

THE LAFF SOCIETY Promoting social and professional contacts among former staff members of the Ford Foundation

Spring-Summer 2020, No. 98

MEMBERS SHARE THOUGHTS ABOUT, AND EXPERIENCES WITH, COVID-19

s people throughout the world seek safety and solace during a pandemic with no end in sight, members of LAFF have been sharing their experiences and insights in articles that are being posted on our website in a special section titled "Confronting Coronavirus".

Four of those articles are reprinted here, both to provide an opportunity for members who haven't

seen them to know what others are thinking and going through, and as a prompt for more members to write about their perceptions.

We provide these views in anticipation of what will be a continuing communal dialogue among our members as they cope with the uncertainties, and long-term effects, of the spread and severity of the virus, and try to imagine an altered world.

Each is written at a specific time and in a specific place, but together present a timeline of individual reactions and thoughts on how we can, and should, prepare for when the pandemic fades and a new worldview emerges.

As these four selections from the many available on our website show, we welcome both original pieces and reprints of articles published elsewhere. Submissions should be sent to John LaHoud, editor of LAFF's newsletter and website, at jlahoud25@hotmail.com In the following articles:

Michelle J. DePass, president and chief executive officer of the Meyer Memorial Trust in Portland, Ore., bluntly assesses the challenges posed by the "staggering" impact of the disease. "Make no mistake," she writes, "....the failures in our social safety nets have been laid bare, disproportionately affecting



Suffering victims of Covid-19 in a photo from Rosalia Sciortino that accompanies two stories by her in the special section on LAFF's website, "Confronting Coronavirus".

CONFRONTING CORONAVIRUS

the poor, immigrant families and people of color....

"As we look ahead, it's time to ask ourselves: Where do we want to do things differently? And how can we center justice, equity and inclusion not as an afterthought but as a top priority?"

Arthur L. Cyr, director of the Clausen Center at Carthage College in Kenosha, Wisc., provides several examples from this country's history to remind us that leadership in national crises was essential in leading the nation out of times of peril, including the Great Depression, when Franklin D. Roosevelt warned against "fear itself", and such natural disasters as the San Francisco earthquake in 1906 and Hurricane Sandy in 2012.

"Today," he writes, "we expect government to provide leadership, and a lot more....while

varied volunteer agencies are heavily engaged in anti-coronavirus efforts, we assume government is central in dealing with the coronavirus.

"In facing this public threat, as in the past, mature insightful leadership is crucial."

Shep Forman, a former president of The LAFF Society writing from his home in Rio de Janeiro, responded to the "speed and intensity

with which the disease would overtake us here and impose limitations on virtually every aspect of our daily lives and, importantly, on our thought processes and span of concentration."

In that country in particular, he writes, "Unfortunately, in the face of this pandemic, the fundamentals of race, class and gender inequality that have forever marked Brazilian society stand out in stark relief."

And **David Winder**, writing from the small town of Bakewell in the East Midlands of England, charmingly describes the ways in which neighbors living "on a small private street with no through traffic near the center of the town" brought chairs into the street and sat as a group "to chat about community needs and required action."

The result? "A flowering of community solidarity" that led to such acts as one neighbor collecting food orders and arranging for a grocery store to deliver, residents under the age of 70 running errands for those who are older, and the exchange of books and DVDs, "after being disinfected".

"Once," he writes, "I took out my guitar and song sheets and our spirits were raised singing American and European folk songs."

GET THROUGH TODAY, BUT REMAKE TOMORROW

By Michelle J. DePass

his week marks one month since Oregon announced its first presumptive case of COVID-19 and the crisis has only just begun.

There is little we can do as this pandemic plays out. Stay home and find ways to support those going to work to keep us healthy and safe. Let's turn towards each other, not against. The speed and severity of this disease and the anxiety it has engendered is staggering: As we are physically separated from each other, fear of the virus has progressed in some quarters to fear of the "other", fueling an alarming rise in anti-Asian hate. It's never the right time to exacerbate bigotry.

Make no mistake. This pandemic is hitting hard. And it will hit some of us much harder than others. As the public health crisis

LAFF Corrections

One of the members attending the annual holiday party at the Ford Foundation was wrongly identified in a photograph accompanying coverage of the event in the last issue of the newsletter. On page 7 of the article "By an Open Fire...." in the Winter 2020 issue, the woman on the far right of the picture of members gathered around a table is Laurice Wassef.

The LAFF Society

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becomes an economic shock, the failures in our social safety nets have been laid bare, disproportionately affecting the poor, immigrant families and people of color. Lack of paid sick leave has meant that some employees have had to choose between coming in to work sick, possibly with COVID-19, or staying at home without pay. Those who experience hunger and rely on social services now find those services overwhelmed. As the virus spreads through our unsanitary and overcrowded jails and prisons, imprisonment for even a misdemeanor offense may effectively result in a death sentence.

We are about to see a "pandemic inequality feedback loop" that will expose every bias we have embedded in our society. As a nation, we have always had deep cracks in our society that cause inequitable outcomes. Oregon is no different. Black children have among the lowest graduation rates from high school, women-run households are suffering under a wage gap that is compounded with each paycheck, and undocumented Latinx workers are still exploited for their labor. Native American tribes wrestle with the enduring trauma of termination. We, as a state, have walked a direct line from our history of racial exclusion and intolerance to the racial and class cleavages that this virus is laying bare.

That's today, but it doesn't have to be tomorrow

Fifteen years ago, I was a program officer at the Ford Foundation when hurricanes Katrina and Rita wrought unforgettable destruction in the Gulf Coast region. There, too, the emergency response and the long-term recovery efforts shone a bright light on inequality and racism in the United States. In the immediate aftermath of Hurricane Katrina, a group of philanthropies and impacted Gulf residents recognized the need for an inclusive, bottom-up disaster response, and we created one that got resources to those hardest hit first.

In the face of an apathetic and ineffective federal response, the Gulf Coast Fund for Community Renewal and Ecological Health was a uniquely-structured entity that disbursed millions to organizations working across housing, arts and culture, worker rights and urban planning. It had one goal: rebuild stronger. Here in Oregon, we too can respond to this crisis in a way that does not leave our communities more inequitable than

they were before the virus arrived.

We are fortunate, in Oregon, to have resourcefulness and community leadership to push through this moment together. Every leader I have talked to is figuring out how to get Oregon back on its feet as fast as possible. This means finding a new playbook and walking away from the old one forever. It means not just restarting the economy but reimagining it in ways that, when disaster strikes, we are all resilient.

Make no mistake. This pandemic is hitting hard. And it will hit some of us much harder than others. As the public health crisis becomes an economic shock, the failures in our social safety nets have been laid bare, disproportionately affecting the poor, immigrant families and people of color.

At Meyer Memorial Trust we are doing our part. Last week, we announced that all current grants can be used for operating needs so each organization can best deploy its resources to help its community. And we banded together with other Oregon funders to launch response funds—MRG Foundation COVID Community Response Fund and the Oregon Community Recovery Fund—so those with good ideas for an inclusive and effective recovery can get going now.

As we look ahead, it's time to ask ourselves: Where do we want to do things differently? And how can we center justice, equity and inclusion not as an afterthought but as a top priority? It is not only the right thing to do, but the best thing to do to protect us from threats like this in the future. Now that we have the chance, let's do better moving forward

As we pivot from self quarantine to solutions, let the past be over. Let's make the invisible in society visible. We are living now with decisions we made before, but we can use this disruption to our advantage and live our values as a state tomorrow.

Michelle J. DePass, president and chief executive officer of the Meyer Memorial Trust in Portland, Ore., was a program officer from 2003 to 2009 in the Ford Foundation's office of Economic Opportunity and Assets. This article appeared originally as an op-ed piece in The Oregonian/OregonLive on April 1.

PAST LEADERS SHOWED HOW TO DEAL WITH CRISES



President Franklin D. Roosevelt at the White House, preparing to give a Fireside chat on the WPA and the Social Security Act (April 28, 1935)

Harris & Ewing, photographer.

CONFRONTING CORONAVIRUS

By Arthur I. Cyr

This article appeared originally in The Chicago Sun Times on March 24 and is reprinted here, slightly edited, with permission.

o, first of all, let me assert my firm belief that the only thing we have to fear is fear itself."

This quotation is from the First Inaugural Address of President Franklin D. Roosevelt. The speech capped the ceremony in which he took the oath as chief executive officer of the United States on March 4, 1933.

The American economy was in a state of collapse, and much of the world gripped in depression. Overseas, many people embraced dictatorship. The new president immediately launched an unprecedented effort to use government to address our problems.

In the crisis of the Great Depression, as in other major challenges, leadership was central. FDR's struggle to overcome paralysis of his legs from polio is relevant. The speech went on to describe "nameless, unreasoning, unjustified terror which paralyzes needed action".

Today, we expect government to provide leadership, and a lot more. Until the twenti-

eth century, catastrophes were regarded as unavoidable "Acts of God". People addressed the 1918 Spanish flu pandemic with stoicism.

The mass media have played a steadily more important role in characterizing terrible events. Photography transformed newspapers by adding sometimes-shocking pictures to text.

Radio and television greatly expanded this impact of information. The Internet and cell phones carry the process further.

Simultaneously, Americans have steadily

Americans have steadily raised the bar regarding expectations of government. President George W. Bush suffered serious political damage from public perception that he was both ineffective and uncaring in handling Hurricane Katrina's devastation in 2005.

raised the bar regarding expectations of government. President George W. Bush suffered serious political damage from public perception that he was both ineffective and uncaring in handling Hurricane Katrina's devastation in 2005.

A century earlier, another President

Roosevelt, Theodore, established the precedent of direct White House involvement to mitigate major disasters. This occurred immediately after the 1906 San Francisco earthquake. His initiatives included a quick Congressional appropriation of \$2.5 million, a radical move as well as substantial sum for that time.

Teddy Roosevelt also involved the military in humanitarian relief. The USS Chicago rescued 20,000 people, still one of the largest amphibious evacuations in history. Soldiers distributed food, water and medical supplies. Military methods also restored order. An estimated five hundred looters were shot by soldiers and police, including thirty-four men who attempted to rob U.S. Mint and Treasury buildings that contained \$239 million in bullion and cash.

There was no FEMA (Federal Emergency Management Agency), created during the Carter administration. Roosevelt instead stressed the role of the Red Cross.

Herbert Hoover further developed U.S. disaster relief capabilities and involvement, including overseas humanitarian efforts. During and after the First World War, he led the substantial U.S. Food Administration and American Relief Administration, credited with preventing mass starvation in Europe.

In 1927, Commerce Secretary Hoover spearheaded an enormous humanitarian effort after huge Mississippi River flooding. Hoover was confirmed—temporarily—as a Great American Hero, securing a lock on the 1928 Republican nomination and election to the White House.

In 1965, Hurricane Betsy became the first Gulf Coast storm creating more than \$1 billion in damage. President Lyndon Johnson immediately flew to New Orleans and relentlessly, endlessly visited storm victims, slogging through water to isolated shacks, anxious Secret Service agents and local politicians in tow. Follow-up federal relief was comprehensive.

During relief efforts after the 2010 Haiti earthquake and Hurricane Sandy in 2012, the Obama White House web site linked to the Red Cross

Today, while varied volunteer agencies are heavily engaged in anti-coronavirus efforts, we assume government is central in dealing with the coronavirus.

In facing this public threat, as in the past, mature, insightful leadership is crucial. ■

Arthur I. Cyr is Clausen Distinguished Professor and Director of the Clausen Center at Carthage College in Kenosha, Wisc., and author of After the Cold War. He worked at the Ford Foundation from 1971 to 1974 in the Office of European and International Affairs and, from 1973 to 1974, for the Public Policy Committee.

FROM SURREAL TO ALL TOO REAL: CORONAVIRUS IN BRAZIL

By Shepard Forman

have always found writing fairly easy and the best way to work out my thoughts. When I was asked a few weeks back to write something about the Covid-19 pandemic in Brazil, I accepted without question. A good way to track the arrival and spread, I thought, but I didn't then appreciate the speed and intensity with which the disease would overtake us here and impose limitations on virtually every aspect of our daily lives and, importantly, on our thought processes and span of concentration.

I, like many of you, I suspect, spend much of my time simply keeping up, with the news, with loved ones, with my own fears, doubts and uncertainties. The caseload and the deaths are always a few paces ahead of us, and the abstraction of a pending pandemic has become the reality to which we are now all confined.

On February 27, a woman returning to São Paulo from Italy aboard Air France became the first reported positive for coronavirus in Brazil. My wife, Leona, and I arrived that same day in Rio de Janeiro, aboard another Air France flight, after a two-week holiday in Portugal. We had travelled aware of the outbreak of Covid-19 in Wuhan, China, but, like most observers at the time, underestimated the virulence and rapid spread of the virus.

After Air France suspended some flights to China, we took the precaution of wearing masks in flight and while transiting through Charles de Gaulle airport near Paris. Portugal, however, had no reported cases, and we travelled between Lisbon and Porto with friends from Wales, visiting museums, historic sites and gardens in our usual style of unhurried tourism, generally undaunted by what quickly became the global pandemic.

Over the next few weeks we eased back into our comfortable retiree lives in Rio. We celebrated our granddaughter's fifteenth and my eighty-second birthdays, visited with friends, ate out, saw a couple of movies, walked along the ocean front. We watched with growing alarm as Covid-19 spread rapidly through Europe, then the United States, and began to quicken in Brazil while President Jair Bolsonaro followed Donald Trump in arrogant denial. "A little cold," he said. "Why the hysteria?"

Two friends with whom we had dinner in Lisbon tested positive. Several more travelers returning to Rio and São Paulo from Italy and Spain developed symptoms or tested positive. Leona and I decided to self-quarantine for 14



View from the rooftop: Cantagalo and Pavão-Pavãozinho communities and below right, Copacabana Beach.

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days, during which I developed an unusual cold, scratchy throat and unyielding runny nose. I consulted our doctor to see if I should be tested. "Not yet," he advised. We waited. Those two weeks passed but, while then symptom free, the frightening nature of the pandemic was now clear to us.

Leona and I have little to complain about, even as we watch in horror the unfolding tragedy around us. We are in "privileged quarantine", overlooking Copacabana Beach and the mountains across the iconic Guanabara Bay, Rio's UNESCO World Heritage site. We have not seen our daughter, Alex, or granddaughter, Lara, for six weeks, despite their neighboring proximity, but WhatsApp keeps us connected to them and to our son, Jacob, and his lifetime companion, Kris, sequestered in California.

WhatsApp and Zoom have become our lifeline, causing me to reflect on my days as a young anthropologist physically distanced from my parents, family and friends for years at a time while conducting fieldwork in inaccessible places where an exchange of letters took weeks and sometimes months. Now, technological choices like Zoom and WhatsApp enable us to "meet" regularly with friends and family, celebrate birthdays and anniversaries, and even mourn. We recently held a Zoom shiva for a 97-year-old cousin who died in a nursing home without the loving embrace and comforting rituals that in other times would have eased her passing.

A personal trainer leads us in thrice weekly live video sessions, with an added set of respiratory exercises. We order our groceries and medicines online, donning gloves and masks to receive and sanitize them at our kitchen door. We recently opened our building's roof-top where we can walk as many miles as our aging legs permit while enjoying fresh air and sunshine with minimal risk of contagion.

We are now nearing 60 days in this privileged quarantine, constantly aware of the catastrophe that is unfolding around us. From our rooftop, I look across four city blocks to the conjoined high-density hillside communities of Cantagalo and Pavão-Pavãozinho, among the smaller of the approximately 200 favelas that are home to 2.5 million people, some 20 percent of Rio's population. Dependent on a constitutionally mandated but highly neglected universal health care system, service jobs and the informal economy, they can neither stay at home nor social distance.

Magda Gomes, an engineer and founder of Rocinha Resiste, a community organization dedicated to the 100,000 residents of Rio's most infamous favela, recently described their dilemma in stark terms: How do we social distance when we are living in multi-generation families of up to 12 people in 3 rooms? How do we continually wash our hands when we were without water for three days last week? How do we not go out to work when the \$150 emergency assistance (\$1,200 for femaleheaded households) will barely cover our basic needs? How do we stay at home when we are forced to line up at banks to receive the promised three monthly payments?

As of today, May 10, Mother's Day, there are more than 100,000 officially counted Covid-19 cases in Brazil with nearly 10,000 related deaths—an astounding 10 percent mortality rate—paralleling the 10,500 confirmed cases and 1,100 deaths reported today in Rio. More startling is that two studies by highly respected health research teams Continued on next page

estimate a mindboggling 8 to 16 times undercount in the number of cases and associated deaths, with a doubling expected over the next month.

While the spread of the disease here originated with travelers to and from major coastal cities with international airports (Rio, Sao Paulo, Fortaleza) and Manaus, capital of the state of Amazonas, the spread has rapidly moved to the working-class neighborhoods that surround and serve them, disproportionately threatening poor communities of black Brazilians and indigenous lands where missionaries, miners and land-hungry agro-industrialists carry with them the civilizational seeds of Covid-19.

Disturbingly, nearly 40 percent of cases are occurring among younger people in the 30 to 50 age range. With the pandemic's onset about a month behind the U.S., and with similar impediments to the disease's containment, Brazil may easily move from its current sixth place among the world's most affected countries to number one!

This scenario is complicated by deep economic and political crises that have stymied Brazil's growth and effective governance over the past decade or more. Systemic corruption at federal, state and municipal levels of government have diverted public funds from public goods to private gain. The arrest and confinement of captains of industry contributed to declining investment and stagnation of the private sector, especially the dominant construction trades. Severe economic contraction left some 13 million people jobless, even before the pandemic closed commerce and forced the ubiquitous informal street vendors back indoors.

Analysts predict negative growth for the foreseeable future and, conservatively, unemployment rates at 20 percent. Huge public debt strangles social services and an already overburdened safety net.

The much acclaimed, constitutionally mandated Universal Health System (SUS) that theoretically guarantees every Brazilian free health care in a network of public hospitals and clinics in every city and municipality in the country has been decimated by decades of declining investment. Vendors have long since ceased providing supplies and services for lack of payment. Doctors and nurses are inevitably drawn to private hospitals and clinics, and most public facilities are vastly understaffed at the best of times.

In short, a dysfunctional public health service was incapable of meeting regular demand let alone the onslaught of coronavirus.

Today, weeks short of every prediction of the disease's peak, public and private hospitals are at nearly full capacity, with virtually no intensive care beds available despite reports of empty beds in some public hospitals. The army corps of engineers has been building field hospitals in urban areas, but with little expectation that they will adequately meet the need for beds, equipment or professional attendance. Rural areas with virtually no health infrastructure are left to their own devices.

As the saying goes here, there are two viruses doing the devil's work in Brazil, Covid-19 and President Bolsonaro. Besieged by a hostile Congress and charges of corruption and political interference in the administration of justice to protect his sons from criminal investigations, Bolsonaro has from the outset downplayed the pandemic and its implications for Brazil. He manifests complete disregard for human life and suffering, famously declaring when confronted with stark numbers several week ago, "What do you want me to do? My middle name is Messias, but I don't perform miracles."

He defies public health experts who implore people to stay at home, urging those he calls "humble people"—domestic workers, street vendors, Uber drivers—to go out and

seek work because there's no public money to support them. He recently fired his respected health minister for supporting stricter isolation recommendations and forced the resignation of the popular Minister of Justice for refusing to appoint cronies to command police and investigatory positions.

As people around the world nightly applaud health care workers, Brazilians bang pots and pans to protest a president whose current popularity stands below 30 percent while his adoring support base gather to demand a reopening of commerce and public spaces and recently physically attacked nurses peacefully demonstrating the lack of PPE and life-saving medical equipment. As mayors and governors urge social isolation and respect for stay at home orders, and several have belatedly mandated state, citywide or neighborhood lockdowns, Bolsonaro wades into crowds (one demanding a return to military dictatorship that he himself may have invoked), suggests throwing a barbecue on the grounds of the presidential palace and outrageously boasts, "I'm an athlete. This little flu is not going to get me!"

The private sector, both for- and not-for-profit, has been mobilizing to fill the widening gap. Industry and some banks have set up funds to provide people in need with food and sanitation supplies. Community-based groups are organizing to help their neighbors and distribute supplies as they are made available. One community-based newspaper has created an app where people can access up-to-date and truthful information of the spread of the virus and how to address it.

BrazilFoundation (full disclosure: founded by my wife) raised an unprecedented U.S. \$1.5 million in just a few weeks to help its grantees provide basic food and sanitation kits in their underserved communities. VivaRio, a Rio-based global NGO, is mobilizing resources on a national basis.

Unfortunately, in the face of this pandemic, the fundamentals of race, class and gender inequality that have forever marked Brazilian society stand out in stark relief. The disquieting debate between life and livelihood, whether for individual survival or public policy, assumes monumental proportions. It is not a choice anyone should be forced to make.

Shep Forman is a former president of The LAFF Society. He worked at the Ford Foundation from 1977 to 1996, first in the Rio de Janeiro office and then in New York as Director of Human Rights and Governance and of International Affairs. He is Founder and nonresident Senior Fellow at the Center on International Cooperation at New York University.



A VIEW FROM ENGLAND

By David Winder

Second World War.

retired from the position of CEO of WaterAid in New York City, Molly and I settled in a small market town of 5,000 inhabitants in the county of Derbyshire, in the East Midlands. We chose Bakewell because it is 10 miles from where Molly was born and is at the heart of the beautiful Peak District, the first National Park in the

United Kingdom, created just after the

In early March, we had just returned from a two-week visit to Cuba when it became evident that the UK would soon become the latest epicenter of the coronavirus pandemic. After a lengthy and costly delay, the government announced a national lockdown on March 23. Citizens in non-essential work were encouraged to work from home and the government asked everyone except essential workers to remain at home except for exercise and the purchase of food and medical prescriptions.

As of April 28, the lockdown measures are still in place, but due for a formal review on May 7. The expectation is that the lockdown will continue after that date. In every announcement made at the daily update from 10 Downing Street, the central messages of "Stay at Home" and "keep a social distance of six feet from everyone except those in your household" have been repeated.

With very few exceptions, these measures taken to slow the virus have been respected. In addition, more than 700,000 individuals have volunteered to help attend to the needs of the vulnerable. Gradually, many of the volunteers have been allocated duties.

What has been our response to the lockdown measures? We live on a small private street with no through traffic near the center of the town. Because the houses are close together and we see our neighbors on a daily basis, we thought we had the potential to build a strong community response to withstand the potentially negative effects of the lockdown.

We knew that eight neighbors lived alone and six dwellings had double or triple occupancy. We estimated that all but six people were over 70 years old and at least three had pre-existing medical conditions, which meant they were especially vulnerable.

Drawing on the experience of our daughter, who had created space for discussion and action on her street in Edinburgh, we invited all the residents to bring their chairs into the street to chat about community needs and

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required action. There was almost 100 percent turnout at mid-day on the first

Monday after the lockdown. We moved up and down the street to consult with everyone. It was clear that everyone wanted to meet on a regular basis, to share experiences and discuss ways of helping each other.

Following this initial meeting, we quickly established a routine of street interaction on Mondays at 12:30, Wednesdays for coffee at 11, Thursdays at 8 p.m. when we applaud all those on the frontline tackling the pandemic, and Saturdays at 5 for a drink.

The flowering of community solidarity that has resulted from this "street initiative" has produced the following outcomes:

One neighbor collects food orders for a supermarket home delivery. Molly takes orders for garden supplies and arranges delivery from a local market garden. Residents under the age of 70 walk into town, collect prescriptions and other pharmacy supplies and post letters. One resident has arranged for regular deliveries of milk from a local farmer. Another neighbor has arranged for a local newsagent to deliver newspapers and fresh groceries. Finally, books and DVDs are exchanged after being disinfected.

We have observed many side benefits. Residents who live alone value the opportunity to meet others and discuss concerns, health issues and local and national news. It is a chance for residents to jointly attempt to make sense of the sometimes confused and contradictory messages coming from the government. People also discuss what action needs to be taken in the event of developing Covid-19 symptoms.

It is evident to us that neighbors appreciate the chance to discuss other subjects. Once I took out my guitar and song sheets and our spirits were raised singing American and European folk songs. Molly and neighbors have also benefited from sharing gardening experience, seeds and plants. Victory gardens are springing to life.

People have wondered if there is the danger of disease transmission in this community interaction. We take great care to observe the government's "social distancing" recommendations, though we prefer the term "physical distancing" as we are in the business of building social solidarity,

Finally, we have begun a discussion on how we will preserve much of what we have achieved in terms of self-help at this micro level once the lockdown ends. There is clearly an emerging consensus that we shouldn't return to business as usual.

David Winder was the Ford Foundation's Regional Representative for Mexico and Central America from 1982 to 1986 and its Regional Representative for Southeast Asia from 1987 to 1992.

A REMINDER: RECORD YOUR RECOLLECTIONS

embers are urged to continue to contribute to LAFF's Recollections Project, a gathering of individual reminiscences designed "to contribute to the institutional memory of the Ford Foundation and to help us get to know each other better."

In a quick and simple process, using prompts on LAFF's website, members make recordings that become part of a broader effort to link their experiences and insights to the Ford Foundation's history and, as such, will be stored in Ford's archival collection at the Rockefeller Archive Center.

The project is a collaboration with Memria, a story-telling platform used by corporations, educational institutions and non-governmental organizations.

It's a simple process, using buttons on LAFF's website that take the member to the Memria site.

At the upper right corner of LAFF's home

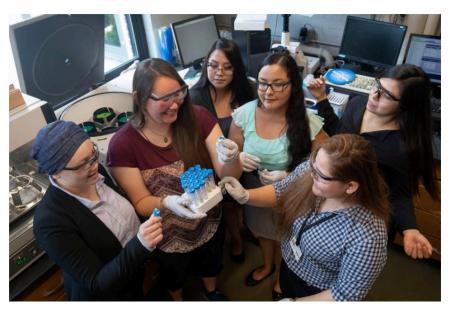
page is a button for "Recollections Project", where there are two options: "Record Your Story Here" to make a recording and "Listen to Stories Here" to hear what others have said.

Clear instructions are provided throughout the process for making a recording, while assistance is available by emailing help@ memria.org

The first step when clicking on the "Record" button is to set up an account, the second is to make the recording and, if the user chooses, upload photos. And that's it.

The recording takes only about 10 minutes, with story-telling "prompts" to get the process started. For example, the member is asked to provide basic information, including name and when and where he or she worked at the Foundation; a memory about working there; comments about an influential person, and any other reflection or experience that can be shared.

A SMALL GRANT CAN GO A LONG WAY: NORM COLLINS AND CONTRIBUTIONS TO NATIVE AMERICAN GOVERNANCE



Native Americans took part in the Summer Research Experience for Undergraduates at the Harvard John A. Paulson School of Engineering and Applied Sciences. Kris Snibbe/Harvard Staff Photographer

By Michael Lipsky

since the late 1990s, I have been associated with "Honoring Nations", a program, begun in 1998 with a Ford Foundation grant that promotes excellence in governance among American Indian nations.

At the Foundation, the program was linked to others around the world that adapted the model of Innovations in American Government—the flagship Governance grant program of the era—to other governmental environments around the world.

Sometime after the initial grant was made, I learned that the researchers whose work is at the heart of the program got their start a decade earlier with help from a small Foundation grant recommended by **Norman R. Collins**, the Director of the Rural Poverty and Resources program.

In December, after learning that Norm had died, I thought I would try to tell the story of this chain of grant making, and how I understand its significance. "A Small Grant Can Go a Long Way: Building Support for Native American Governance" now appears on HistPhil, the online journal dedicated to the history of philanthropy. It can be accessed at: https://histphil.org/2020/06/09/a-small-grant-can-go-a-long-way-building-support-for-native-american-governance/.

(An obituary of Norm Collins, including a tribute from **Charles Bailey**, appears in the Winter 2020 issue of this newsletter.)

Here are the first paragraphs of my article:

"Discussion of the contributions of philanthropy to U.S. society tends to focus on large initiatives with clear, dramatic impacts. Examples include the Green Revolution, the 911 emergency-response system, the Public Broadcasting System, and community-development corporations.

"But small grants can make a difference, too. A small grant can unleash creativity in a timely way. It can provide strategic support to entrepreneurs, organizers and intellectuals. One such grant has represented for me a powerful example of how grant makers can make a difference with limited funds.

"In 1986, Norm Collins, then the Director of the Rural Poverty and Resources program at the Ford Foundation, recommended a \$35,000 grant to Harvard University to allow two young researchers to study the factors influencing the economic development of American Indian nations. The proposed grant fit into Norm's personal and organizational agenda. Trained as an agricultural economist, he had spent the larger part of his career working for Ford in India, focused broadly on advancing the Green Revolution that prom-

ised to improve farmers' productivity and reduce poverty in rural populations. In his subsequent New York assignment he focused on rural poverty in the United States, among other things. American Indians, rural but also urban, are by far the poorest group enumerated in the American census.

"The grant called for sociologist Stephen Cornell and economist Joe Kalt to spend the summer interviewing tribal leaders. Their objective was to make sense of why some tribes had vibrant economies while others struggled.

"There are over 570 American Indian nations in the United States. Some are economically successful. The Mississippi Band of Choctaw Indians, for example, is a commercial powerhouse employing thousands of workers, Native and non-Native, on a fragmented land base. Other tribal nations experience deep poverty even though their land base is much greater, and they are endowed with coal, uranium, timber or other sources of potential wealth."

The article goes on to describe the creation of the Harvard Project on American Indian Economic Development; Honoring Nations, the awards program for extraordinary initiatives developed by tribal governments; and the Native Nations Institute at the University of Arizona that focuses on governance issues among indigenous peoples around the world.

Michael Lipsky worked in the Governance and Public Policy and Governance and Civil Society units at the Ford Foundation from 1991 to 2003.

WE COULD USE IDEAS AND ARTICLES

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

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

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

The newsletter and LAFF's website provide an opportunity for members to share insights drawn from what they have done, and their experiences with what they are doing now.

Ideas and articles can be sent to John LaHoud, editor of the newsletter, at jlahoud25@hotmail.com

TWO TV MINI-SERIES WITH FORD CONNECTIONS

Recent acclaimed television series, one on public television and the other released initially through the subscription video service Hulu, chronicle civil and human rights struggles over the last several decades that include the stories of two former Ford Foundation figures.

Roberta Uno's Japanese-American family is featured prominently in the second part of a five-part series on PBS exploring the history of Asian-Americans, and **Franklin Thomas**, a former president of the Foundation, is a major character in "Mrs. America", whose focus is the contentious movement to ratify the Equal Rights Amendment (ERA).

The story of Roberta's family is told in the second episode in the Asian-American series, "A Question of Loyalty", described as the trials of an American-born generation whose "loyalties are tested during World War II, when families are imprisoned in detention camps, and brothers find themselves on opposite sides of the battle lines."

That is her story, of forebears forced from their homes into camps around the United States, of uncles who chose to join the United States military to fight for "their country" and of one uncle whose bitterness over the family's treatment and affection for his heritage drove him to return to Japan and work for that country's government throughout the war.

She tells her story with a strong sense of regret and pride, describing in vivid language her family's strength in surviving their ordeal, torments over the divisions caused by their treatment and the lingering effects of efforts to understand the emotions and motivations that held some family members together and divided others.

Franklin Thomas enters the chronicle of the struggle for equal rights for women through his relationship with the feminist activist Gloria Steinem, described in the program as "the biggest name in the fight for the ERA", pictured during the series as "balancing her political ambitions with her personal life as she carries on a relationship with a man who supports her career."

Steinem has said in previous interviews and articles that, though their relationship was "short-lived", Thomas was "the longtime love of my life, and best friend". His stances on race and gender equality, she has said, were a strong influence on her life and work.

"One day," she has quoted him as telling her, "your descendants will think it incredible that we paid so much attention to things



Gloria Steinem described Franklin Thomas in a 2015 New Yorker profile as "the longtime love of my life, and best friend." Photo: Ford Foundation photographs, RAC.

like the amount of melanin in our skin to the shape of our eyes or our gender instead of the unique identities of each of us as complex human beings."

The mini-series, while portraying the

actual people involved in real events, takes some liberties with the story. Its creator, Dahvi Waller, has explained that she "decided not to reach out to anyone" in crafting scenes and re-creating dialogue because she "really wanted to be free to imagine these private conversations and not be beholden to one person's memory of what happened 40 years ago."

That approach led some reviewers to pointedly emphasize aspects of Thomas's life and career not dwelt on in the series.

"....while he may not be the household name that Steinem is," wrote one, "he's made a prominent impact on the world."

Wrote another, "There's much more to Thomas than his connections to Steinem. He's quite a history-maker in his own right. He's a lawyer, community organizer, activist, the first African-American to sit on the board of Citibank and the first African-American president of the Ford Foundation, a position he held for 17 years.

"During his time at the helm of the philanthropic organization, he focused on projects that targeted poverty, human rights and developing leaders in post-apartheid South Africa."

"SAVING AMERICA'S CITIES" WINS BANCROFT PRIZE

he book *Saving America's Cities*, the subject of the lead article in the last newsletter, has been awarded the Bancroft Prize, a major honor in the field of American history.

The book, written by Lizabeth Cohen, a professor of American Studies at Harvard University, is a study of the life and work of Edward J. "Ed" Logue, who has been both acclaimed and vilified for his extensive work in urban planning.

In the article in the Winter 2020 issue of the newsletter, **Thomas Seessel** wrote that Cohen has found "the middle ground between these extreme views in her absorbing, balanced and readable account of Logue's life and work…"

The prize committee praised the book for its "nuanced view of federally-funded urban redevelopment and of one of its major practitioners that goes beyond the simplicity of good and bad, heroes and villains."

The Bancroft Prize, including an award of



SAVING AMERICA'S CITIES

Ed Logue and the Struggle to Renew Urban America in the Suburban Age

LIZABETH COHEN

\$10,000, was established in 1948 by the trustees of Columbia University from a bequest by the historian Frederic Bancroft. Books are evaluated for their "scope, significance, depth of research, and richness of interpretation".

LAFFing Parade



Sushma Raman, executive director of the Harvard Kennedy School's Carr Center for Human Rights Policy, has co-written a new book that examines the nature of human rights now and asserts that "as the world changes around us, rights

hardly imaginable today will come into being." In *The Coming Good Society: Why New Realities Demand New Rights*, Raman and her co-author, William F. Schulz, raise several questions: "What new rights, for example, are needed if we understand gender to be nonbinary? Does living in a corrupt state violate our rights? And emerging technologies demand that we think about rights in a new way: When biotechnology is used to change

genetic code, whose rights might be violated? What rights, if any, protect our privacy from the intrusions of sophisticated surveillance techniques?"

They argue that "rights must adapt to new realities or risk being assigned to irrelevance".

The former United Nations High Commissioner for Human Rights, Zeid Ra'ad al Hussein, says the authors "outline brilliantly where...growth may take rights in the generations to come. Whether you agree with them in every instance is less important than that you take their questions seriously. This book makes it impossible not to do that."

Kerry Kennedy, president of Robert F. Kennedy Human Rights, says the book is "an accessible primer for anyone who wishes to understand the current limitations in our notions of rights and the future challenges for which we must prepare."

Raman was a program officer at the Ford Foundation from 2001 to 2006, managing a grantmaking portfolio in South Asia focused on social justice, philanthropy and strengthening civil society. She helped start foundations devoted to gender justice and human rights and social justice, and was co-chair of Ford's Philanthropy Learning Group.

Schulz, a senior fellow at the Carr Center, formerly was president of the Unitarian Universalist Association of Congregations and executive director of Amnesty International USA.

Gerry Salole is retiring after 15 years as Chief Executive of the European Foundation Centre, an association of more than 200 public-benefit foundations and corporate funders active in philanthropy in 30 countries in Europe and elsewhere.

Based in Brussels, the center promotes the concept that "institutional philanthropy has

a unique, crucial and timely role to play in meeting the critical challenges societies face... from eradicating deadly diseases and making the world's populations healthier to combating climate change and fighting for global human rights and equality."

Dr. Salole joined the center after working for the Ford Foundation in Johannesburg from 1999 to 2005 as its representative for Southern Africa.

Before that, he was director of the Department of Programme Documentation and Communication for the Bernard van Leer Foundation in The Hague, and worked for Save the Children Federation in Ethiopia and Zimbabwe, for OXFAM and for the United Nations High Commissioner for Refugees (UNHCR).



He studied social anthropology and African history at the School of Oriental and African Studies of the University of London, and earned a master's degree in economics and a doctorate from the University of Manchester.

He is the founding chair of TrustAfrica; chair of the Global Fund for Community Foundations, in Johannesburg; and a member of the Advisory Board of the Open Society Foundations, of the Strategic Advisory Committee of the European Venture Philanthropy Association and of the board of Assifero, the Italian Association of Grant Making Foundations.

Gigi Sohn, a former project specialist in the Ford Foundation's Media. Arts and

Culture unit, has been named to the board of directors of Locast, a nonprofit "public service" that streams local TV channels for free in 17 cities, reaching more than 41 million viewers with local news, weather, emergency information, sports and entertainment broadcasting.

"I'm honored to join the Locast board," Sohn said. "I'm inspired by small nonprofits



like Locast overcoming enormous challenges to give consumers greater choice in how they watch their local TV channels."

The organization noted that Sohn "has worked for more than 30 years to defend and preserve com-

petition and innovation policies that have made broadband internet access more ubiquitous, competitive and affordable across the country."

She is a distinguished fellow at the Georgetown Law Institute for Technology Law and Policy and a Benton Senior Fellow and Public Advocate.

From 2013 to 2016 she was counselor to the former head of the Federal Communications Commission, Tom Wheeler. Prior to that post she was the co-founder and CEO of Public Knowledge, a telecommunications, media and technology policy advocacy organization, and executive director of the Media Access Project, a public interest law firm.

She is a member of the board of directors of the Electronic Frontier Foundation and of the Advisory Board of the Open Markets Institute. ■

SHARE YOUR PAPERS WITH FORD'S ARCHIVES

AFF members are being invited to share materials accumulated during their years at the Ford Foundation by donating them to the Foundation's archives through its Information Management (IM) team.

Andrea Donohue, senior manager for Global Records and Archives at the Foundation, is seeking "memos, documents, correspondence, notes, notebooks, reports, briefing books, presentations and other similar substantive material."

What is not wanted are "expense-related content, personal papers, conference material, personnel records or non-Ford relevant material."

The request is far-reaching, including materials from all Ford staff who worked in "any region, office or department"

during "any period".

"Our goal," Donohue says, "is to ensure that our archives are as complete, transparent and accessible as can be."

Where there is any question as to whether a certain document is relevant, Donohue says the IM team will review all material received and remove what is considered "non-archival".

Once a member receives and signs a certificate of gift form, the accepted papers will be reviewed, processed and sent to the Rockefeller Archive Center, where Ford's historical records are housed for preservation and research.

For details on how to proceed, contact Donohue at a.donohue@ford-foundation.org ■

FROM LAFF'S ARCHIVE

THINKING ABOUT DOC

The Summer 1994 issue of LAFF's newsletter ran excerpts from a book by the late Harold "Doc" Howe II, Thinking About Our Kids: An Agenda for American Education. Doc had been a Ford Foundation vice president from 1971to 1981.

his book emerges more from experiences than from scholarship. I have been an active educator for fifty-two years, with about four years off for military service in World War II. And come to think of it, I would classify those years in the Navy as representing continuity in the realm of education. Most of them were spent trying to teach the crew of a minesweeper how to avoid blowing themselves up or how to chase submarines or how to deal with catastrophes at sea.

All of these skills I presumably had been taught a few months earlier at the Naval Mine Warfare School in Norfolk, Virginia. Like most new school teachers, I had learned the theory and not the practice and therefore dealt with reality the hard way, by making mistakes and correcting them. Fortunately, my mistakes did not prove fatal.

After many years of muddling about in schools, colleges and the public and private agencies that service them, I am still persuaded that the best way to learn about something is to do it. In fact, one of my strongest convictions about improving education is that we need to make better use of the power of experience in the learning process.

My years in education have included work in private schools as a history teacher and in public schools as a school principal and superintendent, in North Carolina as a change agent for education governor Terry Sanford, in Washington as President Johnson's chief education officer, and in the Ford Foundation with responsibility for philanthropic initiatives in both higher education and in schools in the United States and India. These endeavors have enriched my thinking about the ramifications of educational practice, problems and policies.

Other realms of experience, too, lie behind what this book has to say. One is personal. My family, and particularly my father, filled my early years with exposures to education that went beyond my own attendance at school and college. He was a Presbyterian minister, an all-American quarterback, a private school teacher, chaplain, administrator and coach, a conscientious objector in World War I, a college professor at Dartmouth, and for 12 years the president of a predominantly black private college in Virginia, Hampton

Institute (now Hampton University).

This institution was founded in the mid-1860s by my maternal grandfather, a son of missionaries to Hawaii and the commander of a black regiment in the Civil War. He launched Hampton Institute while working for the Freedmen's Bureau, the federal agency created to assist blacks with the transition from slavery to freedom. During my secondary school and college years, my family lived at Hampton—then an island of desegregated faculty and black students in a totally segregated society. This combination of forebears with a strong element of social conscience and exposure to life in the South before the Brown decision no doubt helped to shape my views about education and society....

In addition to rethinking our safety net for school readiness, we need to make better use of the incomplete collection of separate programs that now serve us for that purpose. Back in the 1970s, when I worked in the Ford Foundation, a colleague of mine, Terry Saario, thought that Ford should invest some of its funds in understanding the problems of youth and developing information about their needs that would assist both state and national governments to design better policies to save the young. To get started, she brought together a series of regional conferences, a cross-section of people from agencies serving children and youth. One thing we learned from the conferences was that a good | low-priority purposes.

many of the people working on behalf of the young in a given state had never met and were glad to have the opportunity at the Ford Foundation's expense.

In at least one of these meetings, an effort was made to discuss the total annual budget for all of the activities for early adolescents in a particular state. As this information was laboriously assembled, the men and women present became more and more surprised by the vast amounts that were indeed available annually. The question was asked, "Suppose that instead of having each item on this list a totally separate endeavor, we were able to do more comprehensive planning to meet priorities of need: would the funds be spent as they now are?" The response was a resounding negative. There followed a long discussion of the political difficulties and the turf battles among agencies that would result from any such effort to coordinate funding for youth so that high-priority needs might get the attention they deserved.

This anecdote raises issues...about the need for more coherent planning and operation of services for all young people. This topic must stand at the top of our agenda for thinking about public funds for education broadly conceived. Unless we bring an end to the long-standing fragmentation of programs and funding, there is a good chance that the limited funds we have will be used for

FROM LAFF'S ARCHIVE

CONSOLATIONS OF RETIREMENT

The late **F. Champion Ward**, who worked in a variety of positions at the Ford Foundation from 1954 to 1977, including as a vice president for education, wrote the following waggish item about life after retirement for the Fall 1994 issue of LAFF's newsletter.

Be quaint: Once you've decided that from now on what you are will be more important than what you do, you'll find many things to do that follow from what you've decided to be....

If you're blessed with descendants whose good opinion you cherish, it's best not to try to keep up to date. An effort to be "with it" is sure to fail and will only embarrass the next two generations, particularly your grandchildren, who rather count on you to remind them of times when there was no faxing and, as they like to believe, people helped each

other through the Great Depression.

You are also free to reminisce...gaze back on...the worlds you've lived in, the events you've witnessed, what you did or tried to do, the friends and family you've had, and see what, on reflection, you made of it all....

Be kind: When the excuse of being too busy is no longer available, there is time to be nice to people. After years of disuse, being thoughtful may be difficult at first. But gradually you will find time and inclination to visit the sick, help the poor, resume old and half-forgotten friendships, answer letters of limited importance and support good causes.

Be amused: Age helps us to recognize and accept our modest place in the human comedy and thus spares us and those we care about the unrelieved solemnity that so often attends old age. ■

IN MEMORIAM

Greg Farrell, founding president and chief executive of EL Education and the original executive director of the Fund for the City of New York, died March 29 in New York City from complications of acute myeloid leukemia. He was 84.

Mr. Farrell recounted the founding and development of EL Education, originally called the Expeditionary Learning Schools, in an article in the Winter 2019 issue of this newsletter titled "Making Schools Better".

He described it as "a radical and surprisingly successful national school reform organization and public school network" in which teachers "would talk less. Students would talk more. There would be structures, like student-led parent-teacher conferences, portfolio presentations...and exhibitions of student work that would help put them in charge of their own learning and motivate them to do their best work."

He was inspired to help found a new way of teaching when, in 1964, when he was an admissions officer at Princeton University, he took a month-long instructors' training course at the Colorado Outward Bound School, where he was "moved by my experience to think schools would be a lot better if they were more like Outward Bound."

Later, in a brief memoir he wrote for students, he described the rigorous wilderness training provided by Outward Bound as one in which "you learn important things you never forget and that you can apply to new circumstances, you do things you think are impossible, sometimes with style, and the idea is to get everyone over the mountain rather than to see who can get over the mountain first....

"I thought," he wrote, "schools would be better if they were more like that, and wondered if you couldn't learn reading, writing, science and math and the rest the way you learn how to find your way and acquire the skills and understanding you need on an Outward Bound expedition."

It worked well enough that the schools he and others created in New York City in the early 1990s have grown into a network of hundreds of schools in 35 states teaching more than half a million students, lauded by an Aspen Institute study as "a growing movement dedicated to the social, emotional and academic well-being of children."

Citing in his newsletter article the

Aspen report's conclusion that children "learn best when we treat them as human beings, with social and emotional as well as academic needs", Farrell described that observation "as one of those truths we used to hold as self-evident, have let slip away, though never entirely, and are now rediscovering.

"It used to be in the drinking water. I feel fortunate to be having a hand in getting it back in there."

Mr. Farrell retired from EL Education in 2008, but remained with the organization as a board member and, at the age of 81, led a group of EL staff, founding board members, educators and other leaders on an Outward Bound course.

Prior to going to work on the Outward Bound schools movement in 1990, he had been the first executive director of the Fund for the City of New York, hired in 1970 when the Ford Foundation created the organization to encourage innovation in municipal government and improve the quality of life in the city.

When he left the Fund an editorial in The New York Times praised him for leaving "a strong, vibrant organization and a 20-year record of unique service to the city and its people."

At Mr. Farrell's death, Richard Stopol, president and CEO New York City Outward Bound Schools, said that "what best defines Greg Farrell and stands out above all else is the quality of his character. He was, quite simply, an extraordinary human being, the rare individual who was equal parts wise, kind, funny, curious, empathic, gentle and generous....

"He didn't just interact with people, he embraced them fully, recognizing their strengths while accepting their foibles and always making them feel wanted and loved."

His wife, Catherine Otis, who was a professor and dean at LaGuardia Community College, died in July 2019. He is survived by two sons and two grandchildren.

"I had a generalized humanitarian instinct I didn't know quite what to do with," Mr. Farrell said in describing himself in the early years after graduating from Princeton University in 1957 with a bachelor's degree in English. "I was looking for some kind of adventure. If there had been a Peace Corps then, I would have tried to get into it."

Irene Hirano Inouye, a former member and chair of the board of trustees of the Ford Foundation and president of the United States-Japan Council, died April 7 after a long illness. She was 71.

Ms. Inouye, who was the widow of former United States Senator Daniel Inouye, was named founding president in 2008 of the council, which was created to develop stronger ties between the two countries.

Prior to that, she had been CEO and president of the Japanese American National Museum in the Little Tokyo section of Los Angeles for 20 years, overseeing its development from being housed in a small warehouse to becoming an affiliate of the Smithsonian Institution.

"She was a genuine leader," said the actor George Takei, who had served as chair of the museum's board of trustees. "She had the vision and she was able to get people to share that vision with her. She played a key role in connecting Japanese Americans with the Japanese heritage that we have. She helped bring us pride in our heritage."

Ms. Inouye, who had a master's degree in public administration from the University of Southern California, met the senator when he was chairman of the museum's board. They were married in 2008, the second marriage for both. He died in 2012.

Survivors include a daughter, a son, a sister and a brother-in-law.

Federico "Fredy" Herrera, the first person hired by the Ford Foundation staff in Peru when it opened its office in Lima in 1965, and who served as its principal driver until the office was closed in 1992, died earlier this year.

No details on his death are available, but a tribute to him was published in the Peruvian Times on May 28 by **Shane Hunt**, an economist who specializes in the Peruvian economy and has published several works on that country's public finances, economic history, and industrial trade and labor policies.

Hunt met Ferdy when he was a visiting Ford Foundation professor in the university extension program of the Banco Central de Reserva del Peru, and, again, some 30 years later, when he was working with a USAID project that was hiring staff.

Continued on next page

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IN MEMORIAM

Continued from page 11

"I was delighted to lure Ferdy out of retirement," he writes. "From my earlier days in the Ford office, I remembered him as thoroughly dependable, attentive to detail, always on time."

Hunt then recounts "Ferdy's story": life in a small, impoverished village; little schooling; impressment into the military; work as a fisherman when he returned to civilian life; tragedy in his family when his sheep-owning father was murdered by rustlers; deprivations when the Maoist Shining Path guerrillas occupied his village; eventual migration to, and a better life in, the capital.

"I've often thought," Hunt writes, "that Ferdy's story is the story of Peru. There are thousands, perhaps hundreds of thousands, of Peruvians whose life stories are similar. They begin in remote rural villages, continue through a difficult transition to a nationalist society, and end with a place in urban society that offers more comfort and broader horizons....they persevere, mostly

through their own hard work....

"For most, it is also a journey of upward social mobility. In Ferdy's case, both of his daughters went to university and have had secure professional lives. One is an accountant."

S. David Freeman, a passionate advocate for renewable energy who worked on energy policies under four presidents and headed public utilities in three states, died of a heart attack May 12 in Reston, Va., at the age of 94.

He worked briefly at the Ford Foundation in the early 1970s where he wrote a major report on energy policy in 1974, "A Time to Choose", which was sent to all the nation's governors, one of whom, Jimmy Carter of Georgia, was so impressed that when he became president he named Freeman to the board of the Tennessee Valley Authority (TVA) in 1977. He became its chairman the next year.

Mr. Freeman began his career as a young lawyer at the TVA, then moved to

Washington in 1961 to work on the Federal Power Commission under President John F. Kennedy. He worked on energy policies through the presidency of Lyndon B. Johnson and then worked for the new Environmental Protection Agency, created during the presidency of Richard M. Nixon.

In every governmental post, and in his positions with public utilities in Texas, New York and California, he championed energy conservation and renewable sources of power production and opposed nuclear energy.

Two salient quotes illuminate his personality and career, one about him and one by him.

"He was like a dog with a bone," one associate said. "When he felt he was on the right track, he was relentless."

He once told The New York Times he was influenced by a saying of his father's about the importance of planning and resource management: "Any fool can buy an umbrella on a rainy day. It takes a wise man to buy an umbrella on a sunny day."