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THE FORD FOUNDATION IN SOUTH AFRICA



Soweto uprising, June 16, 1976.



Nelson Mandela after his release from prison.

In 1953 the Ford Foundation gave \$50,000 to the South Africa Institute of Race Relations for educational and research activities, beginning an enduring commitment that has contributed significantly to that country's often painful but relentless passage out of oppression.

"We have helped strengthen the ability of local communities to advance their own aspirations for dignity, justice and equality," states the Foundation in a historical survey of its activities in that country.

"When our work in the region started...five years of apartheid had already isolated South Africa from the rest of the world. We began by providing fellowships for scholars, funding research that rigorously documented and exposed the devastating impact of South Africa's racial policies....In the 1960s, as South Africa's isolation deepened, our grantees kept a spotlight on repressive policies and enabled dissenting voices to be heard."

In this issue we present three articles that provide detailed background on Foundation activities in South Africa, written by staff members who were there, helping shape Foundation policies over the last several decades and supporting those South Africans, the country's "dissenting voices", who were most influential in their country's successful progression to independence and freedom.

PIONEERING HUMAN RIGHTS

by Sheila Avrin McLean

The death of Nelson Mandela, an extraordinary global leader who sought to free his country from racial division and led an essentially peaceful revolution, marked the end of a period of transition—from a system of government that enfranchised and protected only the minority of its citizens while oppressing and brutalizing the majority, to a young democracy that shows great promise.

While that promise is first and foremost Mandela's legacy, it is also a promise that the Ford Foundation supported extensively and continues to support today as institutions that the Foundation helped create work to embed in South Africa's constitutional structure pioneering human rights for all South Africa's citizens.

Early Work in South Africa

I first visited South Africa in November 1976 to evaluate a grant to the Washington, D.C.-based Lawyers Committee for Civil Rights Under Law-Southern Africa Project (Lawyers Committee) that assisted the legal defense of South Africans charged with political crimes. At that time, I was a lawyer in

the Foundation's Office of General Counsel. While my legal specialty was the then-new tax law regulating foundations, my assignments had expanded to international trouble shooting, such as advising on complicated international institutional arrangements like the Consultative Group on International Agricultural Research, and instituting protection for women, especially women in developing countries, who were the "subjects" of research in new methods of birth control funded by the Foundation.

In those days, international official aid was mostly limited to working through host developing country governments. Similarly, international private philanthropies when working in developing countries often partnered with host governments. The terms "civil society" and "human rights" were not widely used; donors rarely funded local, nongovernmental organizations, especially ones that challenged political practices of host governments.

At the time, the Foundation had a small grants program inside South Africa that sought mainly to encourage South Africans to work for a multiracial society as well as a limited number of international exchange programs to expose South Africans to alternatives to the oppressive apartheid regime. Importantly, there was also a Foundation grant to the Lawyers Committee that helped South Africans challenge some of the South African government's heinous apartheid laws.

In thinking about the Ford Foundation's historical role, it's important to recall that, "Strikingly, the foundation's concern about the brutal apartheid structure of South Africa began well before the international community and its institutions became seized by it," wrote William Korey in his 2007 book, *Taking on the World's Repressive Regimes: The Ford Foundation's International Human Rights Policies and Practices*.

This was the context in which, in 1976, **Robert Edwards**, who then headed the Middle East and Africa Program and who had brought to the Foundation broad-based experience in Southern Africa, asked me to eval-

uate the most "confrontational" of the Foundation's South Africa grants, the above-described grant to the Lawyers Committee. He suggested that, to gain a better understanding of the region before going in to South Africa, I accompany him to review grant programs in East and Southern Africa and attend an African-American Institute Conference in Lesotho. He also asked me to think broadly about the policy prescriptions then driving the Foundation's South Africa work: helping South Africans build a multiracial society.

We arrived in South Africa not long after the June 16 Soweto Uprising. This uprising began as a peaceful protest led by high school students against a curriculum that mandated Afrikaans as the language of instruction, a "foreign" language to most Black Africans who lived in townships like Soweto. In the words of Desmond Tutu, who had come to international prominence in 1975 as the first black Anglican Dean of St. Mary's Cathedral in Johannesburg and, in 1978, as General Secretary of the South African Council of Churches, calling for teaching in Afrikaans was calling for teaching in "the language of the oppressor".

The peaceful demonstrations were stopped by gunfire from the police and resulted in many deaths, officially reported at 176 but widely estimated at 700.

The killing of children in peaceful demonstrations brought increased international opprobrium to the South African system of apartheid and also catalyzed the opposition within the country. My visit, by beginning in neighboring Botswana and Lesotho, enabled meetings with young South African child refugees who were leading a revolution by challenging state authority on how they were being taught. Their courage and well-considered actions, combined with many discussions inside South Africa with more mature opponents of the apartheid regime, led me to state in a December 27, 1976, Trip Report Memorandum to Edwards:

"Children leading a revolution implies to me that the polity of South Africa is fundamentally sick. The fact that these children

The LAFF Society

c/o Nellie Toma
PO Box 701107, East Elmhurst, NY 11370

E-Mail: treasurer@laffsociety.org
www.laffsociety.org

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Soweto uprising: It began as a peaceful protest march, then escalated into a nation-wide revolt. Hector Pieterse is carried by Mbuyisa Makhubo after being shot by South African police. His sister, Antoinette Sithole, runs beside them. Pieterse was declared dead on arrival at a local clinic. Photo by Sam Nzima.



Leading a delegation from the South African Council of Churches, Anglican Bishop (now Archbishop) Desmond Tutu talks with a police officer in an unsuccessful attempt to speak to South Africa's then-president P. W. Botha about violence during the apartheid regime. (Religious News Service Photo)

know that they may die or be put in prison means to me that they have lost their fear and will continue their struggle, no matter what. ...I believe any one [of several political scenarios] will lead to Black African majority rule in South Africa with this generation of children in command...If we can assist in any way avoid ...complete black-white polarization, especially in the minds of the Blacks who will one day (whether it is ten years or less) rule in South Africa, I think we should try."

I then outlined in my report a series of program possibilities focused on human rights, rule of law and education that were based on ideas of South African activist thought-leaders I met during my 1976 visit. That visit, and many subsequent visits to the country, helped me convince Edwards first and, subsequently, **McGeorge Bundy**, then president of the

Foundation, and **Robert McNamara**, then president of the World Bank and chair of the Foundation's Board of Trustees' International Committee, to shift the Foundation's focus from assisting liberal, mainly white, South Africans build toward a multiracial society to approaches more in line with the underpinnings of Black opposition politics within the country: human rights and education programs, many of which were led by Black leadership inside the country. The Foundation's policy focus became helping South Africans prepare for a post-apartheid, majority-ruled South Africa, where rule of law was honored and education was a right for all.

The style of my 1976 report was unusual for the Foundation—it emphasized my emotional response to children leading a revolution—and I remember being uneasy about Bundy's possible reaction to it. Bundy's normal

("public") working style in officers' meetings was to debate issues with staff (me included) and, with his keen analytic mind and superb debating skills, he would always win the debate and, sometimes afterward, in private, ask what was I "really" trying to say. Not this time. In fact, his response to my 1976 report was: "How much money do you need to start that program?"

The more difficult conversation was with McNamara, who questioned my emphasis on the importance of recognizing and supporting Black opposition within the country, especially the role of children in leading this opposition, and my criticism of the response of the South African government.

One colloquy in particular seemed to help sway him to support the changes in approach I was recommending. He reminded me that as Secretary of Defense under President John F. Kennedy he had ordered troops to confront protesters against United States involvement in Viet Nam as they marched on the Pentagon, and wondered how the South African situation differed markedly from that incident. I responded: "But Mr. McNamara, were your troops' guns loaded and would you have ordered them to shoot at unarmed civilian protesters? The difference is that the South African authorities ordered the police to shoot and kill unarmed children."

Early in 1977, the Board and Bundy approved my working with program staff to set a new direction to the Foundation's work in South Africa that expanded our role in human rights, added to education initiatives and explored possibilities with labor unions and the press.

Soon thereafter Edwards left the Foundation to become president of Carleton College. His successor as head of the Middle East and Africa program was **William Carmichael**, who had headed the Foundation's Latin America Program. Carmichael's earlier academic experience at Princeton and Cornell universities complemented my legal background. But what was key to our working relationship was his deep experience and leadership as the human rights-oriented head of the Foundation's work in Latin America in turbulent times of political repression and terror. This remarkable work set a high standard for developing, with local sensitivity, Foundation support for local institutions fighting a repressive regime.

For the next several years Carmichael and I worked inside South Africa to:

- Establish deeper relations with the group of lawyers handling political defense work inside the country, leading to our engaging with activist lawyers working to establish

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Pioneering Rights

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new forms of law firms that embraced rule of law principles to benefit the wider South African public;

- Assure that the Foundation made grants to groups that were Black-led as well as White-led; and
- Expand the Foundation's work with universities, both Black and White, as then defined by South African law, with the ultimate goal of helping to prepare the Black majority to lead a post-apartheid South Africa.

To a much lesser extent, we also worked in South Africa to extend the Foundation's dialogue with labor unions and community groups, devise additional means of assisting political prisoners, and initiate discussions with opposition Afrikaaners.

As it turned out, much of this new program thrust set the agenda for the Foundation's South African work for the next 15 years, until the apartheid regime was replaced by the Government led by Nelson Mandela, starting a new course for South Africa.

Rule of Law Grants

After my evaluation was accepted, the Foundation renewed and increased its support for the Lawyers Committee. This project was run from a D.C.-based institute founded in the 1960s at the request of President Kennedy to enlist the private bar's leadership and resources in combating racial discrimination in the United States and the resulting inequality of opportunity. In the late 1960s, the Lawyers Committee began providing assistance for human and civil rights problems in South Africa, litigating on behalf of the anti-apartheid movement and the Congressional Black Caucus within the United States. The Southern Africa Project, supported by the Ford Foundation and many other philanthropies and the U.S. private bar, continued for more than 30 years, through the end of apartheid. Their South African work was guided first by Millard Arnold and, subsequently, by Gay MacDougall, and they became an outstanding and internationally-recognized agent for challenging apartheid's laws and helping South Africans' work that maintained respect for the rule of law.

Some of the South African lawyers who worked to defend political activists charged under the increasingly draconian internal security laws became aware of new types of legal institutions that were being created in the U.S., Australia and Britain: legal aid for the poor, public interest law firms that defended the rights of the public through litigation, and



Left to right: McGeorge Bundy, Ford Foundation president in 1976. In June, this year, William Carmichael received an honorary doctorate from the University of Cape Town for his contribution "to its mission and to South African society".

civil rights law groups like the NAACP that advanced major rights through litigation.

South African legal scholars like John Dugard, then dean of the law faculty of the University of Witwatersrand, and Tony Mathews, then dean of the law faculty of the University of Natal in Durban, were two pivotal legal thinkers about rule of law and legal structures that would enable legal aid to underrepresented communities. Dugard was a founder of the Foundation-funded Centre for Applied Legal Studies at the University of Witwatersrand, which has evolved to implement a remarkable vision, expressed as:

- The dismantling of systemic harm;
- The meaningful implementation of human rights; and
- A rigorous dedication to justice

Just as important were superb legal practitioners who became convinced they could initiate public interest law firms in South Africa. These practitioners included Arthur Chaskelson, who was much later appointed by President Mandela as the first Chief Justice of the South African Constitutional Court; Sydney Kentridge, then perhaps South Africa's leading private barrister who distinguished himself by representing many political prisoners, including Nelson Mandela and the family of black consciousness leader Steve Biko in the now famous inquest into his death by police brutality; Ismail Mahomed, then a leading South African senior barrister of Indian descent, who in 1997 became the first nonwhite Chief Justice of South Africa; Felicia Kentridge, then at the University of Witwatersrand School of Law; and their younger colleague, Geoffrey Budlender, an attorney who has since distinguished himself as a leading spokesman for human rights.

All of them worked diligently to create a South African institution that could carry the

banner of rule of law in the public interest: the Legal Resources Centre (LRC). The LRC thrives today under its Mission Statement, which says, in part, that it functions as a "public interest law clinic which uses law as an instrument of justice and provide(s) legal services for the vulnerable and marginalised...build(s) respect for the rule of law and constitutional democracy... (and) contribute(s) to the development of a human rights jurisprudence and to the social and economic transformation of society." (The full statement is available on the center's website, lrc.org.za)

In 1978, I recommended experimental grants to promote international collaboration in structuring these new forms of legal aid and public interest law institutions inside South Africa. My rationale was simple: the South African web of oppressive apartheid laws was based on a Government that adhered to rule of law principles. Where there was a lacuna in the law or its application, well-motivated litigators could challenge how bad law was applied and, sometimes, win. Often these victories were for Blacks, enabling grounding in rule of law principles for the future, majority-ruled South Africa.

A reason we could do this was that by the mid-1970s, the Foundation was steeped in helping U.S. lawyers institutionalize public interest law in the United States. The concept was that new public interest law firms would work to promote and protect the public interest by using the legal system to fight for human rights or protect the environment or advocate on behalf of consumers. These U.S. public interest law organizations became a beacon for South African lawyers who handled political defense work when I met them in the late 1970s.

And so began a Foundation-funded process of deep exposure of South African lawyers to

the U.S. experience: sending to South Africa experts like Jack Greenberg, Director-Counsel of the NAACP Legal Defense Fund; supporting South African lawyers' visits to U.S. advocacy institutions; and building alliances with U.S. lawyers, like Lloyd Cutler, who later was White House Counsel to both Presidents Jimmy Carter and Bill Clinton.

In addition, lawyers at two other foundations—Rockefeller Brothers Fund's Bill Moody and Carnegie's David Hood—in about 1977 began focusing on rule of law issues in South Africa. Cooperating and coordinating information with them became an invaluable means of satisfying internal foundation questioning that each of us faced and increasing the amount of funding available for grants overall.

One of the resulting organizations—the LRC already described—focused on many key legal issues during apartheid and has metamorphosed itself into a world-class public interest law firm that is an advocate for the underrepresented on a full range of social, political and economic rights.

Moreover, as the organization that became the LRC started taking clearer shape, a U.S. support group, then called the Southern Africa Legal Services and Legal Education Project was founded in 1979 by internationally-minded, progressive leaders of the U.S. bar like Lloyd Cutler and Erwin Griswold, dean of Harvard Law School. That organization still exists as the South African Legal Services Foundation (SALS), a 501(c)(3) "friends of the LRC." Carmichael and I are members of the board of this organization, which also includes as its new chair Teresa Clarke, founder of Africa.com, and as its former chairs the Hon. Margaret Marshall, retired Chief Justice of the Massachusetts Supreme Judicial Court, and Prof. Harvey Dale of New York University School of Law and Founding President and a director of The Atlantic Philanthropies. The relationship of support by SALS for its South African senior partner is an exemplary illustration of how to maintain continuity of communications and support as times change.

Grant Support to Black-led Institutions

One of my early recommendations was to initiate grant support to Black-led institutions. I believe I am correct in recalling that the first of these was to the South African Council of Churches (SACC) where then Bishop Tutu had recently been appointed General Secretary. My 1976 Report identified the SACC as the only indigenous organization assisting the families of political detainees. That opening grant led to additional grant support for many community-oriented, anti-apartheid groups.

One example was SACHED Trust, concerned with both access to education and appropriate curriculum to counter Bantu education, led by John Samuel, a creative educator who leveraged distance education. And other innovative, anti-apartheid, Black-led community groups were added as grantees over the years after I left the Ford Foundation.

The trickiest issue was whether to work with the Black-led Homeland universities. Under their grand scheme to disenfranchise the black majority population, the apartheid government had created Homelands, to which they had relegated the citizenship of the majority population. They also had created institutions, including universities, to support the notion that these Homelands were viable states. The dilemma for those of us wanting to assist in education and training of the Black majority population, to help enable their leadership in a South Africa after apartheid, was whether we could work with these pariah states and their Homeland institutions.

We knew that many people of talent had been relegated to these Homeland universities and that this talent pool should not be ignored. Korey writes in his book about my emphasis on education of young blacks through a political minefield of training Black faculty at the Homeland universities. "For McLean," he writes, "the key to black educational upgrading was the black faculty. In her judgment, the route to be pursued by the foundation was in offering the faculty of the 'Homeland' universities Master's Degree training 'outside of South Africa.' She was emphatic on the urgent need to provide solid educational training for black youngsters 'in preparation for majority rule.' It was impressive that McLean was looking down a very long road and anticipating an eventual breakthrough...."

The building of that long road was started by **David Smock**. After leaving the Foundation in the early 1980s, David served at the neighboring Institute of International Education (IIE) as the first director of the South African Education Program (SAEP), the scholarship program he had designed at the Foundation to bring black South African students to U.S. universities. When David Smock left IIE, I was asked to take over the program that he had begun. Together with many partners, we built the largest educational and training program in the world outside South Africa for Black South Africans to prepare for a post-apartheid South Africa.

The success of this endeavor depended significantly on IIE's South African counterpart and partner organization, the Education Opportunities Council (EOC), chaired by Archbishop Tutu and directed by Buti Tlhagale,

then a Roman Catholic priest and, since 2003, the Roman Catholic Archbishop of Johannesburg. EOC was responsible for the selection of SAEP students from throughout the Black political and geographic spectrum of South Africa. Also playing major roles were a U.S.-based advisory committee of academics, corporate leaders and foundations chaired first by Derek Bok, then president of Harvard University, and subsequently by Vartan Gregorian, who became president of the Carnegie Corporation.

The Labor Movement

"A unique aspect of the McLean report," Korey writes, "was its unprecedented concentration on black labor. That subject would come to be seen as a strategic core element in the struggle against the apartheid system. McLean...appeared to be among the first to recognize its potential significance....After consulting with key economic professors at the University of Cape Town [led by Prof. Francis Wilson], McLean advanced the idea for the foundation 'to support' a 'potentially very useful grant' that would study and analyze 'the web of labor laws and pass-laws' dealing 'with the migratory nature of the labor force.'"

In addition, I suggested working with then powerful U.S. unions that had recently posted bond in the United States for the NAACP. This suggestion was not then taken up. As Korey points out: "Later, American unions would become vigorous allies in the battle against apartheid."

Lessons Learned

- Outsiders need to understand that as local leadership is "picked off" by a repressive regime, there will be other people ready to step up. Outsiders can help better prepare people for future leadership after the regime is overthrown or decays by helping to provide formal education and informal training to a wide range of talent.
- U.S. and other outside institutions helping advance social change in another country need to be grounded in consultations with the community inside the country in which they are working. Priorities need to be set by local people and indigenous institutions.
- Cooperation among donors may not be either natural or easy but often enhances recipients' funding and understanding and improves the knowledge-base of each donor.
- Sanctions as political weapons are an important vehicle for isolating pariah nations, but they should be contained within the arenas of economy and trade and not be

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applied to cultural traffic among peoples and civil society institutions. During the height of apartheid there was a persuasive U.S. voice urging total isolation of the regime, but arguments for continuing cultural and educational ties were made by South Africans who were increasingly recognized internationally, especially Archbishop Tutu.

- The relationship between South Africa's LRC and the U.S.'s SALS is a significant model of a way to assure continuity of contact and support between interested groups in different countries. This approach also helps with institution building and long-term sustainability of new, Foundation-initiated projects.
- Consultation with community and political groups inside one's own country as well as within the country where one is working is key and almost never-ending.
- The theory sometimes works that small amounts of funding from foundations permit experimentation with new social and educational programs that larger funders will later pick up. The EOC/SAEP project is

a great example of this model working.

A few years ago, my husband and I returned to South Africa. As it had been some years since I had last worked in that country, I was warned in advance of the trip by a friend who is a leading U.S. academic expert on South Africa: "Don't think that they will remember you, Sheila." This view, that memories are short and appreciation evanescent, was challenged by much of what happened on this visit, 30-plus years after my first trip to South Africa.

Several special treats included a surprise dinner party hosted for us by Archbishop Buti Tlhagale with former students of the scholarship program we had jointly developed, now leaders of media, captains of industry and political leaders; a full day examining, with John Samuel, the newly-appointed headmaster, a small, private school for disadvantaged South African girls, with an innovative curriculum that was fully funded by Oprah Winfrey's philanthropy; extensive meetings with the Legal Resource Centre's lawyers, including Arthur Chaskelson, who had recently retired

as head of the South African Constitutional Court and was volunteering with the LRC a day a week; and visits to several community advancement projects supported by the LRC.

The work I did for the Ford Foundation in South Africa in the late 1970s was part of a sustained commitment by the Foundation to work in the country and the region. The emphasis I encouraged on human rights and education became an integral part of that sustained commitment and was later enhanced by other private philanthropies, especially Atlantic Philanthropies in the 1990s and ELMA Philanthropies in the 2000s, and public donors, notably USAID and European government donors.

Foundations frequently initiate programs and then later change areas of interest and the earlier programs lose traction. In contrast, the long-term nature of the work of the Ford Foundation in South Africa is testimony to the value of long-term sustained commitment and support, of which the Legal Resources Centre, an indigenous institution that is now having a global impact, is a leading example. ■

IN MEMORIAM

Thomas G. Kessinger died July 7 in Annapolis, Md., after suffering a severe head injury while playing tennis two weeks earlier. He was 73.

Tom Kessinger started working for the Foundation in 1977 in New Delhi as a program officer in education and culture, responsible for work in India, Sri Lanka and Nepal. Two years later he became regional representative in Indonesia where he oversaw all programs in that country and in Thailand, Singapore and The Philippines.

He returned to New Delhi in 1987 as the regional representative for South Asia, where he stayed until he was named president of Haverford College in 1988.

After eight years at Haverford he became general manager of the Aga Khan Trust for Culture, in Geneva, where he managed a group of architects, conservation engineers, designers and city planners in activities designed to enhance the quality of the infrastructure in historic cities in Central Asia, South Asia, the Middle East and North Africa. From 2002 until his retirement in 2012 he was general manager of the Aga Khan Foundation.

Tom served as chair of the Resource Development and Governance committees of the Board of Trustees of Aga Khan University in Karachi, Pakistan, before being named chairman pro tem of the board earlier this year.

His work in international development began when he became a Peace Corps volunteer in the Punjab, working in community development. He did his doctoral research in a village in India and worked in academia until joining the Foundation.

Tom Kessinger maintained his contacts with the Foundation until his death, including attending an informal gathering of friends and colleagues in Bangkok that was pictured in the last issue of the newsletter.

Gustav Ranis, an economist who worked for the Foundation in Pakistan and was an early and influential practitioner in the field of development economics, died last October.

(A brief note on his death that appeared in the last issue of the newsletter misspelled his name, which is given correctly here along with more details on his prominent role in overseas development work.)

"He was one of the most brilliant members of the Foundation's remarkable overseas development team," said **Willard Hertz**, who worked in Pakistan for the Foundation after Ranis had left and later served as Ford's assistant secretary. "While he worked for the Foundation for only three years, his role was pivotal in our Pakistan program and he subsequently became a pillar of the Yale University economics department and one of the founders of the field of development economics."

"Gus" Ranis wrote more than 20 books and

300 articles on theoretical and policy-related issues of development, especially as co-author, with John Fei, of the book *Development of the Labor Surplus Economy: Theory and Policy*, which led to new literature and debate in development economics. Their proposal, now known as the Ranis-Fei Model, analyzes the movement of population from substantive self-employed agriculture to a modern urban, industrial economy.

He was born in Germany but, as a Jew, left in 1941 with his mother and younger brother for Cuba and then the United States. He was valedictorian of the first graduating class of Brandeis University and earned both a master's degree and doctorate in economics from Yale.

He went to work for the Foundation in 1956 as the assistant representative in Pakistan, where he helped create the Pakistan Institute of Development Economics in Karachi. Three years later he left Ford to become joint director of the institute, which still exists, notes Hertz, as a "world-class research and educational institution in an otherwise deeply troubled country."

He joined the Yale faculty in 1960 as an assistant professor of economics and became the Frank Altschul Professor of International Economics in 1982, a position he held until he retired in 2005. At Yale he also served as

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DEVELOPING BLACK LEADERSHIP

FELLOWSHIPS ARE PROVIDED FOR EMERGING SOCIAL SCIENTISTS

by David Smock

In 1968, **Wayne Fredericks** was the director of the Middle East and Africa program (MEA) and I was program officer for Eastern and Southern Africa. Before working for the Foundation and the State Department, Wayne had worked in South Africa as an engineer for the Kellogg Corporation, so he had a deep interest in South Africa and wanted the Foundation to be involved there.

As an initial toe in the water we funded two unexciting projects. One was the South African Institute of Race Relations (SAIRR), where Foundation funds paid for much of its research program. SAIRR was a liberal white organization that documented the state of race relations in South Africa.

The other project was the United States-South Africa Leader Exchange Program (USSALEP), which funded trips to the U.S. by leading white South Africans and trips by American leaders to South Africa. The underlying purpose was to influence white South African leaders to be more liberal and more critical of apartheid. It had some positive influence on the margins, but there also were instances in which the conservative South African participants influenced white Americans to be more sympathetic to South Africa and its policies.

In 1974 I was back in the New York office as deputy head of the Middle East and Africa program and as adviser on the social sciences. **Robert Edwards**, who was the new head of MEA, and I decided we needed to be more creative in South Africa and engage with the black community. We thought we could fund social science research relating to apartheid undertaken by black scholars at South African universities, mostly black institutions. We decided to send an American social scientist to South Africa to map out a project.

We chose Richard Sklar from the Uni-



Poet James Matthews with Alexander Sinton High School students protesting outside their school in Athlone, Cape Town, during the nationwide school boycott, 1985. Photo by Rashid Lombard.

versity of California at Los Angeles, but he was unable to obtain a visa to South Africa because of critical comments he had made to the press about the country. Bob and I decided then that I should go and undertake the explorations.

I spent about three weeks visiting all the black universities and exploring what a social science research project might look like. I soon discovered that there were only a handful of black social scientists and none had the time to engage in research. Time and again I heard pleas that what was needed was a faculty development project for black staff at black universities.

So we abandoned the idea of a research project and developed a staff development project in the social sciences for black universities. We contracted with the Institute of

International Education (IIE) to manage what was a relatively small effort, but it had a positive impact.

Then, in 1980, IIE decided it wanted to significantly expand the fellowship program for black South Africans. At the time I was Ford's representative for East and Southern Africa, based in Nairobi, and IIE hired me to launch the expansion. We recruited Derek Bok, president of Harvard University, to lead the American council for the project and Archbishop Desmond Tutu to head the South African council. The American side of the project was called the South African Educa-

tion Program and the South African side was called the Educational Opportunities Council.

Ford provided seed money to get the project started. On-going funding was provided by United States corporations, foundations, and colleges and universities. We sent students only to participating colleges and universities that provided scholarships. After the project was well established, expanded funding was provided by the U.S. government. Over a ten-year period the program provided scholarships to hundreds of black South Africans who earned degrees, both bachelors' and masters', at American institutions.

Virtually all those trained returned to South Africa to assume positions that were beginning to open up to blacks. They constituted a significant component of the emerging black leadership cadre. ■

VISIONS OF JOHANNA

INSIDE THE MUSEUMS, APARTHEID GOES ON TRIAL

by Gerry Salole

Johannesburg, South Africa, is a city redolent with symbols that attest to the increasing maturity of the South African body politic. Elaborate murals, street art, graffiti, music and theater, newspaper headlines, billboards, political talk shows, election posters, advertisements and lively public spaces abound and dominate this city.

The profusion and rich diversity of these messages are poignant reminders of the demise of apartheid and the uncanny ability of South Africans to grapple directly and unambiguously with race, oppression, gender and class differences. In particular, the previously dilapidated inner city is slowly but palpably being revitalized into a huge living museum that encapsulates some of the reconciliation, forgiveness and remembrance that characterize what some call the post-apartheid miracle.

This has been, so far, a year full of promise and political symbolism for us living in South Africa. Autumn brought the excitement of the tenth anniversary of the end of the apartheid state and the beginning of democracy. In April, the nation observed its third democratic elections, which were won predictably and decisively by the African National Congress. In May, almost as a reward for ten years of democracy, we were awarded the Soccer World Cup for 2010. (The excitement was tinged with sadness, however, when ex-president Nelson Mandela, who played a crucial role in securing the World Cup bid, announced his “retirement from retirement” and asked for some respite from the grueling schedule he has maintained since leaving prison on February 11, 1990.)

Nevertheless, we will be celebrating the ten-year milestone and the soccer bonanza all year. Almost every institution in the country is finding an excuse to commemorate, celebrate, advertise and punctuate the decade-long demise of apartheid and the advent of democracy.

The seemingly effortless embrace of both the ugly past and optimistic future is part of the panache with which South Africans have



Constitution Hill's Number Four isolation cells, now a museum.

This article, with its bow to Bob Dylan in its title, appeared originally in the Ford Foundation magazine in July 2004 under the title “Letter from Johannesburg: A Lesson in Remembrance and Forgiveness”. The title here reflects the fact that “Johanna” is what many South Africans, especially Sowetans, affectionately call Johannesburg, the country’s largest city.

*The article was written when **Gerry Salole** was the Foundation’s representative in South Africa. He now is chief executive of the European Foundation Centre in Brussels.*

The seemingly effortless embrace of both the ugly past and optimistic future is part of the panache with which South Africans have taught the world a valuable lesson about remembrance and forgiveness.

taught the world a valuable lesson about remembrance and forgiveness. This is not mere juxtaposition of one against the other but rather a veritable intermingling of his-

tory and future. Nowhere is this more pronounced than in the city’s newest public space—the Constitution Hill Precinct. It is a 27-acre site containing four former prisons dating from the turn of the nineteenth century: the Old Fort, which held only white prisoners, with the notable exception of Nelson Mandela; the Women’s Jail; the Awaiting Trial Block, which was mostly demolished to make way for the Court; and the notorious and dreaded “Number Four”, which housed political activists, common petty criminals,

people caught without a passbook, brewers of illegal beer, homosexuals, prostitutes and “terrorists.”

One of the most bitterly ironic aspects of the Constitutional Hill site is the rehabilitation of the apartments that overlook “Number Four”. From the balcony of these flats, the residents had a look straight into the *ekhulukuthu* (deep hole) isolation cells, the open-air filthy latrines and the ugly and unspeakable things that were done to the inmates.

The three surviving prisons now are museums and they sit beside the splendid new quarters for South Africa’s Constitutional Court. The seventy-five million dollar million Constitution Hill development is an integral part of the inner-city renewal process. When it is completed, it will comprise museums, exhibition spaces, restaurants, cafes, offices, hotel and shopping district. The precinct is a powerful symbolic testimony to South Africa’s current remarkable collective state of mind. The juxtaposition of these squalid prisons, the promise of the Constitutional Court and the revival of the inner city all fill me with tremendous confidence and optimism that this country seems to be getting some very important things right

and that there will be more to follow.

Yet despite these impressive successes, at a deeper, more structural level there are serious problems that threaten to undermine South Africa's hard-won gains. For one thing, unemployment is still high and the chasm between rich and poor shockingly wide. More than 500,000 jobs have been lost since 1994 and the unemployment rate stands at 41.8 percent. South Africa's housing and sanitation backlogs are estimated at three million households, while four million households still live without access to electricity and 12 million people do not have access to clean drinking water.

Perhaps most worrisome is the incidence of H.I.V.-AIDS, which is the highest in the world. This year alone, an estimated 375,670 South Africans are expected to die from H.I.V.-AIDS. The country has been deeply traumatized by the onslaught of this epidemic, which is exacerbated by the failure of the government and economy to meet basic life needs.

But despite these serious problems, South Africa is making real progress in solving them. Its constitution is renowned the world over as one of the most progressive. It is a country full of hope as a new and vibrant democracy opens the space for engagement around policy and legislative frameworks that



A LOGICAL CHOICE

JOHN GERHART, pictured here with Nelson Mandela after the South African president's release from prison, was named the Foundation's first representative in that country in 1993, a logical choice based on his long association with the region. He had traveled there during a year off from Harvard University as an undergraduate and returned several times while doing academic research. Previously he had been Ford's representative for the Middle East at its office in Cairo.

As the South African program was structured, he made grants throughout southern Africa in human rights, land reform, maternal and child health, university development and economic planning. Individual grants were made to several authors who were writing books on South African history.

He left Ford in 1998 to become president of the American University in Cairo.

will make a palpable difference to the lives of the poor and marginalized. As just one example of the progress made over the last ten years, government efforts have resulted in the provision of access to clean water to more

than seven million people and the construction of 1.4 million housing units.

It is an impressive and promising beginning. ■

CONTRIBUTORS OF SOUTH AFRICA ARTICLES

Sheila Avrin McLean, a graduate of the Yale Law School, has alternated during her career between advising nonprofit organizations and the business sector and managing institutions and programs. She has published two books on international philanthropy and many articles on the nonprofit sector. She has also served on numerous boards of directors.

Sheila became involved in the Ford Foundation's concerns for human rights and education in South Africa in 1976 when she was the Foundation's associate general counsel, essentially acting as the program officer in that country.

She left Ford in 1979 to become general counsel of IDCA, the parent organization of USAID, where she continued her involvement with South Africa. She later formed a consulting firm on projects related to developing countries, with clients that included the Rockefeller and Aga Khan foundations.

In 1986 she was recruited by the Institute of International Relations to develop and run a Foundation-supported program that became the largest university-based scholarship program outside South Africa to train South African Blacks for leadership roles in a post-apartheid country. She continues her connections with that country by serving

on the board of SALS, a U.S.-based support organization for the Legal Resources Centre, the leading South African public interest law firm and a Foundation grantee.

David Smock is the vice president for Governance, Law and Society of the United States Institute of Peace in Washington, D.C., and director of its Religion and Peacemaking Center. He has worked on African issues for more than 30 years and lived in Africa for 11 years. As a Foundation staff member from 1964 to 1980, he served in Ghana, Kenya, Lebanon, Nigeria and the New York headquarters.

From 1980 to 1986 Smock served concurrently as director of the South African Education program, a scholarship program that brings Black South African students to United States universities, and as vice president for program development and research for the Institute of International Education.

After serving as executive associate to the president of the United Church of Christ from 1986 to 1989, he became executive director of International Voluntary Services, supervising development projects in Africa, Asia and Latin America.

He has a master's of divinity degree from the New York Theological Seminary and a

doctorate in anthropology from Cornell University.

Gerry Salole is chief executive of the European Foundation Centre in Brussels. He has a master's degree in economics and a doctorate in anthropology from the University of Manchester.

He was the Foundation's representative in South Africa from 1999 to 2005 and has more than 35 years experience working for foundations and nonprofit governmental organizations, including as a program officer in his native Ethiopia for Oxfam; as regional director and field office director for Save the Children in Ethiopia, Zimbabwe and Southern Africa; and as a director and program officer for the Bernard van Leer Foundation. He was a founding trustee of the Alliance Publishing Trust and founding chair of TrustAfrica.

Currently he is a member of the Strategic Advisory Committee of the European Venture Philanthropy Association, a member of the jury for the Prix Roi Baudouin awarded in the field of African development, chair of the board of trustees for the Global Fund for Community Foundations, and member of the General Education Advisory Board of the Open Society Foundation. ■

CLEANING UP AFTER “BRIDGEGATE”

Sanford M. Jaffe, program officer in charge of the Government and Law program at the Foundation from 1968 to 1981, has been directing his attention recently to matters concerning the Port of New York and New Jersey following the scandal known as “Bridgegate”. Together with his colleague, **Linda Stamato**, his co-director at Rutgers University’s Center for Negotiation and Conflict Resolution and a former consultant to Ford, he wrote two opinion pieces for the news website NJ.com. This article was written for the newsletter by Stamato.

In the first opinion piece, “After Bridge Scandal, Port Authority Needs Cleaning Up”, we note that the Port Authority “was designed to substitute for the warring, politically driven interests of state fiefdoms that frequently get in the way of sound, regional decisions... Instead, it has often fallen short in the implementation... not due to a lack of talented and dedicated professionals but to the politicization of the agency.

“Given the absence of transparency, it does appear to be operating outside of democratic checks and balances and to be conforming to the norms and values of political culture – its decision-making caught up in the politics of the states...”

We recommend that the governors and legislative leaders of both states appoint a

blue-ribbon group of respected citizens from both states to lay out an agenda for reform that needs to include the following propositions:

conduct business in an open and transparent fashion, minimize political abuse and undertake the essential changes in structure, functions and appointments so that the agency can work efficiently and effectively.

“In the end,” we write, “it’s clear there is no substitute for people of ability and integrity who are willing to devote their time and energy to the professional work of the Port Authority and are committed to its effective functioning.

“Governors have an obligation to see that allegiance to them is not the sole or even the primary condition for their appointment. Authorities, after all, are set up to serve the public interest.”

(The full article can be found at: nj.com; key words: after bridge scandal cleaning)

The second column, “The Port Authority of New York and New Jersey Must Learn to Work as One for the Good of the Region”, focuses on the broader issue of regional economic development and the Port Authority as a driver of that development.

“A reformed Port Authority,” we write, “is essential to a regional economy, one that seeks to be globally competitive. But both states need to work together to remove the barriers that prevent co-operation. This includes re-thinking incentives the states currently offer, such as costly and ill-considered business subsidies and tax abatements to attract (and retain) tax ratables and jobs. These programs drive up costs and reduce revenues and, by most accounts, don’t do what they seek to do.”

We also stress that the Port Authority is “in a unique position to approach the region as a whole and to promote collaboration between the states. A strategic regional perspective that includes investment in public services and transportation infrastructure and boosts innovation through creative investments is essential for the region’s economic growth and development, and, indeed, its quality of life....

“In short, the Port Authority needs to return to its original mission. And the states need to create and reinforce regional strategies, recognizing that the region rises or falls as a single entity. To ensure a better future, then, the bi-state region needs to see more, not less, co-operation. And one reformed and robust bi-state Port Authority must be at the center of that reality.” ■

(This second article is at: nj.com; key words: opinion port authority of new york)

THE PRESIDENT’S MESSAGE

THIS ISSUE OF THE NEWSLETTER with its splendid coverage of the Foundation’s 60-year engagement with South Africa brings a deluge of memories of my time at Ford. I recall with pride multiple trips to South Africa with **Bill Carmichael** and **Richard Horowitz**, and the extraordinary gift of knowing and being able to help the lawyers and activists there in their struggle against the apartheid regime. I was able to share in a more personal way the successful end of that regime when my wife, Leona, served as Director of Communications for the United Nations Observer Mission for the first free elections in 1994.

Capturing and recording these memories is important for many reasons, both personal and institutional, and for the lessons they provide as we confront contemporary problems that, though not necessarily similar, might benefit from past experiences.

We discussed this at some length at a recent LAFF Executive Committee meeting during which **Michael Seltzer**, program chair of our New York chapter, suggested a synchronized approach to recovering our singular and collective Foundation experiences. This was within a broader discussion of how we can best provide our mem-

bership the benefits they seek when joining LAFF.

For most of us, LAFF represents continuity with a very meaningful period in our lives and careers and promotes, as our logo suggests, “social and professional contacts among former colleagues.” The question before us was how to give substance and depth to the face-to-face periodic contacts we have at LAFF meetings in ways that can contribute to our personal and institutional learning. The suggestion, now being put to our chapter heads, is to hold a series of near simultaneous chapter meetings focused on our individual and collective memories.

I recall LAFF’s first meeting in the Foundation’s auditorium when I assumed the presidency a few years ago. The meeting got off to a late start while we waited for **Luis Ubiñas**, who was caught somewhere in traffic. Someone proposed using the time to introduce ourselves and, nearly two hundred strong, we sat in an odd state of reverence as our colleagues told us who they were, what they did at the Foundation and what they were doing then. It was, in the words of the next generation, “awesome”.

The idea now is to replicate that experience in formats to be decided by each chapter head and the members,

and then revisit the possibility of building an archive of sorts of our memories. As we face the inevitable and sad loss of members, preserving memories of our times at the Foundation becomes increasingly important for us and for the Foundation itself. The challenge is to figure out the best way to do it.

And, on the subject of loss, we take note of the passing of colleagues **Tom Kessinger**, **Gus Ranis** and **Henry Dart**, and of a deeply regarded adjunct, **Deborah Geithner**, who like so many of our spouses and significant others accompanied us and enriched our experiences on the wonderful journey we took with the Foundation.

My cup runs over with memories of those journeys: to South Africa, Zimbabwe, Mozambique and Senegal; to South America (re-awakened this week upon reading about the uniting after 36 years of the president of the Grandmothers of the Praça de Maio with her grandson through a DNA database that I believe the Foundation helped establish); to Russia and Central Europe; and to China, Thailand and Indonesia, the latter with Tom Kessinger.

So many memories, so much to capture and record.

Shep Forman

LAFFing Parade

Lisa Mensah has been nominated by President Barack Obama to be Undersecretary of Agriculture for Rural Development, where she will oversee the department's multi-billion dollar loan, grant and technical assistance programs that support community economic development and financing.

Mensah has been executive director of the Aspen Institute Initiative on Financial Security, leading a team of financial security experts studying financial products and public policy solutions that "help build wealth from birth to retirement for America's working families."

Under her leadership, said Elliot Gerson, Aspen's executive vice president, the Initiative "shed new light on the financial policies and products that will help more Americans save, invest and own" through "sensible policies that have bipartisan support, industry input and match consumer needs."

Before moving to the Aspen Institute she worked at the Foundation for 13 years, until 2002, in a variety of positions that promoted the use of financial tools to improve the economic security of the working poor. As Deputy Director of Economic Development she led initiatives in microfinance and women's economic development. She also was instrumental in the creation of Individual Development Accounts (IDA), an innovative savings account that uses matching incentives and personal financial training to finance homeownership, entrepreneurship and education.

IDAs grew quickly from an experiment at a handful of sites to become a tool used by hundreds of community organizations in all 50 states.

Robert Curvin's new book, a review of the tribulations of Newark, N.J., has been praised as a "probing, highly personal and painfully fair appraisal of Newark's past six decades...."

In his review for *The Newark Star-Ledger* of *Inside Newark*, Jonathan E. Lazarus writes that "Curvin's associations with key figures, extensive interviews and institutional memory mesh forcefully and lend amplitude to the narrative. Anyone who resides in or near the city, or once did, or feels like a stakeholder in the great urban outcome should dwell deeply on his journey."

The book's subtitle, "Decline, Rebellion and the Search for Transformation," aptly describes its narrative flow and the author's assessment of the city's own journey in recent decades.

"Curvin manages," writes Lazarus, "to exploit his perspectives as both an observer and a participant to gauge the feelings of hope and despair that have marked the Brick City's upheavals from a manufacturing center of immigrants to an out-migration destination for

southern blacks to decades of postwar decline to July 12, 1967, when all things imploded."

That date was the start of five days of rioting that left 26 people dead, caused damages in the millions and left the city as a symbol of racial enmity. Curvin, a co-founder of the local Congress of Racial Equality, was called to police headquarters by anxious officials on the first night in the hope that his influence would calm the rioters.

He writes with "palpable enthusiasm", the reviewer states, "Yet the persistent disconnect between officials and residents troubles him greatly, as does Newark politics practiced as a blood sport devoid of 'vision.'"

Curvin, a visiting scholar at Rutgers University's Edward J. Blaustein School of Planning and Public Policy, was director of the Foundation's Urban Poverty Program from 1988 to 1996 and its vice president for communications from 1996 to 2000.

His book is published by Rutgers University Press.

Three national non-profit organizations have reached into the ranks of the Foundation to hire new leaders.

George W. McCarthy, an economist at the Foundation since 2000, has been named the fifth president of the Lincoln Institute of Land Policy, a think tank and research center in Cambridge, Mass., that promotes sound land use policy throughout the world.

"This is a pivotal and important time for cities around the world," McCarthy said at the time of his appointment. "The Lincoln Institute plays a unique and extremely important role in identifying the central importance of land policies across a range of social and economic challenges.

"The story of opportunity is told in how we organize ourselves spatially. Without an effective response, we will double the one billion people living in unplanned settlements around the world's cities in the next thirty years. Land use decisions made today will dictate the life chances of generations to come."

McCarthy went to work at the Foundation in 2000 as administrator of a program that focused on using homeownership to build wealth for low-income families and their communities. In 2008 he became director of Metropolitan Opportunity, a Foundation initiative that sought to improve access to jobs and other opportunities to alleviate poverty and reduce its concentration within metropolitan areas.

Before working at Ford, McCarthy was an economics professor and research associate at several institutions, including the University of North Carolina at Chapel Hill, Bard College, King's College of Cambridge University,

the University of Naples and the Centre for Independent Social Research in St. Petersburg, Russia.

Marta L. Tellado, the Foundation's vice president for global communications, has been chosen as the new chief executive of Consumer Reports.

"We do need to move increasingly into the digital space," said a spokesperson for the company, "and Marta has the skills to help us do that."

Tellado said she will focus the company's work on "rebuilding a movement for consumers and reintroducing the power of consumers to generations that aren't familiar with it."

Consumer Reports, a nonprofit organization that does not accept advertising for its print edition, earned \$259 million in 2013, up from \$249 million three years earlier. It has eight million subscribers to its primary magazine, website and other publications.

Tellado, who began her career working for Ralph Nader, will take over at the company in the fall.

Surina Khan, director of the Democracy, Rights and Justice Program at the Foundation, returns to the Women's Foundation of California, which works to increase the economic security of low-income women and families. She becomes its chief executive officer in September.

Kahn has worked for 20 years in philanthropy, women's rights and lesbian, gay, bisexual and transgender (LGBT) rights. She had spent six years at the Women's Foundation before joining Ford in 2011 as a program officer specifically to begin its first LGBT Rights Initiative. Then, as Director of Gender Rights and Equality, she oversaw the work of the Foundation globally in women's rights, LGBT rights and HIV/AIDS. Most recently she was Interim Director of Democratic Participation and Governance, overseeing efforts to promote electoral reform, strengthen civic participation and promote accountable government.

The Women's Foundation has offices in San Francisco and Los Angeles and assets of \$10 million. Since its founding 35 years ago it has been a pioneer in the use of strategic investments, women's leadership development and public policy programs that deal with such issues as domestic violence, reproductive rights and the impact of budget cuts on safety net programs.

Dr. Natalia Kanem, who as the founding president of ELMA Philanthropies spearheaded its efforts in providing services that promote health and education for African children, has been named representative of the United Nations Population Fund in Tanzania.

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The LAFF Society
c/o Nellie Toma
PO Box 701107
East Elmhurst, NY 11370

LAFfing Parade

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Dr. Kanem started with the Ford Foundation in 1992 as a program officer in Nigeria and later became its representative there. She moved to the New York headquarters office in 1996 as director of the Office of Management Services and in 2001 was named Deputy Vice President for the Peace and Social Justice Program, overseeing global grantmaking in human rights and international cooperation.

She is a pediatrician trained in epidemiology and preventive medicine with expertise in women's reproductive health and the social consequences of HIV/AIDS and infertility. She is a magna cum laude graduate of Harvard University, earned her medical degree at Columbia University and has a master's degree in public health from the University of Washington.

Prior to joining Ford she co-directed the Harlem Center for Health Promotion and Disease Prevention and held a joint appointment in pediatrics and epidemiology at Columbia's College of Physicians and Surgeons and School of Public Health. ■

In Memoriam

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director of the Center for International and Area Studies and of the Economic Growth Center, encouraging and coordinating teaching and research in international affairs, societies and cultures around the world. The center, now the Whitney and Betty MacMillan Center for International Area Studies, presents the annual Gustav Ranis International Book Prize for the best book on an international topic by a Yale faculty member.

Over the years he served in several other capacities, most notably as personal economic adviser to the president of Ghana and as a consultant to, among many others, the United Nations, the World Bank, the Brookings Institution, the Pearson Commission, and the Rockefeller and Ford foundations. He was also a visiting professor or scholar at institutions in Japan, Colombia, Mexico and Germany.

Henry P. Dart, Jr., who worked at the Foundation for nearly 20 years in various accounting positions, died last November at the age of 90 in Bethel, Conn.

He started at the Foundation in 1968 as manager of securities in the accounting unit.

A decade later he became special projects coordinator in the comptroller's unit and, in 1982, an adviser for special projects. He retired in 1984.

After three years of service in Europe during World War II in the medical detachment of the 87th Infantry Division, he resumed his studies at Iona College in New Rochelle, N.Y., and earned a business degree as a member of the college's first graduating class.

When his first son was born with Downs Syndrome he began a lifelong involvement with programs that help people with mental health problems. At the start he worked with two organizations, the Connecticut Association for Retarded Children (CARC) and the National Association for Retarded Children (NARC).

During the 1950s he was treasurer and then president of CARC and was asked by the state to serve as an advisor to a mental retardation planning project that developed a guide used in several other states.

He also became budget chairman and, later, treasurer of the NARC.

Survivors include two children and three grandchildren. Two other children pre-deceased him. ■