

Int Bill, thank you very much for doing this interview on behalf of Harvey Dale and the LRC and SALSLEP (SALS) foundation.

BC Well, as a member of SALS foundation, its name having been changed, I am delighted to do so, and I am particularly delighted because of hundreds of grantees in the Ford Foundation, I worked with over a period of more than twenty years, I would put the Legal Resources Centre in South Africa, very, very high on my list of favourites.

Int Okay, I was wondering whether we could actually start the interview with me getting a sense of your personal background, in terms of your formative influences, and how you got to do what you do, in terms of the work with the Ford Foundation, as well as your work in the developing countries?

BC Well, there are many ways to address that question. I suppose its best to sort of cite some things fairly early in life that – came into play, I think, in my work in South Africa, certainly. – Maybe, the way to start is to say that I am the only son, of a kind of mixed marriage. I don't mean interracial marriage, I mean a marriage between my father, the ninth son, ninth child out of eleven of two parents who grew up in Alabama, my grandfather was born in 1848 and my grandfather grew up on a poor cotton plantation, but one nonetheless, with a yard slave and so forth. He came back from the Civil War, fighting on the losing side, to a devastated state. He and his wife never finished high school, because there was no schooling system at the time. Though his older brother had gone to the university. But the eleven children had a tremendous – all of them and one helping the next, emphasis on education, with the exception of one girl, who died when she was eighteen, all of them had advanced degrees of one kind or another. And to cite my father, the ninth, but also, his immediately older brother, first time I ever heard about South Africa, was when I was aware that my father's older brother was a recipient of a Rhodes Scholarship. Anyway, my father contacted tuberculosis in World War Two and moved to New Mexico to recover and there met his first wife. That was a mixed marriage between a southern white and a, an indigenous American woman, who died and then, my father shocked his parents a bit more, not by simply having married a Roman Catholic. My mother whose ancestry was Irish and whose grandfather fought on the other side of that lamented civil conflict in this country. Now, flashing forward, I, I was born in Denver, where my father moved still because of his tuberculosis condition and so on, teaching. He, he was a, he taught mathematics and statistics at the University of Denver. But a very formative thing in my early life was --the Depression. I was born in 1929 and my father shortly after the Roosevelt election, in 1933...or taking office in 1933, went to Washington with me in tow. And I brought up with the values and concerns of the New Deal of the Roosevelt administration and that certainly comes into play, in where I position myself in the US political spectrum

and so on. I – went back to Colorado, with my father during much of the, most of the World War Two period, went to an extraordinarily good but because of my mother's Catholic heritage, Jesuit high school and then traipsed eastward to Yale, where one way or another, but knowing that I wanted to work on public policy issues, I decided I ought to study economics. If I had to do it over again, I would do it differently, but I – I majored in economics and I toyed with going to law school, as a another way of preparing for public service of one kind or another, and it's fresh in my mind, because I've just spent two days there, yesterday and the day before. There was a new graduate program in Public and International Affairs at the Woodrow Wilson School at Princeton and I enrolled in that program and it was extraordinarily formative for me and extraordinarily good. But maybe, looking back at my, my uncle's experience, I applied for a Rhodes Scholarship and was lucky enough to get one, so I spent three years, from '52 to '55 in, in – at Oxford, actually doing my own dissertation in Economics, but picking up an MPhil, or a similar degree, along the way. And – came back to Princeton, where I had taken the orals for my PhD and ultimately got my, my PhD in Economics. But I didn't want to be an academic economist, far from it. I did want to work in Public Policy and my first job was in the Bureau of the Budget, now called the Office of Management of the Budget of the Executive Office of the President. – But interestingly, enough, by, by sort of dumb luck, the assignment I drew for, at least one of the years I was working there, was working on the recipient aid program of the United States, this was long before, there was a label, USAID, but it was the predecessor of USAID, my job was to understand what they were going to, to be its budget examiner and so on. Then by accident, I went, it didn't work out quite this simply. I was asked to, whether I would be interested in coming back to Princeton to head the undergraduate program at Woodrow Wilson Center and I thought, well that's, that's something that might draw me temporarily away from public service directly. And I did that for five years and also teaching economics, mostly public finance and macro-economics, policy oriented kinds of economics and running various kinds of policy – seminars or conferences in the Woodrow Wilson School, which often had an international dimension to them. – Then, further diversion, but also faintly relevant to my subsequent enamourment with South Africa and with the rights, with rights issues; I was asked whether I would consider going to Cornell University, we sit here in the Cornell Club, of which I was once a member, as Dean of the Graduate School of Business and Public Administration there. It's now a flat out business school called the S.C. Johnson. I had never been inside a business school before. I went up for an interview there, but I was offered the job and I was still fairly young and one of my old classmates, who was at Cornell, for another reason – referred to me, after my appointment, as the Dean, as the teenie, weenie, Deanie. (elicits laughter from interviewer and BC). But any event from 1962 to 1968, I was the Dean of that school during two eras. The first was an era of optimistic growth and – the last three of those six years was an era of campus warfare, over two issues, Vietnam and the university's accommodation of vastly increased numbers of US minority citizens, black Americans, most of them. And it culminated just as I was feeling that six years at Cornell was enough. A, a scene with a group of students with

guns, not, not at all the case we had earlier this week with Virginia Tech, but a group of students with guns took over the student's union. But at that time, I had been doing, because Ithaca weather is so terrible and grey and depressing, I had asked to be a consultant at the Ford Foundation, really in areas of – public policy and management education in the southern cone of Argentina. I, I was, the first offer I had of doing something was, I think, in February, a dreary month, not April, the coolest month, but close to it. And I took it and I became intrigued on working on development issues more hands on, in developing countries. That was early in my time at Cornell, but in 1968, I was asked if I would head the Ford Foundation's programs in Brazil moving to Rio. And – with young children who I thought might profit from it and I was already much enamoured with Rio, we moved, as a family to Brazil in December of 1968, want to be sure I've got it right, in '68. Well, this begins to set the stage for something, I want to talk about in a moment – the evolution of the Ford Foundation's work in developing regions of the world. And maybe I'll talk about that substantively, and then my, my Brazil experience.

Int Sure.

BC The Ford Foundation became a large foundation and indeed the largest for a long time in the United States, prior to the creation of the Bill and Melinda Gates Foundation. When Henry Ford died, which I believe was in the very late 1940s or early 1950s, and it, it developed a charter which simply talked about advancing mankind or something equally broad and its trustees decided, I think, if I got the year right, around 1952 or -3, influenced clearly by Cold War considerations, not only to work in the United States, but to work in the developing world. Initially, they focused on one country, India and Asia, a little later, I think, it was 1959 or '60, they developed a program in Africa, and about 1960 or '61, began programs in Latin America, as well. But all of those programs were strongly influenced by Cold War considerations. An, an objective, if not the principle objective was clearly to stem the tide of the advance of communism. Now what did that mean, it means that the natural partner of the Ford Foundation overseas was the government's of countries, first India, or other countries that were resisting the tide of communist advance. So, if the nat...the natural partner is government, several things happen, one, you agree to make grants in many places, subject to the approval of the host government. You also operating, because this is the way development theory was developing at the time, on the principle that the primary agent of change in developing countries, is the government. I watched development change from the notion that if you stimulate a little bit of investment in the economy, all sorts of good things will flow from that, that will be development, to a notion that government has to get its planning ministries making the right policies and its action agencies, like agriculture to doing the right thing. And that's where thinking was when the Ford Foundation began its work in India. So most of the grants were to government agencies and most of, much of the money was spent on bringing foreign experts into those agencies, to help make policies and to train local staff. Well, that was, I think also the formula that

was in play, when programs were begun in Africa, in 1959 or '60. The result was that the grantees were governments that the United States and the Board, which I believe, was exclusively American at the Ford Foundation, at the time thought were important characters in resisting communist advance. South Africa clearly did not fit into a program on the African continent, at that time. We were looking at newly independent, majority ruled countries, most of whom, regarded South Africa, as --, as—something to be shunned. —So, there was no South African program. But now, I'll come back to Latin American program, which was my first exposure. The Latin American program began essentially at the time of the election of John Kennedy and the creation of something called the Alliance for Progress, it was an alliance of ostensibly democratic or quasi-democratic governments in Latin America. It was clearly influenced, the launching of a program there, I think, I can argue, although I am not sure I have seen all the written evidence that could probably be mustered by — concern over Fidel Castro and Che Guevara and other things that were happening in the, in the Americas during the, in the beginning of the 1960s. But in any event, programs were launched in the Southern Cone, meaning Argentina, and Chile, in Brazil, in Columbia, and in the Andean region, and I think in 1961 in Mexico as well. So I, but, barely had the Alliance for Progress been created, but that military coups occurred, first in Argentina, a soft military coup in Brazil in 1964, the first awful September 11th, September 11th 1973 coup in — the Pinochet coup in Chile. So, this means the Latin American program developed with the notion that it would presumably do what was being done in India, in Africa, -- alliances with planning ministries, sending in expert economists and that sort. But certainly, staff in the Latin American program became increasingly uncomfortable with that, as the nature of the governments was shifting to a soft or on occasion brutally hard military regime. So, so I walked into the Brazil office in June 1968, only a few months, to watch the administration of Brazil take a sharp turn to the right and to have almost a coup within a coup in — on April 1st, 1969, when all Ford Foundation grantees and people in universities were kicked out of their jobs. A little side show, a side story, on April 2nd 1969, three people who had been so affected at the University of San Paolo, who probably would not have had any formal relationship with the Ford Foundation, accept by the severe need (laughter) created by this coup within a coup, walked into my office. I made the earlier comment about their concern about the Ford Foundation because in, certainly in Latin America, there was the suspicion that foreign assistance coming from a, from the United States, even if it is labelled foundation, must have to do with the CIA and the US government. Most of the Left — the very responsible Left of Latin America, would not want to have any truck with monies with that *label*. Footnote, I don't believe that the Ford Foundation was in *any way* ever tinged by a CIA relationship, with the possible exception of one CIA alum, a person, I suspect being a CIA alumnus in, on our staff in one location for a time. It's didn't continue. — And indeed, there were hearing before the US Congress, that established that several American Foundations or things bearing that name, like the Asia Foundation had been accepting --US government funds. But, we weren't so, so ever, I've seen no evidence and *believe* that *though*, the President of the

Ford Foundation at the time, I joined it, was McGeorge Bundy, the former National Security Advisor of John Kennedy and for a time, I think -- -- Lyndon Johnson as well. So there were government ties but there was never a CIA tie. Just to a formative experience, that I had in Brazil, was this meeting that I had on April 2nd, when three people said, we have a choice, we can go teach in Chile, or Mexico, or maybe Sussex, and survive these days and we hope come back to Brazil sometime, but we'd really like to lie low here and begin working for a return to democracy here in Brazil. I proposed a grant readily, quickly, to help them establish an organisation called SABRAP, the Brazilian Center for Analysis and Policy. I have to say that initially, and it was partially the coincidence of who happened to attend the meeting in New York, that proposal was not accepted by people in New York and I became *quite* convinced that if the Ford Foundation had anything useful to do at that point in Brazil, we ought to be making that kind of grant and their concern, I think, in New York was if we did, we might get kicked out of the country or something, to which my response was many worse things could happen. Anyhow, we made that grant the following week, after a certain amount of mobilising (laughter) of – further arguments and so on and that was in a way, although there've been semi precursors in the Argentine environment, that was, that was a clear departure from our natural ally as government to a statement that our natural allies are institutions that are working for a more democratic, more rights respecting future in the country. Parenthetically the man who appeared in my office that morning, one of the three, was Fernando Henrique Cardoso, who subsequently became the President of Brazil, and a pretty good one. So, we began to see over the years, that, that these policies, it took a while before that happened but these policies—were things that we could do and might prove useful. Then of course, in 1971, then to go back to my own story, I was asked if I would go back to New York and head the Latin American program, which I did from '71 until 1976. And the defining event, for me at least, was the Pinochet coup in Chile, where as it works out, not only was a young American who was doing some part-time work in the Ford Foundation were among the people who was killed in the stadium, a few days after the coup. Incidentally, (Constantinos)Costa-Gavras, made a film about the, the other of two young Americans killed in that –stadium in 1973, under the name “Missing” and the good guys in the Costa-Gavras, are Ford Foundation staff who helped the parents of the, of the Americans, one of the Americans who had been killed, get the true story of what had happened. But by this time, I was, I was moving from a lapsed economist to a, to a person whose passions ran very high on the issues of rights. Now, I had already been exposed to those issues on the Cornell campus in those last three years, where many students were convinced that rights were being violated by American foreign policy, be it Vietnam or by domestic policies in the United States, including some of the policies of the universities, and I, for reasons I cannot trace, but I do think that they have something to do with my grandfather being born in 1848 in the South and, any my whole background up to that point. I certainly by the mid -1970s was – would have said that my principle interests lies in better governance, were it not then in use and in human rights. – Well, the next thing happened was that the person who headed the Africa program left the

Foundation to become a College President. McGeorge Bundy came to me in the summer of 1976 and he said “ how would you like to move and head the Africa and Middle East program”. To which, I responded “Well, Mac, I once been in a, on the, in majority ruled Africa behind a very high barbed wire fence in an agricultural research station in Nigeria, attending a meeting. I’ve travelled a little bit to other countries, but and I once spent time in the Middle East, when a plane broke down and I spent two nights in Beirut, but I don’t know much about or anything about those area, troubled that they are. And he said “Fine, you wouldn’t bring any biases to the job” and anyway, I was, I was intrigued. And I think what I was most intrigued about, because by that time, I was critically of the matter, was the opportunity to transform the approach to grant--making in Africa and the Middle East from a partnership with government to doing things that were endorsed by government to a rather more – audacious policy to trying to do something to advance rights, therefore often positioning the foundation, as anything but a true friend of any oppressive governments. So, I, I took that job, and my first trip to South Africa was in the Fall of 1976. Soweto had occurred and – Steve Biko had very recently been killed, if I remember correctly and – at that time, the foundation was doing next to nothing in South Africa. Maybe that’s an unfair judgement. There, there were three grants. One was to the Institute of Race Relations for research and their annual volumes talking about atrocious disparities in educational expenditure, twenty three times on a white kid as on a black kid and things like that. We were helping them. We were also funding, some, I think, very antiseptic -- -- exchanges of leaders between the United States and South Africa, under the, under the organisation called USLEP, the United States South Africa Exchange Program and in 1978, my predecessor had set aside some money in the foundation to make individual black scholars for training abroad, most of whom were on the staff of, staffs of the apartheid institutions like Fort Hare, Western Cape etc. But that’s what, that’s all we doing in South Africa, when I moved over to the Africa side and indeed, many of the staff in Nairobi and Lagos, where we had our offices were not at all enthusiastic about us doing anything more in South Africa. But I began to talk with them about my Latin American experience and my conviction that one could do something of importance in several respects, advancing rights in the immediate term, setting the stage for the respect of the rule of law, for viewing law not simply as instrument of oppression but as an instrument for expanding or promoting or assuring rights and in effect, even if I didn’t win them over, at least, we had some kind of consensus, that is was worth exploring these matters. Well, I, I remember and I’m not sure whether it was my, it was not my first trip to South Africa, but it may have been my next one, which I believe, was in early 19, I am getting my years mixed up, in 1977, a year after – not yet a year after Soweto. I asked a member of the legal division of the foundation, not a program person, but a lawyer, a woman lawyer, Sheila McLean, now I should add a member of the Board of SALS to join me on that trip. And it may have been that trip, if it wasn’t, it was the next one probably, where, when we began our discussions with people like Arthur Chaskalson, and, and—Professor (John) Dugard of the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits and others, Desmond (Desmond Mpilo) Tutu, then Head of the South African

Council of Churches. Other, other organisations concerned with rights in South Africa. My very first trip to South Africa, I remember meeting on the first day, Sheena Duncan of the Black Sash who said that “This is your first day in South Africa, come with me” and we sat in a pass court for an hour or two and watched this abuse of human rights. And...

Int Who was that?

BC Sheena Duncan. Sheena (Duncan) was then I think, the, the Coordinator of Black Sash. She’s had several successors. She is not a lawyer, if I remember correctly and I think that her husband is an architect but all that is irrelevant. She, she for law around pass issues etc, she, she was extraordinarily expert. She was, I was in South Africa two months ago and I did not see Sheena (Duncan), but I saw a close friend of hers and she is still around and is one of the real heroes, in my view of the early activism in support of the rights of, of rights violated majority of South Africans. – So, we began looking at what we could do and in a certain sense analogous to some of the things we’d done in Argentina, more in Brazil and a great deal more in Chile. I, I won’t bother detailing those things, but we made a grant in 1977 or ’78, which was very explicitly rights focused to the International Committee of the Red Cross, which enabled them to, to have a staff person in South Africa, doing the things that, the International Red Cross Committee and the Red Committee does to promote the rights of people who are imprisoned for political offences and so on. We made a grant or we made money available, I think that was some issue about the legal status of South African Council of Churches that our lawyers got a little, little upset about for a time. But, we made a grant essentially to Desmond (Mpilo) Tutu and the – putting money in the hands of Desmond (Mpilo) Tutu and the South African – Council of Churches for the training of para-legal workers who were working in black townships – certainly around Johannesburg and maybe, maybe more generally in the countryside. These we had begun to do these things before Arthur Chaskalson made his firm commitment to leave his role as a, whatever you call them, --

Int Barrister or Advocate

BC --barrister and, and establish the Legal Resources Trust, the first Legal Resources Centre in – in Johannesburg. But we had several conversations with him over the years, over the years I’m sure if not ’77, certainly ’78 and ’79 and I think our first grant to the Legal Resources Centre was made in (shuffling of papers) 1979. – or it may have been made, if. I am looking actually at the relevant piece of paper. It’s dated (reads) February 1979 for a three year period January 1 1979. I suspect it was in the works in December 1978.

Int Yes

BC Anyway, that’s something about how the Ford Foundation, which clearly wouldn’t have done this in 1974, was able...I’ve left out one little chapter; We

had a staff discussion, in which the Latin American program and I was prominent in that, were clearly in favour doing things very explicitly in the human rights field. The staff in India and in parts of Asia and Africa were far less sure and we had a paper done and a meeting of several key international staff, who debated this issue and finally got the trustees of the for...--got a paper approved by my predecessor as the Vice President in charge of the International side of the Ford Foundation, David Bell, went to the Board in 1979 and it authorised a (inaudible) sum and I forgotten what it was, but it was no more than 175 thousand dollars for work in rights, but the point was, it was a Board decision, we could work in that field, under that label and then that special appropriation was augmented by a larger grant, I believe in 1977 and it was partially out of that special appropriations for human rights that the first grant to the Legal Resources Trust was made in 1979. So, that is another bit of the background. So, why don't you lead us for a bit?

Int Yes,

BC On where we go on discussing our relationship with the, with the Legal Resources Trust and the Centres.

Int Thank you very much Bill, for giving me a clear outline of how things have evolved.

BC Well, I think it' important that we do situate this. I want to say just in passing for the record that much of what I've said, I've written up in a chapter in a little noted book. It is an edited volume. It is called '*NGOs and Human Rights*' edited by Claude Welch Jr. and published by the University of Pennsylvania Press in I think, if I can get my glasses out, in probably --- why doesn't it tell the year. -- Anyway, probably in the -- mid 1990s and the last chapter in the book, or the last chapter before the conclusions is called "The Role of the Ford Foundation" in, in effect "NGOs and Human Rights" that being the title of the book and some of our work in South Africa, and some of this evolution that allowed it is summarised in that chapter.

Int Thank you for that. I was wondering your first trip to South Africa was in the Fall of 1976, I wondered whether, prior to that visit, what your impressions of South Africa had been?

BC Well, I had read a lot South Africa, about South Africa. I was interested in it and I think I was interested in it in part because I had benefited from the Rhodes Trust and I think that even in those days, I had begun reading about the country and certainly was, was aware of the, of, of the, the determination of the National Party to set up a paths of separate development and so forth. So, I wasn't ignorant of the country --but its one thing to read about it and its another thing to go there and I think, I think that what,, even though I had read the reports of the South African Institute of Race Relations. So, I knew the disparities of income and I knew about

the Pass Laws and so on. --- I do remember, a very profound depression after that session in the Pass, Pass Laws, Pass Courts and after visiting – some of the townships around – Johannesburg, my first—first forty eight hours in the country, within forty-eight hours, I have been in Soweto and in Alexandra and it, it is something to see that, that you don't quite know until you get there. I was also, I guess, pleasantly surprised to find a number of comfortable, determined, white South Africans, nonetheless, in their ways determined to do something about this. And it's in the early days of my visits that I met not only Sheena Duncan and Arthur (Chaskalson), and Felicia Kentridge and many, many others that I cannot name, not only in Johannesburg, but around the country associated with Black Sash. I do remember the trip where I first met, Mlusi Mphomwana, who had been, who described in, in really vivid detail, the tortures that he had undergone -- ,which I guess I was a little surprised by. I didn't know there was that degree of brutality, although I should have, by that time, Mlusi (Mphomwana)'s colleague, - - - - Mr. (Steve) Biko had, had been killed. I met early on, not that trip, probably the second, Mamphela Ramphele, who, who bore Steve Biko's last child and who I know to this day and whose child with Steve (Biko), I held in my arms at a, under, when, when Mamphela (Ramphele) was, when the child was three months old and Mamphela (Ramphele) was under a banning order and in Nylanya, near Pietersburg. And it is one thing to know real people who are going through these things and who have been tortured. So, here I was seeing such a beautiful country, such comfortable living on the part of such privileged people, but happily seeing a pretty passionate commitment to doing something about it. – I, I looked at the first documents that I had had a hand in writing for grants in South Africa and one of the things, I noted in the language in the opening paragraphs with, of, of some of those documents, was – the observation that it, it appears, sadly very unlikely that --things can get really better in the absolute absence of violent change and – happily and to a certain degree that I would not have anticipated,-- that dire prediction didn't come through. But I think, I was quite depressed by, by the realities of the situation and by the dimness of the prospect of change. It's not relevant at this point in the conversation, but it's perhaps amusing to note that, soon we, we in the Ford Foundation among the people who issue visas and we used to have to, we had visa request turned down on occasion in '78, before this act was made and I had to go and talk with the Consul-General here in New York City and try to explain the case and usually except, a strange bargain, namely that yes, we would visit people that they wanted us to meet with, as well as others that we would choose to meet with, as well. I didn't think that was compromising us at all but I, I do remember and you may know the date better than I, one time I was, I was asked to meet a man, Gert Viljeon, who at this point was Rector at Rand Afrikaans University and, whom I believe was (inaudible) said to be the Head of the Broderbond. It's, it's – really not relevant to our tale, to our task here but, I'll tell the tale anyway. I went with, with my lawyer friend, Sheila Mclean, whom I am going to come back to yet again, in this discussion and with a South African woman, Hazel Moleman, who had helped us to arrange a series of meetings on these trips, when we were parachuting in. First amusing thing was, not at all acharacteristically, -- Sheila (McLean) and Hazel (Moleman) were asking many

questions more than I was, but – (Gert) Viljeon would listen to them but would look only at me and respond, which as the only man in his audience. But the second thing that was memorable about this conversation was that he was talking about this plan, that, – still not widely discussed for creating new Houses of Parliament for Coloured people and for people of Asian origin. And I remember at one point, I asked him the question, and then he said this is open-ended and we'll see where this goes and so on. And I remember asking him does that mean then that you can contemplate one day another House of Parliament, for the majority black, black South Africans (slight laughter), which why of course. To which he said, "Why of course". To which I said, "well how soon might that be". He said " Perhaps as soon as thirty years". Well, back to our earlier observation, change came a little sooner than he expected it, and in ways that I wouldn't have expected it during, during my first visits to South Africa.

Int So, your first visit was 1976 and your subsequent visits to that?

BC I stated going three or four times a year, which I did every year, before retiring from the Ford Foundation in, at the beginning of 1990, and I have continued to visit South Africa at least once a year, often more since that time. I think its correct to say, I have gone to South Africa, more than fifty times, well, more than sixty times, since 1976.

Int Okay, so your first actual contact with people who would set up the LRC, when did that happen?

BC I don't, I'm not sure I can remember, but I feel sure I met Felicia (Kentridge), if not on my first visit, possibly on my second visit at Wits, and I would feel certain that I met Arthur (Chaskalson) for the first time, probably not on that first visit in '76, but in '77, because I am quite certain that Sheila McLean, who joined me on trips to South Africa, only two or three times, I know she and I met with him and his wife and family in their home, I think, either in late '77 or early '78.

Int Okay, so where do you think...what is your first memory of how the actual decision to create the LRC happened? What was your memory of that?

BC Well, my memory is that Arthur (Chaskalson) talked about the idea, but then certainly not on a or the immediate subsequent visit, he potentially said that he was committed to doing this, and that he was committed to mobilising the funding. And that he was, -- that a lot of checking had been done with the Bar Association, whatever it may be called and, and with other relevant groups in South Africa, as to how this would be received and he felt that strongly, that it, it would receive the formal endorsement of the Bar and so on, that it, it would be able to play an important role in bringing litigation that would establish a broader interpretation of the rights of, of various disadvantaged South Africans. I think he was convinced it could play an important training function in, in – developing the talents of other lawyers, white and yes, indeed black, and – I think, I, I guess I

believe that it was probably in some trip in 1978, that he said that “I’m going to do this”. At which point, the issue became the Ford Foundation would not want to have been *the only funder*. The budget was also of the dimension that we couldn’t accommodate within both our South Africa budget and that special human rights appropriation that I referred to earlier. So the issue was clearly that we needed more partners and very early and I’m not even sure Ford was the first, Arthur (Chaskalson) was in contact with the people at the Carnegie Corporation, at the Rockefeller Brothers Fund and perhaps others, and by the time we formally made the grant, our first grant, at the beginning of --1979, there had been a commitment by the Carnegie Corporation for a similar sum, 210 thousand dollars that, I think, maybe I’m wrong (looks through papers)-- -- I’m not sure, but something of that order and a commitment for a smaller amount from the Rockefeller Brother’s fund. And I think, those commitments obviously came along when Arthur (Chaskalson) had had made the statement “I’m going to do this thing” (inaudible) they can come up with the money.

Int Right. During this time, what were, what are your memories of the discussions you had regarding the formation of the LRC, as a public interest law organisation?

BC Well, first of all, there is another piece of this story that I haven’t recited. The – the Ford Foundation is I believe, my department is not what it’s done domestically, but I believe the Ford Foundation was the driving force behind the development of public interest law, at least the driving financial force behind the development of public interest law in the United States. Public interest law in a number of spheres, addressing environment to human rights and so forth. So there was a strong domestic tradition of working in this field. There was even a committee established – well beyond the foundation I believe, that I suppose viewed itself as the architect and strategy thinker and development of that profession. I note in the documentation for the few grants that the foundation has made in that field before – the, the South African case, that committee did not play a role in reviewing overseas grants but played a role in tan, in tandem with the foundation in it’s development of the field in the United States. So, the field was, was core business for the Ford Foundation and domestically, we had developed a lot of experience, which was also experience that Arthur (Chaskalson) was tapping into and others whereby contact with people at Columbia University-- -- and, and, and many other institutions in the United States. – So they had known of the work of the Ford Foundation domestically and met with – I am sure Arthur (Chaskalson) and Felicia (Kentridge) and others had with – many of the grantees of the Foundation in the United States, before, before the international side and they reached this agreement.

Int At that point, when the first grant was being made, what were your reservations? Did you harbour any reservations about the LRC?

BC *I did not have any.* I think there were, there were lingering reservations among some of the staff, elsewhere in Africa and, and certainly in parts of Asia, that this

was not, that this was a dangerous course of action. I think some people in Africa argued that, even this degree of grant-making in South Africa could be regarded as legitimising the, the apartheid regime. So that was one strand of concern. I think there were some people who felt that—the situation is so desperate in South Africa and so likely to turn violent that all of this is going to prove to be futile. And we, the early documentation sort of summarizes those views. *I did not harbour any reservations*. As I recollect, I mean, we all know that some things don't work but you harbour that reservation about any grant you make. I also regard grant-making in a large foundation that something that ought to be approached to a degree like venture capital. You do not expect everything to be a roaring success and you expect to make some mistakes, but caution does not get what you want. And I was convinced at least at a minimum that this initiative could accomplish something in the near term. Getting rights for the lives of families whose, whose spouses were working in certain areas and the Pass Laws don't permit them to go there, etc. I was certainly convinced that rights could be expanded in the near term. And I was persuaded, it was Sheila Mclean who articulated the argument in the first document making the grant, that – doing this could promote the likelihood to the adherence to the rule of law in a post-apartheid South Africa, because larger proportions of the population could come to the realisation that law can effectively be used to promote rights, not simply to oppress people. So I did not have any reservations that I can recollect. I thought the people involved, by that time, I knew Geoff (Budlender) and I knew Felicia (Kentrige) and I knew Arthur (Chaskalson) and I probably knew a few others who were soon brought aboard. And I was and I am sure, I can say convinced that it was something we could do and that that it had very promising prospects in the near-term and possibly in the long -term.

- Int What gave you that sense that it had promise and prospects? Was it the...
- BC It was the people involved, and my understanding, and it was the experience that I had seen in attempting some faintly analogous or closer to analogous things under oppressive regimes in Latin America.
- Int And do you think, I know that you said that Sheila Mclean convinced you about the rule of law and...
- BC Well, that, that argument and – it, I am convinced as a person who, who --- who would describe his principle concern and passionate interest, as the advancement of human rights. I'm convinced that the rule of law is the heart of the whole thing and if you can do anything to engineer the likelihood that larger portions of the population will understand our dominant need for the rule of law, there is scarcely anything more important to do.
- Int But during the early stages of the LRC, did you think, did you really believe that the law, as it stood in South Africa, could be effectively challenged?

- BC I did, because I had listened to not only Arthur (Chaskalson) and Felicia (Kentridge) but John Dugard and numerous other people around the country, who made the same argument, about what we needed was an effective vehicle to attempt it.
- Int Okay, what were some of the initial conditions in some of the first grants that you made to the LRC? What were the initial conditions of the LRC, of the expectations that you had as the Ford Foundation?
- BC By conditions, what did we expect them to accomplish?
- Int Yes, what was your sense of what you would envisage...
- BC Well, they, and my memory's refreshed by having read the documents recently, there, there was several field identified, in which Arthur (Chaskalson) and his colleagues felt that rights could be expanded in the immediate term. One was and a famous case, that was developed, I've lost its name, begins with K, the rights of, of spouses and families to live with their --, live in areas to which they had been denied by the Pass Laws. I was, that was one area they were going to work in, there issues of urban transportation, land rights and costs --, which certainly adhere to people like Geoff (Budlender) and Arthur (Chaskalson) and others. Our expectations were, I think, that carefully chosen test cases would be advanced when they were ready. You don't do such a thing overnight but, would be litigated within – a period of – a year or two that would begin to—enlarge rights for people whose rights were denied.
- Int Right. You pre-empted the question about the test case approach, because that seemed to have been very important. And in the initial grants that you made, well the first grant and subsequently, what was the extent of your actual contact, did you continue to go to South Africa to...
- BC Well, again, I with at least one colleague, Sheila McLean, whom I at point mentioned, was at that point visiting South Africa, I believe visiting South Africa four times, a year, and I'm certain, if not four, certainly three and I'm certain that a, a trip did not occur after 1978 when we did not meet with – so we were seeing them every three months, and we were also seeing them on occasion, entertaining them, on occasion introducing them to other people in the United States ,when they came for meetings at Columbia, Aspen Institute Programs, which Ford was funding. It wasn't so long, although, I can't tell you when, when we funded a program at the Aspen Institute that identified judges who might learn from exposure about thinking among other things the applicability of international governance relating to human rights to the litigation of rights related cases in South Africa. So, there was a heavy traffic and while we weren't insisting on being present in all of this, I think, I have the impression of seeing someone from the Legal Resources Centres or Trust, six or seven times a year, between, between several contacts in the United States and our particular trips to South Africa.

Int So, you were following it relatively closely...

BC Yes, because I was interested, not because I was concerned, or we were trying to monitor. It was something that I felt was of, of unusual promise in South Africa and it was also something I wanted to think about and learn from and apply in some other difficult settings. It is perhaps worth noting that in 1990, I am sorry, in 1980, excuse me, or I guess it formally occurred in 1981, the Ford Foundation got a new president, Franklin Thomas. He had been a Board member and he had also been a Chair at the Rockefeller Foundation to review US policy towards South Africa. So, he was very much interested in South Africa, I should add from a slightly more conservative, slightly more, somewhat different perspective from mine. I think he was, he often urged me to be sure I didn't neglect seeing Mr. (Mangosuthu Gatsha) Buthelezi and so forth and that wasn't my sense of where the future lay. So, there were certain tensions between him and me, not severe, but some, some differences of opinion. But I became, shortly after he became President, Vice President in charge of all of its international work. David Bell, -- retired and I, I took the job of, what we relabelled developing country programs. So, my responsibility were now global, which is an added reason for being interested in learning what was happening and what successes the- -Legal Resources Centres were having. But one of the conditions when I took this job was that I would remain the principle grant-maker parachuting in, since we had no thought even of setting up an office there. -- I, I would of course have colleagues working there but I would remain the principle grant-maker until I retired. So, so I, I, that shows something about my interest in the country.

Int Yes, absolutely. And in terms of, when you were following this, how did you think the LRC was faring in terms of using the law in the anti-apartheid struggle...

BC I thought it was, I mean, I don't remember that it suffered a major defeat in the courts. I think it was working deliberately, cautiously and with all due attention and care, but I think they were winning.

Int So, in terms of the 1980's, which was a particularly tumultuous period, what was your sense of how the LRC was managing to juggle things like the Emergency regulations and still being operative. I mean sitting in New York and then going into South Africa in that period, it must have been quite a change.

BC Well, it is almost better to be parachuting three or four times a year, than to be living there, because you see, differences and in still frame and then you go away and three months later, things are different. A lot of things were going on. I, I remember for example, I don't, many tensions that were just of concern for me, as a, as one of several organisations funding what we thought were promising works in South Africa, I remember concern for example, I didn't think, our credibility in some circles would be enhanced by making grants to associations too close to Mr. (Mangosuthu Gatsha) Buthelezi. I wasn't implying that I was going to make them,

but there we are. I was instructed sometimes to look at organisations that were succumbed in making a grant. But I was also concerned, as Arthur (Chaskalson) and others were, about the credibility of our funders, if they were to negotiate in the wrong way, in which organisations like the Urban Foundation for example, a local, we wanted to be sure that it was South African funding that was mobilised, but we hoped that it would be South African, expected that it would be South African funding, that it would not case any question about the legitimacy about the organisation. As I remember there, there was a time, when Urban Foundation money was being considered by LRT people, but I think they may have decided against it. I am not sure I've got that right. All of those issues, we, we were trying to understand, but also we had our own critics and not only the government, but Mr. PW Botha at one point was, it quoted as having stated, when he was told that he had an appointment with someone at Ford, he blurted forth, that it was a bunch of communists. He was told no, it was the Ford Motor Company, so of course, he saw them. I of course, never met with him but we had to keep, we hoped that there would be no legal challenge to our making grants, and we hoped that we could visit the country so that, not to monitor our existing grants, as continue to broaden the portfolio. So there was that. Then there was some people, certainly in the Western Cape, some people who began to say, we were less than pure. Some of the UDF people, in the mid to late eighties and that was something to negotiate through—and I, I can remember some very unpleasant meetings in the Western Cape, where we were asked to come to explain ourselves and, were meeting with quite a hostile audience. I do not remember on any of those occasions any negative comment about our grants to the Legal Resources Center. As I said earlier that SACHED, for some reason or another, came up on the list and a couple of others but...

Int There was been some discourse about the Legal Resources Centre being primarily very much a white organisation...

BC Well, this is something I wanted to come to in this conversation. My own recollection and it may not be accurate entirely and I, this is not confined to our relationship to the LRCs or the LRT. An arch example would be certainly an (inaudible) at a minimum. – An arch example where we had trouble with that problem, is the Institute of International Affairs, associated with the University of Witwatersrand, which was celebrating some kind of anniversary and wanted yet another grant from Ford Foundation. We said sure, but we'll give it to you for training black experts in the field and they never requested such a grant. My recollection and I'm not sure and the documentation, I've looked at, only the official documents, I haven't back through the files. It could be established in the files. My recollection is that we were always pressing people at LRC or Cs to use larger portions of our grant to and I know we did this in several institutions and we may have done that at least once at the LRT. Once the grants are sort of firmed up, we say now, we going to give you an extra fifty thousand dollars or something, which must be spent on improving the skills of black lawyers. –So, we were concerned about this. – I was not initially, particularly concerned about this,

because I was eager to see success in, in, in test cases and I thought that was *particularly* the role of the Legal Resources Centres, which I, I came to regard as the, the, well, I regarded for a long time, as one of two capstone or overarching grantees in the broad field of rights promotion, the other being obviously, the, the – CALS, the Centre for Applied Legal Studies at Wits. For a time, just in passing, I saw a thematic division of labour between those two organisations. We made grants, we made a grant to CALS, I believe, only after, just shortly after we had made our first grant to the LRT. I believe that that first grant to CALS was in 1980. But it focused heavily on two thematic themes that we did not anticipate the Legal Resources Centre doing a lot about. Of course grants to CALS were not for litigation, but the people in CALS were bringing cases and the two fields were labour relations on the one hand, and freedom of expression on the other. So, we, we for many years and in one case in documents, were supporting both of these institutions, both of which worried me a bit, because they were too white. Not that I felt that that was any serious threat to their legitimacy in the near term. We know that before LRC in Johannesburg opened its doors, it had the endorsement of Desmond (Mpilo) Tutu, it had – Doctor (Nthato) Motlana as head of the Committee of **inaudible** saying that it was a good thing. We know that, that many legitimate leaders and forces in the black community knew that it was a good thing advancing their cause but, my concern really was and it evolved over time was that you've got to do more for preparing for post-apartheid. It wasn't a question of legitimacy now, as much as we've got to know that, that there have to be more well trained black lawyers and certainly when the majority rule comes and we were making, I don't the year but I'm sure by 1984, and I would bet by 1988, grants to the Black Lawyers Association as well, in support of the, the development of, of black talent in the legal community, to say nothing of grants to all sort of organisations that were developing legal talents among blacks, from the Transvaal Action Committee through the South African Council of Churches, through Black Sash, through quite a few things around the country.

Int Right. Perhaps this is an opportune moment to take a break.

BC Sure.

Int So really continuing on from our discussions about the concerns that perhaps the perception was, and not necessarily from the Ford Foundation at all, but more generally, that the LRC might have been too much of a white organisation; I am just wondering whether other issues, like gender were a concern as well?

BC Well, by that time, there was very much a concern, when I joined the Ford Foundation, there were no women, no blacks and not much diversity of any kind on the board, but by the time we made our first grant to -- the Legal Resources Trust, -- diversity of Boards and staffs was a major concern, of course there wasn't very much longer that we had a black president and a woman vice-president and the, the gender balance in the foundations, even on its Board and in its staff began to shift very dramatically. So, in the very first grant to --, to-- the

LRT, we have a table (begins to shuffle through papers), as we did in all grants at that time, I think, I hope I am right. No, I'm wrong. In the first grant in 1979, we did not explicitly in the grant document address the issue, though certainly, I was asking questions by 1979. Now, in the second grant, 1981, let's look (looking through papers), ah, ha, by the second time, the composition by race and sex on the Centre's governing board, as of September 1981, is set forth in the following table. SO, we list the governing board, the professional staff, the support staff and we go on to say that although these figures display a pattern which is unusually positive by South African standards, the absence of female participation on the Board's operations and the limited presence of blacks in the professional ranks are matters of concern. That's in the document on 1981. So, we were not hostilely, but we were making it clear that there were concerns that we had to present the data and, and asking questions, do you think those data would improve over time and what are you doing to make that happen. We were certainly doing that, I would argue by 1979 and I have written evidence in front of me, by 1981.

Int Right. Coming back slightly to the last bit of information that you've given me about funding the Black Lawyers Association. Was there any sense that was some sort of competition between the Black Lawyers Association and the LRC, in terms of funding? Did you have more problems funding the Black Lawyers Association for various reasons? I am just wondering what the differences were in actually funding the two organisations?

BC Well, I think that they were, I don't, I don't want to be on a public record, -- saying too much about the -- Black Lawyers Association, without reviewing the files. I will say that, I, I felt that there were some *wonderfully* able people in that organisation. -- -- I was less sure that the program of the organisation was -- consequential and I felt that if we were to... I felt that the organisation and some of the people in it merited support and that, I would not want any questions raised about our supporting *only* white-led organisations and I (inaudible) that in my thinking from the beginning. But, I, I would be hard pressed to say that the Black Lawyers Association, in the years in which the -- the LRCs were making very real advances in promoting rights, I would be hard pressed to identify similar short-term consequences for the work of the Black Lawyers Association --.

Int Okay, fair enough and...

BC And, and relatively, the sums going into both were radically different. I, I would be sure that, I would check, but I would guess that we invested only something of the ten or twenty percent of the sum, that we invested in the Legal Resources Trust than in the Black Lawyers Associations in a comparable period. I, I looked today, between 1979 and 1984, we invested 1,149,500 dollars in the LRT, for the first four grants. That was initially just for the Johannesburg centre, for the Cape Town centre and for the opening of the continuing support for the network of three centres by 1984. -- I would guess, but I haven't checked it that the grants to

the – Black Lawyers Association over that same period were somewhere between 100 to 200 thousand dollars.

Int Okay, in terms of, you've mentioned an important point that I want to go onto to, is this expansion of the LRC and I was just wondering – during your, time with actually overseeing the grant, did you have concerns about this expansion?

BC No, I felt that, first of all, I think I knew that, I don't believe that we played any initial role in funding the centre in Durban. But, I wanted to understand what it was, what it was doing and what its leadership was and so forth. So, I visited it, I remember more than once and other lawyers groups in Durban in – shortly after it was formed, I don't remember when it was formed, probably 1982 or 3 or something. – I was interested but not quite so impassioned about some of the programmatic differences of the Durban centre from the, the, the two that we were more directly connected with. Their greater emphasis on rights education, know your rights, their greater sort of role as a, a, a rights bottom-up building – approach, is an important one. It wasn't going to pay the sort of immediate term dividends of the other ones. And obviously there was litigation from the start, I suppose in Durban as well. But there was a different cast about that one, and its one I knew least well, of the ones that we put any money in, even through 1990, so far as I know. I visited the ones in Rhodes, I visited, I guess the only ones that I, I am aware of that I, I have set foot in are Johannesburg, Cape Town, Durban and Rhodes. There was a subsequent one in Pretoria and...

Int Port Elizabeth...

BC And then Port Elizabeth and I don't now recollect that I have been in either one of them and I guess, Pretoria doesn't exist now, but, but P.E. does, it still...

Int Yes, I think it does. I think East London may have closed, I think.

BC Ya, and I certainly know a black lawyer who was head of one of those two. I can't think what his name is right now, I am sorry to say but I may have visited there as well.

Int Just...

BC But, just to answer your question, I was not concerned about a geographic expansion for these two reasons. One the problems need to be addressed in situ and I think experiments with different models, as long as it's not draining a minimal for effectiveness out of funds away from the --, from – first Johannesburg, is very important. I also think that as everyone knows is that the situation in Western Cape was just significantly enough different that it was very important to have a centre there. I remember, I remember many discussions, some of them, painful, especially with knowledge after the fact that –that led to the creation of the—that preceded of the centre in Cape Town. I remember a dinner

party one evening, which I think quite mistakenly, though I believe taking Richard Rosenthal's advice, we, we set up in a private room of a very fancy eatery, in Constantia, or some such place. He or we, I am not sure, which, I know it was not I personally, having been, assured that the venue would be appropriate for people of various *hues*. And I remember being distressed that evening that one of the people that I particularly expected to see participating in that evening's meal and discussion, wasn't there. So, I called him the next morning and I said, Dullah (Omar), I thought you were going to join us for dinner last night. He said "well, I came to.." , wherever it was, "and they made it clear that I was not welcome". A little, a little painful moment in the, in the prelude to the, to the – grant and support of the centre in Cape Town.

Int Hmmm, ironically the Minister of Law and Order..

BC (laughter) Yes, soon to be the Minister of Law and Order (more laughter) in days that we still thought were very distant, but there it was. (laughter continues).

Int Yes, -- funding from the US during the early years of the LRC was incredibly crucial...

BC Of course, it was. In fact, I don't think it could have gotten launched, if it were not for the Carnegie Corporation, the Ford Foundation and the Rockefeller Brother's Fund.

Int And the initial funds were made for periods of three years, etc...

BC Which is more or less normal in all of those foundations, certainly Carnegie and Ford.

Int Right. Was there any sort of discussion on how long this was going to continue? Did you take a longitudinal view of where this was headed? And was there inter-discussions about Carnegie and Rockefeller about their roles of support for the LRC?

BC There were... well, those are two different questions. My, I think foundations have different approaches to, longevity of support. I think Ford is happily or was in my time, -- less uptight about that issue than any other one. I mean, there are grantees *today* in Brazil, that I made grants to in 1970. – and – that includes parenthetically SEBRUP, the organisation that – Fernando Henrique Cardoso, -- founded with colleagues. I don't think that we had any expectation that we would see cease making funding to the LRT in any, any timeframe that worried me. Now some other foundations possibly, Rockefeller Brother Fund may have had a different approach. A, they gave a smaller amount of money and they don't want to lock too much of it in perpetuity, I suppose but I don't really know their posture. But, but I expected that if, if, that if, if what we anticipated would come out of the various Legal Resources Centres, that they would be a grantee of the

Ford Foundation, well beyond my time, at the Ford Foundation. I know of course, that ultimately, there was a tie-off grant made, an endowment, which was to produce and of course, SALSF manages that, -- those funds. To produce continuing flow of income for the Legal Resources Center. We also of course were aware that building on that experience, a much less successful one we, we had in Kenya. Other successful ones we've had in other, other parts of the world like Columbia, or Peru. We were the original funders of a sister institute in Namibia, and a sister institution in – beleaguered Zimbabwe, now beleaguered Zimbabwe. Now, of course, the latter is a matter of great concern at the moment, because the tie-off grant in Zimbabwe is being invaded for survival bases. It's not simply the income but the capital that's being used, and that's too bad but what do you do? But Ford is not, Ford is not one of those foundations that says, we will support you for only one three-year grant and one supplement, or something. It never had been at least not in my time.

Int So, in terms of sources of funding. So there was this tie-off grant, when that would happen?

BC I don't know, it was after my time. It was in the 1990s. I remember knowing of it and if I am not crossing a wire with some other institution, which I could be doing. I remember that initially a sum, a sum was talked about which was smaller than I thought it should be and I remember saying that two million or whatever it was, was not enough. It ought to be at five million, at a minimum, I believe the grant may have been five million, but by this time, I was not at the Ford Foundation.

Int Sure, so you had retired by 1990?

BC I retired at the end of 1989.

Int 1989. By this time, there, you obviously, you may have had, I am not sure, that apartheid was ending, that things were changing in the country? What was your sense at that period...?

BC Well, I continued to visit South Africa and I continued to work in South Africa, as a matter of fact, through the Institute of International Education. I was working mostly on the responses to change in Central and Eastern Europe. – but I continued because they have a program in South Africa, I continued to visit South Africa and to retain close contact. Indeed, I was in South Africa the day that Nelson Mandela came to Cape Town from the, the prison...

Int Pollsmoor

BC Pollsmoor, where he was, had been situated. So, it is all a little hard for me to conjure up my thinking in 19, on January 1990, so to speak. But certainly, I think that by time, my, my, my notion that Gert Viljoen had been wildly off base when

he said that in thirty years there would be a black house parliament. -- -- -- I think, I expected change to come – within some sig, definitive change to come within sometime in the 1990s. I still didn't know whether it would come with a lot of violence or not, but I certainly thought that there was a momentum that was changing things at a faster rate and that it couldn't be reversed. The momentum where exactly it would go wasn't clear to me in 1990, it certainly became clear when, sorry, I am losing the name of the co-winner of the Nobel Prize.

Int F.W.de Klerk.

BC F.W. de Klerk. I met with (F.W.) de Klerk more than once, before he was Prime Minister. When he was Minister of Education. My initial reaction to the man was *very* negative and I thought, boy oh boy, when this man began to assume *the* leadership, I was not optimistic. – but it then became clear to anyone reading the newspapers, he was, he was trying to accommodate conditions to the changes in the world in ways that I wouldn't have anticipated, when I met him as Minister of Education. And I don't know – my interpretation of what happened in South Africa between 1990 and 1994, so to speak is that it was not unrelated to what happened in Eastern Europe and it was not unrelated to what happened in American politics and the jig was up. But we didn't know that in 1990. We knew that another horrible thing had happened just in Tiananmen Square but we didn't know what the response of various other repressive regimes around the world would be to, among other things the change that had happened in the former Soviet Union.

Int Right, but this momentum you speak of, what this momentum that was just internal to the country, or was it a momentum that you found was external, as well.

BC Well, by external, I, I think the world was changing so fast during that period that even a de Klerk who is not the world's most far-sighted person by a long shot was able to conclude that -- -- maintaining the present course was not going to be sufficient. With that we had in this country at the moment, a person with the smarts of (FW) de Klerk, which I am not trying to praise, but we are on a course in this country, in my view, which is, which is absolutely unsuited to the conditions to the world at the moment, but we don't have a leadership that seems to be aware of that yet. But I think that I wouldn't have expected it of (FW) de Klerk, certainly of the talk when it became known that he was meeting with (Nelson) Mandela and so forth and when the world was changing so dramatically, I began to be convinced that the jig was up.

Int The, that was such a historic moment, if you think about it.

BC Oooh

Int and you were privy to this, because of your close association with the work of the LRC, these key thinkers within the LRC. Were there discussions that you were led into that may have kind of alluded to this incredible change that was going to happen?

BC In South Africa, you mean?

Int Yes...

BC Not any that – oh, certainly with friends but not with public figures that I can recollect. I remember, I remember conversations with Desmond (Mpilo) Tutu and so on – I suppose, at various moments but not after 1991. – When did Desmond (Mpilo Tutu) get his Nobel Prize? It was of course in the ‘80s.

Int Yes, but I am not sure exactly when...

BC It was, --- this is a footnote, totally irrelevant. Two footnotes, just a side little story. I missed a golden opportunity on the subject of diversity, which you brought up earlier in this conversation, one evening when a colleague of mine, Richard Horwitz and I invited Desmond (Mpilo Tutu) to dinner, in a restaurant, there were such things then in downtown Johannesburg, near the Carlton, in the early ‘80’s, I suspect and when dinner was served, he looked at us with his typical twinkle and he said “Do you mind if I say Grace?” And we said, why of course, go ahead and he said a blessing of some kind. I don’t know exactly what he said in Xhosa and he said “You know He speaks Xhosa too”. To which I wished I had said “I’m sure She does” (elicits laughter). Well, it came to me about five seconds too late (laughter) anyway. But the more relevant observation about Desmond (Mpilo Tutu), though not relevant was that he had been in a way our first clearly rights oriented grantee in South Africa or one of the early ones anyway, because of the grant money, we couldn’t make a formal grant but the contract we entered into the Council of Churches. And he happened to be at the, I haven’t said this in this conversation, have I?

Int No

BC He happened to be at the General Theological Seminary when the Nobel Prize was announced. And I happened to reach him by telephone that morning, and he came to the Ford Foundation, within an hour and – thanked us for (sigh)

Int That’s incredible.

BC Oooh.

Int Hmm, I mean that momentous change, You had a sense that that would happen in the ‘90s. You were just concerned about the levels of violence...

BC Yes, I, I felt, I think I felt by that afternoon, I hate to admit it, on the terrace of the Mount Nelson, in conversation with two lawyers, one of whom I last saw wearing a wig and presenting a case in the Constitutional Court, I can't think of his name, when Nelson (Mandela) was coming into, into Cape Town. We, we knew then of course, but I think I was pretty convinced by 1990 and mostly just because changes was breaking out all over and the pace was clearly intensifying in South Africa. I think if you'd ask me with there have been *huge* outbreaks of violence or, or, or a real change toward majority rule by 1995, I would have said, I don't know which, but I am sure, one or other is going to happen.

Int 1985 or 1995?

BC 1995, in other words, I was saying that by 1990 that --. I don't know where I was in 1985, we were still immersed in all this UDF. I don't think in '85, I thought '95 was likely at all, but I certainly did by, by...

Int 1990. What were your concerns about the LRC at that point, now that they were moving into transition, there was CODESA. It was happening but it was all very uncertain. What were your concerns for the LRC?

BC Well, I knew that one of the consequences of the, of the coming into power of the ANC could be a form of hostility to the civil society sector. Indeed, some ideologues within the ANC, even before they took power, I remember an awful meeting in New York, I know it had to be 1992, with -- at the Institute of International Education, when a white representative of the ANC, happily I've forgotten his name, -- was talking about the future in South Africa, when someone raised the question about the future of NGOs and so on and so forth and he said he doubted whether they would be necessary in a post-majority, in a majority ruled South Africa, that kind of thing is quite frightening. I considered it a possibility that the, that the government that would take over would include people like that, who might have the capacity to really severely limit the access to funding for -- NGOs or otherwise curtail their activities. I didn't have any special concerns about the, the LRCs but, but certainly I was concerned that their utility, which I felt was that, was critical in post-apartheid South Africa could be impaired by, by the ideology of a new regime. I wasn't that concerned when we had to hear what Mr. (Nelson) Mandela had to say but I was certainly, or my interpretation of a Dullah Omar, or other people, but we know that there was a strand in the ANC, I did not know how powerful it was, that -- that was much more (inaudible) of a line of thinking to Community Parties, which after all wasn't all that (inaudible) that is pretty hostile to serious challenges to citizen sector organisations. So that was my concern, but happily, not, not borne out and one that I have seen happen in, well, seen happen in Eastern Europe and knew what happened in -- South Africa is, or two is: one is that talent will be siphoned out of, out of --civil society organisations and into government, which is a good thing because government's need able people but a bad thing for civil society organisations. I also knew that -- another threat since the LRT had never made as

- much strides as one would hope it might have in mobilising South African funding and was unlikely to, I felt, granted where the country was going. – One of the problems is that with everything else happening in China and Russia and Eastern Europe was that foreign funding would dry up or be markedly curtailed. To a degree that had happened but both of these were phenomena I had seen in other settings or knew were going to threaten the Legal Resources Trust.
- Int Sure, in terms of the actual work of the Legal Resources Centre, what was your sense of where it was heading now that it was effectively a post-apartheid situation.
- BC Well, you know, my, my first sense was that it was very important that there might be new challenges to rights that I hadn't anticipated a or b, despite all the good intentions of an ANC government there is certainly, it would be impossible that they would be making adequate strides in addressing in certain issues of rights and social justice and that they would prodding from, and that might come in areas like housing or employment policies. I don't know who knows, but one does know, that there will be reasons to press governments through litigation to – assure rights to an increasing majority of that population that had not enjoyed them.
- Int Right.
- BC So, it was evident that there was a huge agenda here. And I was concerned that there may not be the talent or the resources, money for the LRT that I would hope it could.
- Int Right. Your role at Ford ended, well you retired in 1989, going to 1990. At what point did you become a member of SALSF?
- BC You know I don't know but that is easily established. It was – I don't remember but I would guess, if you ask me that it was around 1992 or 3. But I could be off, I know that it was after Ford and I know that its been at least eight years but I would bet that its been ten or twelve years.
- Int So, 1992.
- BC It is establishable. I don't know, in fact it would be on my CV but ...
- Int So there hasn't really been much of a break with the LRC's work?
- BC None, because I went to South Africa regularly during 1990, 1991 and '92 and I always looked in, I was in South Africa and I met with Susan (should read Janet) Love at the LR, at the you know the National Office and I looked, I looked in at the Johannesburg office on another floor of Bram, Bram Fischer House. No, I have not lost contact with it at any point.

Int Okay, so although apartheid's ended more than ten years ago, the LRC continues to thrive and I am wondering what are some of the issues that you've been privy to in the transitional period, that you think as important?

BC I haven't been following it with a degree of closeness that, that I did. I am doing other things in South Africa and I am hearing reports and reading reports that goes to SALS etc. –

Int What have been some of the success stories in post-apartheid South Africa with regard to the LRC?

BC Well, I, I wish I were, I were having better memory of what I've been reading. I, I know there have been a series of land issues, where I know they've played an important role and I obviously know and admire Geoff (Budlender)'s changing role, as a LRC member and as a private-- barrister taking some of these cases and so on, that's one field that I think that – I cannot identify them but its maybe my ignorance with any serious impact on what I think is, well, its not a failure but its – an area in which there had been less response, a lot of response but less than what some people would think was needed. I don't, I can't think of it, of a case, on housing issues. I don't know whether that there has been one. It's at risk there. It is perhaps significant that I have not – coming up with cases of the sort that I – that I remember- - when I was ---- directly involved in grant-making or have refreshed my memory about by reading these kinds of documents. I have seen several, I have been present at, at on at least two or three occasions, twice when Arthur (Chaskalson) was presiding, I've been present at various -- -- cases brought to the Constitutional Court, but I don't associate them with the, with the LRC. Maybe incorrectly. For example, one of the important cases concerns the right of pregnant women to anti-retroviral. I do not believe but you may know, that was a case the LRC was...

Int Yes, the LRC was involved in the Treatment Action Campaign's...

BC Well, I didn't remember that it was the litigator in the case. If it was, that's great because I remember that case and it's obviously a critically important one.

Int I am just wondering in terms of the Truth and Reconciliation Commission,

BC Yeah.

Int What was your sense of the involvement of the LRC? Was there any involvement of LRC members? Do you think it should have been?

BC You know I should know more about... -- I mean, I've recently read Desmond (Mpilo Tutu)'s authorised biography and – have read things that Alex Boraine has written about the – case and I am aware that the Ford Foundation has supported

the International Center in this field but I – I did not follow, I mean I obviously followed from afar what Winnie Mandela's appearance in some of the things that received a lot of international coverage, but I – I don't know – I don't know --- of the LRC's or of people involved with the LRC's involvement in that exercise. Tell me was there much?

Int Not that I know of and that's one of the questions I ask...

BC Sure. I – I'm not aware of it. Obviously, I am sure not any of them were brought before it or were rights offenders to clear their conscience for the record but I don't know of them helping those who either helping the Commission itself or -- - or helping any of those who may have come before it but...

Int And I'm wondering again and this is something you may or may not know about, of the creation of the Constitution Litigation Unit?

BC Well, I am aware that the Constitutional Litigation was created. I think Geoff (Budlender) headed it for a considerable portion of it and I've been present on one occasion when Geoff (Budlender) was... I guess that's wrong but I remembered talking on one occasion with him before a litigation – brought by that unit. And that seems to me to be – a important presumably correct step. At the moment, that's where that's the court in which you need to get first class rights of constitution issues, so fine.

Int You also mentioned that you concerns about land issues and I was wondering what your sense is about that?

BC Yeah. Well, my sense is that's and it is such a difficult issue in parts of Central Europe as it is in South Africa. My sense is that that you cannot unscramble that egg and justice is, is very hard to define in some of these issues but there are some relatively recent, meaning in the last three to four decades or etc, some of the atrocities that I witnessed when visiting another grantee, indeed (laughter) related to Geoff (Budlender), Aninka Claassens. Aninka Claassens is Geoff (Budlender)'s wife -- -- the Transvaal Rural Action Committee was involved in trying to prevent but not succeeding in preventing some horrible injustices in the 1980s and some of those have been unscrambled and many more are in need of it, but it's a slow and painful process to --obtain justice on a case-by-case basis when there was such a huge campaign of eliminating black spots to say nothing of other grander scale injustices that have occurred in with regard to land and since even before the apartheid regime in South Africa, so what do you do about it. You, you clearly try to undo some of the most, most serious recent – injustices and I think that the LRC has done some of that if I'm not mistaken but – but on the other hand, if you are doing it by a case-by-case basis when there probably a thousand such cases that need attention, to take some number, to imply a large scale, can't be much smaller than that. I don't know how you do it quickly.

Int Okay, -- now this is something that you have alluded to as a concern of yours, it is a widely held discourse of post-transition countries and it is that South Africa is no longer the darling of the funding world.

BC Yeah.

Int And I am just wondering how this has impacted the operations of the LRC and you know from 1994 -1995 onwards, what your sense has been?

BC Well, I think that both things that I alluded to, one, the drawing of talent into government and two the, diminishing of funds have taken a substantial toll. I don't pretend to know enough about the history of, of – the leadership of the LRC since Arthur (Chaskalson) left but I have the sense that there were periods of – in which for one reason or another, the organisation, the people selected as leaders while they were legitimate and – appropriately trained were not, were not the calibre that a dynamic institution needs. I don't know anything about the deci... in detail about any of those decisions either to take or people leaving. I wish, I certainly sense from the three occasions that I have been with Susan (actually means Janet) Love, if I have her first name right?

Int Janet Love

BC Janet Love. I knew something was wrong. Excuse me, I've said Susan two or three times and I don't know exactly why I've done it, but anyway, when –I, I have met Janet Love briefly at a meeting sponsored by an organisation on the Board of which I serve since I left the Ford Foundation, Human Rights Watch, here in New York. I have her first in a meeting that they sponsored. I met her in South Africa, and visited her office as I said earlier in Bram Fischer House only two months ago. And she was of course at the most recent SALS Board meeting, which I attended and I have every reason to believe and hope that she is – a strong leader. I know that she's got financial problems that -- -- that suggest that – to me at least, that – the LRC's can't do as much as they should, simply because they haven't got the budget. They – are of a size that they can make good use of and that problem presumably has two dimensions, one fickle foreign funders doing something else and timid corporate and private funding – in South Africa, timid and insufficient in scale.

Int Hmmm, I wonder whether this ties in with, I've been wondering what you think are some of the crucial issues confronting the LRC now?

BC Well, clearly is budget, I would think. I would guess but don't have enough knowledge to know that, that that are problems under quality of staff. Now that is a big term you *must have*, in this era, a very diverse staff. You obviously want it to be diverse in several ways, gender included and you want it to include members of all previously discriminated groups in South Africa and so forth. But first and foremost, you also want it to have all the available talent you can get.

- Well, many of the people with the greatest degree of talent as lawyers are being bid for, by other organisations, internal, corporate, government and national. And I would think it is hard to recruit at the salaries that they can afford to pay and so on and so forth, the degree of talent that, that would serve them best and to recruit the best talent in the country. When they recruited Arthur (Chaskalson) and Geoff (Budlender), as far as I'm concerned, they got the best talent in the country, they can't do that now across the board.
- Int Sure. Do you think that's tied into the lawyers getting much more lucrative jobs in...
- BC I, it's tied into a lot of things. Part of it is that lawyers get a lot of money, some of them but they don't make a lot of money in the public interest law field. I think it's tied into a set of problems that are global in scale of – of increasing influence with money in this country and Russia, all over the world. I am sure there is a similar infection not just of the previously suppressed groups but the whole population in South Africa, it would be peculiar if it weren't of what I think is a global phenomena. So I do think that is part of the problem, yeah.
- Int Okay, how has the relationship between the LRC and the Ford Foundation, if you had to look back...
- BC Well, I can only speak, 'cos I really except for one telephone call at a time when I was appalled at the size of the tie-off grant, I do not, I have not talked about with any Ford Foundation staff member about this relationship since 1990. – I thought the relationship between 1977 or '78 pre-creation to 1990 was great. I can't remember any problem. I've said I remember this sense that one wished that they do a little more in developing black talent but knowing that there's only so much that can be done and that litigating key course, key cases is critically important that that little tiny bit of – of concern that I certainly expressed, but I don't think it got in the way of any relationship. I think, I think it would, it was about a trouble-free a relationship from my perspective and as in a way, I add with any major grantee. I would also say that when I cite success stories, as I have in public – in print on a few occasions --- that the success of the LRC's and the broader program and here I would includes CALS and so forth, of which they were one of two or the, the centrepiece is something that I regard, as, as among the Ford Foundations greatest successes international program during the time that I was involved with it.
- Int Okay, what makes it such a great success story?
- BC Well, the accident of history has a lot to do with it. They played a *critical* role, it could even be a *crucial* role in suggesting that, that there are ways other than violence to redress the balance and the balance of social justice and the achievement of human rights in South Africa. Not many countries have been so lucky.

Int Hmmm, absolutely. When you look back, I know that you have said that you think of it, as a success, do you think there's anything that you as part of Ford or Ford could have differently with regard to grants to the LRC?

BC Hmmm, I don't think we ever said no to anything. We may have disappointed them in the amount of money that they got from us but on the other hand, I th... again, I don't think we were ever... my only concern ab...on the money side was that I didn't want them to become excessively dependent on any single funder and certainly not on the Ford Foundation -- -- a, -- again I think Ford is less fickle than most and Ford is the only original funder who is, who stood with it without interruption through 1990, I think -- I think Carnegie peeled away and Rockefeller Brother's Fund. We haven't mentioned it but -- of course the Rockefeller Foundation came on at that time too but -- there was a change of personnel and a change of everything and they left. So Ford has, has been with them longer than anyone else, any other foreign funder.

Int In terms of your involvement with SALS Foundation.

BC SALSLEP and now SALS, South African Legal Services and Legal Education Program Foundation.

Int Yes, what has been the actual highlights of that involvement?

BC Well, the highlight for me obviously is, is a, continuing contact with the representatives of the LRC's and contact with some very extraordinary people who've been on that Board. -- I've also worked off and on in various ways with Ann Satchwill, who is their administrating person for -- many, many years stretching back into my years working in South Africa with Ford and--I'm glad they've been able to enlist her help. I don't think it is a critically important organisation. I, it is good, I think it is sensible to have perhaps a custodian for some large grants, investing them in the, in ways in this country. I don't know that it' done as distinguished a job in that task, as it might have done. It hasn't done as conservative a job but it may not have done as sort of go-go ---- employed as go-go an approach, as it should have. I think that there could have been a greater enlargement but when it is a sum of that amount, you cannot afford to be as simply risk-taking -- I think it's to a degree I have to say, an organisation in search of a mission beyond the, beyond the custodian one, it is an organisation lying in wait, if there were a need for external friends and interventions. But I don't think there, certainly there hasn't been the...suppose we had a much more ideological government trying, trying to (inaudible) activities of this sort, it then might have been considerably more important to have a series of friends internationally -- doing whatever forms of expressions of concern both to the South African government and other governments, but it hasn't had to play that role, thank goodness.

Int Do you have any concerns for the actual future life of the LRC, besides funding that you spoke about?

BC Well, I, funding and funding is related to it, access to talent. I, I, I, I, I'm just not sure but I've tried to recruit people for other organisations that I'm associated with in South Africa now, and getting good leadership, is not easy, at this moment in South Africa, good leadership and good staff. I, I, the reason I was in South Africa in March and the reason I have been there most years, a reason I've been there most years since 199 – since the mid-1990s, is that I play a central role in select—Ashoka fellows in South Africa. Well, my, Ashoka has had serious problems in finding the quality of leadership that it needs and the quality of staffing that it needs – in this era because people have been doing other things and the poor people you recruit expect salaries that we can't pay and so on and so forth.

Int Right. Would you have been able to predict that the LRC would have become such an established institution in South Africa in 1978, '79?

BC I would have been able to predict that there was a good chance there it was going to be the premier organisation – working for the promotion of rights from a legal – with legal tools because of the quality of Arthur Chaskalson, Geoff Budlender and the people that they went on to quickly recruit. Sure, again, I want to say, that I also could have predicted that, that CALS could have played that role and one of my sadnesses is that John Dugard has never been accommodated well in post-apartheid South Africa as Arthur Chaskalson and some of the others but not only him but there are *many* other people at CALS who have, and are playing crucial roles, *most* of them sadly *white* but they, they, I think the cast of characters at CALS, if I went down the list is perhaps almost as impressive as the cast of characters – in the LRCs. But, I don't think the organisation, wasn't a litigator although John (Dugard) and others did litigation – so the two of them and I, I didn't know how in what way they would compliment one another and in what way they would work out but I knew we needed both and I was confident that they would both play key roles in, in developing the legal challenges in the country to expand rights.

Int Okay, you mentioned Bishop Desmond (Mpilo) Tutu and I am wondering whether there were any other very inspirational South Africans you met, particularly people associated with the LRC, whom you may have thought you were impressed by?

BC Well, there are a whole host of younger than Arthur (Chaskalson), lawyers of whom who were associated with CALS and some of whom were associated with – the LRC. – who impressed me but I'm bad on names at this point.

Int Okay.

- BC I think of Edward Cameron at CALS that, that I know of work that he's done and I see him when I am in South Africa but that happens to be CALS. I know of – well, I was very impressed taking for a time ,but I don't know him as well, with Fiks, Fikile Bam. I was very impressed with – I am sorry I'm having a terrible problem with names, the biographer with Nelson Mandela's the woman of Indian origin, based in Durban, didn't she do a biography?
- Int Fatima Meer?
- BC Fatima Meer's daughter.
- Int Right, Shehnaz Meer
- BC --Shehnaz (Meer) in Cape Town I always thought was a very impressive person and I don't know exactly what Shehnaz (Meer) is now doing? There was a person that I thought had a lot of energy and promise and so forth. I was impressed by the fellow who I think ran the LRC or was in the, the equivalent organisation in – in – Namibia, who now runs the Cape Town centre. He is the son of a judge but I cannot think of his name at this time, but there are others, -- there is – the fellow who was Nelson Mandela's lawyer not his Minister of Justice?
- Int George Bizos?
- BC No, not George Bizos, I don't mean his lawyer in defending his cases, I mean when he was President; he was a legal officer when Nelson was President. He's a young, I mean I think of him as young. I'm afraid I'm thinking more and he may be a CALS person rather than an LRT. I also was much impressed by the firm of Cheadle, Thompson and whatever,
- Int (Fink)Haysom
- BC Fink Haysom and I was realising that he was part of that firm. These are people who come to my mind, as I think start thinking of a, about people who are unquestionably smart bright people who have a, a clear sense of can-do and who can make things happen and who in very different charisma as people who can play a leadership role. Yeah, there are a lot of such people.
- Int Okay...
- BC But Geoff (Budlender), after Arthur (Chaskalson) belongs *extremely high* on that list.
- Int Highlights of your involvement with the LRC, any particular memories that come to mind?
- BC Well, seeing Arthur (Chaskalson) in the chair of the Constitutional Court.

Int Right. You've been involved for a particularly long time with one organisation. I wonder how you reflect on that?

BC Ford you mean?

Int Well, Ford of course, but the LRC through Ford from 1977, '78 onwards right through to now.

BC It's now the only one, but not with the same degree of frequency but I have – I have several, there are several grantees of the Ford Foundation in Latin America that I have, I visited SEBRAE in Brazil – in November last year. I feel a certain identification, I made the first grant to that organisation in 1969, that's good heavens, approaching forty years and it's still there and I feel a certain sense of , of – parenthood and it's a great source of satisfaction but I don't think I've visited many organisations in South Africa in recent trips that I was involved with as a funder, except I went to see Janet Love, because I wanted to see her and I wanted to see and sort of be in the Legal Resources Centre and I hope to visit the fellow whose name I can't come up with, who heads the operation in Cape Town this trip, when I was in Cape Town but he was not there when I was there, and I think that more than any other single grantee in South Africa, I am just asking myself if there is any close... it is the LRT, LRCs that I've kept in touch with although, I feel a great fondness for the South African Council of Churches, certainly for Desmond (Mpilo Tutu) and a few others.

Int Okay. I have asked a range of questions and I am wondering whether there are actually things that you would like to add to this oral history, that I may have neglected to ask about?

BC Well, I wanted to add much of what I talked about in the beginning and I. I *think*, I think we covered that terrain thoroughly because this was an *accident*. The Ford Foundation had Arthur (Chaskalson) had this idea in the early seventies, the Ford Foundation would not have helped him. – I think to be... I think that it's the accident that McGeorge Bundy turned to me rather than to someone in the Africa program to head the Africa program that set this chain of activity in motion, not taking credit for it any more than... and Sheila McLean is a very key figure – but – I don't think it would have happened, if I hadn't been in that role, so in that sense – its just this, this peculiar of the evolution of the Foundation and my own – missionary sense because I really felt by that time, that by 19... when I made that switch that much of the rest of the foundation's programs were *too* close to government and were doing *too* little to advance causes of rights and so forth, which necessarily involved a repositioning of their relationship to government, so I, I would say that I want to emphasise that, and I think that its, that is something that – is a result of my own, my own making that move and being there, that's it, I think.

Int Okay, well, thank you very much Bill for your time and for sharing your thoughts and memories.

BC I enjoyed it because it's a topic I love and feel quite passionate, as you noted.

Bill Carmichael–Name Index

Bam, Fikile, 31
Bell, David, 8, 14
Biko, Stephen Bantu (Steve), 6, 9
Bizos, George, 31
Boraine, Alex, 25
Botha, PW., 15
Budlender, Geoff, 12, 13, 25, 26, 28, 30, 31
Bundy, McGeorge, 5, 6, 32
Buthelezi, Mangosuthu Gatsha, 14
Cameron Edwin, 31
Cardoso, Fernando Henrique, 5, 19
Castro, Fidel, 4
Chaskalson, Arthur (Chaskalson), 6, 7, 9, 10, 11, 12, 13, 15, 25, 27, 28, 30, 31, 32
Claassens, Aninka, 26
Costa-Gravras, Constantinos, 5
Dale, Harvey, 1
De Klerk, F.W., 21
Dugard, John, 6, 13, 30
Duncan, Sheena, 7, 9
Ford, Henry, 3
Gates, Bill, 3
Gates, Melinda, 3
Guevara, Che, 4
Haysom, Fink, 32
Horwitz, Richard, 22
Johnson, Lyndon, 5
Kennedy, John, F., 4, 5
Kentridge, Felicia (Kentridge), 9, 10, 11, 12, 13
Love, Janet, 24, 27, 32
Mandela, Nelson, 20, 21, 23, 31
Mandela, Winnie, 26
McLean, Sheila, 6, 9, 10, 12, 13, 32
Meer, Fatima, 31
Meer, Shehnaz, 31
Moleman, Hazel, 9
Motlana, Nthato, Dr. 16
Mphomwana, Mlusi, 9
Omar, Dullah, 19, 23
Ramphele, Mamphele, 9
Rosenthal, Richard, 19
Satchwill, Ann, 29
Thomas, Franklin, 14
Tutu, Desmond Mpilo, 6, 7, 16, 22, 25, 30, 32
Viljoen, Gert, 9, 10, 20
Welch, Claude, Jr., 8

Legal Resources Centre Oral History Project

PUBLISHER:

Publisher:- Historical Papers, William Cullen Library, University of the Witwatersrand

Location:- Johannesburg

©2012

LEGAL NOTICES:

Copyright Notice: All materials on the Historical Papers website are protected by South African copyright law and may not be reproduced, distributed, transmitted, displayed, or otherwise published in any format, without the prior written permission of the copyright owner.

Disclaimer and Terms of Use: Provided that you maintain all copyright and other notices contained therein, you may download material (one machine readable copy and one print copy per page) for your personal and/or educational non-commercial use only.

People using these records relating to the archives of Historical Papers, The Library, University of the Witwatersrand, Johannesburg, are reminded that such records sometimes contain material which is uncorroborated, inaccurate, distorted or untrue. These digital records are digital copies of electronic documents and the information contained herein is obtained from sources believed to be accurate and reliable, Historical Papers, University of the Witwatersrand has not independently verified their content. Consequently, the University is not responsible for any errors or omissions and excludes any and all liability for any errors in or omissions from the information on the website or any related information on third party websites accessible from this website.

DOCUMENT DETAILS:

Document ID:- AG3298-1-022

Document Title:- Bill Carmichael Interview

Author:- Legal Resources Centre South Africa (LRC)

Document Date:- 2007

