LAFF

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

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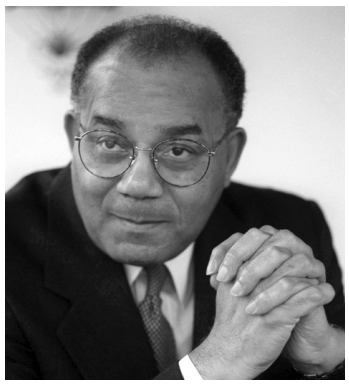
THE FORD FOUNDATION AND CIVIL RIGHTS

WHEN DARREN WALKER, president of the Ford Foundation, announced in June that changes in Ford's approach to giving are being designed to "confront the growth of inequality in our world", he envisioned "a social justice philanthropy for the 21st century" in which "our commitment to human rights and human dignity will be at the center" of all the Foundation's work.

This issue of the newsletter considers how some key people, past and present, were instrumental in positioning the Foundation in the 20th century as a world-wide leader in promoting civil and human rights and social justice, individuals who have been a major part of Darren Walker's assessment that "the history of the Foundation reflects the history of social progress over the last six decades."

We begin with the stories of four champions of individual rights and dignity who, in the course of just two months, passed away last fall: **Lynn Walker Huntley, Robert Curvin, Sara Rios** and **Jacqueline Berrien,** pictured above from left to right**.**

Tributes to the work and legacy, in particular, of Lynn Walker Huntley, have been written for the newsletter by two former colleagues, **Mora McLean** and **Emmett Carson.**

And we include articles by the leaders of two organizations that have been recipients of Foundation grants, **Anthony Romero,** executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU), himself a former Foundation staff member who worked with Lynn Walker Huntley, and Antonia Hernandez, who has long worked for Latina civil and voting rights, primarily with the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF).

The picture presented here is but one part of what Darren Walker described as a "quest begun eight decades ago".

LYNN WALKER HUNTLEY: MAJOR FORCE FOR RIGHTS, EQUITY AND JUSTICE

Lynn Walker Huntley, who worked tirelessly throughout her life to promote the causes of civil and human rights and social justice, died August 30 at her home in Atlanta, Ga. She was 69. The cause was cervical cancer.

Ms. Huntley joined the Ford Foundation in 1982 as a program officer for civil rights, ultimately becoming director of the Rights and Social Justice program. Among her achievements there, she helped initiate the prize-winning documentary "Eyes on the Prize", a history of the civil rights movement.

Her commitment to civil rights began early, nurtured by the example of her father, the Rev. Lawrence N. Jones, who was active in the movement in the 1960s when he was associated with Fisk University and, later, dean of the divinity school at Howard University in Washington, D.C.

After graduating with honors from Barnard College with a degree in sociology she enrolled in law school at Columbia University, where she was the first African American woman editor of the Columbia Law Review and from which she also graduated with honors.

Her career in law and social justice began immediately when she became a law clerk for Constance Baker Motley, the first female black federal judge who, as an attorney with the Legal Defense Fund (LDF) of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP), had worked on the landmark Brown v. Board of Education school desegregation case.

Ms. Huntley, too, then went to work for the LDF, in 1971, as a staff attorney, handling cases on prison reform, the death penalty, desegregation and job discrimination. Most notably, she helped write the brief in the case of a Georgia prisoner that led to the Supreme Court's decision in 1972 that the death penalty was "cruel and unusual punishment", ordering an end to all executions. Four years later, though, after many states rewrote their capital punishment laws, the court upheld executions, nullifying the earlier decision.

She took two years away from her work at LDF in 1973 to be general counsel to the New York City Commission on Human Rights, and left in 1980 to go to work for the United States Justice Department, becoming the first black woman to head its Special Litigation Section in the Civil Rights Division. She was promoted to deputy assistant attorney general, overseeing litigation designed to combat discrimination in employment, housing and federal programs.

At Ford, "her tenure was distinguished by creativity, vision, idealism and good humor—all in the pursuit of justice," recalled **Anthony D. Romero,** who she hired to work in the Rights and Social Justice Program and now is executive director of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU).

"She was a woman with a towering intellect, which she assiduously deployed to make the world a better place," he wrote. "The groundbreaking programs she started at Ford continue to make a difference in civil and human rights to this day….With a keen ability to discern talent among yet untested professionals, she brought to Ford a cohort of professionals who would amplify her vision and give it greater impact….

"Those of us who answered the call to work for Lynn knew the standards would be high and the expectations great. We were brought on to serve a cause, to make a difference, to throw open the doors of opportunity—to use Ford's resources to benefit the 'least among us'.

"She led us with clarity, resilience, doggedness, intelligence and elegance. She irrigated and fertilized our souls and spirits with unflinching support, love and the best of humor."

(Anthony Romero's full tribute is posted on the Ford Foundation website.)

She left Ford in 1995 to work with the Southern Education Foundation in Atlanta, a public charity devoted to advancing equity and excellence in education for low-income students, particularly African Americans and Latinos. She became its president in 2002 and retired in 2010. While there she conceived and directed a multi-year comparative study of race and inequality in Brazil, South Africa and the United States. She edited the final report and handed it personally to President Nelson Mandela of South Africa.

In a statement from the Legal Defense Fund, its president and director-counsel, Sherrilyn Ifill, said, "Women like Ms. Walker Huntley inspired generations of women lawyers and philanthropists who came after her. She dedicated her life to service of the vulnerable and forged a path to secure civil rights and greater opportunity for communities of color from the United States to South Africa and Brazil."

A long-time colleague and friend, Elaine Jones, a former director of the Legal Defense Fund, said that Ms. Huntley was not only a "superb lawyer" but she "was humble, and she cared about people no matter their status. What motivated her was human rights and social justice."

Ms. Huntley was a member of the board of several organizations, including the Jessie Ball duPont Fund, whose president, Sherry Magill, noted her "enormous sense of justice and deep concern for those less fortunate. I think that was why she found philanthropy so satisfying. She felt that in some way she was helping to rebalance the scales. She always said that in practicing philanthropy, 'first and foremost, have humility'."

One of the enduring memories of Ms. Huntley is her sense of humor and broad, frequent laugh. **Bradford Smith,** president of The Foundation Center, who worked at Ford during Ms. Huntley's tenure, said, "Lynn was one of those absolutely unique and inspirational leaders who understood that a life dedicated to fighting deeply entrenched injustice needs to be leavened with the ability to laugh out loud."

Her own words form an appropriate backdrop for the many assessments of her motivations and achievements. "We must continue to struggle against racism, sexism and other forms of oppression, not only because it is the right thing to do, although it is," she said. "We must continue to struggle because to give in and give up is to ensure that all is lost and to betray what we stand for."

Ms. Huntley is survived by her husband, Walter Huntley; a stepdaughter, Tyeise Huntley Jones, and a brother, Rodney Jones. ■

ROBERT CURVIN: A LIFE COMMITTED TO HOPE

Robert Curvin, who died at his home in Newark, N.J., on September 28, lived a life committed, as he once wrote, to the "notion that you have to have hope or you run away".

Dr. Curvin, who had headed the Foundation's Urban Poverty Program in the 1990s, lived in Newark most of his life, and the tributes at his death reflected the many roles he played, locally and nationally, as a civil rights leader and advocate for the poor.

"He knew everybody," said Sharpe James, a former mayor of Newark. "Everybody knew him. He was a walking encyclopedia about where Newark's been, where we are today and where we are going."

That journey, of the city and the man intimately connected with its personal and public history for the past six decades, led him into careers in academia and policy-making on a national scale but always kept his vision focussed on the needs of Newark.

"He's a legend as it relates to civil rights here in Newark," said Ronald Rice, a Democratic state senator from Essex County. "Those of us from back in those days, we haven't really forgotten where we come from and how much had to be done. He was one of those people, up until his demise, that recognized there's still a lot to be done."

Hugh B. Price, a former president of the National Urban League, told The New York Times that Dr. Curvin "never lost faith in the people and potential of his city—and by extension all industrial-age cities that have wrestled with the profound economic and demographic challenges of the post-World War II era. His scholarship, positions of influence and sheer optimism helped fuel the revitalization of struggling communities across the country."

Dr. Curvin's interest in civil and human rights developed early, and he joined a youth chapter of the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People (NAACP) when he was 17. His intimate understanding of the issues came early too, when he enlisted in the United States Army and served as a paratrooper with the 101st Airborne Division, the only black in his platoon at officer candidate school in Oklahoma. After five years in the service, he left as a first lieutenant.

After he graduated from the Newark branch of Rutgers University in 1960 he decided to leave the NAACP and helped found the Newark-Essex County chapter of the Congress of Racial Equality (CORE), a racially integrated national organization that agitates against police brutality and discrimination in hiring. He served for a time as the head of its Newark chapter and as a national vice chair.

He had received an undergraduate degree in biology but went to work as a welfare caseworker after college, subsequently earning a master's degree in social work and a doctorate from Princeton University.

A signature moment in his life and career came on the night of July 12, 1967, during a time of racial upheaval throughout the country, when he took to the streets of Newark to try to quell the violence on the first night of five days and nights of urban unrest.

He was one of several local leaders invited into a police precinct to verify that an injured cabdriver, whose rumored death at the hands of the police was circulating through the city and inflaming passions, was alive.

"He displayed immense personal courage during the height of the riots," said Hugh Price, "by grasping a bullhorn, climbing atop a car and exhorting a restive crowd not to riot and instead stage a peaceful march on City Hall."

"Curvin pleaded for peace," noted The Star-Ledger of Newark in its obituary, "but it was not to be."

Dr. Curvin described the scene in an interview with National Public Radio in 2007: "There was a rain of stones, rocks, Molotov cocktails at the precinct. The flames started flickering down the side of the building, and the police came charging out with night sticks, shields, riot gear, charging the crowd."

Twenty-three died and more than 700 were injured during the five-day period of violence that Dr. Curvin always referred to as a rebellion, not a riot. "In a rebellion," he told The Star-Ledger in an interview in 2014, "there is at least the aim to try to affect government actions and policy. Using the word 'riot' suggests that all these people out there had no justifiable cause to behave in the way they did."

He had articulated this more comprehensive view of unrest earlier in a study he co-authored with Bruce Porter on street violence in New York City in 1977, titled "Blackout Looting". In it, he spoke of "a spiritual kind of hunger".

He wrote, "The welfare check or the unemployment allotment is important for survival, but just surviving is not enough in a society that is constantly beating into the minds of all its citizens that all kinds of goods and luxuries are necessary for a decent life."

Dr. Curvin began working for the Ford Foundation in 1970 as a consultant and was hired as director of its Urban Poverty Program in 1988. He was named the Foundation's vice president for communications in 1998 and retired two years later.

Among his many other activities through the years, he served as president of the Greentree Foundation, dean of the Milano School of Management and Urban Policy at the New School in New York City, chairman of the Fund for the City of New York, a member of the editorial board of The New York Times and senior policy fellow at the Edward J. Bloustein School of Planning and Public Policy at Rutgers University.

Survivors include his wife, the former Patricia Hall; his daughter, Nicole, and son, Frank; three grandchildren and a brother and four sisters. ■

JACQUELINE BERRIEN: FIGHTER FOR "A FAIR CHANCE"

Jacqueline Berrien, a civil rights lawyer who was a program officer in the Ford Foundation's Peace and Social Justice Program and later became chair of the Equal Employment Opportunities Commission (EEOC), died November 9. The cause of death was cancer.

Ms. Berrien, 53, became ill in August during the National Association for the Advancement of Colored People's Journey for Justice, an 850-mile march from Selma, Ala., to Washington, D.C., that was meant to "highlight vulnerable communities subject to regressive voting rights tactics."

"Her last act was doing what she loved: civil rights," said her husband, Peter M. Williams, executive vice president for programs at the NAACP.

"Jackie's leadership and passion for ensuring everyone gets a fair chance to succeed in the workplace has changed our country for the better," said President Barack Obama, who appointed her to the EEOC and where she served as chair from April 2010 through August 2014. "….she fought hard every day to make real our nation's promise of equal opportunity for all. She injected new life into the EEOC with new ideas and strategies that helped refocus the commission on its enduring mission—protecting the most fundamental rights of all Americans."

During her tenure at the EEOC the commission reduced its caseload of unresolved discrimination charges for the first time in a decade, thereby recovering millions of dollars in relief for victims of unlawful employment discrimination.

"The essence of the work of advancing and protecting civil rights in this country," she said, "is very much something where our ultimate success will manifest in decades…measured by how different life is for someone who is a child today."

The EEOC also issued rules against discrimination in employment and health-insurance enrollment on the basis of disability or genetic test results, and won a record $240 million jury verdict against a company accused of abusing workers with intellectual disabilities at its turkey processing plant in Iowa. The verdict, however, subsequently was reduced to $1.6 million because of a statutory cap on damages.

A friend, Melanie Eversley, said that "Jackie believed in helping the underdog. She always talked about how the real movers of the civil rights movement were unsung residents of small towns in the South who risked lives and jobs to march and defy the status quo."

She was born in Washington and graduated from Oberlin College with a bachelor's degree with high honors in government, and also completed a major in English. As a junior she received the college's Harry S. Truman Scholarship for her leadership potential and commitment to a career in public service.

Ms. Berrien then enrolled in the Harvard University Law School where she served as general editor of The Harvard Civil Rights-Civil Liberties Law Review.

After receiving her law degree in 1986 she went to work as a clerk for Judge U.W. Clemon, the first African American United States District Court Judge in Alabama.

She then went to work for the Lawyers' Committee for Civil Rights and then the Women's Rights Project of the American Civil Liberties Union (ACLU). In 1994 she became an assistant counsel to the NAACP Legal Defense Fund, focusing on voting rights and school desegregation litigation. She left to work at Ford and then returned to the fund as its associate director-counsel.

While at Ford, from 2001 to 2004, she administered more than $13 million in grants designed primarily to foster political participation by underrepresented groups.

"I am confident," Ms. Berrien said when she was approved as EEOC chairman, "that I am here because many people who lived before I was born were determined that I should have opportunities that they could only witness in dreams and articulate in prayers.

"I am motivated by the knowledge that the entire nation will benefit as we move closer to fulfilling the mission that guides the EEOC: to end unlawful discrimination in the nation's workplaces."

Soon after becoming EEOC's chair, in an interview with The Washington Post, she foresaw a long struggle. "The essence of the work of advancing and protecting civil rights in this country," she said, "is very much something where our ultimate success will manifest in decades…measured by how different life is for someone who is a child today." ■

SARA RIOS: "PASSION FOR THE UNDER-SERVED"

Sara Rios, a former director of the Foundation's Human Rights, Equality and Justice unit, died September 10 at her home in Toledo, Ohio, from complications of amyotrophic lateral sclerosis (ALS), known also as Lou Gehrig's disease. She was 62.

She became president of the Ruth Mott Foundation in Flint, Mich., after leaving the Foundation in 2012, but returned to Toledo the following year as the disease progressed.

Ms. Rios was described in an earlier posting on the website ZoomInfo as having a "great passion for the rights and opportunities of under-served people and a track record of working with disenfranchised communities. She is committed to inclusivity and grassroots work. She has traveled widely and worked across many cultures and ethnic groups, and she embraces the role of philanthropy as a vehicle for social change."

Ms. Rios was born in Toledo to migrant laborers and was the oldest of eight children. Her commitment to civil and human rights was manifest in her early years, and after she graduated from high school she went to work for the recently founded Farm Labor Organizing Committee, a union for migrant workers in the midwest and North Carolina. She became a member of its leadership council and vice president of the union for 10 years, advocating particularly for women to receive equitable representation.

She received her law degree from the University of Toledo College of Law and was admitted to the Ohio bar in 1986.

She worked as a civil rights litigator before becoming the legal director of the Latino-Justice PRLDEF (Puerto Rico Legal Defense and Education Fund). In a statement on her death, the fund said that "Few of us can exhibit the kind of courage Sarita displayed as she was nearing the end of a committed and memorable journey on this earth. It is a testament to her family and her warrior spirit."

She joined the Ford Foundation in 2002 as a program officer in the human rights unit and was named its acting deputy director in 2004. After a brief return to being a program officer she was named director of the unit in 2005, where she oversaw the work of 19 grantees in 11 countries.

Darren Walker, president of the Ford Foundation, said that "As a foundation family we cherish Sara's memory and are grateful for her passionate service to the ideals of justice and equality."

Ruth Mott is a community foundation whose mission is to "advocate, stimulate and support community vitality through grants." A statement from the foundation at the time of her appointment noted that Ms. Rios was hired because she "has the range of working both at the grassroots levels and the higher levels."

"She brought hope to people's struggles and she shed a light on those struggles," said her sister, Anita Rios, president of the Ohio National Organization for Women. Indicative of her range of commitment was her ability to make friends with people in the lowest-level positions, her sister added, such as custodians, security guards and landscaping crews. ■

TELL US YOUR STORIES

The newsletter is always in need of articles and pictures that provide an opportunity for members to share their reminiscences, wworking at the Foundation or since.

As this issue and previous ones illustrate, there is no limit to the range of stories—or the voices that tell them.

The special nature of LAFF is demonstrated through the lives of its members, who committed themselves to causes as diverse as the needs of the people they served and who continue to do so in myriad ways and places. They have lived through historical moments and formed lasting relationships of immense value and interest.

These stories of professional and personal encounters shape the newsletter.

So here's your chance to stay in touch. There's always room.

IT'S BEEN 25 YEARS: JOIN US

The LAFF Society will celebrate the 25th anniversary of its founding with a day-long event May 17 at the Foundation's headquarters in New York City.

A planning committee is considering proposals for how best to mark the day and is welcoming ideas. Suggestions so far include an open house for members to greet old friends and colleagues, an opportunity to participate in recordings for an oral history project, and interactive information sessions with current Foundation staff on topics yet to be determined. One suggestion is to tie in the experiences and insights of LAFF members with the Foundation's new emphasis on combatting inequality.

The planning committee members are **Michael Seltzer** (michaelseltzer@me.com), **Shep Forman** (prezlaff@gmail.com), **Nellie Toma** (treasurer@laffsociety.org), **Emmett Carson** (carson@siliconvalleycf.org), **Fiona Guthrie** (F.Guthrie@fordfoundation.org), **Alan Divack** (alan.divack@yahoo.com), **Lori Matia** (L.Matia@fordfoundation.org), **Akwasi Aidoo** (akwasi.aidoo@gmail.com), **John LaHoud** (jlahoud25@hotmail.com).

This will be the last chance to see the building before it closes for a two-year renovation project that will meet city building code requirements and, in a statement from the Foundation president, Darren Walker, is an opportunity to "remake our landmark space into an open, inviting, welcoming space….to align our 20th century building with our 21st century mission."

LESSONS LYNN TAUGHT ME

By Mora McLean

As she was with so many who were fortunate enough to be taken under her wing, Lynn Huntley was a singularly profound and positive influence in my life.

We met in 1985, when she interviewed me to work with what was then the Foundation's Human Rights and Social Justice Program (HRSJ). I was a relatively recent law school graduate, with experience mainly in the area of legislative policy-making. But in my heart of hearts I leaned toward history and the humanities, was greatly influenced by the writings and internationalist vision of W. E. B. DuBois, and was ambivalent about whether to practice law. She was an accomplished civil rights litigator with an already stellar track record that included clerking for Judge Constance Baker Motley, icon of the federal judiciary; representing clients on death row as a staff attorney with the NAACP Legal Defense and Education Fund, and serving as Section Chief within the U.S. Department of Justice Civil Rights Division. She quoted Howard Thurman, the renowned African American theologian, philosopher and educator, and had a picture of Malcolm X displayed prominently in her office.

I can almost see myself through Lynn's eyes: a somewhat shy and very introverted, but determined, young black woman, trying to figure out how to, as Joseph Campbell exhorted, find and follow her bliss—and be of service. The only thing I knew for sure was that I wanted to help overcome the long shadow of slavery by working to advance the collective psychological and material well-being of all people of African descent.

Developing the minority rights and opportunities component of HRSJ in those years was, at once, a demanding, exhilarating and revelatory experience. Lynn entrusted me with handling grants to strengthen the governance capacities of black elected and appointed officials confronted with unique challenges, and to support voting rights and major civil rights litigating organizations working on behalf of Black, Latino and Native Americans. This work was perhaps the most necessary, enriching and transformative part of my education, preparing me to assume positions of leadership and influence later on.

It's hard to believe that was 30 years ago, and harder still to come to grips with the loss of Lynn's physical presence. Exactly 10 years my senior, she was my sister-friend and guide, a steadfast source of sage advice and unflagging encouragement through good and bad times. I want to give tribute to her by sharing a few of the ways that she pushed me to be a wiser, more emboldened and even more committed humanist—a better version of my young idealistic self.

Compassion is key

It is fashionable these days to talk about "partnerships" between grant-makers and grant seekers, although in philanthropy, as in the world at large, money and disproportionate power and influence go hand in hand, notwithstanding good intentions.

Lynn, however, was the real deal. Whether we were going to the Mississippi Black Belt or a remote portion of the Navajo Nation, visiting a grantee organization with Lynn was like homecoming. People knew she was there to do due diligence—as the saying goes, she laughed but did not play—and they welcomed it. Indeed at times it seemed they couldn't wait to tell her about all their personnel, programmatic and even personal challenges, problems that typically bedevil organizations and endeavors run by human beings.

This was true of encounters within as well as outside the Foundation. Meetings with prominent civil rights litigators presenting complex legal strategies, the erudite filmmaker describing his plans for a multi-episode civil rights documentary, and unlettered grassroots community activists with no previous experience of writing proposals were all accorded the same attentive, probing and solicitous consideration—and they responded in kind.

I think Lynn earned this reception because she exemplified genuine compassion, the foundation of any meaningful commitment to social justice. Her interest in engaging ideas, strategies and the people who conceived them went beyond the theoretical. Despite wielding a multi-million dollar grant portfolio, she never fell into the trap of beneficent omniscience.

By the standard she set, we thought of ourselves not simply as "grant-makers" but, rather, as allies in the larger cause who happened to be in the privileged position of being able to support the work of the real heroes on the front lines.

Laughter is serious business

Thankfully, Lynn was no angel. Her capacity for hilarity was seemingly endless. Just recently **Kathy Lowery,** a former member of HRSJ's top-flight administrative team, wrote me this note reminiscing about our work in the 1980s: "I've been remembering how you, Lynn and **Bernie McDonald** [the late Director of what was then the Urban Poverty Program] would be together in the office howling with laughter! **Sarah [Taylor,** Lynn's indefatigable executive assistant] and I were outside the office laughing too."

Lynn was a raconteur extraordinaire. But she wasn't just playing around. In keeping with a longstanding Black American tradition, she detected and poked fun at the absurdities of racism, and injustices of all kinds, as an antidote to anger and outrage that could otherwise be debilitating.

Among the innumerable jokes I heard her tell, I can best recall those that convey a kind of folk wisdom about handling dilemmas that inevitably arise along the course of a protracted struggle.

Take for instance the one about the little dog who fails at his daily attempts to get to the park because he's being terrorized by the big neighborhood bully dog, intent on blocking his path. The bully tells the little dog he cannot proceed unless he eats the pile of you-know-what on the side of the road. Then, one day, one of the little dog's friends offers to escort him to the park. The little dog and his companion make their way jauntily down the road, but just as they get close to the park entrance they encounter the bully, this time accompanied by a pack of mean dogs, all barking and growling ferociously and baring their teeth. Whereupon the friendly escort looks toward the side of the road, turns to his little friend and says: "Well, it's only a little pile."

Your life is your message

Lynn and I developed an abiding sisterly love for each other, but our relationship was anything but consistently blissful and rosy. We had several long-running arguments about matters, big and small, important to both of us, for instance: what books are worth reading, what I should do after leaving the Foundation and whether American understandings of racial identity and racism are cross-cultural and transnational.

We shared a love of reading, but with respect to fiction our tastes were sharply divergent. Lynn liked mysteries and thrillers,

Continued on next page

and insisted I read novels by John Grisham and P. D. James. I reluctantly conceded that P. D. James served up a good read. She said she could kind of see why I liked Charles Dickens's *Bleak House,* but otherwise had no use for my favored 19th century novelists who, she maintained, wrote books in which "nothing happened".

As I approached the end of a five-year stint with HRSJ, she opined that I should leave the Foundation to become a civil rights lawyer. She was not thrilled when I accepted the Foundation's offer to head up the Nigeria office and relocate to Lagos.

To Lynn what mattered was not the position. She herself held many prominent posts over the course of a varied and rich professional career, not to mention a vast record of volunteer service on university, non-profit and community service organization governing boards. She was completely unpretentious. She was also supremely confident. And humble. She did not need the external affirmation of position. Her good works spoke for themselves.

So in questioning my decision to go overseas rather than join the civil rights bar in the U.S., she was essentially asking: How are you going to continue to be a warrior for justice?

I now have a sense that my international sojourn marked the beginning of a rapprochement, a meeting of the minds, on the direction of my professional life, as well as another topic that was the focus of our most heated debates: race.

The debate was partly a reflection of our different backgrounds. She started her schooling at U.S. Army bases in Germany where her father was stationed during World War II, and grew up mainly in the U.S., steeped in black southern heritage. I grew up in the Caribbean and studied the history of Pan-Africanism. Early on in our impassioned discussions, I argued that people in the African Diaspora could share common interests without sharing a common identity. Lynn pushed back hard, challenging my assumptions and reasoning. But all the while, she was listening.

Before I left for Nigeria, in a characteristically loving gesture, she gave me a book of essays by Chinua Achebe in which she wrote: "Dear Mora, my life has been immeasurably enriched by our friendship….I know that you will do well in your new endeavors. And although I will miss you, I will take satisfaction in knowing that you are living your life to its fullest and working hard on behalf of our brothers and sisters across the sea."

Re-reading these generous words, and reflecting on the Southern Education Foundation's Comparative Human Relations Initiative that she brilliantly conceived and launched in the mid-1990s, I see that, despite all her protesting, Lynn heard my argument. Moreover, she anticipated its practical implications in ways that I am only now beginning to fully appreciate as, having come full circle, I am re-focusing on the plight of disadvantaged people in the United States as well as in other parts of the world.

At every opportunity over the course of our three decade-long friendship, including this past June, during what turned out to be our next to last visit, Lynn held forth with this explanation for why she decided to hire me to work with her at the Foundation: She said that during our meeting over lunch, as she interrogated me with a barrage of questions, she noticed beads of perspiration on my upper lip. And this, according to her, was the deciding factor, a sign that I had the requisite stoicism and fortitude to combat the unrelenting forces of injustice. I could not make this up.

I so mourn and regret that Lynn is no longer here, alive and well, challenging us and making us laugh, in all her, to borrow **Shep Forman's** phrase, "stunning authenticity". But as someone all the better for having known her, and graced by her generosity, steadfast encouragement and friendship, I know that the best tribute to her is to gird my loins, keep the faith and continue to do the work. ■

THE PRESIDENT'S MESSAGE

We live in a world marked by inequality, the encompassing theme of the Foundation's new grant-making program. The issue has been with us for some time, decried on the left as systemic to capitalism and debunked on the right as mutable with the rising tide of growth. What is inescapable is the untenable face of inequality, notable primarily in dramatic increases in the wealth gap but also in the distribution of power and influence that continues to make inequality a disturbing fact of our societal structure.

What gets obscured in the political rhetoric that thankfully calls public attention to the damaging effects of inequality is its pervasiveness, for inequality is not solely a feature of a widening chasm between a very few very rich and the rest. It appears at every level of society between those who manage some access to power and those who are excluded from it.

I live in one of the most unequal societies in the world, in Rio de Janeiro, Brazil, where the gap in income and power is part of the visual of everyday life, between the hillside slums and the glittering seaside condominiums, between the state capital and less-well situated surrounding suburbs, between the struggling middle class and the ever-present homeless, between the privately insured and those dependent on dysfunctional public hospitals, between law-abiding citizens and drug cartels and roving bands of unemployed adolescents, and between everyone else and the alarming population of drug addicts.

So ubiquitous is the reality of inequality and the threats it poses to global stability that Foreign Affairs, the journal of the Council on Foreign Relations, has devoted its January/February 2016 cover and a broad-ranging set of articles to the subject. One features Brazil's famed income transfer program, the Bolsa Família, or Family Grant, which the author, Jonathan Tepperman, touts as a "surprising success". By providing small cash payments to impoverished households, Bolsa Família has seen more than 12 million families leave the poverty rolls since its formal inception in 2003.

But Bolsa Família is hardly the panacea that its Brazilian advocates and global emulators will have you believe. By not addressing the structural bases for inequality, Brazil's fledgling middle class remains highly vulnerable, already succumbing to the country's severe economic and political crisis, marked by rampant corruption, growing unemployment, rapid inflation, heavy consumer debt, and broken education and health institutions. If there is a ray of optimism on this bleak horizon, it is found not in government programs but in the myriad local experiments by thoughtful social entrepreneurs innovating for the good of their communities.

It is in this context that I welcome the Foundation's new thematic focus, described by Darren Walker as tackling the diverse drivers of inequality—"not just wealth disparities, but injustices in politics, culture and society that compound inequality and limit opportunity."

And I look forward eagerly to the May 17 celebration at the Foundation of the LAFF Society's 25th anniversary, noted elsewhere in this newsletter, at which time we will have an opportunity for former and current Foundation staff to get to know each other in a series of workshops on subjects that are of keen interest to us all. It will be great to see you all there! **Shep Forman**

PICKING UP THE TORCH

By Emmett D. Carson

Emmett D. Carson, Ph.D., is CEO and president of the Silicon Valley Community Foundation in California. This article is adapted from remarks he delivered at the Celebration of the Good Life of Lynn Walker Huntley Memorial Service in Washington, D.C. on October 16.

Lynn was recruited to the Ford Foundation to develop and pioneer a new approach to philanthropy that would empower disadvantaged groups by strengthening the capacity of their institutions to advance social change. Lynn cared deeply about the uplift of all poor and downtrodden people. She was proud to be African American and proud to be the daughter of Rev. Dr. Lawrence N. Jones, former Dean of the Howard University School of Divinity and one of the most preeminent theologians of his generation.

Lynn had a deep empathy for other people that enabled her to make an almost instant connection that made everyone feel immediately at ease, a most uncommon trait for someone working at a foundation. She was as equally at ease with the most pretentious people in the most grandiose settings as she was with everyday people in the most modest settings anywhere around the world, a quality she likely learned from her mother, Mary Ellen Cooley Jones.

It's easy to understand why Lynn saw joining the Ford Foundation as a unique opportunity to move from fighting for individual civil rights to championing human rights worldwide. Through Ford she would be able to address the systemic causes of poverty, oppression and racism. Lynn advanced from a program officer to become the director of the Rights and Social Justice Program.

As director she created strategies and led a team of program officers who supported legal services for the poor, protected and advanced civil and voting rights, examined the portrayal of minorities in the media, championed the rights of refugees and migrants and provided opportunities for Black youth leadership development. However, it was the Black church program on social justice and economic empowerment that occupied a special place in Lynn's heart. And it was through this work that Lynn met Jacqui Burton, a colleague at the Lilly Endowment, who would become her lifelong friend and sister in all but blood.

Lynn understood that to achieve her goals at Ford she would need to become something of a secret agent. Relying on her brilliance, eloquence, strategic acumen, charming smile and disarming humor, Lynn advanced the cause of social justice as only a lawyer's lawyer could. She was able to successfully fund groups that had never received funding before she arrived. During her tenure, Lynn was, without question, one of the most prominent people in philanthropy, directing hundreds of millions of dollars to nonprofit organizations across the country and around the world.

Among her accomplishments, Lynn led the effort within the Ford Foundation to help fund the two *Eyes on the Prize* documentary films. She was instrumental in getting other foundations to do likewise. In addition, she helped establish the National Commission on Educational Testing that examined how racial biases in standardized educational testing prevent students of color from gaining admission to the nation's colleges and universities.

But perhaps Lynn's most enduring legacy was her commitment to recruiting, training and mentoring people. There were many of us at Ford who benefited from Lynn's wisdom and tutelage, including: **Anthony Romero, Mary McClymont,** the **Rev. Robert Franklin, Mora McLean, Natalia Kanem** and **Marcia Smith.** Her influence was effective in a much broader sphere through her willingness to coach and mentor others throughout the field of philanthropy. Lynn was an active member of the Association of Black Foundation Executives, and in 2004 she received its highest honor, the James Joseph Award.

I know that Lynn was deeply thankful for the opportunity to work at Ford and was especially grateful to **Shepard Forman** for hiring her and supporting her efforts. Lynn continued her work in philanthropy after leaving Ford by serving as president of the Southern Education Foundation. She also was on the board of directors of CARE, the Jessie Ball duPont Fund and the Atlanta Community Foundation, among others.

As you all know, it was virtually impossible to get the last word or the last laugh on Lynn. She was too smart and her repertoire of jokes —from polite to downright raunchy—far too extensive. However, there was one time, actually the only time, when I got the last laugh.

Lynn and I were driving from Memphis to Greenville, Miss., for the Association of Black Foundation Executives' annual retreat. This was a decade before cell phones and car navigation systems and so, while I drove, Lynn was the designated navigator. Normally, this is a drive that should take about two and a half hours but three hours later, with the sun setting, we were hopelessly lost on an unnamed, unlit, back-country road surrounded by cotton fields. When we finally arrived at our destination, nearly five hours after we started, we were bombarded with questions about what had happened to us.

Before Lynn could speak, I responded that none of those present could possibly imagine what it was like to have to drive around with Ms. Daisy. The room erupted with laughter as Lynn turned bright red. *Driving Ms. Daisy* was a popular movie at the time in which a black chauffeur, played by Morgan Freeman, was driven crazy driving for a wealthy, eccentric, aristocratic and increasingly senile white woman, Jessica Tandy. Lynn was called Ms. Daisy throughout the rest of the meeting.

Lynn loved poetry and never passed up an opportunity to recite a poem from memory. Throughout our friendship, and to my chagrin, Lynn would often recite one poem in particular, "In Flanders Fields" by John McCrae. It reads:

In Flanders fields the poppies blow
Between the crosses, row on row
That mark our place; and in the sky
The larks, still bravely singing, fly
Scarce heard amid the guns below.
We are the Dead. Short days ago
We lived, felt dawn, saw sunset glow,
Loved and were loved, and now we lie
In Flanders fields.
Take up our quarrel with the foe:
To you, from failing hands we throw
The torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields.

Two weeks before Lynn's transition, I was able to spend a very special day at her bedside. We both knew that it would be our last time together. We talked about world events, the good times and what we meant to each other. When it came time for me to leave, I told her that she needn't worry, that I understood what she had been trying to tell me all those many years and that I would indeed pick up the torch. Lynn immediately smiled, looked me straight in the eye and while lifting her arm and making a fist she said in a strong and resolute voice:

"To you the torch; be yours to hold it high.
If ye break faith with us who die
We shall not sleep, though poppies grow
In Flanders fields" ■

CRIMINAL JUSTICE REFORM: TODAY'S DEFINING CIVIL RIGHTS ISSUE

By Anthony Romero
Executive Director of the American Civil Liberties Union and former program officer in Ford's Civil Rights and Social Justice unit.

In a recent email to the Ford Foundation community, its president, Darren Walker, recounted a visit with participants in the Bard Prison Initiative. The success of this Ford-supported program at Bard College in providing educational opportunities to incarcerated men reminded Walker of the strength of the human spirit even in the face of inequality and injustice, and of the power of philanthropy to improve human lives.

Ford's earliest support of criminal justice reform was largely focused on abolishing the death penalty through support to leading civil rights organizations such as the NAACP Legal Defense and Educational Fund and the American Civil Liberties Union. Subsequent grants to organizations like the Vera Institute for Justice, headed at the time by Chris Stone—now the president of the Open Society Foundations—and the Police Foundation focused on the issues of police accountability and promulgation of community policing models.

The Foundation ultimately created a dedicated portfolio of grant-making focused on criminal justice reform that added critical resources to what would become the defining civil rights issue of our time.

America is addicted to mass incarceration. In 1980, there were 500,000 people behind bars in this country. Today there are 2.2 million. Millions more formerly incarcerated Americans have been deprived of their ability to work, learn and participate in our democracy. The United States is the world's largest jailer, a disgraceful—and exceedingly expensive—distinction. Every year, billions of tax dollars desperately needed in other areas are sucked into the prison-industrial complex.

Driven by the "War on Drugs" and "tough on crime" polices of the 1980s and 1990s, our prisons are glutted with nonviolent offenders, the mentally ill, the elderly, drug addicts and children charged as adults. Meanwhile, thousands are in jail for being too poor to post bail, to pay fines for traffic tickets and other infractions, or to pay public and private debts, thanks to a resurgence of debtors' prisons fueled by lucrative government contracts with debt collection agencies and private probation companies.

States and the federal government combined spend an estimated $80 billion a year on corrections, the vast majority of that cost borne by the states. And because of discriminatory laws and enforcement, combined with other stark economic, educational and public-health inequities between races, people of color are vastly overrepresented in the criminal justice system, breeding severe political, economic and social consequences for generations. In fact, more blacks are under correctional control today than were enslaved in 1850, rendering mass incarceration a modern American apartheid.

Thanks to decades of patient funding from the Ford Foundation, along with the Open Society Foundations, Atlantic Philanthropies and smaller donors like the Public Welfare and Rosenberg foundations and others, we are at a moment when transformational change on criminal justice reform is within reach.

Thanks to decades of patient funding from the Ford Foundation, along with the Open Society Foundations, Atlantic Philanthropies and smaller donors like the Public Welfare and Rosenberg foundations and others, we are at a moment when transformational change on criminal justice reform is within reach.

There has never been a better time to address criminal justice reform, with both conservatives and liberals enthusiastically joining the chorus for change. In March, the Bipartisan Summit for Criminal Justice Reform—sponsored in part by the Ford Foundation and the conservative Koch Industries—brought together such disparate voices as New Jersey Democratic Senator Cory Booker and Republican presidential candidate Rand Paul, who last year partnered to introduce legislation that would steer child offenders from the criminal justice system.

Perhaps most important, the American public recognizes the importance of reform. In June, the ACLU commissioned a nationwide poll of registered voters:

- **Overall, 69 percent** of voters said it is important for the country to reduce its prison population, including 81 percent of Democrats, 71 percent of Independents and 54 percent of Republicans.
- **Voters believed** by a two-to-one margin that reducing the prison population will make communities safer by facilitating more investments in crime prevention and rehabilitation strategies.
- **87 percent** of respondents agreed that people struggling with drug addiction and mental illness should receive treatment instead of incarceration.

Our research suggests that residents of red states are ready for reform and residents of blue states are overwhelmingly in favor of it. California is one example, where in 2014 Proposition 47, which reclassified low-level, nonviolent crimes such as simple drug possession and petty theft from felonies to misdemeanors, passed with 60 percent voting "yes".

Unlike other civil rights struggles, where the federal government and the federal courts provided the avenues for systemic reform, the battle grounds for criminal justice reform are at the state and local levels, where the vast majority of individuals are arrested, sentenced and incarcerated.

We must remove or reduce criminal penalties for low-level offenses. In fact, more than a quarter of the incarcerated population is locked up for nonviolent drug offenses. Because our criminal justice system is a tangled web of overly punitive policies—mandatory minimum sentencing guidelines, "three strikes" and habitual offender rules, and "truth in sentencing" laws—that ties the hands of judges and parole boards, too many people are needlessly incarcerated, while others languish behind bars for far too long.

Abusive police practices, racial profiling and selective enforcement, and unfettered prosecutorial discretion also conspire to strip people of the equal protection of the laws and of due process rights, and also

Continued on next page

create racial discrimination at all points of the criminal justice system: police contact, arrest, prosecution, conviction and sentencing.

This insidious effect has been described by Michelle Alexander, a former ACLU staff member and Ford's new scholar in residence, as "the new Jim Crow". She accurately diagnoses the criminal justice system as one that continues to oppress communities of color in the 21st century, particularly young African American men, to the same extent that Jim Crow laws oppressed minorities in the 20th century.

As much as the United States' criminal justice system is a harsh outlier in the world, our reliance on solitary confinement is an even harsher outlier. Tens of thousands of Americans are alone in cells for 22 to 24 hours a day with little or no human interaction, environmental stimulation or constructive activity. The length of confinement varies, but it can last for years or decades. Between 30 and 50 percent of those held in solitary have mental illness, despite the general consensus among researchers that isolation is especially harmful to a person's mental health. The brutal results have included unnecessary pain and suffering, worsening illness, horrific incidents of self-harm and self-mutilation, and suicide.

Another important target of reform efforts must be the troubling rise of the private prison industry. From 1990 to 2009, the number of prisoners in private facilities grew by 1,600 percent, and in 2010 for-profit companies held 6 percent of state prisoners, 16 percent of federal prisoners, and nearly half of all immigrants detained by the federal government, and the top two service providers generated more than $3 billion in revenue.

Banks and institutional investors have poured capital into the industry while its operators have hired brigades of lobbyists and made campaign contributions to ensure growth potential, all largely without the public's notice.

Private prison companies claim they provide better conditions and cost savings to federal and state governments. In fact, these companies' main focus is making profits, not correctional rehabilitation, and they are often cited for warehousing prisoners in deplorable conditions overseen by underpaid, under-qualified employees.

Compounding the challenge that many different levers of change must be pulled in local jurisdictions around the country is the conundrum of how to help the formerly incarcerated transition to life outside of prison. Reintegration strategies and interventions, including drug and alcohol addiction programs, job training and placement, assistance with housing, and treatment for the mentally ill, will need to be greatly enhanced if we are to offer meaningful opportunities of redemption to the formerly incarcerated.

True reintegration will require wholesale reform in many areas. In some states, convicted felons are permanently barred from voting. A young person with a single nonviolent felony drug conviction is forever ineligible for federal student aid. Anyone with a felony conviction is also barred forever from living in federally-subsidized housing. Put out on the street with no money and no prospects, they are often even barred from living with family while they get on their feet. And it can be nearly impossible to find a job when employers are allowed to make former felons "check the box", disqualifying them in the eyes of many before they've even read the rest of the application.

Tackling America's mass incarceration problem will require patience and sustained funding for advocacy at the state level. Grant dollars have to reach local activists who are best positioned to make the systemic reforms in state legislatures. Fortunately, the growing cadre of funders working in this space alongside Ford appears to understand the need for sustained support that targets state-level reform in a coordinated national strategy.

The struggle for criminal justice reform is ultimately about values. Not every incarcerated person can or should go free. Not every life is redeemable. But we are not a people, nor should we be a society, who automatically condemn, brutally and forever, individuals who still have something to contribute with their lives. ■

FROM BANGKOK: Old friends in philanthropy gathered for a reunion at dinner in Bangkok recently. Seated, from right to left, are Rosalia (Lia) Sciortino, Ford program officer from 1993 to 2000 in the Indonesia and Philippines offices and a former regional representative for the Rockefeller Foundation and the International Development Research Center; Gordon Conway, a former Ford representative in India and Lia's boss when he became president of the Rockefeller Foundation; Gary Suwannarat, former Ford representative in Thailand; and, at the far left, Susan Conway, wife of Gordon.

FROM BEIJING: Mark Sidel, now a law professor at the University of Wisconsin and a former Ford officer in the Bangkok, Beijing, Hanoi and New Delhi offices, visited old friends from the Foundation staff in Beijing when he visited there recently. Pictured, left to right, are the mother of staffer Fang Lin, Peng Xiaoqiao, Liang Bo, Fang Lin, who was administrative officer in Beijing in the 1980s and 1990s, Sidel, Yang Yiqi, Zhang Ye, Wang Yan and Niu Caixia. The picture was taken by Yimei Chen, who worked for Ford in China from 1997 to 2007 and now is executive director of China Development Brief.

ADVANCES IN THE LIVES OF LATINOS

By Antonia Hernández
President and CEO, California Community Foundation

No other private institution in the nation has done more to address poverty and social justice issues throughout the world than the Ford Foundation, which has affected the lives of millions through its work. My experience comes through the Latina civil and voting rights lens.

While a young attorney, I came to know the work of the Ford Foundation when I moved to Washington, D.C., to work as counsel to the U.S. Senate Judiciary Committee. In the late 1970s and early 1980s I worked closely with the organizations funded by Ford, working on the renewal of the Voting Rights Act and passage of the Civil Rights Act of 1983. I also worked with those organizations working on reforming our antiquated immigration laws.

After leaving the Senate I began a 23-year career with the Mexican American Legal Defense and Educational Fund (MALDEF), where I learned that the Ford Foundation had been the lead funder at the organization's inception and to this day continues to be a significant funder. Measuring the impact the Foundation has had on U.S. civil rights advances is not difficult when seen through the lens of some of the major cases involving civil rights.

What follows is a short summary of some of the milestones in the 1970s and 1980s that changed and improved the lives of millions of Latinos living in the United States. Many of these MALDEF initiatives were supported by Ford:

One of the earliest victories was adding the bilingual provisions to the 1975 extension of the Voting Rights Act. This was a difficult struggle as there was strong opposition by some of the African American organizations that feared dilution of their efforts. In 1982, with the support of Ford, some of the opposition softened and we were successful in ensuring that the bilingual provisions were included in the 1982 renewal. This was just the beginning of a decades-long push to ensure fair voting rights for Latinos.

With the support of the Foundation in the mid-1970s, MALDEF worked with the U.S. Department of Justice to identify proposed election law changes that would have resulted in discrimination against Chicano voters. Through funding for attorneys devoted to voting rights cases, the organization also monitored jurisdictions required by the voting rights act to pre-clear election law changes with the Department of Justice. During this time, MALDEF filed several lawsuits to enforce the act's pre-clearance provisions in Texas and New Mexico. Such experts as Joaquin Avila, Michael Baller, Jose Garza, Judith Sanders, Nina Perales and Tom Saenz worked to change the political landscape for the Latino community.

Applauding increased strength at the polls.

From 1978 to 1979, a campaign to gain Chicano representation on Texas county commissioner courts resulted in six counties improving their representation. The organization also joined forces with the Southwest Voter Registration Education Project (SVREP) and California Rural Legal Assistance to devise redistricting plans designed to improve Chicano political access in Texas and California.

By 1980, MALDEF was working with SVREP on galvanizing people to participate in the 1980 U.S. Census, which would lead to massive reapportionment of state, county and city election districts.

Voting Rights Act renewal efforts began in the summer of 1982. MALDEF's president and general counsel and its voting rights director testified before Congress and pursued public education and advocacy efforts in local communities, in partnership with civil rights, religious, labor and many other groups.

In 1983, MALDEF helped win new amendments to the Voting Rights Act establishing that election practices are unfair if they are discriminatory in effect, regardless of their purpose.

The 1980s were a period of significant achievements. Through Ford's funding MALDEF was able to fight for the creation of the Fourth Congressional District in Chicago, a case that went to the U.S. Supreme Court twice. Today, Rep. Luis Gutierrez holds that seat and is the senior member of the Illinois delegation in the House of Representatives. In New Mexico, MALDEF fought for the creation of the seat first held by Rep. Bill Richardson.

In California, MALDEF's efforts throughout the 1980s and 1990s saw the growth of Latino representation. Specifically, MALDEF fought for the redrawing of Los Angeles City Council lines that elected Richard Alatorre, and in the County of Los Angeles it took a law suit to redraw the lines that elected the first Latina to the County Board of Supervisors, Gloria Molina. Today, the State Senate is led by a Latino, Kevin De Leon.

The Ford Foundation was and is the lead funder for fair immigration reform, though its support did not come without controversy. In the mid 1980s, because of that support, Sen. Alan Simpson, Republican of Wyoming, visited the Foundation's then-President **Susan Berresford** to express his concern and displeasure. Yet MALDEF's efforts throughout the 1980s to advocate for immigration reform led to the passage of the Immigration and Reform Act of 1986, which included the legalization provision that allowed millions of undocumented individuals to legalize their status.

Continued on next page

And it is well known that the support of the Ford Foundation for affirmative action allowed not only MALDEF but also the NAACP Legal Defense Fund (LDF) and others to mount a rigorous effort to defend this policy. These struggles continue to this day. MALDEF recognized the attack on affirmative action had weakened the law and, in Texas, through the genius of Attorney Al Kauffman, devised the 10 percent rule, which mandated that the top 10 percent of high school graduates be admitted to the flagship University of Texas at Austin.

I continued these efforts during my tenure as president and general counsel, including initiating at-large election challenges in New Mexico and California.

The Ford Foundation strategy to fund systemic change organizations like MALDEF, LDF, the Women's Law Center and others has led to the development and support of many of the leaders of these movements, and I proudly include myself. The Foundation's policies and funding have significantly improved the lives of the poor, the excluded and the vulnerable.

I have been privileged to have partnered and worked with many of the Ford leadership and program officers. As Ford was the lead funder for MALDEF during my tenure, I often commented that I had an office on 43rd Street. I made friends for life of **Lynn Walker Huntley, Susan Berresford, Emmett Carson, Anthony Romero** and many others. Now, as I lead a community foundation, many of the efforts we have implemented have modeled the work of the Ford Foundation.

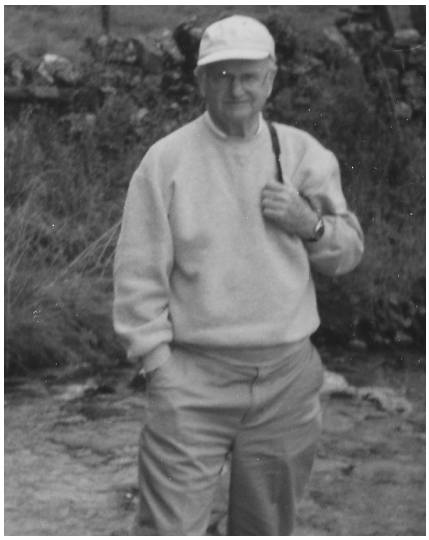
While we accomplished much, I know more still needs to be done. We still see tactics designed to discourage the Latino and minority vote all across the country. At times, we take two steps forward and one back. Attacks on affirmative action, voting suppression efforts and calls for immigration reform underscore my plea to the Ford Foundation to continue funding these organizations.

But much more needs to be done.

Today, the disparity in wealth, the diminishing opportunities for low-wage workers, the dismal graduation rates of minorities—specifically Blacks and Latinos—and the continuing racial attacks speak to the need to keep funding these efforts.

I am optimistic about the work that MALDEF and other organizations continue to do in this field, and grateful for the leadership and support from funders like the Ford Foundation. With these types of sustained partnerships, I know we can work toward making the words in our U.S. Constitution a reality for all. ■

IN MEMORIAM



Robert Tolles, one of the earliest members of The LAFF Society and long an editor of its newsletter, died November 6 at his home in New Canaan, Conn. He was 88.

Bob went to work in the Foundation's communications office, then called the Office of Reports, in 1968 and stayed for 21 years until he retired in 1989. He began as a writer and editor and eventually became director of the office.

After he retired he worked as a free-lance writer, editor and consultant for several foundations and non-profit organizations, including the Rockefeller Brothers Fund, German Marshall Fund, Phelps Stokes Fund and Longview, Russell Sage and Century foundations.

He also wrote articles for The New York Times, The Los Angeles Times and The Hartford Courant as well as many book reviews and conference reports.

He was active in many other areas, teaching English as a Second Language to recent immigrants and working as a tax preparer for H&R Block.

Bob was a 1945 graduate cum laude of The Choate School and then served in the United States Navy. On his return he enrolled in Yale University and graduated in 1950 with a bachelor's degree in American Studies. Years later he earned a master's degree in economics from the New School for Social Research in New York City.

He began his journalistic career as a city hall reporter for the Norwalk Hour and was then a staff writer for Sikorsky Aircraft. He went to work with the United States Information Agency in Bogota, Colombia, where he was recognized for outstanding service. On his return to this country he became a staff writer for the Radio Corporation of America (RCA) in New York before going to work for Ford.

In addition to his commitment to LAFF, Bob followed several other avocations in retirement, especially his love of carpentry. "I'm a chairman," he joked. "I repair broken chairs."

He was class agent for both Choate Rosemary Hall and Yale. As part of his work with the Yale Club of New Canaan he volunteered with the Horizon's Student Enrichment Program at the New Canaan Country Day School. He was also a member of the Senior Men's Club of New Canaan, recording the minutes of each meeting.

He loved playing tennis and was a regular at the New Canaan High School track and a long-time member of the YMCA.

He and his wife of 63 years, Barbara, frequently hiked throughout England, Scotland and Ireland and liked to explore the English countryside on family vacations.

Besides his wife, he is survived by a son, David Erving Tolles of New Haven, Conn.; a daughter, Amanda Katherine Tolles of New Canaan, and a brother, Peter Franklin Tolles of Seal Beach, Calif.

Ruth Jones, who worked at several positions at the Foundation for 20 years, died August 13 in Westwood, N.J. She was 93.

Ms. Jones started at Ford in 1970 as a secretary in the Asia and Pacific program. She left briefly at the end of that year and returned in June 1972 as a secretary in the office of the vice president for international affairs.

She transferred to the Asia and Pacific program the following year and was promoted to senior staff assistant in 1979. Her title was changed to Assistant Grants Administrator three years later. She retired from the Foundation in October 1987 but worked as a consultant until 1990.

Jonathan Green, who worked in information and research services at the Ford Foundation for 26 years until his retirement in 2005, died October 6. He was 65.

Mr. Green began at Ford in 1979 as an administrative assistant for reports. He was promoted to staff assistant in Information Services in 1983 and then to Control Index Specialist in that office in 1987.

He was named Associate Archivist in 1996 and, in 2003, Research Associate in Research Services in the Office of Administrative Services. ■

SHEP STONE AND "UNINTENDED CONSEQUENCES"

By Will Hertz

The story in the Spring 2015 issue of the LAFF newsletter on **Shepard Stone,** the director of the Foundation's European program in the 1950s, stirred my memory of the small but pivotal role I played in Shep's decision to support the return of economist Andreas Papandreou to Greece. Since Papandreou's return led eventually to his election as a controversial Greek prime minister, my involvement is a striking example of what Shep termed "the perils of unintended consequences."

My involvement with Andy—it was on a first name basis—began with my study of economics at Harvard University in 1942. Andy, then a graduate student from Greece, was my instructor in elementary statistics. I was facing the draft, and Andy worked after hours with me so that I could get credit for his course.

1948: I was hired by The Minneapolis Tribune as a reporter on business and finance, and he was on a tenure track in economics at the University of Minnesota. A brilliant economist, he was helpful to me on a number of stories. Further, my wife Stevie and I saw Andy and his wife socially.

1958: I joined the Ford Foundation staff as a writer in the Office of Reports, and Dick Magat assigned me to write a booklet on Ford fellowship programs. To interview a Ford fellow, I flew out to the Berkeley campus of the University of California where Andy was now a full professor, a widely published economist and chair of the economics department.

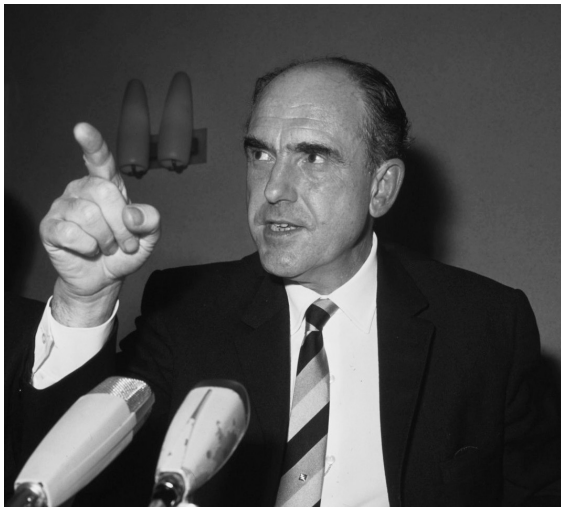
I dropped into his office to say hello, and he left a staff meeting to talk with me behind a closed door. "Am I glad to see you!" he said, and he told me he had been asked by the Bank of Greece to establish a new economics research center in Athens. He had a leave of absence from Berkeley and a Fulbright to cover his own costs, but he needed support for research projects, visiting professors, graduate students and the library. Would the Ford Foundation help?

On my return to New York I reported the conversation to Shep Stone, and Shep said, "Bring him in." At a subsequent lunch in the Foundation's dining room, Shep encouraged a written proposal. This led the following year to a general support grant of about $150,000 to the Athens Economic Research Center, now a Bank of Greece affiliate.

1964: I was assigned to the Karachi office of the Foundation as assistant representative. Andy's father, Georgios Papandreou, had become the Prime Minister of Greece. Andy had renounced his American citizenship and left the research center to become minister of state in his father's cabinet, in effect the assistant prime minister.

En route to Pakistan, my family and I were planning a two-week vacation in Greece. On our arrival at the hotel we were informed that the minister's car would pick us up at a given time.

The limousine delivered us to Andy's palatial beach house at Piraeus, a fashionable resort outside Athens. In the driveway, Andy introduced us to his departing guest, Aristotle Onassis, who took our place in the limousine. The Hertzes were then divided into three different rooms—my wife Stevie with Andy's American wife, Margaret; Alan, age 10, and Miriam, age 6, with Andy's son George, age 11; and I with Andy. We were all reunited for dinner at 10 p.m., the Greek dinner hour.



Andreas Papandreou, Prime Minister of Greece, 1968. Photo by Eric Koch.

My session with Andy was memorable. Berkeley was furious with Andy for going into the messy world of Greek politics rather than returning to California, and he was worried about burning his bridges with the Foundation. In a one-hour emotional harangue, parading around the room with Scotch glass in hand, he defended his decision as a response to the call of duty to his country after years of corruption and mismanagement. I could not get a word in edgewise.

I reported the conversation to Shep in a written memo. In his answer, Shep, never non-plussed, took it all philosophically. In working in Europe, particularly in Greece and the Balkans, he wrote, you have to expect politics to exert a strong appeal to sheltered under-paid academics. "It goes with the territory," he said.

As things turned out, the Papandreous took a neutral stand in the Cold War and criticized the massive presence of American military and intelligence in Greece. In 1967, father and son were overthrown by a junta of Greek generals, backed, Andy claimed, by the CIA. Georgios was put under house arrest, and Andy, after an eight-month imprisonment and the appeal of several American economists, was freed to go into exile.

1973: I was appointed assistant secretary of the Foundation, and Andy had settled in Canada and was working as a professor of economics at York University.

In 1974, after the generals themselves were ousted, Andy returned to Greece as head of a new political party, the Panhellenic Socialist Movement (PASOK). In 1981's general election, PASOK won a landslide victory and Andy became Prime Minister. In 1985 he was elected for one more three-year term, along the way divorcing Margaret and marrying an Olympic Airways hostess.

In 1989 things took a downturn. Andy was indicted by Parliament in connection with a $200 million Bank of Crete embezzlement scandal, temporarily ending his political career. In 1992, however, he was cleared of all wrongdoing, and he bounced back by being elected to his third four-year term as Prime Minister.

In January 1996, halfway into his third term, Andy resigned after two months in the hospital for lung and kidney failure, and he died in June.

Young George Papandreou—the youngster at the beach house—grew up to become the third member of the Papandreou family to be Prime Minister. Elected in 2009, he was forced to resign in 2011 because of the Greek government debt crisis. He is now the president of the Socialist International, a worldwide association of political parties.

Years later I visited Shep at his Vermont farm, and we reminisced over drinks about the sequence of events involving three generations of Papandreous. He did not know about my initial relations with Andy at Harvard, and he commented on "the perils of unintended consequences" for both of us. ■

INDONESIAN CONSTITUTIONAL COURT FAILS TO GIVE GIRLS BETTER PROTECTION

By Rosalia Sciortino

This is a slightly edited version of an article that appeared originally in The Jakarta Post (http://www.thejakartapost.com/news/2015/06/20/insight-constitutional-court-fails-give-girls-better-protection.html).

The judicial review of the proposed change to the marriageable age as stated in the 1974 Marriage Law, which was filed by the Women's Health Foundation (Yayasan Kesehatan Perempuan or YKP) and, separately, by a coalition of five concerned women and children's rights activists and organizations, came to an end in June.

The activists had argued for raising the minimum marriageable age for girls from 16 to 18 but their demand was rejected. Alongside changing the minimum age of marriage, other groups had demanded changes to the marriage law that would have allowed interfaith marriages and other proposed revisions.

YKP and other plaintiffs questioned the legitimacy of child marriage on various grounds. The legal argument centered on the unconstitutionality of a marriage law that is seen as violating individual rights as defined in the 1945 Constitution and as discriminating against girls by setting a different minimum age of marriage for boys.

Inconsistencies with other laws were also pointed out, foremost with Law 23/2002 on child protection, which defines a child as being below 18 while the marriage law uses 16 as an acceptable age for marriage. In 2010, 40 percent of brides were in the 15 to19 age group and almost 5 percent in the 10 to14 age group. These exceptions were allowed based on parental request and permission from religious leaders.

At the international level, the age clause in the marriage law contravenes the 1979 Convention to Eliminate All Forms of Discrimination against Women, ratified by Indonesia.

The negative socio-economic effects of marriage at such a young age were also pointed out by plaintiff experts, who brought in evidence to the Constitutional Court showing that early marriages were born out of destitution and perpetuated a vicious circle of inter-generational poverty, in which already vulnerable brides were deprived of educational and economic opportunities for them and their children.

Elevated risks of unwanted pregnancies, sexual diseases, maternal health hazards and violence were also discussed, and the importance of postponing marriage to protect girls and their physical and mental well-being was stressed. This view was also supported by most religious leaders called to testify, with the well-known Muslim scholar Alwi Shihab stating that the economic, physical and mental maturity of the girl was seen as vital in Islam to a successful marriage and a harmonious family—a stand that countered interpretations previously provided by representatives of Muslim organizations in court.

Maria Farida Indrati, lone judge supporting plaintiffs. Photo by ISTIMEWA.

Yet the court dismissed the plaintiffs' arguments as well as their evidence, even minimizing the negative implications of early marriages. The final decision stressed the individual right to marriage of each individual and stated that a change to the minimum age of marriage was not warranted since there "was no guarantee that with increasing the age from 16 to 18 there will be a reduction of divorce rates, health improvements and reduction of other social problems".

It further argued that to set a fixed age would restrict the state in developing policies adequate to the times and advised the plaintiffs to initiate a legislative review to establish a new minimum age for girl brides.

Of little consolation was the dissenting voice of Maria Farida Indrati, the only woman on the nine-member constitutional judge panel who supported the plaintiffs. She concluded that the current compulsory age was indeed unconstitutional as it violated child rights, especially of girls, and it contravened Article 6 of the marriage law requiring a display of free will before entering into a union.

In her view, early marriage required urgent legal attention because it compromised the development and health of the child bride. Rather than recommending a lengthy legislative review process, the Constitutional Court should act, employing "law as a tool of social engineering" to bring about much needed societal change.

It is very important to stress judge Maria's last point. By opting for legalistic excuses rather than substantial arguments, the Constitutional Court has missed an opportunity to eliminate or at least reduce one of the most obvious forms of gender inequity in Indonesia.

Although legal reform is only part of the solution, changing the discriminatory clause would have contributed to a favorable environment for a comprehensive approach to address the root causes of early marriages.

Women's groups, civil society, media and other concerned groups will continue to work with even greater commitment to abolish child marriages through other venues, including addressing poverty, fostering access to education, promoting sexual and reproductive health education and raising awareness among parents, local governments, religious leaders, judges and legal experts.

The court could have endorsed their important work and, most important, made a statement about the importance of girls achieving their full potential, but instead it failed to protect them and jeopardized their future contribution to the nation. ■

The writer is a social development expert. She worked for the Ford Foundation in its Manila and Jakarta offices from 1993 to 2000 and was later Southeast Asia Regional Director for the Rockefeller Foundation and for the International Development Research Centre. She now is an associate professor at Mahidol University and a visiting professor at Chulalongkorn University, both in Bangkok.

LAFFing Parade

Cristina Eguizabal is the new Costa Rican ambassador to Italy.

She was appointed to the position in October and assumed her duties in Rome on December 1.

Ms. Eguizabal worked at the Foundation for 12 years, from 1997 to 2007, initially as a program officer in the Latin America and Caribbean program. She also worked in the Human Rights and International Cooperation unit and the Mexico City office, where she worked on peace and social issues. Her portfolio in Mexico included grants on peace, security and regional cooperation in Latin America, the Caribbean and the Western Hemisphere in general.

After she left Ford she became the director of the Latin American and Caribbean Center (LACC) at Florida International University in Miami. She was its third director and the first from outside the university's own faculty.

Her work there, according to an LACC statement when she was hired in 2007, was "to boost the center's work in Mexico and Brazil, the region's two largest countries and economies, by collaborating with institutions and establishing research projects in those nations…."

While directing the LACC she also was a professor in international relations at the university, and later was the director of graduate programs at the University of Costa Rica.

Ms. Eguizabal, who earned a doctorate from the University of Paris-Sorbonne Nouvelle, also was a board member and vice chair of the Washington Office on Latin America (WOLA), an advocacy group for human rights in the Americas, and treasurer of the Latin American Studies Association.

An article on the changing relationship between the United States and Cuba that she wrote for this newsletter, "U.S.-LatinAmerica-Cuba: A Sixty-Five-Year Love-Hate Triangle", appeared in the Spring 2015 issue.

William J. Rust, who worked in the Foundation's Office of Reports, later called the Office of Communications, from 1985 to 1991, has written a study of America's early involvement in Southeast Asia, *Eisenhower and Cambodia: Diplomacy, Covert Actions, and the Origins of the Second Indochina War.*

The book is scheduled for publication by the University Press of Kentucky this spring.

Early praise includes a recommendation by the author John Prados, who has written *Vietnam: The History of an Unwinnable War* and says of Rust's book that it "clearly advances our knowledge of Eisenhower and Kennedy actions on Cambodia. No student of the Vietnam war can afford to miss *Eisenhower and Cambodia*."

Rust has written two other books on the recent history of the region, making it "his purpose," said Prados, "to dig deep for explanations of the origins of the American war in Southeast Asia. In *Eisenhower and Cambodia* Rust shines a penetrating light on the murkiest corner of all, the impact of American actions on the neutralist nation of Cambodia and its Prince Norodom Sihanouk."

His other books are *Before the Quagmire: American Intervention in Laos, 1953-1961* and *So Much to Lose: John F. Kennedy and American Policy in Laos,* both of which were named Outstanding Academic Titles by Choice magazine, a publication of the American Library Association.

In a review of the Kennedy book for H-Net, a 100,000-member international organization of scholars and teachers, Jessica Elkind, a professor of history at San Francisco State University, said: "Anyone seriously interested in U.S. foreign relations during the Cold War, and especially American involvement in Southeast Asia and the origins of the Vietnam War, cannot afford to ignore this fascinating book."

Terry McGovern, who was a senior program officer in Ford's Gender Rights and Equity Program from 2006 to 2012, is the co-editor of a book documenting the "modern history of the global women's history".

The book, *Women and Girls Rising: Progress and Resistance Around the World,* "interrogates where and why progress has met resistance and been slowed, and examines a still unfinished agenda for change in national and international policy arenas….This book creates a clear and forceful narrative about women's agency and the central relevance of women's rights movements to global and national policy-making."

Early reviews have been positive, including one by the feminist activist Gloria Steinem, who wrote, "It is essential that we create a new normal….and that is what the dedicated and talented women and men whose voices are represented in this book are doing every day. The book is a treasure because it tells their stories."

Dr. Paul Farmer, a professor of global health and social medicine at Harvard Medical School and co-founder of Partners in Health, which provides high-quality health care in resource-poor areas in this country and abroad, says the book is "humane and instructive, a data-driven but never arid defense of the feminism needed to promote social justice in a world in need. Read this book and see a vibrant and global movement placing women and girls at the center of agendas for health and human rights—and for social and economic progress that doesn't wreck our fragile and beautiful planet."

McGovern, a professor of population and family health at Columbia University's Mailman School of Public Health, co-edited the book with Ellen Chesler, a senior fellow at the Roosevelt Institute and director of its Women and Girls Rising Program.

The book has been published by the Routledge press as part of its Global Institutions series.

Alan Feinstein is the new executive director of AMINEF, the American Indonesian Exchange Foundation, an organization that administers the Fulbright program in Indonesia.

Feinstein worked at major international grant-making organizations for 21 years, starting at Ford where he was a program officer in the Jakarta office from1987 to 1994. He has held positions as well with the Japan Foundation in Tokyo, the Toyota Foundation in Tokyo and the Rockefeller Foundation in Bangkok.

He left Rockefeller in 2008 to be an independent consultant, book editor and translator, based in Bangkok. He also was a consultant during this period to UNESCO and the World Bank, where he oversaw a pilot project on "creative communities" in Indonesia and advised the bank on developing local philanthropy projects there. In 2009-10 he was a Nippon Foundation Asian Public Intellectuals Senior Fellow.

Feinstein has a bachelor's degree from Wesleyan University and did graduate work in ethno-musicology at Wesleyan and the University of Michigan, where he received a Fulbright Hays Dissertation Fellowship in 1984 to carry out ethnographic field research on performing arts in Central Java and earned his doctorate.

He has lectured in music, social science and Indonesian studies at several universities in this country and in Asia, edited books for Silkworm Books in Thailand, and edited or written many books and articles on the region.

Sharon Alpert, formerly vice president for programs and strategic initiatives at the Surdna Foundation, has been named president of the Nathan Cummings Foundation, a family foundation based in New York that is "focused on building a socially and economically just society".

She is the first woman to head Cummings and fourth president in its 25-year history.

Alpert began her career in philanthropy at Ford, where she worked on initiatives that dealt with inequality in housing, employment and environmental opportunities. She helped shape policies dealing with the interconnect-

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LAFFing Parade

edness of environmental and health issues.

She also worked for the Northern Manhattan Improvement Corporation, supporting efforts in affordable housing, energy efficiency and environmental health; the Washington Office on Environmental Justice; and the Natural Resources Defense Council, serving as a liaison to the Sustainable Communities Task Force of the President's Council on Sustainable Development.

She joined Surdna in 2004 as a program officer and rose to become director of its Sustainable Environments Program, working to improve lives through investing in innovative solutions to environmental problems. While there she worked with leaders from the non-profit and private sectors to help the White House create Recovery Through Retrofit, a stimulus program designed to increase the energy efficiency of homes and create green jobs.

The daughters of **Peter Gubser** have dedicated a Palestinian pre-school and teacher-training center in memory of their father, who died in 2010.

The transformation of the school was made possible by a $60,000 grant from the Peter Gubser Fund, consistent with his stated belief that "The big picture may be slow to change, but to the person receiving a textbook, the future is immediately better."

Peter, a co-founder of the National Council on U.S.-Arab Relations and president of American Near East Refugee Aid (ANERA) for 29 years until his death, had worked at Ford in Lebanon and Jordan in the early years of his life-long work aiding Palestinian communities throughout the Middle East.

A special fund was created through ANERA to rehabilitate the school as part of its Early Childhood Development program, and to use the school as part of a teacher-training project. It's in the Al Tireh neighborhood of Ramallah, a Palestinian city in the West Bank area about ten miles north of Jerusalem.

"This program helps develop young children's growing minds and also prepare young teachers for a changing world," said Peter's daughter, Christie, an elementary school teacher. "It felt like a really good match to what was important to our father."

"The projects he worked on were very varied," said his other daughter, Sasha, a doctor, "but the ones that stood out to us were focused on education. He truly believed that education acts like a backbone to support a persons' potential." ■

LIBRARY OF AMERICA

The Foundation's pivotal role in a publishing venture to make "permanently available… every important title in American literature in the public domain" is chronicled in a recent article in Humanities, the magazine of the National Endowment for the Humanities (NEH).

David Skinner, editor of the magazine, explains how an idea discussed during a conversation between the writer Edmund Wilson and the publishing executive Jacob Epstein became the Library of America, which published its first book in 1982 and now totals more than 270 titles of literature, history, philosophy "and other areas" that "liberalize and expand the American literary canon."

A series of proposals and essays that grew out of that conversation "put a bee in the bonnet" of **McGeorge Bundy** when he was president of the Foundation, Skinner writes, and he never abandoned the idea through years of negotiations and opposition that led to a partnership with the NEH.

The article, "Big Idea: The Library of America Almost Didn't Happen", appeared in the September-October 2015 issue of the magazine and can be accessed on its website, neh.gov/humanities. ■