



LAFF

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

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Mary McAuley and Irena Grudzińska Gross

The Ford Foundation in Russia and Eastern Europe

When the Soviet dissident Valery Chalidze died this past January, long living in exile in this country, his passing brought attention to the many courageous people supported by the Ford Foundation in their struggle for freedom from the Soviet state, and who in turn helped Ford find a role for itself in post-Soviet Russia.

As a young man in Russia he founded an underground journal, *Social Issues*, and disseminated materials forbidden by the government. He defended the rights of Jews who had been denied emigration from the Soviet Union, and the rights of homosexuals, considered an “inappropriate subject”.

He was allowed to visit the United States in 1972 to lecture at universities but was not allowed to return. But he continued to produce banned works, including through two publishing ventures, Chalidze Publications and *Khronika Press*.

And he helped the Foundation identify individuals, groups and institutions that could help Ford plot a way forward in Russia and Eastern Europe. The Foundation had established the Soviet and East European Study Group

Continued on next page

(SEESG) in 1988 to explore opportunities in the region, and out of its work, and with guidance from many who knew the region well, including Chalidze, came programs and initiatives explored in two articles in this issue.

Mary McAuley, Ford's first representative in Russia, provides a first-hand account of the trials, tribulations and satisfactions of working in an environment the world was only beginning to understand.

And **Irena Grudzińska Gross**, who headed the Foundation's East European program, discusses the successes, failures and frustrations of work in that rapidly changing region.

The Moscow office was closed in 2009 and the East European program has been phased out, but these articles provide intriguing insights into a pivotal period in world history—and that of the Ford Foundation.

THE EARLY YEARS OF THE MOSCOW OFFICE

By **Mary McAuley**

The Ford Foundation had long supported activities relating to Russia but, in 1991, it established a grant-making program for organizations and institutions working in Russia itself.

Shepard Forman headed the program, which focused on support for the social sciences, legal reform and human rights. The majority of the grantees were Russian organi-

zations, some well-established, some very new.

Joseph Schull was the program officer when, in 1995, a decision was made to open a field office in Moscow. What was it like to set up and run the new Moscow office in the turbulent years at the end of the twentieth century? And how did the Foundation meet the challenges?

There are strange gaps in my memory but maybe my telling will prompt others to fill them in. One day, perhaps, the archives will reveal much more.

Finding and setting up the office

On joining the Foundation as the new Representative in September 1995, I spent three months in New York, then traveling, first to Rio de Janeiro and Santiago to learn how a Representative's office worked and then to Moscow with Shep, Joe and **Jim Lapple** to meet grantees, find an office and rent an apartment.

On the flight to Santiago not only did the elegantly dressed gentleman in the neighboring seat say, "I see you work for the Ford Foundation. As a graduate student I received a Ford Foundation grant", but even at passport control an official said, "Ford Foundation, I know the Ford Foundation..." And in Moscow, at the words "Ford Foundation" the doors of Baker and Mackenzie, Price Waterhouse and Citibank seemed to fly open.

We were already registered as a charitable foundation with the new Chamber of Commerce in Moscow, which made it possible for grantees to receive grants from New York directly into their bank accounts and to respond to the tax authorities. But now we had resident status and needed to find an office.

Moscow was awash with new construction. Shep, Joe, and I donned hardhats and

clambered over building sites. We settled on a large building, undergoing reconstruction, on Tverskaya Street, right in the center, just ten minutes walk from Red Square. The Carnegie Corporation had its eyes on the top floor.

Meanwhile I found an apartment, within walking distance of Tverskaya, on Patriarch's Pond. "It's not really large enough for a representative," said Jim Lapple, but when I insisted he rang the young estate agent, told him to cancel his evening engagement and to meet him to sign the contract. That was the way Jim did things.

By the beginning of January I was in Moscow with my husband, Alastair, who had taken academic leave and would be teaching at the New Economic School. He spoke good Russian. The apartment had only a put-you-up bed, and a table and chairs, but someone found someone with a lorry to bring furniture from my flat in St Petersburg. Olga Lobova (assigned to me by Joe) and her husband, Ilya, had a car. They took us to one of few shops stocking china, glass and cutlery, then to a sale of Italian table lamps in a primary school and, lo and behold, we found a double bed in a Scandinavian shop. Jim Lapple authorized the order of a dining room table and chairs and arm chairs from Europe. Our children and friends from the United Kingdom, America and St Petersburg all came over the years to stay.

Olga was my assistant during those early months, and became our office manager when we moved into Tverskaya. But that would not be until June. For now the "office" operated out of two rooms and four armchairs on the third-floor landing of a hotel built in Moscow for the 1980 Olympics. Soon we recruited two program officers, **Anne Stewart-Hill** for higher education and **Chris Kedzie** for civil society, while I took responsibility for human rights and legal reform.

We also had two drivers and a temporary secretary. There was no local public transport within easy reach so we bought four cars - a Volvo station wagon, in which our chief driver came to pick me up each morning from Patriarch's Pond, and three sedans. Anne and Chris, also renting apartments, drove their sedans themselves. We had four laptops, until one was stolen, and a printer. We used the hotel telephone system.

The loss of a laptop meant that, for a while, we had to share. One morning Sergei, our driver, drove me to the new gated community, surrounded by a high fence, where Anne lived. We parked and he leaped out and went to collect the laptop. I sat and waited...and waited...until, increasingly anxious, I went to the gate-keeper and asked if I could phone her apartment. "Sergei collected the laptop

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twenty minutes ago,” Anne said. I ran to the staircase. Laptops were very valuable and crime was rampant. Would I find his corpse on the stairs? I buzzed the lift. Then, oh the relief as I heard a faint voice: “Mary, I am stuck in the lift, can you get me out?”

Joe Schull came to introduce me to grantees and help interview prospective staff. We found an excellent candidate for grants administrator, **Irina Korzheva**, from the Institute for USA and Canada, but the runner-up, young **Maria Chertok**, a sociologist, was good too. “We’ll ask New York to let you have her as program assistant,” said Joe, and the deal was done. Maria stayed with us for a year, helping me with Anne’s portfolio when she went on maternity leave, and then moved on to Charities Aid Foundation, where she rose to become director.

And that brings me to what we might call “philanthropy in Russia in the nineties”. The state, its enterprises and institutions, had been responsible for the welfare of its citizens in the Soviet Union. Now, in post-perestroika

Russia, with the economy barely functioning and wild privatization, western funding, both private and government, made its appearance to support science and education, institutes, medicine and law, homeless children, refugees, the new human rights or civil society organizations, the arts....

“Sergei collected the laptop twenty minutes ago,” Anne said. I ran to the staircase. Laptops were very valuable and crime was rampant. Would I find his corpse on the stairs?

By 1996, when Ford opened its office, the MacArthur and Soros foundations were already there, as were German foundations (Heinrich Boll, Adenauer, Ebert), the French and Dutch, Charities Aid Foundation from the UK, Fulbright under the Institute for

International Education, and the British Council. The Council of Europe and some of the embassies also had grant programs. For example, the British Know How Fund while the Eurasia Foundation was American-government money.

It was a confusing world for potential grantees and for donors themselves. MacArthur and Soros (Open Society) were our closest and most helpful partners in those early years. By the end of the nineties, the Russian oligarchs were into philanthropy: Potanin, Deripasko and Khodorkovsky, to mention a few, had set up foundations. By then we had a Donors’ Forum, where all would meet at intervals, to exchange information. The idea for this had come from **Barry Gaberman**, and Chris Kedzie was instrumental in setting it up once we had a functioning office.

The renovations took about six months, and here Jim Lapple reigned supreme. I listened, entranced, as he pulled to pieces proposals and estimates from American and *Continued on next page*

THE PRESIDENT’S MESSAGE

This Newsletter issue, as we have all come to appreciate, will spark many memories. For me, it recalls my last years at the Foundation as I assumed the role of Director of the International Affairs program. I had been at the Foundation for 12 years, three as a program officer in higher education and rural development in Brazil and one in New York as program advisor to the Latin American program, before **Frank Thomas** appointed me Director of the Human Rights and Social Justice and Governance and Public Policy programs.

It was a spectacularly privileged job, and my time working for Frank was a period of profound learning and high pride, accompanied by the humility of seeing the work being done by extraordinary grantees. Yet, I thought it was time for me to move on and make room for **Lynne Walker** (later Huntley) and **David Arnold**, then deputy directors in the respective programs, to imbue these areas of the Foundation’s work with their own perspectives, ideas and energies.

I asked Frank and **Susan Berresford** for their help and counsel in finding my way to Life After.... To my surprise, they came back to me the next day with a proposal that, despite my best intentions, I could not refuse. It was time to reshape the International Affairs program, I recall Frank saying, and to loose it from its Cold War moorings. Would I give the Foundation five more years?

Could I take the international human rights work with me, I asked, and join it to Foundation funding in international law, and could the program I would come to direct take the lead in developing the Foundation’s growing portfolio in Russia and Central Europe, this latter of particular interest to me because of my family’s Baltic and Ukrainian origins. With both of

those agreed to, I embarked on one more great Foundation adventure, this one stretching to six years until my retirement in 1996.

Arthur Cyr’s remembrance of **Crauford Goodwin** reminds us that the international economics program, always considered an outlier to the Foundation’s dominant commitment to development economics, was among the most difficult and loneliest portfolios to manage. Frank, however, saw the connections between the two and, with the merger of the international and domestic divisions, created an opportunity to bring them closer together. This we accomplished when the trade economist, **Seamus O’Cleireacain**, joined the program and demonstrated that international economics was not “rather effete”, as Cyr notes it was held to be within the Foundation, but central to the development and growth aspirations in countries increasingly caught up in the liberal democratic order.

Which brings me to **Mary McAuley’s** and **Irena Gross’s** beautifully juxtaposed essays on the Foundation’s work in Russia and Central Europe. I could devote pages to the heady exploratory work **Enid Schoettle**, **Norm Collins**, **Paul Balaran**, **Margo Picken** and I did in the region starting in 1989: the launch of *in loco* programming around 1991, the dozens of visits to Moscow, Prague and Warsaw in preparation for a Trustees’ trip that year, and the opening of the Moscow office in 1996.

Mary reminds us with some mirth of scouting missions to hotels, restaurants, meeting venues and, yes, toilet facilities. I recall carrying soap, toothpaste and other basics as gifts. I remember with some embarrassment when the then U.S. Ambassador to the Czech Republic told me the Foundation’s reconnaissance was more complete and time-consuming than what the

Embassy had just done for the President’s visit.

The contributions the Foundation ultimately made in support of civil society, human rights and public policy development in the transitional societies was, for the time, significant, as was its decision to close the Moscow office and cease operations in Central Europe. I could make an argument on either side of the “stay or leave” debate that occurred, given the difficulties of grant making in an increasingly authoritarian Russia and Central Europe’s seemingly comfortable inclusion in the European Union, though my argument would be stronger on the stay side, especially given the post-democratic climates that Irena describes.

The exciting promise that we witnessed and the Foundation backed in the 1990s has regressed dramatically in the face of the extreme nationalisms that have re-emerged over the last quarter century. These tragic reversals are not confined to that region, and we see them threatening liberal democratic aspirations and civic engagement elsewhere, including prominently in the United States. The work we remember and the stories we tell remain a source of hope and optimism. As in this issue, LAFF is determined, with your help, to capture them.

I am pleased to welcome **Bird Runningwater** to the LAFF Executive Committee. As a Program Associate in Media, Arts and Culture at the Foundation in the late 1990s, and now Director of the Sundance Institute’s Native American and Indigenous Program, Bird brings new generational energy and perspectives to governance at LAFF. Unfortunately, **Judy Barsalou** has resigned from the committee. She helped guide us so well at LAFF for many years and we look forward to her continuing membership. **Shep**

German building firms. Once when, in desperation, a building contractor had finally agreed to a proposal, Jim smiled encouragingly and said, "Well, cut it by a further fifty percent and I think we have a deal." He remained unmoved by any of their pleas. Could I do the same?

In one situation we needed a fire-safety certificate to have the finished work accepted. Alas, said the contractor, the fire service told them it was not happy with the paint they had used but that if they would redecorate the inside of the fire station, perhaps.... I must play Jim Lapple, I realized. "That is your problem," I said, "and you must sort it out. I want the fire-safety certificate before I sign off on the terms we agreed to, and soon." Did the fire station get redecorated? I never knew, but our walls stayed as they were and we got our fire-safety certificate.

The office on Tverskaya, and its opening

By June 1996 we were in our new office, open from 9:30 to 5:30, Monday to Friday, and by September had a full staff. This consisted of three program staff, a program assistant, two secretaries, a receptionist, two grants administrators, a cook, two accountants and two drivers. Jim Lapple had helped order office furniture – from Germany or Finland – and authorized the purchase of a computer system, a fax and a Xerox machine. Initially Xerox played the role of internet.

Elena Ivanova, my secretary, would stand for hours printing papers for everyone.

A problem, seemingly unsolvable, arose over the office furniture. Large trucks were allowed to deliver in central Moscow only on Sundays, and I had gone into the office to receive and sign for a shipment. Alas, I did not notice that I had signed for two refrigerators instead of one. Any such purchases had to be registered, with date of purchase, with the tax inspectorate and remain on the premises. So what should we do? How could we get rid of a refrigerator we did not have? After fruitless discussions, we decided that a personal visit to the tax inspectorate by our now heavily pregnant office manager, Olga, and myself, playing the ignorant and anxious foreigner, was the best we could do. We threw ourselves on his mercy, and he agreed



From left, Dmitri Shabelnikov; Barry Gaberman; Ursula Tenny; Buzz Tenny; Mary McAuley; Mizanur Rakhman, a grantee from Bangladesh; and the office's drivers, Sergei and Dima.

to change the document.

Felix Yakubson, a filmmaker and friend from St Petersburg, helped to buy pictures and made a video when **Susan Berresford**, then president of the Foundation, came from New York. Two short-term program assistants, **Miriam Aukerman** from the Foundation in New York and **Rose Glickman**, a historian and friend, helped in the early months. In 1997 we acquired mobile phones for program and key office administrators. Yes, they were large and heavy, but a real bonus. Mobile networks were spreading across Russia, and we had a lot of traveling to do if the Ford program was to reach out to the regions.

When Maria Chertok left us, we hired **Dmitri Shabelnikov**, a very able linguist then retraining as a lawyer, as my program assistant. I was struggling to run the office, build my portfolio on human rights and legal reform, and travel to grantees across the huge country. And there were visits to New York to fit in.

Susan Berresford came for the official opening of the office in June 1997. Elena Ivanova, on meeting her at the airport, was shocked by the small size and broken handle of her suitcase. "I just can't find the time to buy a new one," explained Susan. Both grantees and office staff warmed to her.

We arranged that the opening should be celebrated with a special performance of *Die Fledermaus* (which now included a reference, and a toast, to the Ford Foundation) by the new Gelikon Opera company. All the grantees were invited, speeches were made and vodka, gherkins and a cold buffet provided. It was fun. Celebrating is a national pastime in Russia.

Whom, I asked Susan, would she like to

meet? Artists, musicians, professors, lawyers? She opted for the arts. I consulted with Alexei Simonov, himself a film director but now a grantee, founder of a "glasnost", or media, NGO. We hosted a dinner at the House of Writers restaurant with guests Simonov, one of Russia's leading pianists (who spoke good English) and the woman director of the Sovremennik theater. I put the pianist opposite Susan, with myself on his right and Alexei on her left, opposite me.

"Tell me, Nikolai," said Susan to the pianist,

"what is the main problem facing the world of music at the moment in Russia?" "Oh," he replied, with an expansive gesture, "without a doubt it's that there are so many homosexuals" Simonov and I exchanged a glance of utter dismay and looked down at our plates. "Oh, no," I thought. But Susan rose to the occasion. "It is interesting to hear you say that," she said, without any change in tone. "Can you explain to me why that is a problem?" To my shame, I don't remember the rest of the conversation, but we kept our Arts funding.

Office life, cars, computers—and surveillance?

I don't remember the size of the office budget as opposed to the grant budget. It would be interesting to know how the "costs" of the field offices have varied over time. I always felt that, given the amount of paper work demanded by the Russian authorities, we must have been an expensive office in terms of staff costs. Or not? It was always interesting to visit another field office and try to sense common and unique features but I never felt sure I knew.

We had a kitchen and a cook, Nadya, who designed the lunch menu, collected lunch money from us all on a Monday, bought the food and prepared the meal. Visitors from New York paid into the kitty. Barry Gaberman, probably our favorite visitor, always praised Nadya's cooking as the best he ate in any Foundation office.

Life was rarely dull in the office. "The women from the Caspian will be here, with caviar, at 2 p.m." a message flashed on my screen. And there they were, two stout women with their wares: black caviar in plastic containers, 500 gr or a kilo. Black caviar had gone from

the shops but still made it to Moscow. I can't remember what it cost but it was very little. And it kept for an age in the fridge. I think I bought a kilo.

After more than a year, maybe two, we received a notice that our cars had never been properly registered as they crossed the frontier. We should now pay to have them sent to Finland, registered and returned to us. Dima, our chief driver who loved the Volvo, was outraged. This was all a set-up, he declared. And, indeed, while we paid some money and got some new papers, the cars (according to our drivers) sat, freezing in the winter weather in a yard on the outskirts of Moscow.

Dima was a driver from heaven who, in silent concentration, could get me to the airport through the worst traffic. We would skim through roadside parking lots, fly over or through underpasses and then, as the road to the airport opened, with the speedometer reaching 120, we would be there, with just enough time for me to make my flight. Sometimes I was tempted to cut the time short, just for the experience.

Chris Kedzie, our program officer, originally a fighter pilot until he lost a leg to cancer, knew how to respond to the traffic police who would sometimes stop a car with foreign plates. Flagged down, he would be out of the car, standing, holding all the documents, before the policeman had time to turn around and see that Chris had but one leg. With dismay and incredulity the officer would wave Chris back into the car and on his way.

Our computers were wonderful. In the early nineties I had met a young computer-wizard in St Petersburg, the son of a friend, a boy who had built his own computer. By 1996 he was working in Moscow for Sberbank, the government savings bank. He became our computer specialist, working weekends and some evenings. He advised what to buy, maintained and updated the equipment, and sorted out the problems. I was very proud. He was surely the best computer specialist in all the Foundation.

Years later, sitting in London in despair in front of a computer that no one was able to get to work properly, I e-mailed: "Anton, please come." He came, and together we went to PC World, where he told them the extra things he needed, set it all up and left the computer running while he and his girlfriend went to the Design Museum. Next morning he pronounced it in good working order and they left for Moscow. It worked for years.

Was the office bugged? Our telephones? Who knows? All our activities were legal but there was the odd occasion when it was best to talk, maybe on a landing or in the street. One of our young staff was requested to come

for a conversation with the FSB (security services). She wriggled out of it, insisting she had nothing to say of any interest, and the matter was dropped. One of our drivers was tricked into finding himself facing FSB officers across a table, and was scared. A conversation with an experienced Russian colleague provided some reassurance.

I had always assumed that among the office staff there was probably one who reported on office activities, although I found it hard to imagine who it might be. And all our visitors had to check in downstairs where, it was clear, the receptionists were security-trained.

Paying for things, inflation and the bank crash of 1998

Program officers had their salaries paid into Citibank in New York, and Foundation credit cards. We had a bank account with Bank Moskvyy for staff salaries and office expenses. Program and office staff, their married partners and children up to the age of 18 had medical insurance paid by the

I remember running with our driver through the underpass beneath the square on Tverskaya, both of us carrying two holdalls full of ruble notes to get them to Sberbank before it closed for lunch.

Foundation. The choice of polyclinic was up to the individual. Hospital care was also covered (Elena Ivanova's son found himself in the Kremlin hospital at the time that Russia's president, Boris Yeltsin, died there). Costs were covered for children born to both program and office staff during these years. Coverage continued for office staff for a year after the Moscow office's closure, and for program staff when they left. That was pretty remarkable.

Was rent for the Moscow office paid monthly or quarterly from New York to the Russian company that owned the building? And was rent for the apartments paid directly from New York? I suspect so. How did we pay for heating and lighting? I am not sure. Our office costs must have included telephone, fax, internet, mobiles and, of course, travel. Tickets, train or air, were booked through a travel agency. Any other expenses, for example, entertaining a grantee or visitor or Foundation officer, which could not be paid for with a Foundation credit card, were reclaimed by handing in the receipts to my

secretary, Elena Ivanova, and getting them signed for. The accountant, Elena Petukhova, kept the ready cash for these expenses as well as for plants, petrol, office stationery, postage, couriers, etc. We sent each week, by courier, a large package to New York that contained our grant applications, reports of all kinds, three typed copies of travel authorizations, reports by the accountant, etc., and received a package in return.

Did we pay bribes? What kind of bribes? To policemen who stopped our cars? To banking, tax, accountancy officials? Not to the best of my knowledge, but sometimes an accountant or office manager would set out somewhere with a box of chocolates.

Bruce Stuckey, the Foundation's Personnel Officer, advised on contracts. Was it Bruce, or perhaps **Buzz Tenny** or maybe **Linda Strumpf**, who authorized the steady increase in staff salaries as inflation in Moscow started to rocket upwards in 1997-98? It was a nightmare, poring over salary scales and dollar/ruble rates, making adjustments and trying to reassure office staff that I would do all that I could. Then, in August 1998, came the crash. The government defaulted on its debts, banks closed or ceased trading, the stock market plummeted and the ruble lost its value against the dollar. Most banks, including Bank Moskvyy, shut down.

How could I pay the office staff? How could grantees pay for their ongoing projects? I don't have clear memories of how the office coped. We must have opened an account in the still operating government Savings Bank. I remember running with our driver, Sergei, through the underpass beneath the square on Tverskaya, both of us carrying two holdalls full of ruble notes to get them to Sberbank before it closed for lunch. But where did we get the rubles from? And did we subsequently move all accounts from Bank Moskvyy to Citibank?

Many projects simply went on hold for a month or two. But preparations for a workshop on prosecutors' strategies to combat corruption in the United States and in Russia, organized by the Procurator's office in St Petersburg with the Vera Institute of Justice in New York, were already underway. The Procurator's office was to pay the costs and the fares for the procurators who were coming from across Russia but it could not access the money in its bank account. What to do?

I asked the Vera team to bring dollars in cash from their personal accounts, and I asked Bruce Stuckey, who was coming separately to bolster the morale of our office staff, to bring as many dollars as he could. I then took a packet to St Petersburg and, very *Continued on next page*

nervous, met the senior procurator in a hotel lobby. “Don’t worry, Mary,” he said, as he transferred the packet to an inside pocket “I am a trained operative.”

Spread across Russia, celebrating five years, and my fellow reps

Visits from New York were events. Barry Gaberman came more than once. As did Buzz Tenny. There are photographs of them at an office picnic in the countryside outside Moscow, where some of us swam in the river, and on a boat, returning, still drinking vodka. Mizanur Rakhman, a Ford grantee from Bangladesh, a lawyer who had studied at Moscow university and was now acting as a consultant to some of our grantees, is there too. Was this in 2001 when we celebrated our five years as an office?

By now we had four program officers: myself (human rights and legal reform), **Galina Rakhmanova** (higher education in the social sciences), **Irina Iurna** (media and the arts) and Chris Kedzie (civil society). The grant budget had risen to perhaps \$12 million per year, and we would bid for, and get, extra funding. For example, the Foundation funded the purchase of a building by the Memorial Society after a visit by vice-presidents **Brad Smith** and **Alison Bernstein**.

Our grantees were spread across the country, and one of our rules was that program officers must visit and see a grantee in action. But Russia is a huge country, and so we made no direct grants in the Far East. And there was a war on in Chechnya. We relied on tried and tested organizations, based in Moscow or other key cities, that worked with small organizations in faraway or dangerous places, to do what they could.

But we still traveled far and wide. On one occasion, sitting miserably in a very cold airport at six in the morning in the Urals, I wondered why, oh why, did airline tickets always give flight departures in Moscow rather than in the local time? I had three hours to wait.

Not only Susan Berresford and Alison Bernstein came to our five-year celebration but also several of the Foundation’s trustees. **Carl Weisbrod** had already made a visit, but perhaps this was the occasion when **Henry Shacht** came. We rented the grand Foyer of the Historical Museum on Red Square, with a balcony for the speakers and plenty of



Trade-union protest: The Russian financial crisis in August 1998 caused problems with running the Moscow office. Photo: Bakhtiyor Abdullaev.

drink and a buffet. The visit required much planning, especially given that we then took Susan and the trustees to St Petersburg. On the train? I find it hard to believe.

They stayed in the Grand Hotel Europa. We booked a room for lunch in the Literary Café where Pushkin ate his last meal before departing for the fatal duel. I read a piece on his famous poem “The Bronze Horseman” from Marshall Berman’s “All that is solid melts...” and an actor recited the poem. Then it was off to the Hermitage, to a reception in its theater. But first we gathered in one of the galleries for a demonstration by hefty workmen who, even with a pick axe, could not shatter the new glass that had been installed, with a Foundation grant, to save the pictures from too much light. Some of the party lost its way hurrying down from the Impressionists. “No need for concern,” said **Richard West**, Director of the National Museum of the American Indian and a Ford trustee, “an American Indian can orientate himself wherever he is. Follow me.” And we did.

Joe Schull, who left the Foundation in 1998, had stressed that the visits of senior Foundation staff and trustees must go smoothly (“Check,” he said, “if you take them to a restaurant, that there’s toilet paper in the washrooms.” How, I thought, am I expected to do that?) and that their status be properly recognized. I am not sure that I always got this right. Had I really allowed Lena Ivanova and Irina Korzheva, our grants administrator, and Sergei, our driver, to take Susan Berresford to visit a famous monastery outside Moscow on their own, came a polite query from New York? And had I let our two Russian program officers take sole responsibility for a visit to St. Petersburg by the two vice presidents to meet grantees?

It continued to surprise me how deferential to authority even the program staff in the Foundation were. But then this was something I had become aware of in the American academic community. Americans were uncomfortable if senior academics were criticized at an open meeting or seminar. “But Mary doesn’t mean...” someone would hurriedly interject, when it was precisely what I did mean. And it was the same at the Ford Foundation. An exception here was Joe Schull (did being a Canadian make a difference?) who, even as a graduate

student, was outspoken, and Susan confirmed that there were times when she wanted to slap him for telling her what she ought to be doing.

My fellow reps were a great crowd. I loved visiting their offices or spending time with them at our meetings in New York, but “Now, she’s said it” I heard one of them whisper behind me at a meeting when we had decided that I should express our concern, firmly but politely, to the Foundation’s leadership.

I don’t want to make too much of this. The Foundation was a great institution to work for. Not only was it a very generous employer, but the support given to its staff in the setting up of an office was absolute. In time of need or in a crisis, Bruce Stuckey, Jim Lapple or Barry Gaberman responded immediately. We had the freedom to run the office in a way that made sense in local conditions. Approval of our grant-making strategy and of our grants (perhaps helped by Russia still being a little-known country) was always given. And there were truly remarkable individuals among its trustees and staff and the grantees we were privileged to support.

“Don’t cry,” said Sergei as he drove me, for the last time, to catch the plane back to London, adding, as he always did when the going got tough, “Victory is almost ours.”

But I still wept. This really was the end of an unforgettable seven years in Russia, and with the Ford Foundation. ■

*Mary McAuley, who left a post at Oxford University to join the Foundation, now lives in London. Her book, *Human Rights in Russia*, published in 2015 by I.B. Tauris, includes references to Ford’s support for human rights. She wrote this article especially for the newsletter.*

FORD IN EASTERN EUROPE: LESSONS UNLEARNED

By Irena Grudzińska Gross

During the Cold War, the Ford Foundation had programs related to the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe that were neither numerous nor extensive and were run through Western institutions funding fellowships, exchange programs and other indirect ways of strengthening social sciences and educating prospective democratic leaders.

When the years 1989-1992 brought about the end of the communist regime in Russia and in the Soviet bloc countries, the Foundation moved its work to the region and split the program into two parts: Russia and East European, which included Poland, Hungary, the Czech Republic and Slovakia.

In Moscow, an office was opened in 1995 (and closed in 2009). The East European program was run from New York and phased out around 2004, the time of its target countries' accession to the European Union. That decision happened on my watch, since I was running that program till 2003. I did not support the closing, but I did share the belief standing behind it: that the process of democratization of the region, though difficult, was certainly speedily going ahead. And that, by then, there was one Europe, not the "new" and the "old" one.

That optimism seemed quite justified. The Foundation was just one of the many donors and Western institutions that provided funds and technical expertise that helped move the region closer to the West. The reaction in the four East European countries was very positive. We felt invited and our work with individuals, NGOs and other groups in those countries was exhilarating. The quick growth of the number of civil society institutions, the progress of judiciary reforms and the region's economic integration into the global West promised the smooth development of democratic systems.

The East-Central European countries, after all, passed the human rights and democratic institutional

exams that secured their membership in the European Union. The commitment, talent and energy of people involved in the reforms guaranteed the genuine nature and therefore the future of these many changes. Though economic reforms radically disempowered industrial workers, there was optimism as to the possibility of job creation and adaptability of the open-borders societies.

Among our grantees, the Polish Helsinki Human Rights Foundation was watching over the implementation of human rights in its country and developing programs farther East. The European Roma Rights Center, based in Budapest, defended the most endangered East European minority. There were other human rights organizations in the region, working together to monitor the implementation of the newly accepted European

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laws and regulations.

Organizations such as the Autonomia Foundation in Hungary gave grants to local Roma communities, helping their economic self-sufficiency. The Borderland Foundation in Poland used arts and culture to promote understanding in multi-ethnic groups. The Ford Foundation, together with other donors, supported the development of women's rights organizations. The Stefan Batory Foundation (the Polish part of the Open Society Network funded by George Soros and an active partner of the Foundation), became a sound private philanthropy and a basic pillar of the civil society sector in Poland. Our grantees included ecological groups in Slovakia, cross-region women's groups, community and local governance organizations, clinical legal education and academic programs in gender and legal matters.

All of this against the background of broader rapid, often radical, systemic transformations. People moved to study and work in other European countries, cities and roads were developed and, with European Union subsidies, peasants turned into farmers. Things seemed to go very well—no, they did go well!

But after 2004 there was a real change of priorities. The legal and democratic political framework was taken for granted, the stress on civil society diminished and the

massive EU funding was transmitted through the governments, reinforcing central state structures that had been a bit weakened before. At the same time, a resistance to the changes developed and countervailing trends appeared, primarily the growth or return of nationalism and disenchantment with "Europe".

There were signs of such attitudes before 2004 as the region was coming out from under a long period of oppression, but it took some time to reverse the previous direction. Two catastrophic phenomena
Continued on next page



Irena Grudzińska Gross and Krzysztof Czyzewski, Chairman of the Borderland Foundation, at a lecture given at Boston University, 2006.

stopped the European integration momentum: the 2008 financial crisis and the refugee influx to Europe.

The European Union attempted to assign to its members quotas for the redistribution of refugees but, as if separating themselves from Brussels, the four East European countries united in their refusal to accept them, even though the numbers of refugees assigned to them were quite low.

The anti-migration platform allowed the Czech party ANO to win elections in 2017. Its prime minister, Andrej Babiš, is the second-richest person in the country, governing with the support of communists and right-wing nationalists. In Slovakia, the prime minister, Robert Fico, also spoke against migration but kept a much more pro-EU stance. The country accepted 100 (one hundred!) refugees, as far as I could ascertain.

Strong anti-immigration policies helped Fidesz, Victor Orbán's party, consolidate power after a comfortably won election in Hungary in 2010. During its early transition to democracy, in the 1990s, that country seemed to be well ahead of Poland, the Czech Republic and Slovakia in its legal and judiciary reform. But after its electoral victory, with a two-thirds parliamentary majority, Fidesz quickly moved to strangle the Constitutional Court and, in 2012, voted in a new constitution, which guaranteed the continuity of its hold on power. Before 2015, it passed more than a thousand laws and regulations that remade the state's framework.

The regime change was explained by Orbán as a move from liberal to illiberal democracy. Since it was rather non-democratic, pundits called such an ideology populism. It involved curbing media, purging the state apparatus and rewriting history, especially of World War II responsibility for Hungary's alliance with Nazi Germany and collaboration in the extermination of Jews.

Hungary was one of the routes for the influx of refugees, so the government built some walls. George Soros, a Hungarian survivor of the Holocaust, was elevated to the position of public enemy number one for, allegedly, planning to inundate Hungary with Muslims and diluting its Christian culture. Just as in Russia, new laws limited the ability of NGOs to receive foreign funds. This



The decline of democracy: Strong anti-immigration platforms helped Andrej Babiš of the Czech Republic, left, and Victor Orbán of Hungary consolidate power.

On February 2 this year, the Polish parliament voted into law the criminalization of anyone who “publicly and untruthfully assigns responsibility or co-responsibility to the Polish Nation or the Polish State for Nazi crimes” and other crimes of war against humanity, including those that were committed by Ukrainians on Polish populations.

was only one of the ways in which Orbán followed the example of Russian illiberal non-democracy.

The developments in Hungary were attentively followed by Poland's Law and Justice party with Jarosław Kaczyński at its head. In 2015, that party, too, won elections (for the second time), and the same process of “illiberalization” of Polish democracy was put in motion. Media, courts and the Constitutional Tribunal are already eviscerated. A similar ideology stands behind Fidesz and Law and Justice party programs: resistance against the influence of the European Union; the conviction that funds generously disbursed by the EU are a still insufficient repayment for past sacrifices of Polish and Hungarian nations; that Poland and Hungary have been maligned and their populations humiliated; and that both countries are now threatened with a

massive influx of Muslims.

Both parties in Hungary and Poland consider the day of their coming to power as the real end of communism: Their purges and reforms are implemented under the slogan of anti-communism. The reversal of the post-1989 direction of change is quite radical and its limits do not seem in sight.

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State for Nazi crimes” and other crimes of war against humanity, including those that were committed by Ukrainians on Polish populations. The law was strongly criticized by Israel, Ukraine and the United States as vague and endangering the freedom of speech.

There was also internal opposition against the law and appeals to the President to veto it, but he signed it, going along with the Law and Justice party, as he always does. Only then he sent it to the Constitutional Tribunal to check it against the constitution.

The foreign criticism infuriated some groups in and outside of government and the unprecedented explosion of anti-Semitism and anti-Ukrainian slander erupted in the official media, not to mention on the internet. I write “unprecedented explosion of anti-Semitism”, but it is a repetition of a very similar eruption in March 1968. That old explosion was followed by the exodus of the remnants of the Jewish communities from Poland. I don't expect that Poland, while not accepting refugees, could produce their own: There are probably not enough Jews to reward such a move.

But it is quite painful to look back at the wonderful beginnings of what came to be ironically called “TD”: transition to democracy. We could, with equal irony, call it “ID”: the involution of democracy.

And, I repeat, we have not seen its limits yet. ■

Irena Grudzińska Gross, who just retired from teaching at Princeton University, is Professor in the Institute of Slavic Studies at the Polish Academy of Science. She lives in Brooklyn, New York.

THE RISE AND FALL OF “THE CITY AT 42ND STREET”

By George Gelles

Of the Ford Foundation’s myriad initiatives undertaken through the years, few promised such close-to-home benefits as *The City at 42nd Street*, an effort I joined in 1977.

In memory, it’s all but forgotten. In fact, a sanitized and family friendly entertainment hub along 42nd Street between 7th and 8th Avenues superseded its vision. Grand aspirations, however, characterized the project’s genesis, and this very grandiosity perhaps presaged its failure.

A major metropolis harbors major sins, and New York provided a panoply of questionable diversions at least as early as the 1830s, the heyday of Five Points in lower Manhattan. On his first U.S. sojourn, during which he spent a month in Manhattan, Charles Dickens wrote of that area, “All that is loathsome, dropping and decayed is here.”

Forty-Second Street’s glittering apex, and that of surrounding Times Square, was reached around the turn of the 20th century, when theaters and hotels of unrivaled opulence set an elegant tone. With Prohibition, however, the area’s complexion began to change, live drama replaced by increasingly tawdry films, and the *haut monde* giving way to honky-tonk. The street’s entertainments were said to be “no runs, no hits, just terrors.” It was a “hot-bed for getting hot and heavy,” according to *The New York Daily News* (which at the time of this assessment was itself headquartered on 42nd Street), with rampant drug use and various sorts of sex for sale.

Despite decades of intermittent interest in the block’s improvement, progress seemed impossible. By the mid-1970s, however, a critical consensus had coalesced that urged dramatic change. *The New York Times* regularly offered dire descriptions of 42nd Street between 7th and 8th Avenues: it and its neighborhood were “tawdry, blighted and sometimes frightening,” it must be “save(d) from sin and decay,” “it’s Kung Fu and sex from one end of the street to the other.”

Seeds of *The City at 42nd Street* were planted by members of the Urban Design Group, which, as related by the Harvard Graduate School of Design, was “(f)ounded in 1967 as part of New York City Mayor John Lindsay’s office (and whose members) championed the theory and practice of enmeshing design with politics and law.

“Architects Jaquelin Robertson, Jonathan Barnett and Richard Weinstein, co-founders of the UDG, along with lawyer Donald Elliott, then chair of the New York City Planning Commission, used incentive zoning, special districts and transfer of development rights, among other legal techniques, to implement their vision of a vibrant, walkable city.”

Two of the group became principals in the Ford Foundation’s efforts, which were underwritten by a \$500,000 grant: Donald Elliott (who, while at Yale Law School, had written a paper that favorably discussed the ideas set forth in Jane Jacobs’ seminal study of *The Death and Life of Great American Cities*) and Richard Weinstein, who at the time was

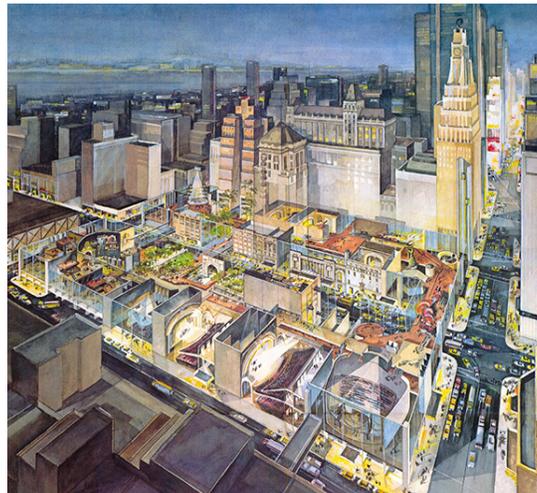


Image from “*The City at 42nd Street*”, by Cooper, Robertson & Partners.

Director of Mayor Lindsay’s Office for Planning and Development for Lower Manhattan. Weinstein is credited with having first imagined the contours of *The City at 42nd Street*.

Joining them in the project’s leadership was Martin Stone, a broadcasting executive and entertainment lawyer, whose most germane credential was his tenure as head of the Industrial Division of the 1964 World’s Fair, in Flushing Meadows, Queens. With “Power Broker” Robert Moses, the Fair’s director, he won the participation of dozens of blue-chip American corporations, whose pavilions were paeans to their achievements.

The triumvirate reported to **Roger Kennedy**, who, after a prominent if somewhat peripatetic career—he was a government attorney, a journalist, a banker—had joined the Foundation in 1969 as Vice President for Finance.

After spending six years writing for *The Washington Star* and most recently having served as director of a week-long conclave in Philadelphia that explored commonalities between science and the arts, I was invited to join the project in 1977, working most specifically as Stone’s assistant and more generally as the initiative’s factotum.

Early in my tenure, Kennedy and Stone asked me to represent the Foundation in a search for suitable office space. Meetings ensued with representatives of the former Pan Am Building (now the MetLife Building), which sits atop Grand Central Terminal and demarcates Park Avenue north and south, and, on the Foundation’s behalf, I secured, gratis, a former Pan Am ticket office, 5,000 square feet facing Vanderbilt Avenue.

Then, after meeting with Guy Tozzoli, head of the World Trade Department of the Port Authority of New York and New Jersey—he was the force behind the development of the former World Trade Center—I was given my choice, gratis as well, of office furnishings for our endeavors, furnishings of a luxe rarely seen by nonprofits.

Although knowing that groundwork for my success was laid by relationships first cultivated by others, by Roger himself and by Martin, Roger generously named me the project’s Administrative Director. Though my responsibilities didn’t appreciably change, I now sat closer to the proverbial table and was able to observe more closely *The City*’s evolution.

Paul Goldberger, then architecture critic for *The New York Times*, described the initial plan: It would “take over the entire block (of 42nd Street between 7th and 8th Avenues), condemn it as a city urban-renewal project, and then erect an elaborate structure that would contain theaters, studios, exhibitions and multi-media displays, all intended to provide an introduction to the city and its cultural life.”

Despite having “the cautious approval of the Koch administration” (Edward Koch, in 1978, became New York’s 105th Mayor, succeeding Abraham Beame, who had replaced Mayor Lindsay in 1974), Mayor Koch smelled a whiff of the theme park.

“New York,” he proclaimed, “cannot and should not compete with Disneyland—that’s for Florida. People do not come to Manhattan
Continued on next page

The City

Continued from previous page

to take a ride on some machine. This is a nice plan and we want to be supportive—but we have to be sure that it is fleshed out in a way appropriate to New York. We've got to make sure they have seltzer instead of orange juice."

That's "cautious approval", indeed.

In response, perhaps, to Koch's critique, The City refined its vision, stressing educational aspects as well as entertainment. The model was Epcot, the most high-minded sector of the Walt Disney World Resort, then still being developed. From its opening in 1982, Epcot—Experimental Prototype Community of Tomorrow—was in its own words "dedicated to the celebration of human achievement, namely, technological innovation and international culture, and is often thought of as a 'permanent world's fair.'"

What Martin Stone so successfully achieved at the 1964 World's Fair, he perhaps again could accomplish on 42nd Street.

After substantive meetings with some of New York's finest—Hugh Hardy, an architect with a special genius for historic renovation, especially for theaters, and Ivan Chermayeff, graphic artist and exhibit-design consultant nonpareil—a model was made that showed The City in miniature. Then, Robert Moses, master builder of the New York metropolitan area, was invited to the Foundation to view the maquette.

Greeted by Martin Stone, his former colleague, and introduced to the principals and Foundation personnel, Moses studied the model, which sat atop a conference table. After an appropriate interval, his first comment was a question: "Where's the parking?"

Had anyone anticipated the need for parking? Was there a plausible answer or was one improvised on the spot? For a man who deeply believed in building roads—highways, expressways, freeways, parkways, causeways—that dramatically increased vehicular traffic, thus necessitating the building of more roads still, it was a telling remark. Today, approximately 40 years after Moses' query, Manhattan, perhaps more than ever, still grapples with traffic.

The City changed further. On or near the block, at one time or another, there were discussions of a Portman hotel, a Helmsley merchandise mart, an office tower built by the Canadian firm of Olympia & York and a 15-story high, indoor Ferris Wheel. Some plans advanced, others were discarded, and the process excited interest from other major developers, who sought to join Olympia & York, Portman and Helmsley as possible participants.

Among those showing interest were Cadillac Fairview, Brandt, Rockrose and Frederick DeMatteis and Charles Shaw, developers of the Museum Tower, above MOMA on 53rd Street.

Optimism was tempered with doubt, as is evident in a statement made by the head of the Citizens Housing and Planning Council. Awash in the conditional, it raises equivocation to an art: "Originally it was all fantasy, but it is starting to look real at some levels. People are beginning to take the plans somewhat seriously and there is a perception that maybe something can happen if the city is willing to commit itself to large-scale renewal."

The city wasn't willing to commit, at least not to the plan proposed by The City at 42nd Street. Soon after his inauguration, Mayor Koch withdrew municipal support. Shortly thereafter, he announced a plan of his own, whose outlines were unmistakably similar to the work done under Ford Foundation auspices.

From my vantage point, it was Realpolitik unalloyed. The new mayor, a Democrat and self-described "liberal with sanity", would not, could not endorse a plan, however well-conceived, that was developed by leading members of a former Republican mayoral administration, liberal though it was.

Dissecting the situation in The New York Times Magazine, reporter Ralph Blumenthal wrote that The City at 42nd Street plan "incensed Mayor Koch, then newly elected, who considered it monopolistic—one nonprofit concern headed by two former city planners was predesignated as the sole developer. On the Mayor's orders, the proposal was scrapped ..."

Phillip Lopate—critic, poet and passionate New Yorker—gets the last words: Of Times Square, he writes that "All of Manhattan tilts toward that magnetic field of neon. Have you ever tried ambling through the streets of New York without any destination? I know that I am always pulled... at first into the triangle around Times Square, with the three-card-monte sharks and the Bible screamers and the sad-eyed camera stores; I am bobbed around in that whirlpool until I turn up on the street, West 42nd, between Seventh and Eighth Avenues. Then I don't know where to start to turn my head around and look..."

Like Jane Jacobs, city-lover of a different stripe, he advocates energy, density and diversity of all sorts—economic, ethnic and artistic, with cultural fare catering to every brow, high, middle and low. Whether these values will be preserved by the current iteration of 42nd Street, another observer must report.

I remained associated with the Foundation after The City's demise, until 1981 working

with **W. McNeil Lowry**—to everyone, Mac—in the Office of the Arts (which became the Office of Education and Public Policy when **Franklin Thomas** succeeded **McGeorge Bundy** as Foundation president).

With Mac, I helped write and edit the position papers that were discussed at the 53rd American Assembly, held at Arden House and directed by Mac, whose topic was "The Future of the Performing Arts". And joining his superb program officers in theater, dance and music, **Ruth Mayles, Marcia Thompson** and **Dick Sheldon**, respectively, I worked, in consultation with both Dick and Mac, with organizational applicants in music.

Mac and his colleagues, program officers of broad knowledge and deep sympathies, helped make my tenure at the Foundation singularly privileged. ■



Reunion in Rio

Some former Foundation staff gathered with former grantees at the home of **Shep Forman**, LAFF's president, and his wife, Leona, in Rio de Janeiro on January 3 to reminisce and catch up over a meal featuring the traditional Brazilian feijoada, a meat and rice stew.

The Ford staff pictured here are, from left to right:

Peter Fry, program officer and representative in the Rio office from 1985 to 1989, and assistant representative in the Harare sub-office in Zimbabwe from 1989 to 1993; **Prescilla Kritz**, executive assistant to the representative in the Rio office from 1970 to 1996; **Christopher Welna**, program officer for Human Rights and Social Justice in Mexico from 1983 to 1987, and for Governance and Public Policy in Brazil from 1987 to 1991; and Shep Forman, program specialist in Brazil from 1977 to 1980 and director of Human Rights and Social Justice, Governance and Public Policy in the headquarters office in New York City from 1971 to 1996.

The grantees who were there were Jose Murilo de Carvalho and Roberto DaMatta. ■

LAFfing Parade

Elizabeth Alexander, poet, writer and former director of the Ford Foundation's programs in arts, culture and journalism, has been named president of the Andrew W. Mellon Foundation, the country's largest humanities philanthropy.



"I have lived my entire life with art, culture and scholarship as companion, guide and discipline," she said after her selection in February. "I am guided by the justice values of increasing access to the power

of higher education to open and strengthen minds, encourage human exchange and thus transform lives.

"The humanities show us deeply who we are and what it means to move through life by the light of cultural vision. I am excited for the work ahead of elevating the truth, beauty and rigor of the arts and higher learning and making them more accessible to all."

While at Ford, she helped design the \$100 million Art for Justice Fund, which promotes criminal justice reform and was supported by a grant from the philanthropist Agnes Gund.

Alexander has written six books of poetry and two essay collections. Her memoir, *The Light of the World*, was a finalist in 2016 for both the Pulitzer Prize and the National Book Critics Circle Award.

In 2009, she recited her poem "Praise Song for the Day" at the inaugural of President Barack Obama, just the fourth poet to have read at a presidential inauguration.

Through the years she has worked closely with the Poetry Center at Smith College; the nonprofit Cave Canem, which trains aspiring poets; and Yale University, where she helped build the African-American Studies department while on the faculty for 15 years.

Michelle J. DePass, who worked in Community and Resource Development at Ford from 2003 to 2009 and has been a dean at The New School in New York City, will become president and chief executive officer of the Meyer Memorial Trust in Portland, Ore., in April.

The Meyer board, in announcing the selection of DePass, said, "Michelle was an early leader in the environmental justice movement, and throughout her career she's been an influential voice for equity and social justice in the governmental, academic, philanthropic and nonprofit areas.

After leaving Ford, DePass was the assistant administrator for International and

Tribal Affairs at the Environmental Protection Agency and, most recently, dean of the Milano School of International Affairs, Management and Urban Policy at The New School, as well as the Tishman Professor of Environmental Policy and Management.

Narisa Chakrabongse, who at one time was a researcher for the Ford Foundation in Thailand, was featured in an article posted by the Nikkei Asian Review on January 21 extolling her work as a publisher "devoted to challenging unfortunate stereotypes about Thailand—especially when it comes to books and critical thought".

She is the founder and CEO of River Books, which publishes works on Southeast Asian art and culture, and editor of the *Oxford River Books English-Thai Dictionary*.

"People love to say that Thais aren't interested in reading," she said in the article, "and trot out surveys that conclude Thais only

average 13 lines of a book in a year, but that's obviously not true.

"Maybe we're not as vibrant here in London or New York, but that doesn't mean there aren't lots of intellectuals, or universities, or book buyers. I think these misconceptions stem from the Orientalizing fantasies of foreigners, who come here for the wrong reasons and meet the wrong people because Thais aren't the best English learners, and expats fail to learn Thai."

She has provided her home as headquarters for the two-year-old Bangkok Edge Festival, a gathering she founded and devoted to emphasizing Thai literature, music and food.

A strong environmentalist, she is founding president of Green World Foundation, which promotes environmental ethics and sustainability. She is also politically active, withdrawing from the torch-running ceremony of the 2008 Olympics to protest China's actions in Tibet. ■

Dianne DeMaria's Retirement Party

Dianne DeMaria made a lot of friends during 44 years at Ford, and it seemed that most of them were there to celebrate with her at her retirement party February 1 at the Foundation's temporary headquarters in New York City.

She started at Ford in 1973 as a member of the Secretarial Reserve and retired at the end of last year after having worked several years as an executive assistant in the offices of several vice presidents and then as executive assistant to the Senior Advisor for Global Strategy in the office of the president.

For the year before she retired, Dianne was the Staff Events Coordinator for all events under the Employee Recognition Committee.

Dianne had earned an associate's degree from Kingsborough Community College when she started at Ford and for the next

several years, by taking evening classes, earned a bachelor's degree in English from Pace University and a master's in liberal studies from New York University.

During her party, she was presented a crystal bowl to honor her long service, and these are just a few photographs of those who were there to enjoy the moment. Many other pictures are posted on The LAFF Society Facebook page. ■



From the left, Keren Orr, Sharon Ebron, Laurice Wassef, Nedra Gathers, Nellie Toma and Kathy Lowery



Dianne, on the left, Sharon Geremia and Christopher Harris



Dianne, on the left, Barron "Buzz" Tenny and Barry Gaberman



Director of Sundance Institute Native American and Indigenous Program Bird Runningwater, at left, Navajo filmmaker Sydney Freeland, president and founder of Sundance Institute Robert Redford, Native American filmmaker Sterlin Harjo, and New Zealand film director Taika Waititi, attend a Sundance event at MOMA in New York City. Photo by Jemal Countess.

NURTURING NATIVE AMERICAN FILMMAKERS

By N. Bird Runningwater

I was in my second year of working for the Ford Foundation as Program Associate in the newly created Media, Arts and Culture Program in 1998. I had the great pleasure of working for Program Officers **Jon Funabiki** and **John Phillip Santos** on the Foundation's media work on Diversity in Journalism and with the Media Fund, funding production of documentaries and radio content.

In early January, Santos came into my office, plopped a letter on my desk and told me, "You have to go to Sundance Film Festival. None of us can go."

The tattered letter had been circulated through interoffice mail and everyone, including EMAC vice president **Alison Bernstein**, acting MAC director and program officer **Christine Vincent** and Santos couldn't attend because of scheduling conflicts. "Lucky me! I get to hang out in the snow," I thought to myself, not feeling too eager to go from freezing cold New York City to icy cold, wintry Utah.

When I arrived in the mountains of Park City at the Sundance Film Festival, I immediately connected with the then-director of the Sundance Institute's Native American Program, Heather Rae, who was responsible for carrying out the institute's commitment to support Native filmmakers. I was completely unaware of the history of this long-standing commitment to Native artists, but I immediately went deeper into this world and learned some little-known history.

When *Smoke Signals* world-premiered that

year, it was the first dramatic feature film written, directed and produced by Native Americans. It was a definitive highlight in Native history and an historic moment for American cinema. The film's script, screenwriter and director were nurtured by Sundance Institute and more than likely would not have been made had it not been for that support.

Since moving images were captured on film in the early twentieth century, Native people had been represented in its imagery but rarely had the creative control to write and direct. A commitment mandated at the founding of Sundance Institute by its president and founder, Robert Redford, in 1981 changed all that.

In the early years of his work as a television actor, Redford had been asked to audition to play a Native character on TV. Appalled by this request, he went on a personal quest to find Native actors that broadened to trying to locate Native filmmakers. Through his early environmental work and his acquisition of land in Utah to create a preserve of pristine lands, Redford had built deep, lasting relationships with different Indian tribes. Through his networks he put out calls for filmmakers to come to workshops to learn about writing and directing. Sometimes no one showed up, and at times others showed up and took the instruction and returned to their communities to implement what they had learned.

One lesson Redford recalls learning during this mentoring of Native filmmakers was when they told him, "Don't tell us how to

make films your way, teach us so we can make films the way we want to." Redford eventually took this method of nurturing filmmakers and supporting artistic voice on film and formally established the Sundance Institute in 1981 to serve American film artists. Native filmmakers participated in founding the Institute and the very first Filmmakers Lab hosted, among them, Larry LittleBird, of the Laguna/Santo Domingo Pueblos, and Chris SpottedEagle of the Houmas Nation.

Since then, Institute staffers have conducted outreach and tried to find Native filmmakers to participate in its larger programs and Film Festival, which was acquired in 1984, with varying levels of success. There was never a steady stream of artists coming through the doors of Sundance Institute. Finally, in 1992 around the Quincentenary celebrations marking Christopher Columbus' "discovery" of the Americas, the Institute created a showcase of Native films at Sundance Film Festival to counter the narrative of America as unoccupied lands that were "discovered". In doing so they hired the first Native staffer to curate the programming of the first Native Cinema showcase, Stephen Lewis, a Gila River Pima/Maricopa.

After Lewis left the Institute, Heather Rae, a producer and filmmaker steeped in the Native documentary world, was hired to head a newly created Native Program to lead Festival programming and look for ways to bring Native filmmakers into Sundance Labs.

The founders of the Native American film movement and the first generation of film-

makers whose works Sundance Film Festival began to screen included such filmmakers as Phil Lucas (Choctaw), George Burdeau (Blackfeet), Sandy Osawa (Makah) and others from Canada, including Alanis Obomsawin (Abenaki), who had their films screened and presented to audiences in the newly created "Native Forum" category at Sundance Film Festival. Conducting steady outreach, Rae was able to identify many artists who aspired to write and direct dramatic feature films, something that had not yet occurred. Among the first whose literary work was translated for the screen and produced was author Greg Sarris (Coastal Miwok), whose feature *Grand Avenue*, which he wrote and workshopped at the Sundance Screenwriters Lab, was eventually produced and aired by HBO in 1996.

Sarris led the second generation of Native filmmakers supported by the Institute, among them Chris Eyre (Cheyenne/Arapaho), Sherman Alexie (Coeur d'Alene/Spokane), Randy Redroad (Cherokee) and Canadian filmmaker Shirley Cheechoo (Cree). All successfully wrote and directed feature films after intensive support from the Sundance Institute Feature Film Program Labs.

I had left Ford in 1998 and, in 2001, as I was departing my second job in philanthropy heading the Fund of the Four Directions in New York City, was asked to join Sundance Institute to help reshape the Native Program and expand its work to create a larger impact. In doing so, several changes were made to deepen outreach, create Fellowships that supported early development of projects, and retire the Native Forum category after 10 years of presenting Native films so they could be presented in the general competition and other categories across the Festival.

Thankfully, in my first years of this work the Ford Foundation came on board as a primary funder through Arts and Culture program officers **Roberta Uno** and **Betsy Theobald Richards** (Cherokee), and Media program officer **Orlando Bagwell**.

A third generation that was emerging not only in the United States but also in other countries presented a new challenge, as they worked mostly in isolation. A large step was taken specifically to internationalize the program and create connections among indigenous filmmakers working in the United States, Canada, Australia and New Zealand, all of whom had varied degrees of success creating films and having them shown in the international marketplace.

Some of the first ideas to merge international communities with Sundance's Native Program came from my participation at an International Indigenous Women's gathering in Aotearoa-New Zealand in 2001. There, long-lasting relationships were built with

powerful women filmmakers such as Merata Mita (Ngati Pikiao/Ngai te Rangi) from New Zealand, Rachel Perkins (Arrernte Nation) from Australia and Alanis Obomsawin.

I was deemed an "honorary woman" so I could participate, to this day one of the highest honors bestowed on me. I was the only man attending and listened attentively as we sat in the *marae*, the traditional gathering house of the Maori people. We watched vhs copies of women directors' films on a small portable tv and discussed the commonalities and differences of these film cultures from around the world. As someone who descends from matrilineal and matriarchal tribes, it seemed so natural to me for this to be the birthing place of Sundance Institute's work to support Native and Indigenous filmmakers on a global scale.

This third generation of filmmakers supported by Sundance, whom I've had the pleasure of identifying and supporting as they have endeavored to write and direct their first feature films, includes Sterlin Harjo (Creek/Seminole Nations), Taika Waititi (Te Whanau a Apanui), Andrew MacLean (Inupiaq), Rachel Perkins (Arrernte Nation), Warwick Thornton (Kaytej Nation), Sydney Freeland (Navajo), Aurora Guerrero (Xicana) and Billy Luther (Navajo).

In 2012, we began to ask, "Who is the fourth generation? And how are we going to find them?" This generation is very different from previous ones as the media landscape has shifted dramatically since the founding years of Sundance. No longer are films being made on celluloid and seen only in theaters. An entire digital shift had occurred and young Native people have grown up with digital technology and are consuming their content on the internet and various platforms.

Through a refocusing of outreach and by targeting short-film production, the fourth generation includes devoted modern cineastes alongside purists preferring to shoot on film. But whatever their preference, their stories are still culturally specific, transcending audiences through the power and uniqueness of their narratives, often sitting outside the frame of traditional categorization. Among those in this fourth generation are Shaandiin Tome (Navajo), Lyle Corbine, Jr. (Bad Lake Band of Lake Superior Chippewa), Christopher Kahunahana (Kanaka Maoli), Ciara Lacy (Kanaka Maoli), Sky Hopinka (Hochunk Nation/Pechanga Band of Luiseno), Adam and Zack Khalil (Sault Ste. Marie Band of Ojibway) and Razelle Benally (Navajo/Oglala Lakota).

Among trends in the Native Program at Sundance, women make up more than half the Native Program's fellowship recipients for early stage development. And half the Indig-

enous films presented at the 2018 Sundance Film Festival were written, directed or produced by Indigenous women. Steady Indigenous film production happens especially in Canada, Australia and New Zealand, where the state supports agencies for film and regularly funds production.

There also is significant growth in Latin America, especially Peru, Colombia and Mexico, and in the Nordic countries within the Arctic Circle among the Sami People.

The US lags because of our lack of public support for the arts, but with Sundance as the primary supporter of Native films in this country, the regular development of projects and presentation at our Festival remains steady.

Last year, as the Standing Rock occupation in North Dakota perforated the national news cycle, Native Americans were visible for once within American popular culture and there has been a ripple effect that Sundance's Native Program is witnessing. More and more Native-themed projects are in development, while others seek Native talent to participate as writers, directors and producers. Hopefully this window will last longer than the last window, which happened in the early 1990s following the *Dances With Wolves* popularity moment. The most important trend in this current window is that, at first glance, the stories are more contemporary and not pigeon-holed into the historic nineteenth century stereotypes that have dominated representations of Native people in film and television.

After more than 40 years of personal investment in the development of the Native film community by Robert Redford, and 37 years of institutional investment by the Sundance Institute, Native Cinema has made significant strides. In endeavoring to simultaneously deconstruct historical misrepresentations in cinema while creating fresh new stories and imagery of the Indigenous experience, four generations of Native filmmakers continue to hold steady to a dream of more authentic representation in media and within the larger fabric of society.

My tenure at Sundance over the past 18 years has been a pleasure as I've witnessed the growth and maturation of a community I began to engage when I started my career in media at the Ford Foundation 22 years ago.

While much more work remains to fight for inclusion and representation, many of us in this community move onward with a mantra that first appeared as dialogue in that milestone of a film back in 1998, *Smoke Signals*: "It's a good day to be Indigenous!" ■

More information on Native films and filmmakers is available at Sundance.org/Native

IN MEMORIAM



Craufurd Goodwin, an historian of economic thought who was the officer in charge of the European and International Affairs (EIA) office at Ford in the 1970s and then a consultant in several offices for another

two decades, died early last year, it was recently learned. He was 82.

Mr. Goodwin headed EIA from 1971 to 1977 after being a consultant from 1968. After he left, he worked again as a consultant in four Foundation offices until the summer of 1994.

His career as an academic spanned more than 50 years, nearly all of them at Duke University, from which he received his doctorate in 1958 with a thesis on Canadian economic policy and where he began teaching in 1962 as an assistant professor.

Over the years he served the university as vice provost, university secretary and dean of The Graduate School, where he helped begin the university's Master of Liberal Studies program, now known as the Graduate Liberal Studies program, which enabled thousands of adults to earn advanced degrees in interdisciplinary studies.

He quickly became one of the more respected faculty members at Duke. Early in his career there, in 1969, he was among the faculty who were key intermediaries in helping resolve conflicts that arose during nationwide student protests, during which Duke students occupied an administration building.

"Craufurd was one of a small group of people who started the field of the history of economic thought," said Paul Dudenhefer, a Duke faculty member, after Mr. Goodwin died in April 2017. "It used to be done as part of economics in general....He institutionalized the subfield of the history of economics."

He wrote more than 100 books and articles, concentrating on the history of the use of economics in public life. He studied the role of economics in the arts, literature, journalism and public policy, and, drawing as well on his work with Ford, examined how such institutions as foundations and think tanks helped shape the nature of economics education and analysis around the world.

He was an influential figure in his field, having been a past president and distinguished fellow of the History of Economics Society, working to build a professional community of historians of economics. He was also a founding member of the journal

History of Political Economy, of the History of Economics Society and of the Center for the History of Political Economy.

Mr. Goodwin also gained renown for the nineteenth century property he and his wife purchased, known as Montrose, which once was owned by a North Carolina governor and came to be listed on the National Register of Historic Places as much for the 20-acre garden Mr. Goodwin's wife, Nancy, developed as for the house.

Tourists from around the country visited Montrose, drawn also by the extensive art collection that focused on the Bloomsbury Group, an informal gathering of such British artists, writers and intellectuals as Virginia Woolf, E.M. Forster and John Maynard Keynes, and that Mr. Goodwin studied and often wrote about.

Mr. Goodwin, said Paul Dudenhefer, "was always eager to talk about the fascinating things he was reading and writing about. Working with him was extremely educational and entertaining. He made me laugh every day."



John Sommer, assistant representative in the Foundation's New Delhi office from 1970 to 1975, died November 11 at the age of 76. He had been suffering from multiple myeloma for seven years.

Mr. Sommer joined the Foundation in 1969 and worked in the Asia and Pacific program until being posted the next year to New Delhi as assistant to the representative. He became assistant representative and program officer in 1972.

A family statement at his death noted that, by working with **Harold "Doc" Howe**, **Fred Weaver**, **Peter Geithner** and **Kamla Chowdhry**, "to name just a few, John's focus on the Foundation's educational and cultural programs deepened into a lifelong commitment to international development, cultural exchange and, most specifically, to advancing programs in support of India's most vulnerable communities."

After leaving Ford, he worked for six years in Washington, D.C., in senior positions with the Overseas Development Council, the Peace Corps and USAID, and as a consultant for the Refugee Policy Group and Interaction.

In 1981, he moved to Vermont to become dean of Academic Studies Abroad at the School for International Training, in Brattleboro, where he remained until 2000. During his term, more than 14,000 students in 40

countries participated in the program. He then was vice president of the Eisenhower Fellowships, in Philadelphia, until 2007, when he retired.

In 2001, he wrote the book *Empowering the Oppressed: Grassroots Advocacy Movements in India*, in which he stressed the importance of replacing traditional development projects with initiatives that advance fundamental changes in power relationships. His beliefs grew from his international experiences and from several terms as chair of the Advisory Board of the Unitarian-Universalist Holden-India program between 1993 and 2017.

Mr. Sommer earned a bachelor's degree from Wesleyan University and a master's from the Johns Hopkins School for International Studies. He then worked as a volunteer building schools in South Vietnam and, from that experience, co-wrote with Don Luce the book *Viet Nam: The Unheard Voices*, expressing concern with United States actions in the country in the late 1960s.

He is survived by two children, Julia and Paul; five grandchildren; his partner, Ann Wright-Parsons, and former wife, Wendy Sommer.



Samuel E. Bunker, who worked at Ford for 15 years in many international assignments and then had considerable success in promoting cooperative projects around the world, died last June 10 at the age of 88.

Mr. Bunker began at Ford as an administrative assistant in India in 1963. Until he retired in 1978, he worked as an assistant representative in the New Delhi office, a program officer in the Asia and Pacific program in New York, and an associate representative, acting representative and deputy representative in the Beirut and Cairo offices before returning to New York in 1977 as deputy head of the Middle East and Africa program.

He left Ford in 1978 to go to work for the National Rural Electric Cooperative Association (NRECA), where he remained as head of its International Programs Division until he retired in 1990.

During his tenure at NRECA, he brought to fruition a decade-long, \$40 million project to provide electricity to more than three million people in Bangladesh, developed a \$25 million initiative for new and innovative approaches to rural electrification, and created the cooperative's International Foundation

to help the poor and needy in the world gain electric service.

He served on many boards, including as chairman of the board of CARE, chairman of the Cooperative Housing Foundation, secretary of CARE international, president of the Philippine-American Foundation, and as a director of Volunteers in Overseas Cooperative Assistance.

Mr. Bunker, son of the diplomat Ellsworth Bunker, had degrees from Yale and Harvard universities.



Hanna Papanek, wife of **Gustav Papanek**, who worked at the Ford Foundation in Islamabad and Jakarta from 1954 to 1974, died January 24 at her home in Lexington, Mass., at the age of 90.

Mrs. Papanek, a pioneer in women's studies, especially on the limitations women faced in various cultures and on the role of women in their husbands' careers, was one of the first women to receive a doctorate in social relations from Harvard University. She's been described as "a feminist before the movement became widespread".

She taught at Harvard, Boston University, the University of California at Berkeley and the University of Indonesia.

Gustav Papanek is president of the Boston Institute for Developing Economies, and a professor emeritus at Boston University. In his five decades of work on the economics of development, he has directed 16 major policy advisory and research teams, primarily on aspects of development strategy, and written or edited 8 books, 50 articles and 52 other publications.

A leading development economist, he has been head of the Harvard University Development Advisory Service, the Boston University economics department, and several AID, World Bank, and Harvard advisory and research teams.



John Koprowski, a former comptroller of the Ford Foundation who developed a productive career in theater and cabaret after leaving Ford, died December 15 at New York Presbyterian Hospital. He underwent heart surgery

in June and never fully recovered.

He began his career as an accountant, having earned a bachelor's degree from St. Peter's College and a master's in economics from

REMEMBERING CRAUFURD GOODWIN

By Arthur Cyr

Craufurd Goodwin was the Program Officer in Charge of the office of European and International Affairs (EIA) from 1970 to 1976, serving full time from 1971 through 1972 and otherwise part time, commuting from Duke University. His ability to manage that grueling schedule reflected efficiency, energy and the capacity to handle paperwork very quickly.

EIA was the smallest office in the old International Division, which was the largest in the Ford Foundation at that time and headed by **David Bell**, who was the strongest executive in the organization, though there was never any doubt that **McGeorge Bundy** was in charge.

Internally, we were widely regarded as rather effete and definitely "different", since we were not directly or heavily involved in economic development work in the Third World.

There were rumors that our days were numbered, which Craufurd shared with me, though I never saw any hard evidence this was the case. Dave Bell was demanding but

also always supportive, and a remarkably insightful as well as skillful manager.

Frank Sutton took a particular interest in our work, and Craufurd referred to him as our "Guardian Angel".

Craufurd from early on operated with great effectiveness to preserve and expand EIA, through imaginative programming and internal fundraising. Not surprisingly, he was strongly interested in Canada, and secured an appropriation to support work on Canada in Canada. The Foundation records had useful material showing characteristic U.S. condescension toward Canada, including a memo from years earlier suggesting the Ford Foundation treat the country like Puerto Rico!

Craufurd's disciplined approach was instructive, especially during my last year at the Foundation when I worked part time for the looser Public Policy Committee.

He also secured an important appropriation to study the profound changes in the international economic system immediately after President Nixon's dramatic decision to
Continued on next page

New York University. He worked for 12 years for the Bedford Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation in Brooklyn as its vice president for accounting and information systems before joining Ford in 1982.

He was comptroller until 1984, when he became treasurer and director of financial services. He resigned from the Foundation in 1993, though he worked for Ford as a consultant for the next four years through a firm he established, John J. Koprowski & Associates. His firm worked exclusively in the non-profit sector, providing services for civil and human rights organizations, arts organizations, policy and advocacy groups, membership organizations and international capacity building groups.

His love for and work in the theater went back many years, including while he was at Ford, and he pursued that passion full time after leaving the Foundation.

He produced and performed in four cabaret shows, appearing at many clubs in the New York City area. As an actor, he belonged to the award-winning Blue Coyote Theatre Company and co-produced and appeared in shows with Without Papers Productions, a company he co-founded. He appeared in several independent films, including *The Third Testament*, which has been shown at several festivals.

He was treasurer of the Manhattan Association of Cabarets and Clubs (MAC), treasurer of the board of the Singers Forum and a member of the board of the Astoria Performing Arts Center.

He had "a rich and productive career as a mainstay of key organizations in the community development, philanthropic and arts and entertainment sectors," said **Shep Forman**, president of The LAFF Society and a colleague of his at the Foundation. "Those of us who had the pleasure of working with John recall a warm, exuberant and joyful colleague, who delightfully moonlighted as an actor and cabaret performer."

Philomena Forde Taylor, who worked in the Program Related Investment (PRI) office and its successor unit during the 1990s, died January 22 at the age of 81.

Ms. Taylor, a native of County Limerick in Ireland, began work for Ford as a secretary in PRI in 1991 and was promoted to senior secretary in 1993 and then supervising secretary in 1995.

She remained with the unit when its name was changed to Asset Building and Community Development/Economic Development, and became its administrative coordinator in 1999. She retired later that year. ■

The LAFF Society
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 East Elmhurst, NY 11370

Craufurd Goodwin

Continued from page 15

end Bretton Woods’ fixed-exchange rates. He was extremely positive about the productive Brookings Institution, and Henry Owen and Fred Bergsten were involved initially, dovetailing with the Foundation’s generous support of the Brookings Foreign Policy Studies program. The economist William Branson of Princeton then oversaw the work on a part-time basis. After the Trustees approved the initiative, **Robert McNamara** put his arm around Craufurd and gave him a hug. Big Bob did not give out many hugs.

We cut off many existing grantees, and Craufurd developed a project competition advertised nationwide to universities above a certain size, with submissions evaluated by external experts and winners chosen by a small committee. **Alessandro Silj** initially did the work followed by yours truly, after he moved on. We developed interesting new grantees, but an enormous amount of work was involved. Bundy made that point at an Officers’ meeting approving grants to the winners, while staring at me.

Craufurd secured yet another imaginative appropriation for “Two Keys” projects, where

our office would cooperate with at least one other in making a grant. That could build on the more informal network of his predecessor, **Howard Swearer**. But Two Keys was not particularly active, at least during my tenure.

Craufurd once alluded to contacts with the Rockefeller Foundation, but did not mention details. I am sure his Ford Foundation experience was helpful in later administrative posts at Duke, especially in planning and handling details quickly, and in teaching effectively.

I am grateful to Craufurd for interviewing and recommending hiring me. The U.S. Army was breathing down my neck but I did not know exactly when or for how long. That was a time of hostility, in fact intense hatred of our military. I experienced that hate firsthand, including at Harvard, in disturbing ways. Craufurd and Frank were flexible, supportive—in fact, reassuring. Frank mentioned service in World War II was in some ways less difficult.

My mother-in-law was stricken with terminal cancer soon after I came to work and, in the face of pressing work, Craufurd went out of his way to find things for me to do in Southern California so I could help on the home front. I remember that courtesy most clearly.

We are fortunate to have worked at a major

FINANCIAL REPORT 2017

Balance on 12/31/16	\$12,112.88
INCOME	
Dues, donations, interest	\$3,602.37
EXPENSES	
Newsletters	\$3,649.89
Website	\$1,000.00
Secretarial services (Dorothy Nixon)	120.00
PO Box, supplies, postage	521.03
PayPal fees	59.59
TOTAL EXPENSES	\$5,350.51
INCOME/EXPENSES	-\$1,748.14
Balance on 12/31/17	\$10,364.74

foundation where integrity was self-evident and conflict of interest prohibited. Obviously, our country needs that sort of example more than ever, in government as well as business.

Arthur Cyr, who worked at the Ford Foundation from 1971 to 1974, is director of the Clausen Center for World Business at Carthage College in Kenosha, Wis. ■