



# **Ford Foundation records, International Division, South and Southeast Asia, Karachi and Islamabad, Pakistan, Field Office Files**

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## Table of Contents

---

Summary Information .....	3
Biographical / Historical .....	3
Scope and Contents .....	9
Arrangement .....	10
Administrative Information .....	10
Collection Inventory .....	11
Travel and Study Awards .....	11
Subject Files .....	13

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## Summary Information

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<b>Repository:</b>	Rockefeller Archive Center
<b>Creator:</b>	Ford Foundation
<b>Title:</b>	Ford Foundation records, International Division, South and Southeast Asia, Karachi and Islamabad, Pakistan, Field Office Files
<b>ID:</b>	FA647
<b>Date [inclusive]:</b>	1951-1981
<b>Physical Description:</b>	21.28 Cubic Feet
<b>Physical Description:</b>	19 boxes -- 2 document boxes, 17 cubic foot boxes
<b>Language of the Material:</b>	English

### Preferred Citation note

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[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

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## Biographical / Historical

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### Segment One: International Activities of the Ford Foundation: An Overview

The Foundation's aspiration to become a national and international philanthropy for the advancement of human welfare was first formally expressed in the seminal 1949 report of the Gaither Study Committee, *Report of the Study for the Ford Foundation on Policy and Program* (RAC Library, call letters 361.7 GAI ), which was commissioned by the Board of Trustees to chart the Foundation's future. Foundation Trustees launched Ford's international grantmaking activities in 1950 when they approved the committee's report and its embrace of peace, democracy, and freedom. Since then, the Foundation has tackled these goals using a variety of strategies and responding to changing contexts, from the Cold War to the 1989 fall of the Berlin Wall and beyond.

Toward the Foundation's aspirational goal, "the establishment of peace", its international activities have comprised a wide range of conceptual approaches and focus areas. These include international affairs, international studies, international understanding, arms control and disarmament, international law,

international economic concerns, and overseas development in nearly every region of the world. Three distinct periods emerge for the international grantmaking defined by external contextual changes and internal changes in Foundation leadership and structures: the expansion era of 1950-1965; the transition and restructuring years of 1966-1988; and the post-1989 shift away from Cold War dichotomies. During each of the distinct historical periods the consistent objectives were: 1) to ensure freedom and democracy in developed countries; 2) to foster education and international understanding in all countries; and 3) to contribute to the social, economic, and political development of less developed countries.

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

---

## Biographical / Historical

---

### Segment 2. Period Sketch - The Expansion Era 1950-1965

The Ford Foundation's expansion era (1950-1965) began when the Gaither Study Committee Report placed "peace" as the area of top priority for the Foundation and set the Ford Foundation on a global course. Board Chair Henry Ford II writing in the 1951 Annual Report of the Foundation, identified "the danger of war" as the "the prime threat to human welfare today." Under the leadership of the three Ford Foundation presidents in this period-- Paul Hoffman, H. Rowan Gaither and Henry Heald--and several key trustees, notably the two seriatim chairs, John J. McCloy and Julius A. Stratton, the Foundation programs were largely informed by the post-World War II desire to avoid nuclear war and promote greater understanding among the world's peoples, strengthening of the United Nations, and enhancing both private and public American participation in world affairs. The strong board presence of university presidents and former leaders of postwar reconstruction efforts in Europe also helped to inform Ford's approach to building the field of peace and international security in the United States and encouraged extensive overseas activities.

For example, the first three presidents of the expanded Foundation ranged from government and business leadership experience to academic and nonprofit: Paul Hoffman (at Ford, 1950-1953) ran the Marshall Plan in Europe; H. Rowan Gaither Staffer (1948-1953), President (1953-1956) and Trustee (1956-1958) had MIT and Rand experience; Henry Heald, former president, Illinois Institute of Technology and New York University, President (1956-1966). The trustees also ran the leadership gamut from government and nonprofits to academic: Trustee John J. McCloy (from 1953; chair, 1959-1965) was assistant Secretary of War during World War II and chairman of the Council on Foreign Relations; and Trustee Julius A. Stratton (Trustee from 1955; chair, 1966-1970) was president of MIT.

When Ford became an international foundation in 1950, it had a small staff and operated through separate funds. The expansive period in the 1950s and 1960s resulted in a large number of field offices, which increased Ford's global footprint. Support focused on a mix of US university-based programs for research and training; think-tanks for policy-oriented meetings and policy research; and action projects specifically in less developed countries. The Foundation's focus on peace, freedom, and democracy played out against the Cold War backdrop for scientific and military competition between the United States, the Soviet Union and China.

Under President Hoffman, the Foundation's work was organized by the areas identified in the Gaither Committee Report: Area One, the Establishment of Peace; Area Two, The Strengthening of Democracy; Area Three, The Strengthening of the Economy; Area Four, Education in a Democratic Society; and Area Five, Individual Behavior and Human Relations.

Program differentiation began in the Gaither era. When he began in 1953, he introduced the following programs, with international work under nearly all of them: International Programs, Public Affairs Programs, Program in Economic Development and Administration (mainly U.S. based), Education Program, The TV-Radio Workshop, and Behavioral Sciences Program. In 1954, the Foundation gave prominence to the international work explicitly through changing the program names and separating international affairs and overseas development. The 1954 program names were: The Advancement of Education, Education for Democracy, Increasing Knowledge of Foreign Areas, Economic Development and Administration, the Behavioral Sciences, and Overseas Development. In 1955, Increasing Knowledge of Foreign Areas became Increasing International Understanding. In 1956, the last year of the Gaither presidency, the program roster read: Education in the United States, The Behavioral Sciences, Public Affairs, Hospital Aid (only in the U.S.), Economic Development and Administration, International Understanding, and Overseas Development. Names changed but the program focus often remained the same.

President Heald maintained the areas of international interest of Hoffman and Gaither. The International Affairs program housed the programs based in the United States, Europe and Japan, with a few activities linking American and developing countries institutions. The Overseas Training and Research Program took over the efforts to increase American understanding of international issues. From 1957-1959, an International Legal Studies program, run from New York, helped build law programs in developing countries. Starting in 1959, the Overseas Development program comprised all the regional and country offices. In fiscal year 1964, Heald convinced the trustees to add a new focus on population, with grants both in the United States and overseas.

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

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## Biographical / Historical

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### Segment 2. Period Summary - The Expansion Era 1950-1965

With the ever-increasing budget and trustee willingness to invade capital, presidents Hoffman, Gaither and Heald oversaw vast growth in the Foundation's international activities in the United States, other developed countries and developing countries. Activities crossed disciplines, institutions, and national boundaries, although few crossed intra-foundation boundaries. Under the three presidents, Foundation staff in various domestic and international offices from New York interacted with the regional and country offices headed by representatives. Usually in this period, however, these offices in fact worked more closely with local governments than with New York staff, reinforcing the commitment to locally led social and economic development in less-developed countries.

The shared values of this early period reflected as much the continuing competition between the Communist and capitalist worlds as the concerns about maintaining peace. The Cold War provided the contextual continuity for grantmaking on the core themes of increasing American understanding of the rest of the world, building and strengthening connections not only with European and Asian democracies but also with Eastern European countries, the Soviet Union, China, and Cuba.

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

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## Biographical / Historical

---

### Segment 3. Period Sketch - Transition and Restructuring 1966-1988

In the 1960s, the Ford Foundation Trustees began to rethink the role of the Foundation in the context of the era's dramatic political and cultural changes. For instance, the passage of the 1964 Civil Rights Act created a domestic policy context in which the Foundation could more deeply engage with issues of rights and social justice. Events overseas starting in the late 1960s would extend the rights agenda to international affairs and development operations at the Foundation -- all advanced by the leadership of McGeorge Bundy (president, 1966-1979).

McGeorge Bundy was appointed president in 1966, following a significant career in national security and academic administration. During World War II, he worked with the Army's intelligence division, and in the early post-war years was a political analyst at the Council on Foreign Relations. Even without a postgraduate degree, at the age of thirty-four he became dean of the Faculty of Arts and Science at Harvard University. In 1961, President Kennedy appointed Bundy to be Special Assistant to the President for National Security - a position he held for five years under both Kennedy and Johnson. Those significant years saw the Bay of Pigs invasion, the Cuban Missile Crisis, and the beginnings of the Vietnam War.

When Bundy arrived at the Foundation, he initiated a restructuring that modeled government departments rather than the academic ones President Henry Heald had established in the 1950s. At the same time, he had to contend with serious financial constraints due to Ford's overspending in the prior periods and to economic downturns in the global economy. The Board of Trustees mandated an annual spending of over \$100 million.

These economic constraints meant that Foundation programs had to be more selective across the range of its programs. Nonetheless, international activities remained prominent with the new president and trustees. President Bundy and key trustees such Eugene Black (1960-1968, former head of the World Bank) and Robert S. McNamara (1968-1986, former U.S. Secretary of Defense and then head of the World Bank, 1968-1981) reflected a commitment to the international activities. Bundy also added to the board in 1972 the first trustee from a developing country, the Indonesian activist and scholar, Dr. Soedjakmoto, the former Ambassador to the United States from his country and then Special Adviser on Social and Cultural Affairs to the Chairman of Indonesia's National Development Planning Agency.

To create economies of scale, Bundy unified US-based international and overseas activities under one division: the International Division (using the name for the first time). That division comprised Resources for Development (area studies, languages, and exchanges), Population, International Relations, Planning and Evaluation, and the country programs. David Bell, an economist and the first administrator of the US Agency for International Development (1962-1966), was named vice president and served in that capacity until the end of Bundy presidency.

In 1966, Bundy terminated the long-standing internationally oriented but domestically based International Training and Research Program. Several large domestic programs -- including support of centers of international studies - were phased out in the 1970s. Instead, Ford launched under its international affairs efforts a focused but robust program in security and arms control. Over Bundy's tenure, the overseas offices were reduced from twenty in 1966 to twelve in 1979, when he retired.

The Foundation increasingly turned its attention to different set of international issues including human rights and working in repressive societies, such as South Africa. The military coups in Latin America during the late 1960s and early 1970s led the Foundation to initiate in 1976 a human rights program housed in Vice President Bell's office.

In 1979, Franklin Thomas was named president of the Ford Foundation (1979-1996). In contrast to Bundy's international and defense policy background, Franklin Thomas brought to the Ford Foundation his experience in law, housing, and community development. Prior to joining the Foundation, Thomas, a lawyer, was a Foundation trustee. He chaired the Rockefeller Foundation-funded Study Commission on U.S. Policy towards South Africa and led the Ford-funded Bedford-Stuyvesant Restoration Corporation in New York from its beginning in 1966 until he left in 1979. Earlier, he had been deputy police commissioner of NYC.

In the first decade of Thomas' tenure, the international work was still framed using the post-war East-West dichotomy. Several trustees brought to the board active engagement in international issues: Donald F. McHenry (trustee over the period 1981-1993) had served as ambassador to the U.N. and was active in the anti-apartheid movement; and General Olusegun Obasanjo (trustee over the period 1987-1999) had been Nigerian head of state from 1976-1979, and was then president of the African leadership Forum. Along with McNamara and Soedjakmoto, Rodrigo Botero, an internationally renowned economist from Colombia and former Colombian Minister of Finance and Credit from 1974 to 1976, remained on the board over the period 1978-1989.

During the early years of the Thomas presidency, the scope and strategies of the Foundation's activities were also influenced by economic and global pressures, leading to reduced assets and further financial stringencies. Thomas' board-mandated reductions resulted, for example, the firing of twenty senior staff at the same time. To achieve more effective and efficient programs, Thomas had a vision of Ford as one foundation, linking the domestic and overseas activities under new program themes: Urban Poverty, Rural Poverty and Resources, Human Rights and Social Justice, Governance and Public Policy, Education and Culture, and International Affairs.

The restructured Foundation comprised two programmatic divisions led by vice presidents: U.S. and International Affairs Programs (USIAP) headed by Susan Berresford; and Developing Countries Program (DCP), headed by William Carmichael. Berresford had been at the Foundation since 1970, coming from the U.S. Manpower Career Development Agency. She served in the National Affairs area, first as

program assistant and then program officer (1972-1980), becoming head of women's programs in 1980. The main international efforts under USIAP were housed in Rural Poverty and Resources, Human Rights and Governance, and International Affairs. The other programs - Urban Poverty, Education and Culture, and Program-Related Investments - also addressed a scattering of international issues related to their main themes.

Carmichael had joined the Foundation in 1968 as Representative in Brazil. In July 1971, he was named Head of the Office of Latin America and the Caribbean, and in September of 1977, he became Head of the Middle East and Africa Office. The DCP program was responsible for all the Field Offices: Andean and the Southern Cone, Brazil, Mexico and Central America, Bangladesh, India, Southeast Asia, West Africa, Eastern and Southern Africa, and Middle East and North Africa.

When the Foundation initiated a Human Rights and Governance program (HR&G) in 1981, it was the first instance of a Ford program explicitly entitled "human rights," despite the fact that human rights grantmaking that had started officially in 1976. International Affairs remained separate from HR&G. In 1987, however, the Board conceptually linked three programs, creating a Trustee committee called Human Rights, Governance, and International Affairs, which existed until 1992. Operationally, however, the programs relating to these fields did not often work together.

International governance remained a commitment under Thomas. The Foundation, for example, had a long-established relationship with the United Nations: from 1951 until 1988, the United Nations received ninety grants from the Foundation (it received another 198 over the period 1989-2009).

In these early years of the Thomas presidency, dramatic changes were occurring in the Soviet Union and Eastern Europe. Under President Mikhail Gorbachev's leadership since 1985, the USSR was opening up to the international community, the rule of law in society was taking prominence there, and press freedoms were spreading. The foundation developed new programs in the region, drawing on the \$60 million already spent to promote human rights and free expression and increase Western understanding of developments there.

Given the continuing economic constraints facing the Foundation and rising debt in developing countries, the Foundation shifted support under DCP to smaller scale community-based initiatives in the field offices. Thomas was also charged by the Board to increase the diversity of grantees, especially to favor populations "most affected" by the problems of concern to the Ford Foundation. The Foundation built on earlier efforts and sharpened its focus on women's issues throughout the world, including shifting the focus of the population program to women's reproductive health and child survival.

In the 1980s, Carmichael and others, with strong support from Thomas and the board, continued the 1970s' support of South African grantees for training large numbers of black lawyers and litigating sensitive cases in the South African legal system. Recognizing the multifaceted nature of discrimination in South Africa, the Foundation not only advanced the rule of law, but also strengthened civic organizations, women's groups, and educational institutions. Further, it supported a number of activist organizations in the United States that were energetically advocating US governmental sanctions against South Africa and for private disinvestment. The Foundation also played a role in shaping US policy on apartheid through the role Thomas played from 1985 to 1987 chairing the US Secretary of State's Advisory Committee on South Africa.



The Foundation's overseas staff also sought to improve the economic situation in poor, marginalized communities through targeted loan programs particularly to women head of households, beginning with the innovative work in Bangladesh of Professor Mohammed Yunus, the founder of the Grameen Bank. The results led the way to establish the field of microfinance with the aim of empowering women living in poverty conditions, such as through a microfinance network in Latin America starting 1980 and a global lending program for women starting in 1987.

Thomas encouraged staff to share results at worldwide meetings. During those meetings, Ford staff in the country offices and in New York tried to follow the mandate to work as “one foundation.” The persistent challenge toward meeting that goal, however, was that initiatives emerging from the New York-based programs, or indeed any program developed in one country, were not always adaptable, relevant or acceptable in other countries or regions. It remained a challenge to develop a unified program, despite the commitment at the highest level of foundation leadership.

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

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## Biographical / Historical

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### Segment 3. Period Summary - Transition and Restructuring 1966-1988

During this era, the Foundation's earlier interest in business and the economy evolved into a commitment to improving conditions for people living on the margins of society. The Ford Foundation promoted advancements in women's rights around the globe and introduced micro-lending into grantmaking. At the same time, the economic issues that were shaping program strategies also affected the Foundation's assets. Severe cuts resulted in a significant restructuring of country programs and reduced budgets across all programs.

Even with the cuts in country offices, in the 1970s Ford grantees in developing countries received approximately 80% of the International Division budget. The remaining fifth went to Population, Development Studies, and International Affairs. Although representing a much smaller piece, the International Security and Arms Control program from 1973 was the Foundation's most concerted effort to make meaningful inroads in disarmament and nuclear issues - those challenges most directly linked to the Foundation's historic concern for peace. By 1979, the Ford Foundation was the biggest funder of arms control as a field, both in the U.S. and overseas.

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

---

## Scope and Contents

---

Contains travel and study awards and subject files.

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

---

## Arrangement

---

Arranged in two series by file type.

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

---

## Administrative Information

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### Publication Statement

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## Immediate Source of Acquisition note

Ford Foundation archive was deposited at RAC in 2011. Ford Foundation records, correspondence, reports, program files and officers papers were transferred to, and accessioned by, RAC beginning in 2011. Accessions continue as necessary.

## Processing Information

Level 1 Minimal Processing has been conducted to establish basic intellectual and physical control of the material and assess immediate preservation and conservation needs. Material remains as received, in original folders and storage boxes.

## Conditions Governing Access

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[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

## Collection Inventory

<b>Travel and Study Awards, 1968-1975</b>	
<b>Title/Description</b>	<b>Instances</b>
Ahmad, Bashir, 1968-1974	box 1
Fatma, Dr. Matin, 1974	box 1
Faridi, Tazeen, 1973	box 1
Faruqi, Modh. Akhtar, 1972-1973	box 1
Ginai, Naseem Asghar, 1973	box 1
Haq, Dr. Israrul, 1971	box 1
Hashmi, Zafar Ali, 1970	box 1
Ikram, Khalid, 1970-1971	box 1
Isani, Usman Ali, 1973-1974	box 1
Jamali, Sikandar Hayat, 1972-1973	box 1

Jawed, Khalid, 1972-1973	box 1
Khan, Khurshid, 1971-1973	box 1
Khan, Sarshar Ahmad, 1969-1970	box 1
Qureshi, Sarfaraz K., 1972	box 1
Razzaque, Mohd. Abdur, 1971	box 1
Saifi, M.L., 1970-1971	box 1
Sehrai, Fidaullah, 1970-1971	box 1
Wasti, S. Razi, 1973	box 1
Afzal, Mohammed, 1973	box 2
Ahmad, Mushtaq, 1969-1975	box 2
Ahmad, Wajihuddin, 1970	box 2
Ahmad, Wajihuddin, 1971	box 2
Akhtar, Dr. A. Hafeez, 1971	box 2
Azam, Khan Mohammed, 1969-1970	box 2
Azfar, J., 1970-1971	box 2
Hassan, Parvez, 1969	box 2
Huque, Dr. Heshamul, 1973	box 2
Hussain, Ghulam, 1972	box 2
Hussain, Syed Munir, 1972	box 2
Inayat, M. Rafique, 1973	box 2
Khajak, Mohd. Yousuf, 1972-1973	box 2
Khan, Abdul Ghaffar, 1974	box 2
Khan, Shoaib Sultan, 1972	box 2
Khan, Umar Draz, 1974	box 2
Kiani, Aquila, 1974	box 2
Lord Caradon, 1973	box 2
Mudoga, Freda, 1973	box 2
Qureshi, Nek Mohd., 1970-1971	box 2
Radhu, Ghulam Mohammed, 1972	box 2
Raoof, Mohd. Adbur, 1973	box 2
Saeed, Ahmad, 1973	box 2
Yagel, Dr. Sadik, 1973	box 2

Yusuf, Kaniz Fatima, 1973	box 2
Abbasi, Shams, 1974	box 3
Ahmad, Meekal, 1969-1971	box 3
Ahmad, Naseer, 1974	box 3
Ahmad, Nisar, 1970-1975	box 3
Ahmad, Nigar R., 1973	box 3
Ahsan, Rashida, 1974	box 3
Ali, Syed Azad, 1973-1974	box 3
Anwar, Rehana, 1974	box 3
Ata, Farooq, 1968-1970	box 3
Baluch, Mohammad Khan, 1974	box 3
Baluch, Shukrulian Khan, 1972-1973	box 3
Beg, Razia Azam Ali, 1974	box 3
Dani, A.H., 1971	box 4
Erkin, Dr. Kandemir, 1973	box 4
Feliciano, Dr. Gloria, 1973	box 4
Farooq, Arshad, 1973	box 4
Hussain, Syed Sajjad, 1973-1974	box 4

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)

## Subject Files

Title/Description	Instances
Grant Projects -- College of Home Economics -- Reports, Mar 1952-Mar 1955	box 4
Grant Projects -- College of Home Economics -- Association Conference, Feb 1955-Jan 1957	box 4
Grant Projects -- College of Home Economics -- Karachi Council, 1953-1957	box 4
Grant Projects -- College of Home Economics -- Karachi -- Architect, 1952-1955	box 4
Grant Projects -- College of Home Economics -- Karachi -- General, 1954-1955	box 4
Grant Projects -- College of Home Economics -- American Personnel, 1954-1956	box 4

Grant Projects -- College of Home Economics -- Karachi General, 1951-1953	box 4
Grant Projects -- College of Home Economics -- Tours, Jul-Dec 1954	box 4
Grant Projects -- College of Home Economics -- Tucker, 1953-1956	box 4
Grant Projects -- Polytechnic Institutes -- Karachi -- General, 1954-1955	box 4
Council for the College of Domestic Science -- Architect, 1953	box 4
College of Home Economics -- Peshawar, 1952-1956	box 4
University of Karachi -- Sound-proofing of the Language Lab, 1968-1967	box 4
Pakistan Technical Education Program -- Professional Activities Report, 1963	box 5
Pakistan Technical Education Program -- Professional Activities Reports, 1966-1967	box 5
Pakistan Technical Education Program -- Professional Activities Reports, 1961-1962	box 5
Pakistan Technical Education Program -- Professional Activities Reports, 1965-1966	box 5
Pakistan Technical Education Program -- Professional Activities Reports, 1962-1964	box 5
Pakistan Technical Education Program -- Professional Activities Reports, 1958-1959	box 5
Pakistan Technical Education Project -- Terminal Report, 1961-1963	box 5
Technical Education -- General, 1967-1968	box 5
Areas of Interest -- Library Assistance (Jerry W. Dye), 1962-1964	box 5
Library Assistance (Jerry Dye), 1964	box 5
Library Assistance (Jerry Dye), 1965	box 5
Grant Projects -- Technical Education Grants -- General, Feb 1954-Feb 1956	box 6
Grant Projects -- Survey of Technical Education -- General, Feb-Jul 1954	box 6
Technical Education -- General, Apr-Aug 1964	box 6
Technical Education -- General, Sep 1964-Oct 1965	box 6
Technical Education -- General, Nov 1965-Apr 1967	box 6
Technical Education -- General, May-Aug 1967	box 6

Polytechnic Institutes --Prospective Teachers Training Program, 1953-1955	box 6
Grant Projects -- Polytechnic Institutes -- Karachi -- Architect, 1952-1953	box 6
Grant Projects -- Polytechnic Institutes -- Karachi -- Personnel, 1952-1955	box 6
Grant Projects -- Polytechnic Institutes -- Dacca -- Personnel, Oct 1953-Mar 1955	box 6
Agriculture -- Rice and Sugarcane Crops Seminar, Dec 1974	box 6
Agriculture -- International Rice Research Institute, 1969-1972	box 6
Agriculture -- A.L.A.D. (Beirut), 1975	box 6
Agriculture -- International Association of Agricultural Economists Conference (IAAE), 1972-1974	box 6
Agriculture -- General, 1972-1975	box 7
Population Matters -- USAID, 1969-1970	box 7
Population -- General, 1969-1974	box 7
Population -- General, 1975-1977	box 7
Population -- Pakistan Population Review, 1972-1973	box 7
Population -- International Committee on Population Program Management (ICOMP), 1972-1976	box 7
Population -- Ford Foundation/Rockefeller Foundation, 1971-1976	box 7
PIDE Project Planning and Evaluation, 1974-1975	box 7
Educational Television, 1968-1973	box 8
Instructional Technology, 1968-1974	box 8
Cultural Interests -- General, 1968-1975	box 8
Islam and Social Change -- University of Chicago, 1972-1979	box 8
Government of Pakistan -- General Correspondence, 1969-1974	box 8
Development Administration and Management -- The Management Association of Pakistan, 1968-1969	box 8
Travel and Study Awards -- Finance and Administration, 1978-1980	box 8
Reporting -- Pakistan Grants Status -- Grants to Individuals, 1974-1975	box 8
West Pakistan Management Association Survey, 1973-1975	box 8
Small Industries, 1973-1974	box 9
Baluchistan, 1972-1973	box 9

Baluchistan Correspondence, 1974-1976	box 9
University of Baluchistan, 1972	box 9
Baluchistan -- Forest Department, 1972	box 9
Planning Commission, 1969-1970	box 9
Pakistan Review, 1969-1970	box 9
Agriculture -- Rice, 1972-1974	box 9
Language Studies -- Ford Foundation Grants to Pakistan, 1959-1973	box 9
Education -- General, 1972-1975	box 9
Kinnaird College for Women -- Lahore, 1975-1981	box 9
New York General Correspondence, 1973-1979	box 10
All Pakistan Women's Association (APWA), 1972-1981	box 10
Home Economics -- Early Development of Home Economics in Pakistan 1952-1969, [1970]	box 10
Women's Act -- General (1/3), 1972-1975	box 10
Women's Act -- General (2/3), 1976-1978	box 10
Women's Act -- General (3/3), 1979	box 10
Women's Act -- General -- Attachment Folder, 1973-1980	box 10
Women -- Attachment Folder, 1979-1981	box 11
Women's Resource Center, 1976-1979	box 11
General Research -- Training File, 1978-1980	box 11
Training and Study -- General -- Attachment Folder, 1972-1976	box 11
Political Economy of South Asia Project, 1978-1980	box 11
Training and Study Program -- General, 1976-1981	box 11
University College London, 1973-1979	box 11
Harvard Center for International Affairs (Harvard University), 1976-1980	box 11
Rural Development -- General, 1977-1981	box 11
Rural Development -- Khan, Akhtar Hameed, 1973-1980	box 11
Princeton Parvin Fellowships, 1973-1981	box 11
Human Rights, 1976-1980	box 11
Human Rights -- Attachment Folder, 1980	box 11
Islam -- General, 1979-1981	box 12



Migration and Refugees -- General, 1978-1981	box 12
Migration and Refugees -- General -- Attachment Folder, 1979-1980	box 12
Sind Regional Planning Organization (SRPO) -- General, 1979-1981	box 12
People's Republic of China, 1978-1981	box 12
Social Sciences -- General, 1969-1981	box 12
Social Sciences -- Attachments Folder, 1955-1978	box 12
Social Science Research in Pakistan -- M. Sinding, 1954-1978	box 12
Government of Pakistan -- Reports, 1973-1981	box 12
Government of Pakistan -- Policies, 1972-1980	box 12
Government of Pakistan -- General, 1975-1980	box 12
Provident Fund -- Basic Documents, 1958-1979	box 12
Provident Fund -- Minutes of Meetings, 1959-1981	box 12
United Nations -- Correspondence, 1975-1981	box 13
World Bank (IBRD), 1972-1981	box 13
United States Embassy/US AID, 1975-1981	box 13
International Manpower Institute, 1972-1977	box 13
Ford Foundation -- Program in Pakistan, 1975-1980	box 13
International Development Research Centre, 1976-1980	box 13
Environment -- Documents, 1972-1981	box 13
Center for Agricultural Policy Studies, 1976-1979	box 13
University of Karachi -- Population Studies Program, 1974-1981	box 13
International Institute of Education (IIE), 1969-1981	box 13
Population -- General, 1973-1981	box 13
Population -- Organizations -- Family Planning Association, 1974-1981	box 13
Population -- Organizations -- Population Council, 1975-1979	box 13
Population -- Organizations -- Ford Foundation/Rockefeller Programs, 1976-1981	box 13
Agriculture -- Crops -- Maize, 1974-1979	box 14
Agriculture -- Crops -- Cotton -- Current, 1965-1981	box 14
Agriculture -- Crops -- Rice -- Current, 1974-1980	box 14
Agriculture -- Crops -- Wheat -- Current, 1974-1981	box 14

Agriculture -- Crops -- Sorghum and Millets, 1975-1977	box 14
Agriculture -- Crops -- General, 1975-1980	box 14
Agriculture -- Food, 1975-1980	box 14
Agriculture -- Fertilizer, 1978-1979	box 14
Agriculture -- Nutrition, 1980	box 14
Agriculture -- Land Reform, 1977	box 14
Agriculture -- General (1/2), 1976-1979	box 14
Agriculture -- General (2/2), 1980-1981	box 14
Agriculture -- General (Documents), 1979-1981	box 14
University of Agriculture -- Faisalabad, 1978-1981	box 14
Intermediate Agricultural Mechanical Technology, 1974-1980	box 15
Agriculture -- Water Research, 1975-1981	box 15
Agriculture -- Organizations -- Rice Research Institute, Kala Shah Kaku, 1975-1981	box 15
Agriculture -- Organizations -- ADC NY, 1974-1978	box 15
Agriculture -- Organizations -- ALAD, 1975-1976	box 15
Agriculture -- Organizations -- International Rice Research Institute (IRRI) -- Current, 1974-1981	box 15
Agriculture -- Organizations -- CGIAR, 1974-1980	box 15
Agriculture -- Organizations -- ARC (Pakistan), 1975-1980	box 15
Agriculture -- Organizations -- CIMMYT, 1975-1981	box 15
Boston University, 1976-1981	box 15
Berkeley English Language Program in Pakistan, 1980	box 15
WAPDA -- Master Planning, 1977-1980	box 15
Miscellaneous -- General, 1980-1981	box 15
Institute of National Languages, 1973-1974	box 15
Language and Linguistics in Pakistan, 1970-1977	box 15
Hunsberger, I. Moyer, 1968-1976	box 15
Rural Unemployment, 1970-1975	box 15
Health -- Nutrition -- Population, 1972-1978	box 15
Education -- General -- Current, 1975-1981	box 16
Education -- General -- Attachment Folder, 1974-1979	box 16
Economic Planning -- Economic Review 1975, 9175-1976	box 16

New International Economic Order 1977, 1977-1980	box 16
International Economics Projects, 1978-1980	box 16
Employment, 1971-1979	box 16
Cultural Interests -- General, 1976-1981	box 16
Cultural Interests -- Consultants, 1970-1980	box 16
Cultural Interests -- Reports, 1980	box 16
Cultural Interests -- Archaeology -- Museums in Pakistan -- General, 1977-1981	box 16
Economics of Pakistan, 1976-1981	box 16
Economics in Pakistan -- Masood Akram (Consultant), 1975-1976	box 17
Economic Planning and Development -- General, 1974-1981	box 17
Economic Planning and Development -- Economic Research Institute, 1975-1981	box 17
Ericson, Mr. David M. and Ms. Mia A. M. de Kuijper (Consultants), 1979-1981	box 17
Government of Pakistan Regulations (Import Privileges), 1970-1975	box 17
Retrenchment, 1975-1978	box 17
File House #10, St. 67th Shalimar 7, 1975-1981	box 17
Small Causes Court, Karachi -- Miss Talat Hamida Lutfullah v. Ford Foundation in Pakistan -- Suit no. 359 of 1973 (1/4), 1971-1974	box 17
Small Causes Court, Karachi -- Miss Talat Hamida Lutfullah v. Ford Foundation in Pakistan -- Suit no. 359 of 1973 (2/4), 1971-1975	box 17
Small Causes Court, Karachi -- Miss Talat Hamida Lutfullah v. Ford Foundation in Pakistan -- Suit no. 359 of 1973 (3/4), 1972	box 17
Small Causes Court, Karachi -- Miss Talat Hamida Lutfullah v. Ford Foundation in Pakistan -- Suit no. 359 of 1973 (4/4), 1971-1975	box 17
Grant Projects -- Polytechnic Institute -- Karachi -- Progress Reports, 1954-1955	box 18
Pakistan Technical Education Program -- Professional Activities Report, 1966-1967	box 18
Pakistan Technical Education Program -- Professional Activities Reports, 1961-1963	box 18
Grant Projects -- Polytechnic Institute -- Karachi -- Reports, 1952-1955	box 18

Grant Projects -- Polytechnic Institute -- Correspondence from Wentworth, 1952-1953	box 18
Grant Projects -- Polytechnic Institute at Karachi -- Wentworth Institute -- Progress Report, 1953	box 18
Grant Projects -- Survey of Technical Education, Feb 1954-May 1960	box 19
A Report of The Afghan Institute of Technology, Nov 1952	box 19
East Bengal Polytechnic Institute -- Dacca -- Report, Oct 1955	box 19
Grant Projects -- Technical Education -- Oklahoma A&M Grant, Sep 1954-Dec 1955	box 19

[^ Return to Table of Contents](#)