricultural Forum, the Gates Foundation, Harvard Business School, the Kennedy School of Government at Harvard University, and Cornell University.

Kavita Ramdas is leaving the Ford Foundation, where she has been a senior adviser to its president, Darren Walker, to “assess where I can be of most service”.

That includes, initially, working as a consultant to Planned Parenthood Global and as an Advisor in Residence to Trickle Up, a Ford grantee working with poor communities and individuals in South Asia, Central America and Africa.

Her year-long assignment at the New York headquarters of the Foundation was to help “integrate our commitment to justice and equality in all our policies and practices”.

Before that she was Ford’s representative for three years in the office covering India, Nepal and Sri Lanka, where she focused on issues of equity, inclusion, economic fairness, freedom of expression, human rights, sexuality and reproductive health and rights, transparency and accountable government, and sustainable development.

Before joining Ford she was the founder and first executive director of the Program on Social Entrepreneurship located at the Center on Democracy, Development and the Rule of Law in the Freeman Spogli Institute for International Studies at Stanford University. From 1996 to 2010 she was the president and chief executive officer of the Global Fund for Women.

Ramdas earned her bachelor’s degree in politics and international relations from Mount Holyoke College and a master’s degree in public affairs with a focus on international development from the Woodrow Wilson School of Public and International Affairs.

REFLECTIONS ON THE DEATH OF AKBAR HASHEMI RAFSANJANI

Gary Sick was deputy director for International Affairs at the Foundation and served on the National Security Council under presidents Gerald Ford, Jimmy Carter and Ronald Reagan. This article was written originally for his blog, garysick.tumblr.com

Based on my own observations over the years, here are a few comments that seem worth adding to the flood of commentary following the death in January of Akbar Hashemi Rafsanjani, a former president of Iran. First, Rafsanjani was truly a pragmatist. He seemed to believe genuinely that Iran’s revolutionary system would survive only if it engaged with the outside world. There was never any doubt about his devotion to the system that he had done so much to shape. But he was willing to go beyond stale dogma in pursuit of rescuing a system that he recognized was performing very badly.

He was a businessman, and his solutions always seemed to involve deal making. His attempt to bring in the United States and others involved making them an offer they could not refuse. Hence the Conoco offer, or the trade of hostages for President Bush’s “good will”. However, the U.S. always found it could refuse the offer whenever the time came to pay up. It was one of his great disappointments.

Rafsanjani was the master at leading from behind. He seemed to be uncomfortable out in front, leading a fight or a principled crusade. Instead, he preferred to work behind the scenes, manipulating events. This gave his leadership an ambiguous quality.

People in the west tended to see him as a reformer, and that seems to have been correct at least in his later years. But he liked to let others lead the charge while he stayed back out of the limelight to push the levers. This was not a lack of courage, in my view, but rather an accurate appreciation of his own strengths and weaknesses.

As a consequence, he won the smaller battles but lost the war. When he finally came out to do battle on his own he was repeatedly defeated, even humiliated. His loss to Mahmoud Ahmadinejad in 2005 was a catastrophe.

Over the past eight or ten years, despite his undeniable presence, he was unable to win the election for Mir-Hussein Moussavi and Mehdi Karrubi. He was not able to keep them out of house arrest. In fact, he was not able to keep even his own children out of jail.

The strategic voting of the 2013 election was clever and classic Rafsanjani tactics. But I would argue that Rafsanjani has had very little impact on policy, even after the election of Hassan Rouhani. He favored the nuclear deal with the west, but the reason it was adopted was because Ali Khamenei supported it, regardless of his body language. Rafsanjani had become a back bencher – an important commentator but not a policymaker.

Contrary to some of my colleagues, my guess is that Rafsanjani’s departure will have very little actual impact on the course of developments from here. If I were in Rouhani’s shoes, I would certainly be sorry to lose an ally with such sterling revolutionary credentials. After all, the centrist need all the friends they can get.

However, the outcome of the next election will depend on Rouhani’s ability to persuade Iranians that they are better off with the nuclear agreement and that he is capable of defending Iran’s interests better than any alternative choice. Having Rafsanjani behind him would no doubt have had its appeal, but Rouhani would have been foolish to depend on Rafsanjani to win that battle.

One should always be cautious talking about legacies so close to the event. Rafsanjani will without question be seen as one of the towering figures of the revolutionary era. His place in history, however, will depend very much on the fate of the very system that he helped put in place but then came to criticize for its anemic performance, and especially its self-destructive rivalries, corruption and discord.

He wanted to cure those problems, and he failed. RIP.
Brent Ashabranner, who once described his “way through this world” as encompassing three lives, including 10 years with the Ford Foundation in the Philippines and Indonesia, died December 1 in Williamsburg, Va. He was 95.

“My first life,” he wrote in a self-published autobiography, lasted thirty-five years and all of it—except for three years in the U.S. Navy during World War II—was spent in Oklahoma. I was born there, went to school and college there, became a husband, parent and teacher there. I was a happy, provincial Midwesterner.”

Mr. Ashabranner earned his bachelor’s and master’s degrees in English from Oklahoma State University, which then was Oklahoma A&M University, and taught English there until 1955. He also studied in later years at the University of Michigan, Boston University and Oxford University.

“My second life spanned twenty-five years,” he wrote, “during which I lived and worked in many African and Asian countries: Ethiopia, Libya, Nigeria, India, the Philippines and Indonesia. Nine of those years were spent with the Peace Corps, one of the best and most imaginative international programs our country has ever had.”

He began his work in international programs in 1955, working on curriculum development in Ethiopia. He then went to Libya for the U.S. International Cooperation Administration as chief of the Education Materials Development division and then, in 1960, was the education program officer in Nigeria for the U.S. Agency for International Development.

It was not long after the Peace Corps was established that he became its acting director of the program in Nigeria, in 1961, moving on to be the deputy director and then director in India, director of the Office of Training in 1966 and the agency’s deputy director in 1967.

He held several positions after leaving the Peace Corps in 1969, including with the Harvard University Center for Studies in Education and Development, as director of the Near East-South Asia Population Program of the Pathfinder Fund, and as director of project development for the World Population International Assistance division of Planned Parenthood.

He went to Ford in 1972, first as deputy representative in the Philippines and then as deputy representative in Indonesia before retiring in 1980.

His third life began when he moved to Williamsburg, Va., after leaving Ford and “used this quiet and wonderfully rich cradle of American democracy as a base for writing and interpreting the American experience for young readers.... I think my years of living in other cultures around the world have helped me to be a better writer about my own country.”

His love of writing was never quenched during his international career, and began at a very young age, back in Oklahoma when he was 11.

“Under the spell of an exciting book called Bomba the Jungle Boy,” he wrote, “I began writing a story which I called ‘Barbara the Jungle Girl’...by page three I was hopelessly bogged down in the plot, and ‘Barbara the Jungle Girl’ was never finished.”

But “the writing bug had somehow got in my blood and I really never stopped writing”. Success came when he was 20 and published his first story and he never stopped writing.

His first book, The Lion’s Whiskers, a collection of Ethiopian folk tales, was co-written when he worked in that country with a fellow aid worker, Russell Davis. He wrote several more books with Davis, and others through the years with his daughters, Melissa and Jennifer.

Six of his books have been chosen as Notable Children’s Books by the American Library Association, and the National Council for the Social Studies gave him its Carter G. Woodson Award for Non-Fiction three times for books depicting ethnicity in the United States, and its Outstanding Merit Book Award twice. In 1996, the National Council of Teachers of English recommended his book about the Great Plains Indians in exile, A Strange and Distant Shore.

In 1990 he received the Washington Post Children’s Book Guild Award for career achievement.

His books have dealt with a wide range of topics, all as an effort to illuminate American life. He has written about Native Americans, immigrants and monuments to historical figures and events, all meant to help young people understand the nature of American society.

“I write mostly about rather complex issues and problems,” he once said. “Finding ways to make these subjects interesting and understandable to young readers is a challenging task I never tire of. I firmly believe that we do our most important reading when we are young; to try to engage young minds on worthwhile subjects is a great satisfaction.”

In his writing he had “one overriding hope...that the people I write about will emerge as human beings whose lives are real and valuable and who have a right to strive for decent lives”.

Besides his daughters he is survived by his wife, Martha, with whom he had recently celebrated their 76th wedding anniversary; three grandchildren, and one great-grandchild.
Mary Camper-Titsingh, a former secretary-treasurer of The LAFF society, died last July. She had been an officer of LAFF from 1995 to 2008.

She started work at the Foundation in 1971 when she was hired as an investment research librarian and, two years later, was named Government Research Coordinator in the office of the treasurer. She was then a research coordinator and social responsibility analyst for investments until her retirement in 1989.

Ms. Camper-Titsingh was born in The Netherlands and escaped with her parents at the outbreak of World War II, settling in Santa Monica, Calif. She received a master’s degree from Columbia University before going to work at Ford.

For more than 20 years she worked on "a labor of love", research into the life of an ancestor in Europe that culminated in 2010 in a historical novel, The Man Who Kow-Towed, the story of an ancestor, Isaac Titsingh, an eighteenth-century merchant-scholar from Holland.

"How much can one know about the events and emotions during the private life of an obscure, long-dead adventurous man who lived during the eighteenth century?" she asked in an author’s note. "Exploring his life must occur through speculation, projection and inference. I have taken much license in this story….

"This work of fiction should not be taken as an accurate biographical and historical account…this story is homage to the spirit and actions of a remarkable man and the extraordinary times in which he lived: 'The Age of Enlightenment'."

Among the comments on the book is one that describes it as a "rich, historical account of the dawn of globalization…. Her novel draws considerably on information about the experiences of other eighteenth-century traders and the wide-ranging historical events and cultural changes during Titsingh’s lifetime (1745-1812)."

It is "an inspired adventure for fans of historical fiction".

Leslie W. Dunbar, a civil-rights activist who worked for several decades to expand the voting franchise among Blacks in the South during what he termed a “time of mind-changing”, died in January. He was 95.

Mr. Dunbar, born in West Virginia, was an integral member of a group of white activists who helped shepherd the civil rights movement that emerged in the 1950s.

“They were all polite,” said Taylor Branch, a civil rights historian and author of several books on the struggle, quoted in The New York Times, “a little beleaguered and conscious of the limitations they were up against.

“Les Dunbar was quiet, kind of like a non-evangelical preacher. But his personality was suited to his mission.”

That mission included a three-year period of work beginning in 1981 at the Ford Foundation as a senior project associate for social welfare policy during which he published a report, Minority Rights: What Has Happened to Blacks, Hispanics, American Indians and Other Minorities in the Eighties.

Mr. Dunbar left a business and academic career to work in the civil rights movement. He had a master’s degree and a Ph.D. from Cornell University and taught at Emory University before taking a job as head of community affairs at the Atomic Energy Commission heavy water plant in Aiken, S.C. He was teaching at Mount Holyoke College in Massachusetts when he left in 1958 to join the staff of the Southern Regional Council (SRC) in Atlanta.

He saw the South and its legacy of racism clearly.

“The region,” he said, “has been the place where American error and excess go to retire. The most enormous of all, Negro enslavement and peonage, came here to live out its suffering.”

Before he arrived at the SRC “it was a pretty cautious organization, not quick to condemn segregation outright," Jacqueline Dowd Hall, a history professor at the University of North Carolina who worked at the SRC after he left, told The Times. “I think Les really connected it to the grassroots civil-rights movement as it gained momentum.”

His influence was considered crucial to the creation and development of the Voter Education Project (VEP), whose goal was to register Black voters in the South, as he worked with Martin Luther King, Jr., of the Southern Christian Leadership Conference and Roy Wilkins, president of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People.

The voting rights movement led to the Voting Rights Act of 1965, and Mr. Dunbar was present at the law’s signing in the White House.

“He oiled the gears to make the VEP come together,” said T. Evan Faulknburn, a history professor at the State University of New York College at Cortland. “He talked to philanthropists up north and Robert F. Kennedy’s Justice Department to create the tax conditions under which it could exist, to have tax-exempt money go to voter registration,” he told The Times.

Mr. Dunbar made significant contributions to the broad civil rights movement when he moved to New York City to run the Field Foundation in 1965 and, for 15 years, funded such organizations as the Poor People’s Campaign, the Children’s Defense Fund, the Head Start program in Mississippi and the Food Research and Action Center.

Vernon Jordan, a black civil rights leader who had worked with Mr. Dunbar at the SRC, told The Times, “In those days they didn’t call white people civil-rights leaders. But Leslie Dunbar was a civil-rights leader. He was one of us.”

Matthew J. Cullen, Jr., an independent consultant in planning and management who worked for the Ford Foundation as a program associate in the public affairs, international affairs and education offices, died in September in Blue Hill, Maine. He was 93.

Mr. Cullen, an honors graduate of Harvard University with a law degree from George Washington University, had a long and varied career in academia, politics and philanthropy.

He was staff assistant to the Budget Continued on page 12
WE COULD USE YOUR IDEAS

The newsletter is always looking for ideas and articles from members, anything that helps illuminate the Foundation’s work and the experiences of our members.

There is a good array of examples in each issue, from news accounts to opinion pieces. We like to hear what members are doing: new positions, new ventures, what they are writing and saying.

Reflections and recollections are especially of interest, for they tell the general story of the Foundation and the particular stories of individuals who contributed to the Foundation’s history and have been making history of their own.

The lead story in this issue describes the work of the Rockefeller Archive Center in collecting and preserving materials that include contributions from our members. The newsletter is an opportunity to share some of that material in these pages.

Ideas and articles can be sent to John LaHoud at jlahoud25@hotmail.com

FINANCIAL REPORT 2016

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SAVE THE DATE

The New York chapter has scheduled its spring meeting for May 25. No details are available yet on the subject or on guest speakers, but details will be posted on LAFF’s web site as they become available (laffsociety.org).